

A grammar of Tuatschin

A Sursilvan Romansh dialect

Philippe Maurer-Cecchini

Comprehensive Grammar Library 3



Comprehensive Grammar Library

Editor: Martin Haspelmath

In this series:

1. Jacques, Guillaume. A grammar of Japhug.
2. Grimm, Nadine. A grammar of Gyeli.
3. Maurer-Cecchini, Philippe. A grammar of Tuatschin: A Sursilvan Romansh dialect.

This series grew out of the grammars published in *Studies in Diversity Linguistics*, which are proudly mentioned:

4. Berghäll, Liisa. A grammar of Mauwake.
5. Wilbur, Joshua. A grammar of Pite Saami.
7. Schackow, Diana. A grammar of Yakkha.
8. Liljegren, Henrik. A grammar of Palula.
9. Shimelman, Aviva. A grammar of Yauyos Quechua.
11. Kluge, Angela. A grammar of Papuan Malay.
12. Kieviet, Paulus. A grammar of Rapa Nui.
22. Döhler, Christian. A grammar of Komnzo.
23. Yakpo, Kofi. A grammar of Pichi.

A grammar of Tuatschin

A Sursilvan Romansh dialect

Philippe Maurer-Cecchini



Philippe Maurer-Cecchini. 2021. *A grammar of Tuatschin: A Sursilvan Romansh dialect* (Comprehensive Grammar Library 3). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/308>

© 2021, Philippe Maurer-Cecchini

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> 

ISBN: 978-3-96110-318-8 (Digital)

978-3-98554-014-3 (Hardcover)

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.5137647

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/308

Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=308

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Philippe Maurer-Cecchini, Sebastian Nordhoff

Proofreading: Amir Ghorbanpour, Andreas Hölzl, Aviva Shimelman,
Christopher Straughn, Craevschi Alexandru, Jaime Peña, Jeroen van de Weijer,
Konstantinos Sampanis, Lachlan Mackenzie, Melanie Röthlisberger, Madeline
Myers, Russell Barlow, Sandra Auderset, Tihomir Rangelov, Tom Bossuyt,
Yvonne Treis

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: $\text{X}_{\text{L}}\text{A}_{\text{T}}\text{E}_{\text{X}}$

Language Science Press

xHain

Grünberger Str. 16

10243 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloging done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität



Berlin

Contents

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

Contents

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

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

Contents

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

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

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank all the native speakers of Tuatschin who offered me their time and patience. Special thanks are due to Tarcisi Hendry, who established the contact with almost all my consultants. The other native speakers who were of great help are, in alphabetical order, Leci Brugger, Nicolina Cathomen-Giossi, Nescha Cavegn, Leci Deflorin, Pascal Gamboni, Lucia Giossi, Vigeli Giossi, Beatrix Graf, Beni Hendry, Cecilia Hendry, Wendelin Hendry, Nina Levy, Laura Loretz, Nicoletta Marino, Ciril Monn, Giusep Monn, and Riccardo Monn.

I would also like to thank Sabine Stoll and Michele Loporcaro for having asked me to participate in their project on the acquisition of Tuatschin (see below).

Martin Haspelmath, Michele Loporcaro, and the five anonymous reviewers of Language Science Press made precious comments about earlier versions of this grammar.

Claudia Cathomas and Tresa Bundi-Pally helped me with some transcriptions, and Sebastian Nordhoff as well as Felix Kopecky helped me to resolve the many difficulties I had with TexStudio and LaTeX.

Alys Boote Cooper was kind enough to correct my English.

To all these people I would like to say *in grond grazia fetg!*

Last but not least, many thanks to the Swiss National Science Foundation (project no. 159544 about the acquisition of Tuatschin Sursilvan by children between 2 and 6 years) who covered my hotel and meal expenses.

Wetzikon (Switzerland), November 2020

List of abbreviations

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

¹introduces an attributive infinitive clause

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

²introduces a finite or non-finite argument clause

³introduces an infinitive clause modifying an adjective

⁴introduces a finite or non-finite clause

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Introduction

Table 1.1: Differences between Tuatschin and Standard Sursilvan

	Tuatschin	Sursilvan	English
palatalisation of 'kA	<i>mar'tcaw</i>	<i>mar'kaw</i>	'city'
	<i>'tcezø</i>	<i>'kazø</i>	'house'
Surs. <i>ɔ</i> before <i>n</i>	<i>a'vawn</i>	<i>a'vɔn</i>	'before'
1SG pronoun	<i>ju</i>	<i>jɛw</i>	'I'
see	<i>ju 'vetsø</i>	<i>jɛw 'vezɛl</i>	'I see'
negator	<i>'betzø</i>	<i>'buke</i>	'not'
dative marker	<i>da</i>	<i>a</i>	

Figure 1.1 shows the distribution of the three languages of Grisons with its dialects. The label 'Tuatschin' on the map also comprises the Medelin dialect, spoken to the east of the Tuatschin area.¹

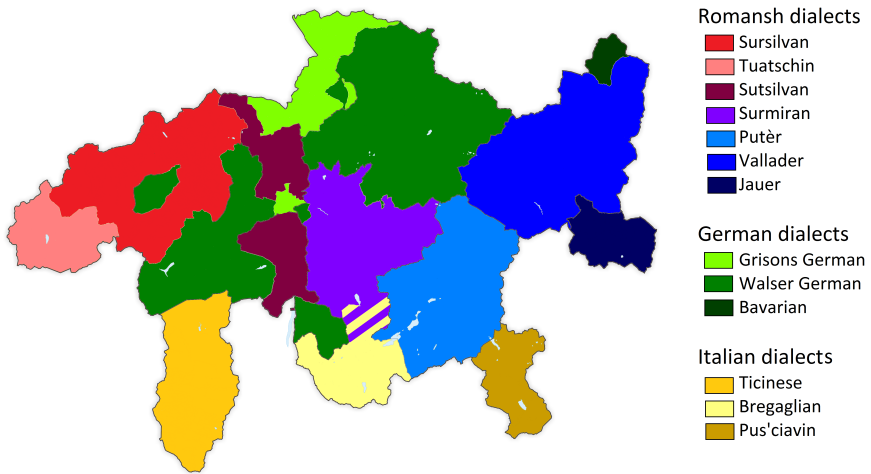


Figure 1.1: Languages and dialects of the Canton of Grisons

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

User:Terfilii

¹There is a mistake in the legend of the map: It should be *Putèr* instead of *Putèr*.

1.1 Previous works

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

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

1.2 Corpus

The corpus consists of oral and written sources. The oral corpus consists of two parts. The first part contains recorded narratives that were collected by myself on several field trips between 2016 and 2021 with seven female and ten male native speakers of Tuatschin. It consists of approximately 95 minutes of recorded stories told by male and female consultants between 30 and 82 years of age at the time of recording; they are published in Chapter 8. The second part consists of elicited forms and sentences. Since I have a working knowledge of Standard Sursilvan, all interviews were conducted in Romansh.

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

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

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

1 Introduction

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

Table 1.2: List of consultants I

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

Table 1.3: List of consultants II

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

Table 1.4: List of consultants III

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

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

Table 1.5: List of consultants IV

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

Table 1.6: List of consultants V

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

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

- (1) *I drùva schòn in t'éc da saprèndar anzjaman*
 EXPL need.PRS.3SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit ATTR REFL.take.INF together
da rašdá da Tujétsch cun autars.
 COMP talk.INF of PN with other.M.PL

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

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

1.3 Dialectal differences

There are two main Tuatschin dialects: the dialect of the upper part of the Tujetsch valley (Figure 1.2), which comprises the villages of Selva and Tschamut²,

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

1 Introduction

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

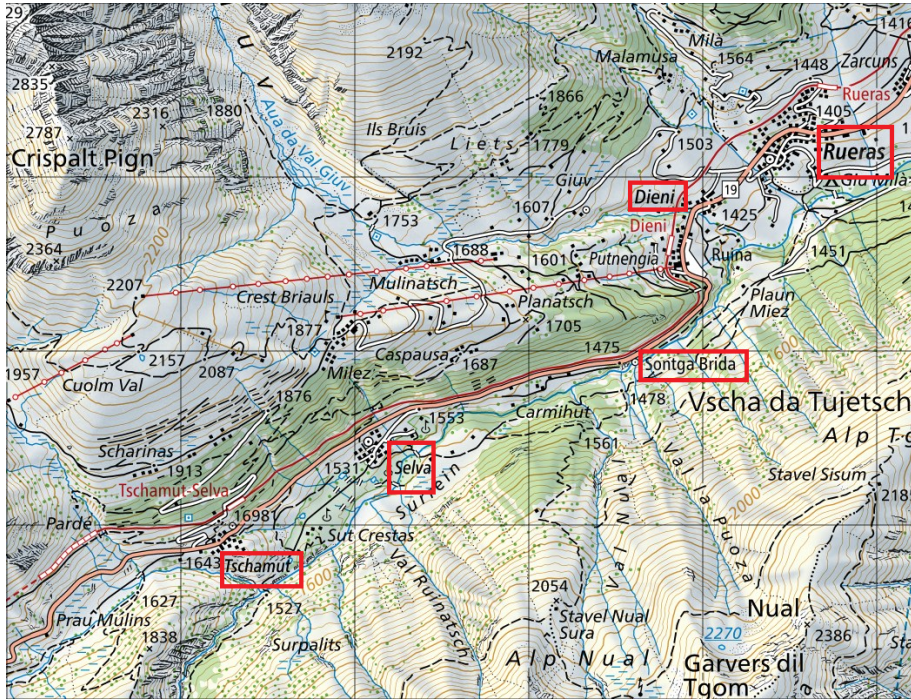


Figure 1.2: Upper Valley (Tschamut and Selva) plus Dieni and Rueras from the Lower Valley. Source: Federal Office of Topography swisstopo. The identical place names in this and in the following figure which are not in boxes refer to train stations.

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

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

1.4 The contact languages of Tuatschin

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

1.4 The contact languages of Tuatschin

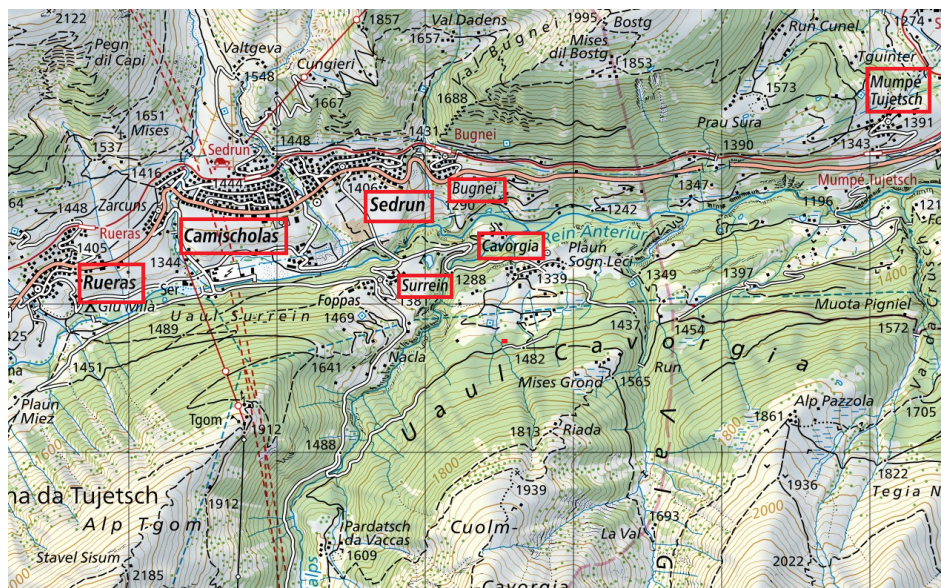


Figure 1.3: Lower Valley from Rueras to Bugnei and Mumpé Tujetsch. Source: Federal Office of Topography swisstopo. In spite of its name, Mumpé Tujetsch is located outside the Tujetsch valley.

Table 1.7: Differences between the upper and the lower dialect

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Calques are also very frequent, especially in the domain of the particle verbs (see §4.1.3). Other examples are *mètar avau* ‘imagine’ (< German *sich vorstellen*) (note that the Romansh synonym is not reflexive) *curdá sé* (< German *auffallen*), or *fã cun* ‘participate’ (< German *mitmachen*).

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

Examples of sursilvanisms occurring in the corpus are *bugèn* ‘gladly’ instead of *ugèn*, *dumigná* ‘cope’ instead of *dumagnè*, *èl* ‘in the (M)’ instead of *ál* or *ájl*, *muossavía* ‘signpost’ instead of *mùssavía*, *Musté* instead of *Mustajr* ‘Mustér’, *ni*

‘or; right’ instead of *né*, *pi* ‘more’ instead of *plé*, *pènşjunada* ‘retired (F.SG)’ instead of *pansjunada*, *sa* ‘knows’ instead of *sò*, *si* ‘up’ instead of *sé*, *uaul* ‘forest’ instead of *uaut*, *uost* ‘August’ instead of *uést*.

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

1.5 Examples and glosses

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

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

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

1.6 Place names

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

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

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

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

1 Introduction

Table 1.8: Spelling of place names

current spelling	Standard Sursilvan	German/Italian
<i>Bugnaj</i>	<i>Bugnei</i>	
<i>Camischùlas</i>	<i>Camischolas</i>	
<i>Caşchinùta</i>	<i>Caschinutta</i>	<i>Göschenen</i>
<i>Cavòrgja</i>	<i>Cavorgia</i>	
<i>Cuéra</i>	<i>Cuera</i>	<i>Chur</i>
<i>Diani</i>	<i>Dieni</i>	
<i>Dagljégn</i>	<i>Dalin</i>	
<i>Gjònda</i>	<i>Gonda</i>	
<i>Gljòn</i>	<i>Glion</i>	
<i>Lags</i>	<i>Laax</i>	
<i>Ligjaun</i>	<i>Ligiaun</i>	<i>Lugano</i>
<i>Méjdal</i>	<i>Medel</i>	
<i>Nòssadunaun</i>	<i>Nossadunnaun</i>	<i>Einsiedeln</i>
<i>Ruèras</i>	<i>Rueras</i>	
<i>Sadrún</i>	<i>Sedrun</i>	
<i>Ségnas</i>	<i>Segnas</i>	
<i>Sélva</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

2.1 Vowels

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

Table 2.1: Vowels

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

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

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

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

2 Phonology

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

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

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

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

Table 2.2: Vowel minimal pairs

/i/	vs	/ɛ/	/fil/	‘thread’	vs	/fel/	‘gall’
/i/	vs	/ɐ/	/fi/	‘so’	vs	/fɐ/	‘if’
/e/	vs	/ɛ/	/le:tʃ/	‘bed’	vs	/le:tʃ/	‘marriage’
			/me/	‘me’ (dative)	vs	/mɛ/	‘me’ (accusative)
/ɛ/	vs	/ɔ/	/fel/	‘gall’	vs	/fɔl/	‘bellows’
			/seɲ/	‘sign’	vs	/sɔɲ/	‘holy’
/ʊ/	vs	/ɔ/	/kʊ/	‘how’	vs	/kɔ/	‘here’
			/rɔma/	‘Rome’	vs	/rɔma/	‘branches’
/ʊ/	vs	/u/	/dʒʊ/	‘down’	vs	/dzu/	‘had’
/a:/	vs	/ɛ:/	/tʃa:r/	‘dear’	vs	/tʃɛ:r/	‘expensive’
/a:/	vs	/ʊ:/	/ka:r/	‘bus’	vs	kʊ:r	‘heart’

2.2 Diphthongs

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

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

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

The falling diphthong /ue/ is not very frequent. An example is /'fkuɐ/ 'broom'.

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

Table 2.3: Diphthongs

falling			rising		
/aj/	/kwaj/	'this'	/ja/	/u'jare/	'war'
/ɛj/	–		/jɛ/	/'jɛdɐ/	'time'
/ej/	/sejs/	'their'	/je/	/'jeli/	'oil'
/iɐ/	/'zbiɐr/	'thug'	/jɐ/	/ɐn'tsjamɐn/	'together'
/ɔj/	–		/jɔ/	/kur'jɔs/	'strange'
/uj/	–		/ju/	/ju/	'I'
/aw/	/awn/	'still'	/wa/	/'awa/	'water'
/ɛw/	–		/wɛ/	/kwɛɫ/	'this'
/ew/	–		/we/	/kwɛɫm/	'mountain'
/iw/	–		/wi/	/kwɛɫ'wizɐ/	'in this way'
/ɔw/	/sɔw/	'know I'			

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

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

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

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

2 Phonology

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

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

- (2) *Núa şè quaj hòtèl? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn*
where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMP.F.1SG already
òņş bigja stad' ajn quaj martgau.
year.M.PL NEG COP.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.M.SG city
'Where is this hotel? No idea, I hadn't been in that city for years.' (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

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

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

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

2.3 Consonants

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

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

Table 2.4: Consonants

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

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

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

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

Furthermore, /r/ and /l/ may have a syllabic realisation due to the dropping of [ə] between consonants as in [pɾ] vs [pɛr] ‘for’ (§8.1), [pɾ.mɛ.vɛ.rɛ] vs [pɛr.mɛ.vɛ.rɛ] ‘spring’ (§8.16), [pɾ.vɛ.zɛ.dɛrs] vs [pɛɾ.vɛ.zɛ.dɛrs] ‘herdsmen’ (§8.6), [tɾ] vs [tɛr] ‘at, by’ §8.4), [pɾ.su.lɛ] vs [pɛr.su.lɛ] ‘alone (F)’ §8.4) [ʃtɾ.mɛn.tus] vs [ʃtɛr.mɛn.tus] ‘terrible’ (§8.2) or [pɾs] vs [pɛr ɛls] ‘for the’ §8.7).

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

Table 2.5: Consonant minimal pairs

p	vs	t	/pawŋ/	‘bread’	vs	/tawn/	‘so much’
p	vs	n	/pawŋ/	‘little (quant.)’	vs	/pawŋ/	‘bread’
p	vs	ŋ	/kɔp/	‘bowl’	vs	kɔŋ/	‘wedge’
p	vs	s	/pawŋ/	‘bread’	vs	/sawn/	‘blood’
p	vs	tɕ	/pawŋ/	‘bread’	vs	/tɕawn/	‘dog’
t	vs	k	/bɔt/	‘barrel’	vs	/bɔk/	‘billy goat’
t	vs	n	/sɛˈlit/	‘greeting’	vs	/sɛˈlin/	‘wheat’
k	vs	f	/dʒuk/	‘play’	vs	dʒuf	‘yoke’
b	vs	n	/ˈrawbɛ/	‘merchandise’	vs	/ˈrawŋɛ/	‘frog’
d	vs	n	/ˈfr:ɪdɛ/	‘wound’	vs	/ˈfri:nɛ/	‘flour’
d	vs	ts	/ˈsendɛ/	‘path’	vs	/ˈsentɛ/	‘without’
g	vs	l	/nɛˈga:/	‘drown’	vs	/lɛˈva:/	‘wash’
m	vs	l	/fɔm/	‘hunger’	vs	/fɔl/	‘bellows’
			fiˈma:/	‘smoke’	vs	/fiˈla:/	‘spin’
n	vs	ɲ	/ɔŋ/	‘year’	vs	ɔŋ/	‘alder’
n	vs	ts	/pɔŋ/	‘bridge’	vs	pɔts/	‘pond’
n	vs	tɕ	/lɛŋ/	‘firewood’	vs	/lɛtɕ/	‘marriage’
ɲ	vs	tɕ	/peɲ/	‘fir tree’	vs	/petɕ/	‘pick’
ɲ	vs	ts	pɛɲ/	‘pledge’	vs	/pɛts/	‘chest’
f	vs	r	/najf/	‘snow’	vs	najr/	‘black’
s	vs	l	/pas/	‘step’	vs	pal/	‘post’
ʃ	vs	tɕ	/ɛʃ/	‘door’	vs	ɛtɕ/	‘ointment’
tɕ	vs	ts	/ɔtɕ/	‘eight’	vs	/ɔts/	‘today’
tɕ	vs	ʃ	/detɕ/	‘said’	vs	/detʃ/	‘(I) say’
dʒ	vs	l	/dʒuf/	‘yoke’	vs	/luf/	‘wolf’

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

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

- (4) [...] *api vau* *détg* *di* *mùma* [...].
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT mother
 ‘[...] I said to my mother [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (5) *Pi ò èla détg: «Té savèssaş í*
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
cul tat [...].
 with.DEF.M.SG grandfather

‘Then she said: “You could go up with your grandfather [...].’ (m4, §8.3)

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

In rapid speech /tʃ/ may be realised as an unreleased consonant, yielding a sound that is close to the glide /j/. Examples are *létg/léj* ‘bed’ (§8.3), *hanlétg/hanléj* ‘business’ (§8.9), or *atgnamajn/ajnamajn* ‘actually’ (§8.16).

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

- (6) [...] *álsò sch’ ju stèş aun fá in’ jèda quaj,*
 well if 1SG must.COND.1SG still do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM
figès ju bétga.
 do.COND.1SG 1SG NEG

‘[...] well, if I had to do it once more, I wouldn’t do it.’ (Sadrún, m10, §8.7)

Other examples are ‘not even’ and ‘eight’. ‘Not even’ is spelled *gnanc* in Standard Sursilvan, but in Tuatschin it is pronounced with [g] instead of [k] if it is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, like in /ɲaŋ in/ ‘not even one’. ‘Eight’ is a similar case since it is spelled *otg* in Standard Sursilvan, but if it is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant it is pronounced [ɔdʒ] like in [ɔdʒ ɔns] ‘eight years’ (§8.15). However, in *òtgònta* ‘eighty’ *òtg* is pronounced [ɔtʃ] and not [ɔdʒ].

If all final voiceless consonants were pronounced voiced when followed by a voiced element, it would be very easy to establish the rule that every voiceless consonant in word final position is pronounced voiced if followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant. However, this is not the case. In [in br’iɛk əd in kʊp] ‘a wooden bucket and a bowl’ /k/ is never pronounced [g]: [in *br’iɛg əd in kʊp]. The same holds for *ljuc* ‘place’: [in ʎuk ɛmpɛr’najval] ‘a cosy place’ vs [in *ʎug ɛmpɛr’najval]. A further example is [fjuk] ‘fire’ whose diminutive is [fju’kɛt] and not [*fju’gɛt].

2 Phonology

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

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

That the nasals behave like voiceless consonants is demonstrated by the opposition between *gjuvan* /'dʒuvən/ 'young (M.SG)' vs *gjufna* /'dʒufnə/ 'young (F.SG)'.

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

2.4 Syllable structure

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

Tuatschin possesses words of one, two, and three syllables. Words with four or five syllables are rare and are usually compound words (/dʒu.vən.'tɛtɔ.nɛ/ 'youth' or /ɔ:.rɛ.dʒɔ.'zɔt/ 'underneath in direction down the valley'). More examples of polysyllabic words are to be found in Table 2.6.

Stress is fixed and can be placed on the ultimate (/ɛn.'tɔrn/ 'around' or /ɛn.tɔr.'da/ 'aerate the soil'), the penultimate (/mu.'vɛl/ 'cattle'), or the ante-penultimate syllable, which is rare (/tɔɛ.'grin.dɛ.rɛ/ 'Yenish woman').

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

2.5 Spelling system

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

Table 2.6: Syllable types

V	/ə/	‘and’
VV	/i:/	‘go’
	/aj/	‘expletive pronoun’
VVC	/e:r/	‘yesterday’
	/ejf/	‘egg’
VVCC	/welp/	‘fox’
CV	/dʒʊ/	‘down’
CVC	/tup/	‘stupid’
CVCC	//tɜ:n/	‘horn’
CVCCC	/tɛkst/	‘text’
CVV	/di:/	‘say’
	/baw/	‘beetle’
CVVC	/majns/	‘month’
CVVCC	/nejfs/	‘nephew’
CCVC	/tras/	‘through’
CCVCC	/krɛft/	‘hill’
CCVV	/kraj/	‘believe’
	/praw/	‘meadow’
CCVVC	/trɔ:tɛ/	‘narrow path’
	/plajd/	‘word’
CCVVCC	/trwi:ls/	‘narrow paths’
CCCVCV	/ʃpri:tsa:/	‘squirt’
CCCVC	/ʃtrɒm/	‘straw’
CCCVVC	/ʃtru:f/	‘almost’
CCCVCC	/ʃtrɛntɛ/	‘strict’
V.CCV	/ˈɔ.vrɐ/	‘work’
VC.CV	/ˈɔl.mɐ/	‘soul’
V.CVC	/i.ˈral/	‘threshing floor’
CV.CCVC	/sa.ˈblun/	‘sand’
CV.CVVC	/fɛˈliɛn/	‘spider’
CV.CV.CCV.CV	/fi.li.ˈʃtɔ.kɐ/	
CVC.CV.CV.CV.CVVC	/kɔn.fɛ.dɛ.ra.ˈtʃjun/	‘confederation’
CVC.CV.CV.CVV.CVC	/ma.lɛ.dʒ.iˈdaj.vɛl/	‘ungainly’

2 Phonology

Table 2.7: Correspondences between spelling and IPA I

grapheme	IPA
a	ə, e, a
á	a
b	b
c	k before a, ó, ò, ù, u ts before é, è, i
ch	k before é, è, i
d	d
dş	ɟʒ
é	e
è	ɛ
f	f
g	g before a, ó, ò, ù, u ɟʒ before é, è, i
gh	g before é, è, i
gj	ɟʒ 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	ɲ
h	x, h
i	i
j	j
l	l
ł	ɫ
m	m
n	n
ó	o
ò	ɔ
p	p
qu	kw
r	r, ʀ
ř	ʀ
s	s word initially, word finally, and preceding <l, n, z> z between two vowels ʃ before <c, f, m, n, p, qu, r, t>
ss	s between two vowels

Table 2.8: Correspondences between spelling and IPA II

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

The problems that Standard Sursilvan spelling does not solve are

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

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

Stress rules are as follows:

- Diphthongs are always stressed (*autar* /'awtər/ 'other').
- Words without a diphthong which end in a vowel or <-n> or <-s> are stressed on the penultimate syllable (*tata* /'tatə/ 'grandmother', *anzjaman* /ən'tsjamən/ 'together', *casas* /'kazəs/ 'houses').

2 Phonology

- Words without a diphthong ending in a consonant, except for words ending in <n> or <s>, are stressed on the last syllable (*racrut* /rak'rut/ 'recruit').
- Mid and close-mid vowels (<é, è, ó, ò>) are stressed except if they occur in a word containing a diphthong.
- Words ending in a vowel or <n> or <s> which are stressed on a syllable other than the penultimate get an acute accent. This concerns the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. In other words, *á*, *í*, and *ú* are always stressed (*cantá* /kən'ta:/ 'sing', *barcún* /ber'kun/ 'shutter', *barbís* /ber'bi:s/ 'moustache', *fugí* /fu'dzi:/ 'flee').
- Words with two diphthongs, with two vowels with diacritics, or with a diphthong and a vowel with a diacritic, get an underscore under the stressed vowel or diphthong (*èxtrèm* /eks'trɛ:m/ 'extreme', *gròndèzja* /grɔn'dɛzjɐ/ 'size').
- Other cases of stressed vowels which are not covered by the preceding rules also get an underscore, as for example *mèndar* /'mɛndɐ/ 'worse', *anavùs* /enə'vʊ:s/ 'back, backward', *antùrn* /en'tɔrn/ 'around'.

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

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

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

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

³Before *e* or *i*.

In the texts (Chapter 8) and hence also in the examples taken from these texts, the final consonants are transcribed as they are pronounced. An example is the word for ‘ten’, which can be transcribed [dɛjʃ] or [dɛjʒ] according to the context in which it occurs.

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

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

3 Noun phrase

3.1 The noun

3.1.1 Gender

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

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

Table 3.1: Natural gender distinctions

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

Some animals take *taur* ‘bull’ and *vaca* ‘cow’ to distinguish male from female, as e.g. *in taur tscharva* ‘a stag’, *ina vaca tscharva* ‘a hind’, and still others use *bùc* ‘buck’ and *tgaurà* ‘goat’ for the same purpose: *in bùc tgamùs* ‘a chamois buck’, *ina tgaurà tgamùs* ‘a female chamois’, or *in bùc cavréjgl* ‘a male roe deer’, *ina tgaurà cavréjgl* ‘a female roe deer’. Where there are no such nouns differentiating natural gender, *fèmma* ‘woman, female’ and *máscal* ‘male’ are used if necessary.

3.1.2 Number

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

- (1) [...] *nuş vèvan naginş raps sèzs.*
1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL self.M.PL

‘[...] we didn’t have any money of our own.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

In words ending in *<s>*, no *<-s>* is attached, as in *patarnòs*, which is either singular or plural according to context.

There are some irregular plurals which are listed in Table 3.2 – Table 3.6.

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

Masculine nouns with the diphthong /je/ or /ej/ in the stem change the diphthong to *<ò>* /ɔ/, whereby the nouns starting with palatal *<tg>* /tʃ/ 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 into a rising diphthong /ja/: *culiar* vs *culjars* ‘collar’, *falian* vs *faljans* ‘spider’, *fiar* vs *ffjars* ‘iron’, or *paliat* v. *paljats* ‘arrow’, *schiarl* vs *schjarls* ‘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 DRG (3: 595).

Table 3.2: Nouns: irregular plural I

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

Table 3.3: Nouns: irregular plural II

<i>-éjgls</i>	>	<i>-ùlts</i>	
<i>anşéjgl</i>		<i>anşùlts</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>iard</i>		<i>òrts</i>	‘garden’
<i>ias</i>		<i>òs</i>	‘bone’
<i>piartg</i>		<i>pòrs</i>	‘pig’
<i>riavan</i>		<i>rùvans</i>	‘slope’
<i>tgaubriacal</i>		<i>tgaubròcals</i>	‘somersault’

3 Noun phrase

Table 3.5: Nouns: irregular plural IV

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

Table 3.6: Nouns: irregular plural V

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

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

- (2) [...] *ju va² èra príu ansjaman als quéns da*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG also take.PTCP.UNM together DEF.M.PL bill.PL of
tschèls dus tgau-s-tégja.
 DEM.M.PL two head-PL-alpine_hut.F.SG

‘[...] I have also assembled the bills of the other two heads of the alpine huts.’ (Gadola 1935: 87)

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

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

3.1.3 Collective nouns

Some inanimate masculine nouns have a feminine singular counterpart which usually refers to collective or generic entities as well as to paired body terms, which cannot be pluralized or counted. Compare: *in tgèrn* ‘a/one horn’ vs *tshun còrns* ‘five horns’ vs *la còrna* ‘the horns’. The noun *pèra* ‘pair (collective)’ is only used with paired terms as *cazès* ‘shoes’; with other entities, *pèrs* ‘pairs’ is used, as examples (3) and (4) show.

- (3) *traja pèra cazès*
 three pair.COLL shoe.PL
 ‘three pairs of shoes’_m (m4)
- (4) *trajs pèrs majla*
 three pair.PL apple.COLL
 three pairs of apples’ (m4)

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

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

- (5) *Èl’ ò vulju vèndar majla [...].*
 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG want.PTCP.UNM sell.INF apple.COLL
 ‘She wanted to sell apples.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 26)
- (6) «*Ò la pajra è pajs?» La mùmà*
 have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pear.COLL also foot.M.PL DEF.F.SG mother
ò détg: «Na, la pajra ò bétga
 have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM no DEF.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG NEG
pajs.» A lu ò la féglja détg: «Scha
 foot.M.PL and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG daughter say.PTCP.UNM if
la pajra ò bétga pajs, va ju
 DEF.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG NEG foot.M.PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG
magljau in rusp.»
 eat.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG toad
 ‘«Do pears have feet?» The mother said: «No, pears do not have feet.»
 Then the daughter said: «If pears do not have feet, then I have eaten a
 toad.»’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 53)

3 Noun phrase

- (7) *A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a*
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG winter down_in PN and
trèvan sé lèna culs méls.
 pull.IMPF.3PL up wood.COLL with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL
 ‘And then during winter they used to go down to Cavorgia and transport
 wood with the mules up [to Surrein].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (8) *Al mècsgjar fimjanta cun ògna [...].*
 DEF.M.SG butcher smoke.PRS.3SG with alder.COLL
 ‘The butcher smokes with alder wood [...].’ (DRG 6: 697)

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

- (9) *Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al,*
 enough eh SUBORD come.INF here on DEM.UNM PN DEF.M.SG
al tat vèva aun fatg
 DEF.M.SG grandfather have.IMPF.3SG in_addition make.PTCP.UNM
ina satagljàda, ina ganùglja vèva ʔ
 INDEF.F.SG REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG knee have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
tagljau sé [...].
 cut.PTCP.UNM up
 ‘Enough, eh, in order to come back to Pardatsch, my grandfather, in
 addition, had had a cut, he cut his knee [...].’ (Sadrùn, m4, §8.3)

3.1.4 Bare noun phrases

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

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

- (11) [...] *ábar 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.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (12) *Ûsa vòm ju a tgèsa.*
 now go.PRS.1SG 1SG to house.F.SG

‘Now I am going home.’ (Sadrún, f3)

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

- (13) *Pi vajn nus méz şvagljarin [...].*
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm_clock.M.SG

‘Then we set the alarm clock [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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

- (14) *Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun.*
 but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG

‘But there were no discussions.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

3.1.5 Conjoining of nouns

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

- (15) [...] *al purtgè a ‘l tarségl vèvan dad*
 DEF.M.SG swineherd and DEF.M.SG assistant have.IMPF.3PL COMP
èssar ajn ... ajn tégja [...].
 COP.INF in in alpine_hut.F.SG

‘[...] the swineherd and the assistant had to stay in ... in the alpine hut [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

3 Noun phrase

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

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

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

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

3.2.1 Articles

3.2.1.1 Definite article

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

Table 3.7: Definite article

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

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

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

- (19) *A lu ajn ajn tgòmbra èri ina tga*
 and then in in room.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL one.F.SG REL
vèva survgnú agl avrél plaza.
 have.IMPF.3SG get.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG April job.F.SG
 ‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (20) *[...] qu’ è stau gl òn mili a a*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG be.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG year thousand and and
sjat tschian a tauns [...].
 seven hundred and so_many
 ‘[...] this was in 1700 and something [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (21) *A lu ò ‘l bab détg sé pŕ mè [...].*
 and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up to 1SG
 ‘And then my father said to me [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (22) *L’ autar dé va ju gju la*
 DEF.M.SG other.M.SG day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
lubiantscha dad í vidajn [...].
 permission COMP go.INF in
 ‘The day after I got the permission to go there [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

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

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

- (24) *A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga végnan ò da*
 and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of
scùla sadatan bétga gjù schi fétg cun in tég
 school.F.SG REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with INDEF.M.SG bit
plé végl.
 more old.M.PL
 ‘And nowadays the young people who come out of school do not want to
 have to do so much with those who are a bit older.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- *ajn* → *ájl/ál/ájgl/ágl, ájls/áls, ájla/ála, ájlas/álas*
- *cun* → *cul/cugl, culs, cula, culas*
- *par* → *pal/pagl, pals, pala, palas*
- *sé* → *sél/ségl, séls, séla, sélas*
- *spèr* → *spèl/spègl, spèla, spèls, spèlas*
- *şur* → *şul/şugl, şuls, şula, şulas*

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

3.2.1.2 Indefinite article

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

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

- (29) *In’ jèda³ vèv’ in pur in*
 INDEF.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG farmer INDEF.M.SG
stauschbèna.
 wheelbarrow
 ‘Once a farmer had a wheelbarrow.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 66)

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

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

3.2.1.3 Definite dative article

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

The dative article is a definite article; it distinguishes number but not gender. Its forms are *di* (sg) and *dis* (pl) or *li* and *lis* (31–37). Whereas *li*, *lis* were

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

- (31) *Quaj è curdau sé li gljut.*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.UNM up DEF.DAT.SG people.F
 ‘People noticed this.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 12)
- (32) *èssar sé dias di vischnaunca*
 COP.INF on back.M.SG DEF.DAT.SG municipality.F
 ‘to become a burden on the municipality’ (DRG 5: 365)
- (33) [...] *lu òn inş détq quaj li*
 then have.PRS.3SG.EUPH GNR tell.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DEF.DAT.SG
préjr [...].
 priest.M
 ‘[...] then they told this to the priest [...].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 143)
- (34) [...] *uòn dùn ju ajn mia dùna di gjadju.*
 this_year give.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.1SG.F.SG wife DEF.DAT.SG Jew.M
 ‘[...] this year I’ll give my wife to the Jew.’⁵ (Berther 1998: 69)
- (35) *Las gjufnas duèssan ins tana sén bratsch,*
 DEF.DAT.F.PL young.PL must.COND.3SG.EUPH GNR hold.INF on arm.M.SG
a lis végljas dá cun in scanatsch.
 and DEF.DAT.PL old.F.PL give.INF with INDEF.M.SG log
 ‘The young women we should hold on our arms, and the old ones we should beat with a log.’ (DRG 2: 480)
- (36) *Scha tùts ratunş èn intanzjònaj usché scù quèls*
 if all.M.PL rat.PL COP.PRS.3PL benevolent.M.PL so like DEM.M.PL
dus, lura vali bétga tiar èlş al pròvèrbi tga
 two.M then apply.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG by 3PL.M DEF.M.SG proverb REL
survèscha lis carstgauns par zanur [...].
 serve.PRS.3SG DEF.DAT.PL person.M.PL for dishonour
 ‘If all the rats were as benevolent as these two, the proverb which dishonours human beings would not apply to them [...].’ (“Il ratun tschiec” 1889: 199)

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.

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

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

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

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

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

- (39) *[...] tga nagín fravi ségl antir mún sapi fá sjantar li èl.*
 COMP NO.M.SG smith on.DEF.M.SG whole world can.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 do.INF after DAT.SG 3SG.M

'[...] that no smith in the whole world would be able to make [things] like him.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 146)

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

- (40) *[...] òi tucau d' ina mata [...].*
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL touch.PTCP.UNM DAT INDEF.F.SG girl

'[...] it was a girl's turn [...].' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 25)

- (41) *Bétga mataj sé scalíns da tgauras jastras.*
 NEG put.IMP.2PL up bell.M.PL DAT goat.F.PL somebody_else's.PL

'Don't put bells on somebody else's goats.' (Berther 1998: 118)

3 Noun phrase

- (42) [...] *èl daj dí da nagín carstgaun tg'*
 3SG.M should.PRS.SBJV.3SG say.INF DAT no.M.SG person COMP
èl vaji vju èlas cò [...].
 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F here
 '[...] he shouldn't tell anybody that he had seen them here [...]' (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 104)

- (43) *Parquaj ò 'la dau tissi da*
 therefore have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F give.PTCP.UNM poison.M.SG DAT
sju piartg [...].
 POSS.3SG.M.SG pig
 'Therefore she gave poison to her pig [...]' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 25)

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

- (44) *Di B.A.W a quaj vòì di cantún.*
 DEF.DAT.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.DAT.SG canton.M
 'To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (45) *A zacù ò da quaj ... şaj vagnú ... tgé ...*
 and somehow out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
quèls majnadistríct ... òn la còmpatènza da
 DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG competence COMP
... dí dis vaschnaucas ... tgé i òn da
 say.INF DEF.DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP
fá [...].
 do.INF
 'And somehow the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (46) *Ʒu sùn Ʒuş in tjamş a plaşchèva da*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG DAT
mé şchùbar nuét api vau détg
 1SG clean.ADJ.UNM nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM
di mùma in dé [...].
 DEF.DAT.SG mother.F INDEF.M.SG day
 'I went [to nursery school] for a certain time and I didn't like it at all and one day I said to my mother [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (47) *Quaj duvrava 'l par dá dis pòrs,*
 DEM.UNM use.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF DAT.PL pig.M.PL
trúfals ansjaman par dá áls⁶pòrs.
 potato.M.PL together SUBORD give.INF DAT.DEF.M.PL pig.PL
 ‘This he used to give the pigs, potatoes together [with nettles] to give the pigs.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (48) «*Ʒu a dau dis pòrs*»? *Da lèzas uras*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.PL pig.M.PL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL
mintga familja vèva in piartg, dus, trais, a
 every family.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG pig two three and
quaj mintgín savèva tgé ca què lèš
 DEM.UNM everybody know.IMPF.3SG what REL DEM.UNM want.COND.3SG
dí. Òz stuèssan nus mataj dí: «Ʒu a
 say.INF nowadays must.COND.1PL 1PL probably say.INF 1SG have.PRS.1SG
dau da magljè dis pòrs» né «Ʒu a
 give.PTCP.UNM SUBORD eat.INF DEF.DAT.PL pig.M.PL or 1SG have.PRS.1SG
parvasju méjs pòrs».
 feed.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.3PL.M pig.PL

‘«I have given to the pigs»? Formerly, every family had a pig, two, three, and everybody knew what it meant. Nowadays we probably might have to say: «I gave to eat to the pigs» or «I fed my pigs».’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

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

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

⁶Standard Sursilvan for *dals*.

3 Noun phrase

3.2.2 Demonstratives

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

In the demonstrative paradigms, there is one syncretism: the masculine singular determiner⁷ and the pronoun which is unmarked for gender have the same form: *quaj*, *gljèz*, and *tschaj*.⁸ This parallels the syncretism in the domain of the adjective: the masculine singular attributive adjective has the same form as the predicative adjective whose antecedent has no gender (see §3.3.1).

3.2.2.1 The *quèl*-series

The demonstratives of the *quèl*-series are the only ones which have a deictic function. However, they do not provide any information about whether the indicated objects are close further away from speaker or hearer. In order to distinguish proximal (close to speaker and hearer) from distal (further away from speaker and hearer), the adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’ are optionally used and are located at the end of the noun phrase.

Table 3.8: Demonstratives: the *quèl*-series

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

^aSee example (55).

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

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

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

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

- (49) [...] *vau* *príu* ***quaj*** *cùdisch cò da la*
 have.PRS.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.F.SG
mütòlògia [...].
 mythology
 ‘[...] I took this book of mythology [...].’⁹ (Sadrún, m4 ,§8.3)
- (50) *Quaj dajan* ***quèls*** *dus gjuvans lò fá* [...].
 DEM.UNM must.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL two.M young.PL there do.INF
 ‘This the two young [men] over there should do [...].’ (Gadola 1935: 88)

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

- (51) *A quaj èra* *mù in ganc tras.* *A*
 and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and
quaj gang udéva *dad òmaşdús.*
 DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL
 ‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (52) [...] *nuş vajn* *mùgnşch a fatg* *tùt quèlas*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL milk.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM all DEM.F.PL
lavurs.
 work.PL
 ‘[...] we milked and did all this work.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

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

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

⁹The speaker was pointing at the book.

3 Noun phrase

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

In §3.3.1 it will be shown that place names are treated as entities without gender since they trigger the use of the unmarked form of the adjective or the participle in predicative function (see examples 170 and 171 below). Therefore, in (55) I interpret *quaj* modifying the place name *Pardatsch* as unmarked for gender but not as masculine singular.

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

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

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

When *quaj* as the subject of the sentence refers cataphorically to nouns, the copula agrees with *quaj* and not with the predicative noun, which may be singular or plural, feminine or masculine (57–60).

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

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

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

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

3.2.2.2 The *lèz*-series

In contrast to the demonstratives of the *quèl*-series, the demonstratives of the *lèz*-series have exclusively anaphoric functions and cannot combine with the locative adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’. In the corpus there is only one example with a determiner of the *lèz*-series, (62).

Table 3.9: Demonstratives: the *lez*-series

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

- (62) [...] *scha nus mòndian a séşian spèr la*
 if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next_to DEF.F.SG
sòr’ Andréa, lèza savèva ròmòntsch. Scha nus
 sister.F.SG PN DEM.F.SG know.IMP.3SG Romansh.M.SG if 1PL

3 Noun phrase

séjšan sén lèza majša, ástgian nus
 sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL on DEM.F.SG table be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL
rašdá ramòntsch [...].
 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 [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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

In contrast, pronouns of the *lèz*-series are relatively frequent and occur with all syntactic functions. In (63), *lèz* functions as a subject, in (64) as a direct object, in (65) *lèzs* functions as an indirect object, in (66) and (67) *lèz* and *gljèz* occur in prepositional phrases.

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

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

(64) *[...] al zagnún a tauntaş a tauntas, a*
 DEF.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so_many.F.PL and so_many.F.PL and
té as da gidá lèz.
 2SG have.PRS.2SG COMP help.INF DEM.M.SG

‘[...] the dairyman has so and so many [cows], and you have to help him.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

(65) *A lur’ vèv’ inş da dá ... da magljè da lèzs [...].*
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR to give.INF to eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL

‘And then one had to feed ... feed them [the pigs] [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

‘[...] and then I bound one mule to the other, well, to [...] the bridle of this one, that is to say to the the packsaddle of that one as one says [...]’
 (Sadrún, m10, §8.7)

- (67) *Vuş Şep Flurín duvrajs nuéta salamantá parvia da*
 2SG.POL PN PN need.PRS.2SG.POL NEG REFL.complain.INF because of
gljèz [...].
 DEM.UNM

‘You, Sep Flurin, need not complain about that [...]’ (Gadola 1935: 91)

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

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

‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used; whether they would blow up I don’t know.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

‘«What did you dream of then?» «That I will tell you, of course.»’
 (Berther 1998: 85)

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

3 Noun phrase

- (70) *Quaj èra cèrts sèrvituts. Gljèz*
 DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG certain.M.PL constraint.PL DEM.UNM
sa ju maj tg' i ò dau històrias
 know.PRS.1SG 1SG never COMP EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM story.F.PL
parví da quaj.
 because of DEM.UNM
 ‘There were certain constraints. I don’t know at all whether there were problems because of that.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 379)

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

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

- (74) *Ju stòpi ir' a fá gjù cun quèls sé*
 1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF SUBORD make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
la tégja dal, da Majgals [...].
 DEF.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.M.SG of PN
 'I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine
 hut of the, of Maighels [...].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

3.2.2.3 The *quèst*-series

The *quest*-series is only used when modifying a temporal noun which includes the time of speech; it only functions as a determiner (75 and 76).

Table 3.10: Demonstratives: the *quest*-series

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

- (75) *Ûsa quèst' jamna vau fatg gròndas turas [...].*
 now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL
 'Now this week I did long tours [...].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (76) *Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma lu bigja ajn lò.*
 there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG then NEG in there.
 'Don't sleep up there this evening.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (77) *Api vau détg èlş vagjan*
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
fatg ina tura tschèl' jamna [...].
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week
 'And then I said [that] they had done a tour that week [...].' (Sadrún, f3,
 §8.1)

In the case of 'this year', it is usually rendered either by *uòn*, rarely by *quèst òn*, but *quaj òn* is used to refer to a year that does not include the speech time (78).

3 Noun phrase

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

3.2.2.4 The *tschèl*-series

The *tschèl*-series is usually used explicitly or implicitly in contrast to the *quèl*-series or to the numeral *in/ina* ‘one’ and is best translated by ‘the other’ or ‘that’ (79–82).^{10,11}

Table 3.11: Demonstratives: the *tschèl*-series

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

- (79) **Ina** fò ajn cuşchina a **tschèla** fò sé
 one.F.SG do.PRS.3SG in kitchen.F.SG and DEM.F.SG make.PRS.3SG up
 als létgs.
 DEF.M.PL bed.PL
 ‘One works in the kitchen and the other makes beds.’ (DRG 4: 598)

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

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

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

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

- (83) *Èr’ in bal, a quaj dèv’ ins cun*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG GNR with
in fist, a dèvan quaj ála landstròs,
 DEF.M.SG stick and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG main_road.F.SG
quaj mava fòrsa in autò gl antiar
 DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.M.SG car DEF.M.SG whole
sjantarmjadş-dé, áutar nuét.
 afternoon other.UNM nothing
 ‘[This] was a ball, and you played it with a stick, and we played this on the main road, at that time only one car would pass by during the whole afternoon, nothing else.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (84) *Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb, in*
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy INDEF.M.SG
frá è sadaşgrazjaus tgu
 brother be.PRS.3SG REFL.have_an_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG

3 Noun phrase

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

‘And I was, had ... a boy, a brother had an accident when I was eight months old, in the Val Milá, in the rocks, and in addition I had two sisters, hence I was the only boy.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (85) Ábar **tschaj** sùnd ju adina stada cò tiar purs.
 but DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG always COP.PTCP.F.SG here by farmer.M.PL
 ‘But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

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

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

‘He slept a lot and used to go [and sit] on the oven bench [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

3.2.3 Possessives

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

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

Table 3.12: Possessive determiners

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1SG	<i>mju</i> ^a	<i>méjš</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>miaş</i>
2SG	<i>tju</i>	<i>téjš</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>tiaş</i>
3SG	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjš</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>siaş</i>
1PL	<i>niaş</i>	<i>nòş</i>	<i>nòssa</i>	<i>nòssaş</i>
2PL	<i>viaş</i>	<i>vòş</i>	<i>vòssa</i>	<i>vòssaş</i>
3PL	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjš</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>siaş</i>

^aIn the corpus, there is one occurrence of the Standard Sursilvan form /*miw*/ (f3, §8.1.

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

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

- (89) *Lu sùnd ju sadacidjus da ... raşdá in*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG
pau şur da la ... da mi’ ufaunza [...].
 little over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 ‘Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

3 Noun phrase

- (90) *A... mi' ùm fagèva gè surveiládar [...].*
 and POSS.1SG.M.SG man do.IMP.3SG in_fact supervisor.M.SG
 'And ... in fact, my husband was a supervisor [...].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

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

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

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

Table 3.13: Possessive pronouns

	M.SG		M.PL		F.SG		F.PL	
	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.
1SG	<i>al mju</i>	<i>méjs</i>	<i>als méjs</i>	<i>méjs</i>	<i>la mia</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>las miaş</i>	<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 nòssaş</i>	<i>nòssaş</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 vòssaş</i>	<i>vòssaş</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' (94) instead of *séjs* 'theirs', using *séjs* only for singular ('his/hers').

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

3.2.4 Indefinites

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

- (95) *Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg'*
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...]
 week somebody to give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No, no, we would come back, and then every week there was somebody who would give us a meal [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)
- (96) *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé*
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
sé a gji, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgèva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (97) *La stat ... èra nagina scùla.*
 DEF.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.F.SG school
 ‘During summer ... there was no school at all.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)
- (98) *Partgé nuş vèvan nagíns talafòns, nagín rádjo, nuét.*
 because 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL phone.PL no.M.SG radio nothing
 ‘Because we had no phones, no radio, nothing.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (99) *Scadín cas va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj*
 every.M.SG case have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.M.SG head because
tga ju mava a spaz cò.
 SUBORD 1SG go.IMPF.1SG SUBORD walk.M.SG here
 ‘In any case I hit my head because I was going for a walk here.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

¹²Note that /j/ counts as vowel.

3 Noun phrase

- (100) *Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i*
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tùt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.IMP.F.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.F.SG munition REL EXPL
vèva, sigir.
 have.IMP.F.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 ‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.3)

- (101) *[...] api stèvan nuş vagní a tgèsa ad ... a*
 and must.IMP.F.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and SUBORD
múlgjar tùt las tgauras.
 milk.INF all DEF.F.PL goat.PL
 ‘[...] and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.’ (Surajn, f5,
 §8.10)

- (102) *A sjantar òi gju nùm ... i [...]*
 and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL
mídián ò tùt als muossavías.
 change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.M.PL signpost.PL
 ‘And after this, one had to ... [...] they would replace all the signposts.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

As mentioned above, *tùta* is used with bare nouns, is invariable, and is restricted to singular reference (103 and 104).

- (103) *Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la*
 in all case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG
mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mè ...
 mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMP.F.3SG also with 1SG
vèvan stju gidá nus [...].
 have.IMP.F.3PL must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL
 ‘Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me
 ... had had to help us [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.12)

- (104) *[...] api lu mavan ins tùta stat, lò*
 and then go.IMP.F.3SG.EUPH GNR whole summer.F.SG there
vèva da fá quaj.
 have.IMP.F.1SG to do.INF DEM.UNM
 ‘[...] and then we would go for the whole summer, there [I] had to do
 that.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

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

- (105) *Ad èla ò piau li èl tùts tiars [...].*
 and 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG pay.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M. all.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘And she paid him all the animals [...].’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 14)

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

- (106) *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun niaş*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
audi anzatgéj [...].
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something
 ‘And then the nun was out [on the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...].’
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (109) *Quaj ... ins stèva vagní ... mintgín sén*
 DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on
sju quántum [...].
 POSS.3SG.M.SG amount
 ‘This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (110) *Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.*
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG end no.M.PL
 ‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (111) *Ad uş è quaj nuét dal tût.*
 and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.M.SG all
 ‘And now there is nothing of all that [left].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (112) *Laş vaschnaucas lajn í tût ajn décadènza.*
 DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decline.F.SG
 ‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (113) *Tùts stuèvan spagnè.*
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF
 ‘Everyone had to save.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (114) *Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg’*
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...].
 week somebody to give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No no, we would then come back, and then every week there was somebody who would give us a meal [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

Adatgí as a dative indefinite pronoun is found in (115); note that nowadays this form is obsolete.

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

The combination of *anzatgé* ‘something’ with *in / ina* ‘indefinite article’ does not function as a quantifier, but has a comparative meaning, best translated by ‘a kind of’, as in (116).

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

3.2.5 Quantifiers

3.2.5.1 Numerals

Cardinal numerals are found in Table 3.14 and Table 3.15.

Table 3.14: Cardinal numerals (first part)

		0	<i>nula</i>		
1	<i>in</i> (m), <i>ina</i> (f)	11	<i>indişch</i>	21	<i>véngín</i>
2	<i>duş</i> (m), <i>duaş</i> (f)	12	<i>dùdişch</i>	22	<i>véngaduş</i>
3	<i>trajş</i>	13	<i>trèdişch</i>	28	<i>véngòtg</i>
4	<i>quátar</i>	14	<i>quitòrdişch</i>	30	<i>trènta</i>
5	<i>tschun</i>	15	<i>quindişch</i>	40	<i>curònta</i>
6	<i>siş</i>	16	<i>sédaşch/sédişch</i>	50	<i>tschuncònta</i>
7	<i>sjat</i>	17	<i>gisját</i>	60	<i>sissònta</i>
8	<i>òtg</i>	19	<i>şchòtg</i>	70	<i>sjatònta</i>
9	<i>nùv</i>	19	<i>şchèniv</i>	80	<i>òtgònta</i>
10	<i>déjşch</i>	20	<i>végn</i>	90	<i>navònta</i>

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

The numerals that follow *mili/méli* ‘thousand’ and *maljún* ‘million’ are also linked by *a* ‘and’: *méli ad òtgtschian òtgòntasjat* ‘1887’ (§8.3) or *dus maljúnş a trajatschian a végn* ‘2.320’.

3 Noun phrase

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 maljúnš</i>

- (117) *In ufaun è pauc, duš è drèt, trajš*
 one.M child COP.PRS.3SG little two.M COP.PRS.3SG all_right three
è strèt, quátar è fula, tschun
 COP.PRS.3SG narrow.ADJ.UNM four COP.PRS.3SG crowd.F.SG five
è paluna a šbaluna.
 COP.PRS.3SG pile.F.SG and collapse.PRS.3SG
 ‘One child is little, two are all right, three are narrow, four are a crowd,
 five are a lot that collapses.’ (DRG 6: 728)

- (118) [...] *quaj va¹³ sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a*
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three_hundred and
taunts mêtars šur mar.
 so_many.M.PL metre.PL above sea.F.SG
 ‘[...] this goes up to 2.300 metres or so above sea level.’ (Sadrún, f3,§8.1)

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

- (119) *Èl ò cumprau dua/traja pèra cazès.*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG PTCP.UNM two/three pair.COLL shoe.M.PL
 ‘He bought two / three pairs of shoes.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (120) *‘eləz ən traj ‘pèra ‘təmbəs [...].*
 3PL.F have.PRS.3PL three pair.COLL leg.PL
 ‘They [the ants] have three pairs of legs.’ (Gartner 1910: 28)

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

¹³ *va* is a Standard Sursilvan form; the Tuatschin form is *vò*.

- (121) *A quaj è ina rùsna, ò tgé pù*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG hole oh what can.PRS.3SG
qual' èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada [...].
 DEM.F.SG be.INF one.M.SG metre and half large.F.SG
 'And there is a cave, oh how big may it be ..., one and a half metres ...
 wide [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (122) *Quaj è in' ur' a mjasa par vièdi.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG hour and half.F.SG for trip.M.SG
 'It takes one and a half hours per trip.' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (123) *A sjantar ... òni ampustau tùt nùfs ... pr*
 and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for
l' antira val.
 DEF.F.SG whole valley
 'And then ... they ordered all new ones ... for the entire valley.' (Sadrún,
 f3, §8.1)
- (124) *[...] api ah sùnd jus cun dòmaşdús.*
 and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG
 '[...] and then eh I left with both [mules].' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

Ordinal numbers have special forms from 1–4; from 5 onwards they take the suffix *-ával* / *-avla*: *amprém*, *-a* 'first', *zacùn*, *-da* / *sacùn*, *-da* 'second' (125), *tiarz*, *tjarza* 'third', *quart*, *-a* 'fourth', *tschunával*, *tschunavla* 'fifth', *déjşchával*, *déjşchávla* 'tenth', *véntgaduşával*, *véntgaduşavla* 'twenty-second', and so on. 'Last' is rendered by *davùs*, *davùsa*.

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

3.2.5.2 Other quantifiers

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

3 Noun phrase

- (126) [...] *vignévan* *quels* *lu* *vi* *a* *dèvan* ... *matévan*
 come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG
ajnagjù ***ampau raps*** [...].
 into_and_down a_bit cent.M.PL

‘[...] they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents [...].’ (Ruèras, m2, §8.13)

- (127) *Quaj* *frust* *ò* *dau* *uòn* ***aungatáun***
 DEM.M.SG meadow have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM this_year as_much
fajn.
 hay

‘This year, this meadow has produced as much hay [as last year].’ (DRG 6: 546)

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

- (128) ***Anqual jèda*** ... *drùvi* *halt* ... *da* *dí*.
 some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF

‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (129) [...] *a* *lò* *vòu* *schòn ah* ... *gju* ***inqual***
 and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh have.PTCP.UNM some
tèma.
 fear.F.SG

‘[...] and there I was eh sometimes afraid.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (130) *Èla* *ò* *stu* *í* *a* *fá*
 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF SUBORD make.INF
cura ***mass’ òns*** .
 treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL

‘She had to go for many years to a health resort.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

- (131) [...] *qu’* *èra* ***massa gjuvantétgna*** *cò* *ála* *val*.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.F.SG valley

‘[...] there were a lot of young people here in the valley.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (132) *Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza*
 and EXPL still EXIST.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG
şè aun lò [...].
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL still there
 ‘And there were also, there still are some remnants there [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (133) *Lèdş vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG ATTR
úndşchar ajn [...].
 oil.INF in
 ‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

The determiner *bjè* is either invariable (134 and 135) or takes the plural forms *bjèras* (f) (136) or *bjèrs* (m).

- (134) *Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn*
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL much down_in PN here from DEM.M.SG big
uaul vagnéva bjè lèna.
 forest come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL
 ‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (135) *Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la sòra*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG nun from PN DEF.F.SG Sister
Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè òns
 PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many year.M.PL
scùlèta cò.
 nursery_school.F.SG here
 ‘That was a nun from Glion, Sister Paulina, she taught for many years at the nursery school here.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (136) *Bjèras fèmnas òn zambargjau.*
 many.F.PL woman.PL have.PRS.3PL do_crafting.PTCP.UNM
 ‘Many women did crafting.’ (Sadrún, m5)

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

3 Noun phrase

- (137) [...] *la banadicjún, lèza vèva plé bjè*
 DEF.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG much more
fòrza sélas stréjas.
 power.F.SG on.DEF.F.PL witch.PL
 ‘[...] the blessing had much more power over the witches.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (138) [...] *quaj duvrava la plé bjè lèna ...*
 DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more much firewood.COLL
quaj stèva buglí.
 DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG boil.INF
 ‘[...] that required the highest quantity of firewood ... this [= the whey] had to boil.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

- (139) [...] *ábar dals, méjs gjaniturs ... vajn nuş ússa*
 but DEF.DAT.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now
bégja détg Vus, ábar i éra bjèrs tga...
 NEG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL
òn détg tòcan, gè prácticsh adina Vus
 have.3PL say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL.POL
dals gjaniturs.
 DEF.DAT.M.PL parent.PL
 ‘[...] but to the, my parents we now never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (140) [...] *bjèras schavan lu è bétga vagní ajn [...].*
 many.F.PL let.IMPF.3PL then also NEG come.INF in
 ‘[...] many [young women] wouldn’t let [the young man] come in [...].’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.1)

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

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

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

3.2.5.3 The construction *tùt tga* and similar

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

In the oral corpus, only four examples have been found (147–150).

- (147) *A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn [...].*
 and sometimes REL can.IMP.F.3PL then NEG in
 ‘Now sometimes they couldn’t manage to come ... into [the *stiva* and sleep on hay] [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (148) *Quaj nagin tga [...] lèva bétga fà.*
 DEM.UNM nobody REL want.IMP.F.3SG NEG do.INF
 ‘Nobody [...] would refuse to do it.’ (Sadrún, m3, §8.16)
- (149) *[...] quaj tùt tga mungèva [...].*
 DEM.UNM all REL milk.IMP.F.3SG
 ‘[...] here everybody had to milk [...].’ (Sadrún, m3, §8.16)
- (150) *[...] quaj èra tùts tga vèvan da dad í sé*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG all.M.PL REL have.IMP.F.3PL to to go.INF up
sissúm, fà òrazjún da da la sèra.
 uppermost do.INF prayer.F.SG of of DEF.F.SG evening
 ‘[...] then all had to to go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening prayers.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

What is special about this construction is that the *tga*-phrase looks like a relative clause, but in fact this is not the case. In (147), *magari* ‘sometimes’ is not the antecedent of a relative clause, but is a time adverb that belongs to the main clause.

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

Table 3.16: Indefinites and others + *tga*

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

For example, it is not possible to say

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

- (153) *Gnang in tg' è vagnús tiar nus.*
 not_even one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to 1SG
 ‘Not a single person came to see us.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (154) *A quèla ffasta mintgín tg' è vagnús.*
 to DEM.F.SG party everyone REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘Everybody came to this party.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (155) *Avaun tshian òns pliravan nòs bunş*
 ago hundred year.M.PL complain.IMPF.3PL POSS.1PL.M.PL good.PL
végļš da pudaj fugí gl unviarn navèn da Sèlva
 old.PL COMP be_able.INF escape.INF DEF.M.SG winter from of PN
ad ùssa, tèt tga vut stá luòra¹⁴ [...].
 and now all REL want.PRS.3SG stay there_out
 ‘One hundred years ago our good old [people] used to complain because they wanted to escape from winter away from Selva, and now everybody wants to stay up there.’ (Berther 2007: 69)
- (156) *Ûş è tèt tga vò cun brajntas da*
 now COP.PRS.3SG all REL go.PRS.3SG with basket.F.PL of
stùrs.
 sheet_metal.M.SG
 ‘Now everybody goes with a basket made of sheet metal.’ (DRG 2: 491)

If *tèt* has a plural reference, the agreement is syntactic, which means that verbs, adjectives, and participles occur in their singular form, the latter two in their unmarked form as in (157).

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

¹⁴Performance error for *luajn*.

3.3 The adjective

3.3.1 Forms of the adjective

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

Except for three adjectives which will be treated below, adjectives display four forms, whereby a single form may fulfil different functions:

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

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

Table 3.17: Forms of the attributive and predicative adjectives

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

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

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

¹⁵See Spescha (1989: 276) for Standard Sursilvan.

3 Noun phrase

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

Adjectives may show stem alternations (Table 3.19) or not (Table 3.18). Stem alternations may concern vowels or consonants; a list of adjectives with stem alternations is given in Table 3.20.¹⁶

Table 3.18: Adjectives without stem alternations

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

Table 3.19: Adjectives with stem alternations

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

¹⁶Some adjectives with stem alternations which are listed in Spescha (1989: 282f.) are not used in Tuatschin. These are *detschiert*, *detscharta* ‘resolute’, *tanien*, *tanienta* ‘such’; for *stiert*, *storta* and *uiersch*, *uiarscha*, both ‘crooked’, the adjective *crùtsch*, *-a* is used; however, *ina stòrta* ‘a bend’ exists. As for *ierfan*, *orfna* ‘orphan’, only the masculine form *iarfan* is used as a noun for both genders. Furthermore, *tiest*, *tosta* ‘dried’ is only used in *majla tòsta* ‘dried apples’ or *pèra tòsta* ‘dried pears’.

Table 3.20: List of adjectives with stem alternations

<i>agjan, agjanş, atgna, atgnaş</i>	‘own’
<i>bi, bjalaş, bjala, bjalaş</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>bian, bunş, buna, bunaş</i>	‘good’
<i>caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga, cavòrtgaş</i>	‘hollow’
<i>griaş, gròş, gròssa, gròssaş</i>	‘big’
<i>iastar, jastarş, jastra, jastraş</i>	‘foreign’
<i>matgiart, macòrts, macòrta, macòrtaş</i>	‘ugly’
<i>miadş, mjasa</i>	‘half’
<i>miart, mòrts, mòrta, mòrtaş</i>	‘dead’
<i>néjv, nùfs, nòva, nòvaş</i>	‘new’
<i>niabal, nòbels, nòbla, nòblaş</i>	‘noble’
<i>pin, pinş, pintga, pintgaş</i>	‘small, little’
<i>schliat, schljats, schljata, schljataş</i>	‘bad’
<i>sògn, sògnş, sòntga, sòntgaş</i>	‘holy’
<i>stupèn, stupènts, stupènta, stupèntaş</i>	‘excellent’
<i>tgétschan, còtschanş, còtschna, còtschnaş</i>	‘red’
<i>tiarz, tjarzs, tjarza, tjarzaş</i>	‘third’
<i>tschiac, tschècs, tschèca, tschècaş</i>	‘blind’
<i>ziap, zòps, zòpa, zòpaş</i>	‘limp’

The adjectives ending in *-al* lose their reduced vowel in the feminine form, as in *pussajval* (M) vs *pussajvla* (F) ‘possible’, or *şgarşhajval* (M) vs *şgarşhajvla* (F) ‘terrible’.

The predicative forms of the adjective do not only occur with copulative verbs, but also if the adjective refers to a physical or mental state of the noun it refers to, as in examples (158–163).

- (158) [...] *lu* *ò* *las* *anflau* *èl* *mòrts*
 then have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F find.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M dead.M.SG
spèl *badugn gjù.*
 next.DEF.M.SG. birch down

‘[...] then they found him dead next to the birch.’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 82)

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (166) [...] *quaj* èra *bigja grat schi sémpal*.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly so easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this was not exactly that simple.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (167) *Nürsaş* è *şgarşchajval*.
 sheep.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG horrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Sheep are horrible.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (168) *Vacanzas* è *bi*.
 holiday.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Holidays are nice.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (169) *Viagè* è *bi*.
 travel.INF COP.PRS.3SG beautiful.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Travelling is great.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (170) *Gljòn* è *pin*.
 PN COP.PRS.3SG small.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Glion is small.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (171) *Ah... Nalbş* è *vagnú* *fraquantau* ò scù
 eh PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.UNM visit.PTCP.M.UNM out as
ah majşès *ad alps* *adina* [...].
 eh assembly_of_house.M.SG and alpine_pasture.F.PL always
 ‘Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

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

3 Noun phrase

pér gjù sur Sèlva.

only down above PN

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

3.3.2 Degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs

In this section, the degrees of comparison (Table 3.21) of adverbs will be included for convenience.

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

Table 3.21: Degrees of comparison

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

^aRarely *tgé*.

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

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

‘[...] what one often sees are older people, one can see a lot of retired people on the slopes [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (174) [...] *ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada*
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG
in téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu èra.
 INDEF.M.SG bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG COP.IMPF.1SG

‘[...] [she] kept going to school ... was a little bit cleverer than I was.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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

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

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

- (178) A suéntar sè l staus mégljars [...].
 and after be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M COP.PTCP.UNM better.M.SG
 'And after [that] he behaved better [towards the animals] [...].'
 (Tschemùt, Büchli 1966: 20)

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (180) *Álşò i èran... grad, grat, al gròn èra*
 well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG
racrut, a tschèłş duş ajn amprèndissadi.
 recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.PL in apprenticeship.M.SG
 ‘Well, they were ... just, the oldest was a recruit, and the other two
 [were] in an apprenticeship.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (181) *[...] al gjuvan ajn stgafa da l’ ura, quèl ò*
 DEF.M.SG young in box of DEF.F.SG clock DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG
èl bétg anflau.
 3SG.M NEG find.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] the youngest [goat] in the clock box, this one he didn’t find.’
 (Gartner 1910: 61)
- (182) *[...] mia féglja pintg’ è plétost [...] pintga.*
 POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young COP.PRS.3SG rather small.F.SG
 ‘[...] my youngest daughter is rather [...] short.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

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

- (183) *Quaj èra stau zatgé nùndétg, 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.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (184) *A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus*
 and DEF.F.PL NUN.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL
vagjan adina u-léjgar [...].
 have.PRS.SBJV.1PL always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM
 ‘And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun [...]’
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

Another way of forming the elative is using a noun that is mostly derived from an adjective, with different suffixes: *bials* / *biala* ‘beautiful’ → *balèzja* ‘beauty’ (185), *buns* / *buna* ‘good’ → *buantád* ‘good quality’ (186), *pasar* ‘weigh’ → *pasanca* ‘heavy load’ (187 and 188), *paupers* / *paupra* ‘poor’ → *pupira* ‘poverty’ (189), *tups* / *tupa* ‘stupid’ → *tupira* ‘stupidity’ (190), or *scarts* / *scarta* ‘scarce’ → *scartèzja* ‘scarcity’ (191). These elatives are used attributively and predicatively.

- (185) [...] *i èra fétg tgaud a la mar*
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and DEF.F.SG sea
èra balèzja gjù Sardégna.
 COP.IMPF.3SG beauty.F.SG.ELAT down PN
 ‘[...] it was very warm and the sea was beautiful in Sardinia.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)
- (186) *Quaj è buantád vaca da latg.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG good_quality.F.SG.ELAT cow.F.SG of milk.M.SG
 ‘This is an excellent milk cow.’ (DRG 2: 639)
- (187) *A quaj èra pasanca, api vau*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG heavy_load.F.SG.ELAT and have.PRS.1SG
tartgau basta.
 think.PTCP.UNM enough
 ‘And this was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (188) *Quèla vèva còrna usché davùsòra, pasanca*
 DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG horn.COLL so back_out heavy_load.F.SG.ELAT
tiar [...].
 animal.M.SG
 ‘This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal
 [...].’ (Ruèras, m4, §8.16)
- (189) *Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan*
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG.ELAT DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL
è starmantús [...].
 also terrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...].’
 (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (190) *Quaj füs 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
tudèstg.
 German.M.SG
 ‘It would have been very stupid for me if I’d had to speak ... German in
 the room with the other Romansh room-mates.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

3 Noun phrase

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

3.3.3 Intensifiers of the adjective

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

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

- (196) [...] *a qu' èra stau par èla mèmja*
 and DEM.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for 3SG.F too
hèfti.
 violent.UNM
 '[...] and this had been too violent for her.' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (197) *A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònda plata [...].*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG really INDEF.F.SG very big slab
 'And this really is a ... very big slab [...].' (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)
- (198) *A prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in cuntí*
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.M.SG backpack INDEF.M.SG knife
réjsch néjv da moni mèlan ... èxàct al
 brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG
madèm.
 same
 'And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the
 backpack ... exactly the same.' (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)
- In the corpus, *réjsch* only modifies *néjv* 'new' (198), but Decurtins (2012: 931) cites further *resch tgietschen* 'flame red' and *resch bletsch* 'soaking wet' for Standard Sursilvan.
- (199) *Èl vèva schi gròn plaşhaj, quèl bunamajn*
 3SG.M have.IMP.F.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost
mava ajn cul tgau ajl rádjà.
 go.IMP.F.3SG into with.DEF.M.SG head in.DEF.M.SG radio
 'He had such a great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with
 his head.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.13)
- (200) *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...*
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
gròn né- vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMP.F.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG
téc dòmiant.
 bit dominant.ADJ.UNM
 'And precisely at that moment a big swan... was coming to the place
 where I was, a bit of a dominant one.' (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

3 Noun phrase

- (201) [...] *ju sa aun bégn tg' èl' èra vagnida*
1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG
tùt còtschna [...].
completely red.F.SG

‘[...] I still remember very well that she had turned completely red [...].’
(Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (202) *Qu' è stau in tjams ualti dir par*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time quite hard for
èls.
3PL.M

‘This was a very hard time for my them.’ (Sadrún, f1)

3.3.4 Infinitival clauses modifying an adjective

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

- (203) [...] *gljèz èra lu bitg in, ah, schi*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG INDEF.M.SG eh so
sémpal da dumagnè tiar in miadi.
simple.ADJ.UNM MOD cope_with.INF at INDEF.M.SG doctor
[...] this was not eh easy to deal with at the doctor's.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (204) *I è gréjv da di scha quaj*
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM MOD say.INF COMPL DEM.UNM
è bian.
COP.PRS.3SG good.UNM

‘It is difficult to say whether this is good.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (205) [...] *qu' èra è intarassant da mirá c'*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF when
i luvravan, c' i bagagjavan gjù.
3PL work.IMPF.3PL when 3PL build.IMPF.3SG down
[...] it was also interesting to watch [them] when they were working,
when they would dismantle [something].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

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

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

3.3.5 Adjectives in adverbial function

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (211) [...] *álşò* *òr dal* *grép òni*
 this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
fatg *ina* *pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò* *ira*
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF
ah a paj *flòt.*
 eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through
 which one could easily go eh on foot.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

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

3.3.6 Position of the attributive adjective

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

1. If the adjective functions as the head of an adjective phrase, it usually occurs after the noun.
2. But if the adjective is modified by a degree word such as *ualti* ‘quite’, it may precede the noun.
3. If the noun is followed by a complement, the adjective may precede the head noun. It follows it only if there is no doubt about which noun it modifies.
4. Monosyllabic adjectives usually precede the noun.
5. (Inversely, polysyllabic adjectives tend to follow the noun.
6. Monosyllabic adjectives follow the noun if the noun also consists of only one syllable.

7. If the adjective has a descriptive function, it precedes the noun and is not stressed.
8. If the adjective has a distinctive function, it follows the noun and is stressed.
9. Some adjectives have different meanings according to their position, as *criu* ‘raw’ in *ina criua sort* ‘a cruel destiny’ vs *şchambun criu* ‘raw ham’.

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

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

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

- (213) [...] *qu’ è lu stau in tjams ualti*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time quite
dir par èls.
 hard for 3PL.M
 ‘[...] this was then a very hard time for them.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

- (214) *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in pènşum*
 but DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework
mèmi gròn [...].
 too big
 ‘But they would give us too much homework [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

Examples (215) and (216) illustrate rule (4) (monosyllabic adjectives precede the noun). It must, however, be emphasized that the feminine counterparts of masculine monosyllabic adjectives are polysyllabic and that the rule applies to them as well (217).

- (215) *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.M.SG dear.M.SG.UNM child
 ‘This is quite expensive, but this is a dear child.’ (Sadrún, m5)

3 Noun phrase

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

sixty-nine year.M.PL

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

- (217) *[...] qu’ èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL

‘[...] this had been hard work [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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

- (218) *Èla è curdada gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna*
 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.F.SG down_into in INDEF.F.SG hole
nùndétga.

awful

‘She fell in an awful hole.’ (Sadrún, f1)

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

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

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

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

Example (220) illustrates rule (8) (post-nominal position because it has a distinctive function). As a matter of fact, the big animals are opposed to the goats, pigs, and hens which are small animals.

- (220) *[...] tgéj pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindisç armaulş*
 what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL
gronş api lu aun ... tgauras sòu tga
 big.PL and then besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP

vèvan a ... pòrş 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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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’ (221 and 222).

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

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

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

(223) *A vuş vajs anflau ò ampau nùfs plajds?*
 and 2PL have.PRS.2PL find.PTCP.UNM out a_little new.M.PL word.PL
 ‘And did you find out some new words?’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

(225) *[...] quaj òn vèvan nuş da fá sé ... ina ...*
 DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to make.INF up DEF.F.SG
fòrmazjun nòva ad ad instrumajnts nùfs.
 lineup new.F.SG and and instrument.M.PL new.PL
 ‘[...] that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new instruments.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

3 Noun phrase

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

3.3.7 Absence of agreement

If the predicative adjective or past participle is left-dislocated in order to topicalise it (226), or if the adjective or the participle forms a semantic unit with the verb as in e.g. *schá líbar* ‘let free’ or *vay mal* ‘have pain’ (227–233), it does not agree with the noun it modifies and the unmarked form of the adjective is used.

- (226) [...] *parquáj* *šè* *impurtònt* *lura la* *gramática*
therefore COP.PRS.3SG important.ADJ.UNM then DEF.F.SG grammar
tga té fas [...].
REL 2SG make.PRS.2SG
‘[...] therefore the grammar you write is important [...].’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (227) *Ju a schau aviart agl ésch.*
1SG have.PRS.1SG leave.PTCP.UNM open.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG door
‘I left the door open.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (228) [...] *al pur ò* [...] *schau líbar*
DEF.M.SG farmer have.PRS.3SG let.PTCP.UNM free.ADJ.UNM
l’ uélp.
DEF.F.SG fox
‘The farmer set [...] the fox free.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 64)

- (229) *schè lartg las vacas*
let.INF free.ADJ.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL
‘set the cows free’ (DRG 10: 462)

- (230) [...] *quèla èra gjalada* [...] *tg’ èra*
DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.3SG.F SUBORD COP.IMPF.3SG
nunpussajval li èl da fá líbar èla [...].
impossible.ADJ.UNM DAT 3SG.M COMP make.INF free.ADJ.UNM 3SG.F
‘[...] that [block] was frozen [...] so it was impossible for him to get it free [...].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 105)

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

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

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

3.3.8 Conjoining of adjectives

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

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

This is due to the fact that (236) is not a case of two conjoined adjectives, but here *grias* modifies *ùm pin*.

3.4 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases modifying a noun

Modifying nouns (237) or noun phrases as well as prepositional phrases (238–241) follow the modified noun. Prepositions may also introduce infinitive clauses which modify a nouns (242–244).

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

- (238) *Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun amiaz*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG such INDEF.F.SG station amid
al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
DEF.M.SG pass around or almost up_most DEF.M.SG pass
'This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass,
approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

- (240) *A nuş duş èra cun la tgapjala cun sé ina bjala*
and 1PL two.M also with DEF.F.SG hat with on INDEF.F.SG beautiful
flur [...].
flower
'And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them
[...].' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

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

3.5 Infinitive clauses modifying a noun

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

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

3.6 Personal pronouns

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

Table 3.22: Personal pronouns

	subject	direct object	indirect object	after preposition
1SG	<i>ju</i>	<i>mè</i>	<i>da mé</i>	<i>cun mè</i>
2SG	<i>té</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>da té</i>	<i>cun té</i>
3SG.M	<i>èl</i>	<i>èl</i>	<i>dad èl</i>	<i>cun èl</i>
3SG.F	<i>èla</i>	<i>èla</i>	<i>dad èla</i>	<i>cun èla</i>
1PL	<i>nuş</i>	<i>nuş</i>	<i>da nuş</i>	<i>cun nuş</i>
2PL	<i>vuş</i>	<i>vuş</i>	<i>da vuş</i>	<i>cun vuş</i>
3PL.M	<i>èlş</i>	<i>èlş</i>	<i>dad èlş</i>	<i>cun èlş</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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

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

‘This book has been written by me.’ (Sadrún, m9)

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

In the second person singular there is no difference between direct and indirect object. As a consultant puts it (247):

- (247) *Nuș șhajn adina té. Tè è da bajbar.*
 1PL say.PRS.1PL always 2SG tea.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG SUBORD drink.INF

‘We always say *té* (‘you’). *Tè* (‘tea’) is for drinking.’ (Surajin, f5)

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

- (248) *Fòrza prènd’ al anzatgéj [...]*.
 maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something

‘Maybe he would take something [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

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

- (249) *Cu ju sùn vagnús, èra la schòn lò.*
 when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG COP.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.F already there

‘When I arrived, she was already there.’ (Sadrún, f3)

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

The polite pronoun is *Vus*, which triggers the second person plural form in the verb. There is, however, one exception: past participles. Whereas for masculine singular (and plural) referents, the plural form is used (251), for feminine singular referents, it is the singular form that is used (252); the plural only refers to plural referents (253).

- (251) *Nua èssaş Vos staj?*
 where be.PRS.2PL.POL/PRS.2SG.POL 2PL/2SG.POL COP.PTCP.M.PL
 ‘Where have you (M. SG and PL) been?’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (252) *Nua èssaş Vos stada?*
 where be.PRS.2SG.POL 2SG.POL COP.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘Where have you (F.SG) been?’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (253) *Nua èssaş Vos stadas?*
 where be.PRS.2PL 2PL.POL COP.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘Where have you (F.PL) been?’ (Sadrún, m5)

In the first part of the 20th century, a polite pronoun *Èls* was used (254), which corresponds to the third person plural masculine form. According to some consultants, this form was exclusively used with priests, and according to some others also with teachers and doctors. The verb agrees in number with *Èls*.

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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

The subject personal pronouns may be modified by the locative adverb *cò* ‘here’ (256).

- (256) *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,*
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMP.F.1PL always during break.F.SG
mavanş ajn şala da magljè [...].
 go.IMP.F.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF
 ‘And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [it] during the
 break, we would go into the dining hall [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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

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

- (258) [...] *tgé pudévan èlş vaj, déjsch quindisç armaulş*
 what can.IMP.F.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.IMP.F.3PL
a ... pòrş a gaglinaş [...].
 and pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL
 ‘[...] what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also
 goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

(260) *A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits*
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaved.M.PL
l' jamna ... tg' al bap dètschi in
 DEF.F.SG week COMP DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG
frang a miaz.
 franc and half.M.SG

'And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

(261) *[...] da quèla òns naturálmajn ... quasi*
 of DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost
stavju ... vagní cun ina détga.
 must.PTCP.UNM come.INF with INDEF.F.SG legend

'[...] of this slab, one of course had ... to ... come up with a legend.'
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.4)

Besides the pronouns presented in Table 3.22, there are two further personal pronouns: *i* and *aj*, which do not distinguish gender and which are synonyms of *èls* or *èlas*. These two pronouns also function as expletive pronouns (see §3.6.2). Two cases must be distinguished:

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

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

(262) *[...] nòs tiars. I mavan adina gjù ancùntar*
 POSS.1PL.M.PL animal.PL 3PL.SBJ GO.IMPF.3PL always down towards
las plauncas da l' Òndadusa [...].
 DEF.F.PL slope.PL of DEF.F.SG PN

'[...] our animals. They would always go down towards the slopes of the Ondadusa.' (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 67)

3 Noun phrase

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

¹⁷ Schwung is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

- (269) *Las nòtízas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,*
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
als duş baps prandèvan aj [...].
 DEF.M.PL two.M. father.PL take.IMP.3PL 3PL

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

- (270) *Álşò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf*
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCM.UNM 3.UNM aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 [...].

‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

3.6.1 Dative pronouns

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

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

‘But these [girls] forbade me to say who they were [...].’ (Surajñ, Büchli 1966: 128f.)

- (272) *Da té dèş ins rúmpar ajn la cavaza.*
 DAT 2SG must.COND.3SG GNR break.INF in DEF.F.SG skull

‘One should break your head.’ (DRG 3: 499)

- (273) *Ju angrázja parsjantar a dùn da Vuş al*
 1SG thank.PRS.1SG therefore and give.PRS.1SG DAT 2SG.POL DEF.M.SG
cuntí par in survètsch bégn fatg.
 knife for INDEF.M.SG service well do.PTCP.UNM

‘I thank [you] for it and give you the knife for a favour well done.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 65)

3 Noun phrase

- (274) *Ad èl ò ancùnuschju sju cuntí a*
 and 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM POSS.3SG.M.SG knife and
détg quaj li èla.
 say.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DAT 3SG.F
 ‘And he recognized his knife and told her that.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 14)

- (275) *Ad èla ò piau li èl tùts tiars*
 and 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG pay.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M all.M.PL animal.PL
par angrazjè li èl.
 SUBORD thank.INF DAT 3SG.M
 ‘And she paid him all the animals in order to thank him.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 14)

- (276) *La sèra ò in pur dau*
 DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG farmer give.PTCP.UNM
šuttètg li èlas [...].
 accommodation.M.SG DAT 3PL.F
 ‘In the evening a farmer offered them accommodation [...].’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 53)

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

With third persons there are some examples of the Standard Sursilvan dative marker *a/ad* in Büchli (1966) (277), and in Gartner (1910), only *a/ad* occurs (278 and 279).

- (277) *[...] a lu šaj vagnú andamajn ad èl*
 and then COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in_mind DAT 3SG.M
quèla Nössadùna sél’ alp [...].
 DEM.F.SG Virgin on.DEF.F.SG alp
 ‘[...] and then that holy Virgin on the alp came into his mind.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)

- (278) *le’dži kwel a daj ‘glajti vne’vöz el ed el*
 read.IMP.2PL DEM.M.SG and give.IMP.2PL soon back 3SG.M DAT 3SG.M
 ‘Read it and give it back to him soon.’ (Gartner 1910: 33)

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

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

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

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

- (281) *[...], api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl [...].*
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M
 ‘[...] and then I phoned him once [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (282) *Cool, ju mòn grad a raquénta dad èlas.*
 cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG right_away and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F
 ‘Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

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

- (283) *[...] lu ò l détg li tschèls: [...].*
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM DAT DEM.M.PL
 ‘[...] then he said to the others: [...].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 104)

3.6.2 Expletive pronoun

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (285) *Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i*
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tùt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.F.SG munition REL EXPL
vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 ‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (286) *[...] i végn unviarn a végn frajt.*
 EXPL come.PRS.3SG winter.M.SG and come.PRS.3SG cold.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Winter is coming and it is getting cold.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (287) *I brišcha la cassèta, i végn tga sufla.*
 EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG REL blow.PRS.3SG
 ‘[The soot in] the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’ (DRG 2: 215)
- (288) *[...] sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina*
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG
samagljànta caplùta [...].
 similar chapel
 ‘[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)
- With subject inversion, the expletive pronoun is sometimes realised as *aj* (289). In combination with the third person singular present of the verb *èssar* ‘be’ the combination is realised as *šaj* (290), *šè* (291), or less frequently, *ásaj* (292).
- (289) *[...] plé baut èr' aj al fagljét tgi*
 more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.M.SG SON.M.SG.DIM REL
fjèv' al pur.
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG farmer
 ‘[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’
 (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (290) *Api šaj stau finju par mè.*
 and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG
 ‘And that was it.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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

‘Ah ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures, there were furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (292) *Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga vòn a*
 and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3PL to
scùla.
 school.F.SG

‘And today there aren’t [even] three that attend school.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

3.6.3 Intensive personal pronouns

The personal pronouns may be modified by the intensive pronouns *mèz* ‘myself’, etc. The paradigm is as follows: *mèz*, *-a*, *tèz*, *-a*, *sèz*, *-a*, *nus sèzs*, *-as*, *vus sèzs*, *-as*, *sèzs*, *-as*; however, there is a general tendency in Sursilvan varieties to use *sèz* for all persons, a development which parallels the case of reflexive *sa-* which is used for all persons in all tenses and moods (see §4.1 and §5.5.1). In the corpus, there are only examples for *mèz* ‘myself’ and *sèz* ‘herself, himself’. These may be used attributively (293) or predicatively (294).

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

mèza.

self.1SG.F

‘And then I thought: «In this case, you simply do it yourself.» and I put in something like fifteen posts myself.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

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

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

- (296) [...] *a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar*
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

‘[...] an§8.1)

3.7 Relative clauses

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

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

- (297) *Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév’ ina butèglja*
DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMPF.3SG get.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG bottle
vin.
wine.M.SG

‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’ (m2, §8.13)

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

- (298) *Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg*
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
als davùs òns.
 DEF.M.PL last.PL year.PL
 ‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.’ (direct object) (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (299) *Quaj ò antschiat da quaj mùmén tga*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG begin.PTCP.UNM from DEM.M.SG moment REL
l vèva gju pròblems.
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.NONM problem.M.PL
 ‘This began from the moment when he had problems.’ (temporal adjunct) (Sadrún, m9)

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

- (300) [...] *cv’xé:dv tɕ’ ins lə’vaje nwet vlz djants dv*
 clotted.milk REL GNR damage.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.M.PL tooth.PL COMP
rɔj.
 gnaw.INF
 ‘[...] clotted milk with which you do not damage your teeth when you gnaw at it.’ (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 8f.)
- (301) [...] *grat cò nùca quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.*
 just there by DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] just by that cave I have mentioned.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (302) [...] *quaj è fòrza schòn stau in təc*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
al ... mòtif tgu a antschiat dad í
 DEF.M.SG reason REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF
par crapa.
 for stone.COLL
 ‘[...] maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

3 Noun phrase

- (303) [...] *i èra da quèls tg' èran angrazjajvals,*
 EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMP.F.3PL grateful.M.PL
èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj fà avùnda.
 also of DEM.M.PL REL GNR can.IMP.F.3SG never do.INF enough
 '[...] there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never
 could do enough.' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (304) *A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò*
 and then have.IMP.F.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
dal mir, àlsò òr dal grép
 of.DEF.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock
òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR
sò ira ah a paj flòt.
 can.PRS.3SG go.INF ah on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 'And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock
 they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.'
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

- (305) [...] *tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva al*
 who REL PASS.IMP.F.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG
vèndardis sèra ... stá lò [...].
 Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF there
 '[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday
 evening [...].' (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (306) *Tgi c' è da stròm daj*
 who REL COP.PRS.3SG of straw must.PRS.3SG
sapartgirá dal fjuc.
 REFL.be_on_one's_guard.INF of.DEF.M.SG fire
 'A person who is made of straw should be on their guard against fire.'
 (DRG 6: 449)

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

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

- (308) [...] *ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun mè, tga*
 but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with 1SG REL
vajan ... fùnc a sápián [...] dí cu
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL say.INF when
nus vajan da ... ir davùs in cuélm.
 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL COMP go.INF behind INDEF.M.SG mountain
 ‘[...] but I needed to take with me some soldiers that had radio and
 would say [...] when we should ... go behind a mountain [to protect
 ourselves].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

- (309) [...] *in pástar gròn, quèl vasèva adina la*
 INDEF.M.SG herdsman big DEM.M.SG see.IMP.F.3SG always DEF.F.SG
damaun da bjalaura ina nibla najra tgé
 morning of nice_weather.F.SG INDEF.F.SG cloud black REL
satschantava séla Sjara da Curnèra [...].
 REFL.sit.IMP.F.3SG ON.DEF.F.SG PN
 ‘[...] a main herdsman, in the morning in nice weather, he always saw a
 black cloud that laid on the Siara da Curnera [...].’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966:
 62)
- (310) *L’ ò ina véglja davùs péгна tgi tgaja*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG old behind oven.F.SG REL shit.PRS.3SG
danès.
 money.M.PL
 ‘He has an old woman behind the oven who shits money.’ (DRG 5: 57)

3 Noun phrase

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

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

- (312) *Ad ju a stuvju ir' ál' antiara val*
 and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.F.SG whole valley
a préndar sé gl amprém tùt quèls ... tùt quèls ...
 SUBORD take.INF up DEF.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all DEM.M.PL
lògans nù i èran muossavías.
 place.PL REL EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3PL signpost.F.PL
 'And I had to go to the entire valley in order to first take down all these
 ... all these ... places where there were signposts.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (313) *Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place REL REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tùt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.F.SG munition REL EXPL
vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 'This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.'
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (314) *Şùtajn èri la tégja nùca 'l*
 under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.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 [...].'
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (315) [...] *la damaun èra la crapa giù nùca*
 DEF.F.SG morning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG stone.COLL down REL
la basèlgja stat òz sèn quaj prau.
 DEF.F.SG church stay.PRS.3SG today on DEM.M.SG field
 ‘[...] in the morning the stones were down there on the field where the church is located nowadays.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 134)
- (316) [...] *sé l’ alp nùca tg’ èl èra staus da*
 on DEF.F.SG alp REL REL 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.3SG.M as
buéb [...].
 boy.M.SG
 ‘[...] on the alp where he had been as a boy [...].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (317) *Al sulèt intarèssant è l’ ampréma*
 DEF.M.SG only interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG first
sacùnda classa nùca tga fòn la midada
 second form REL REL make.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG change
tial sursilvàn [...].
 towards.DEF.M.SG Sursilvan
 ‘The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they start switching to Standard Sursilvan.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (318) [...] *a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi in cantùn tga*
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL here really INDEF.M.SG corner REL
vagnéva mù raşdau ròmonscht.
 PASS.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh was spoken.’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

Some authors write *nùca* as two words (319).

- (319) [...] *a lu èni sacussagljai sèn*
 and then COP.PRS.3PL.3PL REFL.consult.PTCP.M.PL on
vaschnaunca da bagagè èla giù lò, nù’ c’ èla
 municipality.F.SG SUBORD build.INF 3SG.F down there REL REL 3SG.F
stat oz.
 stay.PRS.3SG today
 ‘[...] and then they discussed [the problem] in the municipality [and

3 Noun phrase

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

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

- (320) [...] *zatgé rastònza sè aun lò tg’ ins sa*
 something remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still there REL GNR can.PRS.3SG
í ajn a mirá [...].
 go.INF into COMP see.INF
 ‘[...] there still are some remnants there where one can go and see [...].’
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (321) *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in*
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
téc quajda d’ í par crapa tgu a
 bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG
vju difarènts lògans tg’ i vèvan
 see.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMP.F.3PL
sitau gjù ad èra ... vagnú ò
 blast.PTCP.UNM down and be.IMP.F.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out
cristalaş ètcètara [...].
 crystal.F.PL and_so_on
 ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals and so forth ... had come out [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (322) *Álşò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nùndétg,*
 well EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL REL REL earn.IMP.F.3PL incredibly
ad i şèra òns nùca tg’ èra aua, ad
 and EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL REL REL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG water and
èra òns nùca tga spardévan.
 EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL REL REL lose.IMP.F.3PL
 ‘Well, there were years when they earned ... a lot of money, and there were years with rain, and precisely years when they would lose money.’
 (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)

- (323) *A gl òn ca tg' òn gju dépònju*
 and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM
quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina détg «la
 DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always say.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
stiva dals gjadjus» [...].
 living_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL
 'And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said
 «the living room of the Jews».' (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

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

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

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

- (325) *Qu' è lu ju quèluisa tga ca nuş*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM DEM_way SUBORD SUBORD 1PL
èssan vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN
tg' èssan nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quátar tschun
 CORR be.COND.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five
jamnas.
 week.F.PL
 'This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein]
 from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.'
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

3.8 Generic noun phrases

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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

- (332) *Ad i èr’ è bitga úsit tg’ ins mava a*
 and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
scùlèta.
 nursery_school.F.SG
 ‘And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.’ (subject)
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

¹⁹In this sentence, *magljè* ‘eat’ and *flur* ‘flower’ are used in a metaphoric way.

- (333) [...] *api stavèv' ins í culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps [...]*.
 and must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL until up PN
 '[...] and one had to go with the goats till Nalps [...]' (subject) (Surajñ, f5, §8.10)
- (334) [...] *tg' al gjával ségi adina spèras*
 COMP DEF.M.SG devil COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG always next
lagagjaus par cudizá ins [...].
 lie_in_wait.PTPC.M.SG SUBORD tease.INF GNR
 '[...] that the devil is always next [to us], lying in wait in order to tease us.' (direct object) (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 46)
- (335) *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in pènşum*
 but DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework
mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschudjus, è ad alp ...
 too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to alp.M.SG
pia sch' in era purtgè [...].
 therefore if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG
 'But they would give us too much homework and I am convinced, also to the pasture ... therefore if one was a swineherd [...]' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

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

'Because when we ... didn't just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

3 Noun phrase

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

3.9 Structure of the noun phrase

Determiners precede adjectives and nouns. The modifying noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses follow the noun. Adjectives precede or follow the noun; intensifiers precede the adjective. If combinations of determiners occur, the demonstrative precedes the possessive which in turn precedes the numeral: *quèls nòs ufauns* 'these our children' – but these combinations are rare. The only combination of determiners occurring in the corpus is a possessive with a numeral (338).

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

4 Verb phrase

4.1 The verb

Tuatschin possesses impersonal, intransitive (2), mono-, and ditransitive verbs. Impersonal verbs require an expletive pronoun in subject position (1). Monotransitive verbs usually have a direct object (3 and 4), but in rare cases they may have an indirect object (5)¹. Ditransitive verbs (6 and 7) have a direct and an indirect object, the latter being marked by *da/dad*.² An exception is the verb *dumandá*, which has two direct objects (8) (see §4.2.2). Note that if the two objects are pronominal, the object of asking is usually not mentioned (8). The indirect object usually precedes the direct object (7).

- (1) *Ad i èr' è bitga úsit tg' ins mava a*
and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG REL GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
scùlèta.
nursery_school.F.SG
'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (2) *Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.*
DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger
'He used to sleep like a log.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (3) *In da Méjdal vèv' [in' ura da Schwarzwald*
one.M.SG of PN have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG clock of PN
tg' èra rùta].
REL COP.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.F.SG
'An inhabitant of Medel had a clock from the Black Forest that was broken.' (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106)

¹*udí da* is a calque from German. *udí* 'hear' is *hören* in German, and belong is *gehören*, which triggers dative case.

²As shown in §3.2.1.2 and §3.6.1, the dative articles *li* (see (7)) as well as *di* are obsolescent, and the dative marker *a*, which is used in rare cases, is a loan from Standard Sursilvan.

4 Verb phrase

- (4) *In dé [...] partgirava in buép [laş vacas] sén*
INDEF.M.SG day mind.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG boy DEF.F.PL COW.PL up
Vòns.
PN
'One day [...] a boy was taking care of the cows at Vons.' (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)
- (5) *A quaj gang udéva [dad òmaşdús].*
and DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL
'And this corridor belonged to both [families].' (Sadrún, m1, §8.2)
- (6) *[...] [mia carèzja] tgu stù dá [da quèlas].*
POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.INF DAT DEM.F.PL
'[...] my love that I have to give them.' (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (7) *[...] Nossadùna lèva dá [li gjuven préjr]*
Our_Lady.F.SG want.IMPF.3SG give DAT young.M.SG priest
[ina rancùnusciantsha pal survètsch].
INDEF.F.SG mark_of_gratitude.F.SG for.DEF.M.SG favour
'[...] the Holy Virgin wanted to give the young priest a mark of gratitude for the favour [he had done her].' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (8) *[...] ina zagríndara [...] ò dumandau [la*
INDEF.F.SG Yenish have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
mùma da tgèsa] [in tgavégl da sia buéba].
mother of house.F one hair of POSS.3SG.F.SG girl
'[...] a Yenish woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair from her daughter.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 131)

4.1.1 Verbal morphology

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

- *-á* (*anflá* 'find')
- *-è* (*catschè* 'hunt')
- *-ar* (*métar* 'put')
- *-í* (*fugí* 'flee')

- *-aj* (*tanaj* ‘hold’)

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

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

The small number of regular verbs ending in *-í* all have the stem extension *-èsch* (Table 4.9). Some verbs of other conjugation classes also have this stem extension; in the oral corpus, this only concerns two verbs that end in *-á* and one that ends in *-è*: *datá* ‘date’ (*ju/èla datèscha* ‘I/she dates’), *discusjuná* ‘discuss’ (*ju/èla discusjunèscha* ‘I/she discusses’), and *aprazjè* ‘appreciate’ (*ju/èla aprazjèscha* ‘I/she appreciates’).

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

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

The simple categories are present indicative, present subjunctive, imperfect indicative, imperfect subjunctive, direct conditional, indirect conditional,³ and imperative.

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

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

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

Reflexive verbs are built with the prefix *sa-* in all persons, tenses, moods, and non-finite categories and use the auxiliary verb *èssar* ‘be’ for compound tenses: *salavá* (infinitive) ‘wash (oneself)’, *ju salava* (present) ‘I wash’, *té salavassas* (direct conditional) ‘you (SG) would wash’, *nus èssan salavaj* (perfect) ‘we have washed’, *vus vagnís a salavá* (future) ‘you (PL) will wash’, *èlš èran salavaj* (pluperfect) ‘they had washed’.

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

4 Verb phrase

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

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

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

- (9) *Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjuş gjù [...].*
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down
'And then I sat down [...]' (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (10) *Sùnd juş ah gjù Surajn [...].*
be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PN
'[I] went eh down to Surrein [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (11) *Api prènd' al PN in cuntí ò da sac [...].*
and take.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG PN INDEF.M.SG knife out of pocket.M.SG
'And then PN takes a knife out of his pocket [...]' (Surajn, m7, §8.17)

4.1.1.1 Auxiliary verbs

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

In the third person singular and plural present and imperfect, the verb *èssar* 'be' has a special form when there is subject inversion (which includes polar interrogatives): *ásaj*, *şaj şè*, and *şèn*, as well as *şèra* and *şèran* (12–14). These forms go back to Standard Sursilvan, where *igl ei* 'EXPL + COP.PRS.3SG' is realised as *eiş ei* 'is it' with subject inversion (/ajzaj/ > /azaj/ > /zaj/ < /zε/). In contrast to Standard Sursilvan, the form of the copula does not include an expletive pronoun in (12–14).

Table 4.1: Auxiliary verb *èssar* ‘be’

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F	GER
	<i>èssar</i>	<i>stauş, staj</i>	<i>stada, stadaş</i>	<i>èssèn</i>
	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
1SG	<i>sùn</i>	<i>èra</i>	<i>sùn stauş/stada</i>	<i>végn ád èssar</i>
2SG	<i>ajş</i>	<i>èraş</i>	<i>ajs stauş/stada</i>	<i>véгнаş ád èssar</i>
3SG	<i>è</i>	<i>èra</i>	<i>è stauş/stada</i>	<i>végn ád èssar</i>
1PL	<i>èssan</i>	<i>èran</i>	<i>èssan staj/stadaş</i>	<i>vagnín ád èssar</i>
2PL	<i>èssaş</i>	<i>èraş</i>	<i>èssas staj/stadaş</i>	<i>vagníş ád èssar</i>
3PL	<i>èn</i>	<i>èran</i>	<i>èn staj/stadaş</i>	<i>végnan ád èssar</i>
	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT
1SG	<i>séjgi/ségi</i>	<i>èri</i>	<i>füş</i>	<i>füssi</i>
2SG	<i>séjgiaş/ségias</i>	<i>èriaş</i>	<i>füssaş</i>	<i>füssiaş</i>
3SG	<i>séjgi/séj/ségi</i>	<i>èri</i>	<i>füş</i>	<i>füssi</i>
1PL	<i>séjgian, ségian</i>	<i>èrian</i>	<i>füssan</i>	<i>füssian</i>
2PL	<i>séjgiaş, ségias</i>	<i>èriaş</i>	<i>füssaş</i>	<i>füssiaş</i>
3PL	<i>séjgian, ségian</i>	<i>èrian</i>	<i>füssan</i>	<i>füssian</i>

- (12) *Òz şè quaj ah, òz şèni schòn autar,*
today COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in_fact different
òz şèn aj ... la stradún.
today COP.PRS.3PL 3PL DEF.F.SG street.M.SG.AUGM
‘Nowadays this is, eh, as a matter of fact they are different, nowadays they are [called] ... the «big street».’ (Ruèras, m2, §8.13)
- (13) *A Cazis şera quaj al madèm.*
in PN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG same
‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (14) *Şè quaj usché?*
COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM so
‘Is this so?’ (Sadrún, m5)

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

4 Verb phrase

- (15) *I* *şè* *vit.*
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG empty.ADJ.UNM
'It is empty.' (Sadrún, m8)
- (16) [...] *i* *şèra* *òns* *nùca* *tg' èra* *aua* [...].
EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG water
'[...] there were years with rain [...].' (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)
- (17) [...] *anadas* *tga şèn* *uschéa* [...].
age_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL so
'[...] age groups which are like that [...].' (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

In (18) the form of the copula *şè* does include an expletive pronoun as in the Standard Sursilvan form noted above.

- (18) *Basta, ju sùn* *id'* *ál* *trèn, tòcan gjù* *Sògn*
enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.M.SG train until down PN
Gagl şè *bigja da* *fá* *bjè* *falju* [...].
COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.INF much wrong.ADJ.UNM
'Enough. I went to the train, to St. Gallen there is not much you could do wrong [...].' (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

4.1.1.2 Regular verbs

Future tense is always built with the auxiliary verb *vagní* 'come', but it is not used in normal daily speech, where almost exclusively present tense is used for future reference. Therefore future tense will not be listed in the table of the regular verbs (as well as of the irregular verbs). The same holds for the gerund, which was used by traditional story tellers until some decades ago, but which is not in use any more (for examples see §4.1.2.1.2).

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

Table 4.2: Auxiliary verb *vaj* ‘have’

	INF	PTCP.M.UNM			
	<i>vaj</i>	<i>gju</i>			
	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT	
1SG	<i>a</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>a gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
2SG	<i>aş</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>aş gju</i>	<i>végnaş a vaj</i>	
3SG	<i>ò</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>ò gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
1PL	<i>vajn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>vajn gju</i>	<i>vagnín a vaj</i>	
2PL	<i>vajş</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>vajş gju</i>	<i>vagniş a vaj</i>	
3PL	<i>òn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>òn gju</i>	<i>végnan a vaj</i>	
	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vèş</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
2SG	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssaş</i>	<i>vèssiaş</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
3SG	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vèş</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
1PL	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	
2PL	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssaş</i>	<i>vèssiaş</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
3PL	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	

4.1.1.2.1 Suffixes of the regular finite verb forms

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

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

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

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

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.3: Auxiliary verb *vagní* ‘come’

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	<i>vagní</i>	<i>vagnúš, vagní</i>	<i>vagnida, vagnidaš</i>		
	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT	
1SG	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>sùn vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>	
2SG	<i>végnaš</i>	<i>vagnévaš</i>	<i>ajš vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végnaš a vagní</i>	
3SG	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva^a</i>	<i>è vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>	
1PL	<i>vagnín</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èssan vagní/vagnidaš</i>	<i>vagnín a vagní</i>	
2PL	<i>vagníš</i>	<i>vagnévaš</i>	<i>èssaš vagní/vagnidaš</i>	<i>vagníš a vagní</i>	
3PL	<i>végnan</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èn vagní/vagnidaš</i>	<i>végnan a vagní</i>	
	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnéš</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>	
2SG	<i>végniaš</i>	<i>vagnéviaš</i>	<i>vagnéssaš</i>	<i>vagnéssiaš</i>	<i>nò</i>
3SG	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnéš</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>	
1PL	<i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>	
2PL	<i>végniaš</i>	<i>vagnéviaš</i>	<i>vagnéssaš</i>	<i>vagnéssiaš</i>	<i>vagní</i>
3PL	<i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>	

^a*Vignéva* is also used, but not frequent.

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

	TUATSCHIN	SURSILVAN	ENGLISH
ʎ	<i>magliè</i>	<i>magliar</i>	‘eat’
ɕ	<i>cargè</i>	<i>cargar</i>	‘carry’
ʦ	<i>spatgè</i>	<i>spitgar</i>	‘wait’
ʧ	<i>catschè</i>	<i>catschar</i>	‘hunt’
ʃ	<i>schè</i>	<i>schar</i>	‘let’
j	<i>sijè</i>	<i>segar</i>	‘mow’

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

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

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.5 shows different cases of syncretisms :

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

There are also cases of zero-marked categories:

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

Regarding the imperfect, both indicative and subjunctive, as well as the direct and indirect conditional, the *-á*-conjugation patterns with the *-è*-conjugation, and, inversely, the *-ar*-conjugation patterns with the *-í*-conjugation. In these tenses and moods, the verbs ending in *-á* and *-è* have an *-a* whereas the verbs ending in *-ar* and in *í* have an *-é*. Many irregular verbs have an *-è* in these forms, as for instance *ju dèva* 'I gave' (*dá* 'give') or *ju lès* 'I would like' (*vulaj*) 'want' (see §4.1.1.4)

4.1.1.2.2 Paradigms of the regular verbs

Table 4.6 and Table 4.7 illustrate the two conjugations deriving from the Latin first conjugation. The difference between the two conjugations concerns above all the infinitive and the feminine past participle, which ends in *-èda* (vs *-ada* in the *a*-conjugation). The ending of the masculine form is the same in both conjugations (*-au*). The imperfect morpheme of the *è*-conjugation is normally *-áv-*, but some verbs have *-èv-*, for example *astgè* 'be allowed', as in *nuš astgèvan fâ* 'we were allowed to do' (§8.4) or *schè* 'let', as in *a schèvan dá quèlas scúas a da quaj* 'and [we] would let these brooms and so on fall down' (§8.6). The choice of the ending *-èv-* vs *-av-* depends on the verb.

The ending in *-a* of the first person singular present and imperfect indicative is typical of Tuatschin Sursilvan. The standard ending in Sursilvan is *-el* (*jeu giavisch-el* 'I wish'); in the DRG, however, I found one example of *-a* in the variety of Riein, a village situated in the Lumnezia valley (19).

Table 4.6: Regular verbs ending in -á

INF	PTCP.M		PTCP.F		
<i>gidá</i>	'help'		<i>gidau, gidauš</i>	<i>gidada, gidadaš</i>	

SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>a gidau</i>
2SG	<i>gidaš</i>	<i>gidiaš</i>	<i>gidavaš</i>	<i>gidáviaš</i>	<i>aš gidau</i>
3SG	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>ò gidau</i>
1PL	<i>gidajn</i>	<i>gidian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>vajn gidau</i>
2PL	<i>gidajš</i>	<i>gidiaš</i>	<i>gidavaš</i>	<i>gidáviaš</i>	<i>vajš gidau</i>
3PL	<i>gidan</i>	<i>gidian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>òn gidau</i>

SBJ.PRON	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>gidáš</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
2SG	<i>gidassaš</i>	<i>gidássiaš</i>	<i>gida</i>
3SG	<i>gidáš</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
1PL	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	
2PL	<i>gidassaš</i>	<i>gidássiaš</i>	<i>gidaj</i>
3PL	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	

(19) *Jeu giavisch-a bien cunfiert.*

1SG wish-PRS.1SG good consolation.M.SG

'My heartfelt sympathy.' (Sursilvan, Riein, DRG 4: 327)

This form was current in this local variety of Sursilvan for first person singular present and imperfect, as the following forms show: *jeu astga* 'I am allowed to', *jeu gneva* 'I used to come', *jeu era* 'I was', *jeu suna* 'I play (an instrument)', *jeu sunava* 'I used to play', and so on (examples taken out of the *Questiunari principal* of the DRG, recorded between 1900 and 1920; Ursin Lutz p.c., 2017/04/19).

Table 4.8 lists the verbs ending in *-ar*. Many verbs of this conjugation are built as in Table 4.8 but have one irregular form: the past participle. Some examples are *árdar* 'burn', *árvar* 'open', and *bétar* 'throw', whose participles are *ars/arsa*, *aviart/avjarta*, and *béz/béza*. A list of irregular verbs ending in *-ar* is given in Table 4.14.

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.7: Regular verbs ending in -è

INF			PTCP.M	PTCP.F	
<i>catschè</i>	'hunt'		<i>catschau,</i> <i>catschhaus</i>	<i>catschèda, catschèdas</i>	

	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>a catschau</i>
2SG	<i>catschaş</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catschávias</i>	<i>aş catschau</i>
3SG	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>ò catschau</i>
1PL	<i>catschajn</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>vajn catschau</i>
2PL	<i>catschajş</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catschávias</i>	<i>vajş catschau</i>
3PL	<i>catschan</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>òn catschau</i>

	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>catscháş</i>	<i>catschassi</i>	
2SG	<i>catschassaş</i>	<i>catschássias</i>	<i>catscha</i>
3SG	<i>catscháş</i>	<i>catschassi</i>	
1PL	<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>	
2PL	<i>catschassaş</i>	<i>catschássias</i>	<i>catschaj</i>
3PL	<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>	

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

4.1.1.3 Verbs with stem alternations

The lists presented in this section contain some verbs ending in -*á*, -*è*, -*ar*, and -*í* which display a change in their stem. The alternation depends on whether the stem is stressed or not. Most verbs ending in -*aj* are irregular and will therefore be presented in §4.1.1.4.

For present indicative and subjunctive, only the first person singular and plural will be indicated; for imperfect indicative and subjunctive as well as for conditional, only the first person singular will be noted. For the verbs ending in -*á* the imperfect indicative and subjunctive will not be listed since these forms are

Table 4.8: Regular verbs ending in *-ar*

INF			PTCP.M	PTCP.F	
<i>bátar</i>	'beat'		<i>batju, batjuş</i>	<i>batida, batidaş</i>	

	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>bata</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>batéva</i>	<i>batévi</i>	<i>a batju</i>
2SG	<i>bataş</i>	<i>bátiaş</i>	<i>batévaş</i>	<i>batéviaş</i>	<i>aş batju</i>
3SG	<i>bata</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>batéva</i>	<i>batévi</i>	<i>ò batju</i>
1PL	<i>batín</i>	<i>bátian</i>	<i>batévan</i>	<i>batévian</i>	<i>vajn batju</i>
2PL	<i>batíş</i>	<i>bátiaş</i>	<i>batévaş</i>	<i>batéviaş</i>	<i>vajş batju</i>
3PL	<i>batan</i>	<i>bátian</i>	<i>batévan</i>	<i>batévian</i>	<i>òn batju</i>

	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>batéş</i>	<i>batéssi</i>	
2SG	<i>batéssaş</i>	<i>batéssiaş</i>	<i>bata</i>
3SG	<i>batéş</i>	<i>batéssi</i>	
1PL	<i>batéssan</i>	<i>batéssian</i>	
2PL	<i>batéssaş</i>	<i>batéssiaş</i>	<i>bati</i>
3PL	<i>batéssan</i>	<i>batéssian</i>	

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

For reasons of space the imperative will not be indicated in the following tables, but the second person singular imperative corresponds to the third person singular present indicative, and the second person plural imperative corresponds to the second person plural present indicative without its final *-s*: *èla cònta* 'she sings' vs *Cònta!* 'Sing (sg)!', *vus cantájs* 'you (pl) sing' vs *Cantaj!* 'Sing (pl)!'. The verbs ending in *-á* listed in Table 4.10–Table 4.12 show the following vocalic stem alternations:

- a → aj (*zavrá* 'separate, sort out' → *zajvra*), → au (*ruassá* 'rest' → *ruaussa*), → ja (*anzardá* 'aerate' → *anzjarda*), → éj (*lavá sé* 'get up' → *léjva sé*), → ia (*samjá* 'dream' → *siamja*), → ò (*sahaná*, 'appreciate' → *sahòna*), → u (*cugljaná* 'cheat' → *cugljuna*)

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.9: Regular verbs ending in *-í* with *-èsch*

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	<i>finí</i>	<i>'finish'</i>	<i>finju, finjus</i>	<i>finida, finidas</i>	

	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>a finju</i>
2SG	<i>finèschaş</i>	<i>finèschiaş</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>aş finju</i>
3SG	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>ò finju</i>
1PL	<i>finín</i>	<i>finían</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finéviañ</i>	<i>vajn finju</i>
2PL	<i>finíş</i>	<i>finíaş</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>vajş finju</i>
3PL	<i>finèschan</i>	<i>finèschian</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finéviañ</i>	<i>òn finju</i>

	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>finés</i>	<i>finéssi</i>	
2SG	<i>finéssaş</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>	<i>finèscha</i>
3SG	<i>finés</i>	<i>finéssi</i>	
1PL	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>	
2PL	<i>finéssaş</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>	<i>finí</i>
3PL	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>	

- *i* → *aj* (*piná* ‘prepare’ → *pajna*), → *é* (*cudizá* ‘provoke’ → *cudéza*)
- *u* → *au* (*antupá* ‘meet’ → *antaupa*), → *íu* (*suá* ‘sweat’ → *síua*) → *ò* (*dustá* ‘keep away’ → *dòsta*), → *ù* (*angulá* ‘steal’ → *angùla*), → *ué* (*cuzá* ‘last’ → *cuéza*)
- *u ... a* → *a ... ò* (*cumandá* ‘order’ → *camònda*), *u ... a* → *a ... ù* (*scurşalá* ‘sledge’ → *scarşùla*), *u ... a* → *a ... u* (*rumplaná* ‘rumble’ → *rampluna*)

Metathesis occurs with *r* in the following cases, with or without change in the vowel:

- *ar* → *ra* (*barsá* ‘roast’ → *brassa*), *ar ... réj* → (*fardá* ‘smell’ → *fréjda*)
- *ur* → *rù* (*curdá* ‘fall’ → *crùda*)

Table 4.10: Verbs ending in -á, first part

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>ampruá</i>	'try'	<i>amprúva</i>	<i>ampruajn</i>	<i>amprúvi</i>	<i>amprúvian</i>	<i>ampruau</i>
<i>ampustá</i>	'order'	<i>ampòsta</i>	<i>ampustajn</i>	<i>ampòsti</i>	<i>ampòstian</i>	<i>ampustau</i>
<i>anf(a)rá</i>	'shoe a horse'	<i>anfara</i>	<i>anf(a)rajn</i>	<i>anfari</i>	<i>anfarian</i>	<i>anf(a)rau</i>
<i>angulá</i>	'steal'	<i>angùla</i>	<i>angulajn</i>	<i>angùli</i>	<i>angùlian</i>	<i>angulau</i>
<i>antupá</i>	'meet'	<i>antaupa</i>	<i>antupajn</i>	<i>antaupi</i>	<i>antaupian</i>	<i>antupau</i>
<i>anzardá</i>	'aerate (hay)'	<i>anzjarda</i>	<i>anzardajn</i>	<i>anzjardi</i>	<i>anzjardian</i>	<i>anzardau</i>
<i>barsá</i>	'roast'	<i>brassa</i>	<i>barsajn</i>	<i>brassi</i>	<i>brassian</i>	<i>barsau</i>
<i>cantá</i>	'sing'	<i>cònta</i>	<i>cantajn</i>	<i>cònti</i>	<i>còntian</i>	<i>cantau</i>
<i>cudizá</i>	'provoke'	<i>cudéza</i>	<i>cudizajn</i>	<i>cudéci</i>	<i>cudécian</i>	<i>cudizau</i>
<i>cugljaná</i>	'cheat'	<i>cugljuna</i>	<i>cugljanajn</i>	<i>cugljuni</i>	<i>cugljunian</i>	<i>cugljanau</i>
<i>cumandá</i>	'order'	<i>camònda</i>	<i>cumandajn</i>	<i>camòndi</i>	<i>camòndian</i>	<i>cumandau</i>
<i>curdá</i>	'fall'	<i>crùda</i>	<i>curdajn</i>	<i>cròdi</i>	<i>cròdian</i>	<i>curdau</i>
<i>custá</i>	'cost'	<i>cuésta</i>	<i>custajn</i>	<i>cuésti</i>	<i>cuéstian</i>	<i>custau</i>
<i>cuzá</i>	'last'	<i>cuéza</i>	—	<i>cuéci</i>	—	<i>cuzau</i>
<i>digrá</i>	'drip'	<i>daghira</i>	<i>digrajn</i>	<i>daghiri</i>	<i>daghirian</i>	<i>digrau</i>
<i>dustá</i>	'keep away'	<i>dòsta</i>	<i>dustajn</i>	<i>dòsti</i>	<i>dòstian</i>	<i>dustau</i>
<i>duvrá</i>	'use'	<i>dùvra</i>	<i>duvrajn</i>	<i>dùvi</i>	<i>dùvian</i>	<i>duvravau</i>
<i>druvá</i>	'use'	<i>druva</i>	<i>druvajn</i>	<i>druvi</i>	<i>druvian</i>	<i>druvau</i>
<i>fardá</i>	'smell'	<i>fréida</i>	<i>fardajn</i>	<i>fréidi</i>	<i>fréidian</i>	<i>fardau</i>

Table 4.11: Verbs ending in -á, second part

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>fimá</i>	'smoke'	<i>fëma</i>	<i>fimajn</i>	<i>fëmi</i>	<i>fëmian</i>	<i>fimau</i>
<i>furá</i>	'pierce'	<i>fura</i>	<i>furajn</i>	<i>furi</i>	<i>fùrian</i>	<i>furau</i>
<i>furšchá</i>	'rub'	<i>frušča</i>	<i>fuřščajn</i>	<i>fruřchi</i>	<i>fruřšchian</i>	<i>fuřšchau</i>
<i>gizá</i>	'sharpen'	<i>gëza</i>	<i>gizajn</i>	<i>gëci</i>	<i>gëcian</i>	<i>gizau</i>
<i>lavá sé</i>	'stand up'	<i>lëjva</i>	<i>lavajn</i>	<i>lëjvi</i>	<i>lëjvian</i>	<i>lavau</i>
<i>luá</i>	'melt'	<i>liua</i>	<i>luajn</i>	<i>liui</i>	<i>liúian</i>	<i>luau</i>
<i>ludá</i>	'praise'	<i>lauda</i>	<i>ludajn</i>	<i>laudi</i>	<i>laudian</i>	<i>ludau</i>
<i>manizá</i>	'chop'	<i>manéza</i>	<i>manizajn</i>	<i>manéci</i>	<i>manécian</i>	<i>manizau</i>
<i>mulá</i>	'grind'	<i>mùla</i>	<i>mulajn</i>	<i>mùli</i>	<i>mùlian</i>	<i>mulau</i>
<i>munglá^a</i>	'should'	<i>maungla</i>	<i>munglajn</i>	—	—	—
<i>mussá</i>	'show'	<i>mùssa</i>	<i>mussajjn</i>	<i>mùssi</i>	<i>mùssian</i>	<i>mussau</i>
<i>piná</i>	'prepare'	<i>pajna</i>	<i>pinajn</i>	<i>pajni</i>	<i>pajnian</i>	<i>pinau</i>
<i>quitá</i>	'think, find'	<i>quëta</i>	<i>quitajn</i>	<i>quëti</i>	<i>quëtian</i>	<i>quitau</i>
<i>ruassá</i>	'rest'	<i>ruaussa</i>	<i>ruassajjn</i>	<i>ruaussi</i>	<i>ruaüssian</i>	<i>ruassau</i>
<i>ruclá</i>	'roll, fall'	<i>rùcla</i>	<i>ruclajn</i>	<i>rùcli</i>	<i>rùclian</i>	<i>ruclau</i>
<i>rupá</i>	'burp'	<i>raupa</i>	<i>rupajn</i>	<i>raupi</i>	<i>raupian</i>	<i>rupau</i>
<i>rumplaná</i>	'rumble'	<i>rampluna</i>	<i>rumplanajn</i>	<i>rampluni</i>	<i>ramplunian</i>	<i>rumplanau</i>
<i>sacantá</i>	'dry'	<i>sacjanta</i>	<i>sacantajn</i>	<i>sacjanti</i>	<i>sacjantian</i>	<i>sacantau</i>
<i>sadapurtá</i>	'behave'	<i>sadapòrta</i>	<i>sadapurtajn</i>	<i>sadapòrti</i>	<i>sadapòrtian</i>	<i>sadapurtau</i>

^aNowadays it is only the conditional *munglás* which is used.

Table 4.12: Verbs ending in -á, third part

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>sadrizá</i>	'address'	<i>sadréza</i>	<i>sadrizajn</i>	<i>sadréci</i>	<i>sadrécian</i>	<i>sadrizau</i>
<i>sahaná</i>	'(not) appreciate'	<i>sahóna</i>	<i>sahanajn</i>	<i>sahóni</i>	<i>sahónian</i>	<i>sahanau</i>
<i>samjá</i>	'dream'	<i>siamja</i>	<i>samjajn</i>	<i>siami</i>	<i>sjamian</i>	<i>samjau</i>
<i>sanudá</i>	'swim'	<i>sanúda</i>	<i>sanudajn</i>	<i>sanúdi</i>	<i>sanúðian</i>	<i>sanudau</i>
<i>sará</i>	'close'	<i>sjara</i>	<i>sarajn</i>	<i>sjari</i>	<i>sjarian</i>	<i>sarau</i>
<i>saragurdá</i>	'remember'	<i>saragòrda</i>	<i>saragurdajn</i>	<i>saragòrði</i>	<i>saragòrdian</i>	<i>saragurdau</i>
<i>satrá</i>	'bury'	<i>satjara</i>	<i>satrajn</i>	<i>satjari</i>	<i>satjarian</i>	<i>satrau</i>
<i>scadá</i>	'heat'	<i>scauda</i>	<i>scadajn</i>	<i>scaudi</i>	<i>scaúðian</i>	<i>scadau</i>
<i>schlupá</i>	'burst'	<i>schlòpa</i>	<i>schlupajn</i>	<i>schlòpi</i>	<i>schlòpian</i>	<i>schlupau</i>
<i>scumandá</i>	'prohibit'	<i>scamònda</i>	<i>scumandajn</i>	<i>scamòndi</i>	<i>scamòndian</i>	<i>scumandau</i>
<i>scursalá</i>	'sledge'	<i>scarşula</i>	<i>scursalajn</i>	<i>scarşuli</i>	<i>scarşùlian</i>	<i>scursalau</i>
<i>sità</i>	'shoot'	<i>siéta</i>	<i>sitajn</i>	<i>siéti</i>	<i>siétian</i>	<i>sitau</i>
<i>splaná</i>	'plane'	<i>splauna</i>	<i>splanajn</i>	<i>splauni</i>	<i>splaunian</i>	<i>splanau</i>
<i>stizá</i>	'turn off'	<i>stéza</i>	<i>stizajn</i>	<i>stéci</i>	<i>stécian</i>	<i>stizau</i>
<i>suá</i>	'sweat'	<i>siua</i>	<i>suajn</i>	<i>siui</i>	<i>siuian</i>	<i>suáu</i>
<i>sutá</i>	'dance'	<i>sauta</i>	<i>sutajn</i>	<i>sauti</i>	<i>sautian</i>	<i>sutau</i>
<i>turná</i>	'return'	<i>tùrna</i>	<i>turnajn</i>	<i>tùrni</i>	<i>tùrnian</i>	<i>turnau</i>
<i>uzá</i>	'lift'	<i>auza</i>	<i>uzajn</i>	<i>auci</i>	<i>aúcian</i>	<i>uzau</i>
<i>zavrá</i>	'separate, sort out'	<i>zajvra</i>	<i>zavrajn</i>	<i>zajvri</i>	<i>zajvrian</i>	<i>zavrau</i>
<i>zulá</i>	'roll out'	<i>zùla</i>	<i>zulajn</i>	<i>zùli</i>	<i>zùlian</i>	<i>zulau</i>

4 Verb phrase

The verbs *digrá* ‘drip’ and *satrá* ‘bury’ are a different case. What looks like metathesis (*daghira* ‘(s/he) drips’ vs *digrajn* ‘(we) drip’ and *satjara* ‘(s/he) buries’ vs *satrajn* ‘(we) bury’) is due to the dropping of the reduced vowel /ɐ/ between *g-r* and *t-r* or, in other words, between a stop and a trill. According to Decurtins (2012: 311 and 973), *digrá* is derived from the mixture of Latin DECURRERE ‘flow off’ and CURARE ‘sieve’, whereas *satrá* is derived from Middle Latin SUBTERRARE ‘bury’.

Verbs ending in *-è* that show stem alternation are listed in Table 4.13. The following stem alternations occur:

- a → è (*bagagè* ‘build’ → *ju baghègja, nus bagagjajn*), → é (*pardagè* ‘preach’ → *ju pardégja, nus pardagjajn*), → ò (*cumpagnè* ‘accompany’ → *ju cumpògna, nus cumpagnajn*)
- i → aj (*piè* ‘pay’ → *paja*), → é (*bitschè* ‘kiss’ → *bétscha*)
- u → au (*stuschè* ‘push’ → *stauscha*), → ò (*bugnè* ‘give water’ → *bògna*)
- u ... a → a ... ò (*dumagnè* ‘cope with’ → *damògna*)

The imperfect of the verbs ending in *-agè* is sometimes realised as *-java* instead of *-agjava*, as in *pardjavan* ‘they used to preach’ vs *pardagjavan* ‘idem’, or *schabjava* ‘used to happen’ instead of *schabagjava* ‘idem’. The variation between these two forms is free.

Metathesis occurs with *r* in the following cases, with or without change in the vowel:

- ar → ra (*tartgè* ‘think’ → *tratga*), → rè (*mudargè* ‘torment’ → *mudrègja*), → ri (*baršchè* ‘burn’ → *brišcha*), → rò (*fufargnè* ‘rummage’ → *fufrògna*)

The verbs ending in *-ar* that show stem alternation are listed in Table 4.14. The following stem alternations occur:

- aj → u (*bajbar* ‘drink’ → *bubín*)
- è → a (*crèschar* ‘grow’ → *carschín*)
- é → a (*curégjar* ‘correct’ → *curagín*)
- éj → a (*séjşar* ‘sit’ → *sasín*)
- ja → a (*pjardar* ‘lose’ → *pardín*)

Table 4.13: Verbs ending in -è

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1/3SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1/3SG	PRS.SBJV.1/3SG	PRS.SBV.1PL
<i>bagagè</i>	'build'	<i>baghègja</i>	<i>bagagjajn</i>	<i>bagagjava</i>	<i>baghègi</i>	<i>baghègian</i>
<i>baršchè</i>	'burn'	<i>brišcha</i>	<i>baršchajjn</i>	<i>baršchava</i>	<i>brišchi</i>	<i>brišchian</i>
<i>bitschè</i>	'kiss'	<i>bètscha</i>	<i>bitschajjn</i>	<i>bitschava</i>	<i>bètschi</i>	<i>bètschian</i>
<i>bugnè</i>	'give water'	<i>bogna</i>	<i>bugnajjn</i>	<i>bugnava</i>	<i>bogni</i>	<i>bognian</i>
<i>cumpagnjè</i>	'accompany'	<i>cumpògna</i>	<i>cumpagnajjn</i>	<i>cumpagnava</i>	<i>cumpògni</i>	<i>cumpògnian</i>
<i>dumagnè</i>	'cope with'	<i>damògna</i>	<i>dumagnajjn</i>	<i>dumagnava</i>	<i>damògni</i>	<i>damògnian</i>
<i>fufargnè</i>	'rummage'	<i>fufrògna</i>	<i>fufargnajjn</i>	<i>fufargnava</i>	<i>fufrògni</i>	<i>fufrògnian</i>
<i>lahargnè</i>	'giggle'	<i>lahrògna</i>	<i>lahargnajjn</i>	<i>lahargnava</i>	<i>lahrògni</i>	<i>lahrògnian</i>
<i>mudargè</i>	'torment'	<i>mudrègja</i>	<i>mudargajjn</i>	<i>mudargjava</i>	<i>mudrègi</i>	<i>mudrègian</i>
<i>pardagè</i>	'preach'	<i>pardègja</i>	<i>pardagajjn</i>	<i>pardagèva</i>	<i>pardègi</i>	<i>pardègian</i>
<i>piè</i>	'pay'	<i>paja</i>	<i>piajjn</i>	<i>pièvan</i>	<i>paji</i>	<i>pàjian</i>
<i>sampatschè</i>	'interfere'	<i>sampatscha</i>	<i>sampatschajjn</i>	<i>sampatschava</i>	<i>sampatschi</i>	<i>sampatschian</i>
<i>schabagè</i>	'happen'	<i>schabègja</i>	—	<i>schabagjava</i>	<i>schabègi</i>	—
<i>schagè</i>	'taste'	<i>schagia</i>	<i>schagajjn</i>	<i>schagjava</i>	<i>schagi</i>	<i>schagian</i>
<i>šchubargè</i>	'clean'	<i>šchubrègja</i>	<i>šchubargajjn</i>	<i>šchubargjava</i>	<i>šchubrègi</i>	<i>šchubrègian</i>
<i>scumbagljè</i>	'confuse'	<i>scumbèglja</i>	<i>scumbagljajjn</i>	<i>scumbagljava</i>	<i>scumbègli</i>	<i>scumbèglian</i>
<i>siè</i>	'mow'	<i>sia</i>	<i>siajn</i>	<i>sièva</i>	<i>sii</i>	<i>sian</i>
<i>spatgè</i>	'wait'	<i>spètga</i>	<i>spatgajjn</i>	<i>spatgava</i>	<i>spètgi</i>	<i>spètgian</i>
<i>stuschè</i>	'push'	<i>stauscha</i>	<i>stuschajjn</i>	<i>stuschava</i>	<i>stauschi</i>	<i>stauschian</i>
<i>tartgè</i>	'think'	<i>tratga</i>	<i>tartgajjn</i>	<i>tartgava</i>	<i>tratgi</i>	<i>tratgian</i>
<i>tgìè</i>	'shit'	<i>tgaja</i>	<i>tgiajn</i>	<i>tgjava</i>	<i>tgaji</i>	<i>tgajan</i>
<i>tschitschè</i>	'suck'	<i>tschètscha</i>	<i>tschitschajjn</i>	<i>tschitschava</i>	<i>tschètschi</i>	<i>tschètschian</i>

4 Verb phrase

- ò → u (*còschar* ‘keep quiet’ → *uschín*)
- ué → u (*laguétar* ‘swallow’ → *lagutín*)

Verbs ending in *-í* that show stem alternation are presented in Table 4.15. The following alternations occur:

- a → aj (*amplaní* ‘fill’ → *amplajna*), → é (*saglí* ‘run’ → *séglja*), → ja (*santí* ‘feel’ → *sjanta*)

Metathesis occurs in *bargí* ‘cry’ vs *bragja*.

4.1.1.4 Irregular verbs

The irregular verbs *èssar* ‘be’, *vay* ‘have’, and *vagní* ‘come’, which also function as auxiliary verbs, have been presented in §4.1.1.1. The most important other irregular verbs will be presented in Table 4.16 – Table 4.27.

Table 4.14: Verbs ending in *-ar*

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>antschajvar</i>	'begin'	<i>antschajva</i>	<i>antschavin</i>	<i>antschavéva</i>	<i>antschajvi</i>	<i>antschajvian</i>	<i>antschiat</i>
<i>bajbar</i>	'drink'	<i>bajba</i>	<i>bubin</i>	<i>buéva</i>	<i>bajbi</i>	<i>bajbian</i>	<i>bubju</i>
<i>còschar</i>	'keep quiet'	<i>còsch</i>	<i>cuschin</i>	<i>cuschéva</i>	<i>còschi</i>	<i>còschian</i>	<i>cuschju</i>
<i>crèschar</i>	'grow'	<i>crèscha</i>	<i>carschin</i>	<i>carschéva</i>	<i>crèshi</i>	<i>crèschian</i>	<i>carschju</i>
<i>curégjar</i>	'correct'	<i>curégja</i>	<i>curagin</i>	<i>curagéva</i>	<i>curégi</i>	<i>curégian</i>	<i>curagjú</i>
<i>cuviarar</i>	'cover'	<i>cuviaara</i>	<i>cuvrin</i>	<i>cuvréva</i>	<i>cuviani</i>	<i>cuvjarian</i>	<i>cuvrétg</i>
<i>dapèndar</i>	'depend'	<i>dapjanda</i>	<i>dapandin</i>	<i>dapandévan</i>	<i>dapjandi</i>	<i>dapjandian</i>	<i>dapandju</i>
<i>dèrgjar</i>	'spill'	<i>dèrgja</i>	<i>dargin</i>	<i>dargévan</i>	<i>dèrgi</i>	<i>dèrgian</i>	<i>dèrs</i>
<i>laguétar</i>	'swallow'	<i>laguéta</i>	<i>lagutin</i>	<i>lagutéva</i>	<i>laguèti</i>	<i>laguétian</i>	<i>lagutju</i>
<i>lègjar</i>	'read'	<i>lègja</i>	<i>lagin</i>	<i>lagéva</i>	<i>lègja</i>	<i>lègian</i>	<i>lagju</i>
<i>mètar</i>	'put'	<i>méta</i>	<i>matajn</i>	<i>matéva</i>	<i>méti</i>	<i>métian</i>	<i>méz/mèz</i>
<i>mòrdar</i>	'bite'	<i>mòrda</i>	<i>murdin</i>	<i>murdéva</i>	<i>mòrdi</i>	<i>mòrdian</i>	<i>murdu</i>
<i>pjardar</i>	'lose'	<i>pjarda</i>	<i>pardin</i>	<i>pardéva</i>	<i>pjardi</i>	<i>pjardian</i>	<i>pjars</i>
<i>rùmpar</i>	'break'	<i>rùmpa</i>	<i>rumpajn</i>	<i>rumpéva</i>	<i>rùmpi</i>	<i>rùmpian</i>	<i>rùt</i>
<i>séjsar</i>	'sit'	<i>séjsa</i>	<i>sasin</i>	<i>sašéva</i>	<i>séjsi</i>	<i>séjsian</i>	<i>sasju</i>
<i>sòlvar</i>	'have breakfast'	<i>sòlva</i>	<i>sulvin</i>	<i>sulvéva</i>	<i>sòlvi</i>	<i>sòlvian</i>	<i>sjut</i>

Table 4.15: Verbs ending in *-i*

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>amplaní</i>	'fill'	<i>amplajna</i>	<i>amplanin</i>	<i>amplanéva</i>	<i>amplajni</i>	<i>amplajinian</i>	<i>amplanju</i>
<i>ancurí</i>	'look for'	<i>anquéra</i>	<i>ancurin</i>	<i>ancuréva</i>	<i>anquéri</i>	<i>anquérian</i>	<i>ancurétg</i>
<i>bargí</i>	'cry'	<i>bragja</i>	<i>bargin</i>	<i>bargéva</i>	<i>bragi</i>	<i>brágian</i>	<i>bargjú</i>
<i>durmi</i>	'sleep'	<i>dorma</i>	<i>durmin</i>	<i>durméva</i>	<i>dormi</i>	<i>dormian</i>	<i>durmjú</i>
<i>murí</i>	'die'	<i>múra</i>	<i>murin</i>	<i>muréva</i>	<i>muri</i>	<i>mùrian</i>	<i>mòrts</i>
<i>saglí</i>	'run'	<i>séglja</i>	<i>saglin</i>	<i>sagl'éva</i>	<i>ségli</i>	<i>séglian</i>	<i>sagljú</i>
<i>santí</i>	'feel'	<i>sjanta</i>	<i>santin</i>	<i>santéva</i>	<i>sjanti</i>	<i>sjantian</i>	<i>santju</i>

Table 4.16: *sadastadá* ‘wake up’

INF	<i>sadastadá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadajn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn sadastadauș, sadastadada</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>sadastadèvan</i>
COND	<i>sadastadâș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sadadèsti, sadadèstian</i>
IMP	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadaj</i>

Table 4.17: *dá* ‘give’ and *stá* ‘stay’

INF	<i>dá</i>	<i>stá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>dùn, daș/dataș, dá dajn, dajș, datan</i>	<i>stùn, staș/stataș, stat stajn, stajș, statan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a dau</i>	<i>sùn stada/stauș</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>dèva</i>	<i>stèva</i>
COND	<i>dêș</i>	<i>stêș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>dèti^a, dètian</i>	<i>stèti, stètian</i>
IMP	<i>dá, daj</i>	<i>stá, staj</i>

^aThe form *dêtschi* is used by an older consultant and is the only form given in the DRG (5: 65). The whole paradigm of the present subjunctive given in the DRG is *dêtschi, dêtschias, dêtschi, dajan, dajas, dêtschian*.

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

INF	<i>fá</i>	<i>trá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fétsch, faș, fò fagjajn, fagjajș, fòn</i>	<i>tila, tilaș, tila trajn, trajș, tilan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a fatg</i>	<i>a tratg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fagèva/fièva</i>	<i>trèva</i>
COND	<i>fagèș</i>	<i>trèș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>fétschi, fétschian</i>	<i>tili, țilian</i>
IMP	<i>fò, fagjaj</i>	<i>tila, traj</i>

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.19: *craj* ‘believe’ and *duaj* ‘must’

INF	<i>craj</i> ‘believe’	<i>duaj</i> ‘must’
PRS.IND	<i>craj, crajaș, craj cartîn, cartîș, crajan</i>	<i>duaj/daj,^a duajș/dajaș, duaj/daj, duajn/dajan, duajș/dajaș, duajn/dajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a cartjú</i>	<i>a dujú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>cartéva</i>	<i>duèva</i>
COND	<i>cartéș</i>	<i>duèș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>craji, crajaș, craji crajan, crajaș, crajan</i>	—
IMP	<i>craj, cartí</i>	—

^aThe DRG (4: 370) offers for Sedrun *déi, déjș* etc.; the modern forms *daj, dajaș* etc. are not accepted by all speakers that were consulted.

Table 4.20: *gudaj* ‘enjoy’ and *pudaj* ‘can, be able’

INF	<i>gudaj</i>	<i>pudaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>gauda, gaudaș, gauda gudajn, gudajș, gaudan</i>	<i>pùș, pùș, pù pudajn, pudajș, pùn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a gudju</i>	<i>a pudju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>gudéva</i>	<i>pudéva</i>
COND	<i>gudéș</i>	<i>pudéș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>gaudi, gaudian</i>	<i>pùssi, pùssian</i>
IMP	<i>gauda, gudí</i>	—

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

INF	<i>savaj</i>	<i>șhaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sa, saș, sò savajn, savajș, sòn</i>	<i>șhaj, șhajaș, șhaja șchiajn, șchiajș, șhajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a savju^a</i>	<i>sùn șchjus/șchida</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>savèva</i>	<i>șchièva</i>
COND	<i>savèș</i>	<i>șchièș</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sapi, sápián</i>	<i>șhaji, șhajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>șhaj, șhijí</i>

^aThe short form *șju* is also used in rapid speech.

Table 4.22: *stuaj* ‘must’ and *tanaj* ‘hold’

INF	<i>stuaj</i>	<i>tanaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>stù, stùs, stù</i> <i>stuajn, stuajs, stùn</i>	<i>tégn, téгнаs, tégn</i> <i>tanín, tanís, tégnan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a stavjú/stujú/stju</i>	<i>a tanju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>stuèva/stèva/stavèva</i>	<i>tanéva</i>
COND	<i>stuès</i>	<i>tanés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>stùpi, stùpian</i>	<i>tégni, tégnian</i>
IMP	—	<i>tégn, taní</i>

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

INF	<i>tumaj</i>	<i>vulaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>téma, témaš, téma,</i> <i>tumajn, tumajs, téman</i>	<i>vi, vutaš, vut,^a</i> <i>lajn, lajs, vutan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a tumjú</i>	<i>a vulju^b</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>tuméva</i>	<i>lèva</i>
COND	<i>tumés</i>	<i>lès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>tèmi, tèmian</i>	—
IMP	<i>tèma, tumaj</i>	—

^aIn combination with *dí* ‘say’, the form *vuta*, as in *vuta di* ‘wants to say’, i.e. ‘means’, is used by some consultants. Most consultants, however, reject this form.

^bThe form *valju* also occurs.

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

INF	<i>vasaj</i>	<i>parvaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>vèza, vèzaš, vèza,</i> <i>vasajn, vasajs, vèzan</i>	<i>parvaj, parvajaš, parvaj,</i> <i>parvasín, parvasís, parvajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a vju</i>	<i>a parvasjú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>vasèva/vaséva</i>	<i>parvasèva</i>
COND	<i>vasès</i>	<i>parvasés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>vèci, vècian</i>	<i>parvaji, parvajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>parvaj, parvasí</i>

4 Verb phrase

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

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

^a*Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form, which is commonly used in Tuatschin. The DRG (10: 499) only notes *schè* for Tuatschin; according to the DRG (10: 502) the forms of the present subjunctive 1PL and 2PL are *schajan* and *schajas*.

Table 4.26: *ira/ir/í* ‘go’ and *dí* ‘say’

INF	<i>ira/ir/í</i>	<i>dí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>vòn/mòn, vaş, vò majn, majş, vòn</i>	<i>détsch, diaş, di şchajn, şchajş, dian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùnd juş/ida</i>	<i>a détg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>mava</i>	<i>şchèva</i>
COND	<i>maş</i>	<i>şchèş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>mòndi,^a mòndiaş, mòndi, vòndi, vòndiaş, vòndi mòndian, mòndiaş, mòndian vòndian, vòndiaş, vòndian</i>	<i>détschi, détschiaş, détschi, détschian, détschiaş, détschian</i>
IMP	<i>vò, maj</i>	<i>dí, şchaj</i>

^aAn old form is *ju vòmi*.

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

INF	<i>fugí</i>	<i>rí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fuétsch, fujas, fuj</i> <i>fugín, fugís, fujan</i>	<i>ri, rias ri</i> <i>riajn, rias, rian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn fugjús</i>	<i>a riş</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fugéva</i>	<i>rièva</i>
COND	<i>fugés</i>	<i>riès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>fuétschi, fuétschias, fuétschi,</i> <i>fuétschian, fuétschias, fuétschian</i>	<i>rii, rias, rii,</i> <i>rian, rias, rian</i>
IMP	<i>fuj, fugí</i>	<i>ri, riaj</i>

4.1.2 Usage of non-finite and finite verbal categories

In this section the usage of the non-finite categories past participle, infinitive, and gerund as well as the finite categories will be analysed, with the exception of the imperative, which will be treated in §5.3.

4.1.2.1 Non-finite categories

4.1.2.1.1 Past participle

The past participle is used to form compound (20) and doubly-compound tenses (24) as well as passive voice (21); it is furthermore used attributively and predicatively and may also be nominalised (22 and 23), usually in its feminine form. If the auxiliary verb is *èssar* ‘be’, the participle agrees with the subject (20).

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

PN

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

- (21) *A ... tgu sùn vagnida pansjunada*
and when.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG pension_off.PTCP.F.SG
scha ... ju fagèva zuar schòn avaun majnadistríct [...].
CORR 1SG do.IMPF.1SG although already before head_of_district.M.SG
‘And ... when I got pensioned off ... as a matter of fact, I had already
worked as head of district before [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

4 Verb phrase

- (22) [...] *gljèz èra magari è léjgar tgé*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also funny.ADJ.UNM what
cuşchinadas èl [fagèva] [...].
 cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG.M [make.IMPF.3SG]
 ‘[...] it was sometimes also funny [to see] what he cooked [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (23) [...] *i dat ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn sé*
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on
cun mju còlèga al dé da la scargèda [...].
 with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.M.SG day of DEF.F.SG drove.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘[...] there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig
 droving [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. §8.11)

- (24) *Nuş vajn adina gju fatg parada.*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 ‘We always held a parade.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

If the past participle is used in compound tenses with the auxiliary *èssar* ‘be’ or in passive constructions, it is treated like an adjective, which means that (a) it agrees with the subject of the verb (25), thus if the subject has no gender, the participle takes its unmarked form (26), and (b) if in a passive construction the subject follows the participle, it does not agree with it (27 and 28) (see also §5.5.4).

- (25) [...] *al cantún ò circa trènta da quèls*
 DEF.M.SG canton have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL
majnadistríct, quèls èn partí ajn⁴ ajn
 head_of_district.PL DEM.M.PL PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in
ragjúns [...].
 region.F.PL
 ‘[...] the canton has about thirty of these heads of district, these are
 divided in regions [...].’ (Sadrún, f3; §8.1)

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

⁴*Pártar ajn* is a particle verb meaning ‘divide’.

in təc curjùs.

INDEF.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM

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

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

‘This is exactly a place ... where all the munition was stored, for sure.’ (Sadrún, f3; §8.1)

- (28) *A lò ... sén quaj intènt ségi è*
 and there upon DEM.M.SG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also
vagnú bagagjau quèla caplùta.
 PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel

‘And there ... after this undertaking this chapel was built.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

If the past participle is used attributively, the masculine singular form does not take the predicative *-s* if it has no complements as in *in ùm panşjunau* ‘a retired man’; if it has complements, the participle is treated like a predicative adjective and takes *-s* and can thus be considered an elliptic relative clause (29).

- (29) *Al tètq da duaş alas fatg- s cun ajssas bétga*
 DEF.M.SG roof of two.F side.PL make.PTCP- M.SG with plank.F.PL NEG
splanadas [...] aj sén latas.
 plane.PTCP.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG on slat.F.PL

‘The two-sided roof made of planks that haven’t been planed [...] are on slats.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 583)

The negator *bétga* and some temporal adverbs may intervene between the auxiliary verb and the past participle (30–34).

- (30) *Álşò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf [...].*
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

4 Verb phrase

- (31) *A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al pur,*
 and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer
ábar ju sùn ùs bigja staus ... in dals fétg
 but 1SG be.PRS.1SG now NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG very
buns purs.
 good.M.PL farmer.PL

‘And after this I have always worked as a farmer, but I’ve never been ... one of the very good farmers.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (32) *Èl è grad arivaus sé da Cuéra.*
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG just arrive.PTCP.M.SG up from PN
 ‘He has just arrived from Chur.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (33) *Ûssa, quèl da la quajda saj puspè staus ajn*
 now DEM.M.SG of DEF.F.SG desire be.PRS.3SG again COP.PTCP.M.SG in
cul dét, miraj tschò!
 with finger.M.SG look.IMP.2PL here

‘Now the sweet-toothed one has again stuck his finger into it, look here!’ (DRG 4: 304)

- (34) [...] *avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè era schòn*
 before 1PL be.IMP.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMP.3SG then also
 ‘[...] before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he also used to go.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

If two clauses which both contain a compound verb form are conjoined, either the subject (35) or the subject and the auxiliary of the second or third verb may be omitted (36). Note that the subject and the auxiliary verb may also be omitted if the second or third verb requires another auxiliary as in the first clause. An example is (37), where *lavá* ‘get up’ requires *èssar* ‘be’ and *mirá* ‘look’ *vaj* ‘have’.

- (35) *Ju sùn juš avaun nuégl ad a*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG before barn.M.SG and have.PRS.1SG
grju a bargju [...].
 shout.PTCP.UNM and cry.PTCP.UNM

‘I went in front of the barn and shouted and cried.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 69)

- (36) Èl ò **príu** las duas sadjalas groma ad
 3SG have.PRS.3SG take.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL two.F bucket.PL cream.F.SG and
 è **juş** òd tégja a şvanjus.
 be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG out_of hut.F.SG and disappear.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘He [the devil] took the two buckets full of cream and left the hut and
 disappeared.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 47)
- (37) La damaun **èssan** aun **lavaj** baud a
 DEF.F.SG morning be.PRS.1PL still get_up.PTCP.M.PL early and
mirau da nòs tiars.
 look.PTCP.UNM of POSS.1PL.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘In the morning we got up early and looked after our animals.’ (Ruèras,
 Büchli 1966: 68)

In narrative sequences where the perfect is used for storyline events, the auxiliary verbs may be omitted. In (38), *prénder* ‘take’, *magljè* ‘eat’, and *métar* ‘put’ would take *vaj* ‘have’, in contrast to *turná* ‘go back’ and *ira* ‘go’, which would take *èssar* ‘be’.

- (38) A *tschès* 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 príu**
 k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM
quèls ... *pinau* *tiar*, *quèls* *puschégn*, *quèlas* ...
 DEM.M.PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL
tablas cun sé tgarn a *dal* *tùt* ... **príu** *quaj*
 tray.PL with up meat.F.SG and of.DEF.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
ad i *gjà* *ajn in* *clavau* a **magljau** a
 and go.PTCP.M.PL down in INDEF.M.SG hay_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and
sjantar turnaj *sé cul* *cul* ... *cun*
 after go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG with
la *vaschala vita* a **méz** *lò* *puspé api*
 DEF.F.SG dishes.F.SG empty.F.SG and put.PTCP.UNM there again and
i
 GO.PTCP.M.PL

‘And the others were in the living room and were playing card games ...
 and we took these ... prepared, these snacks, these ... trays with meat and
 all on it ... we took this and went down into the hay barn and ate it and

4 Verb phrase

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

4.1.2.1.2 Gerund

According to my consultants, the gerund is not used any more in spoken Tu-atschin. There is no occurrence of this category in the oral corpus, but it was used by the traditional story tellers whose legends were published in Büchli (1966).

The gerund was used as a complement of a verb of perception and is introduced by *a/ad* (39 and 40).

- (39) *Als pástars udévan adina a vagnèn tiars.*
DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL hear.IMPV.3PL always COMP come.GER animal.M.PL
'The herdsmen were always hearing cattle coming [...].' (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 53)

- (40) *[...] ina sèra [...] ò' 'ls pástars*
INDEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL
vju ad èn las vacas.
see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.F.PL COW.PL
'[...] one evening [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going away.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 28)

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

- (41) *Raturnòn gl' ùm bétg anavùs da mjadšdé, ò'*
come_back.GER DEF.M.SG man NEG back of noon have.PRS.3PL
las zarclunzas tumju [...].
DEF.F.PL weeder_woman.PL be_afraid.PTCP.UNM
'Since the man hadn't come back by noon, the weeder women got afraid [...].' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 82)

- (42) *Mònd spèl' aua da Ségnas sé òn èlš*
go.GER next_to.DEF.F.SG water of PN up have.PRS.3PL 3PL.M
udju da tschèla vard anzatgí [...].
hear.PTCP.UNM of DEM.F.SG side somebody
'When walking along the creek from Segnas up, they heard somebody on the other side [...].' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 88)

4.1.2.1.3 Infinitive

The infinitive functions either as citation form of the verb or occurs in a non-finite verb phrase. In the latter case, it may occur as the complement of a modal verb (43 and 44), or it in a verb phrase introduced by the complementiser *da/dad* (45).

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

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

- (44) *Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al*
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still to pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau.
 money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG look_after.PTCP.UNM

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

- (45) «*Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
í plé.»
 go.INF any_more

'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (46) *A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è*
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras a
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD
putá agit a dá sògn jéli [...].
 bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF holy.M.SG oil

'And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing [...].' (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

4 Verb phrase

- (47) [...] èl *duvrava quaj mél pr trá, pr trá*
3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD pull.INF SUBORD pull.INF
lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
wood.COLL up from PN
‘[...] he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

If a verb is fronted in order to topicalise it, it occurs nominalised, i.e. as an infinitive. The finite verb form remains in its initial position, but the subject is moved after the finite verb (48).

- (48) *Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.*
no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here
‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

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

- (49) *Al dèrgjar gjù aj lu aun mal. Al*
DEF.M.SG demolish.INF down COP.PRS.3SG then still bad.UNM DEF.M.SG
Vagéli Mòn aj vagnús şut in caschnè.
PN PN be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG under INDEF.M.SG hayrack
‘Demolishing [a hayrack] is indeed dangerous. Vigeli Monn came under a hayrack.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 584)
- (50) *Dèrgjar gjù in caschnè è prigulús.*
demolish.INF down INDEF.M.SG hayrack COP.PRS.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM
‘Demolishing a hayrack is dangerous.’ (Sadrún, m5)

4.1.2.2 Finite categories

4.1.2.2.1 Present indicative

Present tense is formed with the verb stem and the personal endings, which means that it is a zero-marked form, in contrast to, for instance, the imperfect, which is characterised by the suffix *-áv/-év/-èv*.

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

- (51) *Tatlaj! Las òndas, las òlmas dian ... rusari*
 listen.IMP.2PL DEF.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL rosary.M.SG
gjun basèlgja.
 down_in church.F.SG
 ‘Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’
 (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)
- (52) *Gè, sùnd ju ajn tju taritòri, distùrb’ ju té?*
 yes COP.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.2SG.M.SG territory disturb.PRS.1SG 1SG 2SG
 ‘Yes, am I in your territory, do I disturb you?’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (53) *La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.*
 DEF.F.SG slab of.DEF.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PN
 ‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

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

- (54) *A Cazis èr’ ju ajn tgòmbra, àlshò qu’ èra*
 in PN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
tgòmbras da trajs, a lu qu’ è adina, ina
 room.F.PL of three and then DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always one.F.SG
è gè adina p̄rsula, a nus trajs vèvan
 COP.PRS.3SG of_course always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG
ábar ... sùpar!
 but super
 ‘In Cazas I was in a room, well these were rooms for three, and then this was always, one [of the three] is always alone, of course, but the three of us, we had ... a great time.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (55) *Ina studègja ... a a Winterthur [...].*
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PN
 ‘One studies ... in in Winterthur [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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

4 Verb phrase

- (56) *Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
í plé.
 go.INF any_more
 ‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (57) *Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg*
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
als davùs òns.
 DEF.M.PL last.PL year.PL
 ‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I’ve done for the past few years.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

- (58) *Damaun / Ajn duş òns fagjajn nus quaj.*
 tomorrow in two.M year.PL do.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM
 ‘Tomorrow / In two years we’ll do that.’ (Sadrún, m10)

There are also instances of narrative present whose function is to render the story more vivid (59).

- (59) *A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è*
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruéras a
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD
purtá agit a dá sògn jéli né al davùs
 bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF holy.M.SG oil or DEF.M.SG last
sacramèn tga dèvan da quels ... mòribùnds, basta,
 sacrament REL give.IMP.F.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL dying.PL enough
agl aucségnar végn atrás ... Zarcúns a lu
 DEF.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through PN and then
auda ‘l las stréjas sé cò séssum la val
 hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost DEF.F.SG valley
da Lòndadusa òni clumau:
 of PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM
 ‘And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing or the Holy

Sacrament they would give to those ... dying people. Well, the priest comes through Zarcuns and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Londadusa valley.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

In this example, the first verb referring to story line events is modified by the perfect tense (*è saméz sén via*), the two verbs that follow are modified by the present tense (*végn* and *auda*); the last one (*òni clumau*) is again modified by the perfect tense.

4.1.2.2.2 Imperfect indicative

The imperfect indicative is formed by the suffix *-áv/-év/-èv*. The distribution of the allomorphs is as follows. *-áv* is used with all verbs ending in *-á* and with most verbs ending in *-è*, *-év* is used with all verbs ending in *-ar* and *-í*, and *-èv* is used with some verbs ending in *-è*, with most irregular verbs ending in *-aj*, and with some other irregular verbs.

The basic functions of the imperfect indicative are to refer to imperfective aspect in the past with all types of lexical aspect (60 and 61),⁵ to past habitual (62 and 63), or to an unspecified repetition of actions in the past (64).

- (60) *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév’ in cégn ...*
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
gròn ni- vi datiar ad èra lò usché in
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG
téc dòminant.
 bit dominant.ADJ.UNM

‘And precisely at that moment a big swan ... was coming to the place where I was, a bit a dominant one. (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)’

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

- (62) *Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sèra.*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG morning and come.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG evening
 ‘We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.’ (Surajñ, f5, §8.10)

⁵But see (68 – 73).

4 Verb phrase

- (63) *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé*
 and 1PL go.IMP.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
sé a gjù, ju savès raqintá da té quaj.
 up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down, I
 could tell you about that.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (64) *Api lura ... ju mava è mintgataun cun èl a*
 and then 1SG go.IMP.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M SUBORD
dá culur las sèndas [...].
 give.INF colour.F.SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL
 ‘And then ... from time to time I would go with him to give colour [to the
 stones indicating] the trails [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

4.1.2.2.3 Perfect indicative

The perfect is formed with the auxiliary verbs *èssar* ‘be’ or *vaj* ‘have’ and the past participle. If the verb is conjugated with *èssar*, the participle agrees with the subject in gender and number.

The following verbs are conjugated with *èssar*:

- intransitive motion verbs: *curdá* ‘fall’, *dá gjù* ‘fall down’, *í* ‘go’, *mitschá* ‘escape’, *ruclá* ‘fall down’, *sagli* ‘run’, *scapá* ‘escape’, *séjşar gjù* ‘sit down’, *şgulá* ‘fly’, *şvaní* ‘disappear’, and *vagní* ‘come’
- verbs of state: *èssar* ‘be’, *rastá* ‘remain’, and *vívar* ‘live’
- change-of-state verbs: *capitá* ‘happen’, *crèschar* ‘grow’, *maridá* ‘get married’, *murí* ‘die’, *néschar* ‘be born’, and *schabagjá* ‘happen’
- reflexive verbs
- passive verbs.

The main function of the perfect is to express perfective aspect, i.e. to refer to the whole situation with beginning, middle, and end, with or without a relation to the present (65–67).

- (65) *Ju sùnd jus sé Culmatsch ina dumèngja.*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTPC.M.SG up PN INDEF.F.SG Sunday
 ‘One Sunday I went up to Culmatsch.’ (Surajñ, Büchli 1966: 128)

- (66) [...] *api vòu anflau in bi*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.M.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG
ljuc [...]
 place
 ‘[...] and then I found a nice place [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (67) *A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è*
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruéras [...]
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN
 ‘And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras [...].’
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

In Romance languages like French, when the perfective tenses modify a stative verb like *connaître* ‘know’ or *savoir* ‘know’, it usually has an inchoative meaning: *J’ai connu Michel à une fête*. ‘I met Michel at a party’, or *J’ai su qu’elle était malade*. ‘I was told that she was ill’. But in Tuatschin, the perfect is used with these stative verbs (which take the form *ancanùschar* and *savaj*) without an inchoative meaning (68–70). In other words, in these cases the verbs refer imperfectively to the situation, which is underlined by the use of the adverb *schòn* ‘already’ in (69).

- (68) *Èl ò ancanùschju la familja, mù maj*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG family but never
détg òra tgi èri.
 tell.PTCP.UNM out who COP.IMPV.SBJV.3SG
 ‘He knew the family, but never said who they were.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 139)
- (69) *Al buéb ò schòn ancanuschju èlas.*
 DEF.M.SG boy have.PRS.3SG already know.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F
 ‘The boy already knew them [= the girls].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)
- (70) *La fuméglja d’ alp ò savju nuét.*
 DEF.F.SG farmhand.COLL of alp have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM nothing
 ‘The alp shepherds didn’t know anything.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 53)

To get the inchoative meaning, Tuatschin uses *amprèndar d’ ancanùschar* (71), literally ‘learn to know’, and *udí* (72) ‘hear’.

4 Verb phrase

- (71) *Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah*
 and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah
gè ju vès è ugèn ampríu d'
 yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.M.UNM COMP
ancanùschar quaj mél, ábar ju ... sùn halt
 know.INF DEM.M.SG mule but 1SG be.PRS.1SG just
naschjus mèmja tart.
 be_born.PTCP.M.SG too late
 ‘And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very
 much liked to get to know this mule, but I ... was just born too late.’
 (Ruèras, 10, §8.7)
- (72) *Ju a udju tg' èl ségi mazauns.*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG hear.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG ill.M.SG
 ‘I was told that he is ill.’ (Ruèras, m10)

As for *vaj* ‘have’, there is no difference between the use of the perfect or the imperfect, at least according to the native speakers I have consulted. Both the perfect in (73) and the imperfect in (74) could be interpreted as inchoative or as a permanent state.

- (73) *Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda familja,*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family
èlş òn gju indişch ufauns [...].
 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.M.UNM eleven child.M.PL
 ‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...].’ (Ruèras, m4,
 §8.3)
- (74) *Èls vèvan indişch ufauns.*
 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL eleven child.M.PL
 ‘They had eleven children.’ (Sadrún, m5)

As seen in (38) in §4.1.2.1.1, story-line events can also be referred to only with the past participle, without the auxiliary verbs *èssar* or *vaj*.

4.1.2.2.4 Pluperfect indicative

The pluperfect fulfils the function of indicating the perfective aspect of a situation that is situated before another situation in the past (75–77).

- (75) *Agl Andréòli vèva finju ... las ... figuras*
 DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
... avauun ca la caplùta èra stada finida.
 before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’
 (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)
- (76) *Qu’ è lu ju quèluisa tgé ca nuş*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way COMP when 1PL
èssan vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN
tg’ èssan nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quàtar tschun
 COMP be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five
jamnas. Scha vèva l fatg schùber nuét.
 week.F.PL but have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M DO.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing
Quèla fascha èra satratg’ ansjaman [...].
 DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together
 ‘This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein]
 from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.
 But he hadn’t done anything at all. That bandage had contracted [...].’
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (77) *A nuş vajn gju schi súper. Ju èr’ ùs, ah,*
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super 1SF COP.IMPF.1SG now ah
ju vèva gju ajnsasèz al cléj dad èssar
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.M.UNM in_fact DEF.M.SG luck COMP COP.INF
ajn tgòmbra cun ròmqntschas.
 in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL
 ‘And we had such a wonderful time. I was now, eh, in fact I had been
 lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

4.1.2.2.5 Future

According to my consultants, the future is almost never used; in order to refer to a future situation, present tense is used. The only example of the future in the oral corpus is (78).

4 Verb phrase

- (78) *Ad ana d' òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju*
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.M.UNM
ina vòtazjun fadarala şur da las sèndas, sch' i
 INDEF.F.SG vote federal over of DEF.F.PL trail.PL whether EXPL
végn a prèndar ajn quaj né bétg.
 FUT.AUX.3SG COMP take.INF in DEM.UNM OR NEG
 'And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, [about] whether it
 would be adopted or not.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

4.1.2.2.6 Doubly-compound tenses

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

- (79) *Ábar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar*
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after
gju ... calau da fá l pur
 have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
tgu vèva tgéj? ... tschuncònt' òns.
 when.REL.1SG have.IMP.F.1SG what fifty year.M.PL
 'But that is nice, I then had ... stopped working as a farmer when I was ...
 fifty years old.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (80) *A gl òn ca tg' òn gju*
 and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.M.UNM
dépònju quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina
 store.PTCP.M.UNM DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always
détg «la stiva dals gjadjus», ò
 say.PTCP.M.UNM DEF.F.SG living_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG
quèla gju nùm sjantar.
 DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.M.UNM name after
 'And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said
 «the living room of the Jews», has it been called since.' (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (81) *A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégn, lu*
 and and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then
vèvan nus lu gju fatg in tòc
 have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL then have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG prank
humòristic da la músic' anòra.
 funny from DEF.F.SG music out
 'And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had
 played a funny prank.' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

4.1.2.2.7 Progressive aspect

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

- (82) *Duas zarclunzas èran vid 'l zarclá [...].*
 two.F weeder_woman.PL COP.IMP.F.3PL PROG DEF.M.SG weed.INF
 'Two weeder women were weeding [...].' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)
- (83) *Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vida 'l,*
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.F.SG municipality COP.IMP.F.3PL just PROG DEF.M.SG
vida zaná al bògn [...].
 PROG renovate.INF DEF.M.SG bath
 'And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool
 [...].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

4.1.2.2.8 Present and perfect subjunctive

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

Subjunctive mood mostly occurs in some types of object clauses and in adjunct clauses introduced by *avaun tga* 'before', *par tga* 'in order to', *tòca tga* 'until', or *sènza tga* 'without that'.⁷ In the corpus, subjunctive mood occurs in three tenses: present, perfect, and imperfect. Subjunctive imperfect will be treated in the next section.

The most important subjunctive triggers occurring in the corpus are

- (a) verbs of speaking: *dí* 'say', *dumandá* 'ask', *raquintá* 'tell', and *udi* 'hear, be told';

⁶See §4.1.1.2.1.

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

4 Verb phrase

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

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

- (84) *A lu ò ‘l détg — èl sapi*
 and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG
bigja vagní da luòra, ju, èl — stètgi mal, èl
 NEG come.INF from there_out 1SG 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG bad 3SG.M
 — *mòndi da via òra [...].*
 go.PRS.SBJV.3SG from road.F.SG out

‘And then he said he couldn’t walk on that path, that I - that he was sorry, [but] that he would walk on the road [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (85) *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 stauş ajn plaza [...].
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG in job.F.SG

‘Then we would ask him, we had asked [him] where he had been working [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (86) *A la détg raquénta ... tga las stréjas dl*
 and DEF.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL DEF.M.SG
Caschlè tg’ èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt
 PN REL COP.IMPF.3PL up here and do.IMPF.3PL sorcery
vágian trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin⁸ in
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.SG
fil-sajda [...].
 thread-silk

‘And the legend says ... that the witches of the Caschlè which were up

there and used to do sorcery had carried this slab on a ... silk thread [...].’
(Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (87) *Ju a udju tg' èl ségi mazauns.*
1SG have.PRS.1SG hear.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG ill.M.SG
‘I was told that he was ill.’ (Ruèras, m10)

Subjunctive mood is also used in free indirect speech, which is characterised by the lack of an introductory verb (88).

- (88) *Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi*
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 í vi ajn
and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on
via ... a tanaj sé èls.
road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M

‘He was in front of the chapel and had seen that these mules ran away and he thought ... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

In (89) and (90), the sentence starts with a verb in indicative mood, which represents the words of the narrator, and then goes on in subjunctive mood, which represents the words of the army.

- (89) *L' autar dé va ju gju la lubiantscha*
DEF.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG permission
dad í vidajn, ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun
ATTR go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with
mè, tga vajan ... fùnc a sápiàn prèndar ah,
1SG REL have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF eh
dí cu nus vajan da ... ir davùs in
say.INF when 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL to go.INF behind INDEF.M.SG
cuélm.
mountain

‘The day after I got permission to go there, but I needed to take with me some soldiers that had a radio and would say when we should ... go behind a mountain [to protect ourselves].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

⁸sin instead of *sén*

4 Verb phrase

- (90) [...] *a mintga vaschnaunca ò lu stavju*
 and every municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM
dá ajn tùt tgé ca la vagi, nùca la
 give.INF in all what REL 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F
vagi lògans cun mussavias, a las sèndas, tùt.
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL with signpost.F.PL and DEF.F.PL trail.PL all
 ‘[...] and every municipality had then to inform about everything they
 had, where they had places with signposts and trails, everything.’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

- (91) *Da mé par’ aj tg’ al ajfar-piast da véjdar*
 DAT 1SG seem.PRS.3SG EXPL COMP DEF.M.SG hayrack_post of old.ADJ.UNM
èri bétga schi lads.
 COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG NEG so wide.M.SG
 ‘It seems to me that the hayrack posts of earlier times were not so wide.’
 (DRG 3: 582)

- (92) *Ju tégn tga quaj végni fatg*
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG COMP DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG make.PTCP.UNM
pauc.
 little
 ‘I think that this is not often done.’ (Ruèras, DRG 1: 393)

- (93) *Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau — nus sápijan*
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL
durmí òra [...].
 sleep.INF out
 ‘And then we thought we would have a good sleep [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6,
 §8.4)

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

- (94) *Mira tga quaj lò davjanti bétg.*
 look.IMP.2SG COMP DEM.UNM there become.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 ‘Make sure that this does not going to happen.’ (DRG 5: 535)

- (95) *Té mira lu tg' al tat fêtschi lu*
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
mintga dé, préndi gjù quaj a schubrègi
 every day.M.SG take.PRS.SBJV.3SG down DEM.UNM and clean.PRS.SBJV.3SG
a fêtschi sé da néjf.
 and do.PRS.SBJV.3SG up of new.ADJ.UNM

‘And you, make sure that your grandfather does it every day, that he takes them off, that he cleans them and puts them on again.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (96) [...] *lò végni [...] rujau tgé Nössadùna*
 there PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL ask.PTCP.UNM COMP Our_Lady.F.SG
laschi madirá bégn al graun ajn Tujétsch.
 let.PRS.SBJV.3SG ripen.INF well DEF.M.SG cereals in PN

‘[...] there they pray that the Virgin Mary let grow well the cereals in the Tujetsch Valley.’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 94)

- (97) *Ʒu vi bétg tga la tgèsa ardi.*
 1SG want.PRS.1SG NEG COMP DEF.F.SG house burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘I don’t want the house to burn.’ (Sadrún, m5)

In purposive clauses, the conjunctions *par tga* or *tga* are used (98–100).

- (98) *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...*
 and DEF.F.SG evening SUBORD COMP burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
vagnéva quaj, quaj mava l ajnagjù
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down
cul maun èra sènza ... [vòns] a trèva vidò
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out
còtgla gjù sé sél plantschju.
 charcoal.COLL down up on.DEF.M.SG floor

‘And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into [the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (99) *A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits*
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaved.M.PL
l jamna ... — tg' al bap dètschi in
 DEF.F.SG week COMP DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG

4 Verb phrase

frang a miaz.

franc and half.M.SG

‘And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (100) “[...] *i ò dau las sjat.*” “*Lu*
EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL seven then
cuschaj — tg’ inş audi.”
be_quiet.IMP.2PL SUBORD GNR hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 “[...] It has struck seven o’clock.” “Then be quiet so we can hear.”
 (Gadola 1935: 87)

The subordinator *avaun* ‘before’ occurs as *avaun tga* (101), *avaun ca* (102), and *avaun ca tga* (103). In (103) subjunctive mood is used, in contrast to (101) and (102) where indicative mood is used.

- (101) *Avaun tgi végn malaura*
before COMP.EXPL come.PRS.IND.3SG bad_weather.F.SG
isan las vacas şgarşchajval.
run_back_and_forth.PRS.3SG DEF.F.PL COW.PL terrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Before bad weather comes, the cows run back and forth like mad.’ (DRG 5: 777)
- (102) *Agl Andréòli vèva finju ... las ... figuras*
DEF.M.SG PN have.IMP.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
... avaun ca la caplùta èra stada
before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMP.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG
finida.
finish.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’ (Ruèras, m5, §8.8)
- (103) *Qu’ è stau ... mat^haj ... gl òn avaun*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before
ca tgu mòndi ... ál’ ampréma classa.
REL REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.F.SG first form
 ‘This was ... probably... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

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

- (104) *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun nias*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
audi *anzatgéj [...]*.
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something
 ‘And then the nun was out [in the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...].’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

- (105) *Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[ar] ... né usché*
 some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG herdsman or so
cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg’ inş
 when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until SUBORD GNR
èr’ *ajn ... ajn «schwung» [...]*.
 COP.IMPF.3SG in in momentum.M.SG
 ‘Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they would help until one was again in momentum [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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

- (106) *[...] èla savèv’ è í vidò gljunsch a paj*
 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG
sènza tgu stòpi tumaj tga la
 without SUBORD.1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG fear.INF COMP 3SG.F
mòndi a funs.
 go.PRS.SBJV.3SG to ground.M.SG
 ‘[...] she could go far on foot without me having to be afraid that she could drown.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)
- (107) *Èla végn sjantar sènza tga nus lajan.*
 3SG.F come.PRS.3SG after without SUBORD 1PL want.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 ‘She follows us without us wanting [it].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

4 Verb phrase

If a subordinate clause depends on a clause whose verb occurs in subjunctive mood, the clause which normally does not take subjunctive takes it by syntactic attraction. An example is (108), where the subjunctive occurs in the relative clause which normally requires indicative.

- (108) [...] *quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn*
 DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL then_in_fact
stém sch' i vajan sé la nègla tg'
 attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.F.SG carnation REL
èla vaj dau né bétg.
 3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM OR NEG
 '[...] the young women would pay close attention to whether they had put on the hat the carnation she had given them or not.' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

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

- (109) *Quèl lèva bétga craj tga 'ls tiars*
 DEM.M.SG want.IMPF.3SG NEG believe.INF COMP DEF.M.PL animal.PL
rašdassan da Nadal-nòtg durònt mèssa [...].
 speak.COND.3PL of Christmas-night.F.SG during mass.F.SG
 'He didn't want to believe that the animals speak during mass on Christmas Eve [...].' (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 132)

There are two cases of the use of the subjunctive which I could not explain. I therefore asked the specialist of the use of mood in Sursilvan, Matthias Grünert, if he could explain these cases.

The first case is the subjunctive in an object clause which depends on the verb *savaj* 'know' (110).

- (110) *A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus*
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL
vágian adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian
 have.PRS.SBJV.1PL always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL
bugèn cò gjù à scùla, a nus fètschian
 with_pleasure here down to school.F.SG and 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
filistucas [...].
 prank.PL
 'And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun, and that we liked to come to school down here, and that we used to play pranks [...].'
 (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

Matthias Grünert (p.c. 2020/05/25) explains that the subjunctive after *saver*, especially in the imperfect, is well documented in Standard Sursilvan. Grünert's explanation for such cases is that the situation referred to in the object clause is presented from the perspective of the subject of the object clause and not of the subject of *saver*.

The second example concerns the use of the subjunctive in a conditional sentence which depends on the particle verb *anflá ò/òra* 'find out' (111).

- (111) [...] *api vèvan nuş anflau òra scha nus mòndian*
 and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL
a séjšian spèr la sòr' Andréa, lèza savèva
 and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.F.SG nun PN DEM.F.SG know.IMPF.3SG
ròmòntsch.
 Romansh.M.SG
 '[...] and then we had found out that if we went to sit next to Sister
 Andrea, she knew Romansh.' (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

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

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

However, (111) is highly elliptic and there is no object clause depending on *anflá òra* 'find out'; the subjunctive occurs in a conditional clause instead of the direct conditional. Therefore, (111) could be the opposite of (109), where the direct conditional is used instead of the subjunctive. In any case the use of the subjunctive in (111) is not accepted by other consultants.

4.1.2.2.9 Imperfect subjunctive

Imperfect subjunctive is very rare in the corpus, where it only occurs with verbs of speaking (113 and 114) and verbs of opinion (115).

4 Verb phrase

- (113) [...] *la détga di tg' èrian schindanajn*
 DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL so_in
tg' i udévian c' i tucavi da
 COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of
mjadšdé ajnt Ruèras.
 noon.M.SG in PN

‘[...] the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (114) *Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi*
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG
vju tga quèls mèls èn
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL
saspuantaj [...].
 REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL

‘[The priest said that] He was in front of the chapel and had seen that these mules ran away [...].’ (Sadrún, m10, §8.7)

- (115) *Ju craj tgu vèvi òtg vacas [...].*
 1SG believe.PRS.1SG COMP.1SG have.SBJV.IMPF.1SG eight cow.F.PL
 ‘I think I had eight cows [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

4.1.2.2.10 Direct and indirect conditional

The direct conditional mostly occurs in conditional sentences, in the protasis as well as in the apodosis. The protasis (118 and 119) and the apodosis (117) are sometimes not expressed overtly. The direct conditional has a simple and a compound form. The simple form expresses present counter-factuality (116 and 117).

- (116) *A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancúntar Tgòm ... šaj*
 and then PN more_uphill here in_direction PN COP.PRS.3SG
ina rùsna, quaj fùš è aun intarasant
 INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.M.UNM
sch' ins savés, quaj datèscha da gl òn ju
 if GNR know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.M.SG year 1SG
... a ussa bigja grat prèsèn, méli a sistschian a
 have.PRS.1SG now NEG just present thousand and six_hundred and
zatgéj.
 something

‘And then Pardatsch ... a bit more uphill here in direction of Tgom ...

there is a cave, it would indeed be interesting if one knew, this is dated, I ... don't have it exactly in mind, sixteen hundred something.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (117) *Té savèssaş í cul tat ajn Pardatsch.*
 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN
 'You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (118) *[...] nuş astgèvan bégja raşdá ròmonsç, inş*
 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR
vèş gè savju dá la bùca şur
 have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over
dlas sòras.
 of.DEF.F.PL nun.PL
 '[...] we were not allowed to speak Romansh, as a matter of fact one could have made derisive remarks about the nuns.' (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (119) *[...] ju fùş ina sèra maj id' ò da*
 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of
tgèşa la sèra da stgir.
 home.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening of dark.M.UNM
 '[...] I would never have left home in the evening when it was dark.' (Sadrún, f2, §8.6)

As examples (116–119) show, the final *-s* of the singular persons and of the second person plural of the direct conditional is realised as [ş] 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 *duèss-i* 'should.COND.3SG-EXPL' §8.8.

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

4 Verb phrase

- (120) [...] *a ... lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch'*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.M.UNM if
èl prandèssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN
 '[...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.'
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (121) [...] *api lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.M.UNM DAT 3SG.M and
détg, éba, mi' ùm ségi èba
 say.PTCP.M.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely
mòrts scù i sá pian, ábar ... ju fagèssi
 die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG
ugèn vinavaun quèla lavur [...].
 with_pleasure still DEM.F.SG job
 '[...] and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as
 they knew, but ... that I would like to keep doing this job [...]' (Sadrún,
 f3, §8.1)

- (122) *Èl ò détg tg' èl vèvi*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M have.COND.INDIR.3SG
vju èls.
 see.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M
 'He said that he had seen them.' (Sadrún, m6)

4.1.2.2.11 Tense agreement

In contrast to other Romance varieties, Tuatschin has no tense agreement. In object clauses, it is always the tense that would occur in direct speech which is used. This is probably connected to the fact that Tuatschin, as well as Standard Sursilvan, uses subjunctive after verbs of speaking or verbs of opinion, be they affirmative or negated, also in contrast to other Romance varieties. An example is (123).

- (123) [...] *api lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and
détg, éba, mi' ùm ségi èba
 say.PTCP.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely

mòrts [...].

die.PTCP.M.SG

‘[...] and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died [...].’
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

In this example, perfect subjunctive is used (*ségi mòrts*) and not pluperfect subjunctive (**èri mòrts*), which does not occur in the corpus. In direct speech, perfect indicative would be used: «Mi’ 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* ‘have that’ (124), (126), and (127), or *végn tga* ‘come that’ (125), but the examples suggest that the construction focuses on the current relevance of the event the verb refers to (124 and 125) or on habituality in the past (126 and 127).

(124) *Ʒu a tga fò bléd.*

1SG have.PRS.1SG COMP do.PRS.3SG sick

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

(125) *I brišcha la cazèta, i végn tga sufla.*

EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG COMP

blow.PRS.3SG

blow.PRS.3SG

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

(126) *A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan rašdá ramòntsch.*

and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL

speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

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

(127) *[...] api sjantar mav’ ins lu ... ségi quaj ajn quèla bar né ajn tchèla ... nùca tg’ i vèva lu tga trèva ... dad ira.*

and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM in

DEM.F.SG bar or in DEM.F.SG where REL EXPL have.IMPF.3SG then

COMP pull.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF

COMP pull.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF

COMP pull.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF

‘[...] and then we would go into this bar or into that one ... wherever it drew us to go.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

4.1.3 Particle verbs

A particle verb is a verb that combines with an adverb to form a semantic unit. An example is *fá gjù*, literally ‘make down’, and which means ‘make an appointment’. The origin of such structures is controversial: they are considered either a genuine Romansh structure, a loan from German or Swiss German, or both. *Fá gjù*, however, is a clear case of calquing from Swiss German. In Swiss German, ‘make an appointment’ is [ˈabˌmaxə]. In this lexeme, the prefix *ab-* has been interpreted as [ˈabə] ‘down’, hence *gjà*, and [ˈmaxə] means ‘do, make’, which leads to the particle verb *fá gjù*.

There is an important difference between the German and the Romansh construction: In German, Standard or Swiss, the particle is a verbal prefix which in simple tenses is located at the end of the sentence, as in (128).

- (128) [*ix max jedə ta:g mit əm ab*]
 1SG make every day with him PTCL
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’ (Swiss German, own knowledge)

In such cases, the particle follows the verb in Tuatschin (and other Sursilvan varieties) (129).

- (129) *Ju fétsch gjù cun èl mintga dé.*
 1SG make.PRS.1SG down with 3SG.M every day.M.SG
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’ (Sadrún, m4)

However, in Tuatschin and other Sursilvan varieties, the particle is not immediately adjacent to the verb, since some elements may intervene between the verb and the particle. These elements are inverted subjects – pronouns (130) or full noun phrases (131) –, the negator *bétga* and its variants (132), as well as other adverbs like *aun* ‘still’, *è/èra* (133) ‘also’, *lu* ‘then’ (133), *magari* ‘sometimes’ (134), *maj* ‘never’ (135), *pròpi* ‘exactly’ (136), *puspè* ‘again’ (137), or *schòn* ‘certainly’ (138).

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

- (131) *Té mù trafica usché vinavaun, api sièta al*
 2SG just be_up_to.IMP.2SG so further and shoot.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG
malitèr gjù té in dé.
 army down 2SG INDEF.M.SG day
 ‘You just go on behaving this way and the army will shoot you down
 one day.’ (Gadola 1935: 91)
- (132) *Damaun prèn ju bégja sé èl.*
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG up 3SG
 ‘Tomorrow I won’t lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (133) *[...] a lu dèvani lu è sé da, da scrívar tòcs*
 and then give.3PL.3PL then also up COMP COMP write.INF play.M.PL
[...].
 ‘[...] and then they also gave [us homework] to write plays [...].’
 (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)
- (134) *Ju prèn magari sé èl.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
 ‘Sometimes I lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (135) *Cun quèl fétsch ju maj gjù.*
 with DEM.M.SG make.PRS.1SG 1SG never down
 ‘With this person I never make an appointment.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (136) *Ah, tgé ... prandèvan pròpi òra sa ins bégj’ éxáct*
 ah what take.IMP.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
[...].
 ‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly [...].’ (Sadrún,
 m4, §8.3)
- (137) *Prèn puspè sé quaj!*
 take.IMP.2SG again up DEM.UNM
 ‘Lift this again!’ (Sadrún, m9)

4 Verb phrase

- (138) *Al plé mal stùn ju pal bian cazè. Al*
 DEF.M.SG most bad stay.PRS.1SG 1SG for.DEF.M.SG good shoe DEF.M.SG
pòlich crèscha schòn ansjaman.
 thumb grow.PRS.3SG certainly together
 ‘I am very sorry for the shoe of good quality. My big toe will certainly knit together again.’ (Berther 1998: 51)

The adverbs presented in (130 to 138) must stand between the verb and its particle; the adverbs *savèns* ‘often’ (139 and 140) and *spèrt* (141–144) as well as *dabòt* (145), both ‘rapidly’, may occur between the verb and its particle or may follow the particle.

- (139) *Ju prèn savèns sé èl.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG often up 3SG.M
 ‘I often lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (140) *Quèl prènd ju sé savèns.*
 DEM.M.SG take.PRS.1SG 1SG up often
 ‘This one I often lift up.’ (Sadrún, f1)
- (141) *Èls prèndan spèrt sé als ufauns.*
 3PL.M take.PRS.3PL rapidly up DEF.M.PL child.PL
 ‘They lift the children rapidly.’ (Sadrún, m9)
- (142) *Èls prèndan sé spèrt als ufauns.*
 3PL take.PRS.3PL up rapidly DEF.M.PL child.PL
 ‘They lift the children rapidly.’ (Sadrún, m9)
- (143) *Ju prèn aun sé spèrt agl ufaun.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG still up rapidly DEF.M.SG child
 ‘Right now, I’ll lift the child rapidly.’ (Ruèras, m3)
- (144) *Ju prèn spèrt aun sé agl ufaun.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.M.SG child
 ‘Right now, I’ll lift the child rapidly.’ (Ruèras, m3)
- (145) *Ju prèn aun dabòt sé agl ufaun.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.M.SG child
 ‘Right now, I’ll lift the child rapidly.’ (Ruèras, f4)

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

- (146) **Ju prèn mintgataun sé èl.*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
 ‘Sometimes I lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)

In contrast to German, direct objects, be they pronominal or nominal, may not stand between the verb and the particle: *bétar navèn quaj* ‘throw away this’ vs. **bétar quaj navèn* ‘throw this away’, or *prèndar sé èl/agl ufaun* ‘lift up him/the child’ vs **prèndar èl/agl ufaun sé* ‘lift him/the child up’. A further example of the position of the personal pronoun with respect to the particle can be found in (147).

- (147) *A nuş duş vèvan dad í a rimná quèls*
 and 1PL two.M have.IMP.1PL to go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEM.M.PL
pòrs, prèndar òr, schá ò èls, ò da nuégl.
 pig.PL take.INF out let.INF out 3PL.M out of barn.M.SG
 ‘And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them out, out of the barn.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

4.1.4 Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs are *èssar* ‘be’, *paraj dad èssar* ‘seem’, and the change of state verb *vagní* ‘become’.

The copula *èssar* ‘be’ is a general copula which allows non-verbal elements to fulfil predicative functions, e.g. nouns (148), adjectives (149), prepositional phrases in locative (150), temporal (151), or comitative (152) function, or adverbs (153).

- (148) *A qu’ è pròpi ina ... pulit grònda*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big
plata [...].
 slab

‘And this really is a ... very big slab [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (149) *Quaj èra in’ jèda ... brutal tiar nus,*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG one.F.SG time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL
bèn-bèn.

RED~really

‘Once it was terrible among us, really.’ (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

4 Verb phrase

- (150) *Èl èri avaun caplùta [...].*
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel.F.SG
 ‘He was in front of the chapel [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (151) *Quaj hanléj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg’*
 DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL
i èra ál schènivával tschantanè [...].
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG nineteenth century.M.SG
 ‘This cattle business, in the sense of how it was in the nineteenth century [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)
- (152) *Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la*
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG
mùma da mju còlèga tg’ èra è cun mè ...
 mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG
vèvan stju gidá nus [...].
 have.IMPF.3PL must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL
 ‘Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me ... had had to help us [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (153) *Gè scù bjè autar è tg’ è samidau.*
 yes as a_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM
Quaj è usché.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO
 ‘Yes, as many other things that also have changed. That’s how things are.’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

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

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

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

4.1.5 Existential verbs

Existential constructions are formed with the expletive pronoun *i*, less frequently with *quaj* 'this', in the subject position and the verbs *èssar* 'be' (157–162) or *dá* 'give' (163–168).

As is the case with *quaj* (see §3.2.2.1, examples (57–60), the existential verb agrees with the expletive subject pronoun, but not with the predicative noun, which means that if the predicative noun is plural, the verb form is singular (157).

- (157) [...] *ancunt' agl atún èri plé paucs*
 towards DEF.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL more little.M.PL
tiars [...].
 animal.PL
 '[...] towards autumn there were fewer animals [...]' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (158) [...] *lu şè aun dus trajs intarassants lòganş ajn*
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL still two three interesting place.M.PL in
cò [...].
 here
 '[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...]'
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (160) *Êr şaj stau bjè turists sé lò.*
 yesterday be.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM many tourist.PL up there
 'Yesterday there were many tourists up there.' (Sadrún, m4)

4 Verb phrase

- (161) *Api plénèngjù, èri gl unviarn, qu'*
 and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG winter DEM.UNM
èra baghéts aun, ad èra pṛvasèdars [...].
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL
 'And down there, it was winter, there were still buildings [there], and there were men who would feed the animals [...]' (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)
- (162) *A quaj èra mù in ganc tras.*
 and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through
 'And there was only one corridor.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (163) *[...] i dat aun bjè da quèlas détgas.*
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still many of DEM.F.PL legend.PL
 '[...] there still are many such legends.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (164) *[...] i dat ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn sé*
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on
cun mju còlèga al dé da la scargèda [...].
 with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.M.SG day of DEF.F.SG drove.PTCP.F.SG
 '[...] there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig droving [...]' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (165) *Las nòtízjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,*
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
als duş baps prandèvan aj, i dèva ajnta
 DEF.M.PL two.M father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG in
Ruèras, dèv' aj in ca vèva ràdjò.
 PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG
 'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.'
 (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (166) *Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts scha*
 well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL CORR
vagnévi lu magari rimnau quaj
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
duş trajş diş api méz tùt ajn ina ... tùt
 two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.M.PL all in INDEF.F.SG all

ansjaman.

together

‘Well, when there were leftovers, they would sometimes be collected for two or three days and then put all together in a ... all together.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (167) *A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximş unvjarns ...*
 and then DEF.M.SG next one of.DEF.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
òi dau ina grònda navada [...].
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG big snowfall

‘And then the next, one of the next winters ... there was a big snowfall [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (168) *Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònda lavina*
 DEM.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche
... a vèva ... destruí ina grònda part
 and have.IMP.F.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part
dl vitg ajntadém Ruèras ... a vèv’ è
 of.DEF.M.SG village uppermost PN and have.IMP.F.3SG also
dau mòrts [...].
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL

‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras ... and people died [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

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

- (169) *Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ...*
 well EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMP.F.3PL
nùndétg, ad i şèra òns nùca tg’ èra
 incredibly and EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG
aua, ad èra òns nùca tga spardévan.
 water and EXIST.IMP.F.3SG year.M.PL where REL lose.IMP.F.3PL

‘Well, there were years when they earned ... a lot of money, and there were years with rain, and years when they would lose money.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)

- (174) *Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad*
 yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG of DEF.F.SG nature and
a adina ... vulju fá mi' òbligazjun
 have.PRS.3SG always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation
a finju, a tshèls dajan è fá.
 and finish.PTCP.UNM and DEM.M.PL must.PRS.3PL also do.INF
 'Yes, exactly like that. But I, a person who likes nature, and I have
 always ... wanted to meet my obligations, and the other people should
 also do [the same].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (175) *Ju munglaş ir' a tgèsa.*
 1SG must.COND.1SG go.INF to house.F.SG
 'I should go home.' (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (176) *A tiar in pur ... èssan nuş í, èr'*
 and by INDEF.M.SG farmer be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG
ju, vèv' ju gju dad incassá quèls raps
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL
 [...].
 'And we went ... to a farmer, I was, I had to collect this money [...]'
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (177) *[...] l' antschata da la parmavèra stuèv' ins*
 DEF.F.SG beginning of DEF.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG GNR
schè ajn als tiarş ajn nuégl [...].
 let.INF in DEF.M.PL animal.PL in barn.M.SG
 '[...] at the beginning of spring one had to let the animals into the barn
 [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (178) *Api ... şè quaj vagnú príu ajn, a*
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and
lu ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi quaj
 then have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM
da mintga cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs
 DAT every canton.M.SG and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL
stavju lura ... métar sén pajs quaj [...].
 must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM
 'Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it

4 Verb phrase

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

Astgè ‘be allowed, can’ (179) and *schè/schá*¹⁰ (180) ‘let, allow’ expresses permission.

- (179) [...] *api vajn nuş gju quèla gròndjuş’ idéa scha*
and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if
nuş ástgian cuşchiná.
1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘[...] and then we had that great idea [to ask] whether we were allowed to cook.’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

- (180) *In autar òn schajş vuş èra ir’ ad alp mè.*
INDEF.M.SG other year let.PRS.2PL 2PL also go.INF to alp 1SG
‘Another year you will also let me go to alp.’ (Gadola 1935: 85)

Astgè is used in polite requests, as in (181).

- (181) *Astg’ ju aun dá in glaş aua [...]?*
be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.INF INDEF.M.SG cup water
‘May I give [you] another glass of water [...]?’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

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

- (182) *A las sòras savèvan tga [...] nus fétshian*
and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
flistùcas, ad èlas pudévan maj tiar nus.
prank..pl and 3PL.F can.IMPF.3PL never to 1PL

‘And the nuns knew that [...] we used to play pranks, and that they would never be able to prove anything against us.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (183) *Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju*
and and INDEF.M.SG pig eh have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
scapá sé Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu’ er’
escape.INF up PN through DEF.F.SG fence DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG

¹⁰*Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

ina, la saiv èri, vèva
 INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL have.IMPF.3SG
rùt in palé, quaj vèva pudju
 break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
atrás [...].
 through

‘And and a pig ... eh ... had been able to escape in Valtgeva through the fence, that was a, the fence was, had a broken post, so it had been able to go through [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (184) *Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG
bitg’ í plé.
 NEG go.INF any_more

‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (185) *Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
survigilònza, bétga schanza da pudaj atrás, quaj dé
 vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG ATTR can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
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].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

- (186) *Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savèssaş í*
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
cul tat ajn Pardatsch.»
 with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

4 Verb phrase

- (187) *Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sápián*
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL
durmí òra [...].
 sleep.INF out
 ‘And then we thought we would have a good sleep [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (188) [...] *álşò òr dal grép òni*
 this_is_to_say out.of.DEF.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg’ ins sò ira
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF
ah a paj flòt.
 eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (189) *Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjuş gjù, api vau*
 and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj’ ajfach í
 think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF
ál’ aua.
 into.DEF.F.SG water
 ‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (190) *Quaj crajs bé, l’ antschata cu ju*
 DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG
a surpríu quaj, èri,
 have.PRS.1SG take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
èri da quèls tgé ... mataj¹¹ tg’ ina
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.M.PL REL probably COMP INDEF.F.SG
fèmna sapi fá da quaj.
 woman can.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.INF of DEM.UNM
 ‘This you don’t believe, at the beginning when I took on this job, there were, there were some men who ... [would say] that a woman is not able to do that.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

- (191) *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 stauş ajn plaza, èra 'l
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG in job.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
staus zatgé vid Andermatt– a tudèstg savèv'
 COP.PTCP.M.SG something over PN and German know.IMPF.1SG
ju è bigja– vèvan nuş dumandau in' jèda sch'
 1SG also NEG have.IMPF.1PL 1PL ask.PTCP.UNM one.F time whether
èl sapi, savèva 'l lu schòn in téc
 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed INDEF.M.SG bit
tudèstg, savèva 'l lu aun, quaj tg' èra
 German know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then really DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG
lu bigj' al cas tiar quèls végl's aun.
 then NEG DEF.M.SG case at DEM.M.PL old.PL really
 'Then we would ask him, we had asked [him] where he had been
 working, he had been working for a certain time in Andermatt – and
 [that he knew] German I didn't know either – we had asked him
 whether he knew, he knew some German indeed, he really knew, which
 then was not the case with these old people.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (192) *[...] da nòs tjams salagravan nuş da vagní*
 of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP come.INF
ò da scùla par è savaj — a la gjuvantétgna.
 out of school.F.SG SUBORD also can.INF to DEF.F.SG youth
 '[...] when we were young we were happy to come out of school in order
 to also be able [to go] to the association of young people.' (Sadrún, m9,
 §8.15)

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

- (193) *Cò pùn ins cargè tschuncònta vacas.*
 here can.PRS.3SG GNR charge.INF fifty COW.F.PL
 'Here one can put to graze fifty cows.' (DRG 3: 376)

4 Verb phrase

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

- (194) «Gjòn, **vul**¹² té bétga **gidá** mè da cargè quèla
 PN want.PRS.2SG 2SG NEG help.INF 1SG COMP carry.INF DEM.F.SG
bùra?» «Bèn bèn, scù ju **pùs**, vi ju schòn **gidá**.»
 block yes yes as 1SG can.PRS.1SG want.PRS.1SG 1SG certainly help.INF
 ‘«Gion, don’t you want to help me charge this block?» «Yes, sure, I will
 certainly help [you] as well as I can.»’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106)

- (195) [...] *api vòu anflau in bi ljuc,*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG place
api lu ... lèv’ ju fá bògn lò [...].
 and then want.IMPF.1SG 1SG do.INF bath there
 ‘[...] and then I found a nice place, and then I wanted to take a bath there
 [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

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

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

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

- (197) [...] *sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina*
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG
samagljònta caplùta [...].
 similar chapel
 ‘[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (198) [...] *quèlş vèvan in purèsser plètòst ... pin, tgé*
 DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather small what
pudévan èlş vaj, déjsch quindisç armaulş gronş api
 can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL and
lu aun tgaugas [...].
 then besides goat.F.PL
 ‘[...] they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten,
 fifteen big animals and then also goats [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

¹² *Vul* is Standard Sursilvan for *vutas*.

- (199) *Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav'*
 take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG
al grép [...].
 DEF.M.SG rock
 'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...].' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (200) *Préndar ajn, sò schòn èssar tga samidav'*
 take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG
al grép [...].
 DEF.M.SG rock
 'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...].' (Sadrún, m5)

Epistemic modality is also expressed by adverbs like *fòrsa* (§8.5) / *fòrza* (§8.3) 'maybe', *mataj* (§8.11) 'probably', or *sagir* (§8.13) 'certainly'.

4.2 Arguments of the verb

4.2.1 Subject

The subject is not marked morphologically but is defined by its position either before or after the verb according to the verb-second syntax of Tuatschin (and more generally of Sursilvan). Subject inversion in general will be treated in §5.1 about argument order.

Singular subject nouns which have a plural reference, such as *gljut* 'people' trigger the third person plural in the verb. Since this phenomenon is attested in the DRG (about 100 years ago) and in Büchli (1966, at least 50 years ago), it can be assumed that it has already been in the language for a long time (201–204).

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

4 Verb phrase

- (203) *A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat [...].*
 and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather
 ‘And many people were afraid of my grandfather [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

The following phenomenon is also attested in the DRG materials and in Büchli (1966). If there is subject inversion and the subject corresponds to a third person plural, the verb form is in the singular (205–213), even if there is an element between the verb and the inverted subject. An example is (209), where *è* ‘also’ stands between the verb and the subject.

- (205) *La salín schava ’lş utschalş bétga stá*
 DEF.F.SG wheat let.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL bird.PL NEG stay.INF
ugèn.
 with_pleasure
 ‘The birds didn’t like to let the wheat be.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 592)

- (206) *[...] ina sèra [...] ò ’ls pástars*
 INDEF.F.SG afternoon have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL
vju ad èn las vacas.
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.F.PL COW.PL
 ‘[...] one afternoon [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 28)

- (207) *[...] lu vèva las fèmnas da lavá ò la*
 then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL woman.PL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG
tgèsa [...].
 house
 ‘[...] then the women had to clean the house [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

- (208) *[...] quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn*
 DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL then in_fact
stém sch’ i vajan sé la nègla tg’
 attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.F.SG carnation REL
èla vaj dau né bétg.
 3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM OR NEG
 ‘[...] the young women would pay close attention to whether they had

put on the hat the carnation she [they] had given them or not.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (209) *Ad òz fò è las gjufnas ... par tga*
 and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL SUBORD SUBORD
... ségi avùnda.
 EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough

‘And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (210) *[...] fòrsa scha ju şbaglja bitg şè quèlas*
 maybe if 1SG be_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL
figuras lu vagnidas trans-pòrtadaş a mézaş
 figure.PL then PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.PL transport.PTCP.F.PL and put.PTCP.F.PL
ajn quèla, ajn quaj sòntgèt.
 in DEM.F.SG in DEM.M.SG little_chapel

‘[...] maybe, if I am not wrong, yes, when these figures were transported and put into this little chapel.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (211) *[...] quaj è vagnú da bètòn’ ajn, a*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ò laş aun adina.
 hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always

‘[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (212) *A zatgéj mava ‘lş aucs mavan lu aun*
 and something go.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMP.F.3PL then also
anzatgé ... ád uáut.
 something to forest.M.SG

‘And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (213) *A ... cò mava ‘lş buéts la stad ad alp [...].*
 and here go.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.PL boy.PL DEF.F.SG summer to alp.M.SG

‘And ... here, during summer, the boys would go to the summer pastures [...]’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

4.2.2 Direct object

The direct object is not marked morphologically, but is defined by its syntactic position, be it a pronoun or a full noun phrase. With simple tenses, it is located after the verb (214) or after the subject in case of subject inversion (215), as well as after the negator *bétga*, particles, and adverbs that have been treated in §4.1.3 about particle verbs.

- (214) *A... vagnéva mëndar a mëndar a dumagnavan bigj'*
 and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG
 [èl] ál, ál spital lèva 'l bitg í
 3SG.M TO.DEF.M.SG TO.DEF.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF
né tiar miadis.
 or to doctor.M.PL

‘And ... it became worse and worse and they couldn’t induce [him] to go to the, to the hospital he didn’t want to go, nor to the doctors.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (215) *Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saş*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG
í ajn api vèzas [té] [quèlas ah... figuraş] ajn grondèzja da
 GO.INF in and see.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.F.PL ah figure.PL in size.F.SG of
carstgaun.
 human_being.M.SG

‘This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures of the size of human beings.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

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

- (216) *Quaj ò bégja dau [discusjun].*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG EXIST.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (217) *Ju prèn magari sé [èl].*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M

‘Sometimes I lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)

One ditransitive verb, *dumandá* ‘ask, ask for’, has two direct objects (218 and 219).¹³

- (218) [...] *ina* *zagrindara* [...] ò *dumandau* [*la*
 INDEF.F.SG Yenish have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
 mùma da tgèsa] [*in tgavégl da sia* *buéba*].
 mother.F of house one.M hair of POSS.3SG.F.SG girl
 ‘[...] a Yenish woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair of
 her daughter.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 131)
- (219) *Èl* ò *dumandau* [*quaj*] [*la* *mùma*].
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DEF.F.SG mother
 ‘He asked his mother this.’ (Sadrún, m4)

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

- (220) [*Quaj*] è *vagnú* *dumandau* *la* *mùma*.
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.UNM ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG mother
 ‘This the mother was asked.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (221) [*La* *mùma*] è *vagnida* *dumandada* *quaj*.
 DEF.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG ask.PTCP.F.SG DEM.UNM
 ‘The mother was asked this.’ (Sadrún, m6)

Other cases could be *dá ffuc la lèna* (m10) ‘light the firewood’, literally ‘give fire the firewood’, *dá culur las sèndas* ‘paint the trails’ (f3, §8.1), literally ‘give colour the trails’, or *dá culur al mir* (m4) ‘give colour the wall’.

But in contrast to *dumandá*, only the RECIPIENT of *dá* may be passivised, in the sense that it is promoted to subject position and that the past participle agrees with it (222 and 223).

- (222) *Al* *mir* è *bigja vagnús* *daus* *culur*.
 DEF.M.SG wall be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.M.SG give.PTCP.M.SG colour.F.SG
 ‘The wall has not been painted.’ (Sadrún, m4)

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

4 Verb phrase

- (223) *La lèna è bigja vagnida dada*
 DEF.F.SG firewood be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG
ffuc.
 fire.M.SG
 ‘The firewood has not been lit.’ (Sadrún, m5)

However, with a regular ditransitive verb like *dá* ‘give’ as in (224), the RECIPIENT may not be passivised (225).

- (224) *Ju a dau in bi schéngghètq*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.UNM present
da la mùma.
 DAT DEF.F.SG mother
 ‘I gave a beautiful present to my mother.’ (Sadrún, m6)

- (225) **La mùma è vagnida dada in*
 DEF.F.SG mother COP.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG DEF.M.SG
bi schéngghètq.
 beautiful.UNM present
 ‘Mother was given a beautiful present.’ (Sadrún, m5)

For these reasons, I conclude that *mir* ‘wall’ and ‘*lèna*’ ‘firewood’ in (222 and 223) have to be viewed as direct objects and not as indirect objects.

As for the THEME, it cannot be passivised, in the sense that it cannot be promoted to subject position and trigger the agreement of the past participle (226).

- (226) **Culur è bigja *vagnida *dada al mir.*
 colour.F.SG be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG DEF.M.SG wall
 ‘Colour has not been given to the wall.’ (literally ‘Colour has not been given given the wall’). (Sadrún, m6)

Instead, an impersonal passive with the expletive pronoun *i* in subject position as well as the past participle in its unmarked form must be used (227).

- (227) *I è bigja vagnú dau culur al*
 EXPL be..PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.UNM give.PTCP.UNM colour.F DEF.M.SG
mir.
 wall
 ‘Colour has not been given to the wall.’ (literally ‘It has not been given colour to the wall’). (Sadrún, m6)

This holds for *dá fjud* as well.

Since *culur* and *fjud* in *dá culur la prajt* and *dá fjud la lèna*, cannot be passivised, they cannot be considered direct objects of *dá* in these two constructions. Therefore I suggest that they form a unit with *dá* so that *dá culur* and *dá fjud* are two compound monotransitive verbs with *al mir* and *la lèna* as their direct objects. However, in order to resolve this problem, more research is needed.

Some younger speakers do not accept constructions like *dá culur la prajt* and *dá fjud la lèna*, but prefer the BENEFICIARY to be marked by dative *da*: *dá fjud da la lèna*, *dá culur dal mir*, whereas they do accept the construction with *dumandá* ‘ask’ as in (219).

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

- (228) *A què èra schòn strètq, álşò sch' ju*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG
stèş aun fá in' jèda quaj, figès ju
 must.COND.1SG again do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM do.COND.1SG 1SG
bétga [___].
 NEG DO
 ‘And this was really narrow, well, if I had to do it once again, I wouldn’t do it.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (229) *Api ò èla cò détg: Cool, ju mòn*
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F here say.PTCP.UNM cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG
grad a raquénta [dad èlas] [___].
 right_away and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F DO
 ‘And then she said there: Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (230) *A lura ... nus, nuş şhajn [dis vischnaucas]* [___],
 and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DEF.DAT.PL municipality.PL DO
tarmètajn ábar tutina ‘eine Mängelmeldung’¹⁴ scù quaj
 send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM
ò nùm.
 have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG
 ‘And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send ‘a report of damages’ as this is called.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

¹⁴Said in Standard German.

4 Verb phrase

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

- (231) *Ju vèv' als véntgatschún d' avrél nataléci*
1SG have.IMPF.1SG DEF.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG birthday.M.SG
[...].

'I had my birthday on April 25 [...].' (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

4.2.3 Indirect object

As mentioned in §3.2.1.3 and §3.6.1, the nominal and pronominal definite indirect object was introduced by *di/dis* or *li/lis*. Nowadays, the indirect object, whether definite or not, is almost exclusively introduced by *da* (but see (44–48) in §3.2.1.3 about the speech of some older people).

In most cases, the indirect object precedes the direct object (232 and 233), but (234) shows that the inverse also occurs.

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

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

- (233) *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé*
and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá [da té] [quaj].
up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM

'And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down,
I could tell you about that.' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (234) *Api ... sè quaj vagnú príu ajn, a lu*
and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and then
ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi [quaj] [da
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM DAT

mintga cantún] [...].

every canton.M.SG

‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it over to every canton [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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

(235) *A quaj plaščéva nuéta pròpi da mé.*

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

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

(236) *A quaj fò adina da mé ... plaščaj.*

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

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

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

(237) *Ja da detg da mia sora tgi la*

1SG have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT POSS.1SG.F.SG sister COMP 3SG.F

vegna no.

come.PRS.SBJV.3SG here

‘I told my sister to come here.’ (Surmiran, Marmorera, DRG 5: 19)

(238) *Ja do(u)m in mail da chel umfant.*

1SG give.PRS.1SG INDEF.M.SG apple DAT DEM.M.SG child

‘I give an apple to this child.’ (Surmiran, Marmorera, DRG 5: 19)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

4.3.1 Locative adjuncts

Locative adjuncts are realised as adverbs or combinations of adverbs, as noun phrases, or as adpositional phrases. The latter are formed with simple or complex prepositions as well as with circumpositions.

Adverbs are either simple or complex. Complex adverbs are combinations of adpositions, combinations of adpositions with adverbs, or multiple adverbs.

4 Verb phrase

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

- (239) [...] *al bürdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj*
 DEF.M.SG load stand.IMP.F.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
balantschava in téc.
 roll.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit

‘[...] the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (240) *A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téc,*
 and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
quèls mavan tùt saniastar sén via.
 DEM.M.PL go.IMP.F.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG

‘And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left side of the road.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (241) [...] *ábar savènş è aun da quèls tg’ èran*
 but often also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMP.F.3PL
fumégl tschò né lò.
 farmhand.M.SG here or there

‘[...] but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (242) *A ... api şè lu capitau ... mù gè quaj cu*
 and and be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM but yes DEM.UNM when
‘l vèva şjatòntanÿv òns circa, şè ‘l
 3SG.M have.IMP.F.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
zanúa para i è ruclus.
 somewhere seem.PRS.3SG EXPL also fall.PTCP.M.SG

‘And ... and then it happened, ... well when he was about seventy-nine years old, it seems that he also fell down somewhere.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

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

- (243) *Ju spétga té ajndadajns, ajn stiva.*
 1SG wait.PRS.1SG 2SG inside in living room.F.SG
 ‘I wait for you inside, in the living-room.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (244) *[...] a lu mava ... in òrdavaun a lu mavan*
 and then go.IMP.F.3SG one.M in_front and then go.IMP.F.3PL
quèls pòrs tùt ajn còrda [...].
 DEM.M.PL pig.PL all in single_file.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then ... one would move in front and then the other pigs would follow in single file [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (245) *A lu èssan nuş i sé api vagní şurangjù*
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up and come.PTCP.M.PL over_down
ad i gjù Tiefenbach.
 and go.PTCP.M.PL down PN
 ‘And then we went up and came down [from] over [the avalanche barriers] and went down to Tiefenbach.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

- (246) *[...] ad amplanju sé agl ésch cul ... ròlas da*
 and fill.PTCP.UNM up DEF.M.SG door with.DEF.M.SG roll.F.PL of
pupí da tualèta tòcan séssum [...].
 paper.M.SG of toilet.F.SG until very_top
 ‘[...] and filled up the doorway with the ... rolls of toilet paper until the very top [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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

- (247) *Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
survigilònza [...].
 vigilance.F.SG
 ‘And there was ... up there a vigilance guard [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

4 Verb phrase

- (248) [...] *quèls tg' èran staj a mèssa èran*
 DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG COP.IMPF.3PL
schòn [...] pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga nuş èssan, tg'
 already [...] more_out_down than DEM.UNM REL 1PL be.PRS.1PL REL
als, tg' als méls èn galòpaj.
 DEF.M.PL REL DEF.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL

‘[...] those who had attended the mass were already [...] farther down than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (249) [...] *lu şè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò,*
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M three interesting.PL place.PL in here
ajn Burganèz, qu' è in tòc pléndanòra [...].
 in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit more_out

‘[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there, in Burganez, this is a little bit farther down the valley [...]’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (250) [...] *la détga di tg' èrian schindanajn*
 DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL so_in
tg' i udévian c' i tucavi da
 COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of
mjadş-dé ajnt Ruèras.
 noon.M.SG in PN

‘[...] the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

- (251) *Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.*
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG end no.M.PL
 ‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (252) *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in*
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
téc quajda d' í par crapa [...].
 bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL
 ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...]’
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

The adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’ combine with the prepositions *sé* ‘up’ and *gju* ‘down’. In the case of *cò* and *sé*, they combine either as *sé cò* (253) or as *cò sé* (254).¹⁶ If one says

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

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

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

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

- (255) *Nuș vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts,
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP MIND.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.PL boy.PL
 a stèvan lò sé, sé majšès.
 and stay.IMPF.1PL there up up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 ‘We had to mind the animals, we the boys, and stayed up there, at the
 majšès.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)*

- (256) *Nuș stèvan sé lò, sé majšès.
 1PL stay.IMPF.1PL up there up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 ‘We stayed up there, at the majšès.’ (Cavòrgja, f5)*

In Tuatschin – as well as in other Romansh varieties – adpositions heading place names or names of important buildings like churches or schools take on a special meaning and will be treated below in this section (see Table 4.28–Table 4.33).

The following simple prepositions occur in the corpus: a ‘in, to’ (257), *ajn* ‘in, into’, *ajnt/ajnta* ‘in, into’ (258), *amiaz* ‘in the middle of’, *ancùntar* ‘towards’, *an-tùrn* ‘around’ (259), *avaun* ‘before’ (260), *da* ‘from’ (261), *dadajns* ‘inside’, *dadò*

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

4 Verb phrase

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

(257) *Ju vòn a tgèsa.*

1SG go.PRS.1SG to house.F.SG

‘I am going home.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

(258) *A la nògj şè ‘l gjat vagnús ajnta létg*

and DEF.F.SG night be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG cat come.PTCP.M.SG into bed

[...].

‘And at night the cat came into [his] bed [...].’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 121)

(259) *[...] fatg antùrn in sujèt mataj a méz*

do.PTCP.UNM around INDEF.M.SG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM

sé quaj antùrn al vjantar dals pòrs.

up DEM.UNM around DEF.M.SG belly of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘[...] tied a rope around, and put them around the belly of the pigs.’

(Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

(260) *Ju spétga avaun tgèsa.*

1SG wait.PRS.3SG before house.F.SG

‘I’m waiting in front of the house.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

(261) *Èl èra da Zarcúns.*

3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG from PN

‘He was from Zarcuns.’ (Zarcúns, m2)

(262) *[...] prandévan nòssa ... sarvjèta, matévan sé nùca*

take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin put.IMPF.1PL up where

la sòr’ Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus raşdá

DEF.F.SG nun PN and then be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL speak.INF

ròmòntsch.

Romansh.M.SG

‘[...] [we] would take our ... napkin, would put it next to Sister Andrea, and then we were allowed to speak Romansh.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (263) [...] *api vèvanş da partgirá als tiars,*
 and have.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP mind.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL
mav' ins lò sédòr ál sit, grat cò nùca
 go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out in.DEF.M.SG south just there by
quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.
 DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 '[...] and we also had to mind the animals; we would then go up to the
 south, just by that cave I have told about.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

If the referent is known or can be inferred by the hearer, noun phrases introduced by a preposition preclude the use of determiners, as in the phrases *ajn cuşchina*, *nuégl*, *tgòmbra* 'in the kitchen, barn, bedroom', *ajnta létg* 'in bed', or *avaun tgèsa* 'in front of the house'.

But if a noun introduced by a preposition refers to an entity that is not known to the hearer, the noun must be modified by the indefinite article (264).

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

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

- (265) *Ajn quèla caplùta şè ajn ina, la quarta*
 in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fourth
stazjun da la via da la crusch.
 station of DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross
 'In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ's way of the Cross.'
 (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

If the noun phrase is modified by an adjective, the definite article must occur, as in the phrase *ajn la tgèsa véglja* 'in the old house' (Büchli 1966: 30. Note that usually the preposition *ajn* and the definite article are fused: *ajn al* → *ajl/ál*, *ajn la* → *ajla/ála*.

Some additional examples of bare nouns in prepositional phrases include *ajn caplùta* 'in the chapel' (Büchli 1966: 45, *ajn caplùta da Sòntgaclau* 'in the chapel of St. Nicholas' (Büchli 1966: 45), *ajn stiva* 'in the living room' (§8.17), *ajn stizún* 'in the shop' ((Büchli 1966: 123), *ajn tégja* 'in the alpine hut' Büchli 1966: 122), *avaun tégja* 'in front of the alpine hut' (§8.17).

4 Verb phrase

Simple prepositions cannot stand alone, i.e. they cannot function as adverbs. In order to do so, they need a derivational morpheme, which is *an-* in case of *gjà* ‘down’ (266) and *sé* ‘up’; and *vid-* with *ajn* ‘in(to)’ (267) and *ò/òr/òra* ‘out’ (268). Another possibility to convert *sé* into an adverb is to use *òra* as in *sédòra* ‘up’ (269).¹⁷ The adverbial equivalent of *spèr* ‘next to’ is *daspèras* (270).

- (266) *A ... la duméngja ... alş ùmanş èn i*
 and DEF.F.SG Sunday DEF.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL
angjà [...].
 down

‘And ... on Sunday ... the men went down [...].’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (267) *A quèla tauna vò vidajn – quaj tgu sùn*
 and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
stauş ajn – vò lò vidajn circa véntgatschún
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five
mètars, san¹⁸ ins í vidajn da quèla, api
 metre.M.PL can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and
sasparti, vò ajn duas.
 REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL go.PRS.3SG.EXPL in two.F

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

- (268) *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...*
 and DEF.F.SG evening for SUBORD burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
vagnéva quaj, quaj mava ‘l ajnagjà
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down
cul maun èra sènza ... [vòns] a trèva vidò
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out
còtgla giù sé sél plantschju.
 charcoal.COLL down up on.DEF.M.SG floor

‘And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into [the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

¹⁸Standard Sursilvan for *sò inş dí*.

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

However, *sé* and *gju* may stand alone in *sé a gju* ‘up and down’ (271), which parallels German *auf und ab*.²⁰

- (271) *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé*
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
sé a gju [...].
 up and down
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down
 [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

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

- (272) *Cò şaj vagnú ina fèmna ancùntar*
 here be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG woman towards
li quaj pur [...].
 DEF.DAT.SG DEM.M.SG farmer
 ‘At this moment a woman came towards this farmer [...].’ (Ruèras,
 Büchli 1966: 64)

¹⁹*Bétònaj* is a performance error for *bétònádas*.

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

4 Verb phrase

- (273) Èl è juş **ancùntar da la mùma.**
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG towards DAT DEF.F.SG mother
 ‘He went towards his mother.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (274) A lu şgulavan las còcas ò da la cazèta
 and then fly.IMPF.3PL DEF.F.PL small_cake.PL out of DEF.F.SG pan
ancunt’ al tgamín.
 towards DEF.M.SG chimney
 ‘And then the small cakes flew out of the pan towards the chimney.’
 (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 26)
- (275) Ad ajnaquèla ... şaj sadèrs ...
 and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG.EXPL REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM
 ina grònda lavina gjù da la val Lòndadusa gjù
 INDEF.F.SG huge avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley PN down
ancùntar al vitg [...].
 towards DEF.M.SG village
 ‘And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from
 the Londadusa valley, down towards the village [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

This is the only case where animacy (human vs inanimate) plays a role in Tuatschin.

Via instead of *vi* ‘over’ is rejected by some informants; it occurs, however, in Büchli (1966) as well as in the oral corpus.

- (276) A lu ségi la cúa ida **via da Sòntg**
 and then be.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEF.F.SG tail go.PTCP.F.SG over from holy.M.SG
 Antòni gjù a vagi **suatju als**
 PN down and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG catch_up.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL
zagríndars ò şùt Bugnaj.
 Yenish.PL out under PN
 ‘And then the tail went down by [the chapel of] Saint Anthony and
 caught up the Yenish beneath Bugnei.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)
- (277) I èr’ in artg **şul Rajn via.**
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG rainbow on.DEF.M.SG PN over
 ‘There was a rainbow over the Rhine.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 15)

- (278) [...] *api mir' al bab via sèn mè:*
 and look.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father over on 1SG
 '[...] and then my father looks over to me:' (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

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

- (279) *Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...*
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
Interlaken.
 PN
 'Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (280) *Tùts ... ò da scùla a fumégl ... a sjantar ad alp*
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.SG and after to alp.F.SG
a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs mumèn
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.M.SG last moment
a mavaş a scùla.
 and go.IMPF.2SG.GNR to school.F.SG
 'All ... out of school to farmhand ... and after this to the alpine pasture
 and you would only come away from the pasture at the last moment
 and then you would go to school.' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (281) [...] *api şè ... ina da nòssa tgòmbrà id'*
 and COP.PRS.3SG one.F of POSS.1PL.F.SG room go.PTCP.F.SG
òn tualèta [...].
 out_in toilet
 '[...] and then ... one of our room went out to the toilet [...].'
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (282) *Las quàtar òrd létg ad í a rimná las*
 DEF.F.PL four out_of bed.M.SG and go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEF.F.PL
vacas ajn stával [...].
 cow.PL in cowshed.M.SG
 'At four o'clock out of bed to go and gather the cows in the cowshed
 [...].' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

4 Verb phrase

- (283) *Surajn è vi da tschèla vart dal Rajn.*
 PN COP.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG side of.DEF.M.SG PN
 ‘Surrein is on the other side of the Rhine.’ (Camischùlas, f6)

The derived adverbs with *-dém* (284 and 285) or *-sum* (286 and 287) are also used as prepositions.

- (284) *Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònda lavina*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche
... a vèva ... déstruí ina grònda part
 and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part
dl vitg ajntadém Ruèras [...].
 of.DEF.M.SG village uppermost PN

‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras [...].’ (Camischùlas, m6, §8.5)

- (285) *A lu şchajņ adina al ... sòntgèt òdém*
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.M.SG little_chapel out_most
al vitg.
 DEF.M.SG village

‘And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (286) *[...] a lu auda l las stréjas sé cò, séssum*
 and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost
la val da Lòndadusa òni clumau:
 DEF.F.SG valley of PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM

‘[...] and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Londadusa valley.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (287) *Quaj è ina, asch’ ina stazjun amiaz*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG such INDEF.F.SG station amid
al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
 DEF.M.SG pass around or almost on_top DEF.M.SG pass

‘This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass, approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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

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

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

(288) [...] *a mava da la pòrta a da las rémas ajn*
and GO.IMP.F.3SG from DEF.F.SG door and from DEF.F.PL crack.PL in
ajn clavau.

in barn

'[...] and [the hay] came into the barn through the door and the cracks.'
(Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 121)

(289) [...] *sau bétg c' ju sùn ida da*
know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG from
la val Strém ajnasé [...].

DEF.F.SG valley PN in_up

'[...] I don't know when I went up the Strem valley [...].'
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

(290) *Cu i òn purtau la bara ò da tgèsa,*
when 3PL have.PRS.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG coffin out of house.F.SG
mirav' èl da fanèstr' òra.
look.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M from window out

'When they carried the coffin out of the house, he was looking out the window.'
(Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 123)

(291) *Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuș i dad ina ...*
before away from PN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from INDEF.F.SG

dad in ... trùtg sèdòra tòcan sésúr las
from INDEF.M.SG footpath up until up_over DEF.F.PL

lavinèras [...].

avalanche_barrier.PL

'Before, from Realp we went on a footpath [that led us] above the avalanche barriers [...].'
(Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

(292) *Cu 'l è vagnúș a tgèsa la sèra*
when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to house.F DEF.F.SG afternoon
spèr ina gronda prajt-crap vi, ò 'l
next_to INDEF.F.SG big rock_face over have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M

4 Verb phrase

schau dá la sagir şu la prajt-crap gjù [...].
 let.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG saw under DEF.F.SG rock_face down
 ‘When in the evening he came back home, passing a huge rock face, he
 let the saw fall down under the rock face [...].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 135)

One consultant uses the verb *í* ‘go’ without a preposition in the case of *majšès* (293 and 294). The others use either *a* ‘to’ or *sé* ‘up’ in such cases (295).

(293) *[...] ábar avaun c’ al tjams dad alp èri lu*
 but before SUBORD DEF.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
aun dad í majšès ... culs tiars.
 in_addition to go.INF assembly_of_houses with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘[...] but before going to the summer pastures one had to go to the
majšès with the animals.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

(294) *Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in*
 each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG
désidéri, savaj í majšès a durmí sé lò.
 longing can.INF go.INF assembly_of_houses and sleep.INF up there
 ‘In any case, this was indeed ... eh ... a longing, to be able to go to the
majšès and sleep up there.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

(295) *A las fèmnas stèv’ ins aun gidá a*
 and def.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at
tgèsa a cu ’ls ùmans mavan lu a ...
 home.F.SG and when DEF.M.PL man.PL go.IMPF.3PL then and
mavan aj lu a majšès [...].
 go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 ‘And the women, one had to help at home and when the men would
 then go and ... would then go up to the *majšès* [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

In Tuatschin – as well as in other Romansh varieties – locative adjuncts referring to place names, and other places are very important.²¹ When speakers are located in the Tujetsch valley, they must indicate whether they go down the valley (*ò* ‘out’), up the valley (*ajnta* ‘into’), outside the valley (*ò* ‘out’ or *gjù* ‘down’), or over to a place (*vi*), usually seen from the speech act place. If they

²¹See (Ebnetter 1994: 4–126) for Standard Sursilvan and other Romansh varieties.

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

Table 4.28 shows the prepositions used when the speaker is located or moves within the Lower Valley (which starts in Bugnei and ends in Dieni), and Table 4.29 presents the prepositions used when going to the other side of the Rhine or to the Medel Valley.

Table 4.28: Locatives I

		Bugnaj	Sadrún	Camischùlas	Ruèras	Diani
Bugnaj	→	—	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Sadrún	→	<i>ò</i>	—	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Camischùlas	→	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	—	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Ruèras	→	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	—	<i>vi</i>
Diani	→	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>ò</i>	—

Table 4.29: Locatives II

		Sadrún	Surajñ	Cavòrgja	Méjdal	Curaglja
Sadrún	→	—	<i>gjà/vi</i>	<i>gjàn</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>vi</i>
Surajñ	→	<i>sé/vi</i>	—	<i>gjàn</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>vi</i>

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

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

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

²²The exact location of the place names mentioned in this section can be seen in Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3, §1.3.

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.30: Locatives III

	Sëlva	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 4.31: Locatives IV

	Tschamùt	Sëlva	Ruèras	Sadrún	Bugnaj
Tschamùt →	—	<i>gjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>
Sëlva →	<i>sén</i>	—	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>

Table 4.32 shows the prepositions used when going from Sedrun outside the Tujetsch valley or when going from outside into the valley to Sedrun. The first village outside the Tujetsch valley is Mompé Tujetsch, and the last considered here is Trun, which is still located in the Surselva. The villages until Mustér are treated as if they still belonged to the Tujetsch valley (296).

- (296) *Lu şèn quèls da Sadrún i da las*
 then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL of PN go.PTCP.M.PL from DEF.F.PL
Cavòrgjas òra a staj ò Mustajr avaun_ca 'ls zagríndars.
 PN out and COP.PTCP.M.PL out PN before DEF.M.PL

Yenish.PL

‘Then the people of Sedrun passed Cavorgia and were in Mustér before the Yenish.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

The combinations of *cò* ‘here’ with *òra* and *ajn* (realised as *quòra* and *quajn*, respectively) have both two meanings: either ‘here (down or up the valley)’ or ‘outside (in direction down or up the valley)’ (297–299).

Table 4.32: locatives V

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

- (297) *Quòra ò Mustajr şaj bi.*
 here_out out PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL beautiful.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Here in Mustér (down the valley) it is nice.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (298) *Quaj è quòra, òn Cavòrgja.*
 DEM COP.PRS.3SG here_out, out_in PN
 ‘This is here (in direction down the valley), in Cavòrgja.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (299) *Ju spétga té quòra.*
 1SG wait.PRS.1SG 2SG here_out
 ‘I’m waiting for you outside (the house) (in direction down the valley).’
 (Cavòrgja, f1)

The villages and cities from Trun downwards are all modified by the preposition *gjà* if they are relevant to the speakers, as are Chur or Zürich (300). If they are not relevant to them, the preposition *a* ‘to, in’ is used instead.

- (300) *Ju vòn gjù Turitg.*²³
 1SG go.PRS.1SG down PN
 ‘I am going (down) to Zurich.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

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

- (301) *Ju mòn ajn Val Gjuf, ajn Val Val.*
 1SG go.PRS.1SG into valley PN into valley PN
 ‘I go into the Gjuv valley, into the Val valley.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (302) *Ju mòn sé Val Gjuv, sé Val Val.*
 1SG go.PRS.1SG up valley PN up valley PN
 ‘I go into the Gjuv valley, into the Val valley.’ (Sadrún, m6)

When coming from the lateral valleys, *ajnagjà* or *òragjà* is used (303).

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

4 Verb phrase

- (303) [...] *in* ... *tga stèva* *ajnasé* *Gjuf ábar vaj*
 one.M REL live.IMP.F.3SG in_and_up PN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG
gju *da vagní* *navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù* ...
 have.PTCP.UNM to come.INF from of PN until out_down
Zarcúns [...].
 PN

‘[...] one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf to ... Zarcuns [...].’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

Dadajns and *dadò* in combination with a place name or another reference point (e.g. a church, a school, or a bridge) mean that the subject of the sentence is located outside the place or away from the reference point, in the direction up or down the valley (304–309).

- (304) *Ju sùn* *dadajns Ségnas*.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_in PN

‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of the Tujetsch valley.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (305) *Ju sùn* *dadò* *Ségnas*.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_out PN

‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of Mustér.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (306) *Nus vèvan* *nòssa* *scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu’*
 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PN DEM.UNM
è *dadajns Sèlva* [...].
 COP.PRS.3SG from_in PN

‘We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva [in the direction up the valley] [...].’ (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

- (307) [...] *Nacla, quaj* *é* ... *dadajns* ... *Surajn, fòrza végn*
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PN maybe twenty
minutas *vidajn*.
 minute.F.PL into

‘[...] Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.’ (Sadrún, m4, l§8.3)

- (308) [*m3*] *Sas* *tgé quaj* *vut* *dí?* *Quaj*
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM
è *ljung,* *quaj* *è* *sé Miléz, Şcharinas*.
 COP.PRS.3SG long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PN PN

[f4] *Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...*

up PN in PN

‘[m3] Do you know what this means? This is a long way, this is up at Milez, Scharinas. [f4] Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ...’ (Ruèras, m3 and f4, l§8.16)

(309) *Lu ò l vju òragjù dadòr Camischùlas*
then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M see.PTCP.UNM out_down outside PN

sén in prau ina familja tga sùlvèva.

on INDEF.M.SG field INDEF.F.SG family REL have_breakfast.IMPF.3SG

‘Then he saw down there, outside Camischolas [in the direction down the valley], a family that was having breakfast in a field.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 139)

As mentioned, the reference point does not have to be a village or a town; in (310) it is the bridge over the Drun river. In order to explain to me the meaning of *dadajns*, my consultant told me when we were in the Krüzli hotel:

(310) *Nuș duș èssan dadajns la pùn.*
1PL two.M COP.PRS.1PL from_in DEF.F.SG bridge

‘The two of us are away from the bridge [in the direction up the valley].’ (Sadrún, m5)

Table 4.33 shows the prepositions that are used with the neighbouring countries (Italy, Germany, Austria, France) or regions (Bavaria).

Table 4.33: Locatives VI

	Italja	Tjaratudèstga	Baviara	Austrja	Fròntscha
Tujétsch →	<i>gju l’</i>	<i>ajn</i>	<i>òn</i>	<i>ò l’</i>	<i>ajn</i>

The adverbs follow the same rules as the prepositional phrases. In (311) the speech act participants are in Sedrun, and *vidòr* ‘down the valley’ is used because the hearer will go to Naclas (referred to as *ajn lò* ‘up there’) and the speaker wants the hearer to come back to Sedrun.

4 Verb phrase

- (311) *Té nò lu vidòr ùssa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma*
2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG
lu bigja ajn lò.
then NEG in there
'Come down here now. Don't sleep up there this evening.' (Ruèras, m4, §8.3)

Sometimes the combination of locative adverbs does not refer to the direction up or down the valley. This is the case with *sédòra* in (312).

- (312) *A sjantar c' ins mava, sch' mav' ins sél*
and after SUBORD GNR go.IMP.3SG then go.IMP.3SG GNR ON.DEF.M.SG
Albşu cul trèn, a quaj custav' in franc
PN with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM COST.IMP.3SG one.M.SG franc
dad í sédòra.
SUBORD go.INF up_out
'And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alpsu [pass] by train and this cost one franc to go up there.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

In this example *sé* means 'up'; however, *òra* does not mean 'down the valley' but 'outside'. As a matter of fact, *òra* refers to the fact that the Alpsu pass is not a village where one could be inside, but an open space. The opposite of *sédòra* in such a context is *sédajn* 'up and into', as in (313).

- (313) *Èls ajn i sédajn ajn tgèsa.*
3PL.M BE.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.UNM up_into into house.F.SG
'They went up into the house.' (Sadrún, m5)

4.3.2 Temporal adjuncts

Temporal adjuncts consist of adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and – exceptionally – of postpositional phrases. In this section are also included adjuncts that quantify the situation a verb refers to, like 'every day', 'many times', or 'often'.

The calendar is divided in the following way: *tshantanè* 'century', *òn* 'year', *majns* 'month', *jamna* 'week', and *dé* 'day'.

The names of the months, which are all masculine, are *şchanè*, *favrè*, *mars*, *avrél/avrèl*, *matg*, *zarcladur*, *fanadur*²⁴, *uést* (2 syllables), *satjámbar*, *òctòbar*, *nòvèmbar*, and *dècèmbar*.

²⁴ *Zarcladur* and *fanadur* are the only old names of the months that still are in use; they are derived from the verbs *zarclá* 'weed' and *faná* 'hay'.

The names of the days are *gljéndišdís* (M), *mardís* (M), *mašjamna* (F), *gévja* (F), *vèndardís* (M), *sònda* (F), and *dumèngja* (F).

The day is divided as follows: *damaun* (F) ‘morning’, *avaunmjadš-dé* (M) ‘morning’ (literally ‘before noon’), *mjadš-dé* (M) ‘noon’, *sjantarmjadšdé* (M) ‘afternoon’, *sèra* (F) ‘afternoon, evening’, *nòtg* (F) ‘night’, and *mjasanòtg* (F) ‘midnight’.

Note that *bian dé*, literally ‘good day’, is used as a greeting until approximately twelve o’clock; after this, *buna sèra* is used. *Buna nòtg* ‘good night’ is used when taking leave.

When reference is being made to the day of speech, the parts of the day are expressed as follows: *òz andamaun* ‘this morning’, *òz sjantarmjadš-dé* ‘this afternoon’, *quèsta sèra* ‘this afternoon, this evening’, *quèsta nòtg* ‘tonight’.

Time adverbs include *adina* ‘always’, *avaun* ‘before’, *baud* ‘early’, *daditg* ‘a long time ago’, *damaun* ‘tomorrow’, *dantaun* ‘meanwhile’, *ditg* ‘long, a long time’, *djantarájn* ‘in between’, *ér* ‘yesterday’, *grad* ‘just’, *magari* ‘sometimes’ (314), *maj* ‘never’, *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’ (315), *òn* ‘last year’, *òrdavaun* ‘in advance’, *òz* ‘today’, *òzaldé* ‘nowadays’, *savèns* ‘often’, *stjarsas* ‘the day before yesterday’, *puschmaun* or *surdamaun* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *tard* ‘late’, *uòn* ‘this year’, *ùs/ùssa* ‘now’, *vònzaj* ‘later’ (316), *zacú/zacuras* ‘someday’.

- (314) *Álsò ins mava par èxèmpal è magari gjù Lucèrn,*
 well GNR go.IMPF.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PN
prquaj tga nuš vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlègs tga
 because SUBORD 1PL have.IMPF.1PL down PN colleague.M.PL REL
stèvan gjù lò.
 stay.IMPF.3PL down there

‘Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (315) *Mintgataun mavan nuš èra ... plas pitgògnas*
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also around.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL
a cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi
 SUBORD dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and
vignévan nus halt in téc tart.
 come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.M.SG bit late

‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.’ (Surajñ, f5, §8.10)

4 Verb phrase

- (316) *Api vònzaj vau tartgau, ah ju a*
 and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG
in' idéa [...].
 INDEF.F.SG idea
 ‘And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

Time prepositions, simple or compound, include *ancùntar* ‘towards’ (317), *avaun/avaun ca* ‘before, ago’ (321), *da* ‘at, during’ (318), *durònt* ‘during’, *sjantar* ‘after’ (319), and *tòca/tòcan* ‘until’ (320).

- (317) *Api ancùntar sèra, las quátar, las tschun*
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.F.PL four DEF.F.PL five
vagnévani sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun.
 come.IMPF.3PL.3PL up_out again and so further
 ‘And towards evening, at four o’clock, five o’clock, they would come up again and so on.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (318) *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,*
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG
mavanş ajn şala da magljè [...].
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF
 ‘And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [the napkins] during the break, we would go into the dining hall [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (319) *A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar*
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after
in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná
 INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF
quèls pòrs [...].
 DEM.M.PL pig.PL
 ‘And I still remember this, and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these pigs [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (320) *[...] a nuş vevan scùla tòca gl avré.*
 and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.M.SG April
 ‘[...] and we had school until April.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

Avaun ca is very rare and only occurs in Büchli (1966) (321).

- (321) [...] *lu* *şèn* *quèls* *da Sadrún* [...] *staj* *ò* *Mustajr*
 then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL of PN COP.PTCP.M.PL out PN
avaun ca *'ls* *zagríndars*.
 before SUBORD DEF.M.PL Yenish
 '[...] then those from Sedrun [...] were in Mustér before the Yenish.'
 (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

Postpositional phrases are very rare in the domain of temporal adjuncts. In the corpus, there are only two items: *avaun* 'before' and *òra* 'out'. They are used in very restricted contexts, such as *al dé avaun* 'the day before' (§8.16) or *al dé òra* 'the whole day' (§8.3, literally 'the day out'). Note that the construction with *avaun*, in contrast to the one with *òra*, could be considered elliptic for *al dé avaun quaj schabètg* 'the day before that event'. According to this hypothesis, *avaun* is a preposition rather than a postposition.

Noun phrases functioning as temporal adjuncts can contain a determiner or not. The definite article, singular or plural, is used when the noun phrase refers to a month, a week, or to a day of the week if the time span does not include the moment of speech (322–324).

- (322) *La* *scùla* *finéva* ... *al* *matg* ... *zarcladur* [...].
 DEF.F.SG school end.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG May June.M.SG
 'School ended in May ... June [...]' (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)
- (323) [...] *tgi* *ca* *vagnéva* *traplaus* *stuvéva* *al*
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG
vèndardís sèra ... *stá* *lò,* *stgèvan* *bigj' í* *a*
 Friday evening stay.INF there be_allowed.IMP.F.3PL NEG go.INF to
tgèsa, *api stèvan* *nuş şchùbargè in' ura* *zatgèj,*
 home.F.SG and stay.IMP.F.1PL 1PL clean.INF one.F hour something
durmí lò, *api stèvan* *lu í* *pèr la* *sònda*
 sleep.INF there and must.IMP.F.3PL then go.INF only DEF.F.SG Saturday
andamaun a tgèsa.
 in_morning to home.F.SG
 '[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday evening, they were not allowed to go home, and then they had to clean for more or less one hour, sleep there, and then could only go home on Saturday morning.' (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

4 Verb phrase

- (324) *Ajn quèla végljadétna, api al pròblèm èra,*
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG
èra, al pròblèm èra las sòndas a
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL Saturday.PL and
dumèngjas.
 Sunday.PL
 ‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays
 and Sundays.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Further examples include *l’jamna vargjèda* ‘last week’, *al majns vargjau* ‘last month’, *als davùs òns* ‘during the last years’ (§8.1), *al davùs mumèn* ‘at the last moment’ (§8.16), *la dumèngja, sjantar vjaspras* ‘Sunday after vespers’ (§8.2), *la dumèngja sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘Sunday afternoon’ (§8.2), *gl antiar sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘the whole afternoon’ (§8.2).

If the moment of speech is included in the time reference, the demonstrative determiner of the *quèst*-series is used (see §3.2.2.3) (325), except for ‘today’, which is rendered by *òz*.

- (325) *Ûsa quèst’ jamna vau fatg gròndas turas ...*
 now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL
da ... da sis sjat uras [...].
 of of six seven hour.F.PL
 ‘Now this week I did long tours ... of ... of six seven hours [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

The full hours of day are referred to by a noun phrase with (326) or without (327) the preposition *da*. The half hours are indicated without the article (326), and the quarter hours with the indefinite article, as in *in quart avaun las trajs* ‘a quarter to three’ and *in quart vargjau las trajs* ‘a quarter past three’.

- (326) *[...] da laş déjšch èri craj né mjasa*
 at DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL believe.PRS.1SG or half.F.SG
laş déjšch èri ruaus [...].
 DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG
 ‘[...] at ten o’clock it had to be, I believe, or half past nine it had to be quiet [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (327) *[...] par nuş vèvi adina nùm laş òtg lò.*
 for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG DEF.F.PL eight there
 ‘[...] for us it always meant at eight there.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

Further temporal adjuncts with determiners that are not articles are *antiar dé* ‘the whole day’ (328), *bjè jèdas* ‘many times’ (329), *da quaj tjams* ‘at that time’ (§8.15), *mintga dé* ‘every day’ (§8.1), and *ana sjatònta* ‘in 1970’ (§8.2).

- (328) *Prquaj tga quaj c’ inş vèva bigja grad da*
 because SUBORD DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to
partgirá tiars sch’ èr’ inş antiar dé cun
 mind.INF animal.M.PL then COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.SG day with
quèls [...].
 DEM.M.PL

‘Because when we didn’t just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (329) *[...] ábar inş èra ... gè, bjè jèdas trésts [...]*
 but GNR COP.IMPF.3SG yes many time.F.PL sad.M.PL
 ‘[...] but we were ... yes, many times sad [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

When referring to the days of the week, bare noun phrases are used (330).

- (330) *Nus savasajn gjéjvja né dumèngja.*
 1PL REFL.see.PRS.1PL Thursday or Sunday
 ‘We’ll see each other on Thursday or Sunday.’ (Sadrún, m5)

This is also the case when referring to years, where the dedicated nouns *ana* (before consonant) or *ana d’* (before vowel) (331) and *ánò* are used (332). The regular noun for ‘year’ is *òn*.

- (331) *Ad ana d’ òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju*
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM
ina vòtajun fadarala [...].
 INDEF.F.SG vote federal
 ‘And in 1987 we had a federal vote [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (332) *[...] lu şèn ... in pèr bauns pins, gè,*
 then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL small yes
intarasant, gè, a méz in clutgè ánò
 interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG clock_tower year
véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.
 twenty-eight hold.PRS.1SG 1SG yes
 ‘[...] then there are ... some small benches, yes, interesting, yes, and also built a clock tower in 1928 I think, yes.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

4.3.3 Manner adjuncts

Manner adjuncts are realised as adverbs (including adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn*), adjectives, and prepositional phrases.

Adverbs include *bégn* ‘well’,²⁵ *mal* ‘badly’ (333), *nuídis* ‘reluctantly’ (334), *plaun-sjú*²⁶ ‘slowly’, *quèluisa* ‘in such a way’, *tschèluisa* ‘in that way’ (335), *ugèn* ‘gladly’, *usché/uschéja* ‘so’, and *zacù* ‘somehow’ (336).

(333) *Èl lavura mal.*

3SG.M work.PRS.3SG badly

‘He works badly.’ (Sadrún, m4)

(334) *A ... la sòrvala dèv’ ju schòn nuídis.*

and DEF.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG indeed reluctantly

‘And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

(335) *Qu’ è lu ju tschèluisa tga ca nus*

DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way REL SUBORD 1PL

èssan vagí vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,

be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN

tg’ èssan nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quatar tschun

CORR be.COND.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five

jamnas.

week.F.PL

‘This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein] from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

(336) *Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé*

but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays

végni zacù è ... purschju daplé.

PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more

‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also many more possibilities nowadays.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

²⁵In contrast to Standard Sursilvan, Tuatschin distinguishes between *bégn* ‘well’ and *bèn* ‘(negative) yes’, which both are realised as *bein* in Standard Sursilvan. Tuatschin *bégn* corresponds e.g. to German *doch* or to French *si*

²⁶Forms like *plaunmjú* or *plauntjú*, which refer to first and second person singular, respectively, are not used in Tuatschin. *Plaunsjú* is used for all persons.

These adverbs can be modified by other adverbs or by adjectives used adverbially, as is the case of *faruct* ‘crazy’ in (337).

- (337) *Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj.*
 but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy.ADJ.UNM gladly DEM.UNM
 ‘But ... I really loved to do that.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

The comparative of *bégn* ‘well’ is either *plé bégn* (338) or *mégljar*, and the comparative of *mal* ‘badly’ is *mèndar* (339).

- (338) *I vò ònz plé bégn.*
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG rather more well
 ‘I feel rather better.’ (DRG 1: 296)

- (339) *Èl lavura mèndar tga té.*
 3SG work.PRS.3SG worse than 2SG
 ‘He works worse than you.’ (Sadrún, m5)

Derived adverbs with the suffix *-majn* functioning as manner adverbs are relatively rare (340 and 341).

Adjectives are usually derived from their feminine form, as for example in *bian*, *buna* ‘good’ → *bunamajn* ‘almost’, but adjectives ending in *-al* or *-ar* are derived from their masculine form (see Spescha (1989: 494), as in *natural* ‘natural’ → *naturálmajn* ‘naturally, of course’.

- (340) *Davántiar šaj sé la, l’ anada cur’ i*
 in_front COP.PRS.3SG up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL
òn antschiat, ad inš vèz’ aun, quaj
 have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM
bagagjávani gjù ... cun ah, bjè manuálmajn.
 build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down with eh much manual.ADV
 ‘In front of it there is, eh, the year when they started, one can still see, they used to mine this with, ah, a lot manually.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (341) *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
patšhíficamajn.
 peaceful.F.SG.ADV
 ‘Yes, if I look back ... that was maybe seven, eight years [ago] ... only that ... one could go peacefully.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

4 Verb phrase

Most of the adverbs that are derived from adjectives function as modal adverbs, which express the attitude of the speaker towards the propositional content of the sentence. Some examples are *atgnamajn* ‘actually’, *bunamajn* ‘almost’, *naturálmajn* ‘naturally’, *vájramajn* ‘really’, and *símplamajn* ‘simply’.

The scarcity of derived adverbs is due to the fact that Tuatschin very often uses an adjective in an adverbial function (see §3.3.4). An example of an adjective functioning as a modal adverb is *pulit* instead of *pulítamajn* in (342).

- (342) [...] *a lu ... sjantar in pèr dis ... vajn nus*
 and then after INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL
savju dumigná quèls pòrs ... tga mavan
 can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL
pulit [...].
 proper.ADJ.UNM

‘[...] and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these pigs ... which would move properly [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

Prepositional phrases functioning as manner adjuncts are rare; an example is (343).

- (343) *Alş ùmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a*
 DEF.M.SG man.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and
quaj èra ... in’ ur’ a paj bjabégn.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F hour by foot around

‘The men would go home with the milk and that would take them about an hour on foot.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

4.3.4 Further adjuncts

Beneficiary adjuncts are introduced by the preposition *par/pr* ‘for’ (344).

- (344) [...] *i è stau in tjams tga mavan*
 EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time REL go.IMPF.3PL
sél pas, mávani sé a métar najf pala
 on.DEF.M.SG pass go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG
 ... *viafiar da la Fùrca-Albşù.*
 railway of DEF.F.SG PN

‘[...] it was a time when they would go up to the pass, they used to go up to remove snow for the ... Furka-Alpsu railway line.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Causal adjuncts are introduced by *antrás* ‘through’ (345) or by *parví da* ‘because of’ (346).

- (345) *A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...*
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
trùtgs antrás 'ls lavurs c' i òn
 footpath.M.PL through DEF.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL
fatg la òvra èlèctrica.
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG work electric

‘And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when they built the electric power station.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (346) *A lu, parví da la pjaglja, nuš vèvan lu dad*
 and then because of DEF.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then to
í ad incassá.
 go.INF SUBORD collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

Comitative adjuncts are expressed either by *cun* ‘with’ (347), by *ansjaman/anzjaman* ‘together’ (348), or by *ansjaman cun* ‘together with’ if the argument of *ansjaman* is mentioned (349).

- (347) *Té savèssaš í cul tat ajn Pardatsch.*
 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN
 ‘You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (348) *Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^hau anzjaman a las*
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and DEF.F.PL
ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg
 Romansh.F.PL OR DEF.F.PL German.PL OR also of.DEF.M.SG village
matévani schòn in téc anzjaman.
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together

‘Look! These Italians were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

4 Verb phrase

- (349) *La règina végn cupanada; èla şgùla a*
DEF.F.SG queen PASS.PRS.3SG fertilise.PTCP.F.SG 3SG.F fly.PRS.3SG and
vò a spaz ansjaman cun in grias [...].
GO.PRS.3SG for walk together with INDEF.M.SG drone
'The queen is fertilised; she flies away and goes for a trip with a drone [...].' (Ruèras, DRG 1: 602)

Some speakers use the form *cun* 'with' with /u/ in all cases, and some speakers use /u/ with *cun*, but /ʊ/ either in all cases or only with contracted forms like *cùl* 'with the (M.SG)' or *cùlas* 'with the (F.PL)'.

Instrumental adjuncts are introduced by *cun* (350); if the adjunct refers to a material out of which something is made, *òr da* 'out of' is used (351).

- (350) *Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù*
but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG
adina dá cul pal.
always give.INF with.DEF.M.SG post
'But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.'
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (351) *A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò*
and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
dal mir, àlşò òr dal grép
of.DEF.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock
òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda [...].
have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path
'And then they made, out of the rock face, that is to say, out of the rock they made a small ... path [...].' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

4.4 Negation

Tuatschin possesses two verb phrase negators: *bétga* and its allomorphs *bétg'*/*bé/bigja/bgja/bigj'*,²⁷ which is the dedicated negator, and *nuéta*, which is less frequently used than *bétga*.

Bétga is located after the finite verb (352), which means that for compound tenses, it is located after the auxiliary verb (353), and for modal verbs heading an infinitive clause, the negator is situated after the modal verb (354).

²⁷The form *bé* is usually only used by children and younger people, but very rarely by older people.

- (352) *Ju sa bé dacù.*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why
 ‘I don’t know why.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (353) *Álşò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf*
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 [...].

‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

- (354) *Ju sa bigj’ í ál’ aua.*
 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water
 ‘I couldn’t jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

However, in a similar way as with particle verbs (see §4.1.3), the inverted subject (355) and some adverbs like *aun* ‘yet’, *è* ‘also’, *èba* ‘just’, *lu* ‘then’, and *ùs* ‘now’, may intervene between the finite verb and the participle or the infinitive (356–360).

- (355) *Las nòtízjas sa ju bétg danùndar als*
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL
gjaniturs, als duş baps prandèvan aj [...].
 parents.PL DEF.M.PL two.M father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG
 ‘I don’t know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (356) *[...] avauñ c’ ju sùn staus tial tat*
 before SUBORD 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.M.SG grandfather
savèvu da quaj nuét a vès è bitga
 know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG also NEG
safatg ajn zatgé spazjal.
 REFL.do.PTCP.UNM in something special.M.SG
 ‘[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn’t know anything and I wouldn’t have noticed anything either.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (357) *Ál’ antschata cu té capèschas aun bigja*
 at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG
quèls ... curjòs plaidş tg’ èls òn,
 DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL

4 Verb phrase

stòs halt dumandá [...].

must.PRS.2SG.GNR just ask.INF

‘At the beginning when you don’t understand yet those ... strange words they use, you must just ask [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (358) *A la sèra èssan nus, stuèvan nuş èba bigj’ í*
and DEF.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG go.INF
ad uraş ajnta létg [...].
at hour.F.PL in bed.M.SG

‘And in the evening, we went, we didn’t have to go to bed early [...].’
(Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

- (359) *[...] api sau bigj’ ajfach í ál’ aua.*
and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water

‘[...] I cannot simply jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

- (360) *Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa,*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG
ábar plé gròn savès ju lu è bétga [...]
but more big.M.SG can.COND.1SG 1SG then also NEG

‘This is a legend I know, but a longer one I would not be able [...].’
(Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

The two elements of *bétga plé* ‘not any more’ are not necessarily immediately adjacent to each other as in (361) where a simple tense is used.

- (361) *Álşò ùş è l bigja plé òdém al vitg*
well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.M.SG village
[...].

‘Well, now it is not at the lowest part of the village any more [...].’
(Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

If a compound tense is used, *bétga* is situated before the participle and *plé* follows it (362 and 363).

- (362) *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.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 12)

- (363) *A lu vès ju bitga ugagjau plé da, dad*
 and then have.COND.1SG 1SG NEG dare.PTCP.UNM more COMP COMP
ira cun èls vinanavaun.
 go.INF with 3PL.M farther
 ‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to go farther with them any more.’
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

The same holds for modal verbs governing an infinitive phrase, where *bétga* precedes and *plé* follows infinitive (364) or the infinitive with its particle (365).

- (364) *Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG
bitg í plé.
 NEG go.INF any_more
 ‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún,
 m4, §8.3)

- (365) *[...] òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar avaun plé tg’ i*
 nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put.INF before more COMP 3PL
fòn da gljèz, né?
 do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right
 ‘[...] nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?’
 (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

In infinitive clauses *bétga* precedes the infinitive (366).

- (366) *[...] quaj èssan nuş i sé pr ... pr bitga*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up SUBORD SUBORD NEG
stuaj ira sé la ... sé la via dad autos, sé la
 must.INF go.INF up DEF.F.SG up DEF.F.SG way of car.M.PL up DEF.F.SG
via dal pas.
 way of.DEF.M.SG pass
 ‘[...] there we went up in order to avoid the car road, the road of the
 pass.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

Other elements may intervene between *bétga* and *plé*. (367) shows that this is the case for the particle belonging to the verb *tanaj* ‘hold’ (*sé*), a manner adjunct (*bégn*), a nominal direct object (*als praus*), and a locative adjunct (*cò*).

4 Verb phrase

- (367) *I tégnan bétga sé schi bégn als praus cò plé.*
 3PL hold.PRS.3PL NEG up so well DEF.M.PL field.PL here any_more
 ‘Here they don’t see to the fields well any more.’ (Berther 2007: 69)

Further elements are indirect interrogative clauses (368) and object clauses (369 and 370).

- (368) *Ábar ju sa bigja tgé quaj è plé.*
 but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more
 ‘But I don’t know what this is any more.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (369) *Als pádars savèvan bétga spatgè plé ditg plé.*
 DEF.M.PL Father.PL know.IMPF.3PL NEG wait.INF more long any_more
 ‘The fathers couldn’t wait any longer [...]’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 147)
- (370) *Lura lèvani bétga schè fá pástar gròn èla plé [...].*
 then want.IMPF.3PL.3PL NEG let.INF make.INF shepherd big 3SG.F
 any_more
 ‘Then they didn’t want to let her be the main shepherdess [...] any more.’
 (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 119)

Examples (371 and 372) illustrate *mù ... plé* ‘only ... more’, which displays the same syntax as *bétga plé*.

- (371) *[...] scha vagi èl mù in cazè plé.*
 then have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M only one.M shoe any_more
 ‘[...] then he would have only one shoe left.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 15)
- (372) *[...] quaj piartg èra juş atrás a vèva rùt gjù al matg tga vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.*
 DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD have.IMPF.3SG only DEF.F.SG rope more around
 ‘[...] this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so that he only had the rope around [his belly].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

‘Not yet’ is rendered *bétg aun* (373 and 374) or *aun bétg* (375).

- (373) *Ju vèva bigja aun ampríu, ajn scùlèta*
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery_school.F.SG
amprandèvan nus pauc.
 learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little
 ‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.4)
- (374) *Ábar lu èra quaj bigja aun schi bjè.*
 but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM NEG yet so much
 ‘But at that time this was not that much yet.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (375) *[...] lu èri aun bigja turists [...].*
 then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL
 ‘[...] then there weren’t tourists yet [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

Nuéta as a verb phrase negator is much less frequently used than *bétga*, but it expresses a stronger negation (376–378).

- (376) *A quaj plaščéva nuéta pròpi da mé.*
 and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG
 ‘And I really didn’t like that.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (377) *Ò 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.’ (Ruèras, f4)
- (378) *Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun al*
 but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG blood DEF.M.SG
 ... ò ‘l lu nuéta gju còmplicazjuns.
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then NEG have.PTCP.UNM complication.F.SG
 ‘But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn’t got any complications.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Negative adverbs are *maj* ‘never’ (379), *nagín/nagina* ‘nobody, no’ (pronoun and determiner) (380), *nuét* ‘nothing’ (381), and *nagljú* ‘nowhere’ (382). They never co-occur with *bétga*.

4 Verb phrase

- (379) *Ʒu èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj staus*
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster be.PRS.1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG
fumégl [...].
 farmhand.M.SG

'I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand [...].' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (380) *Par í cu té vaş adina ... şè*
 SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG
quaj ... nagín problèm.
 DEM.UNM no.M.SG problem

'In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.'
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.3)

- (381) *Al bap ò détg nuét.*
 DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM nothing
 'My father didn't say anything.' (Cavòrgja, f7, §8.17)

Generally speaking, there is no double negation in Tuatschin (382 and 383).

- (382) *Ʒu a vju nagljú zatgéj.*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM nowhere something
 'I haven't seen anything anywhere.' (Sadrún, m5)

- (383) *Al gjával ò stju í sènza savaj*
 DEF.M.SG devil have.PRS.3SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF without know.INF
fá zatgéj.
 do.INF something

'The devil had to leave without being able to do anything.' (Bugnaj,
 Büchli 1966: 147)

5 Simple sentences

5.1 Declarative sentences: Order of arguments

Tuatschin has verb-second syntax, which means that if no element of the sentence occurs before the subject, the subject precedes the verb as in (1).

- (1) [...] *álşò*, [*nuş*] [*vajn gju*] [*ina pintga piaglja*] [...].
well 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small salary

‘[...] well, we got a small salary [...]’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

As shown in §4.2.2, the indirect object usually precedes the direct object (2).

- (2) *Quèl vès lu aun da pijè [da té] [al*
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
pustrèsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau].
money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG look_after.PTCP.UNM
‘This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.’
(Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

If there is an element that precedes the subject, the subject is moved after the finite verb as in (3) and (4).

- (3) [*Avaun in pèr jamnas*] ... *èr* [*ju*] *gju*
before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down
Locarno [...].
PN

‘A couple of weeks ago ... I was in Locarno [...]’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

- (4) [...] *a [sjantar] va [ju]* ... *cumprau in zacùn*.
and after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG second
§8.7)

The coordinating conjunctions *ábar* ‘but’ (5) and *dantaun* (6) ‘however’ do not trigger subject inversion. In contrast, *api* and its shorter form *pi* ‘and, and then’ do trigger it (5, 7 and 8).

5 Simple sentences

- (5) *Api* *vau* *détg* *èls* *vágian*
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
fatg *ina* *tura tschèl'* *jamna, ábar èl*
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week but 3SG.M
vaj *quitau* *tga quaj séj* ...
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG worry.M.SG COMP DEM.UNM COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'And then I said that they had done a tour that week, but that he sees to it
 that this be ...' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (6) *Ju vagnès* *schòn, dantaun vuş vajs* *taun tschüf ajn*
 1SG come.COND.1SG really however 2PL have.PRS.2PL so_much dirt in
tgèsa.
 house
 'I would come, of course, but you have so much dirt in your house.'
 (Berther 1998: 18)
- (7) *Als gjaniturs fagèvan al pur, ad ju èra*
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL do.IMP.3PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG COP.IMP.1SG
tschavrèr' *in tjams, ajn l' antschata cun*
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.M.SG time in DEF.F.SG beginning with
mju frá, in òn parsula, api stavèv' ins í
 POSS.1SG.M.SG brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and must.IMP. GNR go.INF
culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps [...].
 with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL until up PN
 'My parents were farmers, and I was a goatherd for a certain time, at the
 beginning with my brother, one year alone, and one had to go with the
 goats as far as Nalps [...]' (Sadrún, f5, §8.10)
- (8) *Pi şè 'I vajramájn staus lò.*
 then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SG.ADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there
 'And it [= the swan] really stayed there.' (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

After subordinating conjunctions there is no subject inversion (9–11).

- (9) *La buéba ò détg tg' èla ségi*
 DEF.F.SG girl have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
bétga ida vòluntáramajn, èla stuévi ira.
 NEG go.PTCP.F.SG voluntary.ADV 3SG.F must.IMP. SBJV.3SG go.INF
 'The girl said that she didn't go voluntarily, [but that] she was obliged to
 go.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

- (10) [...] *api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl, prquaj*
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because
tg' èl vèva tpmèz in' anunzja da
 COMP 3SG.M have.IMPV.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement of
mòrt [...]
 death.F.SG
 '[...] and then I phoned him once, because I should send a death notice
 [...].' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (11) [...] *avaun c' ju sùn staus tial tat*
 before SUBORD 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.M.SG grandfather
savèvu da quaj nuét [...]
 know.IMPV.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing
 '[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything about
 that [...].' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

If a subject which would normally be inverted is focalised, it may occur pre-verbally, as *quèls* 'these' in (12).

- (12) *A lur scha 'l vès ussa pagljau par èxèmpal*
 and then if 3SG.M have.COND.3SG now hit.PTCP.UNM for example.M.SG
in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha
 INDEF.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR
quèls fùssan grat schulaj giù
 DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down
ajl' aua, ajl lac.
 into.DEF.F.SG water into.DEF.M.SG lake
 'And then if it [the load] hit a rock which could have thrown it down,
 these [= the mules] would have immediately fallen down rapidly into the
 water, into the lake.' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

The inverted subject is not immediately adjacent to the verb, and in (13) *sagir* 'sure' is located immediately after the verb.

- (13) [...] *avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè era schòn*
 before 1PL be.IMPV.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMPV.3SG then also
 '[...] before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he
 also used to go.' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

5 Simple sentences

However, some consultants reject the position of *sagir* in (13). For them, *sagir* should be located between *èra* ‘also’ and *schòn* ‘already’.

The subject pronoun is usually obligatory in Tuatschin, but the omission of the subject may occur in subordinated and coordinated clauses if it can be recovered from the context (14 and 15).

- (14) *Avaun ina ffasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMP.F.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé —matévan sé
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because SBJ put.IMP.F.3PL
sé la capjala ... ina nègla.
 up up DEF.F.SG hat INDEF.F.SG carnation
 ‘Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations,
 because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (15) *Al sulèt intarassánt è l’ ampréma sacùnda classa*
 DEF.M.SG only interesting COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG first second form
nùca tga — fòn la midada tial sursilvàn
 where REL SBJ make.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG change towards.DEF.M.SG Sursilvan
 [...].

‘The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they [the pupils] start switching towards Sursilvan [...].’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (16) *Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a baršchavan*
 there build.IMP.F.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMP.F.3PL
grad èla.
 immediately 3SG.F
 ‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

5.2 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are characterised by a rising intonation and subject inversion (17).

- (17) *Gè, sùnd ju ajn tju taritòri, distùrb’ ju té?*
 yes COP.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.2SG.M.SG territory disturb.PRS.1SG 1SG 2SG
 ‘Yes, am I in your territory, do I disturb you?’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

Content questions require the presence of an interrogative word and, like polar questions, exhibit subject inversion. Interrogative pronouns are *cu/cura* ‘when’ (18), *cù* ‘how’ (19), *dacù* ‘why’ (20), *danùndar* ‘where from’ (21), *núa* ‘where’ (22), *partgé(j)* ‘why’ (23), *tgé(j)* ‘what’ (24), *tgé(j)nín/tgé(j)nina* ‘which one’(26), *tgi* ‘who’ (27). The interrogative determiner is *tgé(j)* ‘which, what’(25).

- (18) *Cu* *şè* *la* *vagnida?*
when be.PRS.3SG 3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG
‘When did she come?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (19) *Cù* *détsch* *ju?* *Gjù* *Sardégna?*
how say.PRS.1SG 1SG down PN
‘How do I say? Down Sardinia?’(Ruèras, f7, §8.14)
- (20) *Dacù* *as* *té* *fatg* *quaj?*
how have.PRS.2SG 2SG do.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
‘Why did you do this?’(own knowledge)
- (21) *Danùndar* *èn* *èls* *vagní?*
where_from be.PRS.3PL 3PL come.PTCP.M.PL
‘Where did they come from?’(own knowledge)
- (22) *Núa* *ajs* *staus?*
where be.PRS.2SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
‘Where have you been?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (23) *Prtgéj* *fas* *quaj?*
why do.PRS.2SG DEM.UNM
‘Why do you do this?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (24) *Tgéj* *lajn* *fá* *avaun* *c’* *í* *a* *raschlá?*
what want.PRS.1PL do.INF before REL go.INF COMP rake.INF
‘What shall we do before going to rake?’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 121)
- (25) *Tgéj* *tgamişcha* *as* *cumprau?*
which shirt.F.SG have.PRS.2SG buy.PTCP.UNM
‘Which shirt did you buy?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (26) *Tgéjnina* *as* *cumprau?*
which_one have.PRS.2SG buy.PTCP.UNM
‘Which one did you buy?’ (Sadrún, m5)

5 Simple sentences

- (27) *Tgi ò malagjau quaj malètq?*
who have.PRS.3SG paint.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG picture
'Who painted this picture?' (Sadrún, m5)

Indirect interrogative clauses will be treated in §6.2.1.3.

5.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences may or may not lack a subject. If they have one, it may precede (28) or follow the verb (29).

- (28) «*Té nò lu vidòr ússa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma*
2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG
lu bigja ajn lò.»
then NEG in there
'Come down here now. There, don't sleep up there this evening.'
(Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (29) *Ah uòn nò té ajnta Pardatsch.*
eh this_year GO.IMP.2SG 2SG into PN
'Ah, this year go to Pardatsch.' (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

There are some more elements that may precede an imperative: an indirect object (30) and the adverb *mù* 'only, just' (31).

- (30) *Gè, da mé daj è ina ...*
yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.F.SG
'Yes, give me also a ...' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (31) [...] *mù spétga ...*
only wait.IMP.2SG
'[...] just wait.' (Ruèras, m3, l§8.16)

In prohibitive sentences, the negator *bétga* and its allomorphs precede the imperative (32). But if some elements precede the imperative as in (28), the negator follows it.

- (32) *Bétg tumaj!*
NEG be_afraid.IMP.2PL
'Don't be afraid!' (DRG 2: 503)

Reflexive verbs use the prefix *sa-* in the imperative (33) as in all other tenses, moods, and non-finite categories.

- (33) *Sapartgiraj dals bètlars cu tgi vòn a*
 REFL.beware.IMP.2PL of.DEF.M.PL beggar.PL when REL.3PL go.PRS.3SG on
tgavaj.
 horse.M.SG
 ‘Beware of the beggars when they ride.’ (DRG 2: 327)

If a stative verb forms an imperative, subjunctive mood is used, like *vajas* ‘have SBJV.2PL’ in (34).

- (34) *Vajas quitaus cu vus majş şur la lingja via ...*
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over
dal dşuc, dal zuc.»
 of.DEF.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG train
 ‘Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

The hortative is formed with the first person plural present of the verb *vulaj* ‘want’, *lajn* ‘let’s’, and the infinitive (35 and 36).

- (35) *Ad ùs stù l bunamajn vagní a métar èls;*
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF SUBORD put.INF 3PL.M
quaj è tüt, lajn dí, fantasia [...].
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all IMP.1PL say.INF fantasy.F.SG
 ‘And now he must really come and put them [in the right place]; this is all, let’s say, fantasy [...].’ (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

- (36) *Lajn còj quèla tgarn.*
 IMP.1PL cook.INF DEM.F.SG meat
 ‘Let’s cook this meat.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

Optative meaning is conveyed by the subjunctive (37), as the stative verbs do.

- (37) *Djus banadèschi a carschjanti!*
 God bless.PRS.SBJV.3SG and thrive.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘May God bless [it] and make [it] thrive!’ (DRG 5: 649)

5.4 Exclamative sentences

Exclamative sentences are formed with the interrogative pronouns *cù* ‘how’ (38) or *tgéj* ‘what’ (39).

- (38) *Jeusas, cù quaj brişcha!*
 EXCL how DEM.UNM burn.PRS.3SG
 ‘Jee, how it burns!’ (DRG 2: 215)
- (39) *Míu frá şchèva aun ér: «Tgé té pùs!»*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG brother say.IMP.F.3SG still yesterday what 2SG can.PRS.2SG
 ‘My brother said not later than yesterday: «[Incredible that you still] have the strength [to do that]!»’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

5.5 Voice

5.5.1 Reflexive

In Tuatschin, reflexive voice is formed with the prefix *sa-* in all finite and non-finite categories. The Sursilvan norm stipulates that the auxiliary verb be *èssar* ‘be’, and in the corpus it is mostly so (40 and 41); however, *vaj* ‘have’ is not rare (42–44).¹

- (40) *[...] ju [...] sa-spruava dad èssar ruassajvals [...].*
 1SG REFL-try.hard.IMP.F.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG
 ‘[...] I [...] tried hard to remain calm [...].’ (Sadrún, m10)
- (41) *Lu sùnd ju sa-dacidjus da ... raşdá in*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL-decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG
pau şur da la ... da mi’ ufaunza [...].
 little over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 ‘Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...].’ (Sadrún, m4)

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

- (42) [...] *a vès è bitga sa-fatg ajn zatgé*
 and have.COND.1SG also NEG REFL-do.PTCP.UNM in something
spazjal.
 special.M.SG
 ‘[...] and I wouldn’t have noticed anything either.’ (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

- (43) *Ju a maj gju pròblèm– èl*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M
vès maj sa-vilau cun mè né anzatgéj
 have.COND.3SG never REFL-get_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something
 [...].

‘I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that [...].’ (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

- (44) *Als fildiròms òn sa-pagljàu ajnt.*
 DEF.M.PL wire.PL have.PRS.3PL REFL-touch.PTCP.UNM in
 ‘The wires touched each other.’ (DRG 6: 321)

5.5.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal voice is formed with *in ... l’autar / ina ... l’autra* ‘the one ... the other’ (45 and 46).

- (45) *Ad èlas duas ábar ancanùschévan ... in’ l’ autra ad*
 and 3PL.F two.F.PL but know.IMP.3PL one.F.SG DEF.F.SG other and
ju lu halt bégja.
 1SG then in_fact NEG
 ‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn’t.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (46) *Nus vajn dau in cùdisch in da*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG book one.ONE.M DAT
l’ autar.
 DEF.M.SG other
 ‘We gave each other a book.’ (Sadrún, m5)

5 Simple sentences

5.5.3 Causative

Causative voice is formed with *fá* ‘make’ (47–50) and *schè/schá*² ‘have something done, let’ (52 and 53) followed by an infinitive. The causee follows the second verb and occurs as a direct object, which is shown by the use of the direct object pronoun *mè* (vs *da mé* for the indirect object) in (51). Examples (50) and (51) furthermore show that their construction involves two direct objects.

The analysis of the semantic differences between *fá* and *schè* as causative verbs must be left to further studies.

- (47) [...] *i vèvan fatg vagní al caplòn da*
3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM come.INF DEF.M.SG chaplain of
Sèlva par banadí la nibla [...].
PN SUBORD bless.INF DEF.F.SG cloud
‘They’d had the chaplain of Selva come in order to bless the cloud [...].’
(Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 62)

- (48) *Als da Sadrún òn vulju fá stá*
DEF.M.PL of Sedrun have.PRS.3PL want.PTCP.UNM make.INF stay.INF
anavùs la buéba [...].
back DEF.F.SG girl
‘The people of Sedrun wanted to have the girl remain there.’ (Bugnaj,
Büchli 1966: 131)

- (49) [...] *plaunsjú sèni vagní da fá í scha*
slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
vèva ‘l rùt in calum.
have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG thigh
‘[...] they succeeded slowly in having [him] go [to the hospital] since he
had broken a thigh.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (50) *Ju fétsch fá al cusunz in pèr tgautschas*
1SG make.PRS.1SG do.INF DEF.M.SG tailor INDEF.M.SG pair trousers.M.PL
pr èl.
for 3SG.M
‘I have the tailor make a pair of trousers for him.’ (Sadrún, m4)

²*Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

- (51) Èl fò fá mè in pèr tgauschas p̄r
 3SG.M make.PRS.3SG do.INF 1SG.DO INDEF.M.SG pair trousers.M.PL for
 èl.
 3SG.M
 ‘He has me make a pair of trousers for him.’ (Sadrún, m5 and m6)
- (52) I schèvan luvrà fétg.
 3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much
 ‘They had [us] work a lot.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)
- (53) Èl ò schau savaj la règina quaj.
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG let.PTCP.UNM know.INF DEF.F.SG queen DEM
 ‘He let the queen know this.’ (Sadrún, m5)

Standard Sursilvan possesses the derivational suffix *-entar* which transforms a verb or another syntactic category into a causative. Tuatschin also possesses this suffix, *-antá* in the spelling used in this grammar, but to a very reduced extent. Where Standard Sursilvan has *cuschentar* ‘cause to be quiet’, *fughentar* ‘light a fire’, or *luchentar* (*il tratsch*) ‘loosen (the soil)’, Tuatschin has *fá còschar*, *dá ffuc*, and *fá luc* (*al tratsch*). The causative verbs with *-antá* which occur in the corpus are presented in Table 5.1. These verbs can be derived from verbs, adjectives, or nouns.

Table 5.1: Causative verbs

<i>bubrantá</i>	‘make drunk’	<	<i>bájbar</i>	‘drink’
<i>buantá</i>	‘water (animal)’	<	<i>bájbar</i>	‘drink’
<i>cuntantá</i>	‘satisfy’	<	<i>cuntjants</i>	‘glad’
<i>durmantá</i>	‘make sleep’	<	<i>durmí</i>	‘sleep’
<i>fimantá</i>	‘smoke’	<	<i>fém</i>	‘smoke (n.)’
<i>luantá</i>	‘melt (tr.)’	<	<i>luá</i>	‘melt (itr.)’
<i>nagantá</i>	‘drown (tr.)’	<	<i>nagá</i>	‘drown (itr.)’
<i>schjantá</i>	‘dry’	<	<i>schétg</i>	‘dry (adj.)’
<i>schlupantá</i>	‘blow up’	<	<i>schlupá</i>	‘explode’
<i>sagljangtá</i>	‘blow up’	<	<i>saglí</i>	‘run, jump’

The causative verbs show a stem alternation like in *ju bubrjanta* ‘I make drunk’ (vs *nuš bubrantajn* ‘we make drunk’). The verbs *schjantá* ‘dry’ and *sagljangtá* ‘blow’ do not exhibit this alternation because they already have the diphthong *ja* in their stem.

5 Simple sentences

5.5.4 Passive

A dynamic passive is formed with the verb *vagní* ‘come’ and the participle (54–58). A stative passive is formed with the verb *èssar* ‘be’ and the participle (59–61). In both cases the participle agrees with the patient subject if it precedes the passive construction.

- (54) [...] *als tiars èn vagní pri òd*
DEF.M.PL animal.PL be.PRS.3PL PASS.PTCP.M.PL take.PTCP.M.PL out_of
stával a purtaj navèn.
barn and bring.PTCP.M.PL away
‘The animals were taken out of the barn and brought away.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 53)
- (55) *Èla ségi vagnida tratga cun*
3SG.F COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG come.PASS.PTCP.F.SG pull.PTCP.F.SG with
starmantusa fòrza [...].
tremendous.F.SG power
‘[She said that] she had been pulled with tremendous power.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)
- (56) [...] *nus vagnévan pròpi tanidas a nus stèvan*
1PL PASS.IMPF.3PL really hold.PTCP.F.PL and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL
amprèndar a nus stèvan schubargè a fá a tùt.
learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and all
‘[...] we were really kept [in a strict way] and we had to study and we had to clean and do and everything.’ (Camischùlas, f6; §8.4)

If the patient subject follows the passive verb, there is no agreement.

- (57) [...] *a lò végni fatg mèssa, sunau*
and there PASS.PRS.3SG.EXPL do.PTCP.UNM mass.F.SG play.PTCP.M.SG
òrgla a cantau végljas canzuns ròmòntschas [...].
organ.F.SG and sing.PTCP.M.SG old.F.PL song.PL Romansh.PL
‘[...] and there a mass is said, the organ is played, and old Romansh songs are sung [...].’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 94)

- (58) [...] *lu èra quaj ... craju, sjat*
 then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven
ffastas ... tga vagnéva ... fátg parada.
 celebration.F.PL REL PASS.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 ‘[...] then there were ..., I believe, seven celebrations ... when they would ... prepare a parade.’ (Zarcúns, m2; §8.13)
- (59) *A qu’ èra schòn dau bjè najv ad*
 and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow.F.SG and
èran bigj’ aun vagní vidò culs tiars.
 be.IMPF.3PL NEG yet come.PTCP.M.PL down with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn’t come back down with the animals yet.’ (Sadrún, m4; §8.3.)
- (60) *Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al*
 and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG
cantún ò circa trènta da quèls majnadistricts,
 canton have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL
quèls èn partí ajn ajn ragjuns, ad ju
 DEM.M.PL PASS.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in region.F.PL and 1SG
a la val Tujétsch a Musté.
 have.PRS.1SG DEF.F.SG valley PN and PN
 ‘And now they have divided that, the canton has about thirty of these heads of district, these are divided into regions, and I have the Tujetsch valley and Mustér.’ (Sadrún, f3; §8.1)
- (61) *Ins vèz’ aun tg’ èra dau vidajn pùntgas*
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into chisel.F.PL
né trádals [...].
 or power_drill.M.PL
 ‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used [...].’ (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

Place names are considered to have no gender, hence the use of the unmarked form of the participle (62).

5 Simple sentences

- (62) *Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù*
 ah PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
majšès ad alps adina [...].
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always
 ‘Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as
 pastures [...].’ (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

If the agent of a passive construction is mentioned, it is introduced by *da* (63 and 64). Whether *da* corresponds to the preposition or to the dative marker is not easy to decide. The only case where there is a difference between the two *da*'s is the first person singular object pronoun, which is either *mè* (accusative and after prepositions) or *mé* (dative marker). As noted in §3.5, some speakers prefer using the pronoun *mé* (dative), whereas others use *mè* (accusative) in order to introduce the agent of a passive construction.

- (63) *[...] quèls mulissiars, quèls ah fagèvan lu quasi*
 DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL DEM.M.PL eh do.IMP.F.3PL then so_to_speak
las préfatschèntas, né, né tg' èran ...
 DEF.F.PL intermediate_trade.PL right or COMP PASS.IMP.F.3PL
cumissunaj da quèls ah martgadònts grònš da
 commission.PTCP.M.PL DAT DEM.M.PL eh businessman.PL big.PL of
la bassa, né.
 DEF.F.SG «lowlands» right
 ‘[...] These negotiators, they would so to speak do the intermediate trade,
 or they were ... commissioned by the big businessmen from outside the
 Grisons, right?’ (Sadrún, m5; §8.9)

- (64) *Al baghètg è vagnuș bagagjauș da*
 DEF.M.SG building be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.M.SG build.PTCP.M.SG DAT
mju auc.
 POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle
 ‘The building has been built by my uncle.’ (Sadrún, m1)

6 Complex sentences

6.1 Coordination

Coordinating conjunctions are *a* (before consonant) / *ad* (before vowel) ‘and’ (1), *api* ‘and, and then’ (1), *u tga ... né tga* ‘either ... or’ (2), *né tga* ‘or’, *pi* ‘then’ (3), *ábar* ‘but’ (4), and *dantaun* ‘however, but’ (5).

- (1) *In’ jèda tschò, in’ jèda lò, ad in’ jèda*
one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
saragòrd’ ju aun ... tga nuş èran í
REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
ajn ustria òl Mírar, api sa ju bégja
in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG NEG
sén tgé nuş èran vagní [...].
upon what 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL

‘Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer’s restaurant, and I don’t know what we had come up with [...].’
(Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (2) *U tga té fas ùrdan ajn tia tgombra né*
either COMP 2SG do.PRS.2SG order.M.SG in POSS.2SG.F.SG room or
tga té lavas gjù.
COMP 2SG wash.PRS.2SG down

‘Either you tidy up your room or you do the dishes.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (3) *Mintgataun mavan nuş èra ... plas pitgògnas*
sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also through.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL
a cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi
SUBORD dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and
vignévan nus halt in téc tart.
come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.M.SG bit late

‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

6 Complex sentences

- (4) *Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj*
 textsc1sg COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster be.PRS.1SG never
staus fumègl ábar ins mav' a gidá òra [...].
 COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand but GNR go.IMPF.3SG COMP help.INF out
 'I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand but we would go and help out
 [...]' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (5) *Basta, da fá füssi ùssa gl atún la*
 enough COMP do.INF be.COND.3SG.EXPL now DEF.M.SG autumn DEF.F.SG
pjal plajna da tùtas uísas. Dantaun scha l' aura
 skin full of all.F.PL way.PL however if DEF.F.SG weather
tégn ansjaman vòì schòn.
 hold.PRS.3SG together go.PRS.3SG.EXPL indeed
 'Well, now during autumn there would be a lot of things to do. However,
 if the weather holds, it will do indeed.' (Ruèras, DRG 9: 452)

In the case of coordination with *né* 'or', the complementiser *tga* must be used with clauses as in (6).

- (6) *A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavanş bjè*
 and right precisely also DEF.M.SG winter especially go.IMPF.1PL.1PL often
a bagagjavan sprunş a dèvan cun skis né cun
 and build.IMPF.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL or with
ajssa né tg' ins mava cun bòb da vias
 board.F.SG right COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG with bob.M.SG from street.F.PL
gjù [...].
 down
 'And, right?, especially during winter we often went and built ski jumps
 and would go skiing or snowboarding, or we would go down the streets
 on bobsleigh [...]' (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

6.2 Subordination

The general subordinating conjunction for finite subordinate clauses is *tga* (realised as *tgu* in combination with the first person singular pronoun *ju*). It is used with relative clauses, with argument clauses, and some adjunct clauses; in the latter case, compound conjunctions may also be used, like e.g. *durònt tga*, where the first part, *durònt* 'during', refers to the semantics of the subordinate clause and the second part, *tga* 'that' indicates subordination.

With non-finite subordinate clauses, it is usually *da* which is used.

6.2.1 Argument clauses

6.2.1.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses are either finite or non-finite. If the non-finite subject clause is located at the beginning of the sentence, the infinitive may be modified by the definite masculine article (7 and 8) or may lack it (9 and 10), without any functional change.

- (7) *Òh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau,*
 oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
l' antschata sè quaj schòn stau
 DEF.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM
in téc curjùs.
 INDEF.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM
 'Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (8) *[...] ábar al trá ajn èla èra ... da maz.*
 but DEF.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG of killing.M.SG
 '[...] but bringing it in was ... terrible.' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (9) *Fugí è bian, a mitschè è aun méglijar.*
 flee.INF COP.PRS.3SG good and escape.INF COP.PRS.3SG still better
 'To flee is good, and to escape is even better.' (DRG 6: 671)

- (10) *A dumagnè als amprèmş dis quèls pòrs gjù da*
 and cope.INF DEF.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from
da quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l' aua
 from DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.F.SG water
dal Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da tschèla vart,
 of.DEF.M.SG PN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of DEM.F.SG side
qu' è stau álşò in martéri.
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.M.SG ordeal
 'And the first days, to cope with these pigs [going] down this path and then through the water of the Drun, of which only few would go over to the other side, well, this was an ordeal [...].' (Sadrún, m6, l§8.11)

6 Complex sentences

It is also possible to use the complementiser *da* (11), but in this case the infinitive is highlighted.

- (11) *Da còschar fùs stau mégljar.*
 COMP keep_silent.INF be.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better
 ‘To keep silent would have been better.’ (Ruèras, m10)

If the subject clause is located after the verb, the expletive pronoun *i* is required in subject position and the infinitive may be introduced by the complementiser *da* (12) or may lack it (13).

- (12) *I è stau mégljar da còschar.*
 EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better COMP keep_silent.INF
 ‘It was better to keep silent.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (13) *[...] i è gréjv — dí [...].*
 EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF
 ‘[...] it is difficult to say [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (14) *A sjantar c’ ins mava, sch’ mav’ ins sél*
 and after SUBORD GNR go.IMP.F.3SG CORR go.IMP.F.3SG GNR ON.DEF.M.SG
Albšú cul trèn, a quaj custav’ in franc ...
 PN with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMP.F.3SG one.M.SG franc
dad í sèdòra.
 COMP go.INF up
 ‘And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alpsu [pass] by train and this cost one franc ... to go up there.’ (m1, Ruèras, §8.2)

Finite subject clauses are introduced by the complementiser *tga*; the expletive pronoun *i* must occur in subject position (15 and 16).

- (15) *Ad i è aun schabagjau plé ... tga nuş*
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL
èssan i ... tiar duas, àlsò ajn duas jèdas ... tiar
 be.PRS.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F time.PL to
ina api sjantar aun í ad í vi
 one.F.SG and afterwards in_addition go.PTCP.M.PL and go.PTCP.M.PL over
tiar tschèla.
 to DEM.F.SG
 ‘And it also happened more ... that we went ... to two [girls], well at two different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the other.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (16) *Ad i èr' è bitga úsit tg' ins mava a*
 and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
scùlèta.
 nursery_school.F.SG
 'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

6.2.1.2 Object clauses

Object clauses can be finite or non-finite. Non-finite object clauses are introduced by the complementiser *da* (17 and 18).

- (17) *Al pástar gròn ò atmonju da bétga*
 DEF.M.SG herdsman big have.PRS.3SG admonish.PTCP.UNM COMP NEG
fá tupadats.
 do.INF stupidity.F.PL
 'The main herdsman warned [people] not to commit stupidities.' (Surajin, Büchli 1966: 128)
- (18) *[...] api vagi èl tartgau ... dad í vi ajn*
 and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on
via ... a tanaj sé èls.
 road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M
 '[...] and he thought... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.'
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

Finite object clauses are introduced by the complementiser *tga* 'that' (19) or *scha* 'whether' (21). *Tga* is not always adjacent to the main verb; in (20) a preposed temporal clause belonging to the object clause separates the complementiser from the main verb, *savaj* in this case.

- (19) *[...] in' jèda saragòrd' ju aun ... tga*
 one.F.SG time REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL
nuş èran í ajn ustria òl Mírar [...].
 be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN
 '[...] once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer's restaurant [...].'
 (Zarcúns, §8.13)

6 Complex sentences

- (20) *Ju sa cu [...] ju sùn maridaus tga ...*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.SG COMP
èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindisch ufauns ... tga
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN about fifteen child.M.PL REL
mavan a scùla da Camischùlas.
 go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PN

‘I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (21) *[...] a ... lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch’*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if
èl prandèssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN

‘[...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

6.2.1.3 Indirect interrogative clauses

Indirect interrogative clauses, which are a subcategory of object clauses, are either finite (23–30) or non-finite (22). They do not trigger subject inversion, in contrast to direct interrogative sentences (see §5.2). An exception occurs in (22), where the non-finite interrogative clause is focused on and precedes the verb, which triggers subject inversion.

- (22) *[...] cù barsá stù ju bigja dí [...].»*
 how roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF
 ‘[...] how to roast [it] I don’t have to tell [you] [...].’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (23) *[...] a damònda cù i vòndi.*
 and ask.PRS.3SG how EXPL go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘[...] and he asked how he was.’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 105)

- (24) *Ad èr’ è zatgé bi da mirá cù*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how
quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3SG and

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.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (25) *Las nòtizjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,*
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
als duş baps prandèvan aj, i dèva ajnta
 DEF.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG in
Ruèras, dèv’ aj in ca vèva rádjò.
 PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG

‘I don’t know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (26) *[...] l PN ò è fatg lò in pèr*
 DEF.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.M.SG pair
placats tga mùssan ajn via nùc’ ins sa è mirá
 poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way where GNR can.PRS.3SG also see.INF
quaj.
 DEM.UNM

‘[...] PN also put there some posters which show where on the way one can have a look at this.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (27) *A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tùt fatg a*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM and
racògnòszau avaun tg’ ins savèva núa inş
 reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before SUBORD GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR
vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da métar ah
 have.IMPF.3SG to sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP put.INF ah
şur nòtg als als méls, nu i dèva
 over night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
pával pļs méls [...].
 food.M.SG for.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

‘And then we have, this had all been done and reconnoitred before, so that one knew where to sleep, where to put the mules over night, where there was food for the mules [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

6 Complex sentences

- (28) *El ò dumandau èlas partgèj èlas ségian*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F why 3PL.F be.PRS.SBJV.3PL
bétg idas a mèssa.
 NEG go.PTCP.3PL.F to mass
 ‘He asked them why they didn’t go to mass.’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)

- (29) *[...] a lu sa ju schòn in téc sc’ i*
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit how EXPL
funczjanava.
 function.IMPF.3SG
 ‘[...] and therefore I know a bit how it used to function.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (30) *[...] a lu ò ‘l grju li gljut*
 and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M shout.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.SG people.F.SG
[...] tga ségi trajs rùsnas; ajn tgénina èl
 COMP EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG.EXPL three hole.F.PL into which.F.SG 3SG.M
dégi métar ajn la crusch.
 must.PRS.SBJV.3SG put into DEF.F.SG cross
 ‘[...] and then he shouted to the people [...] [saying that] there were three holes; [asking] into which he should put the cross.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 134)

A special case is (31) in which the manner clause introduced by *scù* ‘like, as’ modifies the manner adverb *usché* ‘so’.

- (31) *[...] in téc da la gjuvantétgna sa ju schòn*
 INDEF.M.SG bit of DEF.F.SG youth can.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed
raquintá ... usché scù i mava da nòs tjams a
 tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG of POSS.1PL.M.SG time.PL and
tgé ca va ùsa [...].
 what REL go.PRS.3SG now
 ‘[...] a bit of my youth I can indeed tell [you about] ... the way it was when we were young and the way it is nowadays [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

6.2.1.4 Prepositional argument clauses

Prepositional argument clauses are non-finite. In the corpus, the following verbs occur: *amprèndar d’ancanùschar* ‘get to know’ (32), *antschajvar a* ‘begin to’ (33),

calá da ‘stop doing’ (34), *prèndar avauñ da* ‘plan’ (35), and *sadacídár da* ‘decide to’ (36).

- (32) *Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah*
 and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah
gè ju vès è ugèn ampríu d’
 yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP
ancanùschar quaj mél [...].
 know.INF DEM.M.SG mule
 ‘And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very
 much liked to get to know this mule [...].’ (Ruèras, m 10, §8.7)
- (33) *Sé Nalps vèvani è grad antschiat a bagagè*
 up PN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF
cantinaş ètcètara.
 canteen.F.PL et_cetera
 ‘In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.’ (Sadrún, m4,
 §8.3)
- (34) *Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg’*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
í plé.
 go.INF any_more
 ‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún, m4,
 §8.3)
- (35) *Gè, ju a atgnamajn príu, príu avauñ*
 yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before
da prèndar ah, zatgéj històrjas cò da quaj ah détgas
 COMP take.INF eh something story.F.PL here of DEM.UNM eh legend.F.PL
a praulaş [...].
 and fairy_tale.F.PL
 ‘Actually, I had planned to take, eh, some stories here from these legends
 and fairy tales, [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (36) *Lu sùnd ju sadacidjus da ... raşdá in*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG
pau şur da la ... da mi’ ufaunza [...].
 little over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 ‘Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...].’ (Sadrún, m4,
 §8.3)

6.2.2 Adjunct clauses

6.2.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are either finite or non-finite. Non-finite temporal clauses are introduced by *da* (37 – 39), *avaun ca* (40), or *sjantar* (41).

- (37) [...] *fa:* *ajn* [...] *tsa'kəndz* *diant*s *aʎ* *rəʃti:* *də* *lə*
 make.INF in some.M.PL tooth.PL DAT rake.M.SG of DEF.F.SG
 'dɔ:nə *tɔv* *l* *ɔ* *rut* *ɔ:r* *ejr* ***də*** ***mə'tsa:***
 woman REL 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG break.PTCP.UNM out also SUBORD kill.INF
 in *ruʃp*
 INDEF.M.SG toad

‘[...] put in some teeth to the woman’s rake he had broken when he killed a toad.’ (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 8)

- (38) *Da* ***vagní*** ***anavùs*** *vònd* *ju* *plaunjsu!*
 SUBORD come.INF back go.PRS.1SG 1SG slowly

‘When I come back, I’ll walk slowly!’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 120)

- (39) *A* ***da*** ***gjantá*** ... *sch'ina* *sòra* ... *tudèstga èra* ...
 and SUBORD lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG
 vida majša, *scha stuèvan* *tùt quèla-* *nuş ròmonschas*
 at_of table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL
 raşdá *tudèstg.*
 speak.INF German.M.SG

‘And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we, the Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (40) [...] ***avaun c'*** *í* ***vidajn,*** *ah,* *staus* *lu* *tial*
 before SUBORD go.INF uphill eh COP.PTCP.M.SG then at.DEF.M.SG
 miadi [...].
 doctor

‘[...] before going uphill, eh, [he] went to the doctor [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (41) ***Sjantar vaj*** ***fatg*** *als* *pènsums,* *ş'*
 after have.INF do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL homework.PL be.PRS.3SG
 als *scùlarş* *i* *a spaz.*
 DEF.ART.M.PL pupil.PL go.PTCP.M.PL to walk

‘After doing their homework, the pupils went for a walk.’ (Sadrún, m5)

Finite temporal clauses are introduced by *avaun ca tga* ‘before’, *cu* ‘when’, *da-fartáuntiar tga* ‘whilst’, *durònt tga* ‘when’, *schi glajti scù* ‘as soon as’, *sjantar tga* ‘after’ (49), and *tòca* ‘until’.

With the subordinator *cu* (derived from the interrogative pronoun *cura* ‘when’), correlative *scha* ‘if, then’ is usually used (42 and 43).

- (42) [...] *cu i dat la banadiczjun, scha fò*
 when EXPL give.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG blessing CORR make.IMP.2SG
la sòntga crusch.
 DEF.F.SG holy cross
 ‘[...] when it comes to the blessing, make the sign of the cross.’ (Berther 2007: 23)

- (43) *A pér cu quaj èra fatg, scha*
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR
èra la scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].
 COP.IMP.3SG DEF.F.SG whey too hot
 ‘And only when this was done was the whey too hot [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

Instead of *cu* ‘when’ one also finds *tga*, which in combination with *ju* ‘I’ is realised as *tgu* (44 and 45).

- (44) *A sjantar [...] šè l bap lu mòrts tgu*
 and after be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father then die.PTCP.M.SG SUBORD.1SG
vèva ... mù vèntgadúš òns.
 have.IMP.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL
 ‘And after that [...] my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (45) *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú*
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.M.UNM
in təc quajda d’ í par crapa, tgu
 INDEF.M.SG bit desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL SUBORD.1SG
a vju difarènts lògans tg’ i
 have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.M.UNM different.M.PL place.PL SUBORD 3PL
vèvan sitau gjù ad èra ...
 have.IMP.3PL blast.PTCP.M.UNM down and be.IMP.3SG

6 Complex sentences

vagnú *ò cristalaş* [...].

come.PTCP.M.UNM out crystal.F.PL

‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals [...] had come out ...’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Examples (46–50) illustrate the other subordinators that introduce a temporal clause.

- (46) *Dafartáuntiar tga* *la* *mùma fò* *quaj*,
whilst SUBORD DEF.F.SG mother do.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
miras *té dal* *pòp*.
look.PRS.2SG 2SG of.DEF.M.SG baby

‘Whilst mother is doing this, you look after the baby.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (47) *Ju a* *gju* *tèma [...]* *tg’* *als* *tians*
1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM fear COMP DEF.M.PL animal.PL
rèjşdian *durònt tga* *la* *sòntga mèssa da Nadal*
talk.PRS.SBJV.3PL during SUBORD DEF.F.SG holy mass of Christmas
vègni *lagida*.
PASS.PRS.SBJV.3SG read.PTCP.F.SG

‘I feared [...] that the animals could talk when Christmas Mass would be read.’ (Tschamüt, Büchli 1966: 19)

- (48) *A schi ... schi glajti scù nuş èssan* *staj* *sén la* *via*
and so so soon as 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on DEF.F.SG way
cantunala òni *antschiat* *a* *galòpá*.
cantonal have.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM COMP gallop.INF

‘And as ... as soon as we were on the cantonal way they started to gallop.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (49) *Sjantar tga* *nuş vajn* *vju* *al* *film*,
after SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG film
èssan *nuş i* *a* *durmí*.
be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.UNM SUBORD sleep.INF

‘After we saw the film, we went to sleep.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (50) *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun niaş*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
audi anzatgéj [...].
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something
 ‘And then the nun was out [on the corridor] like this ... in front of our
 door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...].’
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

6.2.2.2 Manner clauses

Non-finite manner clauses are introduced by *cun* ‘with’ (51) and finite manner clauses either by *scù* (52), *scù tga* (53), or only *tga* (54).

- (51) *Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è*
 yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
vagnúş atrás cun fá ‘l pur.
 come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
 ‘Yes, this would be really great, but I also could earn a living by being a
 farmer.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (52) *Òz şaj al al Furka né al ... la*
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG PN OR DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG
ban¹ né scù i végn raşdau òz sèn
 train right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM today on
tudèstg.
 German.M.SG
 ‘Today it is the Furka or the ... the *ban* ‘train’, as nowadays it is called in
 German.’ (i.e the Matterhorn-Gotthard-Bahn) (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (53) *Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg’ ins*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR
fagèva plé baut [...].
 do.IMPF.3SG more early
 ‘We would often go and play, as one would do it in the past [...].’ (Sadrún,
 m9, §8.15)

¹*Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

6 Complex sentences

- (54) *La bûca stuèv' èssar tga la pudèv' ajn,*
 DEF.F.SG mouth should.IMPF.3SG COP.INF SUBORD 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG into
la lata.
 DEF.F.SG slat
 'The cutting should be such that the slat could fit into it.' (Camischùlas,
 DRG 3: 583)

6.2.2.3 Purposive clauses

Non-finite purposive clauses are introduced by *a* after a verb of movement (55 and 56) and by *par/pr* (57) or *da* (58 and 59) in all other cases; *da*, however, is very rare. Example (56) contains both *par* and *a*.

- (55) *Api schèvan aj èba in tg' è mòrts tga*
 and say.IMPF.3PL 3PL precisely one REL COP.PRS.3SG dead.M.SG REL
vègn a métar als, als tjarms ...
 come.PRS.3SG SUBORD put.INF DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL
la nòtg [...].
 DEF.F.SG night
 'And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who was dead
 came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night [...]' (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

- (56) *[...] ju vèva ... siş òns tga èran vida*
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG six year.M.PL COMP COP.IMPF.3PL PROG
praparà la via par í sé Nalps a bagagè
 prepare.INF DEF.F.SG road SUBORD go.INF up PN SUBORD build.INF
al mir da farmada.
 DEF.M.SG wall.M.SG of reservoir.F.SG

'[...] I was six years old when they were preparing the road in order to go
 to Nalps to build the wall of the reservoir.' (Sadrùn, m4, §8.3)

- (57) *Als méls èran, qu' èra ... fèrm ...*
 DEF.M.PL mule COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
fèrms tiarş ad èl duvrava quaj mél pr
 strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD
trá, par trá lèna sé da Cavòrgia.
 pull.INF SUBORD pull.INF wood.COLL up from PN

'The mules were, these were in fact strong ... strong animals and he
 used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.' (Ruèras, m10,
 §8.7)

- (58) [...] *méz in pétg sc' inş drùva par tût las*
 put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG hoe like GNR need.PRS.3SG for all DEF.F.PL
lavurş da parmavèra a gl atún da cavá trífals.
 work.PL of spring.F.SG and DEF.M.SG autumn SUBORD dig.INF potato.M.PL
 ‘[...] put a hoe like [the one] one needs for all the work that must be done
 in spring, and in autumn in order to dig out potatoes.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli
 1966: 143)
- (59) *Api savèv’ ins bigja cù, cù fá da purtà las*
 and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF COMP carry.INF DEF.F.PL
nèglas [...].
 carnation.PL
 ‘And one would not know how to put the carnations [...] (literally ‘how to
 do in order to put the carnations’).’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

There are several examples where the subordinator *a* is absent (60). In (61) both constructions occur – with and without the subordinator *a*.

- (60) [...] *api èri dad í — métar trífals [...].*
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put.INF potato.M.PL
 ‘[...] and then one had to sow potatoes [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)
- (61) [...] *api èri dad í — zarclá trífals api*
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF weed.INF potato.M.PL and
èri dad í a zarclá al graun.
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF SUBORD weed.INF DEF.M.SG cereal
 ‘[...] and then one had to weed the potato fields and then one had to go
 and weed the cereal fields.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

Finite purposive clauses are introduced by *par* *par tga* (62) or only by *tga* (63).

- (62) *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...*
 and DEF.F.SG evening SUBORD COMP burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
vagnéva quaj, quaj mava ‘l ajnagjù
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down
cul maun èra sènza ... [vòns] a trèva vidò
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out
còtgla gjù sé sél plantschju.
 charcoal.COLL down up on.DEF.M.SG floor
 ‘And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into

6 Complex sentences

[the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (63) *A quaj stèvnʒ èssar ... pulits-pulits*
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaved.M.PL
l’ jamna ... — tg’ al bap dètschi in
 DEF.F.SG week COMP DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG
frang a miaz.
 franc and half.M.SG

‘And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

In the DRG materials, there is one occurrence of the negator *bétg* preceding the subordinator *tga*, i.e. outside the subordinate clause (64).

- (64) *Vèndardé sògn stù in muantá la tgarn a las*
 Friday.M.SG holy must.PRS.3SG GNR move.INF DEF.F.SG meat and DEF.F.PL
ljòngjas bétg tga vignan ajn als baus.
 sausage.PL NEG SUBORD come.PRS.3PL in DEF.M.PL beetle.PL

‘On Good Friday one must move the meat and the sausages so that the beetles cannot get into the meat.’ (DRG 3: 385)

This construction has not been accepted by my consultants; however, a similar construction which, in contrast to the Tuatschin example (64), includes the subordinator *par*, can be found in other Romansh varieties like in the Sutsilvan dialect of Dalin (65).

- (65) *Par bétg tg’ in schleschi dat il calger*
 for NEG SUBORD GNR slip.PRS.SBJV.3SG give.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG shoemaker
eign in pêr guspas els calzers.
 in INDEF.M.SG couple nail.PL in.DEF.M.PL shoe.PL

‘In order not to slip, the shoemaker hits some nails into the shoes.’ (Şutsilvân, Dagljégn, DRG 4: 607)

Therefore it is possible that the Tuatschin construction in (64) belonged to an older variety of the language.

6.2.2.4 Causal clauses

Non-finite causal clauses are introduced by *da* (66), and finite causal clauses are introduced by *parquaj/prquaj tga* (67), *partgé* (68), *má tga* (69), *tga* (70), or *cunquaj tga* ‘since’ (71).

- (66) *'dže:vjø zε l 'tɔni dε lε met'lajnε*
 Thursday COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG PN of DEF.F.SG PN
səffərden'taws fi fetε dε 'bajbær trajs 'mjɔ:las
 REFL.catch.cold.PTCP.M.SG so much SUBORD drink.INF three cup.PL
pɛn frajt
 buttermilk cold
 ‘On Thursday Matlaina’s Toni caught a very strong cold because he drank three cups of cold buttermilk.’ (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 9)
- (67) [...] *api lura va ju in' jèda talafônau dad èl prquaj*
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because
tg' èl vèva tarmèz in' anunzja
 SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement
da mòrt [...].
 of death.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then I phoned him once, because he had sent a death notice [...].’
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (68) *Avaun ina ffasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé matévan sé sé
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because put.IMPF.3PL up up
la tgapjala ... ina nègla.
 DEF.F.SG hat INDEF.F.SG carnation
 ‘Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations, because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)
- (69) *Cò ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla,*
 here have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG cervelat
má tg' i è damaun dumèngja.
 because SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday
 ‘Here, mother provided a cervelat, because tomorrow is Sunday.’
 (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

6 Complex sentences

- (70) *Ûssa léjva tg' i è clar dé.*
 now get_up.IMP.2SG SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG clear day
 ‘Get up now since day has already broken.’ (DRG 3: 719)
- (71) [...] *cunquaj tg' èl èra ... fòrsa staus da*
 since SUBORD 3SG.M be.IMP.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG of
malitèr tials tgavals, né gju da fá cun
 army.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF with
tgavals, scha ... vèv' èl ... cumprau in
 horse.M.PL CORR have.IMP.3SG 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
asan, álšò in mél, bitg in asan, in mél.
 donkey this_is INDEF.M.SG mule NEG INDEF.M.SG donkey INDEF.M.SG mule

‘[...] since in the army he had ... maybe been, with the horses, or had to do with horses, then ... he had ... bought a donkey, that is to say a mule, not a donkey, a mule.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

6.2.2.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed in three different ways:

- a correlative construction with *scha* ‘if’ in both the protasis and the apodosis (72 and 73),
- only the protasis is introduced by *scha* ‘if’ (74–76),
- without subordinator in the protasis but with subject inversion and *scha* ‘if’ or *lura* ‘when’ in the apodosis (77).

In all these cases there is subject inversion in the apodosis, with some rare exceptions. Furthermore, correlative *lura* is very rare in the corpus; it only occurs in Büchli (1966).

- (72) *Scha té as lu mèmja bjè da raclamá a*
 if 2SG have.PRS.2SG then too much ATTR complain.INF and
grí, scha matajn nus té ajnagjù l Run.
 shout.INF CORR put.PRS.1PL 1PL 2SG in_down DEF.M.SG PN
 ‘If you really have so much to complain and shout about, we will throw you down into the Run [creek].’ (Berther 1998: 120)

- (73) *A da giantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida*
 and of lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at_of
majša, scha stuèvan tût quèla- nuş ròmonschas raşdá
 table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL speak.INF
tudèstg.
 German.M.SG
 'And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we, the
 Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.' (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (74) *Scha ju antupás quèla gljut, sabatès ju gjù*
 if 1SG meet.COND.1SG DEM.F.SG people REFL.throw.COND.1SG 1SG down
ajn ganugljaş a bitschâş als cazès.
 in knee.F.PL and kiss.COND.1SG DEF.M.PL shoe.PL
 'If I met these people, I'd kneel down and kiss their shoes.' (Berther 1998:
 60)
- (75) *Da mintga pur stèvanş í a scha 'l*
 of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M
vèva gju dus, stèva 'l pijè ...
 have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM two.M must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF
dus pòrs né in né uschéa [...].
 two.M pig.PL or one.M or so
 'We had to go to every farmer and if he had given two [pigs], he should
 [pay] more ... two pigs or one or so [...].' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (76) *[...] scha 'l vèva bian, vagnév' ins schòn*
 if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed
séssúra inqual tgaussas.
 upon some thing.F.PL
 '[...] if he was in a good mood, one could get to know some things.'
 (Sadrún, m4, l§8.3)
- (77) *Vasèvan ins ina signura [...] cun schuba cuérta,*
 see.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR INDEF.F.SG woman with shirt.F.SG short
còtschna, [...] lura spitgavan als purs ina grònda
 red CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL INDEF.F.SG big
malaura [...].
 storm
 'If one saw a woman with a short shirt, a red one, the farmers would
 expect a heavy storm.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 34)

6 Complex sentences

Tense and mood is used in the following way. Present factual conditional clauses take the present tense in the protasis as well as in the apodosis (72), and past factual conditional clauses are the imperfect in both the protasis and the apodosis (73, 75, 76, and 77)

Present counterfactual conditional clauses have the direct conditional in the protasis as well as in the apodosis (74), and past counterfactual conditional clauses take the of the indirect conditional in both the protasis and apodosis. For examples, see §4.1.2.2.10.

6.2.2.6 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses are introduced by *tga* (78–80) or by *usché tga* (81). If an adjective triggers a consecutive clause, the adjective is modified by *schì* ‘so’ (82).

- (78) *Èla dètgi in' jèda ina curnada*
 3SG.F give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.F time DEF.F.SG push_with_horn.PTCP.F.SG
li èl tg' èl stètschi sél plaz.
 DAT 3SG.M SUBORD 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG on.DEF.M.SG place
 ‘She [the cow] would give him a push with her horns so that he would remain on the spot.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 20)
- (79) [...] *quaj piartg èra juş atráš a vèva*
 DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMPF.3SG
rùt gjù al matg tga 'l vèva mù
 break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG only
la còrda plé antùrn.
 DEF.F.SG rope more around
 ‘[...] this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so that he only had the rope around [his belly].’ (Sadrùn, m6, §8.11)
- (80) *Bjè jèdaş şèni scapaj tga nuş vajn*
 many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL
ah pròpi gju ah gròndas misérjas [...].
 eh really have.PTCP.UNM ah big.F.PL trouble.PL
 ‘They escaped many times so that we had big troubles [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (81) [...] *a gl aucségnar è pròpi vagnuş*
 and DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG
ála lavina, ad è ... staus mòrts, usché
 into.DEF.F.SG avalanche and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG dead.M.SG so

tga las stréaş òn ... fatg vandètga
 COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG
cugl aucségnar da Sadrún.
 with.DEF.M.SG priest of PN

‘[...] and the priest really was engulfed by the avalanche and was ... dead, so that the witches got their revenge on the priest of Sedrun.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (82) *Èla è saprida ajn quaj schi starmantús*
 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG REFL.take.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM
tg’ èla è curdada ajn ina rùsna nùndétga.
 SUBORD 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.F.SG into INDEF.F.SG hole awful
 ‘She took this so seriously that she fell in an awful hole.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

6.2.2.7 Comparative clauses

Non-finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù da*, literally ‘how of’ or ‘like of’ (83), and finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù* (84) or *scù tga* (85).

- (83) *I vò fil a fil scù da caná in anşéjil.*
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG jet to jet like SUBORD stab.INF INDEF.M.SG kid
 ‘[Blood] flows like when one stabs a kid.’ (DRG 6: 300)

- (84) *[...] lu va ju ... tlafònu dad èl a détg,*
 then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and say.PTCP.UNM
èba, mi’ ùm ségi èba mòrts scù
 exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as
i sápián [...].
 3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL

‘[...] then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as they knew [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (85) *Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg’ ins*
 1PL go.IMPFF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR
fagèva plé baut [...].
 do.IMPFF.3SG more early

‘We would often go and play, as one would do it earlier [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

6 Complex sentences

6.2.2.8 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by *schabi tga* (86).

- (86) *Schabi tga lu, cun siş òns capév' ins lu*
although COMP then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR then
hald aun mèmja pauc a vèva bigja la... fòrsa da
just still too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG strength ATTR
fá zatgéj.
do.INF something

‘Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and wouldn’t have the ... strength to do something.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

6.2.2.9 Instead of

‘Instead of’ only occurs in non-finite clauses in the corpus. They are introduced either by *anstagl* (87) or *anstagl da* (88).

- (87) *Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu*
and instead drink.INF DEF.M.SG wine be.IMPF.1PL 1SG then
i sé, vèvani fatg ina bòla.
go.PTCP.M.PL up have.IMPF.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG punch
‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (88) [...] *anstagl da mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri*
instead_of milk.INF eighty COW.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe
fòrsa mù tshuncònta [...].
only fifty
‘[...] instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe only fifty [...]’
(Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

6.3 Focus

If the focus is on verbs, participles, particles belonging to verbs, certain adverbs, or clauses which give new information, they are moved to the beginning of the sentence or clause.

In case a verb is focused, it is moved in its infinitive form and the finite form of the same verb is left behind in the background clause (89 and 90).

- (89) *Ju a cò in bagljèt tòcan gjù Turitg, ábar ira*
 1SG have.3SG here INDEF.M.SG ticket until down PN but go.INF
vònd ju mù gjù Sumvitg.
 go.PRS.1SG 1SG only down PN
 ‘I have here a ticket to Zurich, but I only go as far as Sumvitg.’ (Sadrún,
 Büchli 1966: 106) (literally ‘... but GOING I only go till Sumvitg’)
- (90) *Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.*
 no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here
 ‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’ (Surajñ, f5, §8.10)

In the perfect tense, participles are moved without their auxiliary verb, which remains in the background clause (91 and 92). Example (93) shows that the participle can be moved with its complements.

- (91) *Ju sùn dada gjù séla fatscha, mù fatg*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.F.SG down on.DEF.F.SG face but do.PTCP.UNM
òì nuét.
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL nothing
 ‘I fell down on my face but it didn’t do anything.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966:
 106)
- (92) [...] *quaj è vagnú da bètòn’ ajn, a*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ò laş aun adina.
 hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always
 ‘[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (93) [...] *ábar stju luvrá còrpòrálmajn vajñ nus*
 but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL
schì fétg scù quèls.
 so much as DEM.M.PL
 ‘[...] but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].’ (Ruèras,
 f4, §8.16)

Infinitives modified by a modal verb are left-dislocated without the modal verb, which remains in the background clause (94).

6 Complex sentences

- (94) *Als tiars vèzan al barlòt a tèman,*
 DEF.M.PL animal.PL see.PRS.3PL DEF.M.SG sorcery and be_afraid.PRS.3PL
mù dí sòn i nuét.
 but say.INF can.PRS.3PL 3PL nothing
 ‘The animals see the sorcery and are afraid, but they cannot say anything.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 125)

Example (95) shows the movement of the particle *cùntar* ‘towards’ out of the particle verb *prèndar ancùntar* ‘receive’ (calqued on German *entgegennehmen*).

- (95) *Alşò ancùntar prandès ’l tût ùsa?*
 well towards take.COND.3SG 3SG all now
 ‘Well, would he receive everything now?’ (Sadrún, m5)

If an indirect interrogative clause is focused, it may (96) or may not be resumed by a demonstrative pronoun (97). In the case of (96), the demonstrative pronoun used is *gljèz*.

- (96) *Ins vèz’ aun tg’ èra dau vidajn*
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
pùntgas né trádals; sch’ i sitavan gljèz
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow_up.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM
sau bétg.
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG
 ‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used; whether they would blow up I don’t know.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. §8.3)

- (97) *Aah, tgé ... prandévan pròpi òra sa ins bégj éxáct*
 ah what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
 [...].

‘Ah, what ... they really mined, one does not know exactly [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

If the focus is on a noun, a pronoun referring to it must be left in the background clause (98).

- (98) *Las nòtíjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,*
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
als dus baps prandèvan aj [...].
 DEF.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG

‘I don’t know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.’
 (Sadrún, m1, §8.2)

Contrastive focus is done by intonation; the focused constituents remain in their place according to their syntactic function (99 and 100).

- (99) *Gjòn ò angulau la gaglia, bigja Maria.*
 PN have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG hen NEG PN

‘It is Gion who stole the hen, not Maria.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (100) *Èl vut dá in cùdisch da Gjòn, bigja da*
 3SG.M want.PRS.3SG give.INF INDEF.M.SG book DAT PN NEG DAT
Maria.
 PN

‘It is to Gion that he wants to give a book, not to Maria.’ (Sadrún, m4)

7 Morphological processes

7.1 Reduplication

In Tuatschin, reduplication has only an intensification function. Syntactic categories that may be reduplicated are attributive (1) and predicative (2 and 3) adjectives, adjectives used adverbially (4), as adverbs modifying adjectives (5), as adverbs modifying verbs (6 and 7), or functioning as a discourse marker (8).

- (1) *Ála véglja-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?*
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right
'At the very old presbytery, right?' (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)
- (2) *[...] i èra sgtir-stgir !*
EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG RED~dark
'[...] it was pitch-dark.' (Surajñ, Büchli 1966: 128)
- (3) *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 in
DEF.F.SG week SUBORD DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG
frang a miaz.
franc and half.M.SG
'And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (4) *Al tat èr' ajn a durméva lò grat*
DEF.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG up and sleep.IMPF.3SG there precisely
sc' in tajş, vèv' udju şchubar-şchubar
like INDEF.M.SG badger have.IMPF.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM RED~clean.ADJ.UNM
nuét.
nothing
'My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn't heard anything at all.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

7 Morphological processes

- (5) *Ju a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl.*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M
 ‘I got along very well with him.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (6) *El ò mirau antùrn-antùrn [...].*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG look.PTCP.UNM RED~around
 ‘He looked around and around [...].’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 18)
- (7) *A sjantar surpríu acòrds adin-adina.*
 and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always
 ‘And afterwards [I] took over piecework, always.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (8) *Quaj èra in’ jèda ... brutal tiar nus,*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL
bèn-bèn.
 RED~really
 ‘Once it was terrible among us, really.’ (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

A similar case is the repetition of words (9 and 10). It differs from the reduplication insofar as the repeated items are separated by a short pause; they furthermore do not indicate intensification, but only repetition.

- (9) *[...] a lu stuèv’ ju la sèra adin’ ir’ a*
 and then must.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG evening always go.INF SUBORD
fá tschajna ... a fá ... manèstra, manèstra,
 make.INF dinner.F.SG SUBORD make.INF pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG
manèstra, manèstra.
 pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then in the evening I always had to go and prepare dinner ... and prepare pottage, pottage, pottage, pottage.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)
- (10) *[...] a quèl’ èra da trá ... trá, trá ... tüt*
 and DEM.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG to pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all
al latg cèntrifugau.
 DEF.M.SG milk centrifugate.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] and we had to pull ... pull, pull ... the whole centrifuged milk.’
 (Ruèras, m4, §8.16)

7.2 Word formation

Since Tuatschin is a spoken language, many derivational affixes and compound words which are used in Standard (written) Sursilvan¹ do not occur.

7.2.1 Compounding of nouns

Compounding is achieved by joining two nouns with the preposition *da* ‘of’ (11), and also by juxtaposition of two nouns (12), whereby the second noun modifies the first one as in *baun-pégna* ‘oven bench’, literally ‘bench-oven’. Which strategy is used depends on the compound, and in some cases the two strategies may apply to the same nouns with different meanings. This last point is best exemplified by (11).

- (11) *In tiar da tgèsa, è l giat a l*
 INDEF.M.SG animal of house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG cat and DEF.M.SG
tgaun, a tiar-tgèsa è sagir tùt quaj tga
 dog and animal.M.SG-house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG for_sure all DEM.UNM REL
vò bigj’ ad alp. Als tiars-tgèsa
 go.PRS.3SG NEG to alpine_pasture.M.SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL-house.F.SG
èn atgnamajn cò, né sèn majšès, quaj
 COP.PRS.3PL actually here or on assembly_of_houses.M.SG DEM.GL
è quèlas tauras a nùrsas a pòrs.
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL goat.PL and sheep.F-PL and pig.M.PL
 ‘A *tiar da tgèsa*, these are cats and dogs, and *tiar tgèsa* are of course all those that do not go to the alpine pastures. The *tiars tgèsa* are actually here, or up in the assembly of houses, these are the goats, the sheep, and the pigs.’ (Tuatschin, Cavòrgja, m7)

- (12) [...] *lò ani bagagjau gjù la ...*
 there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG
raquéntani ... la crapa par bagagè al
 tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.F.SG stone.COLL SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG
clutgè-basèlgja.
 tower.M.SG-church.F.SG
 ‘[...] there they removed, as they say, the stones used to build the church tower [of Sedrun].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

¹See Spescha (1989: 163–194) for extensive lists.

7 Morphological processes

The compounding of nouns by juxtaposition is relatively frequent; further examples are *carschè-matg* ‘waxing moon of May’, *crusch-fiar* ‘iron cross’, *ésch-stiva* ‘door of the living-room’, *fil-sajda* ‘silk thread’, *lungatg-mùma* ‘mother-tongue’, *mòni-scúa* ‘broomstick’, *patrún-basèlgja* ‘Church Patron’, *pòrta-basèlgja* ‘church door’, *pòrta-clavau* ‘barn door’, *prajt-crap* ‘rock face’, *pròcèsjùn-basèlgja* ‘religious procession’, *tèt-g-tégja* ‘roof of the alpine hut’, and *tgau-vitg* ‘head of the village’. *Nadal-nòtg* ‘Christmas Eve’ has different syntax: here, it is the first noun that modifies the second one, probably under the influence of German *Weihnachtsnacht*, literally ‘Christmas Night’.

7.2.2 Derivation

Some derivational morphemes have already been treated: the non-finite verbal categories past participle (§4.1.2.1.1), gerund (§4.1.2.1.2), infinitive (§4.1.2.1.3), the adverbialiser *-majn* (§4.3.3), and the causative *-antá* (§5.5.3).

7.2.2.1 Diminutive and augmentative

The diminutive of nouns is formed with the suffix *-èt/-èta*. (13) shows that the use of the diminutive does not preclude the use of *pin* ‘small’.

- (13) *Lò fùva in pin laj-èt cun pauc’ aua.*
there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG small lake-DIM with little.F.SG water
‘There was a small lake with little water.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 62)

Further examples are *buébèt* ‘little boy’, *ffuchèt* ‘little fire’, and *vitgèt* ‘small village’.

There are two augmentative suffixes. One is *-ún/-una* (14 and 15).

- (14) *Quaj è dòn-ún.*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG pity.M.SG-AUGM
‘This is a real pity.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (15) *Sònda-dumèngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagiévan*
Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
ffast-unas.
party-AUGM.F.PL
‘On week-ends they would come here and have big parties.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Further examples are *buébúna* ‘very tall girl’, *raubuna* ‘big assets’, *ùmún* ‘big man’, and *tgèsuna* ‘big house’.

The other augmentative is *-az*, as in *fòmaz* (> *fòm* ‘hunger’) (16).

- (16) *Ju a fòm-az.*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG hunger-AUGM
 ‘I am ravenous.’ (Sadrún, m5)

The suffix *-ún/-una* is productive and can be added to almost all nouns; in contrast, the use of *-az* is very reduced and seems to be restricted to *fòmaz* in Tuatschin.

7.2.2.2 Further nominal derivational morphemes

The most common derivational suffix in the corpus is *-zjun*. It derives nouns from verbs like *còmPLICAZjun* ‘complication’ < *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’, *fòmazjun* ‘formation’, *habita-zjun* ‘apartment’, *munizjun* ‘munition’, *òbligazjun* ‘obligation’, *réaczjun* ‘reaction’, and *tussègazjun* ‘poisoning’.

Another suffix that derives nouns from verbs is the feminine ending of the past participle *-ada/-èda*: *cušchinada* ‘mixture of food’ (< *cušchiná* ‘cook’), *santupada* ‘meeting’ (< *santupá* ‘meet’), *puršchida* ‘offer’ (< *pòršcher* ‘offer’), *satagljèda* ‘cut (to oneself)’ (< *satagljá* ‘cut oneself’), and *scargjèda* ‘droving down the animals from the alps’ (< *scargè* ‘drove down’). A further example is *antschata* ‘beginning’, which is derived from *antschajvar* ‘begin’ the irregular participle of which is *antschiat* (UNM) / *antschata* (F) ‘begun’. In the case of *curnada* ‘push with the horns’, the noun is derived from another noun, *tgèrn/còrns* ‘horn/horns’.

-ém also derives nouns from verbs and emphasises the repetition of the action, as in *samudargém* ‘constant torturing of oneself’ (< *samudargè* ‘torture oneself’).

Note that in *santupada*, *satagljèda*, and *samudargjém* the reflexive prefix *sa-* is maintained, which shows that it forms a tight unit with the verb.

The suffixes *-dad*, *-détgna/-tétgna*, *-èzja*, and *-ira* derive nouns from adjectives. Examples:

7 Morphological processes

- *-dad*: *paupradad* ‘poverty’ (< *paupra* ‘poor’ (F.SG)), *pussajvladad* ‘possibility’ (< *pussajvla* ‘possible’ (F.SG))
- *-adétna/-tétgna*: *gjuvantétna* ‘youth’ (< *gjuvan* ‘young’ (M.SG)), *marschadétna* ‘laziness’ (< *marsch* ‘lazy’ (M.SG)), *stgiradétna* ‘darkness’ (< *stgir* ‘dark’ (M.SG)), *végljadétna* ‘age’ (< *végl* ‘old’ (M.SG))
- *-èzja*: *balèzja* ‘beauty’ (< *bials* ‘beautiful’ (M.SG.)), *luschèzja* ‘proudness’ (*lusch* ‘proud’ (M.SG)), *scartèzja* ‘lack’ (*scart* ‘rare’ (M.SG))
- *-ira*: *pupira* ‘poverty’ (< *paupar* ‘poor’ (M.SG)), and *tupira* ‘stupidity’ (< *tup* ‘stupid’ (M.SG))

The suffixes *-am*, *-èssar*², and *-za* derive nouns from nouns. Examples are *gaglinam* ‘flock of chickens’ (< *gaglina* ‘hen’), *purèssar* ‘farming sector’ (< *pur* ‘farmer’), *fòrèstalèssar* ‘forestry’ (< *fòrèstal* ‘forest ranger’), *scòlarèssar* ‘school sector’ (< *scùla* ‘school’), and *ufaunza* ‘childhood’ (< *ufaun* ‘child’).

The suffix *-aglja* derives nouns from verbs like in *pjaglja* ‘wages’ (< *pijè* ‘pay’) or from adjectives like in *stgiraglja* ‘darkness’ (< *stgir* ‘dark’); in the case of *panaglja* ‘butter tub’, the derivation is not clear; it could be derived from *pèn* ‘buttermilk’ (Decurtins (2012: 777)).

Prefixes are *mal-* and *anza-/za-*. *mal-* usually modifies adjectives: *malcuntjants* ‘unsatisfied’, *malsagidajvals* ‘ungainly’, and *malsagirs* ‘unsure’, and *anza-/za-* (< *ins sa* ‘one knows’) corresponds to English ‘any’ or ‘some’ with indefinite or other pronouns: *zacù* ‘somehow’, *zacù* ‘somewhen’, *zanúa* ‘somewhere’, *anza-tgéj/zatgéj* ‘anything’, and *antzatgi/zatgi* ‘anybody’.

²This suffix is calqued from German *-wesen* ‘being, entity’.

8 Texts

In the glosses, gender is only indicated on the first element of the noun phrase; plural is always glossed. Proper nouns are anonymised and glossed PN.

The transcribed texts published in this chapter correspond to 1 hour and 35 minutes of recorded speech.

8.1 Mia lavur

My job

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, f3, aged 75)

Recorded 2017/08/27 in Sadrún

Duration 7'15"

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

‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I’ve done for the past few years.’

- 3 *Álşò ... mju ùm, lèz è schòn mòrts cun*
well POSS.1SG.M.SG man DEM.M.SG be.PRS.3SG already die.PTCP.M.SG with
4 *tchuncònt’ òns.*
fifty year.M.PL

‘Well ... my husband died when he was only fifty years old.’

- 5 *A lu sùnd ju stada parsula anavùs cun trajş 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 *Álşò i èran ... grad, grat, al gròn èra racrut, a*
well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG and
7 *tshèlş duş ajn amprèndissadi.*
DEM.M.PL two.PL in apprenticeship.M.SG

‘Well, they were ... just, the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’

- 8 *A... mi' ùm fagèva gè survigiládar, a spèras*
 and POSS.1SG.M.SG man do.IMP.F.3SG in_fact supervisor.M.SG and in_addition
 9 *fagèva èl aun ah ... quaj da las sèndaş da spassagè.*
 do.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M still eh DEM.UNM of DEF.F.PL trail.PL ATTR walk.INF

‘And ... in fact, my husband was a supervisor, and in addition he used to make ... the trails.’

- 10 *Ábar lu èra quaj bigja aun schi bjè.*
 but then COP.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM NEG yet so much

‘But at that time this was not that much yet.’

- 11 *Api lura ... ju mava è mintgataun cun èl a dá*
 and then 1SG go.IMP.F.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF
 12 *culur las sèndaş né métar sé müssaviaş a da quaj, api ...*
 colour.F.SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL or put.INF up signpost.F.PL and of DEM.UNM and
 13 *va[u] tartgau:*
 have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM

‘And then ... from time to time I would go with him to give colour [to the stones indicating] the trails or to put up signposts and things like that, and then ... I thought.’

- 14 *«Ah, quaj füş è ina lavur pr mè.»*
 ah DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also INDEF.F.SG job for 1SG

‘Ah, this could also be a job for me.’

- 15 *A lu va ju, nuş èran gè sùt la ... la*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1PL COP.IMP.F.1PL in_fact under DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
 16 *B.A.W.¹, quaj è «cuminònza grişchuna da sèndaş» da*
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG working-group.F.SG Grison of trail.F.PL of
 17 *Cuéra.*
 PN

‘And then I, we were in fact under the ... B.A.W, this means «Grison working-group of trails” in Cuera.’

¹Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege.

- 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 talafònu dad èl prquaj tg' èl*
 have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because SUBORD 3SG.M
- 20 *vèva t̃mèz in' anunzja da mòrt,*
 have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement of death.F.SG
- 21 *àlsò ina carta par, ah, quèls sòn è schòn*
 this_is_to_say INDEF.F.SG card SUBORD eh DEM.M.PL know.PRS.3PL also already
- 22 *quaj, ùsa mataj tgé ... ùsa sa ju amblidá quèla,*
 DEM.UNM now probably COMP now can.PRS.1SG 1SG forget.INF DEM.F.SG
- 23 *quèla lavur tgu fagèva bugèn² cun mi' ùm, api lu*
 DEM.F.SG job REL.1SG do.IMPF.1SG gladly with POSS.1SG.M.SG man and then
- 24 *va ju ... tlafònu dad èl a détg, èba,*
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and say.PTCP.UNM exactly
- 25 *mi' ùm ségi èba mòrts scù i*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL
- 26 *sápián, ábar ... ju fagèssi ugèn vinavaun*
 know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG with_pleasure still
- 27 *quèla lavur, api ò 'l détg:*
 DEM.F.SG job and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM

‘And then P.N. was actually my ... boss, and then I phoned him once, because he had sent a death notice, that is to say a card for, ah, they already knew that, now probably that ... now I can forget about this, this job I loved to do with my husband, and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as they knew, but ... that I would like to keep doing this job, and then he said:’

- 28 *«Mir sind nid so frauäfntlich.»³*
 we are not so misogynistic

‘We are not really misogynistic.’

- 29 *Api vau détg: «Ah súpar.»*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great

‘And then I said: «Oh, great!»’

- 30 *A lu va ju antschiat cun quaj.*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG begin.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM

‘And then I started with it.’

²*Bugen* is Standard Sursilvan, whereas *ugèn*, as in line 26, is the genuine Tuatschin form.

³Said in Swiss German.

8 Texts

31 *Ad ana d' òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju ina*
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 32 *vòtajjun fadarala sur da las sèndas, sch' i végn a*
 vote federal over of DEF.F.PL trail.PL whether EXPL FUT.AUX.3SG SUBORD
 33 *prèndar ajn quaj né bétg.*
 take.INF in DEM.UNM OR NEG

‘And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, [about] whether it would be adopted or not.’

34 *Api ... sè quaj vagnú priú ajn, a lu*
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and then
 35 *ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi quaj da mintga*
 have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM DAT every
 36 *cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar*
 canton.M.SG and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF
 37 *sén pajs quaj, èba ... cù í ... avaun, a tùt, a mintga*
 on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM precisely how go.INF forward and all and every
 38 *vaschnaunca ò lu stavju dá ajn tùt tgé ca*
 municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM give.INF in all what REL
 39 *la vagi, nùca la vagi lògans cun*
 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL with
 40 *mùssavias, a las sèndas, tùt.*
 signpost.F.PL and DEF.F.PL trail.PL all

‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it over to every canton, and these ... had to get it off the ground themselves, this is to say, precisely ... how to go ... on, and everything, and every municipality had then to inform about everything they had, where they had places with signposts and trails, everything.’

41 *A sjantar òi gju nùm ... i*
 and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL
 42 *ségia⁴, i mídian ò tùt als muossavias.⁵*
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3PL change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.M.PL signpost.PL

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

⁴*ségia* is a performance error for *ségi*.

⁵*Muossavias* is Standard Sursilvan for Tuatschin *mùssavias*.

43 *A quaj èra tschians.*
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG hundred.M.PL

‘And there were hundreds [of them].’

44 *Ad ju a stuvju ir’ ál’ antiara val a*
and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.F.SG whole valley SUBORD
45 *préndar sé gl amprém tut quèls ... tut quèls ... lògans nù i*
take.INF up DEF.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all DEM.M.PL place.PL REL EXPL
46 *èran muossavías.*
EXIST.IMPF.3PL signpost.F.PL

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

47 *A sjantar ... òni ampustau tùt nùfs ... pr l’*
and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for DEF.F.SG
48 *antira val.*
whole valley

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

49 *A lura ... va ju gju dad í a mid’ òra*
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to go.INF SUBORD change.INF out
50 *quaj ... cun agid da ... da la vischnaunca va ju ...*
DEM.UNM with help.M.SG of of DEF.F.SG municipality have.PRS.1SG 1SG
51 *è aun ... stju métar ... nùvas pétgas ...*
also moreover must.PTCP.UNM put.INF new.F.PL post.PL
52 *bétónaj⁶, né, sédòra séssum als cuélms, schizún al*
concrete.PTCP.M.PL right up_out on_top DEF.M.PL peak.PL even DEF.M.SG
53 *malitèr ò gju da gidá m’ in’ jèd’ ajnta*
army have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to help.INF 1SG one.F.SG time in_up
54 *Majgals, prquaj tga ajnta Majgals vagnéva adina*
PN because SUBORD in_up PN PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG always
55 *bumbardau nùndétg, al malitèr.*
bomb.PTCP.UNM incredibly DEF.M.SG army

‘And then ... I had to go and replace this ... with the help of ... of the municipality I had ... also ... had to put ... new concreted ... posts, right, up there on top of the peaks, even the army had to help me once in Maighels, because up there in Maighels the army was always bombing incredibly much.’

⁶*Bétónaj* is a performance error for *bétónádas*.

8 Texts

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

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

59 *Ad ùş è quaj nuét dal tùt.*
 and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.M.SG all

‘And now there is nothing of all that [left].’

60 *Ad ju vèva fatg gjù dad ira, dad ira ... ajnta*
 and 1SG have.IMPF.1SG make.PTCP.UNM down to go.INF to go.INF into
 61 *Majgals a métar sé muossavías.*
 PN SUBORD put.INF up signpost.F.PL

‘And I had arranged to go, to go ... to Maighels to put up signposts.’

62 *Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
 63 *survigilónza, bétga schanza da pudaj atrás, quaj dé*
 vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG ATTR can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
 64 *òni bigja schau í nuş atrás.*
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL NEG let.PTCP.UNM go.INF 1PL through

‘And there was ... up there a vigilance guard, no way to go through, that day they didn’t let us go through [that sentry].’

65 *Ju stòpi ir' a fá gjù cun quèls sé*
 1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF SUBORD make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
 66 *la tégja dal, da Majgals, lò ségi pròpi ...*
 DEF.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.M.SG of PN there COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG exactly
 67 *al büò.*
 DEF.M.SG office

‘I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine hut of the, of Maighels, there, there was precisely ... the office.’

68 *L' autar dé va ju gju la lubiantscha dad*
 DEF.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG permission ATTR
 69 *í vidajn, ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun mè, tga*
 go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with 1SG REL

70 *vajan ... fùnc a sápián prèndar ah, dí cu*
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF ah say.INF when
 71 *nus vajan da ... ir davùs in cuélm.*
 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL to go.INF behind INDEF.M.SG mountain

‘The day after I got permission to go there, but I needed to take with me some soldiers that had a radio and would say when we should ... go behind a mountain [to protect ourselves].’

72 *Quaj èra stau zatgé nùndétg, ábar*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM something incredible.ADJ.UNM but
 73 *stau u-bjals mùmènts.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM ELAT-beautiful.M.PL moment.PL

‘This was something incredible, but these were very beautiful moments.’

74 *Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vid’ al, vida*
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG DEF.M.SG PROG
 75 *zaná al bògn, api schèvan aj:*
 renovate.INF DEF.M.SG bath and_then say.IMPF.3PL 3PL

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

76 *«Nus vajn bgja péjda ... da dá da té, nus vajn bigja*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL NEG time COMP give.INF DAT 2SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL NEG
 77 *luvreš da dá da té.»*
 worker.M.PL COMP give.INF DAT 2SG

‘We have no time ... to dedicate to you, we have no workers to give to you.’

78 *Api vau tartgau: «Jò nu⁷, lu fas halt sèza.»*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes now then do.PRS.2SG simply self.F.SG
 79 *ad ábar turnau ajn da quaj da quindisch pétgas mèza.*
 and but turn.PTCP.UNM in of DEM.UNM of fifteen post.F.PL self.1SG.F

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

⁷*Jo nu*: said in Swiss German.

8 Texts

80 *Prandèva simplamajn ... sablún ... mal, álşò al zamèn*
 take.IMP.F.1SG simple.F.SG.ADV sand.M.SG bad.M.SG well DEF.M.SG cement
 81 *ad aua cun mè, quaj è vagnú da bètòn'*
 and water.F.SG with 1SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM to concrete.INF
 82 *ajn, a tanju ò laş aun adina.*
 in and hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always

'I would simply take ... bad ... sand, that is to say cement and water with me, and this has been concreted, and they still hold.'

83 *Pi gju dad í ... quèl' jèda cul-, sau*
 and_then have.PTCP.UNM to go.INF DEM.F.SG time with- know.PRS.1SG.1SG
 84 *bétg c' ju sùn ida da la val Strém ajnasé,*
 NEG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG from DEF.F.SG valley PN in_up
 85 *stuèv' í sélş bauns, ah, sél Krüzlipass, Pas*
 must.IMP.F.1SG go.INF on.DEF.M.PL ridge.PL eh on.DEF.M.SG PN pass
 86 *dlas Cruschs, cun muossavías, a vèva sjat da quèlas da*
 of.DEF.F.PL CROSS.PL with signpost.F.PL and have.IMP.F.1SG seven of DEM.F.PL to
 87 *purtá sé.*
 carry.INF up

'And then I had to go ... that time with-, I don't know when I went up the Strem valley, I had to go along the ridges, eh, on the Krüzlipass, Pass dallas Cruschs, with signposts, and I had seven of them to carry up.'

88 *A quaj èra pasanca, api vau tartgau*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG very_heavy and have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM
 89 *basta.*
 enough

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

90 *Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.*
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG end no.M.PL

'In the end I don't have any down here.'

91 *Ábar ju vèva da préndar alş véglş anavùs.⁸*
 but 1SG have.IMP.F.1SG to take.INF DEF.M.PL old.PL back

'But I had to take back the old ones.'

⁸The syntax of *alş véglş* is odd in this sentence. It should be *préndar anavùs alş véglş*. The position of the direct object *alş véglş* is probably due to the fact that it is stressed.

92 *La sèra èr' ju cáput parquaj tga quaj*
 DEF.F.SG evening COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG shattered because SUBORD DEM.UNM
 93 *va sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a taunts mètars*
 go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three_hundred and so_many.M.PL metre.PL
 94 *sur mar.*
 above sea.F.SG

‘In the evening I used to be shattered because this goes up to 2.300 metres or so above sea level.’

95 *Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj. Gljèz*
 but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy.ADJ.UNM gladly DEM.UNM DEM.UNM
 96 *stù ju dí.*
 must.PRS.1SG 1SG say.INF

‘But... I really loved to do that. I must say that.’

97 *A ... tgu sùn vagnida pènsjunada scha ...*
 and when.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG pension_off.PTCP.F.SG CORR
 98 *ju fagèva zuar schòn avaun majnadistríct, òdar tg' ins*
 1SG do.IMPF.1SG although already before head_of_district.M.SG or COMP GNR
 99 *... è cò atgnamajn ... pala, pala, cuminòza da*
 COP.PRS.3SG here actually for.DEF.F.SG for.DEF.F.SG community of
 100 *sèndas ò ála ragjún.*
 trail.F.PL out in.DEF.F.SG region

‘And ... when I got pensioned off ... as a matter of fact, I had already worked as head of district before, or that one ... is here actually ... for the, for the community of trails in the region.’

101 *Ad aš da vaj quitau tg' i végni*
 and have.2SG.GNR to have.INF worry.M.SG COMP EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 102 *marcau ... tga las sèndas èn tüt èn ùrdan.*
 mark.PTCP.UNM COMP DEF.F.PL trail.PL COP.PRS.3PL all in order.M.SG

‘One has to see to it that they get marked ... that all the trails are in order.’

103 *A lura ... ah, gljèz sùnd ju, tégn ju ùssa ... végn òns.*
 and then eh DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG hold.1SG 1SG now twenty year.M.PL

‘And then ... ah, this, I am like this, I think now ... for twenty years.’

8 Texts

104 *Álšò schòn avau, cu ju fagèva las sèndas ... èr' ju*
 well already before when 1SG do.IMPF.1SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG
 105 *schòn majnadistríct.*
 already head_of_district.M.SG

‘Well, already before, when I cared for the trails ... I already was head of district.’

106 *Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al cantún*
 and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG canton
 107 *ò circa trènta da quèls majnadistríct, quèls*
 have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL DEM.M.PL
 108 *èn partí ajn ajn ragjuns, ad ju a*
 PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in region.F.PL and 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 109 *la val Tujétsch a Musté.⁹*
 DEF.F.SG valley PN and PN

‘And now they have divided that, the canton has about thirty of these heads of district, these are divided into regions, and I have the Tujetsch valley and Mustér.’

110 *Ûsa quèst' jamna vau fatg gròndas turas ... da ... da*
 now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL of of
 111 *sis sjat uras ... gè bunamajn mintga dé.*
 six seven hour.F.PL yes almost every day.M.SG

‘Now this week I did long tours ... of ... of six seven hours ... yes, almost every day.’

112 *A quaj fò adina da mé ... plašhaj.*
 and DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG always DAT 1SG pleasure.M.SG

‘And this is always a ... pleasure for me.’

113 *Míu frá šchèva 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]!»’

⁹Musté is the Standard Sursilvan form for Tuatschin *Mustajr*.

114 *Api* *vau* *détg,* *èls* *vágian* *fatg*
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
 115 *ina* *tura tschël'* *jamna,* *ábar èl* *vaj* *quitau* *tga*
 INDEF.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG worry.M.SG COMP
 116 *quaj* *séj* *...*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG

‘And then I said [that] they had done a tour that week, but that he sees to it that this be ...’

117 *Par* *í* *cu* *té* *vaş* *adina* ... *şè* *quaj*
 SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 118 ... *nagín* *problèm.*
 no.M.SG problem

‘In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.’

119 *Na, ju* *fétsch* *faruct* *ugèn* *quaj.*
 no 1SG do.PRS.1SG crazily gladly DEM.UNM

‘No, I really love to do that.’

120 *Ad* *uschéja,* *gè* ... *sch' ju* *pùs,* *fètg* *ju* *aun* ... *parquaj* *tga* ...
 and so yes if 1SG can.PRS.1SG do.PRS.1SG 1SG still because SUBORD
 121 *atgnamajn* *şè* *quaj* *vagnú* ... *uschéja* *parquaj* *tg'*
 actually COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM so because SUBORD
 122 *i* ... *las* *vaschnaucas,* *ju* *vasèva* *quaj,* *tiar* *nus scù* *a*
 EXPL DEF.F.PL municipality.PL 1SG see.IMPF.1SG DEM.UNM at 1PL and out
 123 *Musté,* *laş* *vaschnaucas* *schèvan* *şimplamajn* *í* *ajn*
 PN DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.IMPF.3PL simple.F.ADV go.INF in
 124 *décadènza,* *fagèvan* *nuét* *tg' è* *stau* *in'* *jèda.*
 decadence.F.SG do.IMPF.3PL nothing REL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG time

‘And so, yes ... if I can I will go on doing [it] ... because ... this has actually happened ... so because they ... the municipalities, I saw that here and in Mustér, the municipalities would simply let them go into decline, they wouldn’t do anything that had been done once.’

125 *I* *vignéva* *bitga* ... *dau* *culur,* *i*
 EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM colour.F.SG EXPL
 126 *vignéva* *bitga mirau* *da las* *sèndas.*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG look.PTCP.UNM of DEF.F.PL trail.PL

‘They wouldn’t ... give colour [to the signposts], they wouldn’t care for the trails.’

8 Texts

127 *A lura va ju ... in' jèda détg, cu nuş vajn*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time say.PTCP.UNM when 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 128 *gju ina sasida:*
 have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG meeting

‘And then I ... said once, when we had a meeting.’

129 «*Atgnamajn stuèssaş Vus ... èssar plé rigurús.*»
 actually must.COND.2PL 2PL COP.INF more rigorous.M.PL

‘Actually you ... should be more rigorous.’

130 *Laş vaschnauncas lajn í tût ajn décadènza.*
 DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decadence.F.SG

‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’

131 *A zacù ò da quaj ... şaj vagnú ... tgé ...*
 and somehow out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
 132 *quèls majnadistricts ... òn la còmpatènza da dí*
 DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL have.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG competence COMP
 133 *dis vaschnauncas ... tgé i òn da fá, aschí*
 say.INF DEF.DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP do.INF
 134 *fòn bitga mù quaj tial cantún a tiala B.A.W.¹⁰, grat*
 so do.PRS.3PL NEG only DEM.UNM at.DEF.M.SG canton and at.DEF.F.SG B.A.W.
 135 *usché.*
 exactly so

‘And somehow the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do; so they do this not only at the canton and at the B.A.W., that’s how it is.’

136 *Ad ajn taun a taun tjams stòni vaj fatg a*
 and in such.M.SG and such time must.PRS.3PL have.INF do.PTCP.UNM and
 137 *schagljùc végni lu al cantún.*
 otherwise come.PRS.SBJV.3SG then DEF.M.SG canton

‘And within a certain time limit they must have done it or otherwise the canton would intervene.’

138 *A nuş vajn ... la pussajvlatat da ... da dí...*
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL DEF.F.SG possibility COMP COMP say.INF

¹⁰Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege

‘And we have ... the possibility to ... to say ...’

139 [PhM] *da far squetsch ... [f3] gè éxáct, éxáct, gè ...*
 COMP make.INF pressure.M.SG yes exactly exactly yes

‘[PhM] to put pressure ... [f3] yes exactly, exactly, yes ...’

140 [PhM] *sin, sin las vischnauncas, gie.*
 on on DEF.F.PL municipality yes

‘[PhM] on, on the municipalities, yes.’

141 [f3] *Gè, gè. A lura ... nus, nus schajn dis vischnauncas,*
 yes yes and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DEF.DAT.PL municipality.PL
 142 *tarmatajn ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»¹¹ scù quaj*
 send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM
 143 *ò nùm.*
 have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG

‘[f3] Yes, yes. And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send «a report of damages» as this is called.’

144 *Di B.A.W a quaj vòì di cantún. A*
 DEF.DAT.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.DAT.SG canton.M and
 145 *lu ajn ... ajn taun tjams ... a ... la in’ jèda i*
 then in in such.M.SG time and DEF.F.SG one.F.SG time EXPL
 146 *è, tòcan lu a lu vajs vus da ... vaj quaj*
 COP.PRS.3SG until then and then have.PRS.2PL 2PL COMP have.INF DEM.UNM
 147 *ajn ... ajn ùrdan, a schigljùc fòni lu sèzs squétsch.*
 in in order.M.SG and otherwise make.PRS.3PL.3PL then self.M.PL pressure

‘To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton. And the ... in ... in a certain time ... and the ... once it is, until then and then you have to ... have this ... all right, and otherwise they put pressure themselves.’

148 *A quaj è al mégljar tg’ ò savju*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG best COMP have.PRS.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
 149 *schabagè.*
 happen.INF

‘And this is the best that could have happened.’

¹¹Said in Standard German.

8 Texts

150 *Na, ùsa tiar nus ... diani álšò 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.’

151 *Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù adina*
 but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG always
 152 *dá cul pal.*
 give.INF with.DEF.M.SG post

‘But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.’

153 *Pugns sén majša duaš jèdas aun zatgé.*
 fist.M.PL on table.F.SG two.F.PL time.PL still something

‘The fists on the table at least twice or even more.’

154 *Quaj crajs bé, l’ antschata cu ju a*
 DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 155 *surpríu quaj, èri, èri da*
 take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of
 156 *quèls tgé ... mataj¹² tg’ ina fèmna sapi fâ da*
 DEM.M.PL REL probably COMP INDEF.F.SG woman can.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.INF of
 157 *quaj.*
 DEM.UNM

‘This you don’t believe, at the beginning when I took on this job, there were, there were some men who ... [would say] that a woman is not able to do that.’

158 *Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad a*
 yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG of DEF.F.SG nature and have.PRS.3SG
 159 *adina ... vulju fâ mi’ òbligazjun a finju,*
 always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation and finish.PTCP.UNM
 160 *a tschèls dajan è fâ.*
 and DEM.M.PL must.PRS.3PL also do.INF

‘Yes, exactly like that. But I, a person who likes nature, and I have always ... wanted to meet my obligations, and the other people should also do [the same].’

161 *Anqual jèda ... drùvi halt ... da dí.*
 some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF

‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’

¹²*Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

8.2 Òrd mia véta

Out of my life

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m1, aged 81)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 6'

162 *Nus fièvan al pur, ad ju vès ugèn ampríu*
 1PL do.IMPF.1PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG have.COND.1SG gladly learn.PTCP.UNM
 163 *da majstar, majstar, pér ... scrinari.*
 of joiner.M.SG joiner.M.SG only carpenter.M.SG

‘We were farmers, and I would have liked to become a joiner, joiner, [or] only ... carpenter.’

164 *Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar, quaj vès ju*
 1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG DEM.UNM have.COND.1SG 1SG
 165 *gju al dun da, né vès gju tschafan.*
 have.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG gift of or have.COND.1SG have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.SG

‘I wanted to become a joiner, I would have had the gift to [do it], or I would have had the desire.’

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

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

170 *Api al bap ... èr, plé baut èr' aj*
 and DEF.M.SG father.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL
 171 *al fagljet tgi fijèv' al pur.*
 DEF.M.SG son.M.SG.DIM REL do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG farmer

‘And my father ... was, in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’

8 Texts

172 *A lu ò 'l bab détg sé pr mè:*
and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up for 1SG

‘And then my father said to me:’

173 «*Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è*
yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also

174 *vagnús atrás cun fá 'l pur.»*
come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer

‘«Yes, this would be really great, but I also could earn a living by being a farmer.»’

175 *Api şaj stau finju par mè.*
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG

‘And that was it.’

176 *Ju a fatg al pur, a finju.*
1SG have.1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer and finish.PTCP.UNM

‘I became a farmer, and that’s the end of the story.’

177 *Quaj ò bégja dau discusjun.*
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’

178 *Ad usché va ju fatg al pur adina, a ...*
and so have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer always and

179 *sùn lu maridaus, a gju quátar ufaunş,*
be.PRS.1SG then married.PTCP.M.SG and have.PTCP.UNM four child.M.PL

180 *in buéb a trajs ... buébas, a quèlş èn tùts ...*
one.M.SG boy and three girl.F.PL and DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL all.M.PL

181 *ampríu mistrégn, trajs èn ... vi da quaj da*
learn.PTCP.UNM profession.M.SG three COP.PRS.3PL at of DEM.UNM of

182 *mazauns.*
ill.M.PL

‘And so I have always been a farmer, and ... got married, and had four children, a boy and three ... girls, and these are all, learned a profession, three are learning to become a nurse.’

183 *Ina studègja ... a a Winterthur ad ò, ad ò*
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PN and have.PRS.3SG and have.PRS.3SG
 184 *surpríu in ... Heim¹³ da ... Heim da duatschían,*
 take_over.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG home.M.SG of home.M.SG of two_hundred
 185 *ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada in*
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.M.SG
 186 *téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu èra.*
 bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG COP.IMPF.1SG

‘One studies ... in in Winterthur and has, and has taken over a ... home of ... a home of two hundred, kept going to school ... was a little bit cleverer than I was.’

187 *A la dùna èra schüber ... ad ina tg’*
 and DEF.F.SG woman COP.IMPF.3SG clean.ADJ.UNM and one.F.SG REL
 188 *ò luvrau stédi.*
 have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM

‘And my wife was very ... and one who always worked hard.’

189 *A ... àlsò ina stat a Bèrn, ad in’ è cò*
 and well one.F.SG stay.PRS.3SG in PN and one.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG here
 190 *tial miadi, al fégl è è cò.*
 by.DEF.M.SG doctor DEF.M.SG son COP.PRS.3SG also here

‘And ... well, one lives in Bern, and another stays here with the doctor, and my son is also here.’

191 *A ... da gjuvantétgna, né da buéts, tg’ nuş èran buéts ...*
 and of youth.F.SG or of boy.M.PL REL 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL boy.M.PL
 192 *savès ju raquintá ina.*
 can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF one.F.SG

‘And of my youth, or of our boyhood, when we were boys ... I could tell a [story].’

193 *Tiar nus ... la dumèngja, sjantar vjaspras, mavan nus sé, sé*
 by 1PL DEF.F.SG Sunday after vesper.F.PL go.IMPF.1SG 1SG up up
 194 *landstròs ... a dèvan balpalùta.*
 main_road.F.SG and give.IMPF.1PL “balpalùta”.F.SG

¹³*Heim*, German for Romansh *asil*.

‘On Sundays, after having celebrated vespers, we would go up to the main road ... and play «balpalùta».’

- 195 Èr’ in bal, a quaj dèv’ ins cun in fist,
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG GNR with DEF.M.SG stick
 196 a dèvan quaj ála landstròs, quaj mava
 and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG main_road.F.SG DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG
 197 fòrsa in autò gl antiar sjantarmjadş-dé, áutar nuét.
 maybe INDEF.M.SG car DEF.M.SG whole afternoon.M.SG other.M.G. nothing

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

- 198 La landstròs, quaj è hauptstròs.¹⁴
 DEF.F.SG landstròs DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG main_road.F.SG

‘The «landstròs», this is the «hauptstròs».’

- 199 Ju réşda da Tujétsch, nias, gè.
 1SG speak.1SG of PN POSS.1PL.M.SG yes

‘I am speaking the dialect of Tujetsch, ours, yes.’

- 200 Da quèls plajds¹⁵, i èra da quèls plajds, ah, fétg-fétg
 of DEM.M.PL word.PL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL word.PL eh RED~very
 201 déra...[saj], a è autar, c’ nus mavan ah a
 widespread.M.PL and also other.ADJ.UNM when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL eh SUBORD
 202 fâ fajn ni uschéja ... şchèva la mùm’ adina:
 make.INF hay.M.SG or so say.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG mother always

‘Such words, precisely such words, eh, very widespread ones, and also others, when we went and made hay or so ... my mother would always say.’

- 203 «Vajas quitau vuş majş şul’ landstròs òrd via.
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.SG 2PL go.PRS.2PL over.DEF.F.SG main_way out way.F.SG

‘Be careful going out over the «landstròs».’

¹⁴«Landstròs» and «hauptstròs» are two Germanisms which are not in use any more, at least among younger people. The «landstròs» is now called *Via Alpsu*, and the «hauptstròs» *stradún* (m.).

¹⁵*Da quèls plajds* replaces an unintelligible part of the text.

204 *Vajas quitaus cu vuş majş şur la lingja via ...¹⁶*
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over
 205 *dal dşuc, dal zùc¹⁷.»*
 of.DEF.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG train

‘Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.’

206 *Al lungatg èra uschéja.*
 DEF.M.SG language COP.IMPF.3SG so

‘The language was like this.’

207 *[PhM] Cun biars plaidş tudestgs.*
 with many.M.PL word.PL German.PL

‘[PhM] With many German words.’

208 *[m1] Gè, şrmantúş bjè. Şrmantúş bjè.*
 yes terrible.ADJ.UNM many terrible.ADJ.UNM many

‘[m1] Yes, too many. Too many.’

209 *Òz şè quaj ah, òz şèni schòn autar,*
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in_fact different
 210 *òz şèn aj ... la stradún.*
 today COP.PRS.3PL EXPL DEF.F.SG street.M.SG.AUGM

‘Nowadays this is, eh, as a matter of fact they are different, nowadays they are [called] ... the «big street».’¹⁸

211 *Òz şaj al al Furka né al ... la ban¹⁹*
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG PN OR DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG train
 212 *né scù i végn raşdau òz sén tudèstg.*
 right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM today on German.M.SG

‘Today it is the Furka or the ... the *ban* ‘train’, as nowadays it is called in German.’
 (i.e the Matterhorn-Gotthard-Bahn)

¹⁷ *Via* is an old synonym of *vi* ‘over’.

¹⁷ *Zug* is the German word for *trèn* ‘train’.

¹⁸ *Stradún* is masculine; maybe the speaker has been misled by the fact that *strada* ‘street’ or *via* ‘way’ are feminine.

¹⁹ *Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

8 Texts

213 *Sjantar ... tgu sùn staus maridaş*
 after SUBORD.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG marry.PTCP.M.SG
 214 *vajn nus, va ju éba fatg al pur ...*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG precisely do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer
 215 *né ... vajn aun gè avaun da maridá ...*
 right have.PRS.1PL already yes before SUBORD get_married.INF
 216 *èri ... paucs raps.*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL little.M.PL money.PL

‘After ... I got married, we have, I worked as a farmer ... right? ... before we got married ... we already had ... we hadn’t much money.’

217 *Durònt l’ ujava, nus mavan òrasé ál ustria ... la*
 during DEF.F.SG war 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out_up in.DEF.F.SG restaurant DEF.F.SG
 218 *dumèngja sjantarmjadş-dé ... cun tschuncònta raps a*
 Sunday.F.SG afternoon.M.SG with fifty cent.M.PL and
 219 *vèvans ... in ájndarli, quaj dèvi par*
 have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.M.SG one_decilitre DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for
 220 *tschuncònta raps.*
 fifty cent.M.PL

‘During war we used to go up to the restaurant ... on Sunday afternoon ... with fifty cents and we had ... one decilitre of wine, this would cost fifty cents.’

221 *Quaj dèvi par tschuncònta raps.*
 DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for fifty cent.M.PL

‘This would cost fifty cents.’

222 *Ad ah ... nus mavan cun skiş, scù quaj tg’ inş vèva*
 and eh 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL as DEM.UNM REL GNR have.IMPF.3SG
 223 *skiş, ju sùn aun jus cun skiş da la bùt ... a*
 ski.M.PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG still go.PTCP.M.SG with ski.M.PL of DEF.F.SG barrel and
 224 *a farmau ... farmau vitlùndar in cazè.*
 and tie.PTCP.UNM tie.PTCP.UNM on_it INDEF.M.SG shoe

‘And ah we used to go skiing, with the kind of skis we had [at that time], in fact I would go with skis made from a barrel ... and I would tie ... tie a shoe on it.’

225 *A sjantar c’ ins mava, sch’ mav’ ins sél Albşú*
 and after SUBORD GNR go.IMPF.3SG CORR go.IMPF.3SG GNR on.DEF.M.SG PN

226 *cul trèn, a quaj custav' in franc ... dad í*
 with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMP.F.3SG one.M.SG franc COMP go.INF
 227 *sédòra.*
 up

‘And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alps [pass] by train and this cost one franc ... to go up there.’

228 *A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits l'*
 and DEM.UNM must.IMP.F.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaved.M.PL DEF.F.SG
 229 *jamna ... tg' al bap dètschi²⁰ in frang a miaz.*
 week SUBORD DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG franc and half.M.SG

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

230 *Sjantar savèvnş aun cumprá ina tshuculata da curònta*
 after can.IMP.F.1PL.1PL in_addition buy.INF INDEF.F.SG chocolate of forty
 231 *raps.*
 cent.M.PL

‘After that we could, in addition, buy a chocolate for forty cents.’

232 *Álşò uschéja şè quaj vagnú ad è, qu'*
 well so be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 233 *è stau bi. Qu' è stau*
 be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM
 234 *bi.*
 nice.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, that’s how it happened, and was, this was nice. This was nice.’

235 *Tùts stuèvan spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan nagins ... réhs.*
 all.M.PL must.IMP.F.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMP.F.1PL no.M.PL rich.PL

‘Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.’

236 *Tùts paupars. Tùts paupars. Tùts puráncals, gè, a*
 all.M.PL poor.PL all.M.PL poor.PL all.M.PL small_farmer.PL yes and
 237 *stèvan mirá sél rap.*
 must.IMP.F.3PL look.INF on.DEF.M.SG penny

‘All poor. All poor. All small farmers, and they had to control every penny.’

²⁰*Dètschi* is an old form; the modern form of the subjunctive of *dá* ‘give’ is *dèti*.

8 Texts

238 *A bi ... la gjuvantétgna, vèvanş lu, vajn*
 and nice.ADJ.UNM DEF.F.SG youth have.IMPF.1PL.1PL then have.PRS.1PL
 239 *nuş gju plé bi ... tga quèls dad òz.*
 1PL have.PTCP.UNM more nice.ADJ.UNM than DEM.M.PL of today

‘And nice ... our youth, we then had, we had a nicer [youth] than those of nowadays.’

240 *Quaj èra in èssar, quaj èra paupradat.*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG be.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG
 241 *Nuş vajn vju ‘l paupar. Té aş è aun ...*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG poor.M.SG 2SG have.2SG also still
 242 *santju dal paupar.*
 feel.PTCP.UNM of poor.M.SG

‘This was a way of living, this was poverty. We have experienced poverty. You too ... experienced poverty.’

243 *Ju sa, nuş vivévan cùl, cùl ... ajn, a*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG live.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG in in
 244 *madèm’ tgèsa cùl, cun mju auc, cun in*
 same.F.SG house with.DEF.M.SG with POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle with INDEF.M.SG
 245 *frá da mju bap.*
 brother of POSS.1SG.M.SG father

‘I know, we lived with the, with the ... in, in the same house with the, with my uncle, with a brother of my father.’

246 *A quaj èra mù in ganc tras. A quaj*
 and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and DEM.M.SG
 247 *gang udéva dad òmaşdús.*
 corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL

‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’

248 *In èra da quèla famiglja, ad in da tschèla.*
 one.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.F.SG family and one.M.SG of DEM.F.SG

‘One belonged to this family, and one to the other.’

249 *A quaj la damaun cu i èra da da lavá,*
 and DEM.UNM DEF.F.SG morning when EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to to get_up.INF
 250 *la mùma pétgáva sé cul mòni-scúa [par clumá*
 DEF.F.SG mother knock.IMPF.3SG up with.DEF.M.SG broomstick SUBORD call.INF

251 *nus], fijèva lavá nus ... tschèla l', l' ònda Tina*
 1PL make.IMPF.3SG get_up.INF 1PL DEM.F.SG DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG aunt PN
 252 *era ... ad uschéja mava quaj atrás.*
 also and so go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM through

‘And so in the morning, when we had to get up, my mother knocked with the broomstick [in order to call us], made us get up ... the other the, aunt Tina also ... and that’s the way things happened.’

253 *Al, al ... sjantar mavan nus, gè, stèvan nus ... í a*
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG after go.IMPF.1PL 1PL yes must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF to
 254 *scùla, tùt quaj èra ... tùt símpal culs ...*
 school.F.SG all DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very simple.ADJ.UNM with.DEF.M.PL
 255 *cùdischs sùt bratsch, gnanc ina tèscha.*
 book.PL under arm.M.SG not_even INDEF.F.SG bag

‘The, the ... and then we would go, yes, we had to ... go to school, this was ... very simple with the ... books under the arm, not even a bag.’

256 *Lu gnang vèv' ins, vèvanş ina tèscha.*
 then not_even have.IMPF.3SG GNR have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.F.SG bag

‘At that time one hadn’t, we didn’t even have a bag.’

257 *A durònt l' ujara ... vèva lu al bap api*
 and during INDEF.F.SG war have.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG father and
 258 *mju auc ... als dus frás ansjaman patarlavan*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle DEF.M.PL two.M.PL brother.PL together chatter.IMPF.3PL
 259 *ajn gang, ajn ... zulè.²¹*
 in corridor.M.SG in corridor.M.SG

‘And during war ... my father and my uncle had ... the two brothers used to chatter together in the «gang», in ... the corridor.’

260 *Nuş schèvan ajn gang. Ah, şur da l' ujara.*
 1PL say.IMPF.1PL on «gang».M.SG ah over of INDEF.F.SG war

‘We used to say «ajn gang». Ah, about the war.’

²¹*Gang* is the German word for ‘corridor’, and *zulè* is the Romansh one.

8 Texts

261 *A quèls stèvan uraş dad uraş a raquintavan da*
 and DEM.M.PL stay.IMPF.3PL hour.F.PL of hour.F.PL and tell.IMPF.3PL of
 262 *la, da, şur da l' ujara, da quaj tg' èra fòrsa*
 DEF.F.SG of over of DEF.F.SG war of DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG maybe
 263 *la ... schabjau avaun quindisch dis.*
 DEF.F.SG happen.PTCP.UNM before fifteen day.M.PL

‘And they stayed for hours and hours speaking about the, about the war, about what had maybe ... happened a fortnight before.’

264 *Partgé nuş vèvan nagíns talafòns, nagín rádjò, nuét.*
 because 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL phone.PL no.M.SG radio nothing

‘Because we had no phones, no radio, nothing.’

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

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



Figure 8.1: The village of Rueras

268 *In sulèt tga vèva rádjò. A mju bap*
 one.M.SG only.M.SG REL have.3SG radio.M.SG and POSS.1SG.M.SG father
 269 *ò lu gju l' amprém al rádjò.*
 have.PRS.3SG then have.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG first DEF.M.SG radio

‘Only one had a radio. And it was my father who was the first one to have a radio.’

270 *Èl vèva schi gròn plaşhaj, quèl bunamajn mava*
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost go.IMPF.3SG
 271 *ajn cul tgau ajl rádjò.*
 into with.DEF.M.SG head in.DEF.M.SG radio

‘He had such great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with his head.’

272 *A sjantar, gè, va ju ... şè l bap lu*
 and after yes have.PRS.1SG 1SG be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father then
 273 *mòrts, tgu vèva ... mù vèntgaduş òns.*
 die.PTCP.M.SG when.REL.1SG have.IMPF.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL

‘And after that, yes, I had ... my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.’

274 *Sùn lu maridaus duş òns sjantar. A ... ad ju*
 be.PRS.1SG then marry.PTCP.M.SG two.M.PL year.PL later and and 1SG
 275 *savèva, èl vèva maj schau òr da maun da*
 know.IMPF.1SG 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG never let.PTCP.UNM out of hand.M.SG DAT
 276 *mé bjè.*
 1SG much

‘I then got married two years later. And ... and I knew, he had never let me be really responsible [for the farm].’

277 *Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmèn cun*
 and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment with
 278 *sissòntanùv òns. Èl vèva gju ina ...*
 sixty-nine year.M.PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 279 *ambòlí, gè ... gè.*
 embolism yes yes

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine. He’d had an ... embolism, yes ... yes.’

8 Texts

280 *A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al pur, ábar*
 and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer but
 281 *ju sùn ùş bigja staus ... in dals fétg buns*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG now NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG very good.M.PL
 282 *purs.*
 farmer.PL

‘And since then I have always worked as a farmer, but I’ve never been ... one of the best farmers.’

283 *A gju quel al plé gròn plaşchaj ... da ...*
 and have.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG more big.M.SG.UNM pleasure of
 284 *surprèndar lavurs da maridur a da májstar, a mava*
 take_over.INF job.F.PL of bricklayer.M.SG and of joiner.M.SG and go.IMP.F.1SG
 285 *plé bjè sèn gljèz.*
 more often on DEM.UNM

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

286 *Ábar al pur figèva ju lu èra, a figèva è,*
 but DEF.M.SG farmer do.IMP.F.1SG 1SG then also and do.IMP.F.1SG also
 287 *vèv’ è plaşchaj vi da quaj vi da tschaj, ábar bigja*
 have.IMP.F.1SG also pleasure.M.SG over of DEM.UNM over of DEM.UNM but NEG
 288 *intgarnaus cù nuş şhajn ... pròpi ... quaj sùnd ju, quaj*
 inveterate.M.SG as 1PL say.PRS.1PL really DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG DEM.UNM
 289 *détschu, quaj sùnd ju maj staus.*
 say.PRS.1SG.1SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG

‘But then I also worked as a farmer, and did it also, also had pleasure in this and that, but [I wasn’t] an inveterate farmer as we say ... really ... this I have, this I say, this I have never been.’

290 *Ábar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar*
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after
 291 *gju ... calau da fá ‘l pur tgu*
 have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer when.REL.1SG
 292 *vèva tgéj? ... tschuncònt’ òns.*
 have.IMP.F.1SG what fifty year.M.PL

‘But that is nice, I then had ... stopped working as a farmer when I was ... fifty years old.’

- 293 *A sjantar surpríu acòrds adin-adina.*
and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always
'And afterwards [I] took over piecework, always.'
- 294 *Vi da lavinèras, né vi dad uauts, né vi da da ...*
over of avalanche_barrier.F.PL or over of woods.F.PL or over of of
295 *cùla la, da l' arùndazjùn vèv' ju*
with.DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG of DEF.F.SG joining_of_properties.F.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG
296 *méz tùt als tjarms, a qu' èra*
put.PTCP.UNM all DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG
297 *stau gròndas lavurs a a a lavurs tgu a*
COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL and and and work.F.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG
298 *gju tscháfan da fá ... a schòn stau*
have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.SG COMP do.INF and really COP.PTCP.UNM
299 *hèfti ábar ... fadjau bjè raps.*
strenuous.UNM but earn.PTCP.UNM much cent.M.PL

'For the avalanche barriers, or for the forests, or for the the ... for the, the joining of properties I had put all the boundary stones, and this had been hard work and and and work I was pleased to do ... and it has indeed been strenuous but ... [I] earned a lot of money.'

- 300 *A sjantar ... cu quaj è juş a ... a lu è aun*
and after when DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG and and then also still
301 *ugagjau a bagjau ina tgèsa da trajs habitazjuns,*
dare.PTCP.UNM and build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG house of three apartment.F.PL
302 *ana sjatònta, a quaj è vagnú ajn danès tgu*
year seventy and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM in money.M.PL REL.1SG
303 *vèva aun maj vju raps.*
have.IMPF.1SG yet never see.PTCP.UNM cent.M.PL

'And then ... when this happened and ... and [I] then dared to build a house with three apartments, in 1970, and so I earned an amount of money that I had never seen [in my life].'

- 304 *Aun taunts raps. Qu' èba lu, lu şa[j]*
still so_much.M.PL cent.PL DEM.UNM just then then COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL
305 *ju.*
go.PTCP.UNM

'Imagine so much money. That's the way it happened.'

8 Texts

306 *Avaun èrans schi anavùs a tùtajnína shè quaj*
before COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL so backward and suddenly be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
307 *vagnú uschéja. A lu va ju, va ju era lò*
come.PTCP.UNM SO and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG also there
308 *fatg vinavaun, puspè cun ... luvrau fétg, la dùna*
make.PTCP.UNM forward again with work.PTCP.UNM much DEF.F.SG woman
309 *ò lu è luvrau cun ... fétg, èla è ina*
have.PRS.3SG then also work.PTCP.UNM with much 3SG.F COP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG
310 *simpla fèmma, a luvrau fétg.*
simple woman and work.PTCP.UNM much

‘Before we were so backward, and suddenly it happened this way. And in this situation I went on, again with, working hard, my wife also contributed ... a lot, she is a simple woman, worked hard.’

8.3 Al tat

My grandfather

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m4, aged 68)

Recorded 2017/03/13 in Sadrún

Duration 15’20”

311 *Gè, ju a atgnamajn príu, príu avaun da*
yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before COMP
312 *préndar ah, zatgéj històrjas cò da quaj ah détgas a*
take.INF eh something story.F.PL here of DEM.UNM eh legend.F.PL and
313 *praulaş ábar ju a lu vju ajn général cò,*
fairy_tale.F.PL but 1SG have.PRS.1SG then see.PTCP.UNM in general here
314 *vau príu quaj cùdisch cò da la mütòlògia²²,*
have.PRS.1SG.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.F.SG mythology
315 *a quaj ajn général cuértaş.*
and DEM.UNM in general short.F.PL

‘Actually, I had planned to take, eh, some stories here from these legends and fairy tales, I then saw [that] generally here [i.e. in the book], I took this book of mythology, but these [are] in general short ones.’

²²The narrator refers to Büchli (1966), which is in sight and at which he was pointing.

316 *Lu sùnd ju sadacidjus da ... raşdá in pau*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG little
 317 *şur da la ... da mi' ufaunza, a lu cunzún ah c' ju*
 over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood and then especially eh when 1SG
 318 *sùn stauş anzjaman cul tat ajn Pardatsch.*
 be.PRS.1SG be.PTCP.M.SG together with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN

‘Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood, and then especially when I was together with my grandfather up in Pardatsch.’

319 *Quaj è pia al ... al tat da la vart da*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG thus DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG grandfather of DEF.F.SG side of
 320 *la mùma.*
 DEF.F.SG mother

‘So that is ... my grandfather from my mother’s side.’

321 *Èl vèva nùm PN, èl è naschjus mèli ad*
 3SG have.IMPF.3SG name PN 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG born.PTCP.M.SG thousand and
 322 *òtgtschian òtgòntasjat, a mòrts sin mèli a ...*
 eight_hundred eighty-seven and die.PTCP.M.SG on thousand and
 323 *nùvtschian sissòntasjat, pia vagnúş da quèla, da*
 nine_hundred sixty-seven therefore become.PTCP.M.SG at DEM.F.SG at
 324 *quèlş òns schòn ... òtgònt' òns.*
 DEM.M.PL year.PL already eighty year.M.PL

‘His name was PN, he was born 1887 and died 1967, so he was at that time already ... eighty years old.’

325 *Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda famiglja, èlş*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family 3PL.M
 326 *òn gju indişch ufauns, in è*
 have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL one.M.SG be.PRS.3SG
 327 *mòrts, ah, tga 'l vèva circa curònta curòntatschun*
 die.PTCP.M.SG eh SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG about forty forty-five
 328 *òns ò 'l gju in accidèn ajnta Nalbş,*
 year.M.PL have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG accident up PN
 329 *èra vida ... piná lèna, a survagnú in pégn,*
 COP.IMPF.3SG PROG fell.INF wood.COLL and get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG spruce
 330 *schmacau èl.*
 squash.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

8 Texts

‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children, one died, eh, when he was around forty, forty-five years old, he had an accident in Nalps, he was cutting trees and got a spruce, squashed him.’

- 331 *Alš da Surajn òn gju bjè pupira, quèls*
 DEF.M.PL of PN have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM much poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL
- 332 *spargnavan è starmantús, stuèvan spagnè, a ... ju*
 save.IMPF.3PL also terrible.ADJ.UNM must.IMPF.3PL save.INF and 1SG
- 333 *sa dalš aucs, quèls vèvan in purèssar plètòst*
 know.PRS.1SG from DEF.M.PL DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather
- 334 *... pin, tgéj pudévan èlš vaj, déjsch quindisch armaulš gronš*
 small what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL
- 335 *api lu aun ... tauras sòu tga vèvan a ...*
 and then besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP have.IMPF.3PL and
- 336 *pòrš a gaglinaš a da quaj a vivèvan lu plètòst*
 pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL and of DEM.UNM and live.IMPF.3PL then rather
- 337 *dal purèssar.*
 of.DEF.M.SG farming

‘Those relatives who lived in Surrein were very poor, they would save as much as they could, they had to save, and ... I know from my uncles, they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens and such things, and lived rather on farming.’

- 338 *A zatgéj mava’ lš aucs mavan lu aun anzatgé*
 and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also something
- 339 *... ád uáut.*
 to forest.M.SG

‘And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.’

- 340 *Ábar i èra, a fâ léna, cunzún al bjè*
 but EXPL be.IMPF.3SG SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL especially DEF.M.SG most
- 341 *a fâ léna né a métar najf magari i*
 SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL or SUBORD put.INF snow sometimes EXPL
- 342 *è stau in tjams tga mavan sél pas,*
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time REL go.IMPF.3PL on.DEF.M.SG pass
- 343 *mávani sé a métar najf pala ... viafiar da la*
 go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG railway of DEF.F.SG

344 *Fùrca-Albșù.*

PN

‘But it was in order to fell trees, especially in most cases to fell trees or to remove snow from time to time, it was a time when they would go up to the pass, they used to go up to remove snow for the ... Furka-Alpsu railway line.’

345 *A lu ... tiar mè șè quaj stau ussuschéa, ju*
and then by 1SG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM exactly_so 1SG

346 *èr’ juș ah ... a scùlèta.*
be.IMPF.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh to nursery_school.F.SG

‘And then with me it was exactly like this; I had gone to nursery school.’

347 *A quaj plașchéva nuéta pròpi da mé.*
and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG

‘And I really didn’t like that.’

348 *Nuș vèvan cò ina sòra tg’ instruéva, qu’*
1PL have.IMPF.1PL here INDEF.F.SG Sister REL teach.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM

349 *èra circa, cò visaví circa tschuncònt’ ufauns.*
COP.IMPF.3SG around here in_front around fifty child.M.PL

‘Here we had a Sister who used to teach around, right in front of here, around fifty children.’

350 *Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la sòra Paulina,*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG nun from PN DEF.F.SG Sister PN

351 *quèla ò dau bjè òns scùlèta cò.*
DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many year.M.PL nursery_school.F.SG here

‘That was a nun from Glion, Sister Paulina, she taught for many years at the nursery school here.’

352 *Ad i èr’ è bitga úsit tg’ ins mava a*
and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to

353 *scùlèta.*
nursery_school.F.SG

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

354 *Álșò qu’ èra fòrs’ ina tjarza tga mava a*
well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.F.SG third REL go.IMPF.3SG to

355 *scùlèta.*
nursery_school.F.SG

‘Well, it was maybe one third that would attend nursery school.’

8 Texts

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

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

359 *«Ĵu cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg’*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
 360 *í plé.»*
 go.INF any_more

‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’

361 *Pi ò èla détg]: «Té savèssaş í cul*
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG
 362 *tat ajn Pardatsch.»*
 grandfather up PN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’

363 *Quaj è quèla val, gjù cò la val Nalbş vidajn,*
 DEM.UNM cop.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG valley down here DEF.F.SG valley PN up_into
 364 *in majşès²³ ajnamiaz c’ ò nùm*
 INDEF.M.SG assembly_of_houses in_middle REL have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG
 365 *Pardatsch.*
 PN

‘This is the valley down here, into the Nalps valley, a *majşés*.’

366 *Lu sùnd ju sadacidjus dad í, gè gè vau*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP go.INF yes yes have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 367 *tartgau, ju sùn adina staus plétòst al tÿp da*
 think.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG always COP.PTCP.M.SG rather DEF.M.SG fellow of
 368 *la ... natira.*
 DEF.F.SG nature

‘Then I decided to go, yes, yes, I thought I had always been rather someone who likes nature.’

²³A *majşès*, German *Maiensäss*, is an assembly of houses and meadows in the mountains used during the cattle grazing period.

369 *Sünd juş ah gjù Surajn a lò şè aun stau*
 be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PN and there be.PRS.3SG still be.PTCP.UNM
 370 ... *da fá laş davùsas lavurs, scù métar grascha, ará a da*
 to do.INF DEF.F.PL last.PL work.PL like put.INF dung.F.SG plough.INF and of
 371 *quaj, quaj èra bigja grat schi sémpal, a sjantar*
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG just so easy.ADJ.UNM and after
 372 *èssan nuş i ... ajn quaj Pardatsch.*
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.UNM PN

‘I went eh down to Surrein and there we still had ... to do the last work, like dunging, ploughing and this sort of thing, this was not exactly that simple, and after that we went up to Pardatsch.’

373 *Í vidajn, quaj manava aun ina ... ina via*
 go.INF up.in DEM.UNM lead.IMPF.3SG in_addition INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG road
 374 *nauscha, ábar i èran grad vitlúndar, vida luvará, qu’*
 bad but 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG PROG work.INF DEM.UNM
 375 *è stau al tjams tshuncòntassís, ju vèva ...*
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG time fifty-six 1SG have.IMPF.1SG
 376 *siş òns tga ... èran vida prapará la via par*
 six year.M.PL when.REL COP.IMPF.3PL PROG prepare.INF DEF.F.SG road SUBORD
 377 *í sé Nalps a bagagè al mir da farmada.*
 go.INF up PN SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG wall.M.SG of reservoir.F.SG

‘[In order to] go up, there led a ... a bad road, but they were just working, that was ... in 1956, I was six years old when they were preparing the road in order to go to Nalps to build the wall of the reservoir.’

378 *Ah ... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù*
 eh PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
 379 *majşès ad alps adina, lu şè aun dus trajs*
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M three
 380 *intarassants lògans ajn cò, ajn Burganèz, qu’ è in*
 interesting place.M.PL in here in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 381 *tòc pléndanòra, lò ani bagagjau gjù la ...*
 bit more_out there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG
 382 *raquéntani ... la crapa par bagagè al*
 tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.F.SG stone.COLL SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG
 383 *clutgè-basèlgja.*
 tower.M.SG-church.F.SG

‘Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures, there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there, in Burganez, this is a little bit more down the valley, there they removed, as they say, the stones used to build the church tower [of Sedrun].’



Figure 8.2: The church of Sedrun with its high tower

384 *Quèla blòca mávani ajn a tagliavan ò a trèvan*
 DEM.F.SG block.COLL go.IMP.F.3PL up and cut.IMP.F.3PL out and carry.IMP.F.3PL
 385 *vidò cun bùfs tòcan ò cò a Sadrùn.*
 down with ox.M.PL until down here at PN

‘[With] these blocks they went up, cut [them] out, and brought them down with oxen until here in Sedrun.’

386 *A pléndanajn in tòc da tschèla vart, lò şaj*
 and more_uphill INDEF.M.SG piece of DEM.F.SG side there COP.PRS.3SG
 387 *práctisch al sulèt grép da catschina tga végn avaun*
 practically DEF.M.SG only.M.SG rock of limestone.F.SG REL come.PRS.3SG before
 388 *ála val Tujetsch.*
 in.DEF.F.SG valley PN

‘And a little bit more uphill, a little bit on the other side, there is almost the only limestone rock that can be found in the Tujetsch valley.’

389 *Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a baršchavan grad*
there build.IMPf.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPf.3PL immediately
390 *èla.*
3SG.F

‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’

391 *Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza šè aun lò*
and EXPL still EXIST.IMPf.3SG there some remnant.F.SG EXIST.PRS.3SG still there
392 *tg’ ins sa í ajn a mirá; ’l PN ò è*
REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF into SUBORD see.INF DEF.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also
393 *fagj²⁴ lò in pèr placats tga mùssan ajn via*
make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.M.SG pair poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way
394 *nùc’ ins sa è mirá quaj.*
where GNR can.PRS.3SG also see.INF DEM.UNM

‘And there were also, there still are some remnants there where one can go and see; PN also put some posters there which show where on the way one can have a look at this.’

395 *A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancùntar Tgòm ... šaj*
and then PN more_uphill here in_direction PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL
396 *ina rùsna, quaj fùš è aun intarassant sch’ ins*
INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.UNM if GNR
397 *savés, quaj datèscha da gl òn ju ... a*
know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.M.SG year 1SG have.PRS.1SG
398 *ùssa bigja grat prèsen, mèli a sistschian a zatgéj.*
now NEG just present thousand and six_hundred and something

‘And then Pardatsch ... a bit more uphill here in direction of Tgom ... there is a cave, it would indeed be interesting if one knew, this is dated, I ... don’t have it exactly in mind, sixteen hundred something.’

399 *A lò pratjándani tga cavavan òra ... matalts.*
and there pretend.PRS.3PL.3PL COMP recover.IMPf.3PL out metal.M.PL

‘And there they pretend that they recovered metals.’

²⁴The narrator thinks that *tschentau* ‘put’ would fit better than *fagj*.

8 Texts

400 *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
 401 *èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada, a fôrza ... dus mètars*
 be.INF one.M.SG metre and half large.F.SG and maybe two.M.PL metre.PL
 402 *auta.*
 high.F.SG

‘And there is a cave, oh how big may it be ..., one and a half metres ... wide, and maybe ... two metres high.’

403 *Daváuntiar saj sé la, l' anada cur' i*
 in_front COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL
 404 *òn antschiat, ad inş vèz' aun quaj,*
 have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM
 405 *bagagjávani gjù ... cun ah, bjè manuálmajn.*
 build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down with eh much manual.ADV

‘In front of it there is, eh, the year when they started, one can still see [that] they used to mine this with, ah, a lot manually.’

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

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

409 *A quèla tauna vò vidajn – quaj tgu sùn*
 and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
 410 *stauş ajn – vò lò vidajn circa véntgatschún mètars,*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five metre.M.PL
 411 *san inş²⁵ í vidajn da quèla, api sasparti,*
 can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL
 412 *vòi ajn duas.*
 go.PRS.3SG.EXPL in two.F

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

²⁵ *san ins* is Standard Sursilvan for *sò ins*.

413 *Ah, tgé ... prandèvan pròpi òra sa ins béj' éxáct,*
 eh what take.IMPf.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exact.ADJ.UNM
 414 *dí dian ins matalš, ábar ò vèza quaj insúma béj*
 say.INF say.PRS.3SG GNR metal.M.PL but out look.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM at_all NEG
 415 *in grép da matal.*
 INDEF.M.SG rock.M.SG of metal.M.SG

‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly, people say that it is metals, but this rock doesn’t look like it contained metals at all.’

416 *Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav’ al*
 take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPf.3SG DEF.M.SG
 417 *grép, tga ... a dí di la ... la détga di*
 rock COMP and say.INF say.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG
 418 *tg’ èrian schindanjn tg’ i udévian c’ i*
 COMP COP.IMPf.SBJV.3PL so_in COMP 3PL hear.IMPf.SBJV.3PL SUBORD EXPL
 419 *tucavi da mjads-dé ajnt Ruèras.*
 beat.IMPf.SBJV.3SG of noon.M.SG in PN

‘As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed, that ..., the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’

420 *Quaj è da dubitá, quaj è mataj scù*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COMP doubt.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG probably like
 421 *quaj tga ... i dat aun bjè da quèlas détgas.*
 DEM.UNM REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still many of DEM.F.PL legend.PL

‘This, one has to doubt, this is probably like what ... there still are many such legends.’

422 *Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al, al*
 enough eh SUBORD come.INF here on DEM.UNM PN DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG
 423 *tat vèva aun fatg ina*
 grandfather have.IMPf.3SG in_addition make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 424 *satagljèda, ina ganùglja vèva ’l tagljau sé,*
 REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG knee have.IMPf.3SG 3SG.M cut.PTCP.UNM up
 425 *schòn, in braf schnéz; avaun c’ í vidajn, ah,*
 yes INDEF.M.SG brave.M.SG.UNM cut.M.SG before go.INF uphill eh
 426 *staus lu tial miadi, gljèz èra lu bitg*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG then at.DEF.M.SG doctor DEM.UNM COP.IMPf.3SG then NEG
 427 *in, ah, schi sémpal da dumagnè tiar in miadi.*
 INDEF.M.SG eh so simple.ADJ.UNM COMP cope_with.INF at INDEF.M.SG doctor

‘Enough, eh, in order to come back to Pardatsch, my grandfather, in addition, had had a cut, he cut his knee, yes, an important cut; before going uphill, eh [he] went to the doctor but this was not eh easy to deal with at the doctor’s.’

- 428 *Lèdş vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG ATTR
 429 *úndşchar ajn a faschas a la tata ò lu*
 oil.INF in and bandage.F.PL and DEF.F.SG grandmother have.PRS.3SG then
 430 *aun détg da mé:*
 still say.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG

‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in and bandages, and then my grandmother said to me:’

- 431 *«Té mira lu tg’ al tat fêtschi lu*
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
 432 *mintga dé, prèndi gjù quaj a şchubrègi a*
 every.M.SG day take.PRS.SBJV.3SG down DEM.UNM and clean.PRS.SBJV.3SG and
 433 *fêtschi sé da néjf.»*
 do.PRS.SBJV.3SG up of new.ADJ.UNM

‘And you, make sure that your grandfather does it every day, that he takes them off, that he cleans them and puts them on again.’

- 434 *«Gè gè gè quaj vi ju schòn ... mirá tga*
 yes yes yes DEM.UNM want.PRS.1SG 1SG of_course make_sure.INF COMP
 435 *végni fatg.»*
 PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

‘Yes of course, I will make sure that’ll be done.’

- 436 *A ... grat par finí quèla istòrja, qu’ è lu*
 and just SUBORD end.INF DEM.F.SG story DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then
 437 *ju ... quèluisa, ju şchèva mintgataun dal tat:*
 go.PTCP.UNM so 1SG say.IMPF.1SG sometimes DAT grandfather.M.SG

‘And ... in order to conclude this story, it went in the following way: I said from time to time to my grandfather:’

- 438 *«Té²⁶ ... Vajs fatg èl?»*
 2SG have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

‘You [sg] ... Did you [pl] do it?’

²⁶The narrator makes an error; he said *té* ‘you (sg)’ instead of *Vus* ‘you (honorific)’, as the following sentence explains.

439 *Lu schèv' inş aun Vuş da ... ah, da tat a*
 then say.IMPV.3SG GNR still 2PL DAT eh DAT grandfather.M.SG and
 440 *tata vau adina détg Vuş, ábar*
 grandmother.F.SG have.PRS.1SG.1SG always say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but
 441 *dals, méjs gjaniturs ... vajn nuş ússa bégja*
 DAT.DEF.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now NEG
 442 *détg Vus, ábar i era bjèrs tga ... òn*
 say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but EXPL EXIST.IMPV.3SG many.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
 443 *détg tòcan, gè práctiřch adina Vus dals gjaniturs.*
 say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL DAT.DEF.M.PL parent.PL

‘At that time, one used to say *Vus* to ... eh, to my grandfather and my grandmother I have always said *Vus*, but to the, my parents ... we never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.’

444 *[Lu] vòu détg: «Vuş vèssas lu aun da fá*
 then have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL have.COND.2PL then still to do.INF
 445 *quèls bògns né mirá da la plaja.»*
 DEM.M.PL bath.PL or look_after.INF of DEF.F.SG wound

‘[Then] I said: “You should still take a bath or look after the wound.”’

446 *«Gè gè quaj è schòn bian.»*
 yes yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all_right good.UNM

‘Yes, sure, that’s OK.’

447 *Qu' è lu ju quèluisa tga ca nuş èssan*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM DEM_way REL REL 1PL be.IMPV.1PL
 448 *vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch, tg' èssan*
 come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN CORR be.COND.1PL
 449 *nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quátar tschun jamnas.*
 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five week.F.PL

‘This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein] from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.’

450 *Scha vèva l fatg schùber nuét.*
 but have.IMPV.3SG 3SG.M do.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘But he hadn’t done anything at all.’

8 Texts

451 *Quèla fascha èra satratg' anzjaman, a vidajn*
 DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together and into
 452 *ála pjal, carschid' ajn ála pjal api ò 'l*
 to.DEF.F.SG skin grow.PTCP.F.SG in in.DEF.F.SG skin and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 453 *stju í ò tial dòctar.*
 must.PTCP.UNM go.INF out to.DEF.M.SG doctor

‘That bandage had contracted, and into the skin, grown into the skin and then he had to go to the doctor.’

454 *Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun al ...*
 but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG.UNM blood DEF.M.SG
 455 *ò 'l lu nuéta gju còmpliazjuns.*
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then NEG have.PTCP.UNM complication.F.SG

‘But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn’t got any complications.’

456 *Ajnta Pardadşch vèvan nus circa déjsch, èba déjsch quéndisch*
 up_in PN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL about ten precisely ten fifteen
 457 *tgauş grònş api vèvan nus tgauraş a pòrs.*
 head.M.PL big.PL and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL goat.F.PL and pig.M.PL

‘Up in Pardatsch we had about ten, as already mentioned ten or fifteen large farm animals, and we had [also] goats and pigs.’

458 *A lu mia lavur èra ... èra bitga atgnamajn*
 and then POSS.1SG.F.SG work COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG NEG actually
 459 *da fá bjè, a quaj tg' èra da parvaj aun djantarájn*
 ATTR do.INF much and DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG to feed.INF still in_between
 460 *fagèv' al tat, api vèvanş da partgirá als*
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG grandfather, and have.IMPF.1PL.1PL to mind.INF DEF.M.PL
 461 *tiars, mav' ins lò sédòr ál sit, grat cò nùca*
 animal.PL go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out in.DEF.M.SG south just there by
 462 *quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.*
 DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM

‘And my work was, was ... not exactly to do a lot, and what still had to be fed in between, my grandfather would do, and we also had to mind the animals; we would then go up to the south, just by that cave I have mentioned.’

463 *Lò èr' inş bjè culs tiars, a ... la sèra*
 there COP.IMPF.3SG GNR a_lot with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL and DEF.F.SG evening
 464 *vagní gjùdòra cun èls, a lu al tat, lèz*
 come.PTCP.M.PL down_out with 3PL.M and then DEF.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG
 465 *pinava tiar la tschajna, gljèz èra magari è*
 prepare.IMPF.3SG by DEF.F.SG dinner DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also
 466 *léjgar tgé cuşchinadaş èl [fagèva], èl*
 funny.ADJ.UNM what cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG.M [make.IMPF.3SG] 3SG.M
 467 *cuşchinava bitga mal, ábar ah mintgataun fagèva 'l schòn détgş,*
 cook.IMPF.3SG NEG bad but ah sometimes make.IMPF 3SG.M really real.M.PL
 468 *détgas pistracas.*
 real.F.PL mixture.PL

‘There we were often with the animals, and ... in the evening we would come back with them, and then my grandfather, he would prepare dinner, it was sometimes also funny [to see] what he [cooked], he didn’t cook badly, but ah from time to time he would prepare terrible mixtures.’

469 *Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts, scha vagnévi lu*
 well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
 470 *magari rimnau quaj dus trajs diş api méz*
 sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.UNM
 471 *tùt ajn ina ... tùt anzjaman.*
 all in INDEF.F.SG all together

‘Well, when there were leftovers, they would sometimes be collected for two or three days and then put all together in a ... all together.’

472 *A sjantar tschajnas, gljèz, quaj èra schòn è aun*
 and after dinner.F.PL DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really also still
 473 *léjgar.*
 funny.ADJ.UNM

‘And after dinner, well, this was also funny.’

474 *Sjantar tschajna mav' inş ajn, quaj èr' èr, èls*
 after dinner.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG GNR in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also 3PL.M
 475 *èran rèligjús, èra quaj nùndétg.*
 COP.IMPF.3PL religious.M.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indescribable.ADJ.UNM

‘After dinner we would go in, this was also, they were religious, this was indescribable.’

8 Texts

476 *Vagnévi ju ajn ajn nuégl, parquaj tga ... l'*
 come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL go.PTCP.UNM in in barn because SUBORD DEF.F.SG
 477 *antschata da la parmavèra stuèv' ins schè ajn als*
 beginning of DEF.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG GNR let.INF in DEF.M.PL
 478 *tiars ajn nuégl, a lu máv' inş ajn api schèva 'l:*
 animal.PL in barn.M.SG and then go.IMPF.3SG GNR in and say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M

'When they entered the barn, because ... at the beginning of spring one had to let the animals into the barn, and then one would enter and then he would say:'

479 *«Sò, ùsa şhajn nuş impau patarnòş.» ad èl*
 OK now say.PRS.1PL 1PL a_bit Lord's_prayer.M.PL and 3SG.M
 480 *samatév' adina giùdajn.*
 REFL.put.IMPF.3SG always down_in

'«OK, now we will say some Lord's prayer» and he would always sit down in [a manger].'

481 *Suschéa sasév' ajn ajn purşèpan, a ... èl dad ina vart ad*
 exactly_so sit.IMPF.3SG in in manger and 3SG.M of INDEF.F.SG side and
 482 *ju da tschèla vart, a quaj schèva 'l trajs quátar*
 1SG of DEM.F.SG side and DEM.UNM say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M three four
 483 *patarnòş a vònzaj èri «Sòntga Maria Mùma da*
 Lord's_prayer.M.PL and later COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL Holy Mary Mother of
 484 *Dju» api èra 'l navèn.*
 God and COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M away

'So he would sit in the manger, and ... he on the one side and I on the other side, and so he would say three or four Lord's prayers and a bit later «Holy Mary Mother of God», and then he was gone.'

485 *Sadurmantav' ajn. A lu dumagnav' ju bigja nònavaun*
 REFL.fall_asleep.IMPF.3SG in and then induce.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG awake
 486 *èl.*
 3SG.M

'He would fall asleep. And then I wasn't able to wake him up.'

487 *Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.*
 DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger

'He used to sleep like a log.'

488 *Șùtajn èri la tégja nùca 'l*
 under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.F.SG alpine_hut REL 3SG.M
 489 *cașchav' èra, daspèras quèls dus nuégls api*
 make_cheese.IMPF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M cow_barn.PL and
 490 *stuèv' inș í ò ad í sé sèn clavau, a lò*
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF out and go.INF up upon hay_barn.M.SG and there
 491 *èri ajn ina stiva sc' ins șchèva, ajn quèls*
 COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in DEF.F.SG living_room as GNR say.IMPF.3SG in DEM.M.PL
 492 *majșès șchèv' ins la stiva nùc' ins*
 assembly_of_houses.PL say.IMPF.3SG GNR DEF.F.SG living_room REL.LOC GNR
 493 *durméva.*
 sleep.IMPF.3SG

‘Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese, next to it those two cow barns and one must go out and up into the hay barn, and therein was the *stiva*, the living room, as they used to say, in those *majșés* the room where one slept was called *stiva*.’

494 *Ad ju mava lu sé lò durmí, ábar ah, bjè nòtgs*
 and 1SG go.IMPF.1SG then up there sleep.INF but eh many night.F.PL
 495 *staus parsuls sé lò, ha, a lò vòu schòn ah ...*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG alone.M.SG up there ha and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh
 496 *gju inqual tèma.*
 have.PTCP.UNM some fear.F.SG

‘And I used to go up there to sleep, but, eh, many nights I was alone up there, ha, and there I was eh sometimes afraid.’

497 *Ajn quèla végljadétgna, api al pròblèm èra, èra,*
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG
 498 *al pròblèm èra las sòndaș a dumèngjas.*
 DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL Saturday.PL and Sunday.PL

‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays and Sundays.’

499 *Né al vèndardís sèra, quèls taljans, quaj èra*
 or DEF.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG DEM.M.PL Italian.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 500 *práctisch mù taljans tga luvravan cò vid la via.*
 practically only Italian.M.PL REL work.IMPF.3PL here at DEF.F.SG road

‘Or Friday evening, these Italians, there were practically only Italians who worked on the road.’

- 501 *Sé Nalps vèvani è grad antschiat a bagagè*
 up PN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF
 502 *cantinaş ètcètara.*
 canteen.F.PL et_cetera

‘In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.’

- 503 *Sònda-dumèngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagjèvan*
 Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
 504 *fjastunas.*
 party.AUGM.F.PL

‘On weekends they would come here and have big parties.’

- 505 *A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn a ... vajn*
 and sometimes SUBORD can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in and have.PRS.1SG
 506 *gju in pèr jèdas quèls tga vagnévan, u tga*
 have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG pair time.F.PL DEM.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL OR REL
 507 *vagnévan ajn ál clavau a durmévan, ábar è ál*
 come.IMPF.3PL in in.DEF.M.SG barn and sleep.IMPF.3PL but also in.DEF.M.SG
 508 *léj dal tat ... sùnd ju è schòn*
 bed of.DEF.M.SG grandfather be.PRS.1SG 1SG also already
 509 *sadastadaus tg’ i èr’ ajn ... in né dus*
 REFL.wake_up.PTCP.M.SG REL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in one.M.SG or two.M.PL
 510 *taljánars tga durmévan.*
 Italian.PL REL sleep.IMPF.3PL

‘Now sometimes they couldn’t manage ... to come ... into [the *stiva* and sleep on hay] and ... we sometimes had those who came or who came into the barn and slept [there], but I happened to wake up there when one or two Italians were sleeping [in my grandfather’s bed].’

- 511 *Òh, lu schòn tumju in pau mintgataun.*
 oh then really be_afraid.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG little sometimes

‘Oh, [I was] really afraid sometimes.’

- 512 *Prquaj tga quaj c’ ins ... vèva bigja grad da partgirá*
 because SUBORD DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to mind.INF
 513 *tiars sch’ èr’ inş antir dé cun quèls, qu’*
 animal.M.PL then COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.SG day with DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM

514 *èra è intarassant da mirá c' i luvravan,*
 COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF when 3PL work.IMPF.3PL
 515 *c' i bagagjavan gjù.*
 when 3PL build.IMPF.3SG down

‘Because when we ... didn’t just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day; it was also interesting to watch [them] when they were working, when they would dismantle [something].’

516 *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in téc*
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 517 *quajda d' í par crapa, tgu a vju*
 desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM
 518 *difarènts lògans tg' i vèvan sitau gjù ad*
 different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.UNM down and
 519 *èra ... vagnú ò cristalaş etcètara, tga quaj*
 be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out crystal.F.PL et_cetera COMP DEM.UNM
 520 *è fòrza schòn stau in téc al ... mòtif*
 be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG reason
 521 *tgu a antschiat dad í par crapa.*
 REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF for stone.COLL

‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals and so forth ... had come out, so maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.’

522 *Schabi tga lu, cun siş òns capév' ins hald aun*
 although SUBORD then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR just still
 523 *mèmja pauc a vèva bigja la ... fòrsa da fá*
 too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG strength ATTR do.INF
 524 *zatgéj.*
 something

‘Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and wouldn’t have the ... strength to do something.’

525 *Gè, ah ... cèrtas tgaussas al tat, lèz al dé òra*
 yes eh certain.F.PL thing.PL DEF.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG day out
 526 *mava lu bjè par lèna a mava lu vidòra in*
 go.IMPF.3SG then often for wood.COLL and go.IMPF.3SG then over_out DEF.M.SG

8 Texts

527 *tòc a pinava ògna, a vagnéva vidajn ... tg' èl*
 piece and prepare.IMPF.3SG alder.COLL and come.IMPF.3SG over_in REL 3SG.M
 528 *mava a rimnava, gljèz èra aun léjgar*
 go.IMPF.3SG and collect.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really funny.ADJ.UNM
 529 *cu 'l scarpava gjù urticlas.*
 when 3SG.M pull_off.IMPF.3SG down nettle.F.PL

‘Yes, ah, certain things my grandfather, he would often look for wood the whole day, and he would then go down a little bit and log alder, and when he was coming up ... when he would go and collect it, that was really funny when he pulled off nettles.’

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

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

532 *Ah, quaj scarpava 'l adina cul maun,*
 ah DEM.UNM pull_off.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always with.DEF.M.SG hand
 533 *cul maun sènza [vòns].*
 with.DEF.M.SG hand without [glove.M.PL]

‘Ah, and the nettles, he would always pull them down with the hand, with the hand without [gloves].’

534 *Ju tartgava quaj è bitga pussajval.*
 1SG think.IMPF.1SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG possible.ADJ.UNM

‘I thought that this was not possible.’

535 *Ad è zatgéj ... léjgar èr' èra cu 'l*
 and also something funny.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also when 3SG.M
 536 *fagèva fjuç.*
 make.IMPF.3SG fire.M.SG

‘And something ... funny was also when he made fire.’

537 *Èl vèv' adina ... lèna vèva 'l dètq avùnda,*
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG always wood.COLL have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M much enough
 538 *ábar ajn général vagnévi bitga fatg òra.*
 but in general PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG make.PTCP.UNM out

‘He had always ... wood, he had enough, but it was generally not split.’

539 *Quaj èra magari da quèls pléjdars dad in mèter*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes of DEM.M.PL block.PL of one.M.SG metre
 540 *dus, ùs ussusché.*
 two.M.PL now exactly_so

‘These were sometimes such blocks of one or two metres or so.’

541 *Quaj catschava ‘l ajn, qu’ èr’ in*
 DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 542 *plantschju da ... da taratsch naturálmajn.*
 floor of of soil.M.SG natural.ADV

‘This he would throw into [the fire], this was a floor of ... of soil, of course.’

543 *Quaj catschava ‘l vidajn ála fuajna api mù*
 DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M into in.DEF.F.SG fireplace and only
 544 *catschava sjantar mintg’ jèda.*
 throw.IMPF.3SG after every.F.SG time

‘That is what he used to throw into the fireplace and he used to throw in more every time.’

545 *A la sèra par tga brišchi bétg ... vagnéva*
 and DEF.F.SG evening for SUBORD burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
 546 *quaj, quaj mava ‘l ajnagjù cul maun èra*
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down with.DEF.M.SG hand also
 547 *sènza ... [vòns] a trèva vidò còtgla gjù sé*
 without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out charcoal.COLL down up
 548 *sél plantschju.*
 on.DEF.M.SG floor

‘And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into [the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.’

549 *Álsò i èra schòn in in spazjal.*
 well EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG really INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG special.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, he really was a special person.’

550 *A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat,*
 and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather
 551 *prquaj tga ... èl rašdava pauc a magari smanatschava*
 because SUBORD 3SG.M speak.IMPF.3SG little and sometimes threaten.IMPF.3SG

8 Texts

552 *l ussusché tg' al- grat als buéts tg' èl ... cu*
 3SG.M exactly_so COMP DEF.M.SG especially DEF.M.PL boy.PL REL 3SG.M when
 553 *l savèva tg' i vèvan fatg ina*
 3SG.M know.IMPF.3SG COMP 3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 554 *lumparia sche lu mussava 'l lu magari al pùgn*
 childish_prank CORR then show.IMPF.3SG 3SG then sometimes DEF.M.SG fist
 555 *a lura fugévani.*
 and then flee.IMPF.3PL.3PL

‘And many people were afraid of my grandfather, because ... he didn’t speak much and sometimes he would threaten in such a way that the – especially the boys he... when he knew that they had played a childish prank, he then would show them his fist and they would run away.’

556 *A... in' autra tgaussa ... tg' è è stau²⁷*
 and INDEF.F.SG other.F.SG thing REL be.PRS.3SG also COP.PTCP.UNM
 557 *intarassanta, èra, quaj èra ... ajgl unviarn api*
 interesting.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG winter and
 558 *vèvani ah ... mávani culs tiars ajnta Nacla,*
 have.IMPF.3PL.3PL eh go.IMPF.3PL.3PL with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL up PN
 559 *quaj è ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza végn minutas*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PN maybe twenty minute.F.PL
 560 *vidajn.*
 into

‘And ... another thing ... that was interesting was, this was during winter and they had ah ... they used to go with the animals up to Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.’

561 *A qu' èra schòn dau bjè najv ad*
 and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow and
 562 *èran bigj' aun vagní vidò culs tiars.*
 be.IMPF.3PL NEG yet come.PTCP.M.PL down with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL

‘And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn’t come back down with the animals yet.’

563 *Ad ju sa la tata vèva détg:*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG DEF.F.SG grandmother have.IMPF.3SG say.PTCP.UNM

‘And I know [that] my grandmother had said.’

²⁷ *stau* is a performance error for *stada*.

564 «*Té nò lu vidòr ùssa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma lu*
 2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG then
 565 *bigja ajn lò.*»
 NEG in there

‘Come down here now. Don’t sleep up there this evening.’»

566 *Al bjè durméva l ajn lò, álşò durmju ajn nuégl.*
 DEF.M.SG much sleep.IMP.3SG 3SG.M in there well sleep.PTCP.UNM in barn
 ‘He slept mostly up there, well, slept in the barn.’

567 *Basta, èl [è] bigja vagnús vidòr, glj’ autar dé*
 enough 3SG.M [be.PRS.3SG] NEG come.PTCP.M.SG down DEF.M.SG other.M.SG day
 568 *şè l ... in dalş aucs ... juş vidajn.*
 be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M one.M.SG of.DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.PTCP.M.SG up

‘OK. He didn’t come down, the other day one of my uncles went up.’

569 *Sch’ èri vagnú gjù la lavina, vèva*
 so be.IMP.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG avalanche have.IMP.3SG
 570 *príu şuròra dal, dal clavau, vèva*
 take.PTCP.UNM above_out of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG barn have.IMP.3SG
 571 *príu şuròra tût, èra mù al ...*
 take.PTCP.UNM above_out everything COP.IMP.3SG only DEF.M.SG
 572 *ál ... nuégl şùtajn.*
 in.DEF.M.SG barn under_in

‘So the avalanche came down, swept away above of the, of the barn, had swept away everything from above, only ... the, in the barn underneath.’

573 *Al tat èr’ ajn a durméva lò grat sc’*
 DEF.M.SG grandfather COP.IMP.3SG in and sleep.IMP.3SG there precisely like
 574 *in tajş, vèv’ udju şchùbar-şchùbar nuét.*
 INDEF.M.SG badger have.IMP.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM RED~clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn’t heard anything at all.’

575 *A par part vèvi aun príu dals*
 and for part have.IMP.3SG.EXPL moreover take.PTCP.UNM from.DEF.M.PL
 576 *nuégls, vévi príu, davauntiar è príu*
 barn.PL have.IMP.3SG.EXPL take.PTCP.UNM at_front also take.PTCP.UNM
 577 *navèn.*
 away

‘And [the avalanche] had also partially swept away of the barns, had swept away, also swept away at the front.’

- 578 *Duaş vacas èran gjùsùt aun adina ... pandí²⁸ a*
 two.F.PL cow.PL COP.IMPF.3PL down_under still always hang.PTCP.M.PL at
 579 *la cadajna cul’ ... cul’ ajssa nùca la cadajn’*
 DEF.F.SG chain with.DEF.F.SG with.DEF.F.SG plank REL.LOC DEF.F.SG chain
 580 *èra, al tat udju şchùbar nuét.*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG grandfather hear.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘Two cows were still ... hanging from the chain with the ... with the plank where the chain was, and my grandfather hadn’t heard anything at all.’

- 581 *A ... gè quaj è ussusché in pèr da quèlas*
 and yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly_so INDEF.M.SG pair of DEM.F.PL
 582 *raminiscènzaz tgu a gju cul tat.*
 memory.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.M.SG grandfather

‘And ... yes, so these are some of the memories I have had with my grandfather.’

- 583 *Ju a maj gju pròblèm – èl vès*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M have.COND.3SG
 584 *maj savilau cun mè né anzatgéj, ju a adina*
 never REFL.get_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something 1SG have.PRS.1SG always
 585 *gju fétg ugèn al tat.*
 have.PTCP.UNM very with_pleasure DEF.M.SG grandfather

‘I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that, I have always been very fond of my grandfather.’

- 586 *A quaj tga ‘l vèva pia sias flajvlèzas,*
 and DEM.UNM REL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG therefore POSS.3PL.F.PL weakness.PL
 587 *quaj sùnd ju vagnús séssúra pèr ... plé tart.*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG come.PTCP.M.SG upon only more late

‘And that he had ... his weaknesses, this I only discovered ... later.’

- 588 *A lu şaj ... èl è lu saravagnús dètg*
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG fairly
 589 *stupèn, èl ò lu luvrau anzjaman.*
 excellent.ADJ.UNM 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then work.PTCP.UNM together

²⁸ *Pandí* is a performance error for *pandidas*; furthermore, the narrator would prefer to use *farmadas* ‘tied’.

‘And then, he recovered perfectly well, he then worked together [with one of his sons].’

590 *In auc ... èra lu staus cun èl a*
 INDEF.M.SG uncle be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M and
 591 *fatg al pur.*
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer

‘Then one of my uncles ... stayed with him and worked as a farmer.’

592 *A lèz fijèva al al pur, aun adin’ in*
 and DEM.M.SG make.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG farmer still always INDEF.M.SG
 593 *pin purèssar, lèz mava lu aun a, ad uáut,*
 small.M.SG farm DEM.M.SG go.IMP.F.3SG then moreover to to forest.M.SG
 594 *piná lèna.*
 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.’

595 *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
 596 *vèva sjatòntanùv òns circa, sè ’l zanúa*
 have.IMP.F.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M somewhere
 597 *para i è ruclus.*
 seem.PRS.3SG EXPL also fall.PTCP.M.SG

‘And ... and then it happened, ... well when he was about seventy-nine years old, it seems that he also fell down somewhere.’

598 *A ... vagnéva mendar a mendar a dumagnavan bigj’ èl*
 and become.IMP.F.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMP.F.3PL NEG 3SG.M
 599 *ál, ál spital lèva ’l bitg í né tiar*
 to.DEF.M.SG to.DEF.M.SG hospital want.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF or to
 600 *miadis.*
 doctor.M.PL

‘And ... it became worse and worse and they couldn’t induce [him] to go to the, to the hospital he didn’t want to go, nor to the doctors.’

601 *Ad ju sa in’ jèda òn Cadruvi²⁹, sa ju in’*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time down_in PN know.1SG 1SG one.F.SG

8 Texts

602 *jèda tg' èl èra vagnús sé, quèl vasèva schòn*
time COMP 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG up DEM.M.SG look.IMPF.3SG really
603 *ò şgarşchajval.*
out terrible.ADJ.UNM

‘And I know once in the Cadruvi square that he had once come up [from the church], he looked terrible.’

604 *Èl mava misarábal. A la muma è lura,*
3SG.M go.IMPF.3SG miserable.ADJ.UNM and DEF.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG then
605 *plaunşjú şèni vagní da fá í scha*
slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
606 *vèva l rùt in calum.*
have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG thigh

‘He was not going well. And my mother then has, they succeeded slowly in having him go [to the hospital] since he had broken a thigh.’

607 *Api jus trajs jamnas cun quaj ... calum antùrn, a lu*
and go.PTCP.M.SG three week.F.PL with DEM.M.SG thigh around and then
608 *ò l stju í ál spital.*
have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.M.SG hospital.

‘And he walked around with this ... thigh for three weeks, and then he had to go to the hospital.’

609 *Quèl' è la sulèt' jèda tg' èl è pròpi*
DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG only time REL 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG really
610 *stauş ál spital.*
COP.PTCP.M.SG in.DEF.M.SG hospital

‘This is the only time he had really been to hospital.’

611 *Api òni tractau quaj, a şjantar mava*
and have.PRS.3PL.3PL treat.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and after go.IMPF.3SG
612 *quaj bigja plé giù Surajn parquaj tga la tat'*
DEM.UNM NEG any_more down PN because SUBORD DEF.F.SG grandmother
613 *èra è gè ina véglja, a lu ş' èl*
COP.IMPF.3SG also after_all INDEF.F.SG old and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M

²⁹ *Cadruvi* is a small square above the church in Sedrun.

614 *vivjus sé tiar nus sén Tgès' Alva, nus stèvan cò, viajn ...*
 live.PTCP.M.SG up by 1PL on house.F.SG white 1PL live.IMP.F.1PL here over_in
 615 *Tgès' Alva, quèla tgèsa grònda òragjùšùt al muséum.*
 house white DEM.F.SG house big out_down_under DEF.M.SG museum

‘And they treated that, and after this it was not possible any more for him to live in Surrein because my grandmother already was an old woman after all, and then he lived with us in the white house, we lived here, in ... the white house, that is the big house underneath the museum.’



Figure 8.3: The Tgès' Alva in Sedrun

616 *Lu š' èl vivjús tiar nus. Ábar ah ... quaj*
 then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M live.PTCP.M.SG by 1SG but eh DEM.UNM
 617 *vèva lu dau ina ... ina ... tussègazjun*
 have.IMP.F.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG poisoning
 618 *dal saun, sjantar lu š' èl maj vagnús pròpi*
 of.DEF.M.SG blood after then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M never come.PTCP.M.SG really
 619 *nònavauun.*
 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.’

8 Texts

620 *A lu vajn nuş aun sju gudaj al*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL in_addition can.PTCP.UNM enjoy.INF DEF.M.SG
 621 *tat, fôrza tgéj, dus trajs majnş a gju bjè*
 grandfather maybe what two.M.PL three month.PL and have.PTCP.UNM much
 622 *léjgar cun èl.*
 fun with 3SG.M

‘And then we were able to enjoy my grandfather a bit longer, maybe - how long?
 - two or three months, and had a lot of fun with him.’

623 *Èl durméva bjè, quaj mava ‘l sél*
 3SG.M sleep.IMPF.3SG a_lot DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M on.DEF.M.SG
 624 *baun-pégna, api mavi èl, tatlava ‘l*
 bench.M.SG-oven.F.SG and go.IMPF.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M listen.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
 625 *ugèn música, ah, quaj savèva ‘l, durmí a*
 with_pleasure music.F.SG ah DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M sleep.INF and
 626 *tatlá música ajn ina.*
 listen.INF music.F.SG in one.F.SG

‘He slept a lot and used to go [and sit] on the oven bench and he would go, he
 loved to listen to the music, ah, this he was able to do, sleep and listen to the
 music at the same time.’

627 *A dumandavan nus lu èra, magari inqual discuéř*
 and ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL then also sometimes some conversation.M.SG
 628 *vajn nus schòn gju a raşdava bigja bjè, ábar ah*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL indeed have.PTCP.UNM and speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much but eh
 629 *... scha ‘l vèva bian, vagnév’ ins schòn séssúra*
 if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed upon
 630 *inqual tgaussas.*
 some thing.F.PL

‘And if we asked him [a question], we really had a conversation with him from
 time to time, and he didn’t speak much, but eh ... when he was in a good mood,
 one could get to know some things.’

631 *Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vèvan dumandau núa èl*
 then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
 632 *ségi stauş ajn plaza, èra ‘l staus*
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG in job.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M COP.PTCP.M.SG

633 *zatgé vid Andermatt– a tudèstg savèv’ ju è bigja –*
 something over PN and German know.IMPF.1SG 1SG also NEG
 634 *vèvan nuş dumandau in’ jèda sch’ èl sapi,*
 have.IMPF.1PL 1PL ask.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG time whether 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 635 *savèva ‘l lu schòn in téc tudèstg, savèva ‘l*
 know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed INDEF.M.SG bit German know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
 636 *lu aun, quaj tg’ èra lu bigj’ al cas tiar quèls*
 then really DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG DEF.M.SG case at DEM.M.PL
 637 *végls aun.*
 old.PL really

‘Then we would ask him, we asked [him] where he had been working, he had been working for a certain time in Andermatt – and [that he knew] German I didn’t know either – we had asked him whether he knew, he knew some German indeed, he really knew, which then was not the case with these old people.’

638 *A lu şè ‘l lu...ra gè ana ... sissòntaşját şè ‘l*
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then yes year sixty-seven be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 639 *mòrts.*
 die.PTCP.M.SG

‘And then he is then still, yes [in] 1967 he died.’

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

Household school at Cazas³⁰

(Tuatschín, Camischùlas, f6, aged 45)

Recorded 2016/08/26 in Camischolas

Duration 7’40”

640 *A Cazis èr’ ju ajn tgòmbra, alşò qu’ èra tgòmbras*
 in PN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG room.F.PL
 641 *da trajs, a lu qu’ è adina, ina è gè*
 of three and then DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always one.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG of_course
 642 *adina p̄rsula, a nus trajs vèvan ábar ... súpár!*
 always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG but super

³⁰ *Cazis* is the German denomination for the village; in Standard Sursilvan it is called *Cazas* and in the local Sutsilvan variety *Tgazas*.

8 Texts

‘In Cazas I was in a room, well these were rooms for three, and then this was always, one [of the three] is always alone, of course, but the three of us, we had ... a great time.’

643 *A Cazis da las sòras adina hahhhh RS, da da Maitli-RS,*
 in PN of DEF.F.PL sister.PL always hhhh RS of of Maitli-RS³¹
 644 *diani, né şchèvani lura da da Cazis.*
 say.PRS.3PL.3PL right say.IMP.F.3PL.3PL then of of PN

‘The nuns’s [school] in Cazas [was] always [called], hah, the ‘recruit school’, ‘the girl’s recruit school’, right?, [that’s the way] they used to call Cazas.’

645 *Ahm, a quaj èra schòn ah, a vagnéva fétg*
 ahm and DEM.M.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG in_fact eh and get.IMP.F.3SG very
 646 *strèng, àlşò quaj nus vagnévan pròpi tanidas a*
 strict.ADJ.UNM well DEM.UNM 1PL PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3PL really hold.PTCP.F.PL and
 647 *nus stuèvan amprèndar a nus stuèvan şhubargè a fá a*
 1PL must.IMP.F.1PL learn.INF and 1PL must.IMP.F.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and
 648 *tùt.*
 all

‘Ahm, and that was in fact ah, and it was getting very strict, well, and we were really kept [in a strict way] and we had to study and we had to clean and do and everything.’

649 *A zacuras èri ahm ... da fá pènşums, lu*
 and sometime be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL hm to do.INF homework.M.PL then
 650 *èri ruaus, in’ ura da fá pènşums, a*
 COP.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG one.F.SG hour ATTR do.INF homework.M.PL and
 651 *şjantar, a scalinavi a lu vèvans dad ira ...*
 after and ring.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL and then have.IMP.F.1PL.1PL to go.INF ...
 652 *a fá òrazjún la sèra, quaj èra tùts tga*
 SUBORD do.INF prayer.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG all.M.PL REL
 653 *vèvan da dad í sé sissúm, fá òrazjún da da la*
 have.IMP.F.3PL to to go.INF up uppermost do.INF prayer.F.SG of of DEF.F.SG
 654 *sèra.*
 evening

³¹RS, German abbreviation for *Rekrutenschule* ‘recruit school’ and *Maitli-RS* Swiss German for ‘girl’s recruit school’.

‘And sometime or another we had eh ... to do our homework, then it was quiet, one hour to do our homework and after [this], and the bell rang and we had to go ... to pray in the evening, then all had to go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening prayers.’

655 *Api sjantar vèvan nus libar atgnamajn uschéja mjaş’ ura,*
and after have.IMPF.1PL 1PL free.ADJ.UNM actually so half.F.SG hour
656 *trajs quardş d’ ura tga nuş astgèvan fá, álşò èssar*
three quart.M.PL of hour.F.SG REL 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL do.INF well be.INF
657 *plé dad aut, a lura ... da da las déjšch èri*
more of high and then at at DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
658 *craj né mjasa las déjšch èri ruaus,*
believe.PRS.1SG of half.F.SG DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG
659 *pals gancs antürn, ad ajn tgòmbras da las déjšch*
in.DEF.M.PL corridor.PL around and in room.F.PL at DEF.F.PL ten
660 *stizá cazùla.*
turn_off.INF light.F.SG

‘And then we were free for about more or less half an hour, three quarters of an hour that we were allowed to do, well, to be louder, and then ... at at ten o’clock it had to be, I believe, or half past nine it had to be quiet, in the corridors, and in the bedroom the light was turned off at ten.’

661 *Api tgi ca fagèva bigja quaj, a vagnéva traplada,*
and who REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG DEM.UNM and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.F.SG
662 *las sòras mavan mù schi a guardja, tgi ca vagnéva*
DEF.F.PL nun.PL go.IMPF.3PL just so to guard.F.SG who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
663 *traplaus stuèva al vèndardís sèra ... stá*
catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF
664 *lò, stgèvan bigj’ í a tgèsa, api stèvan nuş*
there be_allowed.IMPF.3PL NEG go.INF to home.F.SG and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL
665 *şchùbargè in’ ura zatgéj, durmí lò, api stèvan lu*
clean.INF one.F.SG hour something sleep.INF there and must.IMPF.3PL then
666 *í pér la sònda andamaun a tgèsa.*
go.INF only DEF.F.SG Saturday in_morning to home.F.SG

‘And the person who ... didn’t do that and who got caught, the nuns would just walk around on guard duty, the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday evening, they were not allowed to go home, and then they had to clean

8 Texts

for more or less one hour, sleep there, and then could only go home on Saturday morning.’

667 *Qu’ èra ... quèlas règlas.*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.PL rule.PL

‘These were ... those rules.’

668 *A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nuş vagjan*
and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL
669 *adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian bugèn cò gjù*
always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL with_pleasure here down
670 *a scùla, a nus fètschian filistucas, ad èlas pudèvan maj*
to school.F.SG and 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL prank.F.PL and 3PL.F can.IMPF.3PL never
671 *tiar nus.*
to 1PL

‘And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun, and that we liked to come to school down here, and that we used to play pranks, and that they would never be able to prove anything against us.’

672 *A lu èri ... da quèlas uras, ah da quaj tjamş aun*
and then COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL ah of DEM.M.SG time still
673 *tga ... ahm, als amprandissadiş antschavèvan par part*
COMP hm DEF.M.PL apprenticeship.PL begin.IMPF.3PL for part.F.SG
674 *igl avrél.*
in.DEF.M.SG April

‘And then there was ... at that time, ah at that time still that ... ahm, the apprenticeships would partly begin in April.’

675 *A lu, ah, álşò ajn nòssa classa, c’ ju mava ála*
and then ah well in POSS.1PL.F.SG class when 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to.DEF.F.SG
676 *tjarza sacundara, igl avrél antschavévaş amprém da vagní*
third secondary DEF.M.SG April begin.IMPF.2SG.GNR first COMP come.INF
677 *òd scùla, al davús èranş aun quátar ... buébas tga*
out_of school.F.SG DEF.M.SG last COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL only four girl.F.PL REL
678 *mavan a scùla ála tjarza sacundara.*
go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG to.DEF.F.SG third secondary

‘And then, ah, in our class, when I attended the third grade of secondary school, in April you would first come out of school, at the end we were only four ... girls that attended the third grade of secondary school.’

679 *A Cazis shèra quaj al madèm.*
 in PN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG same

‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’

680 *A lu ajn ajn tgòmbra eri ina tga vèva*
 and then in in room.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL one.F.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG
 681 *survgnú igl avrél plaza.*
 get.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG April job.F.SG

‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’

682 *A las sòras savèvan, quèl’ ò ùs aun in’*
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG now only one.F.SG
 683 *jamna, a quèlas òn bigja pudju tiar nus da fá*
 week and DEM.F.PL have.PRS.3PL NEG can.PTCP.UNM to 1PL COMP make.INF
 684 *stá in vèndardís.*
 stay.INF INDEF.M.SG Friday

‘And the nuns knew [that] this one had only one week [left], and they haven’t been able to make us stay one Friday.’

685 *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun nias ésch*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG door
 686 *ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la*
 and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
 687 *audi anzatgèj, api shè ... ina da nòssa*
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something and COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG of POSS.1PL.F.SG
 688 *tgòmbra id’ òn tualèta api fò la sòra:*
 room go.PTCP.F.SG out_in toilet and make.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG nun

‘And then the nun was out [in the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something, and then ... one of our room went out to the toilet, and the nun said:’

689 «*Chasch denn grad usrichta, Fritig obig müänd är do*
 can.PRS.2SG then right_away tell.INF Friday evening mu’.PRS.2PL 2PL here
 690 *bliiba.*³²»
 remain.INF

‘You can just tell [them] that you have to stay here on Friday evening.’

³²Said in Swiss German.

8 Texts

691 *Api ò èla cò détg: «Cool, ju mòn grad*
and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F here say.PTCP.UNM cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG right_away
692 *a raquénta dad èlas.»*
and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F

‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’

693 *Èla vagnid’ ajn tgòmbra api fò la: «Scheisse³³! Nus*
3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG in room.F.SG and make.PRS.3SG 3SG.F shit 1PL
694 *stujn stá cò vèndardís»*
must.PRS.1PL stay.INF here Friday.M.SG

‘She came into the bedroom and said: «Shit! We have to stay here on Friday.»’

695 *A quaj vid risadas.*
and DEM.UNM by laughing.F.PL

‘And [she said] this laughing.’

696 *A lu vèvani traplau circa sis.*
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL catch.PTCP.UNM about six

‘And then they caught about six.’

697 *Má tga la tgòmbra spèras fagèva è tup.*
since SUBORD DEF.F.SG room next do.IMPF.3SG also stupid.ADJ.UNM

‘Because the room next [to ours] also behaved in a stupid way.’

698 *Sò³⁴ vajn nus sis stavju stá lò, api şaj*
so have.PRS.1PL 1PL six must.PTCP.UNM stay.INF there and be.PRS.3SG
699 *stau in’ ura da şhubargè né fá ò cul fiar né*
COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG hour to clean.INF or do.INF out with.DEF.M.SG iron or
700 *x-zatgèj luvrá palas sòras, api vajn nuş gju*
anything do.INF for.DEF.F.PL nun.PL and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM
701 *quèla gròndjuş’ idéa scha nuş ástgian cuşchiná.*
DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘Then the six of us had to stay there, and then we had to clean for one hour or iron or do something else for the nuns, and then we had that great idea [to ask] whether we were allowed to cook.’

³³Said in Swiss German.

³⁴German for *uschéja*.

702 *Gè nus*³⁵ *ástgian* *cuşchiná.*
 yes 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘And yes, we were allowed to cook.’

703 *Api èssan nuş* *i*³⁶ *ajn cuşchina, fatg pètas a*
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in kitchen.F.SG make.PTCP.UNM cake.F.PL and
 704 ... *gè* ...
 yes

‘And then we went to the kitchen, made cakes and .. yes ...’³⁷

705 *A la sèra èssan nus, stuèvan nuş èba bigj’ í ad*
 and DEF.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG go.INF at
 706 *uraş ajnta létg, nuş vajn ... fatg ju sa bigja*
 hour.F.PL in bed.M.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM 1SG know.1SG NEG
 707 *còn ditg la nòtg.*
 how long DEF.F.SG night

‘And in the evening, we went, we didn’t have to go to bed early after all, we ... were busy I don’t know how long during that night.’

708 *Pi vajn nus méz svagljárín, api èssan nus*
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm_clock.M.SG and be.PRS.1PL 1PL
 709 *las ... nòtg cu las sòras durmévan, èssan nuş*
 DEF.F.PL night.F.SG when DEF.F.PL nun.PL sleep.IMPF.3PL be.PRS.1PL 1PL
 710 *i*³⁸ *tala ... tar ina sòra, ad amplanju sé agl*
 go.PTCP.M.PL to.DEF.F.SG to INDEF.F.SG nun and fill.PTCP.UNM up DEF.M.SG
 711 *ésch cul ... ròlas da pupí da tualèta tòcan séssum, a*
 door with.DEF.M.SG roll.F.PL of paper.M.SG of toilet.F.SG until very_top and
 712 *... ina filistùca sjantar l’ outra.*
 one.F.SG prank after DEF.F.SG other

‘Then we set the alarm clock, and then we went ... at night when the nuns were sleeping we went ... to a nun and filled up the doorway with the ... rolls of toilet paper until the very top, and ... one prank after the other.’

³⁵ *Gè nus* replaces an unintelligible part.

³⁷ Here the narrator uses the masculine plural form instead of the feminine plural form. The same happens in line 710.

³⁸ *i* is a performance error for *idas*.

8 Texts

713 *Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sápián durmí òra,*
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL sleep.INF out
 714 *a lu la damaun vagnéva ina ina sòra, quèla*
 and then DEF.F.SG morning come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG nun DEM.F.SG
 715 *sòra tga vèva èba igl ésch plajn ròlas è lu*
 nun REL have.IMPF.3SG in_fact DEF.M.SG door full roll.F.PL be.PRS.3SG then
 716 *vagnida tr nus ad ò dastadau nus cun aua,*
 come.PTCP.F.SG to 1PL and have.PRS.3SG wake.PTCP.UNM 1PL with water.F.SG
 717 *sprizau aua, a ... a, i, a igl èfèct èra bigja*
 squirt.PTCP.UNM water.F.SG and and and DEF.M.SG effect be.IMPF.3SG NEG
 718 *pròpi staus, quaj è bigja stau castitg*
 really COP.PTCP.M.SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG NEG COP.PTCP.UNM punishment.M.SG
 719 *pr nus, stuaj stá quaj vèndardís, a ... gè, da quèls gags*
 for 1PL must.INF remain.INF DEM.M.SG Friday and yes of DEM.M.PL gag.PL
 720 *fagèvan nuš èba schòn.*
 make.IMPF.1PL 1PL after_all really

‘And then we thought we would have a good sleep, and then in the morning a nun came, the sister that had her door full of rolls came into our room and woke us up with water, squirted water, and, and, and there hadn’t really been any effect, this wasn’t a punishment for us, to be obliged to stay there that Friday and ... yes, we really made this sort of gags, after all.’

721 *A nuš vajn gju schi súpár.*
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super

‘And we had such a wonderful time.’

722 *Ju èr’ ùs ah, ju vèva gju ajnsasèz al*
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG now eh 1SG have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.UNM in_fact DEF.M.SG
 723 *clégj dad èssar ajn tgòmbra cun ròmòntschas.*
 luck COMP COP.INF in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL

‘I was now eh, in fact I had been lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.’

724 *A i miravan schòn in téc da métar anzjaman è ...*
 and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit COMP put.INF together also
 725 *als lungatgs, i è lu halt è tèssinèsas, álshò na,*
 DEF.M.PL language.PL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG then after_all also Ticino.F.PL well no
 726 *bétg tèssinèsas, da da Brgaglja³⁹ né da... .*
 NEG Ticino.F.PL of of PN or of

‘And in fact, they would make sure to put ... the languages together, there are after all also girls from the Canton of Ticino, well, no, not from the Ticino, from from the Bregaglia or from ...’

- 727 *Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^hau anzjaman a las*
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and DEF.F.PL
 728 *ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg*
 Romansh..PL or DEF.F.PL German..PL or also of.DEF.M.SG village
 729 *matévani schòn in téc anzjaman.*
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together

‘Look! these Italians ⁴⁰ were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’

- 730 *Ûsa quaj cò èra halt ramòntschas. Gè. A lu*
 now DEM.UNM here COP.IMPF.3SG well Romansh.F.PL yes and then
 731 *ajni-*
 COP.PRS.3PL.3PL

‘Well, now these [students] here were Romansh-speaking women. Yes. And then they are-’

- 732 *PhM: Danunder eran ellas?*
 from_where COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘PhM: Where were they from?’

- 733 *f6: Ina da Lacs, ad ina da Sagògn.*
 one.F.SG from PN and one.F.SG from PN

‘One from Laax and one from Sagogn.’

- 734 *Ad èlas duas ábar ancùnuschévan ... in’ l’ outra ad ju*
 and 3AUN.F two.F.PL but know.IMPF.3PL one.F.SG DEF.F.SG other and 1SG
 735 *lu halt bégja.*
 then in_fact NEG

‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn’t.’

- 736 *A ... api parví dal ròmòntsch èri a Cazis scha ...*
 and and because of.DEF.M.SG Romansh COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN if
 737 *a ... nus astgèvan bégja raşdá ròmòntsch, inş*
 and 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR

³⁹The Valle Bregaglia is one of the Italian-speaking valleys of the canton of the Grisons.

⁴⁰Italians and Germans: Italian- and German-speaking young women from the Grisons.

8 Texts

738 *vèş gè savju dá la bùca şur dlas*
 have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over of.DEF.F.PL
 739 *sòras.*
 nun.PL

‘And ... and as for Romansh, in Cazas it was if ..., and ... we were not allowed to speak Romansh, as a matter of fact one could have made derisive remarks about the nuns.’

740 *Nus stèvan raşdá ... tudèstg.*
 1PL must.IMPF.1PL speak.INF German.M.SG

‘We were obliged to speak German.’

741 *A lu ábar cu nuş èran p̃rsulas raşdavan nus*
 and then but when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL alone.F.PL speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 742 *naturálmajn ròmqntsch.*
 of_course Romansh.M.SG

‘But then, when we were alone, we would of course speak Romansh.’

743 *A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida*
 and SUBORD lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at_of
 744 *majşa, scha stuèvan tùt quèla- nuş ròmqntschas raşdá*
 table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL speak.INF
 745 *tudèstg.*
 German.M.SG

‘And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we, the Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.’

746 *Lu vèvan nuş anflau òra scha nus rassarvassan, nus*
 then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL reserve.COND.1PL 1PL
 747 *vèvan ina, ina ... tèscha da sarvjèta, a quèla*
 have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG bag of napkin.F.SG and DEM.F.SG
 748 *mavan nuş a rassarvavan, ábar matèvan quèla tèscha schòn*
 go.IMPF.1PL 1PL and reserve.IMPF.1PL but put.IMPF.1PL DEM.F.SG bag already
 749 *lò nùca nus lèvan séjšar, api vèvan nuş anflau*
 there REL.LOC 1PL want.IMPF.1PL sit.INF and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM
 750 *òra scha nus mqndian a séjšian spèr la sòr' Andréa,*
 out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.F.SG nun PN
 751 *lèza savèva ròmqntsch.*
 DEM.F.SG know.IMPF.3SG Romansh.M.SG

‘Then we found out [that], if we reserved, we had a, a napkin bag, and with this we used to go and reserve, but we used to put that bag already where we wanted to sit, and then we found out that if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh.’

752 *Scha nus séjšian sin lèza majša, ástgian nus*
 if 1PL sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL ON DEM.F.SG table be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL
 753 *rašdá ramòntsch, stuèvan bgja rašdá tudèstg.*
 speak.1PL Romansh.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF German.M.SG

‘If we sat at that table, we would be allowed to speak Romansh, we weren’t obliged to speak German.’

754 *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,*
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG
 755 *mavanş ajn şala da magljè, prandèvan nòssa ... sarvjèta,*
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG ATTR eat.INF take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin
 756 *matévan sé nùca la sòr’ Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus*
 put.IMPF.1PL up where DEF.F.SG nun PN and then be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 757 *rašdá 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.’

758 *Má tg’ èla capéva gè nus.*
 since SUBORD 3SG.F understand.IMPF.3SG in_fact 1SG

‘Because, in fact, she understood us.’

759 *Ábar lu, lèza rašdava lu èxtra è ramòntsch cun*
 but then DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then on_purpose also Romansh.M.SG with
 760 *nus.*
 1PL

‘But then, on purpose, she would also speak Romansh with us.’

761 *Ábar la, qu’ èra la majša séssum a*
 but DEF.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG table on_very_top and
 762 *vèvan adin’ ina sòra séssum.*
 have.IMPF.1PL always INDEF.F.SG nun on_very_top

‘But the, that was the table at the very top and we always had a nun at the very top.’

- 763 *A lu las majšas gè drètg a saniastar capévan bigja*
and then DEF.F.PL table.PL yes right and left understand.IMPF.3PL NEG
764 *la sòra a capévan bigja nus.*
DEF.F.SG nun and understand.IMPF.3PL NEG 1PL

‘And then the tables, yes, right and left wouldn’t understand the nun and wouldn’t understand us.’

- 765 *Ábar nuš astgèvan lu rašdá ramòntsch.*
but 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL then speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

‘But then we were allowed to speak Romansh.’

- 766 *A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan rašdá*
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL speak.INF
767 *ramòntsch.*
Romansh.M.SG

‘And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh there.’

- 768 *Ad ál saminar ... rašdavan nus simplamajn, lò*
and at.DEF.M.SG training_college speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there
769 *šchèvani schòn «Tüütsch reedä»⁴¹, gè gè.*
say.IMPF.3PL.3PL all_right German speak.INF yes yes

‘And at the training college we simply spoke, there they would say «Speak German!», yes yes.’

- 770 *A lu vèvan nus tar ina scòlâsta, quèla vèva*
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL by INDEF.F.SG teacher DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG
771 *in U ... als bauns, api èr’ ins giù ajn quaj*
INDEF.M.SG U DEF.M.PL bench.PL and COP.IMPF.3SG GNR down in DEM.M.SG
772 *cantún cò tùt las ròmonschas, plus quèla da Mésòcò.⁴²*
corner here all DEF.F.PL Romansh.F.PL plus DEM.F.SG of PN

‘And then we had a teacher, she had formed a U ... with the benches, and all the Romansh students were down in that corner, plus the one from Mesocco.’

⁴¹Said in Swiss German.

⁴²Mesocco is a village in one of the Italian speaking valleys of the Grisons.

773 *A cò vagnéva raşdau mù ròmonscht.*
and here PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM only Romansh.M.SG

‘And here only Romansh was spoken.’

774 *Èla raşdava talján tga nus capévan, ad èla*
3SG.F speak.IMPF.3SG Italian.M.SG REL 1PL understand.IMPF.1PL and 3SG.F
775 *capéva ábar è nus ròmonschtas, quaj vagnéva*
understand.IMPF.3SG but also 1PL Romansh.F.PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
776 *raşdau cò ajn quaj cantún mù ròmonscht.*
speak.PTCP.UNM here in DEM.M.SG corner only Romansh.M.SG

‘She spoke Italian, which we understood, but she also understood us, the Romansh speaking students, in that corner only Romansh was spoken.’

777 *Ábar lò èri lu èngjadinèsas, sursilvanas, surmiranas,*
and there COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then Engadine.F.PL Sursilvan.F.PL Surmiran.F.PL
778 *api èba aun la, la Mirta da ... da talján.*
and precisely also DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG PN of of Italian.M.SG

‘But there were then students from the Engadine, from the Surselva, from Surmeir and also Mirta ... from the Italian [speaking part of the Grisons].’

779 *Ad na, aun ina, ina da Bívjò, a lèza capéva*
and no still one.F.SG one.F.SG of PN and DEM.F.SG understand.IMPF.3SG
780 *talján.*
Italian.M.SG

‘And no, there still was another one, one from Bivio, and she understood Italian.’

781 *A lu vèva lèza hald èra, lèza raşdava lu*
and then have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG simply also DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then
782 *anstagl tudèstg talján, a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi*
instead_of German.M.SG Italian.M.SG and then have.IMPF.1PL 1SG here really
783 *in cantún tga vagnéva mù raşdau ròmonscht.*
INDEF.M.SG corner REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.M.SG

‘And then that one also had, instead of speaking German she spoke Italian, and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh was spoken.’

784 *A la scòlâsta capéva halt nuét.*
and DEF.F.SG teacher understand.IMPF.3SG simply nothing

‘And the teacher wouldn’t understand anything.’

8 Texts

785 *Ábar quaj ò la maj dumignau da fá*
 but DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F never manage.PTCP.UNM COMP make.INF
 786 *rašdá lu nus ...*
 speak.INF then 1PL

‘But she has never been able to have us speak ...’

787 *Alšò clar, a al’ instrucziún rašdavan nus gè schòn*
 well clear.M.SG at at.DEF.F.SG teaching speak.IMP.F.1PL 1PL of_course in_fact
 788 *tudèstg.*
 German.M.SG

‘Well evidently, during teaching we would speak German, of course.’

789 *Ábar simplamajn nus djantar nus rašdavan ...*
 but simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL among 1PL speak.IMP.F.1PL

‘But among ourselves we simply spoke ...’

790 *Ad è ajn ajn, ju a atgnamajn adina gju còtáct⁴³*
 and also in in 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually always have.PTCP.UNM contact
 791 *còlégas ròmonschas, usché quaj tjamš da da ... da saminar.*
 colleague.F.PL Romansh.PL so DEM.M.SG time of of of training_college

‘And also in in, actually I always had contact [with] Romansh colleagues, during that time of the training college.’

792 [PhM] *Aber è cun engjadinesas?*
 but also with Engadine.F.PL

‘But also with [students] from the Engadine?’

793 [f6] *Gè gè. Ábar rašdavan adina ròmonsch.*
 yes yes but speak.IMP.F.1PL always Romansh.M.SG

‘Yes, yes. But we always spoke Romansh.’

794 *Ál’ antschata cu té capèschas aun bigja*
 at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG
 795 *quèls ... curjòs plajds tg’ èls òn, stòs halt*
 DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL must.PRS.2SG.GNR just
 796 *dumandá: «Hèj, tgéj vuta quaj dí?» Api diani tgéj,*
 ask.INF hey what want.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM say.INF and say.PRS.3PL.3PL what

⁴³The preposition *cun* ‘with’ is missing.

797 *api lu l' autr' jèda cu quaj plajd végn,*
 and then DEF.F.SG other time when DEM.M.SG word come.PRS.3SG
 798 *saş gè, né ál còntèxt capèschas gè*
 know.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all or in.DEF.M.SG context understand.2SG.GNR after_all
 799 *lu èra tgéj ca vut dí, gè.*
 then also what REL want.PRS.3SG say.INF yes

‘At the beginning when you don’t understand yet those ... strange words they use, you must just ask: «Hey, what does this mean?» And then they say what [it means], and the next time this word occurs [again], you know after all, or by the context you then understand what it means.’

800 *La sèra astgèvas í in téc a spas,*
 DEF.F.SG evening be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit to walk.M.SG
 801 *quaj vuta dí navèn dla tgèsa*
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF away of.DEF.F.SG house
 802 *astgèvas í ò tòcan quèla via tòca la*
 be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF out until DEM.F.SG street until DEF.F.SG
 803 *latjarna a lu stèvas samaná anavùs.*
 lantern and then must.IMPF.2SG.GNR turn_over.INF back

‘In the evening you were allowed to go for a little walk, this means away from the house until that street, until the lantern, and then you had to go back.’

804 *Quaj fùs stau tupira par mè da stuaj*
 DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupid.ELAT for 1SG COMP must.INF
 805 *raşdá ajn tgòmbra cun tshèlas ròmonschas ... tudèstg.*
 speak.INF in room.F.SG with DEM.F.PL Romansh.PL German.M.SG

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

806 *Quaj è scù ju détsch, cun mias buébas scha ju*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG as 1SG say.PRS.1SG with POSS.1SG.F.PL girl.PL if 1SG
 807 *stuès ùsa, è sch’ju stès ála bassa.*
 must.COND.1SG now also if 1SG stay.COND.1SG in.DEF.F.SG lowlands

‘This is as I say, with my daughters if I now should, even if I lived outside the Grisons.’

808 *Ad ju scù muma stès ùsa raşdá cun èlas tudèstg,*
 and 1SG as mother.F.SG must.COND.1SG now speak.INF with 3PL.F German.M.SG
 809 *quaj fùs schi jastar.⁴⁴*
 DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG so strange.ADJ.UNM

‘And I, as a mother, should I now speak German with them, this would be so strange.’

- 810 *Al lungatg ... car, álšò quaj tgi té, quaj*
 DEF.M.SG language dear.ADJ.M.SG well DEM.UNM REL 2SG.GNR DEM.UNM
- 811 *hèrzic, né, quaj è al lungatg-mùma,*
 cute.ADJ.M.SG right DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG language.M.SG-mother.F.SG
- 812 *a té sas tòh bgja rašdá ... cun in ufaun*
 and 2SG.GNR can.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all NEG speak.INF with INDEF.M.SG child
- 813 *... sin tudèstg a fá, álšò sch' i è in ufaun*
 on German.M.SG and do.INF well if EXPL COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG child
- 814 *tudèstg sa ju gè è fá quaj, ábar lu šè*
 German can.PRS.1SG 1SG after_all also do.INF DEM.UNM but then COP.PRS.3SG
- 815 *quaj bigja mju, quaj è gè bgja mju*
 DEM.UNM NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG after_all NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG
- 816 *cùr ni mju ... mia carèzja tgu stù dá*
 heart or POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.INF
- 817 *da quèlas.*
 DAT DEM.F.PL

‘The dear ... language, well the language you, the cute one, right?, this is the mother tongue, and you really cannot speak German ... with a child ... and do, well if it is a German-speaking child, I can of course do that, but then it is not mine, this is of course not my heart or my ... my love that I have to give them.’

8.5 La détga da la Plata dl barlòt

The legend of the slab of sorcery

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 3'10”

- 818 *La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.*
 DEF.F.SG slab of.DEF.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PN

‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’

⁴⁴According to some consultants, the form *jastar* should be replaced by *iastar*.

819 *A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònda plata, è*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big slab also
 820 *ina bjala, şhaj bégn ála pastira, a da quèla*
 INDEF.F.SG beautiful lie.PRS.3SG well in.DEF.F.SG pastureland and of DEM.F.SG
 821 *òns naturálmajn ... quasi stavju ... vagní cun*
 have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost must.PTCP.UNM come.INF with
 822 *ina détga.*
 INDEF.F.SG legend

‘And this really is a ... very big slab, also a beautiful one, lies well in the pasture-land, and of this slab, one of course had to ... come up with a legend.’

823 *A la détga raquénta ... tga las stréjas dl Caschlè tg'*
 and DEF.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL DEF.M.SG PN REL
 824 *èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt vágian*
 COP.IMPF.3PL up here and do.IMPF.3PL sorcery have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 825 *trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin⁴⁵ in fil-sajda ... navèn*
 carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.SG thread-silk.F.SG away
 826 *dal Culmatsch vi a ... ajn quaj ljuc sila alp*
 from.DEF.M.SG PN over and into DEM.M.SG place on.DEF.F.SG alp
 827 *amiaz al Caschlè.*
 in_the_midst_of DEF.M.SG PN

‘And the legend says ... that the witches of the Caschlè who were up there and used to do sorcery had carried this slab on a ... silk thread ... away from the Culmatsch and ... into the pasture in the midst of the Caschlè.’

828 *A quèla, quèla plata è è è pròpi,*
 and DEM.F.SG DEM.F.SG slab COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG really
 829 *şhaj bégn ajn plat, qu' è ina pulita*
 lie.PRS.3SG well in flat.M.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG huge
 830 *surfatscha, a sèn quèla plata ... végnan las, vagnévan*
 surface and on DEM.F.SG slab come.PRS.3PL DEF.F.PL come.IMPF.3PL
 831 *las stréjas né végnan fòrsa aun adina ... da nòtg, a ...*
 DEF.F.PL witch.PL or come.PRS.3PL maybe still always of night and
 832 *fòn al barlòt ad òravauntùt sáutani.*
 do.PRS.3PL DEF.M.SG sorcery and above_all dance.PRS.3PL.3PL

⁴⁵ *Sin* instead of *sén*, see also *sila* instead of *séla* l. 826.

‘And that, that slab is is is really - lies perfectly even, this is a huge surface, and on this slab ... the witches come, used to come or still come... at night and do sorcery and they dance above all.’

- 833 *A dad ina vart da la plata saj ajn usché*
and of INDEF.F.SG side of DEF.F.SG slab EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL in so
- 834 *in, in in pin scaf ad ajn quaj*
INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG little.M.SG footprint and in DEM.M.SG
- 835 *scaf tégna⁴⁶ al musicant al paj ad aut cu ‘l*
footprint hold.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG musician DEF.M.SG foot to high when 3SG.M
- 836 *végn a suná la gégja, a quaj scaf vèz’*
come.PRS.3SG SUBORD play DEF.F.SG violin and DEM.M.SG footprint see.PRS.3SG
- 837 *inş èra.*
GNR also

‘And on one side of the slab there is a kind of a, a a small footprint and in this footprint the musician holds up his foot when he comes in order to play the violin, and you can also see this footprint.’

- 838 *A lu, sch’ inş vò sé a, a raquénta quèla détga*
and then if GNR go.PRS.3SG up and and tell.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG legend
- 839 *dals ufaunts né dals scòlars scha, quaj fò*
DAT.DEF.M.PL child.PL OR DAT.DEF.M.PL pupil.PL CORR DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG
- 840 *naturálmajn imprèsjun a ... ad èls a, vèzan, lura*
natural.M.SG.ADV impression.F.SG and and 3PL.M and see.PRS.3PL then
- 841 *sòn simaginá quaj.*
can.PRS.3PL REFL.imagine.INF DEM.UNM

‘And then, if one goes up and, and tells this legend to the children or to the pupils, then, this impresses them and ... and they and, see [it], then they can imagine it.’

- 842 *A lu, als pasturs tg’ èran sé cò cun stjarlas*
and then DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL up here with calf.F.PL
- 843 *vèvan adin’ in téc problèms cula, culs ...*
have.IMPF.3PL always INDEF.M.SG bit problem.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG DEF.M.PL
- 844 *cul barlòt da las stjarlas⁴⁷ adina a a da qué*
DEF.M.SG sorcery of DEF.F.PL calf.PL always and and of DEM.UNM

⁴⁶*Tégna* is a performance error for *tégn*.

845 *vagnéva è raquintau da quaj a da tschaj a ... las*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG also tell.ptcp.unm of DEM.UNM and of DEM.UNM and 3PL.F
 846 *disturbian è èls, ah, dl partgirá, quaj*
 disturb.PRS.SBJV.3PL also 3PL.M eh of.DEF.M.SG look_after.INF DEM.UNM
 847 *dèva lu difarèntas istòrjas.*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG then different.F.PL story.PL

‘And the herdsmen who were up there with one year old female calves had always problems with the, with the ... with the sorcery of the calves [witches], always, and people would also tell this and that about this and ... they would hinder them from looking after [the animals], and there were different stories about that.’

848 *A lu prquaj vèvani clumau lu in’ jèda*
 and then therefore have.IMPF.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM then one.F.SG time
 849 *al, gl aucségnar, al plavòn da Sadrún da vagní*
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG priest DEF.M.SG parish_priest of PN COMP come.INF
 850 *sé a banadí òra la plata par tga, tga quèlas stréas*
 up and bless.INF out DEF.F.SG rock SUBORD COMP COMP DEM.F.PL witch.PL
 851 *dètjan⁴⁸ in’ jèda ruaus, a la banadiczjun, lèza*
 give.PRS.SBJV.3PL one.F.SG time rest.M.SG and DEF.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG
 852 *vèva plé bjè fòrza sélas stréjas.*
 have.IMPF.3SG much more power.F.SG on.DEF.F.PL witch.PL

‘And therefore they had once called the, the priest, the parish priest from Sedrun in order to bless the slab so those witches, so they would for once leave them in peace, and the blessing had much more power over the witches.’

853 *A quèl ... aucségnar ò lu banadjú òra ... la*
 and DEM.M.SG priest have.PRS.3SG then bless.PTCP.UNM out DEF.F.SG
 854 *plata a vigljantau naturálmajn tras quaj las stréjas,*
 slab and upset.PTCP.UNM natural.M.SG.ADV through DEM.UNM DEF.F.PL witch.PL
 855 *clar.*
 for_sure

‘This ... priest blessed ... the slab and doing so he of course upset the witches, for sure.’

⁴⁷ *Stjarlas* ‘one year old female beef’ instead of *stréjas* ‘witches’.

⁴⁸ Unclear part, replaced by *dètjan*.

8 Texts

856 *A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximş unvjarns ...*
 and then DEF.M.SG next one of.DEF.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
 857 *òì dau ina grònda navada, qu'*
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG big snowfall DEM.UNM
 858 *è stau gl òn mili a ... a sjat tschian*
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG year thousand and and seven hundred
 859 *a tauns, quaj è stau la lavina da,*
 and so_many.M.PL DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG avalanche of
 860 *la lavina da ... Ruèras, ju sa bé tgé òn quaj*
 DEF.F.SG avalanche of PN 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG which year DEM.UNM
 861 *èra, mili a sjat tschian a tònş şè*
 COP.IMPF.3SG thousand and seven hundred and so_many.M.PL be.PRS.3SG.EXPL
 862 *stau, mili a sjat tschian òtgònta.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM thousand and seven hundred eighty

‘And then the next, one of the next winters ... there was a big snowfall, this was in 1700 and something, this was the avalanche of ... the avalanche of ... Rueras, I don’t know which year this was, it was in 1700 and something, in 1780.’

863 *Qu' è dOCUMENTAU, gljèz è, abr al dátum*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG document.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM also but DEM.M.SG date
 864 *sau ùssa bétg.*
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG now NEG

‘This is documented, this too, but the date I don’t know now.’

865 *Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònda lavina ... a*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche and
 866 *vèva ... destruí ina grònda part dl vitg*
 have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part of.DEF.M.SG village
 867 *ajntadém Ruèras ... a vèv' è dau mòrts, ad i*
 uppermost PN and have.IMPF.3SG also EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL and 3PL
 868 *vèvan dau ... naturálmajn alarm è ò Sadrún.*
 have.IMPF.3PL give.PTCP.UNM natural.M.SG.ADV alarm.M.SG also down PN

‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and had ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras ... and people died, and, of course, they had ... also sounded the alarm down in Sedrun.’

869 *A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è saméz sén*
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on

870 *via par í ajnta Ruèras a purtà agit a dá*
 way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF
 871 *sògn jéli né al davùs sacramèn tga dèvan da quels ...*
 holy.M.SG oil or DEF.M.SG last sacrament REL give.IMP.F.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL
 872 *mòribùnds, basta, agl aucségnar végn atrás ... Zarcúns a*
 dying.PL enough DEF.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through PN and
 873 *lu auda 'l las stréjas sé cò, séssum la val da*
 then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost DEF.F.SG valley of
 874 *l' Òndadusa òni clumau:*
 DEF.F.SG PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM

‘And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing or the Holy Sacrament they would give to those ... dying people. Well, the priest comes through Zarcuns and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Ondadusa valley.’

875 *«Al végn, agl aucségnar, da Sadrún!*
 3SG.M come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG priest from PN

‘«He comes, the priest, from Sedrun.’

876 *Ad òz ò 'l bégja sé la plauna ... antùrn al*
 and today have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG up DEF.F.SG chasuble around DEF.M.SG
 877 *culiaz.*
 neck

‘And today he doesn’t have the chasuble around his neck.’

878 *Òz shè 'l bgja schurmagjaj,⁴⁹ stuschaj la*
 today COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG protect.PTCP.M.PL push.IMP.2PL DEF.F.SG
 879 *lavina!»*
 avalanche

‘Today he is not protected, push the avalanche!’

880 *Ad ajnaquèla ... šaj sadèrs ... ina grònda*
 and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge
 881 *lavina gjù da la val l' Òndadusa, gjù ancùntar*
 avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley DEF.F.SG PN down towards

⁴⁹ *Schurmagjaj* is a performance error for *schurmagjaus*.

8 Texts

882 *al vitg, ni l vitgèt, gl uclaun da, da Zarcúns, a*
 DEF.M.SG village OR DEF.M.SG village.DIM DEF.M.SG hamlet of of PN and
 883 *gl aucségnar è pròpi vagnuș ála lavina,*
 DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG into.DEF.F.SG avalanche
 884 *ad è ... staus mòrts, usché tga las stréaș*
 and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG dead.M.SG so COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL
 885 *òn ... fatg vandètga cugl aucségnar da Sadrún.*
 have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG priest of PN

‘And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from the Ondadusa valley, down towards the village, or the small village, the hamlet of Zarcuns, and the priest really was engulfed by the avalanche and was ... dead, so that the witches got their revenge on the priest of Sedrun.’

886 *A vid quèla tgèsa dals Schmits șaj aun sé*
 and at DEM.F.SG house of.DEF.M.PL Schmit.PL COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL still up
 887 *quèla crusch tga ragòrda vi da quèla dișgrazja ajnta Ruèras,*
 DEM.F.SG CROSS REL remind.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG tragedy in PN
 888 *ajn, ajn Zarcúns, gè.*
 in in PN yes

‘And on that house of the Schmid family there still is this cross that reminds of that tragedy in Rueras, in, in Zarcuns, yes.’

889 *Ábar quaj fò lu imprasjún quèla, l’ Òndadusa*
 but DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG then impression.F.SG DEM.F.SG DEF.F.SG PN
 890 *cu las stréas òn stuschau gjùdòra.*
 when DEF.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL push.PTCP.UNM down_out

‘But this impresses [people], that, the Ondadusa when the witches pushed [the avalanche] down the valley.’

891 *A fòrsa fòni vinavaun barlòt.*
 and maybe do.PRS.3PL.3PL still sorcery

‘And maybe they keep doing sorcery.’

8.6 Scua á ajn scùla

Sweeping in school

(Tuatschín, Sèlva, f2, aged 79)

Recorded 2016/06/08 in Sedrun

Duration 1'

- 892 *Nuș vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu' è*
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 893 *dadajns Sèlva, api èri è adina duas buébas tga*
 in_interior PN and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also always two.F.PL girl.PL REL
 894 *vèvan da scua.*
 have.IMPF.3PL to sweep.INF

'We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva, and there were also always two girls who had to sweep.'

- 895 *Navé, las sèras las quátar èri, qu'*
 right? DEF.F.PL afternoon.PL DEF.F.PL four EXIST.IMPF.EXPL DEM.UNM
 896 *èra, qu' èra nagín ah, cò dinș,*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.M.SG ah how say.PRS.3SG.GNR
 897 *in padèl, vèvan mintg' jamna duas buébas da fá.*
 INDEF.M.SG caretaker have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG week two.F.PL girl.PL to do.INF

'Right? In the afternoon at four o'clock, there was no ah, how does one say? no caretaker, every week two girls had to do [that].'

- 898 *Api plénangjú, èri gl unviarn, qu' èra*
 and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG winter DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
 899 *baghétgs aun, ad èra prvasèdars ... ad in ...*
 building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL and INDEF.M.SG
 900 *quèl vèv' adina sch' l vagnév' ò sé la*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG always if 3SG.M come.IMPF.3SG out on DEF.F.SG
 901 *pòrta-clavau, a vasèva nus, schèva l:*
 door.F.SG-barn.M.SG and see.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M

'And down there, it was winter, there still were buildings [there], and there were men who would feed the animals, and one, this one had always, when he came out of the barn, staying in the doorway and saw us, he would say:'

8 Texts

902 «*Tatlaj!* *Laş* *òndas*, *laş* *òlmaş* *dian* ... *rusari*
listen.IMP.2PL DEF.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL rosary.M.SG
903 *gjàn* *basèlgja.*»
down_in church.F.SG

‘«Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’

904 *A nus tumévan*, *a schèvan* *dá* *quèlas* *scúaş* *a da*
and 1PL be.afraid.IMP.1PL and let.IMP.1PL give.INF DEM.F.SG broom.PL and of
905 *quaj*, *quaj* *è* *in* *crèst*, *a da quaj* *crès[t]*
DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG hill and from DEM.M.SG hill
906 *gjà* *a tgèsa.*
down to home.F.SG

‘And we were afraid and would let these brooms and so on fall down, this is a hill, and from this hill [we would run] down until home.’

907 *Sagir quaj* *fagèv’* *adin’ in’* *impramasjun*⁵⁰ *cu* *quèl*
sure DEM.UNM make.IMP.3SG always DEF.F.SG impression when DEM.M.SG
908 *antschavèv’* *ajn cun séjs* *spérts a tèt quaj* *tg’*
begin.IMP.3SG in with POSS.3SG.M.PL spirit.PL and all DEM.UNM REL
909 *èra.*
EXIST.IMP.3SG

‘For sure, this made always an impression when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.’

910 *Quaj èra* *in’ jèda* ... *brutal* *tiar nus*, *bèn-bèn.*
DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG one.F time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL RED~really

‘Once it was terrible among us, really.’

911 *Api schèvan* *aj èba* *in* *tg’ è* *mòrts* *tga*
and say.IMP.3PL 3PL precisely one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG REL
912 *vègn* *a métar als*, *als* *tjarms* ... *la*
come.PRS.3SG SUBORD put.INF DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL DEF.F.SG
913 *nòtg parquaj tga* *cu ‘l è* *vavjus*, *vèv’*
night because SUBORD when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG live.PTCP.M.SG have.IMP.3SG
914 *èl méz* *èls ajn in* *autar ljuc.*
3SG.M put.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M in INDEF.M.SG other place

⁵⁰Performance error for *imprèsjun*.

‘And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who had died came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night – because when it [*al prau* ‘the field’] was sold – he had put them in another place.’

- 915 *Ad ùs stù l bunamajn vagní a métar èls;*
and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF SUBORD put.INF 3PL.M
- 916 *quaj è tût, lajn dí, fantasia, ábar cu nus*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all IMP.1PL say.INF fantasy.F.SG but when 1PL
- 917 *èran afòns, nus cartévan ad ju fùş ina*
COP.IMPF.1PL child.PL 1PL believe.IMPF.1PL and 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG
- 918 *sèra maj id’ ò da tgèşa la sèra da stgir.*
evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of home.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening of dark.ADJ.UNM

‘And now he must really come and put them [in the right place]; this is all, let’s say, fantasy, but when we were children we would believe [that], but I would never have left home in the evening when it was dark.’

- 919 *Gnanc gjùn tschalè, nus tumévan schi fétg.*
not_even down_in cellar.M.SG 1PL be_afraid.IMPF.1PL so much

‘Not even down to the cellar, we were so very afraid.’

8.7 Als méls

The mules

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m10, aged 74)

Recorded 2017/11/02 in Sedrun

Duration 9’

- 920 *Bian, mju bap èra ... staus da*
good.ADJ.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG father be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG of
- 921 *malitèr tials òrdònanzs dad òficiars, a vèva*
military_service.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL orderly.PL of officer.M.PL and have.IMPF.3SG
- 922 *... raquintava savèns tg’ èls vèvan da şchùbargè als*
tell.IMPF.3SG often COMP 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL to clean.INF DEF.M.PL
- 923 *tgavals ... dals òficiars.*
horse.PL of.DEF.M.PL officer.PL

‘Well, my father had been serving in the army with the orderlies of officers, and had ... would often tell that they had to clean the horses ... of the officers.’

8 Texts

924 *A quaj èr' in bi survètsch ad èl*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG beautiful service and 3SG.M
 925 *vèva in spazjal⁵¹ ... afèczjun pals tgavals.*
 have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG special affection.F.SG for.DEF.M.PL horse.PL

‘And this was a nice service and he had a special ... affection for the horses.’

926 *A lu raquintava l' è tg' èl vèva ... cunquaj tg'*
 and then tell.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M also COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG since SUBORD
 927 *èl èra ... fòrsa staus ah da malitèr tials*
 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG ah of army.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL
 928 *tgavals, né gju da fá cùn tgavals, scha ... vèv'*
 horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF with horse.M.PL CORR have.IMPF.3SG
 929 *èl ... cumprau in asan, álso in mél, bitg*
 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG donkey this_is INDEF.M.SG mule NEG
 930 *in asan, in mél.*
 INDEF.M.SG donkey INDEF.M.SG mule

‘And then he used to tell [me] that he had ... since in the army he had maybe been with the horses, or had to do with horses, then ... he had bought a donkey, that is to say a mule, not a donkey, a mule.’

931 *Als méls èran, qu' èra ... fèrm ...*
 DEF.M.PL mule.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
 932 *fèrms tiarş ad èl duvrava quaj mél pr trá,*
 strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD pull.INF
 933 *par trá lèna sé da Cavòrgja.*
 SUBORD pull.INF wood.COLL up from PN

‘The mules were, these were in fact ... strong ... strong animals and he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’

934 *Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn uaul⁵²*
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL often down_in PN here from DEM.M.SG big forest
 935 *vagnéva bjè lèna.*
 come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL

‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’

⁵¹In *spazjal* is a performance error for *ina spazjala*.

⁵²*Uaul* is Standard Sursilvan for *uaut*.

936 *A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a trèvan*
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG winter down_in PN and pull.IMPF.3PL
 937 *sé lèna cùs méls.*
 up wood.COLL with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

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

938 *A lura ah ... raqintav’ èl adina dal, dal mél.*
 and then eh tell.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG mule

‘And then ah ... he would always talk about, about the mule.’

939 *Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah gè ju*
 and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah yes 1SG
 940 *vès è ugèn ampríu d’ ancanùschar quaj*
 have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP know.INF DEM.M.SG
 941 *mél, ábar ju ... sùn halt naschjus mèmja tart.*
 mule but 1SG be.PRS.1SG just be_born.PTCP.M.SG too late

‘And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very much liked to get to know this mule, but I was just born too late.’

942 *Api ah, va ju al, cu ju a ... ah, cu*
 and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.M.SG when 1SG have.PRS.1SG eh when
 943 *mju bap ò calau da fá ’l pur,*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
 944 *scha va ju, ju gidav’ adina èl avaun a fá*
 CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1SG help.IMPF.1SG always 3SG.M before SUBORD do.INF
 945 *’l pur.*
 DEF.M.SG farmer

‘And ah I have, when I have ... eh, when my father stopped working as a farmer, I have, I always helped him before with farming.’

946 *A lu cu èl ò calau da fá ’l pur,*
 and then when 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
 947 *a vajn, va ju vandju laş, cu èl*
 and have.PRS.1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL when 3SG.M
 948 *ò vandju laş vacas, scha ... va ju*
 have.PRS.3SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG

8 Texts

949 *détg dad èl, a scha ... èl ò lu fatg*
 say.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and if 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM
 950 *vès da vèndar in pau ah ... al múval.*
 difficult COMP sell.INF INDEF.M.SG little eh DEF.M.SG cattle.M.SG

‘And then, when he stopped working, and we have, I sold the, when he sold the cows, ... I told him, and if ... it was then a bit difficult for him to sell ... cattle.’

951 *A lu ... va ju détg a scha ... salv’ ju vinavaun*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG say.PTCP.UNM and if keep.1SG 1SG still
 952 *als prauş api fagjajn nus sé nùrsas, cumprajn nus*
 DEF.M.PL meadow.PL and do.PRS.1PL 1PL up sheep.F.PL buy.PRS.1PL 1PL
 953 *nùrsas ad ju fètsch, fètsch al ... pur da nùrsas*
 sheep.F.PL and 1SG make.PRS.1SG make.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG farmer of sheep.F.PL
 954 *in pau.*
 INDEF.M.SG little

‘And then I said and if ... I’ll go on keeping the meadows and we breed sheep, we buy sheep and I work as a ... as a sheep farmer a bit.’

955 *A lu va ju fatg al pur a lu*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer and then
 956 *bagajjau ina, ina stala nòva plaunşjú, api ah ...*
 build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG sheepfold new slowly and eh
 957 *va ju, ah, aun adina gju tschafan da, dals*
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG eh still always have.PTCP.UNM pleasure of of.DEF.M.PL
 958 *méls, aun adina patartgau mintgataun, ad in’ jèda*
 mule.PL still always think.PTCP.UNM sometimes and one.F.SG time
 959 *va ju cumprau in mél.*
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG mule

‘And then I worked as a farmer and slowly built a new sheepfold and ah ... I have, eh still liked mules, and still thought [about them] from time to time, and once I bought a mule.’

960 *Api ah ... va ju cumprau gl amprém mù in, a*
 and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG first only one.M.SG and
 961 *şjantar va ju ... cumprau in zacùn.*
 after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG second

‘And ah ... at first I bought only one, but afterwards I ... bought a second [one].’

962 *A lu va ju gju ... difarènts, ju savès*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL 1SG can.COND.1SG
 963 *raquintá bjè avanamajnts tgu a gju cùn*
 tell.INF many incident.M.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with
 964 *quèls méls.*
 DEM.M.PL mule

‘And then I’ve had ... different, I could recount many incidents I’ve had with these mules.’

965 *Quèls fagèvan, i èra flòts tiars, nuş vajn*
 DEM.M.PL do.IMPF.3PL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG smart.M.PL animal.PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 966 *par èxèmpal ah fatg ah, ina tura ... da sauma,*
 for instance.M.SG eh make.PTCP.UNM eh INDEF.F.SG tour of bridle.F.SG
 967 *àlşò vèvan nus mèz sé ... las valişçaş dals*
 therefore have.IMPF.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM up DEF.F.PL suitcase.PL of.DEF.M.PL
 968 *hòşps.*
 guest.PL

‘These used to do, they were smart animals, for instance we took a trip with the bridled mules, therefore we had put up [on the mules] ... the suitcases of the guests.’

969 *A lu èşşan nus staj in’ jèda navèn da Mustajr tòcan*
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL one.F.SG time away from PN until
 970 *ád Acquarossa cùn ... cùn quèls méls, àlşò àlşò lu fatg*
 to PN with with DEM.M.PL mule.PL well well then make.PTCP.UNM
 971 *étápaş a mintg’ jèda durmjju ajls, ajn ajn in*
 leg.F.PL and each time.F.SG sleep.PTCP.UNM in.DEF.M.PL in in INDEF.M.SG
 972 *hòtèl.*
 hotel

‘And then we went once from Mustér to Acquarossa with ... with these mules, well well, [we did it in] stages and each time [we] slept in the, in in a hotel.’

973 *A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tût fatg a*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM and
 974 *racògnòszau avaun tg’ ins savèva nua inş*
 reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before SUBORD GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR
 975 *vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da métar ah şur*
 have.IMPF.3SG to sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to put.INF ah over

8 Texts

976 *nòtg als als méls, nu i dèva pával*
 night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPV.3SG food.M.SG
 977 *płs méls, a quaj èra tüt òrganisau*
 for.DEF.M.PL mule.PL and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPV.3SG all organise.PTCP.UNM
 978 *òrdavaun.*
 in_advance

‘And then we have, this had all been done and reconnoitred before, so that one knew where to sleep, where to put the mules over night, where there was food for the mules, and all that had been organised in advance.’

979 *Ad in’ jèd’ èssan nuş i navèn da ... l’ Albsú ...*
 and one.F.SG time be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from of DEF.M.SG PN
 980 *tòcan a ... Guòttanna ... èl⁵³ cantún Bèrna.*
 until to PN in.DEF.M.SG canton PN

‘And once we went from ... the Alpsu to ... Guttannen ... in the canton of Bern.’

981 *A lu èssan nuş i a ... l’ amprèm ... nòtg*
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to DEF.M.SG first night.F.SG
 982 *vajn nus durmju ò Realp, la zacùnda nòtg*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.MNM down PN DEF.F.SG second night
 983 *vajn nus durmju a Tiefenbach.*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM in PN

‘And then we went to ... the first ... night we slept in Realp, the second night we slept in Tiefenbach.’

984 *Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuş i dad ina ... dad*
 before away from PN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from INDEF.F.SG from
 985 *in ... trùtg sèdòra tòcan sésúr las lavinèras, a*
 INDEF.M.SG footpath up until up_over DEF.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL and
 986 *... sésúr las lavinèras ah èssan nus lu i,*
 up_over DEF.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL ah be.PRS.1PL 1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL
 987 *quaj vò sé ancùntar l’ Albert-Heim-Hütte⁵⁴ ... èssan*
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up towards DEF.F.SG PN-PN-hut be.PRS.1PL
 988 *nus, quaj èssan nuş i sé pr ... pr bitga stuaj*
 1PL DEM.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up SUBORD SUBORD NEG must.INF

⁵³Èl is Standard Sursilvan for *ál* or *ajl*.

989 *ira sé la ... sé la via dad autòs, sé la via dal*
 go.INF up DEF.F.SG up DEF.F.SG way of car.M.PL up DEF.F.SG way of.DEF.M.SG
 990 *pas.*
 pass

‘Before, from Realp we went on a footpath [which lead us] above the avalanche barriers and above the avalanche barriers we went then, this goes up towards the Albert-Heim-hut ... we ... there we went up in order to avoid the car road, the road of the pass.’

991 *A lu èssan nus i sé api vagní şurangjù ad*
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up and come.PTCP.M.PL over_down and
 992 *i gjù Tiefenbach.*
 go.PTCP.M.PL down PN

‘And then we went up and came [from] over [the avalanche barriers] down and went down to Tiefenbach.’

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

‘This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass, approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.’

995 *A lu vajn nus ah durmjù lò, api l' autar dé*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL ah sleep.PTCP.UNM there and DEF.M.SG other.M.SG day
 996 *èssan nus ... i a a ... cù è l' nùm, ju*
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to to how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG name 1SG
 997 *a cùls nùmş in təc misérjaş, a Gletsch.*
 have.PRS.1SG with.DEF.M.PL name.PL INDEF.M.SG bit problem.F.PL in PN

‘And then we ah slept there, and the next day we went to, to ... what is the name, these names I have some problems, to Gletsch.’

998 *A lu vajn nus durmjù lò, api navèn da Gletsch*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM there and from of PN
 999 *èssan nus, lò vajn nus lu stu í sèn via⁵⁵*
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL there have.PRS.1PL 1PL then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF on way.F.SG

⁵⁴Said in German.

8 Texts

1000 'ssan nuş i sé sél Grimsel, a lu vajn nuş
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up on.DEF.M.SG PN and then have.1PL 1PL
 1001 durmju sé ál hòspiz sé dal Grimsel, a lu
 sleep.PTCP.UNM up at.DEF.M.SG hospice up of.DEF.M.SG PN and then
 1002 èssan nus ... i ... ah, cùls méls.
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL eh with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

'And then we slept there, and from Gletsch we – there we then had to go on the way, we went up to the Grimsel [pass] and then we slept up there at the guesthouse on the Grimsel, and then we ... went on ... eh with the mules.'

1003 Lò dati ina, sé dal Grimsel vagnévi
 there EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL INDEF.F.SG up of.DEF.M.SG PN come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1004 ina ... in ... in trùtg da sauma nùca tga
 INDEF.F.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG footpath of bridle.F.SG where REL
 1005 mavan cùls cùls méls né cùls tgavals.
 go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.M.PL with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL or with.DEF.M.PL horse.PN

'There there is a, from the Grimsel there came a ... a ... a bridle path where one would go with the mules or horses.'

1006 Avaun òns fagèvan trans-pòrts da da caşchial⁵⁶ tégn
 before year.M.PL make.IMPF.3PL transport.M.PL of of cheese.M.SG hold.PRS.1SG
 1007 ju, a ... a raquèntani aun òz.
 1SG and and tell.PRS.3PL.3PL still today

'Years ago they used to organise transports of of cheese, I think, and ... and they still talk about [these things] today.'

1008 A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 1009 trùtgs antrás 'ls lavurs c' i òn fatg
 footpath.M.PL through DEF.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
 1010 la òvra èlèctrica.
 DEF.F.SG work electric

'And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when they built the electric power station.'

⁵⁵On the way and not on the footpath.

⁵⁶Caşchial is Standard Sursilvan for *magnùc*.

- 1011 *A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò dal*
and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out of.DEF.M.SG
- 1012 *mir, álşò òr dal grép òni fatg*
rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
- 1013 *ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò ira ah a paj*
INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF eh on foot.M.SG
- 1014 *flòt.*
easy.ADJ.UNM

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

- 1015 *Què è btg ina lada sènda, quèl' èra*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.F.SG broad path DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
- 1016 *fòrsa ... ah in mètàr a miaz, struşch duş, a lu èssan nuş, gè*
maybe eh one.M.SG metre and half almost two and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL yes
- 1017 *in mètàr a miaz plètòst a mintgataun èri aun*
one.M.SG metre and half rather and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover
- 1018 *grépa tga stèv' ò in téc ...*
rock.COLL REL stand.IMPF.3SG out INDEF.M.SG bit

‘This is not a broad path, it was maybe ... eh one metre, almost two, and then we, yes rather one and a half metre and from time to time there were rocks protruding a bit ...’

- 1019 *A lura ah ... mju quinau manava in mél, –*
and then eh POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law lead.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG mule
- 1020 *lu vèva 'l dus – ad ju manava in.*
then have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M two.M.PL and 1SG lead.IMPF.1SG one.M.SG

‘And then eh ... my brother-in-law led one mule – at that time he had two – and I led one.’

- 1021 *Al quinau vèva mal ina tgòmba.*
DEF.M.SG brother-in-law have.IMPF.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM INDEF.F.SG leg

‘My brother-in-law had leg pain.’

- 1022 *A lu ò 'l détg èl sapi bigja*
and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
- 1023 *vagní da luòra, ju, èl stètgi mal, èl mòndi*
come.INF from there_out 1SG 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG bad 3SG.M go.PRS.SBJV.3SG

8 Texts

1024 *da via òra, a lu va ju rantau in mél vi*
 from road.F.SG out and then have.1SG 1SG bind.PTCP.UNM one.M.SG mule over
 1025 *dal autar, álšò vi da la ... vi dal ... cavèstar da*
 of.DEF.M.SG other well over of DEF.F.SG over of.DEF.M.SG bridle of
 1026 *lèz, álšò vi dal ... dal bast da*
 DEM.M.SG that_is_to_say over of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG packsaddle of
 1027 *lèz scù inš di, api ah sùnd jus cùn dòmašdús.*
 DEM.M.SG as GNR say.PRS.3SG and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG

‘And then he said he couldn’t walk on that path, that I - that he was sorry, [but] that he would walk on the road, and then I bound one mule to the other, well, to the ... eh to the bridle of this one, that is to say to the the packsaddle of that one as one says, and then eh I left with both [mules].’

1028 *A qu’ èra schòn strètq, álšò sch’ ju stès*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG must.COND.1SG
 1029 *aun fá in’ jèda quaj, figès ju bétga.*
 again do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM do.COND.1SG 1SG NEG

‘And this was really narrow, well, if I had to do it once again, I wouldn’t do it.’

1030 *Mintgataun vasèvaš gjùadó grad agradgju, tòcan gjù*
 sometimes see.IMPF.2SG.GNR down_and_out directly steep_down until down
 1031 *èl’ aua, álšò sch’ in fùš ùssa tagljau,*
 in.DEF.F.SG water well if one.M.SG PASS.AUX.COND.3SG now cut.PTCP.UNM
 1032 *quèlas ... al bùrdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj*
 DEM.F.PL DEF.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
 1033 *balantschava in téc.*
 roll.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit

‘From time to time one looked directly down, directly down, until down in the water, well, if one of these [ropes that I used to bind the mules together] had been cut, these... the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.’

1034 *A lur scha ‘l vès ùssa pagljau par èxèmpal*
 and then if 3SG.M have.COND.3SG now hit.PTCP.UNM for example.M.SG
 1035 *in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha*
 INDEF.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR
 1036 *quèls fùssan grat schulaj gjù ajl’*
 DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down into.DEF.F.SG
 1037 *aua, ajl lac.*
 water into.DEF.M.SG lake

‘And then if it [the load] hit a rock which could have thrown it down, the mules would have immediately fallen down rapidly into the water, into the lake.’

- 1038 *Ábar è ju ... ju rašdav’ in təc cùn èls, ju èra*
 but also 1SG 1SG speak.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG bit with 3PL.M 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
 1039 *mèz èr ... saspruava dad èssar ruassajvals, quaj*
 self.1SG.M also REFL.try.hard.IMPF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG DEM.UNM
 1040 *è ju tiptòp, tòcan ò atrás.*
 be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.UNM perfectly until out through

‘But I also, I spoke a bit with them, I was myself also ... tried hard to remain calm, this went perfectly throughout the whole trip.’

- 1041 *A lu èssans lu i l’ autar dé.*
 and then be.IMPF.1PL.1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL DEF.M.SG other day

‘And the next day we went there.’

- 1042 *La davùsa nògj vajn nuš durmju ... a Guottannen.*
 DEF.F.SG last night have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM at PN

‘The last night we slept in Guttannen.’

- 1043 *Quaj èra, dad ira cùn cùn sauma èra*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF with with bridle.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
 1044 *quaj súpar cùn quèls, cùn quèls méls.*
 DEM.UNM great with DEM.M.PL with DEM.M.PL mule.PL

‘This was, to go with bridles, this was great with these, with these mules.’

- 1045 *Què è pròpa tiars plé déstinaj par ah fá ...*
 DEF COP.PRS.3SG really animal.M.PL more suited.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD ah do.INF
 1046 *sauma.*
 bridle

‘These were really animals that are more suited to being bridled.’

- 1047 *Ad èr’ è zatgé bi da mirá cù*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how
 1048 *quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad*
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL and
 1049 *èran ruassajvalš a ... pazjènts.*
 COP.IMPF.3PL calm.M.PL and patient.M.PL

‘And it was also something nice to look at, how these animals worked, how they ... used to go and keep calm and patient.’

1050 *A lura ... va ju lu èra ábar ... méz èls a sùt.*
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG then also but put.PTCP.UNM 3M.PL to under

‘And then ... but ... I also yoked them.’

1051 *A ... ajl, lò, èran è lu bétga schi ... schi flòts dad*
and in.DEF.M.SG there COP.IMPF.3PL also then NEG so so nice.M.PL MOD
1052 *í cùn cùn cròtscha né cùn tgar.*
go.INF with with plough.F.SG or with cart.M.SG

‘And ... in the, it was not so ... so nice to walk [with] them with a plough or a cart.’

1053 *A lò ... vajn nuş gju savèns difiçultats, gè.*
and there have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM often difficulty.F.PL yes

‘And there ... we often had troubles, yes.’

1054 *Bjè jèdaş şèni scapaj tga nuş vajn ah*
many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL eh
1055 *pròpi gju ah gròndas misérjas a mju quinau ...*
really have.PTCP.UNM eh big.F.PL trouble.PL and POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law
1056 *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.’

1057 *«Ah, cò èssan nus mitschaj cùla véta, cò*
ah here be.PRS.1PL 1PL escape.PTCP.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG life here
1058 *vèssans sju èssar mòrts.»*
have.COND.1PL.1PL can.PTCP.UNM COP.INF dead.M.PL

‘«Here we escaped with our lives, here we could have been dead.»’

1059 *In’ jèda èssan nus staj ... sén Tschamùt.*
one.F.SG time be.IMPF.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on PN

‘Once we were in Tschamùt.’

1060 Nuş vèvan, ju vèva cumprau, midau òr
 1SG have.IMPF.1PL 1SG have.IMPF.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM change.PTCP.UNM out
 1061 in, in ... vèv' ju vandju a cumprau
 one.M.SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM and buy.PTCP.UNM
 1062 in autar parquaj tgu vèva l' imprèssjun tga, tg'
 INDEF.M.SG other because SUBORD.1SG have.1SG DEF.F.SG impression COMP COMP
 1063 èra quel tga fagèva bitg andrètg, a lu
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG right.ADJ.UNM and then
 1064 èssan nus, vajn nus méz sùt èls, dòmaşdús,
 be.IMPF.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM under 3PL.M both
 1065 al quinau èra ad ju anzjaman api èssan nuş i
 DEF.M.SG brother-in-law also and 1SG together and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 1066 sèn Tschamùt, a sé spèr l' ustria da Tschamùt ... vajn
 on PN and up next_to DEF.F.SG restaurant of PN have.PRS.1PL
 1067 nus ah ... èssan nus samanaj, gjù sél parcadi
 1PL eh be.IMPF.1PL 1PL REFL.turn_back.PTCP.M.PL down on.DEF.M.SG parking
 1068 èssan nus samanaj.
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL REFL.turn_back.PTCP.M.PL

‘We had, I had bought, exchanged one, one ... I had sold and bought another because I had the impression that, that it was this one that didn’t behave properly, and then we, we yoked them, both, I together with my brother-in-law were together and then we went up to Tschamut, and there next to the restaurant of Tschamut ... we eh ... we turned back, down on the parking space we turned back.’

1069 A schi ... schi glajti scù nuş èssan staj sèn la via
 and so so soon as 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on DEF.F.SG way
 1070 cantunala, òni antschiat a galòpá.
 cantonal have.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM COMP gallop.INF

‘And as ... as soon as we were on the cantonal way they started to gallop.’

1071 A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something
 1072 sgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls pér gjù
 terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL to hold.INF 3PL.M only down
 1073 şur Sèlva⁵⁷.
 above PN

8 Texts

‘And galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only managed to hold onto them above Selva.’

1074 *A lu vès ju bitga ugagjau plé, da, dad ira cùn*
and then have.COND.1SG 1SG NEG dare.PTCP.UNM more COMP COMP go.INF with
1075 *èls vinanavaun.*
3PL.M farther

‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to, to go farther with them any more.’

1076 *Lu vain nus rantau èls lò, api sùnd jus*
then have.PRS.1PL 1PL tie.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M there and be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.1SG
1077 *gjà pal tgar anèx, api èssan nus ... sùnd jus sé ...*
down for.DEF.M.SG cart annexed and be.1PL 1PL be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG up
1078 *cùl tgar anèx.*
with.DEF.M.SG cart.M.SG annexed

‘We then tied them there, and then I went down for the trailer and then we ... I went up ... with the trailer.’

1079 *A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téc, quèls*
and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit DEM.M.PL
1080 *mavan tùt saniastar sén via.*
go.IMP.F.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG

‘And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left side of the road.’⁵⁸

1081 *Tùt saniastar, a galòpavan zatgèj starmantús, ju*
completely left.ADJ.UNM and gallop.IMP.F.3PL something terrible.ADJ.UNM 1SG
1082 *stèva séla brèmša.*
stand.IMP.F.1SG on.DEF.F.SG brake

‘On the very left, and they galloped terribly, I stood on the brake.’

1083 *Al quinau èr’ in ùm, pròp’ in ùm*
DEF.M.SG brother-in-law COP.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG man really INDEF.M.SG man
1084 *fèrm.*
strong.ADJ.M.SG

‘My brother-in-law was a man, a really strong man.’

⁵⁷Selva is located down in the valley, below the road.

⁵⁸The left side is the side of the precipice if one comes up from e.g. Rueras.

1085 *Lèz tanèva palas hòtas, a nùnpussajval,*
 DEM.M.SG hold.IMPF.3SG on.DEF.F.PL reins.PL and impossible.ADJ.UNM
 1086 *nùnpussajval da fá stá quèls dus tgavals.*
 impossible.ADJ.UNM COMP make.INF stop.INF DEM.M.PL two.M.PL horse.PL

‘He held them by the reins, and [it was] impossible, impossible to have these two horses [i.e. the two mules] stop.’

1087 *A lu èra ... sé Tschamùt, cu i òn antschiat*
 and then COP.IMPF.3SG up PN when 3PL have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM
 1088 *a galòpá, èri grat stau avaun mèssa ...,*
 COMP gallop.INF be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL just COP.PTCP.UNM before mass.F.SG
 1089 *ina mèssa da sjantarmjaş-dé èn caplùta da Sòntga Clau.*
 INDEF.F.SG mass of afternoon.M.SG in chapel of Saint Nicholas

‘And then there was ... in Tschamut, when they began to gallop, there had just been a mass ... an afternoon mass in the chapel of St. Nicholas.’

1090 *A lu, agl aucségnar, par clétg èra la gljut*
 and then DEF.M.SG priest by fortune.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG people
 1091 *schòn vidòragjù – quèls tg’ èran staj a mèssa*
 already over_out_down DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG
 1092 *èran schòn vidòragjù – pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga nuş*
 COP.IMPF.3PL already over_out_down more_out_down than DEM.UNM REL 1PL
 1093 *èssan, tg’ als, tg’ als méls èn galòpaj.*
 be.PRS.1PL REL DEF.M.PL REL DEF.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL

‘And then the priest, fortunately the people were already down [the valley] – those who had attended the mass were already down – farther down than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’

1094 *Quèls èn staj ò dal prìgal.*
 DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL out of.DEF.M.SG danger

‘These were out of danger.’

1095 *Ábar gl aucségnar èra in aucségnar tudèstg.*
 but DEF.M.SG priest COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG priest German

‘But the priest was a German priest.’

1096 *A lèz èr’ avaun caplùta cu, cu nuş èssan*
 and DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG in_front chapel.F.SG when when 1PL be.PRS.1PL
 1097 *vagní, a lu ò l, ò l détg*
 come.PTCP.M.PL and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM

8 Texts

1098 – èl è lu vagnús cùgl autò ... anòragiù cu
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then come.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG car out_down when
 1099 nuş vèvan ... rantau als, als méls – a lu, a ...
 1SG have.IMP.F.1PL tie.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL and then and
 1100 lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch' èl
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if 3SG.M
 1101 prandéssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
 take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN

‘And he was in front of the chapel when, when we came, and then he, he said – he then came with the car ... down when we had ... tied the, the mules – and then, and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.’

1102 Naturálmajn, èl agi vju tgéj ... désgrázja né
 natural.F.SG.ADV 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM what accident.F.SG or
 1103 tgé, tgé nuş ágian gju, tgé événimajn ... nuş
 what what 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL have.PTCP.UNM what incident.M.SG 1PL
 1104 vajn gju cùls méls.
 have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

‘Of course, [he said] he had seen what ... accident or what what we had had, what event ... we had had with the mules.’

1105 Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi vju
 3SG.M COP.IMP.F.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM
 1106 tga quèls méls èn saspuantaj, api
 COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL and
 1107 vagi èl tartgau ... dad í vi ajn via ...
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on road.F.SG
 1108 a tanaj sé èls.
 and hold.INF up 3PL.M

‘He was in front of the chapel and had seen that these mules ran away and he thought ... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.’

1109 Ábar èl vagi lura pandarau a tartgau
 but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG then think_about.PTCP.UNM and think.PTCP.UNM
 1110 na:
 no:

‘But he had then thought about it and thought no.’

1111 «*Da hilft nur noch beten!*»⁵⁹
 here helps only still pray

‘«In this case only prayers may help!»’

1112 *Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá in tschùpal*
 and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF INDEF.M.SG lot

1113 *èvènimajnts tg’ èn schabagjaj cùn quèls mèls.*
 incident.M.PL REL be.PRS.3PL happen.PTCP.M.PL with DEM.M.PL mule.PL

‘And so I would, I could recount a lot of incidents that happened with these mules.’

8.8 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadjus*

The little chapel of the Jews

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m5, aged 64)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2’10”

1114 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadjus è odém al*
 DEF.M.SG little_chapel of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out_most DEF.M.SG

1115 *vitg da Sadrún.*
 village of PN

‘The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of Sedrun.’⁶⁰

1116 *Al sòntgèt, qu’ è ina pintga caplùta.*
 DEF.M.SG sòntgèt DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG little chapel

‘The *sòntgèt* is a little chapel.’

1117 *Ajn quèla caplùta sè ajn ina, la quarta stazjun da*
 in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fourth station of

1118 *la via da la crusch.*
 DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross

‘In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ’s way of the Cross.’

⁵⁹Said in Standard German.

⁶⁰On the *Via Alpsu* in direction Mustér.

8 Texts

1119 *Nua*⁶¹ *Jésus végn gassaljaus, né?*
 where PN PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG flagellate.PTCP.M.SG right

‘Where Jesus is being flagellated, right?’

1120 *A lu şhajnş adina al ... sòntgèt òdém al*
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.M.SG little_chapel low_most DEF.M.SG
 1121 *vitg.*
 village

‘And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.’

1122 *Álşò ùş è ‘l bigja plé òdém al vitg, ábar*
 well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.M.SG village, but
 1123 *quaj sòntgèt èra, in’ jèda, òdém al vitg,*
 DEM.M.SG little_chapel COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time low_most DEF.M.SG village
 1124 *a quaj, quaj è atgnamajn rastau, né.*
 and DEM.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG actually remain.PTCP.UNM right

‘Well, now it is not at the lowest part of the village any more, but this chapel was once at the lowest part of the village, and this, this is still so, right?’

1125 *Sch’ té vaş dl vitg òra, scha ... şaj ‘l ...*
 if 2SG go.PRS.2SG of.DEF.M.SG village out CORR COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 1126 *drèt, vagní*⁶² *gè bagajau da néiv hòtèl*
 right.ADJ.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL in_fact build.PTCP.UNM from new hotel
 1127 *Albşú, né, a lu ... vas fòrsa aun végn mètars, a*
 PN right and then go.PRS.2SG maybe moreover twenty metre.M.PL and
 1128 *lu şè ‘l*⁶³ *saniastar.*
 then COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M left.ADJ.UNM

‘If you walk down the valley, ... the hotel Alpsu has in fact been renovated on the right side, right?, and then you walk maybe twenty more metres, and then it [the chapel] is on the left.’

1129 *Qu’ è adin’ aviart a lu saş í ajn*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG go.INF in
 1130 *api vèzas té quèlas ah ... figuras ... ajn gròndèzja da*
 and see.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL in size.F.SG of
 1131 *carstgaun.*
 human_being.M.SG

⁶¹Not clear; therefore replaced by *nua* ‘where’.

⁶²*Vagní* is a performance error for *vagnú* ‘PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM’

⁶³*‘l* is a performance error for *la* ‘3SG.F’



Figure 8.4: Christ's way of the Cross, Sedrun

'This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures ... the size of human beings.'

- 1132 *A qu' è in ah, in Andreoli da, da Mustajr*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG eh INDEF.M.SG PN of of PN
- 1133 *tg' èra usché in téc ah, gè, vèva talènt,*
 REL COP.IMPF.3SG so INDEF.M.SG bit eh yes have.IMPF.3SG talent.M.SG
- 1134 *vèva tagljau ò quèlas.*
 have.IMPF.3SG cut.PTCP.UNM out DEM.F.PL

‘And this is a eh, a, [a man called] Andreoli from Mustér who was a little eh, yes, had talent, had chiselled these out.’

1135 [PhM] *Da tgei temps?*
of which time.M.SG

‘[PhM] At what time?’

1136 [m5] *Ah, méli ad òtg ... tgu craj şè stau*
eh thousand and eight REL.1SG believe.PRS.1SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
1137 *Vèndardís Sògn mili ad òtg tschian trènta quâtar, fòrsa scha ju*
Friday.M.SG Holy thousand and eight hundred thirty four maybe if 1SG
1138 *şbaglja 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
1139 *trans-pòrtadaş 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.’

1140 *Ad ál’ antschata èra ‘l sòntgèt ... in*
and in.DEF.F.SG beginning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG little_chapel INDEF.M.SG
1141 *sòntgèt aviart, quaj vut dí quaj è*
little_chapel open.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
1142 *in pin baghèt, a cò èr’ in gártar,*
INDEF.M.SG small.M.SG building and there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG grating
1143 *a lu vasèvas té ajn quèlas.*
and then see.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR in DEM.F.PL

‘And at the beginning the little chapel ... was an open chapel, which means that it is a small building, and there there was a grating, and then you [could] see these [figures] therein.’

1144 *A lu òni aun bagagjau vitlúndar ina,*
and then have.PRS.3PL.3PL in_addition build.PTCP.UNM next_to INDEF.F.SG
1145 *aun ina part, lu şèn ... in pèr bauns*
moreover INDEF.F.SG part then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL
1146 *pins, gè, intarassant, gè, a méz in clutgè*
small yes interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG clock_tower
1147 *ánò véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.*
year twenty-eight hold.PRS.1SG 1SG yes

‘And then, in addition, they built another part next to the chapel, then there are ... some small benches, yes, interesting, yes, and also built a clock tower in [19]28 I think, yes.’

- 1148 *Quaj vò anavùs sèn ina tradizjun tga ...*
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG back on INDEF.F.SG tradition REL
- 1149 *Tuatschíns èran ira⁶⁴ ... a pèlègrinádi a*
 inhabitant_of_Tujetsch.M.PL be.IMPF.3PL go.INF at pilgrimage.M.SG to
- 1150 *Nossa-Dunaun, a lu vas lò zanúa, vas*
 PN and then go.PRS.2SG.GNR there somewhere go.PRS.2SG.GNR
- 1151 *té şur in, ah, şur in pas, álşò in, in*
 2SG.GNR over INDEF.M.SG eh over INDEF.M.SG pass well INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG
- 1152 *crèst, in sémpal pas, a sèn quèla, sèn quaj pas*
 high_ground INDEF.M.SG simple pass and on DEM.F.SG on DEM.M.SG pass
- 1153 *duèssi èssar ina samagljànta caplùta, è cun*
 should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG similar chapel also with
- 1154 *ina stazjun da ... da la via da la crusch, a lu ...*
 INDEF.F.SG station of of DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross and then
- 1155 *şè quèls vagní anavùs ajn Tujétsch a détg:*
 be.PRS.3SG DEM.M.PL come.PTCP.M.PL back in PN and say.PTCP.UNM

‘This goes back to a tradition that ... some inhabitants of Tujetsch had gone ... on a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, and then you go there somewhere, you go over a, eh, over a pass, rather a high ground, a simple pass, and on this, on this pass there should be a similar chapel, also with a station of ... of Christ’s way to the Cross, and then they came back to Tujetsch and said:’

- 1156 *«Uşché zatgé fagjajn nuş è a Sadrún.»*
 so something make.PRS.1PL 1PL also in PN

‘We’ll also make something like this in Sedrun.’

- 1157 *A quaj è tùt schabagjau sèn basa privata, álşò*
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG all happen.PTCP.UNM on base.F.SG private thus
- 1158 *quèla caplùta è stada tòcan avaun fòrsa déjšch òns*
 DEM.F.SG chapel be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.F.SG until before maybe ten year.M.PL
- 1159 *privat.*
 private.ADJ.UNM

⁶⁴Èran ira ‘had go’ is a performance error for èran í ‘had gone’.

‘And this all happened on a private basis, this chapel has thus been private until maybe ten years ago.’

1160 *Ad ùş ò la plajv surpríu aj.*
and now have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG parish take.PTCP.UNM 3SG

‘And now the parish has taken it over.’

1161 *Agl Andréòli vèva finju ... las ... figuras ...*
DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
1162 *avaun ca la caplùta èra stada finida.*
before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG

‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’

1163 *A lu vèvani dépònju quèlas, quèlas státuas*
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.PL DEM.F.PL statue.PL
1164 *vèvani dépònju ajn tgèsa-parvènda.*
have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM in presbytery.F.SG

‘And then they stored these, these statues they had stored in the presbytery.’

1165 *Ála véglja-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?*
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right

‘At the very old presbytery, right?’

1166 *Quèla stèva dadò ‘l hòtèl Cruna.*
DEM.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG of_down DEF.M.SG hotel PN

‘It was located after the Hotel Cruna, down the valley.’

1167 *A gl òn ca tg’ òn gju dépònju*
and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM
1168 *quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina détg «la*
DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always say.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
1169 *stiva dals gjadjus», ò quèla gju nùm*
living_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.UNM name
1170 *sjantar.*
after

‘And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said «the living room of the Jews», has it been called since.’

8.9 La féjra da Ligjaun

The market in Lugano

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m5, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'

- 1171 *Quaj hanléj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg' i*
DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL EXPL
- 1172 *èra ál şhènivával tschantanè, tg' als*
COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG nineteenth.M.SG century.m.sg REL DEF.M.PL
- 1173 *martgadònts cumpravan als tiars quasi schòn la*
merchant.PL buy.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL animal.PL so_to_speak already DEF.F.SG
- 1174 *pr̃mavèra, alura mavan quèls stjarls, als*
spring then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL one_year_old_calf.PL DEF.M.PL
- 1175 *mùtgs, als stjarls mavan lu ád*
two_year_old_calf.PL DEF.M.PL one_year_old_calf.PL go.IMPF.3PL then to
- 1176 *alp, a lura sjantar alp, agl atùn, vagnévani lu*
alp.F.SG and then after alp.F.SG in.DEF.M.SG autumn come.IMPF.3PL.3PL then
- 1177 *par èls a mavan cun èls lura şur Lucmagn a vandévan*
for 3PL.M and go.IMPF.3PL with 3PL.M then over PN and sell.IMPF.3PL
- 1178 *lò.*
there

‘This cattle business, in the sense of how it was in the nineteenth century, that the merchants would buy the animals already during spring, then those one-year-old calves, the two-year-old calves, the one-year-old calves would go to the mountain pastures, and after that period, during autumn, they would go and fetch them and would then go with them over the Lucmagn pass and would sell them there.’

- 1179 *Quaj mava lu radùn, quaj mava ò da Tujétsch,*
DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG then around DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG out of PN
- 1180 *mavi radùn duatschían, fòrsa antùrn duatschían 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].’

- 1181 *A qu' è atgnamajn al ... sulèt danè ... quasi*
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG actually DEF.M.SG only.M.SG money almost
- 1182 *tg' al pur vèva blüt danè, né.*
REL DEF.M.SG farmer have.IMPF.3SG naked.ADJ.M.SG money right

‘And this is at least almost the ... only cash money ... the farmers had, right?’

8 Texts

1183 *Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la plé impurtònta*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.F.SG source DEF.F.SG most important
 1184 *da hanlèt, quèla fiara⁶⁵ da Ligjaun.*
 of business.M.SG DEM.F.SG market of PN

‘This was actually the most important source of business, that market in Lugano.’

1185 *Álšò quaj, quaj èra lura, ajn Tujétsch èri*
 well DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then in PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1186 *usché da quèls mulissiar, álšò quèls «Unterhändler»⁶⁶, né, né*
 so of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL well DEM.M.PL negotiators right or
 1187 *quèls mulissiar, quèls ah fagèvan lu quasi las*
 DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL DEM.M.PL eh do.IMPF.3PL then so_to_speak DEF.F.PL
 1188 *préfatschèntas, né, né tg’ èran ... cumissunaj*
 intermediate_trade.PL right or REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL commission.PTCP.M.PL
 1189 *da quèls ah martgadònts gròns da la bassa, né.*
 by DEM.M.PL eh businessman.PL big.PL of DEF.F.SG «lowlands» right

‘Well, this, this is then, in the Tujetsch Valley there were some negotiators, well these «Unterhändler», right? These negotiators, they would so to speak do the intermediate trade, or they were ... commissioned by the big businessmen from outside the Grisons, right?’

1190 *Quèls vèvan quasi in téc maun libar, né, da*
 DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL so_to_speak a bit hand.M.SG free.M.SG right SUBORD
 1191 *fá las cùmpras, né, a lu mavi quasi šur*
 do.INF DEF.F.PL shopping.PL right and then go.IMPF.3SG.EXPL so_to_say over
 1192 *quèls intèrns òra, né, a da quèls martgadònts ah*
 DEM.M.PL domestic.PL out right and of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL eh
 1193 *tuatschíns òi adina dau, quèls tg’*
 from_Tujetsch.M.PL have.PRS.3SG.EXPL always EXIST.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL REL
 1194 *òn ugagjau a rascau quaj.*
 have.PRS.3PL dare.PTCP.UNM and risk.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

‘These had so to speak a bit of a free hand, right, to do the shopping, right, and then business was in the hands of the domestic merchants, right, and there were

⁶⁵*Fiara* is Standard Sursilvan for *féjra*.

⁶⁶German for Tuatschin *mulissiar*.

always some of these negotiators from the Tujetsch valley, right, those who dared and risked [to do] this.’

- 1195 *Álšò ... la réšca èra atgnamajn fétg grònda, parquaj tga ...*
 well DEF.F.SG risk COP.IMPF.3SG in_fact very big.F.SG because SUBORD
 1196 *èls cumpravan gè ... la p̄mavèra, a lura savèvani*
 3PL.M buy.IMPF.3PL in_fact DEF.F.SG spring and then know.IMPF.3PL.3PL
 1197 *bégja cù šè ‘l préci, cù šè la féjra*
 NEG how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG price how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG market
 1198 *insùma, šai atractif, šè la tschèrca cò,*
 at_all COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL attractive.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG demand here
 1199 *né.*
 right

‘Well, the risk was in fact very big, because ... in fact they used to buy ... during spring, and then they wouldn’t know how the price would be, what the market was supposed to be, whether it would be attractive at all, would there be some demand, right?’

- 1200 *A lu mávani magari culs tiars gju a Ligjaun,*
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL sometimes with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL down to PN
 1201 *a ... savèvan bigja vèndar lò, a lu stèvani quasi*
 and can.IMPF.3PL NEG sell.INF there and then must.IMPF.3PL.3PL so_to_speak
 1202 *í gjùdòra, ir tòc’ al nòrd da l’ Italja gjùdajn ad*
 go.INF down_out go.INF until DEF.M.SG north of DEF.F.SG PN down_in and
 1203 *ampruá da vèndar, ah ... ad aj ah ... vagnéva bigj’ éba*
 try.INF COMP sell.INF eh and EXPL eh PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG precisely
 1204 *vandju tùt, al davùs stuèvani vèndar fòrsa p̄,*
 sell.PTCP.UNM everything DEF.M.SG last must.IMPF.3PL.3PL sell.INF maybe for
 1205 *p̄ in schliat prézi, né.*
 for INDEF.M.SG bad.M.SG price right

‘And then they would go sometimes down to Lugano and ... could not sell there, and then they had so to speak to go outside [the country], to go until the North of Italy and try to sell, eh ... and then they could not sell all [the animals] after all, and in the end they would have to sell maybe for, for a bad price, right?’

- 1206 *Álšò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nùndétg, ad*
 well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL incredibly and
 1207 *i šèra òns nùca tg’ èra aua, ad*
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water.F.SG and

8 Texts

1208 *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.’

1209 *Quaj scriva Gadola, scriv’ è quaj zanú,*
 DEM.UNM write.PRS.3SG PN write.PRS.3SG also DEM.UNM somewhere

1210 *quèla è zatgéj ina, ina lavur, «La fierà da*
 DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG something DEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG work DEF.F.SG market of

1211 *Ligjaun»⁶⁷, a lu dascriva la òrd vésta dal Tujétsch*
 PN and then describe.PRS.3SG 3SG.F out_of_sight of.DEF.M.SG PN

1212 *scù quaj funcsanava, cù i mavan, a lu*
 how DEM.UNM function.IMPF.3SG how 3PL go.IMPF.3PL and then

1213 *èri è quèls prígals tga dèva sén ah, ah, sén*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also DEM.M.PL danger REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG on eh eh on

1214 *ira, naturálmajn cu i vagnévan anavùs scha savévan*
 go.INF natural.M.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL back CORR know.IMPF.3PL

1215 *als cugljúns, né, la nara, né, savévan è*
 DEF.M.PL scoundrel.PL right DEF.F.SG mad_people.COLL right know.IMPF.3PL also

1216 *quèls òn ... bùrsas plajnas, né, a vagnévan lura*
 DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL wallet.F.PL full.PL right and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL then

1217 *pr part atacaj ad angulaj.*
 for part.F.SG attack.PTCP.M.PL and steal.PTCP.M.PL

‘This Gadola writes, writes also this somewhere this, the, this is a, a work with the title «La fierà da Ligjaun», and this work describes from the point of view of the Tujetsch valley how this used to function, how they used to go, and then there were these dangers which [one encountered] when travelling, of course when they would come back, the scoundrels, the madmen, right, they also knew that those had full wallets, right, and they were sometimes attacked and got robbed.’

1218 *Quaj òi dau savèns, gè.*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM often yes

‘This happened often, yes.’

⁶⁷The title is in Standard Sursilvan.

8.10 Sé Nalps

In Nalps

(Tuatschín, Surajin, f5, aged 56)

Recorded 2017/03/10 in Surrein

Duration 1'10

1219 *Cu nuş èran buébas, èri bja autar*
 when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL girl.F.PL COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL much different.ADJ.UNM

1220 *tgé ùssa.*
 than now

‘When we were girls, it was very different from nowadays.’

1221 *Als gjaniturs fagèvan al pur, ad ju èra*
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG

1222 *tschavrèr' in tjams, ajn l' antschata cun mju*
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.M.SG time in DEF.F.SG beginning with POSS.1SG.M.SG

1223 *frá, in òn parsula, api stavèv' ins í culas*
 brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.F.PL

1224 *tgauras tòca sé Nalps, a vèvan in bi tjams*
 goat.PL until up PN and have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.M.SG beautiful.ADJ.M.SG time

1225 *lò, vagnéva ... lu èri aun bigja turists,*
 there come.IMPF.3SG then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL

1226 *mintgataun vagnévi in in in car,*
 from_time_to_time come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG bus

1227 *a quèls vèvan naturálmajn plaschaj da nus a*
 and DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL natural.M.SG.ADV pleasure.M.SG of 1PL and

1228 *dlas tgauras.*
 of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL

‘My parents were farmers, and I was a goatherd for a certain time, at the beginning with my brother, one year alone, and one had to go with the goats as far as Nalps, and we had a great time there, there came ... then there weren't tourists yet, from time to time a a a bus arrived, and it was, of course, a pleasure for them to be with us and the goats.’

1229 *Mintgataun mavan nuş èra ... plas pitgògnas a cavá*
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also in.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL SUBORD dig.INF

1230 *crystalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi vignévan nus*
 crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and come.IMPF.1PL 1PL

8 Texts

1231 *halt in téc tart.*
 simply INDEF.M.SG bit late

‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.’

1232 *A cu ins vagnéva anavùs èri bigja schi flòt*
 and when GNR come.IMPF.3SG back COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG so nice.ADJ.UNM
 1233 *pr, cu inş vagnéva cò cu 'ls purs vagnévan a*
 for when GNR come.IMPF.3SG here when DEF.M.PL farmer.PL come.IMPF.3PL and
 1234 *savilavan cun nus, ni tumévan par nus, api stèvan*
 get_angry.IMPF.3PL with 1PL or be_afraid.IMPF.3PL for 1PL and must.IMPF.1PL
 1235 *nus vagní a tgèsa ad a ... múlgjar tùt las tgauras.*
 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and SUBORD milk.INF all DEF.F.PL goat.PL

‘And when we came back, it wouldn’t be that nice for us, when one came here, when the farmers would come and get angry at us, or were worried because of us, and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.’

1236 *Als gjaniturş vèvan aun pòrs, stèvan fà*
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL have.IMPF.3PL in_addition pig.PL must.IMPF.1PL do.INF
 1237 *gljèz, a quaj è naturálmajn ùssa samidau*
 DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG of_course now REFL.change.PTCP.UNM
 1238 *bjè.*
 a_lot

‘My parents, in addition, had pigs, and we had to look after them, and nowadays this has of course changed a lot.’

1239 *Navèn da lu tòcan, ad è stau ábar in*
 from of then until and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM but INDEF.M.SG
 1240 *bi tjams. Ad oz lajni gnanc í la*
 beautiful.M.SG time and today let.PRS.3PL.3PL not_even go.INF DEF.F.SG
 1241 *buébanáglja, nus mavan cun tschun òns èran nus*
 child.COLL 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with five year.M.PL COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1242 *tgavrèrs, ad ozaldé, gè.*
 goatherd.PL and nowadays yes

‘From then up to, but it was a nice time. And today they don’t even let the children go, we would go when we were five years old, we were goatherds, and nowadays, yes.’

1243 [PhM] *Aber la notg buc, la notg...*
 but DEF.F.SG night NEG DEF.F.SG night

‘But at night not, at night ...’

1244 [f5] *Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg’*
 no no then come.IMP.F.1PL 1PL back and have.IMP.F.3SG every.F.SG

1245 *jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus, a la sèra*
 week somebody to give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL and DEF.F.SG evening

1246 *stgèvan nuş í tiar quèl a tschajna.*
 be_allowed.IMP.F.1PL 1PL go.INF to DEM.M.SG to dinner.F.SG

‘No, no, we would then come back, and then every week there was somebody who would give us a meal, and in the evening we could go to this person for dinner.’

1247 *A quaj midava mintg’ jamna stgèvan*
 and DEM.UNM change.IMP.F.1SG every.F.SG week be_allowed.IMP.F.1PL 1PL

1248 *nuş í tiar in, a l’ autr’ jamna midavi gjù*
 go.INF to one.M.SG and DEF.F.SG other week change.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL down to

1249 *tiar tschèl.*
 DEM.M.SG

‘And this would change every week we had to go to one, and the other week it would change to the other.’

1250 *Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.*
 no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMP.F.1PL 1PL here

‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’

1251 *Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sèra.*
 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL DEF.F.SG morning and come.IMP.F.1PL DEF.F.SG evening

‘We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.’

1252 *Qu’ è stau in bi tjams.*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG.UNM time

‘This was a wonderful time.’

1253 *Gè scù bjè autar è tg’ è samidau.*
 yes as a_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM

1254 *Quaj è usché.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so

‘Yes, as many other things that also have changed. That’s how things are.’

8.11 Al davùs purtgè da Sadrùn

The last swineherd of Sedrun

(Tuatschín, Sadrùn, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

1255 *Ju savès raquintá, ju sùn staus al davùs*
 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG last
 1256 *purtgè ... da Sadrùn, cun aun in in in*
 swineherd of PN with in_addition INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG
 1257 *camarat.*
 mate

‘I could tell, I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun, together with a mate.’

1258 *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé sé a*
 and 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG up and
 1259 *gjà, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.*
 down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM

‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.’

1260 *Qu’ è stau ... mat^haj ... gl òn avaun ca*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before REL
 1261 *tgu mòndi ... ál’ ampréma classa.*
 REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.F.SG first form

‘This was ... probably ... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’

1262 *Sünd ju sapladjus cun in ah coléga ... è da*
 be.PRS.1SG 1SG sign_on.REFL.PTCP.M.SG with DEF.M.SG eh mate also from
 1263 *Sadrùn, a ... lèz èra schòn jus l’ ampréma*
 PN and DEM.M.SG be.IMP.F.3SG already go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG first
 1264 *classa.*
 term

‘I got employed with a eh mate ... also from Sedrun, and ... he had already attended the first term [of primary school].’

1265 *A nuş duş vajn supriu da fá*
 and 1PL two.M.PL have.PRS.1PL take_over.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF
 1266 *purtgè da Sadrún, a Gjònda.*
 swineherd.M.SG of PN of PN

‘And the two of us took over [the duty] of working as the swineherd of Sedrun, at Gionda.’

1267 *Quaj vùl dí qu’ èra lu al*
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG
 1268 *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.’

1269 *Ju sa bitg tgé piaglja nuş vajn gju, àlşò*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what salary.F.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM well
 1270 *nuş vajn gju ina pintga piáglja, parquaj, gljèz*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small salary therefore DEM.UNM
 1271 *raquint’ ju al davùs.*
 tell.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.M.SG last

‘I don’t know what salary we got, well, we got a small salary; therefore, this I’ll tell at the end.’

1272 *A lu ... vèvan nus da ... la stat cu ju a*
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to DEF.F.SG summer when 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 1273 *cargjau las vacas, cargjau laş alps, scha*
 drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL cow.PL drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL alp.PL CORR
 1274 *vajn nus lu èra gju da ... cargè nòs pòrs.*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL then also have.PTCP.UNM to drove.INF POSS.1PL.M.PL
 1275
 pig.PL

‘And then ... we had to ... during summer when I drove the cows, drove them to the summer pastures, we also had to ... drove our pigs.’

1276 *Quaj vul dí, nuş vèvan èxáct végn pòrs,*
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF 1PL have.PRS.1PL exactly twenty pig.M.PL
 1277 *quaj sa ju ... tschian pròcènt.*
 DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG hundred percent.M.SG

‘This means, we had exactly twenty pigs, this I know one hundred percent.’

8 Texts

1278 *A nuş duş vèvan dad í a rimná quèls pòrs,*
and 1PL two.M.PL have.IMP.F.1PL to go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL
1279 *prèndar òr, schá ò èlş ò da nuégl.*
take.INF out let.INF out 3PL.M out of barn.M.SG

‘And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them out, out of the barn.’

1280 *Duş èran vin Gjònda craju, lu catschav’*
two.M.PL COP.IMP.F.3PL over_in PN believe.PRS.1SG.1SG then drove.IMP.F.1SG
1281 *ju quèls vi Sadrún, ad in pèr èran vi Sadrún,*
1SG DEM.M.PL over PN, and INDEF.M.SG couple COP.IMP.F.3PL over PN
1282 *nus stèvan sèzs ... catschá als pòrs ò da nuégl, a*
1PL must.IMP.F.1PL self.M.PL drove.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL out of barn.M.SG and
1283 *lu rimná èls, a qu’ èra fòrsa vi da las ...*
then collect.INF 3PL.M and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG maybe over of DEF.F.PL
1284 *òtg né uschéja, né mjása las nùf.*
eight or so, or half.F.SG DEF.F.PL nine

‘Two were over there in Gionda I believe, then I drove those to Sedrun, and some were in Sedrun, we had ... to drove the pigs out of the barn ourselves, and then collect them, and that was maybe around ... eight or so, or half past eight.’

1285 *Má tga ... avauñ nus èra sagir al tgavrè èra schòn*
since SUBORD before 1PL be.IMP.F.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
1286 *jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.*
go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMP.F.3SG then also

‘Since ... before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he also used to go.’

1287 *A ... viars anòr’sé da Val Strém ajn.*
and towards out_up of valley.F.SG PN

‘And upwards into the Strem Valley.’

1288 *A nus rimnau quèls végn pòrs, a vèvan nuş da*
and 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL and have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL to
1289 *catschá èls in dètg tòc, da Sadrún sédòra, da la*
drove.INF 3PL.M INDEF.M.SG big piece from PN up_out from DEF.F.SG
1290 *pastira sé tòcan sé Valtgèva.*
pasture up until up PN

‘And we collected those twenty pigs, and we had to drove them quite a long way, from Sedrun up, from the pasture up to Valtgeva.’

- 1291 *Ûssa ... pòrs ..., tgi ca sò quaj, lèzs èn ualti*
 now pig.M.PL who REL know.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL quite
- 1292 *stinaj da, da catschá èls, da da dad í cun èls,*
 obstinate.PTCP.M.PL MOD MOD drove.INF 3PL.M MOD MOD MOD go.INF with 3PL.M
- 1293 *quaj è bigj' in animal scù ina tgaura né*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.M.SG animal like INDEF.F.SG goat or
- 1294 *ina vaca, quèls èn bégja andisaj, èls*
 INDEF.F.SG COW DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL NEG used_to.PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M
- 1295 *èn ajn nuégl, ad ùs tùtajnína stùni antschajvar*
 COP.PRS.3PL in pigsty.M.SG and now suddenly must.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.INF
- 1296 *ad í.*
 COMP go.INF

‘Now ... pigs ..., those who know that, they are quite obstinate when one drives them, when one goes with them, this is not an animal like a goat or a cow, they are not used to it, they are in the pigsty, and now suddenly they must start going.’

- 1297 *Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la mùma da*
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG mother of
- 1298 *mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mè ... vèvan*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG have.IMPF.3PL
- 1299 *stju gidá nus in pèr dis ... da catschè*
 must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL SUBORD drove.INF
- 1300 *èls a rimná quèls pòrs, a catschè èls sédòra.*
 3PL.M and gather.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL and drove.INF 3PL up

‘Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me ... had had to help us for a couple of days ... to drove them and gather these pigs, and drove them up.’

- 1301 *Má tga quèls scapava tgi drètq a saniastar, a lu,*
 since SUBORD DEM.M.PL run_away.IMPF.3SG who right and left and then
- 1302 *ad al problèm gròn èra cu nus mavan ajnasé*
 and DEF.M.SG problem big COP.IMPF.3SG when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL in_and_up
- 1303 *séssum la pastira da Sadrún stuèvan nuş í gjù*
 on_top DEF.F.SG pasture of PN must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF down

8 Texts

- 1304 *tral* *Drun, quèl, al dargùn tga végn*
 through.DEF.M.PL PN DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG torrent REL come.PRS.3SG
- 1305 *gjàadòra cò, a tral Drun, a qu' èra*
 down_and_out here and through.DEF.M.SG PN and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
- 1306 *lu mù in pin trùtg, a suèntar⁶⁸ vi dad ina ...*
 then only INDEF.M.SG small path and after over of INDEF.F.SG
- 1307 *gjassa sédòra tòcan sé Valtgèva.*
 narrow_path up_and_out until up PN

‘Since they would run away to the right or to the left, and then, the biggest problem was when we would go up to the top of the pasture of Sedrun, we had to go down through the river Drun, this, the torrent that comes down here, and through the Drun, there was only a small path, and after this via a small path for the cattle up to Valtgeva.’

- 1308 *A dumagnè als amprèms dis quèls pòrs gjù da da*
 and cope.INF DEF.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from from
- 1309 *quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l' aua dal*
 DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.F.SG water of.DEF.M.SG
- 1310 *Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da tschèla vart, qu' è*
 PN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of DEM.F.SG side DEM.UNM. be.PRS.3SG
- 1311 *stau àlsò in martéri, a nuş vajn gju da*
 COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.M.SG ordeal and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM to
- 1312 *samudargè, ju sa, mia mùma è*
 REFL.struggle.INF 1SG know.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG
- 1313 *saglida sjantar in piartg tg' èra scapaus,*
 run.PTCP.F.SG after INDEF.M.SG pig REL be.IMPF.3SG run_away.PTCP.M.SG
- 1314 *ad ju sa aun bégn tg' èl' èra vagnida*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG
- 1315 *tùt còtschna, ad èla vèva gju da fá*
 completely red.F.SG and 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF
- 1316 *cul cùr, èla vèva magari in tég*
 with.DEF.M.SG heart 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG sometimes INDEF.M.SG bit
- 1317 *pròblèms cul cùr, a qu' èra stau par*
 problem.M.PL with.DEF.M.SG heart and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for
- 1318 *èla mèmja hèfti.*
 3SG.F too violent.ADJ.UNM

⁶⁸*suentar* is Standard Sursilvan for *sjantar*.

‘And the first days, to cope with these pigs [going] down this path and then through the water of the Drun, of which only few would go over to the other side, well, this was an ordeal, and we had to struggle, I know, my mother ran after a pig that had run away, and I still remember very well that she had turned completely red, and she had had heart problems, she sometimes had some problems with her heart, and this had been too violent for her.’

1319 *Ábar èla èra lu tutina aun vagnida ... pulit*
 but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG then nevertheless still become.PTCP.F.SG quite
 1320 *véglja. Parví da quaj, ábar èla vèva gju lò*
 old.F.SG because of DEM.UNM but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM there
 1321 *ina, in hèfti ad ...*
 INDEF.F.SG INDEF.M.SG violent and

‘But she nevertheless got ... quite old. Because of that, but she then had had there a, a, violent, and ...’

1322 *A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar*
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after
 1323 *in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná*
 INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF
 1324 *quèls pòrs ... tga mavan pulit, a lu mava ...*
 DEM.M.PL pig.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL proper.ADJ.UNM and then go.IMPF.3SG
 1325 *in òrdavaun a lu mavan quèls pòrs tùt ajn còrda ...*
 one.M in_front and then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL all in single_file.F.SG
 1326 *da quaj trutg ajnagjù vi tra l' aua a sé tòcan*
 from DEM.M.SG path in_and_down over through DEF.F.SG water and up until
 1327 *sé Valtgèva.*
 up PN

‘And I still remember this, and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these pigs ... which would move properly, and then ... one would move in front and then the other pigs would follow in single file ... down this path and through the water up to Valtgeva.’

1328 *A sé Valtgèva cu nuş èran tras ... èri lò*
 and up PN when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL through EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL there
 1329 *ina pòrt', ina gjajna, a cu nuş vajn aviart*
 INDEF.F.SG door INDEF.F.SG gate and when 1PL have.PRS.1PL open.PTCP.UNM
 1330 *la gjajna, savèvan nus sèrá la gjajna dals pòrs,*
 DEF.F.SG gate can.IMPF.1PL 1PL close.INF DEF.F.SG gate of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

8 Texts

1331 *stèvans sé cò ajn quaj plat, a nuş vèvan da fâ*
 stay.IMPF.1PL.1PL up here in DEM.M.SG flat and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL to do.INF
 1332 *ajnsassèz ... nagina lavur, nuş vèvan ina bjala véta.*
 actually no.F.SG work 1PL have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG beautiful life

‘And up in Valtgeva, when we were through ... there was a door there, a gate, and when we opened the gate, we could close the pig’s gate, we could stay up there on this flat ground, and actually ... we had nothing to do, we had a wonderful life.’

1333 *A lu la sèra ... stèvan nus rimná als pòrs, a*
 and then DEF.F.SG evening must.IMPF.1PL 1PL gather.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL and
 1334 *lu vagnévan gjù cùntar la gjajna, a nuş vèvan da*
 then come.IMPF.3PL down towards DEF.F.SG gate and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP
 1335 *dumbrá.*
 count.INF

‘And then in the evening we had to gather the pigs, and then we came down to the gate and had to count [them].’

1336 *Ad ju sa, ju èra béj’ aun jus l’ ampréma*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.IMPF.SG NEG yet go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG first
 1337 *classa, ju vèva problèms da dumbrá quèls végn pòrs*
 class 1SG have.IMPF.1SG problem.M.PL ATTR count.INF DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL
 1338 *dad in tòcan végn.*
 from one till twenty

‘And I know, I hadn’t attended the first class yet, I had difficulties counting these pigs from one to twenty.’

1339 *Ju vèva bigja aun ampríu, ajn scùlèta*
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery_school.F.SG
 1340 *amprandèvan nus pauc.*
 learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little

‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’

1341 *Álsò ... ju vèva braja da dumbrá in tòcan végn,*
 well 1SG have.IMPF.1SG trouble.F.SG COMP count.INF one till twenty
 1342 *mirá tga nuş vajn tùt als pòrs.*
 look.INF COMP 1PL have.PRS.1PL all DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘Well ... I had troubles in counting [from] one to twenty, in ensuring that we had all the pigs.’

1343 *A lu catschavan nuş als pòrs gjù Sadrún, a schavan*
 and then drove.IMPF.1PL 1PL DEF.M.PL pig.PL down PN and leave.IMPF.1PL
 1344 *èls ajn nuégl, l' autar dé puspè ajnsé.*
 3PL.M. in pigsty.M.SG DEF.M.SG other day again up

‘And then we would drove the pigs down to Sedrun, and would leave them in the pigsty, the next day again up [to Valtgeva].’

1345 *Qu' è stau, ju sùn è staus*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG also COP.PTCP.M.SG
 1346 *lùschs da mi' ampréma plaza, parquaj tga ... al davùs*
 proud.M.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG first job because SUBORD DEF.M.SG last
 1347 *dé, cu ju a dascargjau als pòrs, scha*
 day when 1SG have.PRS.1SG drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL pig.PL CORR
 1348 *şè al bap da mju còlèga vagnús cun – èl*
 be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father of POSS.1G.M.SG mate come.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M
 1349 *vèva in unimòc – vagnús cun nus sé Valtgèva, a*
 have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG unimog come.PTCP.M.SG with 1PL up PN and
 1350 *las mùmas vèvan praparau tiar mats⁶⁹ ...*
 DEF.F.SG mother.PL have.IMPF.3PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by bunch.F.PL
 1351 *pals pòrs, a vèvan ... usché cun ... mats, fatg*
 for.DEF.M.PL pig.PL and have.IMPF.3PL so with bunch.M.PL do.PTCP.UNM
 1352 *antùrn in sujèt mataj a méz sé quaj antùrn*
 around INDEF.M.SG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM up DEM.UNM around
 1353 *al vjantar dals pòrs.*
 DEF.M.SG belly of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘This was, I was also proud of my first job, because ... the last day, when I drove the pigs down, my mate’s father came with – he had a unimog – came with us to Valtgèva, and the mothers had prepared bunches of flowers ... for the pigs, and had ... so with ... bunches of flowers, tied a rope around, and put them around the belly of the pigs.’

1354 *A nuş vagní gjù da Valtgèva fòrsa cun tshun sis pòrs,*
 and 1PL come.PTCP.M.PL down from PN maybe with five six pig.M.PL
 1355 *cun sé matg.*
 with up bunch.M.

‘And we would come down from Valtgeva with maybe five or six pigs, with their bunches of flowers.’

⁶⁹ *mats* is a phonetically simplified form of *matgs* ‘bundles’

8 Texts

1356 *A nuş duş era cun la tgapjala cun sé ina bjala flur,*
 and 1PL two.M also with DEF.F.SG hat with on INDEF.F.SG beautiful flower
 1357 *a da scargjá⁷⁰ 'ls pòrs usché, qu' è*
 and COMP drove_down.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL so DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG
 1358 *stau pr nus in aparti avanimajn.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM for 1PL INDEF.M.SG special event

‘And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them, and to drove down the pigs in such a way, that was a special event for us.’

1359 *Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju scapá sé*
 and and INDEF.M.SG pig eh have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM escape.INF up
 1360 *Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu' er' ina, la*
 PN through DEF.F.SG fence DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
 1361 *sajv èr' ina, la sajv vèva rùt*
 fence COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM
 1362 *in palé, quaj vèva pudju atrás, a quaj*
 INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM through and DEM.UNM
 1363 *... vèz' ju aun òz, quaj piartg era juş atrás*
 see.PRS.1SG 1SG still today DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through
 1364 *a vèva rùt gjù al matg tga*
 and have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD
 1365 *vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.*
 have.IMPF.3SG only DEF.F.SG rope more around

‘And and a pig ... eh ... had been able to escape in Valtgeva through the fence, that was a, the fence was, had a broken post, so it had been able to go through, and this ... I still see it today, this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so that he only had the rope around [his belly].’

1366 *A, a lu vajn nus dascargjau cun gròn plaşhaj,*
 and and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL drove_down.PTCP.UNM with big.M.SG pleasure
 1367 *quaj è naturálmajn ina ònur,*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV INDEF.F.SG honour
 1368 *dascargjau als pòrs.*
 drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘And, and then we drove down [the pigs] with great pleasure, this is naturally an honour, drove down the pigs.’

⁷⁰ *Scargjá* is Standard Sursilvan for *scargjè*.

1369 *A lu, parví da la piaglja, nuş vèvan lu dad í*
 and then because of DEF.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then to go.INF
 1370 *ad incassá.*
 SUBORD collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’

1371 *Da mintga pur stèvanş í a scha ‘l vèva*
 of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG
 1372 *gju dus, stèva ‘l pijè ... dus pòrs né in né*
 have.PTCP.UNM two.M must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF two.M pig.PL or one.M or
 1373 *uschéa ... ábar ju sa bigja còns raps nuş vèvan⁷¹ ...*
 so but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG how_many cent.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL ...
 1374 *gju d’ incassá, mataj dus ... fòrsa tshun francs par*
 have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF maybe two.M probably five franc.M.PL per
 1375 *piartg.*
 pig.M.SG

‘We had to go to every farmer and if he had given two, he should [pay] more ... two pigs or one or so ... but I don’t know how much money we ... had to collect, probably two ... maybe five francs for each pig.’

1376 *A tiar in pur ... èn⁷² nuş í, èr’ ju,*
 and by INDEF.M.SG farmer ... be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
 1377 *vèv’ ju gju dad incassá quèls raps, a*
 have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL and
 1378 *quèl vèva bégja grad munajda ad usché vinavaun, a*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG NEG currently coin.F.SG and so on and
 1379 *quèl ò quaj mumèn bgja dau, ad ju*
 DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG moment NEG give.PTCP.UNM and 1SG
 1380 *a lu amblidau quaj, ábar mia muma*
 have.PRS.1SG then forget.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM but POSS.1SG.F.SG mother
 1381 *ò aun detg, aun ònş ad ònş sjantar:*
 have.PRS.3SG moreover say.PTCP.UNM still year.M.PL and year.M.PL after

‘And we went ... to a farmer, I was, I had to collect this money, and he didn’t have coins at that moment, and so on, and I then forgot about that, but my mother said, even many years later:’

⁷¹ *Còns raps nuş vèvan* replaces an unintelligible part.

⁷² *Èn* is a performance error for *èssan*.

8 Texts

1382 *“Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al*
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
 1383 *pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas*
 herdsman's_money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG
 1384 *partgirau.”*
 look_after.PTCP.UNM

‘This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.’

1385 *Álšò quèl vèv’ ju bégja vagnús d’ incassá.*
 well DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG come.PTCP.M.SG to collect.INF

‘ Well, I didn’t succeed in collecting the money from that farmer.’

1386 *Ábar tschaj vèvan nu- incassau a naturálmajn*
 but DEM.UNM have.IMPF.1PL 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM and natural.M.SG.ADV
 1387 *dau gjù tùt als raps ... dal bap ni da*
 give.PTCP.UNM down all DEF.M.PL cent.PL DAT.DEF.M.SG father or DAT
 1388 *la mùma.*
 DEF.F.SG mother

‘But the other [money] we had collected and of course handed over all the money to father or mother.’

1389 *Qu’ èra clar, nuš vèvan nagiņš raps*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL
 1390 *sèzs.*
 self.M.PL

‘This was clear, we didn’t have any money of our own.’

1391 *Ábar qu’ è stau mi’ ampréma plaza, a tùt*
 but DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.F.SG first job and all
 1392 *ajn tùt lùšchs ad i dat ina fòtògrafia*
 COP.PRS.3PL all proud.M.PL and EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph
 1393 *tgu sùn sé cun mju còlèga al dé da la*
 REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF..SG day of DEF.F.SG
 1394 *scargèda, dus pins buéts ca vèvan fatg*
 drove.PTCP.F.SG two.M.PL small.PL. boy.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL do.PTCP.UNM
 1395 *quèla lavur quèl’ antira stat.*
 DEF.F.SG job DEM.F.SG whole summer

‘But this was my first job, and all are very proud and there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig droving, two young boys who had done this job the whole summer.’

1396 [PhM] *Ti vevas sis onns fòrsa, ni tschun ?*
2SG have.IMPF.2SG six year.M.PL maybe or five

‘[PhM] You were maybe six years old, or five?’

1397 [m6] *Ju vèva, gè sis. Má tga cun sjat vas lu a*
1SG have.IMPF.1SG yes six since SUBORD with seven go.PRS.2SG.GNR then to
1398 *scùla.*
school.F.SG

‘[m6] I was six years old, yes. Since you go to school when you are seven years old.’

8.12 Al cégn

The swan

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m8, aged 40)

Recorded 2017/06/22 in Bern

Duration 1’30”

1399 *Avaun in pèr jamnas ... èr’ ju giù Locarno, api*
before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down PN and
1400 *sjantar sùnd jus a spaz ... dal lag vidajn, api*
after be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG to walk.M.SG from.DEF.M.SG lake over_in and
1401 *vòu anflau in bi ljuc, api lu ...*
have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful place and then
1402 *lèv’ ju fá bògn lò, api va ju príu ò*
want.IMPF.1SG 1SG do.INF bath there and have.PRS.1SG 1SG take.PTCP.UNM out
1403 *mju ùrdan, ju vèva ùrdan da scrívar, da léjar,*
POSS.1SG.M utensil 1SG have.IMPF.1SG utensil.M.SG ATTR write.INF ATTR read.INF
1404 *a ... tüt méz òra.*
and all put.PTCP.UNM out

‘A couple of weeks ago ... I was in Locarno and then I went for a walk ... at the lake, and then I found a nice place, and then I wanted to take a bath there, and

8 Texts

I took out my utensils, I had writing utensils, something to read, and ... [had] taken out everything.’

- 1405 *Ju èra prsuls lò, api, ah ..., tratg ajn mias*
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG alone.M.SG there and eh pull.PTCP.UNM in POSS.1SG.F.PL
 1406 *tgautschas da fá bògn, api èr’ ju pinaus dad ir*
 trouser.PL COMP do.INF bath.M.SG and COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG ready.M.SG MOD go.INF
 1407 *ál’ aua.*
 into.DEF.F.SG water

‘I was alone and ah put on my swim trunks and then I was ready to jump into the water.’

- 1408 *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév’ in cégn ...*
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
 1409 *gròn né – vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in téc*
 big.M.SG.UNM OR over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG bit
 1410 *dòminant.*
 dominant.ADJ.UNM

‘And precisely at that moment a big swan... was coming to the place where I was, a bit a dominant one.’

- 1411 *Api sjantar vòu détg dal cégn:*
 and after have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT.DEF.M.SG swan

‘And then I said to the swan:’

- 1412 *«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?’

- 1413 *Nagina réaczjún. Ju sa bigj’ í ál’ aua.*
 no.F.SG reaction 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water

‘No reaction. Well, I couldn’t jump into the water.’

- 1414 *Fòrza prènd’ al anzatgéj né ju vèv’ avaun ...*
 maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something or 1SG have.IMPF.1SG in_front
 1415 *zatgé da magljè.*
 something ATTR eat.INF

‘Maybe he would take something or I had ... something to eat in front [of me].’

1416 *Api va ju tartgau ju stùn in' jèda sèn*
 and have.PRS.1SG 1SG think.PTCP.UNM 1SG stay.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time on
 1417 *pajs, né, pr, pr mussá ... usché.⁷³ Nagina réaczjun, né.*
 foot.M.PL right s SUBORD show.INF so no.F.SG reaction right
 ‘And then I thought I could just get up, right, to show ... like this. No reaction, right?’

1418 *Aun adina lò, al cégn, lò da, da fá usché da mussá*
 still always there DEF.M.SG swan there COMP COMP make.INF so to show.INF
 1419 *sja pow-, sja pussònza.*
 POSS.3.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG power

‘Still there, the swan, there, showing his pow- his power.’

1420 *Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjuş giù, api vau*
 and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 1421 *tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj' ajfach⁷⁴ í*
 think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF
 1422 *ál' aua.*
 into.DEF.F.SG water

‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’

1423 *Api vau tartgau gè OK, lu stajn nus hald*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes OK then remain.PRS.1PL 1PL just
 1424 *in təc cò.*
 INDEF.M.SG bit here

‘And then I thought yes, OK, in this case we’ll just stay here for a while.’

1425 *Pi şè' l vajramájn staus lò.*
 then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SG.ADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there

‘And the swan really stayed there.’

1426 *Api vònzaj vau tartgau, ah ju a in'*
 and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.SG
 1427 *idéa, ju vèva grat cumprau, ju vèva grat cumprau*
 idea 1SG have.IMPF.1SG just buy.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.IMPF.1SG just buy.PTCP.UNM
 1428 *... quèla ... suna da bùca.*
 DEM.F.SG organ of mouth.F.SG

⁷³The narrator imitates the behaviour of a dominant male.

⁷⁴*Ajfach* is Swiss German for Standard Sursilvan *semplamein*.

8 Texts

‘And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea, I had just bought, I had just bought ... that ... harmonica.’

1429 *Api lu vau fatg usché.*⁷⁵
and then have.PRS.1SG.1SG make.PTCP.UNM so

‘And then I played like this.’

1430 *A sél amprém tùn, al cégn usché: uh, vscht! ina lingja*
and on.DEF.M.SG first sound DEF.M.SG swan so uh vsht! one.F.SG line

1431 *scapaus da lò circa tschian mètars navèn, schi*
escape.PTCP.M.SG from there about hundred metre.M.PL away so

1432 *curjòs!*
strange.ADJ.UNM

‘And when the swan heard the first sound, he... [went] uh, vsht! [and] escaped from there about one hundred metres away, so strange!’

1433 *Ĵu sa bé dacù.*
1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why

‘I don’t know why.’

1434 *Sas, fòrza ... şè quaj şch’ léjf*
know.PRS.2SG maybe COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM SO light.ADJ.UNM

1435 *dissónant né, bétg idéa.*
dissonant.ADJ.UNM right NEG idea.F.SG

‘You know, maybe ... this is slightly dissonant, right, no idea.’

1436 *Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf, ju*
well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCM.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM 1SG

1437 *a vajramájn fatg mù ..., quaj è mù*
have.PRS.1SG really make.PTCP.UNM only DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG only

1438 *ina cuérta.*
INDEF.F.SG short

‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way, I’ve really done it only ..., this is only a short [story].’

⁷⁵The narrator plays two sounds on the harmonica.

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

Short stories

(Tuatschín, Zarcúns, m2, aged 82)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Sadrún

Duration 7'20"

La basèlgja da Zarcúns

The church of Zarcuns



Figure 8.5: Zarcuns and its church

- 1439 *Al vitg, gl' uclaun da Zarcúns, quaj è la*
 DEF.M.SG village DEF.M.SG hamlet of PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG
- 1440 *basèlgja da Nössadùna, quaj füs Nössadùna da la*
 church of Our_Lady.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG Our_Lady.F.SG of DEF.F.SG
- 1441 *Najf ... ò quaj nùm.*
 snow have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM name.M.SG

‘The village, the hamlet of Zarcuns, that is the church of the Virgin Mary, this is the Virgin of the Snow ... as it is called.’

8 Texts

1442 *A cò raquéntan aj tga plé daditg ... şè è*
 and here tell.PRS.3PL 3PL COMP more long_time_ago EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL also
 1443 *sé quèls malètgs ajn a la basèlgja ... tga in ... tga*
 on DEM.M.PL picture.PL in to DEF.F.SG church COMP one.M.SG REL
 1444 *stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj gju da*
 live.IMPF.3SG in_and_up PN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to
 1445 *vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ... Zarcúns, í da dí*
 come.INF from of PN until out_down PN go.INF to say.INF
 1446 *páternias tòcan òragjù Zarcúns.*
 Lord's_prayer.M.SG until out_and_down PN

‘And here they say that a long time ago ... there was also in these pictures in the church ... that one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf to ... Zarcuns, [who had to] come reciting the Lord’s prayer until down to Zarcuns.’

1447 *A lò... sén quaj intènt ségi è vagnú*
 and there upon DEM.M.SG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM
 1448 *bagagjau quèla caplùta.*
 build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel

‘And there ... after this undertaking⁷⁶, this chapel was built.’

1449 *Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa, ábar*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG but
 1450 *plé gròn savès ju lu è bétga ... tgé i è ...*
 more big.ADJ.UNM can.COND.1SG 1SG then also NEG what EXPL COP.PRS.3SG
 1451 *cù Vus lajš alşò ...*
 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 ... ’

⁷⁶I.e. of coming down to Zarcuns reciting the Lord’s prayer.

La sòcjétat da música

The music society

- 1452 *Alò la véta qu' èra quèluisa ... qu' èra*
 well DEF.F.SG life DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG this_way DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL
- 1453 *la gjuvantétgna èran ... par ordinari èra*
 DEF.F.SG youth COP.IMPF.3PL for usual.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
- 1454 *quaj ... qu' èra massa gjuvantétgna cò ála val.*
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.F.SG valley

'Well, life here, it was like this ... there was the youth were ... there were usually ... there were a lot of young people here in the valley.'

- 1455 *Tgi gidava als géniturs a tgi fagèva quaj a ...*
 who help.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL parent.PL and who do.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and
- 1456 *mávani ajn quèlas sòcjétats, u ál cant ni*
 go.IMPF.3PL.3PL into DEM.F.PL society.PL either to.DEF.M.SG singing or
- 1457 *ála música, a nuş èssan è staj, sùn è*
 to.DEF.F.SG music and 1PL be.PRS.1PL also COP.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.1SG also
- 1458 *stauş ála música biabégn curònt' òns, a ... déjšç*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.F.SG music more_than forty year.M.PL and ten
- 1459 *òns sùnd ju staus p̄sidén lò, a lura, sjantar*
 year.M.SG be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG president.M.SG there and then, after
- 1460 *gl axarsézi da música ... èra quaj úsit ... tg'*
 DEF.M.SG rehearsal of music.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM habit.M.SG COMP
- 1461 *ins mava ... aun a bájbar in p̄r laş*
 GNR go.IMPF.3SG still SUBORD drink.INF one.M.SG through DEF.F.PL
- 1462 *ustrias antùrn.*
 restaurant.PL around

'Some helped their parents and some would do that and and they would participate in these societies, either in singing or in music, and we were, and I too was in the music society for a little bit more than forty years, and for ten years I was the president there, and then, after the music rehearsal, there was the habit that one would go and have a drink in the restaurants.'

- 1463 *In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda*
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
- 1464 *saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuş èran i ajn*
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in

8 Texts

1465 *ustria òl Mírar, api sa ju bégja sén tgé*
 restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG NEG upon what
 1466 *nuş èran vagní, nuş vèvan quaj òn vèvan*
 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL
 1467 *nuş da fâ sé ... ina ... fòrmazjun nòva ad ad*
 1PL to make.INF up INDEF.F.SG lineup new.F.SG and and
 1468 *instrumajnts nùfs.*
 instrument.M.PL new.PL

‘Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer’s restaurant, and I don’t know what we had come up with, that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new instruments.’

1469 *Api vèvan nus, ah, tratg sé lò in téc agl ustér*
 and have.1PL 1PL eh pull.PTCP.UNM up there INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG manager
 1470 *a quèls, prvia d’ in pèr raps, api ò*
 and DEM.M.PL because of INDEF.M.SG pair cent.M.PL and_then have.PRS.3SG
 1471 *’l ... gl ustér vagnús cun quèl’ idéja da,*
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG manager come.PTCP.M.SG with DEM.F.SG idea of
 1472 *vagnús cun in piartg gròn tg’ ins savèva ... métar*
 come.PTCP.M.SG with INDEF.M.SG pig big REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG put.INF
 1473 *ajnajù, tschichi jástar da quaj, i èra scrét*
 into_and_down pig.M.SG strange of DEM.UNM EXPL be.IMPF.3SG write.PTCP.UNM
 1474 *sé pr, quaj vùt di par ina ... ina sòzjéat cò.*
 up for DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF for INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG society here

‘And we had, eh, made fun of the restaurant manager and the others a little bit, because of some cents, and then the manager came up with the idea of, coming with a big piggy bank into which one could put [coins], one of those strange pigs or so, something was written on it, this means for a ... a society here.’

1475 *A lu sjantar música mav’ ins ajn cò; c’ i èra*
 and then after music.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG GNR in here when EXPL COP.IMPF.SG
 1476 *jástars lò scha ... vignévan quels lu vi a*
 stranger.M.PL there CORR come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and
 1477 *dèvan ... matévan ajnajù ampau raps pi c’ i*
 give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG into_and_down a_bit cent.M.PL and when EXPL
 1478 *èra ... fòrsa stau al davùs da la sasjún*
 COP.IMPF.3SG maybe be.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG season

1479 *cul* ... *scha vagnévanş* *d'* *anstagl duvrá als*
 with.DEF.M.SG CORR come.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP instead use.INF DEF.M.PL
 1480 *danès, cu nus vèvan fòm, èssanş í*
 money.PL when 1PL have.IMPF.1PL hunger.F.PL be.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 1481 *anzjaman culas dùnas, a, a ina tschajna, da quèlas tgaussas.*
 together with.DEF.F.PL woman.PL to to a dinner.F.SG of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

‘And then after rehearsal we would go there; if there were strangers there, they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents and when it was ... maybe the last of the season with the ... then we would, instead of use the money [for the society], when we were hungry, we would go and have dinner with our wives, things like that.’

1482 *Api ... cu l' ò gju tgé èri*
 and when 3SG have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM what be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1483 *stau, èssan nuş í in òn ... sèn in*
 COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL INDEF.M.SG year on INDEF.M.SG
 1484 *vièdi gjù ad, ad Immis.*
 trip down to to PN

‘And ... when he had found out what had been going on, we went one year ... on a trip down to, to Immis.’

1485 [PhM] *Nua ei quei?*
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM

‘Where is this?’

1486 [m2] *Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...*
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
 1487 *Interlaken.*
 PN

‘Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.’

1488 *La sòcjètát èn i ... èssan nuş i,*
 DEF.F.SG society be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 1489 *la sòcjètát, lu la sèra vajn nus halt valjusavaj*
 DEF.F.SG society then DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just want.PTCP.UNM
 1490 *tgé c' i cùri aparti cò, api òni détg*
 know.INF what REL EXPL run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here and have.PRS.3PL.3PL

8 Texts

1491 sé ad Immis vágian ajn ina, ina ffasta
 say.PTCP.UNM up at PN have.PRS.SBJV.3PL in INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG
 1492 d' uaut scù nuş şchèvan, ina ffasta d' uaut.
 party of woods as 1PL say.IMP.1PL INDEF.F.SG party of woods

‘The society went ... we went, the society, then in the evening we wanted to know whether there was something special going on, and then they said that at Immis, they had a party in the woods as we used to say, a party in the woods.’

1493 Api èssan nuş i sé ... taunş èssan í sé
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up so_many.M.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL up
 1494 sédajn cò.
 up_and_in here

‘And we went up ... so many went up here.’

1495 Quaj èra quèls gjucs a quaj api ... vajn
 DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG DEM.M.PL game.PL and DEM.UNM and have.PRS.1PL
 1496 nus ... sòfòrt⁷⁷ anflau òra tga ... da pascá cula ...
 1PL immediately find.PTCP.UNM out COMP SUBORD fish.INF with.DEF.F.SG
 1497 lòntscha, quèlas butègljas, quèlas tga vèvan in ring
 lance DEM.F.PL bottle.PL DEM.F.PL REL have.IMP.3PL INDEF.M.SG ring
 1498 gjùdájñ.
 down_and_in

‘There were those games and that, and ... we found out ... immediately that ... when fishing with the lance, those bottles, those that had a ring at their bottom.’

1499 Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév' ina butèglja vin.
 DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMP.3SG get.IMP.3SG INDEF.F.SG bottle wine.M.SG

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

1500 Basta, nuş èran, miravan adina dad èssar siş anzjaman, ad
 enough 1PL COP.IMP.1PL look.IMP.1PL always COMP COP.INF six together and
 1501 in gartagjava sagir.
 one.M.SG succeed.IMP.3SG surely

‘OK, we were, we always made sure that there were six of us together, and one would certainly succeed.’

⁷⁷Sòfòrt is a German word; its Tuatschin synonym is *imédjat*.

1502 *Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu i sé,*
 and instead drink.INF DEF.M.SG wine be.IMPF.1PL 1SG then go.PTCP.M.PL up
 1503 *vèvani fatg ina bòla.*
 have.IMPF.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG punch

‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.’

1504 *Api tòc’ al davùs vèvan nuş şvidau quèla bòla.*
 and until DEF.M.SG last have.1PL 1PL empty.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG punch

‘And we drank the whole punch, down to the last drop.’

1505 *Quèls musicants da Sadrún.*
 DEM.M.PL musician.PL of PN

‘These musicians from Sedrun.’

1506 *Nuş dèvan anavùs la butèglja vin api buèvanş ...*
 1PL give.IMPF.1PL back DEF.F.SG bottle wine and drink.IMPF.1PL.1PL
 1507 *duas trajs da quèlas, a da quèlas tgaussas.*
 two.F.PL three of DEM.F.PL and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

‘We would give back the bottle of wine and then we would drink ... two or three of these, and things like that.’

1508 *Uschéja. Da la sòcjétat da la música tg’ èr’ ida*
 so of DEF.F.SG society of DEF.F.SG music REL be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.F.SG
 1509 *sén vièdi.*
 on trip.M.SG

‘Exactly so. About the music society that had gone on a trip.’

La cumpagnia da mats
 The young men’s association

1510 *La cumpagnia da mats, lèzas vèvan mintg’ jèda, la*
 DEF.F.SG association of boy.PL DEM.F.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time DEF.F.SG
 1511 *cumpagnia da mats vèva mintg’ jèda, lu èra*
 association of boy.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time then COP.IMPF.3SG
 1512 *quaj ... craju, sjat ffastas ... tga vagnéva*
 DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven celebration.F.PL REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
 1513 *... fatg parada.*
 do.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

8 Texts

‘The young men’s associations, every time they had, every time the young men’s association had, then there were ..., I believe, seven celebrations ... when they would ... prepare a parade.’

1514 *Quaj èra scù Sòntgalcrést, Fronleichnam scù nuş*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG as Corpus_Christi.M.SG *Fronleichnam*⁷⁸ as 1PL
 1515 *şhajñ, api èr’ aj ... Dumèngja Alva, api*
 say.PRS.1PL and_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL Sunday.F.SG white and_then
 1516 *èr’ aj, ah, Nössadùna ... d’ Úast álşò cùlas*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL eh Our_Lady.F.SG of August.M.SG well with.DEF.F.PL
 1517 *fjastas aschia, a tût anzjaman, api èri*
 celebration.PL so and all together and_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1518 *al patrún-basèlgja Sògn Vagèli, a cò ... sunava*
 DEF.M.SG patron.SG-church.F.SG Saint.M.SG Vigilius and here play.IMPF.3SG
 1519 *la ... sòcjétat da música, fagèvan aj ina*
 DEF.F.SG society of music.F.SG make.IMPF.3PL 3PL.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 1520 *pròcèsjún-basèlgja, mù als catòlics, a la música*
 procession-church.F.SG only DEF.M.PL Catholic.PL and DEF.F.SG music
 1521 *mava, a la cumpagnia da mats.*
 go.IMPF.3SG and DEF.F.SG association of boy.M.PL

‘These were for instance Corpus Christi, «Fronleichnam» as we say, and also Divine Mercy Sunday, and there was eh Our Lady... of August, well, with the celebrations and all together, and then there was the Church Patron Saint Vigilius and here ... the Music Society used to play, they made a procession, only the Catholics, and the Music Society would participate, and the Young men’s association [as well].’

1522 *A lu èra quaj, ála cumpignia da mats*
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG association of young_man.M.PL
 1523 *èra quaj ajn trènta tòcan curònta ... gjuvans ... tga*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in thirty till forty young_man.M.PL REL
 1524 *fagèvan parada culas, cula guís cò.*
 make.IMPF.3PL parade.F.SG with.DEF.F.PL with.DEF.F.SG rifle here

‘And then there were, there were between thirty and forty ... young men ... who would parade with the, with their rifles here.’

⁷⁸*Fronleichnam* is the German word for *Sòntgalcrést*

1525 *Gè gè quèls, ... duş a dus mávani, a djantarajn*
 yes yes DEM.M.PL two.M.PL by two.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL and in_between
 1526 *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 *cafanúns* [church banners] as we say.’

1527 *Api èri, davauntiar èra è la, la*
 and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in_front EXIST.IMPF.3SG also DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
 1528 *bandiara ... bjala, qu’ èra, şchèvan aj ... la*
 flag beautiful DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3PL 3PL DEF.F.SG
 1529 *bandiara bjala.*
 flag beautiful.F.SG

‘And there was, in front there was also the the beautiful flag ..., this was, as they would say ..., the beautiful flag.’

1530 *A quèla ... èra ... da mintga vart ... èr’ aj*
 and DEM.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG of each.F.SG side EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL
 1531 *mintg’ jèda dus tga vèvan fatg ni tga fagjèvan*
 each.F.SG time two.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL do.PTCP.UNM OR REL do.IMPF.3PL
 1532 *racrut, tga cumpignavan cun la guís, cun sé la bajònèta.*
 recruit REL accompany.IMPF.3PL with DEF.F.SG rifle with on DEF.F.SG bayonet

‘And this ... there were ... on both sides ... there were two who had been or were recruits who would accompany [the flag] with a rifle with the bayonet fixed on it.’

1533 *Ad ála gjuvantétgna mavan ... als gjuvans tg’*
 and in.DEF.F.SG youth go.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL young_man.PL REL
 1534 *èran lèdics.*
 COP.IMPF.3PL bachelor.M.PL

‘And those who were members of the association of young men were ... the young men who were bachelors.’

1535 *Avaun ina ffasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
 1536 *gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé matévan sé sé la*
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because put.IMPF.3PL up up DEF.F.SG
 1537 *tgapjala ... ina nègla.*
 hat INDEF.F.SG carnation

‘Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations, because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.’

- 1538 *A quaj atgnamajn mav' ins bétga plé pala*
and DEM.UNM as_a_matter_of_fact go.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG more for.DEF.M.SG
1539 *nègla, a quaj mav' ins pal puschégn, quaj*
carnation and DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG GNR for.DEF.M.SG snack DEM.UNM
1540 *vagnéva dau in puschégn a sjantar*
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG snack and afterwards
1541 *survagnév' ins ina nègla.*
receive.PTCP.UNM GNR DEF.F.SG carnation

‘But as a matter of fact, one wouldn’t go for the carnation any more, one would go for a snack and afterwards one would receive a carnation.’

- 1542 *Ad i è aun schabagjau plé ... tga nuş èssan*
and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL be.PRS.1PL
1543 *i ... tiar duas, àlşò ajn duas jèdas ... tiar ina api*
go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F.PL time.PL to ONE.F and
1544 *sjantar aun í ad í vi tiar tschèla.*
afterwards in_addition go.PTCP.M.PL and go.PTCP.M.PL over to DEM.F.SG

‘And it also happened more ... that we went ... to two [girls], well at two different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the other.’

- 1545 *Api savèv' ins bigja cù, cù fá da purtà las*
and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF SUBORD carry.INF DEF.F.PL
1546 *nèglas, má tga quaj, quaj fagèva las*
carnation.PL since SUBORD DEM.UNM DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL
1547 *gjufnas lu schòn stém sch' i vajan sé*
young_woman.PL then in_fact attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up
1548 *la nègla tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.*
INDEF.F.SG carnation REL 3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM OR NEG

‘And one would not know how to put the carnations on the hat, since that, the young women would pay close attention to whether they had put on the hat the carnation they had given them or not.’

- 1549 *A qu' è lu schabagjau tr ... bjèras schavan*
and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM by many.F.PL let.IMPF.3PL
1550 *lu è bétga vagní ajn, era sarau, quaj*
then also NEG come.INF in COP.IMPF.3SG close.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

1551 *mav' ins sén ésch a patarlava a fagèva ... api*
 go.IMP.F.3SG GNR on door.M.SG and chatter.IMP.F.3SG and do.IMP.F.3SG and
 1552 *tùtajnina schèvani gè, lu mav' ins ajn.*
 suddenly say.IMP.F.3PL.3PL yes then go.IMP.F.3SG GNR in

‘And this happened ... many [young women] wouldn’t let [the young man] come in, the door was closed, so one would go to the door and chatter and do ... and then suddenly the young women would say yes, and then one would go in.’

1553 *A da quèlas tgaussas.*
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

‘And things like that.’

1554 *A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégn, lu vèvan nuş*
 and and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL
 1555 *gju fatg in tòc humòristic da la músic’*
 have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG prank funny from DEF.F.SG music
 1556 *anòra.*
 out

‘And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had played a funny prank.’

1557 *Api ... i è stau finju scha fò in*
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM then do.PRS.3SG one.M.SG
 1558 *dals ... tg’ èran lò djantarajn ...: «Òz fùs ... dad*
 of.DEF.M.PL REL COP.IMP.F.3SG there in_between today be.COND.3SG to
 1559 *ira a fá tschajvar ... cò ál vitg, quèls da*
 go.INF SUBORD do.INF carnival.M.SG here in.DEF.M.SG village DEM.M.PL of
 1560 *quèls òn sé Tgès’ Alva, cun tschajvar òz», api*
 DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL up house.F.SG white with carnival.M.SG today and
 1561 *vajn nus détg: «Ah, scha quaj savèssan nus schòn*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL say.PTCP.UNM eh then DEM.UNM can.COND.1PL 1PL indeed
 1562 *ira sé mirá.»*
 go.INF up look.INF

‘And ... it was over, then one of those ... who were there among us, said ... «Today we should do carnival here in the village, those of the Tgès’ Alva have carnival today», and then we said: «Eh, then, in this case, we could indeed go up and have a look.»’

8 Texts

1563 *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
 1564 *davùstiar ajn ajn ajn, nùca tga vèvan al al al, nuş*
 back_by in in in where REL have.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG 1PL
 1565 *schèvan la tgamìnada, quaj èra ... in lòcál*
 say.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG pantry DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG place
 1566 *nùca tga matévan lò, vèvan ajn las magljas a*
 where REL put.IMPF.3PL there have.IMPF.3PL in DEF.F.PL provisions.PL and
 1567 *quaj tga tanévan a frèstg quaj.*
 DEM.UNM REL hold.IMPF.3PL at fresh.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM

‘And then we went ... and then into the house from the back, and were able to go in from the back, into into into, where they had the the the, we would say ‘*tgamìnada*’ [pantry], this was ... a place where [they] would put into, would keep provisions and what had to be kept fresh.’

1568 *A tschèls èran ajn stiva a dèvan*
 and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL
 1569 *tròcas né jass ... a nus príu quèls*
 k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL
 1570 *... pinau tiar, quèls puschégns, quèlas ... tablas cun sé*
 prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL tray.PL with up
 1571 *tgarn a dal tùt ... príu quaj ad i*
 meat.F.SG and of.DEF.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and go.PTCP.M.PL
 1572 *gjà ajn in clavau a magljau a sjantar*
 down in INDEF.M.SG hay_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and after
 1573 *turnaj sé cul cul ... cula vaschala*
 go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.F.SG dishes
 1574 *vita a méz lò puspè api i.*
 empty and put.PTCP.UNM there again and go.PTCP.UNM

‘And the others were in the living room and were playing card games ... and we took these ... prepared, these snacks, these ... trays with meat and all on it ... we took this and went down into the hay barn and ate it and after we went up back with ... with the empty dishes, put them there again and went away.’

1575 *A da quèlas tgaussas ... schabjavi.*
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL happen.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

‘And these sort of things ... used to happen.’

1576 Òz \dot{s} è *bigja quaj plé.*
today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG DEM.UNM more

‘Nowadays, this doesn’t exist any more.’

1577 Òz *vòni* è *bitga, i i dat* *aun ... duas né*
today go.PRS.3PL.3PL also NEG EXPL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.F.PL OR
1578 *trajs ah ... ffastas* ... *tga la* *gjuvantétgna ... fòn* *parada.*
three eh celebration.PL REL DEF.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL parade.F.SG

‘Nowadays they don’t go either, there there are still ... two or three eh ... celebrations where the association of young men ... holds a parade.’

1579 *Ábar òz* \dot{s} è *pauc lò; tg’ i è* *déjŝch dùdish*
but today EXIST.PRS.3SG little there REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG ten twelve
1580 *ásaj* *tút.*
COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL all

‘But today there aren’t many [members of the association] there; if there are ten or twelve, that’s all.’

1581 *Ad òz fò* è *las* *gjufnas* ... *par tga* ...
and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL for SUBORD
1582 *ségi* *avùnda.*
EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough

‘And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.’

1583 *Ábar lu èra* *quaj, quaj stuèv’* *ins fá*
but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG GNR do.INF
1584 *in* *èxáman ... par* ...*savaj marschá* ... *ira ... ál*
INDEF.M.SG exam SUBORD can.INF march.INF go.INF
1585 *pas* *cul cula* ... *sòcjétat dals* ... *álšò*
at.DEF.M.SG step with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.F.SG society of.DEF.M.PL
1586 *pr ah* ...*savaj cù i* *sèj da sapurtá.*
well SUBORD eh know.INF how EXPL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COMP

1587 REFL.behave.INF

‘But then this was, one had to pass an exam ... in order to ... be allowed to march ... march ... in step with the, with the association of the ... well in order eh ... to know how one should behave.’

8 Texts

1588 *Intarassant èra quaj schòn, ábar òz shè*
 interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indeed but today be.PRS.3SG
 1589 *quaj tùt şvanju ... prquaj tga par ina*
 DEM.UNM all disappear.PTCP.UNM because SUBORD for one.F.SG
 1590 *ásaj schòn bétga ... gjuvantétna plé cò, òz.*
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL already NEG youth.F.SG more here today

‘This was interesting indeed, but today this has all disappeared ... because on the one hand there are no ... young people here any more.’

1591 *Cu i végnan òd scùla scha vòni navèn*
 when 3PL come.PRS.3PL out_of school.F.SG CORR go.PRS.3PL.3PL away
 1592 *amprendar mistrégn, api survégnan aj ina plaza*
 learn.INF profession.M.SG and receive.PRS.3PL 3PL INDEF.F.SG employment
 1593 *èra òrdlùndar.*
 also out_of_it

‘Today when they finish school, they go away in order to learn a profession, and then they also get an employment thanks to it.’

1594 *Cò èn aj bigja plazas suficjéntas.*
 here EXIST.PRS.3PL EXPL NEG job.F.PL enough.PL

‘Here there aren’t enough jobs.’

1595 *Ju sa cu cu ... cu ju sùn maridaus tga ...*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when when when 1G be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.SG COMP
 1596 *èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindisch ufauns ... tga*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN about fifteen child.M.PL REL
 1597 *mavan a scùla da Camischùlas.*
 go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PN

‘I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.’

1598 *Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga vòn a scùla.*
 and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3SG to school.F.SG

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

1599 *Tschèls èn lu carschí sé ad èn i navèn,*
 DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL then grow.PTCP.M.PL up and be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL away
 1600 *ad è, ad practisch ... atgnamajn ásaj bunamajn mù*
 and also and virtually.ADJ.UNM actually EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL almost only

1601 *gljut plé véglja ajnta Camischùlas.*
 people.F.SG more old in PN

‘The others have grown up and left, and also, and virtually ... actually there are almost only old people in Camischolas.’

1602 *Gljud gjufna şaj şgarşhajval paucs.*
 people.F.SG young EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL terrible.ADJ.UNM little.M.PL

‘There are very few young people.’

1603 *Quaj vò tût anavùs.*
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG all.UNM back

‘Everything is disappearing.’

1604 *[PhM] E co eis ei stau per Vus dad emprendre*
 and how be.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM for 2SG.POL COMP learn.INF

1605 *tudestg?*
 German.M.SG

[PhM] ‘And how was it for you to learn German?’

1606 *[m2] Òh gl amprénder tudèstg è stau, l’*
 oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG

1607 *antschata şè quaj şhòn stau in téc*
 beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit

1608 *curjùs.*
 strange.ADJ.UNM

[m2] ‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.’

1609 *Cu inş èra, parquaj tga lura ... vèvan nuş bétg aun*
 when GNR COP.IMPF.3SG because SUBORD then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL NEG yet

1610 *al, al turismus, tg’ èra sé schi scù quaj tg’ èl*
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG tourism REL 3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG up so as DEM.UNM REL

1611 *è ùssa ... a... ins stuèva simplamajn, cò*
 COP.PRS.3SG now and GNR must.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV here

1612 *vagnéva ... ampríu plajd par plajd, amprém*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG learn.PTCP.UNM word.M.SG for word.M.SG first

8 Texts

1613 *stuèv' inş amprèndar al plajd, navèn da la tschunavla*
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR learn.INF DEF.M.SG word from of DEF.F.SG five.ORD
 1614 *ansé.*
 in_up

‘When one was, because then ... we didn’t have the tourism that was up here the way that it is now ... and one had simply, here, we had ... to learn word for word, first we had to learn the word, from the fifth [class] onwards.’

1615 *Api vagnéva quaj mintg'òn in téc daplé, a lu*
 and come.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM every year.M.SG INDEF.M.SG bit more and then
 1616 *dèvani lu è sé da, da scrívar tòcs, tg' ins*
 give.3PL.3PL then also up COMP COMP write.INF play.M.PL REL GNR
 1617 *stuèva scrívar ... navèn dal ròmòntsch ... vi sél*
 must.IMPF.3SG write.INF from of.DEF.M.SG Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG
 1618 *tudèstg ... tga vignéva curagju.*
 German REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG correct.PTCP.UNM

‘And then every year some words were added, and then they also gave [us homework] to write plays which one had to translate ... from Romansh to German ... [and which] were corrected.’

1619 *Api raquintá ... al tudèstg ... vi sél ròmòntsch, né al*
 and tell.INF DEF.M.SG German over on.DEF.M.SG Romansh or DEF.M.SG
 1620 *ròmòntsch vi sél tudèstg, ed usché vajn nuş*
 Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG German and so have.PRS.1PL 1PL
 1621 *ampríu ... atgnamajn al ... fundamajn ... dal lungatg.*
 learn.PTCP.UNM indeed DEF.M.SG foundation of.DEF.M.SG language

‘And then retell ... the German [text] ... in Romansh, or the Romansh in German, and, as a matter of fact, that’s the way we learned ... the foundation of the language.’

8.14 Dus vièdis

Two trips

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, f7, aged 44)

Recorded 2016/08/26 in Ruèras

Duration 1'40"

In vièdi gjù Sògn Gagl

A trip to St. Gallen

- 1622 *Ju sùn stada avaun duş òns circa ... şè*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG ago two.M.PL year.PL about COP.PRS.3SG
- 1623 *quaj - végni quaj, gl atún tgu sùn*
 DEM.UNM come.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG autumn REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
- 1624 *stad' ad in ... sanunzjèda pŕ in cuérs da*
 COP.PTCP.F.PL at INDEF.M.SG REFL.register.PTCP.F.SG for INDEF.M.SG course of
- 1625 *... stamping-staff, da ... da fá música cul ...*
 stamping-staff COMP COMP make.INF music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG
- 1626 *cul tgiarp.*
 with.DEF.M.SG body

'About two years ago I was .. this is - it comes, in autumn when I was at a ... [when I] registered for a ... stamping-staff course, to make music with the ... with the body.'

- 1627 *Rítmica a música cul tgiarp gjù ... gjù Sògn Gagl,*
 rhythmic.F.SG and music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG body down down PN three
- 1628 *trajs dis.*
 day.M.PL

'Rhythmics and music with the body down down in St. Gallen, for three days.'

- 1629 *Api... mi' òrjèntazjún è bitga la mégljara tg'*
 and POSS.1SG.F.SG orientation COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG better REL
- 1630 *égsísta.*
 exist.PRS.3SG

'And ... my sense of orientation is not the best that ... that exists.'

8 Texts

1631 *Basta, ju sùn id' ál trèn, tòcan giù Sògn Gagl*
 enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTPC.F.SG to.DEF.M.SG train until down PN
 1632 *șè bigja da fá bjè falju, api sùnd*
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.INF much wrong.ADJ.UNM and be.PRS.1SG
 1633 *ju vagnida ò dal trèn a tartgau:*
 1SG come.PTCP.F.SG out of.DEF.M.SG train and think.PTCP.UNM

‘Enough. I went to the train, to St. Gallen there is not much you could do wrong, and I left the train and thought:’

1634 *Núa șè quaj hòtèl? Bigj' idéa, ju èra șhòn ònș*
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMP.F.1SG already year.M.PL
 1635 *bigja stad' ajn quaj martgau.*
 NEG COP.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.M.SG hotel

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

1636 *Api uș dati flòts apps né, priu nònavau*
 and now EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL smart.M.PL app.PL right take.PTCP.UNM out
 1637 *mju iPhone, tschantau ajn cò mias cartăș ad*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG iPhone start.PTCP.UNM in here POSS.1SG.F.PL map.PL and
 1638 *antschiat ad í ad í, gè gè, api gè, mirau*
 begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF and go.INF yes yes and yes, look.PTCP.UNM
 1639 *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!’

1640 *Saglida cul tgau ajn in placat, parquaj*
 run.PTCP.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG head into INDEF.M.SG signboard because
 1641 *tgu vèva cò la tupa duna tga rașdava*
 SUBORD.1SG have.IMP.F.1SG here DEF.ARF.F.SG stupid woman REL speak.IMP.F.3SG
 1642 *sin quaj iPhone.*
 on DEM.M.SG iPhone

‘Ran into a signboard with my head, because I had this woman speaking on the iPhone.’

⁷⁸ *quèla duna* replaces an unintelligible part.

1643 *Quaj è stau léjgar. Scadín cas*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM funny.ADJ.UNM every.M.SG case
 1644 *va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj tga ju*
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.M.SG head because SUBORD 1SG
 1645 *mava a spaz cò.*
 go.IMPF.1SG to walk.M.SG here

‘This was funny. In any case I hit my head because I was going for a walk here.’

1646 *Ju ancuréva bigj’ aun pokémons.*
 1SG look_for.IMPF.3SG NEG yet pokémon.M.PL

‘I wasn’t looking for the pokémons yet.’

1647 *Ju a tutin’ anflau mju ... craj ju ...*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG in spite find.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG believe.PRS.1SG 1SG
 1648 *cò ’l hòtèl vèva nùm ... Schweizerkreuz ..., ju*
 here DEF.M.SG hotel have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN 1SG
 1649 *a anflau tiptòp.*
 have.PRS.1SG find.PTCP.UNM perfectly

‘In spite of this I found my ... I think ... here, the name of the hotel was Schweizerkreuz ..., I found [the hotel] very easily.’

1650 *Gè, quaj è ùs vagnú andamajn da mé tg’*
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG now come.PTCP.UNM in_mind DAT 1SG COMP
 1651 *era stau, gè, tg’ è stau vajramajn*
 be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM yes COMP be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM real.F.SG.ADV
 1652 *léjgar.*
 funny.ADJ.UNM

‘Yes, this has come to my mind now, that it was, yes, that it had been, that it was really funny.’

In vièdi gjù Sardégna
 A trip to Saradinia

1653 *Staj gjù ... gjù Sardégna. Cù détsch ju? Gjú Sardégna?⁷⁹*
 COP.PTCP.M.PL down down PN how say.PRS.1SG 1SG down PN

‘[We] were down in Sardinia. How do I say? Down Sardinia?’

⁷⁹The narrator refers to the fact that we were speaking about locative prepositions and that the right preposition often occurs spontaneously.

8 Texts

1654 *Ah, éba gè, quaj è lu autar c' i è*
 eh exactly yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG then other.ADJ.UNM REL EXPL COP.PRS.3SG
 1655 *spòntán, névétg.*
 spontaneous.M.UNM right?

‘Eh, exactly, yes, this is another one that is spontaneous, right?’

1656 *Nuș éssan șgulaĵ l' amprém' jèd' uòn, cun nòssaș*
 1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.F.SG first time this_year with POSS.1PL.F.PL
 1657 *duas ... buébas.*
 two.F girl.PL

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

1658 *A lò éssan nus ... tgé c' è stau al ...*
 and there be.PRS.1PL 1PL what REL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG
 1659 *al plé spézjal è stau in dé tga*
 DEF.M.SG more special.ADJ.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG day REL
 1660 *nuș éssan staj a la mar a fatg bògn api*
 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.F.SG sea and make.PTCP.UNM bath.M.SG and
 1661 *ò antschiat a plùver.*
 have.PRS.3SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP rain.INF

‘And then we ... what was the ... the most special [thing] is one day when we were at the seaside and went swimming and it started raining.’

1662 *Gè quaj è stau, è stau lüssig.⁸⁰*
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM cool

‘Yes this was, this was cool.’

1663 *Álșò quaj èra ... i èra fétg tgaut, a*
 well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and
 1664 *la mar èra balèzja gjù Sardégna. Sablún, savèvaș*
 DEF.F.SG sea COP.IMPF.3SG beauty down PN sand.M.SG can.IMPF.2SG.GNR
 1665 *í vidò u-glĵunsch.*
 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.’

⁸⁰ *lüssig* is Swiss German.

1666 A ... mia féglja pintg' è plétòst, par
 and POSS.1SG.F.SG have.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young
 1667 indiſch ònſ èſ èla⁸¹ pintga.
 COP.PRS.3SG rather for eleven year.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.F small.F.SG

‘I have .. my youngest daughter is rather, she is short for eleven years.’

1668 A lu šè quaj èba stau bi tg'
 and then be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM precisely COP.PTCP.UNM beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP
 1669 èla ... èla savèv' è í vidò gljunsch a paj sènza
 3SG.F 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG without
 1670 tgu stòpi tumaj tg' èla mòndi a fùns.
 COMP.1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG fear.INF COMP 3SG.F go.PRS.SBJV.3SG to ground.M.SG

‘And then this was really great that she ... she could go far on foot without me having to be afraid that she could drown.’

1671 A lu èssan nus staj a la mar cun sulégl ad i
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.F.SG sea with sun.M.SG and EXPL
 1672 ò pluvju.
 have.PRS.3SG rain.PTCP.UNM

‘And then we were at the seaside with sun and it rained.’

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

Being young yesterday and today

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m9, aged 31)

Recorded 2017/03/14 in Sedrun

Duration 6'10"

1673 Álšò gè ... ju sùn biabégn ùſ è schòn trènta ... trèntín
 well yes 1SG be.PRS.1SG around now also already thirty thirty_one
 1674 òns ... ad ju sa, gè, in téc da la gjuvantétgna
 year.M.PL and 1SG know.PRS.1SG yes INDEF.M.SG bit of DEF.F.SG youth
 1675 sa ju schòn raquintá ... usché scù i mava da nòs
 can.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG of POSS.1PL.M.SG
 1676 tjams a tgé ca va ùsa ... usché in téc la difarènta.
 time.PL and what REL go.PRS.3SG now so INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.F.SG difference

⁸¹ èſ èla is a performance error for šè la

‘Well yes ... I am now already more or less thirty ... thirty one years old ... and I can, yes, a bit of my youth I can indeed tell [you about] ... the way it was when we were young and the way it is nowadays ... a bit the differences.’

1677 *Tgé c' i è usché è sémplamajn, nus fagèvan*
 what REL EXPL COP.PRS.3SG so COP.PRS.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL do.IMP.F.1PL
 1678 *plétòst ... gè, scù lajn dí ... nuş èran ... sémplamajn*
 rather yes how want.PRS.1PL say.INF 1PL COP.IMP.F.3PL simple.F.SG.ADV
 1679 *camarats a nus mavan ò palas vias.*
 mate.M.PL and 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL out through.DEF.F.PL street.PL

‘What is so is simply rather ... yes, how should I say ... we were simply mates and we would go around in the streets.’

1680 *Nus mavan palas vias ... fagèvan lò nés⁸²*
 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL through.DEF.F.PL street.PL do.IMP.F.1PL there POSS.1PL.M.PL
 1681 *gjucs ... nus fagèvan zatgé, fièvan nuş adin' ál*
 game.PL 1PL do.IMP.F.1PL something, do.IMP.F.1PL 1PL always in.DEF.M.SG
 1682 *tjams líbar.*
 time free

‘We would go around in the streets ... there we played our games ... if we did something, we would always do it during our leisure time.’

1683 *Sch' i èra bigja d' amprèndar, sch' èr' ins*
 if EXPL COP.IMP.F.3SG NEG to learn.INF CORR COP.IMP.F.3SG GNR
 1684 *palas vias antùrn.*
 trough.DEF.F.SG street.PL around

‘If we didn’t have to study, we would go around in the streets.’

1685 *Álşò vagnú a tgèsa stèv' ins bégja bjè. Lu*
 well come.PTCP.UNM to house.F.SG stay.IMP.F.3SG GNR NEG much then
 1686 *stèv' ins schòn vaj schliat.*
 must.IMP.F.3SG GNR really have.INF bad.UNM

‘Well, [when we] arrived home, we wouldn’t stay long. In this case [i.e. if we stayed at home] we wouldn’t feel well indeed.’

1687 *A savèva lu è èssar tgé aura tg' i èra.*
 and can.IMP.F.3SG then also COP.INF what weather.F.SG REL EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG

‘And it also depended on what kind of weather there was.’

⁸²Nés is a performance error for nòs.

1688 *Má tg' al bjè a tgèsa vèv' ins lungurús, a sch'*
 since SUBORD DEF.M.SG most at home.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG GNR boring and if
 1689 *ins vèva lungurús, mav' ins òdaviart a figèva*
 GNR have.IMPF.3SG boring go.IMPF.3SG GNR outside and do.IMPF.3SG
 1690 *zatgéj.*
 something

‘Since in most cases it was boring at home, and if one was bored, one would go outside and do something.’

1691 *Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg' ins fagèva*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR do.IMPF.3SG
 1692 *plé baut ... fòrsa da quaj da pòlici' a ládar ... da quaj.*
 more early maybe of DEM.UNM of police.F.SG and thief.M.SG of DEM.UNM

‘We would often go and play, as one would do it in the past ... maybe games of police and thief ... things like that.’

1693 *Ad ju sa mètar avaun òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar*
 and 1SG can.PRS.1SG put before nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put.INF
 1694 *avaun plé tg' i fòn da gljèz, né?*
 before more COMP 3PL do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right

‘And I can imagine nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?’

1695 *Nus mavan par èxèmpal è ... gljèz è hald è*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL for example.M.SG also DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG just also
 1696 *clar ... ùş şaj vagnú in téc plé*
 clear.ADJ.UNM now be.PRS.3SG.EXPL become.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more
 1697 *spès, tèt cun tgèsas ...*
 dense.ADJ.UNM all with house.F.PL

‘We would also go, for instance ... this is also clear ... now it has become a bit more dense, all with houses ...’

1698 *Nuş vèvan halt ... aun aviart in téc daplé ... curtín,*
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL just still open.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more garden.M.SG
 1699 *détsch ju, ùşa ... drètq a saniastar, tg' ins savèv' aun fá*
 say.PRS.1SG 1SG now right and left COMP GNR can.IMPF.3SG still do.INF
 1700 *lò in téc balapaj ... drèq a saniastar.*
 there INDEF.M.SG bit football left and right

8 Texts

‘We had in fact ... still a few more open [spaces] ... garden, I say, now ... right and left, so that we still could play a bit of football ... right and left.’

- 1701 *A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavanş bjè a*
and right precisely also DEF.M.SG winter especially go.IMPf.1PL.1PL often and
1702 *bagagjavan sprunş a देंvan cun skis né cun ajssa*
build.IMPf.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPf.1PL with ski.M.PL or with board.F.SG
1703 *né tg’ ins mava cun bòb da vias gjù ... tg’*
right COMP GNR go.IMPf.3SG with bob.M.SG from street.F.PL down REL
1704 *èra naturálmajn è bigj’ aun aschí malsagir ùşa ... scù*
COP.IMPf.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV also NEG yet so unsafe.ADJ.UNM now as
1705 *ùşa fòrsa dal tráfic a vidanò.*
now maybe from.DEF.M.SG traffic and back_and_forth

‘And, right?, especially during winter we often went and built ski jumps and would go skiing or snowboarding, or we would go down the streets on bobsleigh ... which was of course not really as unsafe ... as now because of the traffic and so on.’

- 1706 *Ad i èra difarènta quét’ ju sémplamajn ...*
and EXPL EXIST.IMPf.3SG difference.F.SG think.PRS.1SG 1SG simple.F.SG.ADV
1707 *nus fagèvan plé bjè òdaviart tga quaj tg’ i végn*
1PL do.IMPf.1PL more often outside than DEM.UNM REL EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
1708 *fatg òzaldé, quét’ ju.*
do.PTCP.UNM nowadays think.PRS.1SG 1SG

‘And there were simply differences I think ... we played more often outside than what is done nowadays, I think.’

- 1709 *Fòrsa è ... clar, nus vèvan schòn è nòs*
maybe also sure.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMPf.1PL in_fact also POSS.1PL.M.PL
1710 *còmputars né tgé ca nus vèvan als gameboys a*
computer.PL or what REL 1PL have.IMPf.1PL DEF.M.PL gameboy.PL and
1711 *vidanò.*
back_and_forth

‘Maybe also ... sure, we also had our computers or what did we have? ... the gameboys and so on ... ’

- 1712 *Ábar ... quaj èra schòn bigja schi scù òzaldé ... quaj*
but DEM.UNM COP.IMPf.3SG in_fact NEG so as nowadays DEM.UNM
1713 *èxtrèm.*
extreme.ADJ.UNM

‘But this was in fact not like nowadays ... so extreme.’

1714 *A la sòrtida ... da nòs tjams salagravan nuş*
 and DEF.F.SG going_out of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMP.F.1PL 1PL
 1715 *da vagní ò da scùla par èsavaja la gjuvantétna.*
 COMP come.INF out of school.F.SG SUBORD also can.INF to DEF.F.SG youth

‘And as for going out ... when we were young we were happy to come out of school in order to also be able to go to the association of young people.’

1716 *Nuş vajn gè schi massa ... àlşò nus vajn gè sé cò*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL after_all so much well 1PL have.PRS.1PL after_all up here
 1717 *in’ unjun da gjuvantétna.*
 INDEF.M.SG union of youth.F.SG

‘We have after all so many ... well, we have up here a Young People’s Association, after all.’

1718 *Ad ju craj plé baud vèvani schòn aun ... nus*
 and 1SG believe.PRS.1SG more early have.IMP.F.3PL.3PL really still 1PL
 1719 *vèvan schòn in téc plé gròn tschafan da vagní ajn*
 have.IMP.F.1PL really INDEF.M.SG bit more big.M.SG pleasure COMP come.INF in
 1720 *lò ... èssar anzjaman cun fòrs’ in téc plé véglis a*
 there be.INF together with maybe INDEF.M.SG bit more OLD.M.PL and
 1721 *vidanò ...*
 back_and_forth

‘And I believe that in earlier times they really had ... we were really happier to go there ... be together with maybe people who were a bit older and so on ...’

1722 *A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga végnan ò da scùla*
 and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of school.F.SG
 1723 *sadatan bigja gju schi fétg cun in téc plé véglis.*
 REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with INDEF.M.SG bit more old.M.PL

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

1724 *Nuş vajn adina gju fatg parada.*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

‘We always held a parade.’

1725 *Ju sùn èba staus ... òh, bunamajn déişch òns capitani ...*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG simply COP.PTCP.M.SG oh almost ten year.M.PL captain
 1726 *a lu sa ju schòn in téc sc’ i funczjanava.*
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit how EXPL function.IMP.F.3SG

‘As a matter of fact, I was ... oh, for almost ten years captain [of the Association of Youth] and therefore I know a bit how it used to function.’

- 1727 *Nus santupavan, al bjè vèvan nuş da fá gjù*
 1PL REFL.meet.IMP.1PL DEF.M.SG often have.IMP.1PL 1PL to make.INF down
 1728 *usché mias’ ur’ avaun sél lòcál, nuş vajn in lòcál*
 so half.F.SG hour before on.DEF.M.SG place 1PL have.PRS.1PL INDEF.M.SG place
 1729 *da gjuvantétgna ... nùca tga nus sarimnavan tùts.*
 of youth.F.SG where REL 1PL REFL.meet.IMP.1PL all.M.PL

‘We would meet, in most cases we had to meet half an hour or so before, at the place ... we have a place where the Young People’s Association can meet ... where all of us would meet.’

- 1730 *A las buébas né las gjufnas mégljardétg, lèzas*
 and DEF.F.PL girl.PL or DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL better_said DEM.F.PL
 1731 *vèvan lu da ... trá ajn ina blus’ alva né trá, gè*
 have.IMP.3PL then to pull.INF in INDEF.F.SG blouse white or pull.INF yes
 1732 *alf ... a tgautschas najras scù’ ls gjuvans èra ...*
 white.ADJ.UNM and trousers.F.PL black.PL like DEF.M.PL young_man.PL also
 1733 *mù tga lèzas vèvan da vagní cun in matg*
 but SUBORD DEM.F.PL have.IMP.3PL to come.INF with INDEF.M.SG buch
 1734 *flurs, a nuş vèvan lu tgi vèva la guís ... né ...*
 flower.F.PL and 1PL have.IMP.1PL then who have.IMP.3SG DEF.F.SG rifle or
 1735 *las bandiaras, la fana bial’ a quaj, a lu*
 DEF.F.PL flag.PL DEF.F.SG flag beautiful and DEM.UNM and then
 1736 *vèvan nus mintg’ jè in capitani ad in fice.*
 have.IMP.1PL 1PL every.F.SG time INDEF.M.SG captain and INDEF.M.SG vice

‘And the girls or, to be more precise, the young women had to ... wear a white blouse or wear, yes, white ... and black trousers like the young men too ... but the young women had to participate with a bunch of flowers, but some of us had to come with a rifle or with flags, the “beautiful flag” and so, and each time we had a captain and a vice-captain.’

- 1737 *L’ antschata c’ ju sùn vagnús ò da scùla ...*
 DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG
 1738 *usché avaun quindisch òns ... lò ... anflávani aun plétòst da*
 so before fifteen year.M.PL there find.IMP.3PL.3PL still rather of

1739 *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
 1740 *sémpal.*
 simple.ADJ.UNM

‘At the beginning when I had finished school ... about fifteen years ago ... there ... they would still find people who would do [the job of captain], but nowadays to find captains is not so easy.’

1741 [PhM] *E daco manegias?*
 and why think.PRS.2SG

‘And why do you think so?’

1742 [m9] *Ah ju sa bégja ... dacù sa ju bégja ... sch' i*
 eh 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG if 3PL
 1743 *òn in téc ... al turpètq fòrsa ... sògar, schizún⁸³ ...*
 have.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG shame maybe even even
 1744 *ábar, i è ... i è gréjv dí ... i*
 but EXPL COP.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF EXPL
 1745 *a usché cèrd òn ... cèrdş òns né anadas*
 EXIST.PRS.3SG so certain.M.SG year certain.M.PL year.PL or age_group.F.PL
 1746 *tga şèn uschéa, lu şaj duas, trajş anadas*
 REL COP.PRS.3PL so then exist.PRS.3SG.EXPL two.F.PL three age_group.F.PL
 1747 *tga şèn puspè in téc autar.*
 REL COP.PRS.3PL again INDEF.M.SG bit other.ADJ.UNM

‘Eh, I don’t know ... why I don’t know ... whether they are a bit ... ashamed, maybe, even, ... but it is ... it is difficult to say ... there is a certain year ... there are certain age groups which are like that, and then there are two or three age groups that are again a bit different.’

1748 *Ad ju a al santimajn, laş anadas tga*
 and 1SG have.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG feeling DEF.F.PL age_group.PL REL
 1749 *végnan ùşa, astg' inş dí cun buna cuns-cianza,*
 come.PRS.3PL now allow.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF with good.F.SG conscience
 1750 *végnan puspè plé tgunşch ála gjuvantétgna, i ...*
 come.PRS.3PL again more easy.ADJ.UNM to.DEF.F.SG youth 3PL
 1751 *sadrézan plétòst anviars nus.*
 REFL.address.PRS.3PL rather towards 1PL

⁸³ *Sogar* is German, and *Schizún* is Romansh.

‘And I have the feeling, the age groups that are coming now, one can say it with a clear conscience, they come more easily to the Young People’s Association, they ... rather address us.’

1752 *Ûş şai puspè in təc usché ... al còc scù ... avaun*
 now COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL again INDEF.M.SG bit so DEF.M.SG core like before
 1753 *quindisçh òns, quét’ ju ... i è stau ditg*
 fifteen year.PL think.PRS.1SG 1SG EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM long_time
 1754 *lò djantarajn, è stau anadas, gè tg’ ins*
 there in_between be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM age_group.F.PL yes REL GNR
 1755 *savèva bétga pròpi ... nù métar quèls, gè èxáct.*
 know.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly where put.INF DEM.M.PL yes exact.ADJ.UNM

‘Now it is again a bit like this ... the core as ... fifteen years ago, I think ... it has been a long time in between, there have been age groups, yes, of which one didn’t know exactly ... where to put them, yes, exactly.’

1756 *Ábar la difarènza, nùc’ ju vèz’ ina grònda difarènza*
 but DEF.F.SG difference where.REL 1SG see.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.SG big difference
 1757 *è scù scòlast da skis dùn ju gè schòn ... òtg òns ...*
 also as teacher.M.SG of ski.PL give.PRS.1SG 1SG yes already eight year.PL
 1758 *vèz’ ju bjè tgé ca vò sén pista, grat ... dals*
 see.PRS.1SG 1SG much what REL go.PRS.3SG on slope.M.SG just of.DEF.M.PL
 1759 *indigèns anò ... i vòn bétga plé schi bjè scù quaj tg’ i*
 local.PL out 3PL go.PRS.3PL NEG more so much as DEM.UNM REL 3PL
 1760 *mavan in’ jèda.*
 go.IMPF.3PL INDEF.F.SG time

‘But the difference, where I also see a big difference, as a ski teacher I have already been teaching for eight years ... I see a lot of what is going on on the ski slopes, especially ... regarding the local people ... they don’t go as often as they used to go some time ago.’

1761 *Grad la gjuvantétgna ... pauca gjuvantétgna ... tgé c’ ins*
 especially DEF.F.SG youth little.F.SG youth what REL GNR
 1762 *vèza bjè è als plé passaj, als pènşionaj*
 see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL more old.M.PL DEF.M.SG retired.PL
 1763 *vèz’ ins bjè sén pista ... a tschaj è quèls scù*
 see.PRS.3SG GNR much on slope.F.SG and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.PL as
 1764 *adina halt ... quèlas famigljás scù adina.*
 always simply DEM.F.PL family.PL as always

‘Especially the youth ... little youth ... what one often sees are older people, one can see a lot of retired people on the slopes ... and the others are those one always sees ... these families, as always.’

- 1765 *Ábar lò şai schòn ju anavùş in téc, è*
 but there be.PRS.3SG.EXPL really go.PTCP.UNM back INDEF.M.SG bit also
 1766 *cùls indigèns. Ûş ani plétòst antschiat ajn ad*
 with.DEF.M.PL local.PL how have.PRS.3PL.3PL rather begin.PTCP.UNM in COMP
 1767 *í cuérsa ljunga.*
 go.INF course.F.SG long

‘But it has really diminished a bit, also with the local people. Now they have rather begun with cross-country skiing.’

- 1768 *Quaj tg’ i sòn fá datiar ... tg’ i sòn fòrsa*
 DEM.UNM REL 3PL can.PRS.3PL do.INF alongside REL 3PL can.PRS.3PL maybe
 1769 *fá in’ ura api òn i fatg al spòrt*
 do.INF one.F.SG hour and have.PRS.3PL 3PL do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG sport
 1770 *dal dé ad òn tutin’ aun zatgé dal dé*
 of.DEF.M.SG day and have.PRS.3PL nevertheless still something of.DEF.M.SG day
 1771 *... uschéa, quèla dirèczjun ... éxáct.*
 so DEM.F.SG direction exact.ADJ.UNM

‘That they can do alongside ... that they can do maybe for one hour and then they have done their sport for the day and nevertheless still have something of the day ... so, something like this ... exactly.’

- 1772 *Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé végni*
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL
 1773 *zacù è ... purşchju daplé.*
 somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more

‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities nowadays.’

- 1774 *Álşò i òn bunamajn damèmjja, détsch ju uşa*
 well 3PL have.PRS.3PL almost too_much say.PRS.1SG 1SG now
 1775 *frèch.⁸⁴*
 naughty.ADJ.UNM

‘Well they have almost too much, I would now say naughtily.’

⁸⁴Frèch is Swiss German.

8 Texts

1776 [PhM] *Pils gjuvens da tia vegliadetgna, tgei purschida*
 for.DEF.M.PL young.PL of POSS.2SG.F.SG age what offer.F.SG
 1777 *dati si cheu?*
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL up here

‘For the young people of your generation, what job opportunities are there here?’

1778 [m9] *Ah, quaj dapjanda tgé ca nus prandín sùt purschidas*
 eh DEM.UNM depend.PRS.3SG what REL 1PL take.PRS.1PL under offer.F.PL
 1779 *... purschidas da luvrà détsch ju ùsa par èxèmpal ... sél*
 offer.F.PL of work.INF say.PRS.1SG 1SG now for example.M.SG on.DEF.M.SG
 1780 *baghètq plétòst ... a schjuc dati lu plé ... paucas*
 construction rather and otherwise EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL then more little.F.PL
 1781 *... purschidas, má tga ... gè, ins vèza, la gjuvantétgna*
 offer.PL because SUBORD yes GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG youth
 1782 *scapa plétòst anòragjù ... má tg’ i ... purschju*
 escape.PRS.3SG rather out_down because SUBORD EXPL offer.PTCP.UNM
 1783 *gjù lò ... la purschid’ è plé grònda.*
 down there DEF.F.SG offer COP.PRS.3SG more big.F.SG

‘Eh, this depends on what we mean to say with offers ... job offers, I say now for example ... rather on a building site ... and otherwise there are much fewer ... offers, because ... yes, one can see that young people escape rather to outside the Grisons ... because there ... offered down there ... the offering is larger.’

1784 [PhM] *A pr í ajn sòrtida?*
 and SUBORD go.INF in going_out

‘And in order to go out?’

1785 [m9] *La sòrtida è sagir è id’ anavùs ...*
 DEF.F.SG going_out COP.PRS.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM also go.PTCP.UNM back
 1786 *àlsò gljèz astg’ ins dí bégn.*
 well DEM.UNM be_allowed.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF well

‘The possibilities for going out have certainly diminished ... well this you may well say.’

1787 *Gè, sch’ ju mir’ anavùs ... quaj è fòrsa sjad, ògj*
 yes if 1SG look.PRS.1SG back DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG maybe seven eight
 1788 *òns ... schòn mù gljèz ... savèv’ ins í patschíficamajn.*
 year.M.PL really only DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF peaceful.F.SG.ADV

‘Yes, if I look back ... that was maybe seven, eight years [ago] ... only that ... one could go peacefully.’

1789 *Ju détsch ùša gl unviarn cu bjèrs vèvan hald*
 1SG say.PRS.1SG now DEF.M.SG winter when many.M.PL have.IMP.F.3PL simply
 1790 *vacanzas scha ... lò ampurtavi lu bétga scha té*
 holiday.F.PL CORR there be_important.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL then NEG if 2SG.GNR
 1791 *mavaş durònt l’ jamna né la ... sònda-duméngj’ ajn*
 go.IMP.F.2SG.GNR during DEF.F.SG week or DEF.F.SG Saturday-Sunday in
 1792 *sòrtida.*
 going_out.F.SG

‘I say now that during winter when many people used to go on holidays ... it wasn’t important if one would go out during the week or during the weekend.’

1793 *Cò èr’ adina ... fulanau ... ad i èr’*
 here COP.IMP.F.3SG always crowded.ADJ.UNM and EXPL EXIST.IMP.F.3SG
 1794 *adina è ... gè daplé lòcalitats, détsch ju ùša.*
 always also yes more place.F.PL SAY.PRS.1SG 1SG now

‘Here it was always ... crowded ... and there were always also ... yes, more places, I say now.’

1795 *Álşò nus vèvan ... gljèz èr’ è adin’ in tég*
 well 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG also always INDEF.M.SG bit
 1796 *autar tga quaj tga nus fajajn òz in téc.*
 other than DEM.UNM REL 1PL do.PRS.1PL today INDEF.M.SG bit

‘Well, we had ... that was always a bit different from what we do today, a bit.’

1797 *Álşò cu ju sùn vagnúş ò da scùla ... nuş*
 well when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG we
 1798 *vèvan schòn è nàtèls a da quaj ábar nus ... nuş*
 have.IMP.F.1PL in_fact also smartphone.M.PL and of DEM.UNM but 1PL 1PL
 1799 *duvravan bétga schi ... èxtrèm quaj scù i végn*
 use.IMP.F.1PL NEG SO extreme.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
 1800 *duvrau.*
 use.PTCP.UNM

‘Well, when I finished school ... we also had smartphones and such things, but we ... we didn’t use them in such an extreme way as they are used [nowadays].’

8 Texts

1801 *Pr nuş vèvi adina nùm, nus santupajn ... laş*
 for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG 1SG REFL.meet.PRS.1PL DEF.F.PL
 1802 *òtg sèla majşa radùnda ... aschí vèndardís né sònda ... tgi*
 eight on.DEF.F.SG table round so Friday.M.SG or Saturday.F.SG who
 1803 *c' è lò è lò.*
 REL COP.PRS.3SG there COP.PRS.3SG there

‘For us it always meant that we meet ... at eight o’clock at the round table ... be it Friday or Saturday ... whoever was there.’

1804 *A lu al bjè stèv' ins lò ina, duaş uras ... da*
 and then DEF.M.SG much stay.IMPF.3SG GNR there one.F.SG two.F.PL hour.PL of
 1805 *cumpignia api sjantar mav' ins lu ... ségi quaj*
 company.F.SG and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM
 1806 *ajn quèla bar né ajn tschèla ... nùca tg' i vèva lu tga*
 in DEM.F.SG bar or in DEM.F.SG where REL EXPL have.IMPF.3SG then COMP
 1807 *trèva ... dad ira.*
 pull.IMPF.3SG to go.INF

‘And then we would mostly stay one or two hours together and then we would go into this bar or into that one ... wherever it drew us to go.’

1808 *Ábar anzatgí era lu adina lò da laş òtg ... sch' ins*
 but somebody COP.IMPF.3SG then always there of DEF.F.PL eight if GNR
 1809 *vèva lu fatg gjù né bétg ... par nuş vèvi*
 have.IMPF.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM down or NEG for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1810 *adina nùm laş òtg lò.*
 always name.M.SG DEF.F.PL eight there

‘But somebody was always there at eight o’clock ... whether we had made an appointment or not ... for us it always meant at eight there.’

1811 *Ábar ùs şè quaj è samidau ... álsò*
 but now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM also REFL.change.PTCP.UNM well
 1812 *végni è scrèt drègj a saniastar.*
 PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL also write.PTCP.UNM right and left

‘But now this has changed ... well, this is what one can read (literally ‘what is written’) everywhere.’

1813 *[PhM] Aber mavas vus è gju Glion ni gju Cuera en sòrtida?*
 but go.IMPF.2PL 2PL also down PN or down PN in going_out.F.SG

[PhM] ‘But did you also go to Glion or Cuera in order to go out?’

1814 [m9] Nus mavan schòn èra ... ábar bégja stédjamajn ... gè, gjù
 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL indeed also but NEG constant.F.SG.ADV yes down
 1815 Cuéra né usché mavan nuş aun plétòst, má tga nuş
 PN or so go.IMP.F.1PL 1PL in_addition rather, because SUBORD 1PL
 1816 vèvan lu è ... al bjè mavan nus sémplamajn
 have.IMP.F.1PL there also DEF.M.SG much go.IMP.F.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV
 1817 lò nùca nuş vèvan còlègs tg' ins savèva stá şur
 there where.REL 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL mate.M.PL REL GNR can.IMP.F.3SG stay over
 1818 nòtg.
 night.F.SG

[m9] ‘We would indeed go ... but not regularly ... yes, down to Cuera or otherwise we would rather go ... because we have also ... we would mostly go simply where we had friends where we could stay over night.’

1819 Álşò ins mava par èxèmpal è magari gjù Lucèrn, prquaj
 well GNR go.IMP.F.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PN because
 1820 tga nuş vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlègs tga stèvan gjù
 COMP 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL down PN colleague.M.PL REL stay.IMP.F.3PL down
 1821 lò.
 there

‘Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.’

1822 Èra quaj pr nus da quaj tjams schòn aun
 COP.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM for 1PL of DEM.M.SG time indeed in_addition
 1823 highlights ... né ... tga marschav' in təc daplé, outra
 highlight.PL right COMP go_on.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG bit more other.F.SG
 1824 gljut ... lu mav' ins bugèn ... né gjù Cuéra, gè ...
 people then go.IMP.F.3SG GNR with_pleasure or down PN yes
 1825 èxáct ... a schjùc al bjè schòn sé cò antùrn.
 exact.ADJ.UNM and otherwise DEF.M.SG much really up here around

‘For us these were indeed highlights at that time ... right? ... because there were more things going on, other people ... then it was a pleasure for us to go there ... or down to Cuera, yes ... exactly ... and otherwise mostly around here.’

8.16 Lavur d'ufauns

Child labour

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, f4 and m3, aged 69 and 73)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Rueras

Duration 11'50"

- 1826 [f4] *Oh ju sa èba dí, cu nus mavan a scùla, cù*
oh 1SG can.PRS.1SG just say.INF when 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL to school.F.SG how
- 1827 *quaj èr' atgnamajn al sistém né cu nuş èran*
DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG actually DEF.M.SG system or when 1PL COP.IMP.F.3SG
- 1828 *... gè, tg' ins ... cu nus mavan a scùla, ùssa şèn aj*
yes, SUBORD GNR when 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL to school.F.SG now COP.PRS.3PL 3PL
- 1829 *a tgèsa ... stùn gè bétg' í ajn plaza scù nus*
at house.F.SG must.PRS.3PL in_fact NEG go.INF in job.F.SG how 1PL
- 1830 *mavan ... a nuş vevan scùla tòca gl avrèl.*
go.IMP.F.1PL and 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.M.SG April

[f4] 'Oh I could tell [you] about the time when we used to go to school, how the system was actually or when we were ... yes, when we ... when we used to go to school, nowadays they stay at home [during holidays] ... they don't have to go to work as we used to go ... and we had school until April.'

- 1831 *Ju vèv' alş véntgatschún d' avrèl nataléci a pauc*
1SG have.IMP.F.1SG DEF.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG birthday.M.SG and little
- 1832 *şjanter èri dad ira.*
after be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL to go.INF

'I had my birthday on April 25 and a short time later I had to go [and start working].'

- 1833 *Scha la scùla calava la sònda, scha gljèndişdís*
if DEF.F.SG school end.IMP.F.3SG DEF.F.SG Saturday CORR Monday
- 1834 *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.'

- 1835 *A lu tòca gl òctòbar ... gè, in' jè ... in pèr*
and then until DEF.M.SG October yes one.F.SG time INDEF.M.SG pair
- 1836 *diş avaun ca tga la scùl' antschajva vèv'*
day.M.PL before SUBORD SUBORD DEF.F.SG school begin.PRS.3SG have.IMP.F.3SG

1837 *ins finju.*

GNR finish.PTCP.UNM

‘And then until October ... yes, once ... some days before school started we could stop working.’

1838 *Ábar quaj èra fétg strèng. Quaj stèv’*
but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very strenuous.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG

1839 *inş ira a ... ju sùn stada navèn da l’ ampréma*
GNR go.INF and 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG from of DEF.F.SG first

1840 *classa ... ajn plaza adina, tiar purs. Gè, quaj èra fétg*
class in job.F.SG always at farmer.M.PL yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very

1841 *hèfti.*

hard.ADJ.UNM

‘But this was very strenuous. Because one had to go and ... I always worked, since the first grade (of primary school), with farmers. Yes, that was very hard.’

1842 *[PhM] E nu’ eis ti stada?*
and where be.PRS.2SG 2SG COP.PTCP.F.SG

[PhM] ‘And where have you been?’

1843 *[f4] Adina cò. Ju sùn stada sulèt in òn tgu*
always here 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG only one.M.SG year REL.1SG

1844 *vèva fatg tégn ju - la davùsa classa sùnd*
have.IMPF.1SG do.PTCP.UNM hold.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG last grade be.PRS.1SG

1845 *ju stada aun gjù Gljòn a tialas sòras ajn plaza.*
1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG in_addition down PN and by.DEF.F.PL nun.PL in job

[f4] ‘Always here. I was only one year when I did, I think - during the last grade I was down in Glion and worked for the nuns.’

1846 *Ábar tschaj sùnd ju adina stada cò tiar purs. A*
but DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG always COP.PTCP.F.SG here by farmer.M.PL and

1847 *lu mavaş a ...*
then go.IMPF.2SG.GNR and

‘But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers. But then you would go and ...’

1848 *[PhM] Aber quei ei fetg grev.*
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG very heavy.ADJ.UNM

[PhM] ‘But this is very heavy.’

8 Texts

1849 [f4] *Gè quaj èra ... nuş şchajn magari djantar ju a*
 yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.PRS.1PL sometimes between 1SG and
 1850 *gl ùm cu i mùssan cù quèls tg' òn*
 DEF.M.SG man when 3PL show.PRS.3PL how DEM.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
 1851 *stuvju luvrà da l' ujara, quèls ufauns ... clar*
 must.PTCP.UNM work.INF of DEF.F.SG war DEM.M.PL child.PL clear.ADJ.UNM
 1852 *nuş èssan fòrsa bétga vagnús, ábar stju luvrà*
 1PL be.PRS.1PL maybe NEG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF
 1853 *còrpòràlmajn vajn nus schi fétg scù quèls.*
 physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL so much as DEM.M.PL

[f4] 'Yes that was ... we sometimes say, me and my husband, when they show how they had to work during war, those children ... sure, maybe we were not, but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].'

1854 *Quaj mavas té a fumatgèsa a la p̄mavèra*
 DEM.UNM go.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR to maid.F.SG and DEF.F.SG Lent
 1855 *èri da gidá cun grascha ... bétar ò a gidá*
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to help.INF with fertiliser.F.SG throw.INF out and help.INF
 1856 *a pitgè quèla grascha, sa bigja scha té ancanùschas*
 to beat.INF DEM.F.SG fertiliser know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 2SG know.PRS.2SG
 1857 *quaj, api èri dad í métar trúfals ... api ...*
 DEM.UNM and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put.INF potato.M.PL and

'Therefore you would go as a maid and during Spring one had to help with dung ... spread out and help beating this dung, I don't know whether you know that, and then one had to sow potatoes ... and ...'

1858 *A las fèmnas stèv' inş aun gidá a tgèsa a*
 and DEF.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at home.F.SG and
 1859 *cu 'ls ùmans mavan lu a ... mavan aj lu a*
 when DEF.M.PL man.PL go.IMPF.3PL then and go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to
 1860 *majšès, 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 *majšès*, if you know this.'

1861 *Api schèvan aj ... lu vèva las fèmnas da lavá ò*
 and let.IMPF.3PL 3PL then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL woman.PL to wash.INF out
 1862 *la tgèsa ... èri da lavá ò la tgès' a*
 DEF.F.SG house be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG house and

1863 *gidá a ... api èri dad í zarclá trúfals api*
 help.INF and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF weed.INF potato.M.PL and
 1864 *èri dad í a zarclá al graun.*
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF SUBORD weed.INF DEF.M.SG cereal

‘And they let ... then the women had to clean the house ... clean the house and help to ... and then one had to weed the potato fields and then one had to go and weed the cereal fields.’

1865 *Gè, quaj èr' atgnamajn adina da fá, ju sùn è*
 yes DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG actually always to do.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
 1866 *stada tiar purs nuc' ju stuèva ... cù*
 COP.PTCP.F.SG at farmer.M.PL where.REL 1SG must.IMPF.1SG how
 1867 *dins ... fá flucs.*
 say.PRS.3SG.GNR make.INF chopped_straw.M.PL

‘Yes, that we had to do always, I also worked for farmers where I had to ... how do you say? ... chop straw.’

1868 *Quaj èr' al fajn tg' èra rastaus*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG straw REL be.IMPF.3SG remain.PTCP.M.SG
 1869 *anavùs ajn iral, scha fagèvani quaj cun*
 back in threshing_floor.M.SG then do.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEM.UNM with
 1870 *in ghítar flucs api vignéva quaj*
 INDEF.M.SG grid chopped_straw.M.PL and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
 1871 *méz ajn ajn sacs a duvrau gl unviarn pr*
 put.PTCP.UNM in in sack.M.PL and use.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG winter SUBORD
 1872 *dá dals pòrs.*
 give DAT.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘That was the straw that remained on the threshing floor, then they would chop it with a grid and then this was put into sacks and used during winter to feed the pigs.’

1873 *A sjantar mavan aj ad alp als tiars api vagnévi*
 and after go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to alp.M.SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL and come.IMPF.3SG
 1874 *... vagnév' als ... als ... purs lu anavùs api*
 come.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL then back and
 1875 *èri da fá fajn.*
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to do.INF hay.M.SG

8 Texts

‘And after this they would go to the summer pastures, the animals, and then the farmers ... would ... would come back and then one had to do hay.’

- 1876 *A lu vagnéva quaj fatg fajn tùt a maun*
and then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DO.PTCP.UNM hay.M.SG all by hand.M.SG
- 1877 *né ... lu èra quaj bétga masch[inas] ...*
right? then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM NEG machine.F.PL
- 1878 *èri tùt siau a maun.*
EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL all mow.PTCP.UNM by hand.M.PL

‘And then hay was all made by hand, right, ... at that time there were no machines ... everything was mown by hand.’

- 1879 *I èra da quèls tga vèvan ... Ju sùn ùssa*
EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG now
- 1880 *stada tiar dus purs tga vèvan mù vacas a ...*
COP.PTCP.F.SG by two.M.PL farmer.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL only cow.F.PL and
- 1881 *a lu quaj vagnéva tùt tratg cun bùvs, al*
and then DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all pull.PTCP.UNM with ox.M.PL DEF.M.SG
- 1882 *fajn.*
hay

‘There were some that had Well, I stayed with two farmers who only had cows and ... and then the whole hay was pulled by oxen.’

- 1883 *A quaj èra hèfti. Api tiar in pur*
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strenuous.ADJ.UNM and by INDEF.M.SG farmer
- 1884 *sùnd ju stada tgu stuèva ... ah ... quaj*
be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.UNM REL.1SG must.IMPF.1SG eh DEM.UNM
- 1885 *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
- 1886 *gju famiglja a lu stuèv’ ju la sèra adin’*
have.PTCP.UNM family.F.SG and then must.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG evening always
- 1887 *ir’ a fá tschajna ... a fá ... manèstra,*
go.INF SUBORD make.INF dinner.F.SG SUBORD make.INF pottage.F.SG
- 1888 *manèstra, manèstra, manèstra.*
pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG

‘And this was strenuous. And I stayed with a farmer where I had to ... eh ... they were only man and woman, they didn’t have children and then in the evening

I always had to go and prepare dinner ... and prepare pottage, pottage, pottage, pottage.'

1889 *Lò vèv' ju ... lu mav' ju la ... fòrza la*
 there have.IMPF.1SG 1SG then go.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG maybe DEF.F.SG
 1890 *quarta ... tiar quèlş duş vau bitga gju- lò*
 fourth by DEM.M.PL two.PL have.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG have.ptcp.unm there
 1891 *vau btga durmju, vau savju ira a*
 have.1SG.1SG NEG sleep.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.1SG.1SG can.PTCP.UNM go.INF to
 1892 *tgèsa.*
 home.F.SG

'There I had ... then I attended the ... maybe the fourth [form] ... at these two people's place I dind't - there I didn't sleep, I could go home.'

1893 *Mav' ju a tgèsa ábar quaj èra ... èr' ins*
 go.IMPF.1SG 1SG to home.F.SG but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG GNR
 1894 *trésts ajn in cèrt sèn api stgav' ins lu bigja*
 sad.M.SG in INDEF.M.SG certain sense and be_allowed.IMPF.3SG GNR then NEG
 1895 *grad dí a tgèsa ... í a tgès' a dí tgé ... còñ*
 just say.INF at home.F.SG go.INF to home.F.SG and say.INF what how
 1896 *hèfti inş vaj gju, gè ... schjuc*
 strenuous.ADJ.UNM GNR have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM yes otherwise
 1897 *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 couldn't just say at home ... go home and tell ... how hard one had to work, yes ... otherwise they would get angry, and this is now my husband.'

1898 [m3] *A vuş vajş anflau ò ampau 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?'

1899 [f4] *Na, nuş vajn ... ju èra grat cò a raquintava cù*
 no 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG just here and tell.IMPF.1SG how
 1900 *nus ... inş èra fumègl ... fumitgèsas.*
 1PL GNR COP.IMPF.3SG farmhand.M.SG maid.F.SG

[f4] 'No, we have ... I was just here and told how we ... we were a farmhand ... maids.'

8 Texts

1901 [m3] È *stau intrassant, tutina?*
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM nevertheless

[m3] ‘Has it nevertheless been interesting?’

1902 [f4] *Gè gè, nuş vajn gju intrassant. Na, lu*
 yes yes 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM no then
 1903 *era quaj èba da ... da ... da fâ a gidá a raschlá a*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in_fact to to to do.INF and help and rake.INF and
 1904 *gè ... quaj èr’ adina ... nuş vajn gju*
 yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG always 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM
 1905 *angrazjajvals, névétg PN.*
 grateful.M.PL right PN

[f4] ‘Yes, yes it was interesting. No, in fact one had to do and help and rake and yes ... this was always ... we had grateful [farmers], right PN?’

1906 [m3] *Ô gè ajn gèneral schòn. Ajn gèneral èrani grazjajvals,*
 oh yes in general indeed in general COP.IMPF.3PL.3PL grateful.M.PL
 1907 *ábar ...*
 but

[m3] ‘Oh yes, in general indeed. They were generally grateful, but ... ?’

1908 [f4] *I schèvan luvrá fétg.*
 3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much

[f4] ‘They had [us] work a lot.’

1909 [m3] *Fá da mèmi, magari vèvi nùm ... ju*
 do.INF of too_much sometimes have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL name 1SG
 1910 *saragòrd’ aun in’ jèd’ ábar lura èr’ ju*
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG still one.F.SG time but then be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
 1911 *staus mù a gidá tiar PN ad era stau*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG only SUBORD help.INF by PN and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
 1912 *in dé da maz.*
 INDEF.M.SG day of killing.M.SG

[m3] ‘Do too much, sometimes it meant ... I still remember once, but then I only had gone helping PN and it had been a terrible day.’

1913 *Ina calira pi vèvani dau marjanda, scù nuş*
 INDEF.F.SG heath and_then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL give.PTCP.UNM snack.F.SG as 1PL
 1914 *şchajn, api èri vagnú andamajn tg' ins*
 say.PRS.1PL and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in_mind COMP GNR
 1915 *stuèva fâ zitgé sén Şcharinas.*
 must.IMPF.3SG do.INF something on PN

'A terrible heath and they gave us a snack, as we say, and then they remembered that there was something to do up in Scharinas.'

1916 *Sas tgé quaj vut dí? Quaj è*
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 1917 *ljung, quaj è sé Miléz, Şcharinas.*
 long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PN PN

'Do you know what this means? This is a long way, this is up at Milez, Scharinas.'

1918 [f4] *Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...*
 up PN in PN

[f4] 'Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ...'

1919 [m3] *Quaj è in' ur' a mjasa par vièdi.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG hour and half.F.SG for trip.M.SG

[m3] 'It takes one and a half hours per trip.'

1920 [f4] *vas schòn a paj.*
 go.PRS.2SG.GNR indeed on foot.M.SG

[f4] '[that's what it takes you to] go on foot.'

1921 [m3] *Api in schèva: «Ah quaj saş bétga fâ fâ*
 and one.M.SG say.IMPF.3SG eh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG NEG do.INF do.INF

1922 *al buéb.», api şchèva tschèl: «Bèn, quaj pù*
 DEF.M.SG boy and say.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG yes DEM.UNM be_able.PRS.3SG

1923 *l buép schòn aun.»*
 DEF.M.SG boy indeed still

[m3] 'And then one would say: «Eh, you cannot have the boy do this.» and then the other would say: «Yes, of course, the boy is indeed able to do it.»'

8 Texts

1924 *Ála finfinala vèv' ju stù fa in,*
 in.DEF.F.SG end have.IMPF.1SG 1SG must.PTCP.UNM do.INF INDEF.M.SG
 1925 *ina ... ina cumisjun a purtá ina dèpèscha.*
 INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG mission and bring.INF DEF.F.SG dispatch

'In the end I had got a, a ... a mission and had to deliver a message.'

1926 *Quaj amblid' ju bétg. Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar,*
 DEM.UNM forget.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster
 1927 *sùn maj staus fumègl ábar ins mav' a*
 be.PRS.1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand.M.SG but GNR go.IMPF.3SG SUBORD
 1928 *gidá òra, p̄rquaj tga cu mju bap ... duvrava*
 help.INF out because SUBORD when POSS.1SG.M.SG father need.IMPF.3SG
 1929 *buéts, èran quaj ... èran quèls buéts, quèla*
 boy.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL boy.PL DEM.F.SG
 1930 *famiglja ... a quèls òn adina gidau al bap*
 family and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL always help.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG father
 1931 *sch' i dumandavan a lu schèv' al bap: «Sch' als PN*
 if 3PL ask.IMPF.3PL and then say.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG father if DEF.M.PL PN
 1932 *damòndan ... in ò dad ira.»*
 ask.PRS.3PL one.M.SG have.PRS.3SG to go.INF

'This I'll never forget. I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand but we would go and help out, because when my father ... needed some boys, these were ... these were those boys, that family ... and these always helped my father if they asked them, and then my father used to say: «If the PN ask ... one has to go.»'

1933 *Basta. In' jèda vagnév' in, in' jèda tschèl ...*
 enough INDEF.F.SG time come.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG INDEF.F.SG time DEM.M.SG
 1934 *ábar schagliuc bèn, èran aj*
 but otherwise yes COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

'OK. Once one would come, and once another ... but otherwise yes, they were ...'

1935 [f4] *I èra difarènt ... i èra da quèls*
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG different.ADJ.UNM EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL
 1936 *tg' èran angrazjajvels, èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj*
 REL COP.IMPF.3PL grateful.M.PL also of DEM.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG never
 1937 *fâ avùnda.*
 do.INF enough

'It was different ... there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never could do enough.'

- 1938 *Gljèdş va ju è gju, quaj èr' uschéja*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG also have.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG SO
- 1939 *... ábar inş era, gè, bjè jèdas trésts a tartgava,*
 but GNR COP.IMPF.3SG yes many time.F.PL sad.M.SG and think.IMPF.3SG
- 1940 *ò djantarajn ... ábar a tgèsa stgav' ins bétg'*
 have.PRS.3SG in_between but at home.F.SG be_allowed.impf.3SG GNR NEG
- 1941 *ira a dí, pŕquaj tg' i şchèvan: «Ò quaj pùs*
 go.INF and say.INF because SUBORD 3PL say.IMPF.3PL oh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG
- 1942 *té schòn, ùsa quaj è nuéta schi nausch.»*
 2SG indeed now DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG so bad.ADJ.UNM

'This I also had, this was so ... but we were ... yes, many times sad and thought, have in between ... but at home we were not allowed to go and tell [how it was], because they would say: «Oh, you are certainly able to do that, now this is not so bad.»'

- 1943 [m3] *«Té vèvas al disavantatg tga té èras*
 2SG have.IMPF.2SG DEF.M.SG disadvantage REL 2SG COP.IMPF.2SG
- 1944 *ina grònda.»*
 INDEF.F.SG tall.ADJ.F

[m3] «You had the disadvantage to be tall.»'

- 1945 [f4] *Ad ju era ina grònda a quaj è maj*
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG tall.ADJ.F and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG never
- 1946 *stau flòt. Ju a détg bjè jèdas dad*
 COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.1SG say.PTCP.UNM many time.F.PL DAT
- 1947 *èl, sas cò pratandévani bjè daplé.*
 3SG.M know.PRS.2SG here demand.IMPF.3PL.3PL much more

[f4] 'And I was a tall one and this was never nice. I told him many times, you know here they demand much more.'

- 1948 [m3] *Èl' era la plé grònda buéba dal vitg.*
 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more tall.F.SG girl of.DEF.M.SG village

[m3] 'She was the tallest girl of the village.'

8 Texts

1949 [f4] *Lu tartgávani, ò, quaj è ina buébúna,*
 then think.IMPF.3PL.3PL oh DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG girl.AUGM
 1950 *quèla pù schòn ... gè, na, quaj è schòn*
 DEM.F.SG can.PRS.3SG indeed yes, no, DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG indeed
 1951 *stau uschéja.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM SO

[f4] ‘Then they thought, oh, she is a very tall girl, she is indeed able ... yes, no, this was really so.’

1952 *Ábar té, a gè, api lu mavan ins tùta stat, lò*
 but 2SG and yes and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole.F.SG summer there
 1953 *vèva da fá quaj.*
 have.IMPF.1SG to do.INF DEM.UNM

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

1954 *A sch’ i èra malaura, scha vèv’ inş a*
 and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR at
 1955 *tgèsa da fá, las fëmnas, lu èri da zarclá*
 house.F.SG to do.INF DEF.F.PL woman.PL then be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to weed.INF
 1956 *agl iart a fá quaj a fá tschaj.*
 DEF.M.SG garden and do.INF DEM.UNM and do.INF DEM.UNM

‘And if the weather was bad, we, the women, had to work in the house, then we had to weed the garden and do this and do that.’

1957 *A ... api èri puspè dad í sél fùns, cu*
 and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL again to go.INF ON.DEF.M.SG fields.M.SG when
 1958 *i èra dad ira puspè ... gè.*
 EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to go.INF again yes

‘And ... and then we had to go to the fields again when it was [time] to go again ... yes.’

1959 [m3] *Nuş schajn anqual’ jèda c’ ins vèza las*
 1PL say.PRS.1PL some time.F.SG when GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.PL
 1960 *tiaras ... şùdsvilupadas, lajn dí quèluisa, tga dian,*
 country.PL underdeveloped.PL HORT.1PL say.INF this_way COMP say.PRS.3PL
 1961 *quèls ufauns stùn luvrá a végnan bunamajn*
 DEM.M.PL child.PL must.PRS.3PL work.INF and PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL almost

1962 *pandí sé, quaj lò ... quaj lò vajn nus tùts*
 hang.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.UNM here DEM.UNM here have.PRS.1PL 1PL all.M.PL
 1963 *fatg.*
 do.PTCP.UNM

[m3] 'Sometimes we say when we see the underdeveloped countries, let's put it this way, that they say that these children must work and are almost hanged; this here ... this here we all did it.'

1964 [f4] *Nuș vajn fatg atrás quaj.*
 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM through DEM.UNM

[f4] 'We have experienced that.'

1965 [m3] *Tùts ... ò da scùla a fumègl ... a sjantar ad alp*
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.SG and after to alp.F.SG
 1966 *a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs mumèn a*
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.M.SG last moment and
 1967 *mavaș a scùla.*
 go.IMPF.2SG.GNR to school.F.SG

'All ... out of school to farmhand ... and after this to the alpine pasture and you would only come away from the pasture at the last moment and then you would go to school.'

1968 *Gè, quaj èr' ùș uschéja. Scù quaj tga quèls lò*
 yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG now so like DEM.UNM REL DEM.M.PL there
 1969 *lavuran, vajn nus luvrau [f4] gè gè [m3] 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.'

1970 *Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun. Quaj nagín tga [f4]*
 but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG DEM.UNM nobody REL
 1971 *na [m3] tga lèva bétga fá.*
 no REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF

'But there were no discussions. Nobody [f4] no [m3] would refuse to do it.'

1972 *Ábar tgé tga ... tg' ins discussjunèsch' aun anqual jèda, c' in*
 but what REL REL GNR discuss.PRS.3SG still some.F.SG time when GNR
 1973 *èra buéts ... ju sa tg' ju sùn stauș*
 COP.IMPF.3SG boy.M.PL 1SG know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG

8 Texts

1974 *vazlè, tgé èra quaj, trènta vadjals ... gjù cò*
 calf_herdsman.M.SG what COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM thirty calf.M.PL down here
 1975 *vi da tschèla vart, ábar ... ju sa bitg sch' ju mav' a*
 over of DEM.F.SG side but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to
 1976 *scùla né uschéja.*
 school.F.SG or so

‘But what ... what one still discusses sometimes, when we were boys ... I know that I was a calf herdsman, how many were there, thirty calves ... down here, over there on the other side, but ... I don’t know whether I was going to school or so.’

1977 *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in pènşum*
 but DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework
 1978 *mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschuadjus, è ad alp ... pia*
 too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to alp.M.SG therefore
 1979 *sch' in èra purtgè, sùn staus purtgè*
 if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd.M.SG
 1980 *cun dùdişch òns, a vèva mju quántum vacas.*
 with twelve year.M.PL and have.IMPF.1SG POSS.1SG.M.SG amount cow.F.SG

‘But they would give us too much homework and I am convinced, also to the pasture ... therefore if one was a swineherd, I was swineherd when I was twelve years old, and I had my amount of cows.’

1981 *Ju vèva da trá la cèntrifuga ... né, quaj tèt tga*
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG COMP pull.INF DEF.F.SG centrifuge right DEM.UNM all REL
 1982 *mungèva ... quaj èra zagnún, pástar*
 milk.IMPF.3SG DEM.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG alpine_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG
 1983 *gròn*
 big

‘I had to spin the centrifuge ... right, here everybody had to milk ... there were the alpine dairyman, the main shepherd ... ’

1984 *[f4] «Astg' ju aun dá in glaş aua*
 be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.INF INDEF.M.SG cup water
 1985 *Philippe?» [PhM] «Gie, bugen.» [f4] «Da la spina né aua*
 PN yes with_pleasure from DEF.F.SG tap or water.F.SG
 1986 *minerala?» [PhM] «Dalla spina.» [f4] «A té, lèvas è*
 mineral of.DEF.F.SG tap and 2SG want.COND.2SG also

1987 *zatgé, PN?»*
something

[f4] '«May I give you another glass of water, Philippe?» [PhM] «Yes, please.» [f4] «From the tap or mineral water?» [PhM] «From the tap.» [f4] «And you, would you also like something, PN?»'

1988 [m3] «*Gè, da mé daj è ina ... Al*
yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.F.SG DEF.M.SG

1989 *zagnún, pástar gròn, pástar pin, a 'l*
alpine_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG big shepherd.M.SG small and DEF.M.SG

1990 *tarsial ...*
assistant

[m3] '«Yes, give me also a ... The alpine dairyman, the main shepherd, the second shepherd, and the assistant ...».'

1991 [PhM] «*Tgei ei in tersiel?»*
what COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG assistant

[PhM] '«What is a *tersiel?*»'

1992 [m3] «*Al tarsial èra quèl al ... al*
DEF.M.SG assistant COP.IMP.3SG DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG

1993 «*Hausmann»*.»⁸⁵ [f4] «*Al gidòntar.*» [PhM] «*Ah okay.*»
househusband DEF.M.SG assistant eh OK

[m3] '«The *tarsiel* was the ... the *Hausmann*». [f4] «The assistant.»'

1994 [m3] «*Quèl èr' a tgèsa, quèl vèva da ... da*
DEM.M.SG COP.IMP.3SG at home.F.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMP.3SG to to

1995 *lavá gjù la vaschala, trá la panaglja a ...*.
wash.INF down INDEF.F.SG dishes spin.INF DEF.F.SG butter_tub and

1996 [PhM] «*Grazia fétg.*» [f4] «*Schòn bian.*» [m3] *A ... a buglí gjù*
thank.F.SG much all_right well and and boil.INF down

1997 *cu i èra fatg.*»
when EXPL PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

[m3] '«He was at home, he had to ... to wash up, spin the butter tub and ...».
[PhM] «Thank you very much». [f4] «That's OK.» [m3] «And ... boil [it] when it was done.»'

⁸⁵Said in Standard German.

8 Texts

1998 *Atgnamajn al pástar gròn èr' al ...*
 actually DEF.M.SG herdsman.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG
 1999 *vèv' als tiarş ajnta maun. A quaj èra*
 have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL in hand.M.SG and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
 2000 *cò ajn Tujétsch vèvan nus traş albş da vacas.*
 here in PN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL three alp.M.PL of cow.F.PL

‘Actually the main herdsman was the ... was responsible for the animals. And there were here in the Tujetsch Valley, we had three cow pastures.’

2001 *Quaj èra trajtschian vacas plus minus ... fòrza strusch*
 DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG three_hundred cow.F.PL more less maybe hardly
 2002 *... 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.’

2003 *Álşò bigja dal tùt trajtschian, craj ju bétg ... ábar ah*
 well NEG of.DEF.M.SG whole three_hundred believe.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG but eh
 2004 *... plé damanajval da trajtschian tga da duatschian tschuncònta.*
 more near of three_hundred than of two_hundred fifty

‘Well, not exactly 300, [this] I don’t believe ... but eh ... nearer to 300 than to 250.’

2005 *A lur' èra quaj al zagnún api al*
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG Alpine_dairyman and DEF.M.SG
 2006 *pástar, vèva quaj, a vèva è sju*
 herdsman have.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and have.IMPF.3SG also POSS.3SG.M.SG
 2007 *quántum vacaş da ... da mùngjar.*
 amount cow.F.PL ATTR ATTR milk.INF

‘And then there were the dairyman and the herdsman, that had, and also had his amount of cows to ... to milk.’

2008 *Quaj ... in stèva vagní ... mintgín sèn sju*
 DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on POSS.3SG.M.SG
 2009 *quántum, quèls vèvan fòrsa végn vacas a 'l*
 amount DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL maybe twenty cow.F.PL and DEF.M.SG
 2010 *zagnún vèva fòrsa şhòtg a 'l tarségl*
 alpine_dairyman have.IMPF.3SG maybe eighteen and DEF.M.SG assistant

- 2011 *vèva* *quindisch ... al* *pástar* *... pin, i* *èra*
 have.IMPF.3SG fifteen DEF.M.SG herdsman small EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG
- 2012 *dus* *pástars,* *vèva* *fòrsa dùdisch, a* *l* *purtgè*
 two.M.PL herdsman.PL have.IMPF.3SG maybe twelve and DEF.M.SG swineherd
- 2013 *vèv'* *è* *aun* *òtg* *né déjsch.*
 have.IMPF.3SG also in_addition eight or ten

‘This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount, those had maybe twenty cows and the dairyman had maybe eighteen and the assistant fifteen ... the second ... herdsman, there were two herdsman, had maybe twelve and the swineherd, in addition, also had eight or ten.’

- 2014 *A* *i* *èra* *... tèt anzjaman èr'* *in* *sis parsunas.*
 and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG all together exist.IMPF.3SG GNR six person.F.PL
- 2015 *Quèls* *vèvan* *da mùngjar las* *vacas ... la* *... las*
 DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL to milk.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL DEF.F.SG DEF.F.PL
- 2016 *tschian* *vacas ... lajn* *dí* *ùssa, mù* *òtgònta ... òtgònta vacas,*
 hundred cow.PL HORT.1PL say.INF now only eighty eighty cow.F.PL
- 2017 *la* *damaun a* *la* *sèra.*
 DEF.F.SG morning and DEF.F.SG evening

‘And there were ... all together six people. These had to milk the cows ... the ... the hundred cows ... let’s say now, only eighty ... eighty cows, in the morning and in the evening.’

- 2018 *A* *... a* *quaj* *òn* *tgu* *sùn* *staus* *purtgè*
 and and DEM.M.SG year REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd
- 2019 *sél* *cuélm* *... quaj* *è* *stau* *ana*
 on.DEF.M.SG assembly_of_house DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM year
- 2020 *tschuncòntatschún.*
 fifty-five

‘And ... and that year, when I was swineherd at the *majsès* ... this was in 1955.’

- 2021 *Ju* *craj* *tgu* *vèvi* *òtg* *vacas* *a* *... a* *lu*
 1SG believe.PRS.1SG COMP.1SG have.SBJV.IMPF.1SG eight cow.F.PL and and then
- 2022 *vèvani* *ábar fatg* *uschéa:*
 have.IMPF.3PL.3PL but do.PTCP.UNM so

I think I had eight cows, and ... and then they did it the following way:’

8 Texts

2023 «Té as ... al zagnún a tauntaş a
 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEF.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so_many.F.PL and
 2024 tauntas, a té as da gidá lèz. Vuş duş
 so_many.F.PL and 2SG have.PRS.2SG to help.INF DEM.M.SG 2PL two.M.PL
 2025 vajş da ... mùngjar.»
 have.PRS.2PL to milk.INF

‘«You have ... the dairyman has so and so many, and you have to help him. You have to help him, the two of you.»’

2026 A quaj èra lu è détg: «Té as
 and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then also say.PTCP.UNM 2SG have.PRS.2SG
 2027 laş vacaş dal Berther, té as quèlaş dal
 DEF.F.PL COW.PL of.DEF.M.SG PN 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEM.F.PL of.DEF.M.SG
 2028 Caduff.» A quaj èra sé las nùdas ... quaj
 PN and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG on DEF.F.PL brand.PL DEM.UNM
 2029 ancanuschèvas ... mintga vaca.
 recognise.IMPF.2SG.GNR every cow.F.SG

‘And they would also say this: «You take Berther’s cows, you take Caduff’s cows.» And that was on the brands ... so you could recognise ... every cow.’

2030 Álşò tòc’ al davùş da la stat ... ancanuschèvas la
 well until DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG summer know.IMPF.2SG.GNR DEF.F.SG
 2031 buşchia dal pur da laş vacas. Mintga pur
 nickname of.DEF.M.SG farmer of DEF.F.PL COW.PL every farmer.M.SG
 2032 vèva sia buşchia, a quaj vèvanş da fá.
 have.IMPF.3SG POSS.3SG.F.SG nickname and DEM.UNM have.PRS.1PL.1PL to do.INF

‘Well, until the end of summer ... you knew the nickname of every farmer of the cows. Every farmer had their nickname, and that’s what we had to do.’

2033 A lur’ l purtgè vèv’ aun ... cu i
 and then DEF.M.SG swineherd have.IMPF.3SG in_addition when 3PL
 2034 mungèvan, mávani ajn a dargèvan gjù al ... al
 milk.IMPF.3PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL in and pour.IMPF.3PL down DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG
 2035 latg ála cùpa da la cèntrifuga a quèl’ èra da
 milk into.DEF.F.SG bowl of DEF.F.SG centrifuge and DEM.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG to
 2036 trá ... trá, trá ... tût al latg cèntrifugau.
 pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all DEF.M.SG milk centrifugate.PTCP.UNM

‘And then the swineherd had to ... when they were milking, they would go in and pour the ... the milk into the bowl of the centrifuge and we had to pull ... pull, pull ... the whole centrifuged milk.’

- 2037 *Api magari vèva 'l aun da tanaj laş vacaş*
and sometimes have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_addition to hold.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL
- 2038 *ajn stával.⁸⁶ Quaj vul dí culas,⁸⁷ quèls*
in cowshed.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF with.DEF.F.PL DEM.M.PL
- 2039 *tiars dal gjával tga mavan òra ... autras stèvan*
animal.PL of.DEF.M.SG devil REL go.IMPF.3PL out other.F.PL stay.IMPF.3PL
- 2040 *lò duas uras, fagèvan bigja mucs, ábar i èr'*
there two.F.PL hour.PL do.IMPF.3PL NEG sound.M.SG but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
- 2041 *adina zacòntas tga mavan, da las vacas ... api stuèvanş*
always some.F.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL of DEF.F.PL COW.PL and must.IMPF.1PL.1PL
- 2042 *í: «Puscha ... puscha⁸⁸ ... las vacas vòn!»*
go.INF COW.F.SG COW.F.SG DEF.F.PL COW.PL go.PRS.3PL

‘And sometimes he also had to maintain the cows in the cowshed. This means with the, those damned cows that would go out ... other cows would stay there for two hours, wouldn’t move at all, but there always were some that would go, of the cows ... and then we had to go: «*Puscha ... puscha ... the cows go away!*»’

- 2043 *Pi èri da schè ... quaj èra ... da samazá*
and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to let.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP REFL.kill.INF
- 2044 *da trá ajn la cèntrifuga, quaj duvrava grònda fòrza ...*
comp pull.INF in DEF.F.SG centrifuge DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG big.F.SG force
- 2045 *cu 'l èr' in' jèd' ajn⁸⁹, mava quaj*
when 3SG.M COP.INF.3SG one.F.SG time in go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
- 2046 *pulit ... ábar al trá ajn èla èra ... da maz.*
easy.ADJ.UNM but DEF.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG of killing.M.SG

‘Then one had to let [it] ... that was ... terrible to bring in the centrifuge, this required much force ... when once it was in, it was easy to handle it ... but bringing it in was ... terrible.’

⁸⁶*Puscha* is a familiar word for *vaca* ‘cow’ and is also used in order to call the cows.

⁸⁸A *stával* is a place next to the alpine hut where the cattle stays at night.

⁸⁸There is an unintelligible part between *culas* and *quèls*.

⁸⁹Unintelligible part between *ajn* and *mava*.

8 Texts

2047 *Anquaj jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né usché cu aj*
 some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG herdsman or so when 3PL
 2048 *vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' inş èr' ajn ... ajn*
 see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until SUBORD GNR COP.IMPF.3SG in in
 2049 «*schwunc*»⁹⁰ ... *api èri strusch tga té*
 momentum.M.SG and COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hardly SUBORD 2SG.GNR
 2050 *vèvaş antschiat èri da turná*
 have.IMPF.2SG.GNR begin.PTCP.UNM be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL →go_back.INF and
 2051 *ad ira.*
 go.INF

‘Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they would help until one was again in momentum and one had hardly begun when one had to go back and leave.’

2052 *Quaj cas stù ju raquintá. Quaj èra in*
 DEM.M.SG case must.PRS.1SG 1SG tell.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 2053 *pulit ùm, ò cò da Zarcúns. Ju vèz' aun quèl, quaj*
 capable man out here of PN 1SG see.PRS.1SG still DEM.M.SG DEM.UNM
 2054 *èr' in sùpar musicant ... in ùm pin griaş usché,*
 COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG super musician INDEF.M.SG man short fat so
 2055 *ábar in ... in pin.*
 but INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG short

‘I should tell [you] the following case. It was a capable man, here from Zarcuns. I still see him, he was a super musician ... a short and fat man, but a ... a short one.’

2056 *A sia ... sia duna vèva nùm Marjuschla,*
 and POSS.3SG.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG wife have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN
 2057 *a quèla tgèsa c' inş vò cò da quòra vèva*
 and DEM.F.SG house when GNR go.PRS.3SG here from here_out have.IMPF.3SG
 2058 *quèl ... «il Segner ei» ... mù spétga ... [f4] «En*
 DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG only wait.IMP.2SG in
 2059 *tutta malura il Segner ei sisura.»⁹¹ ... [m3] «En tutta*
 all.F.SG disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above in all.F.SG
 2060 *malura il Segner ei sisura.» ... [f4] Quaj cu té*
 disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above DEM.UNM when 2SG

⁹⁰*Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

2061	<i>vaş</i>	<i>anòra drètg.</i>	[m3]	<i>A</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>nus mavan</i>	<i>vidòra,</i>
	go.PRS.2SG	out	straight Ahead	and	when	1PL go.IMP.1PL	out
2062	<i>şchèvan</i>	<i>nus ... i</i>	<i>şchèvan</i>	<i>... Marjuschla</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>quèla</i>	
	say.IMP.1PL	1PL	3PL say.IMP.3PL	PN	have.IMP.3SG	DEM.F.SG	
2063	<i>nùm</i>	<i>... nuş</i>	<i>şchèvan</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>Barjùtla ... cu</i>	<i>nus mavan</i>	
	name.M.SG	1PL	say.IMP.1PL	DEF.F.SG	PN	when	1PL go.IMP.1PL
2064	<i>spèrasò:</i>	<i>«En tutta</i>	<i>malura la</i>	<i>Barjutla ei</i>	<i>sis[ura]».</i>		
	next_to_out	in	all.F.SG	disaster	DEF.F.SG	PN	COP.PRS.3SG

‘And his ... his wife was called Marjuschla, and that house, when you go from here in direction out of the valley, had ... «the Lord is» just wait [f4] «In every disaster the Lord is above.» [m3] «In every disaster the Lord is above.» [f4] This if you go straight ahead in direction down the valley. [m4] And when we would go down the valley, we would say ... they would say ... she was called Marjuschla ... we used to call her Barjùtla ... when we would pass by: «In every disaster Bajùtla is above.»’

2065	<i>Quaj</i>	<i>pur</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>quèla</i>	<i>vaca. Quaj</i>	<i>èr’</i>
	DEM.M.SG	farmer	have.IMP.3SG	DEM.F.SG	COW	DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG
2066	<i>ina</i>	<i>vaca, ina</i>	<i>mujèra⁹²</i>	<i>scù inş</i>	<i>di,</i>	<i>quèla</i>
	INDEF.F.SG	COW	INDEF.F.SG	COW_without_calves	as	GNR say.PRS.3SG
2067	<i>vèva</i>	<i>bégja fatg</i>	<i>vadí</i>	<i>plé ... lu</i>	<i>quèlas</i>	
	have.IMP.3SG	NEG	do.PTCP.UNM	calf.M.SG	more	then
2068	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>angarschèdas</i>	<i>api</i>			
	PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG	fatten.PTCP.F.PL	and			

‘This farmer had a particular cow. It was a «*mujèra*» as one says, this cow didn’t have calves any more ... so these were fattened and ... ’

2069	<i>Quèla</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>còrna</i>	<i>usché davùsòra,</i>	<i>pasanca</i>	<i>tiar,</i>	<i>a</i>
	DEM.F.SG	have.IMP.3SG	horn.COLL	so	back_out	heavy.ELAT	animal.M.SG
2070	<i>vèva</i>	<i>sé in</i>	<i>plèc⁹³</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>quèla</i>	<i>mava</i>	<i>mintg’</i>
	have.IMP.3SG	up	INDEF.M.SG	flat_bell	and	DEM.F.SG	go.IMP.3SG
2071	<i>jè</i>	<i>... tac,</i>	<i>tac,</i>	<i>tac,</i>	<i>vònzaj èra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>végn, trènta</i>
	time.F.SG	ONOM	ONOM	ONOM	later	COP.IMP.3SG	3SG.F
2072	<i>mèters</i>	<i>ò dal</i>	<i>múval</i>	<i>api mavan</i>	<i>tschèlas</i>	<i>halt</i>	<i>sjantar.</i>
	metre.M.SG	out_of.DEF.M.SG	cattle	and	go.IMP.3PL	dem.F.PL	simply

⁹¹This adage is said (and written) in Standard Sursilvan.

⁹²A *mujèra*, Standard Sursilvan *mughera*, is called *leere Kuh* ‘empty cow’ in German.

‘This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal, and it had a flat bell, and it would always walk ... tac, tac, tac, and a bit later it would be twenty, thirty metres away from the herd and the other cows would follow it.’

- 2073 [f4] *Gè, gè, i è nuéta schi. Na, na, nuş vajn*
 yes yes EXPL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so no no 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 2074 *gju strèntg scù ufauns.*
 have.PTCP.UNM hard.ADJ.UNM as child.M.PL

[f4] ‘Oh yes, it was not so (...). No no, we had a hard time as children.’

- 2075 [m3] *Quaj èra da lavá ... las quátar. Agl aut da*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG to get_up.INF DEF.F.PL four DEF.M.SG high of
 2076 *la stat ... èra quaj da lavá las quátar.*
 DEF.F.SG summer be.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM to get_up.INF DEF.F.PL four

[m3] ‘Then one had to get up ... at four o’clock. When summer was at its highest point one had to get up at four o’clock.’

- 2077 [f4] *Tgi c’ èr’ ad alp schòn, gè.*
 who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp indeed yes

‘Those who were at the alpine pastures indeed, yes.’

- 2078 [m3] *Gè, tgi c’ èr’ ad alp. Las quátar òrd létg*
 yes who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp.M.SG DEF.F.PL four out_of bed.M.SG
 2079 *ad í a rimná laş vacas ajn stával ... antschajvar*
 and go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL in cowshed.M.SG begin.INF
 2080 *a mùngjar, tg’ eraş uschéja ... gè, c’ i*
 COMP milk.INF SUBORD COP.IMPF.2SG.GNR so yes when EXPL
 2081 *èra vi da las ... laş òtg né usché èr’ aj*
 COP.IMPF.3SG over of DEF.F.PL DEF.F.PL eight or so PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG EXPL
 2082 *mùgnsch manègj’ ju ... survagnév’ ins sòlvar.*
 milk.PTCP.UNM think.PRS.1SG 1SG receive.IMPF.3SG GNR breakfast.M.SG

[m3] ‘Yes, those who were at the alpine pastures. At four o’clock out of bed and go and gather the cows in the cowshed ... start milking, so that you were so ... yes when it was around ... eight or so the milking was done I think ... [and then] we would get breakfast.’

⁹³ A cow with a *plèc* (or *pletg*) is the second main cow, which explains why the other cows follow it.

2083 *A sjantar èra, mav' als tiars puspè a pastgè*
 and after be.IMPF.3SG go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL again SUBORD graze.INF
 2084 *a lura stèv' al ... al zagnùn, lèz*
 and then must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG alpine_dairyman DEM.M.SG
 2085 *caşchava, sjantar cargjav' al magnuc a*
 make_cheese.IMPF.3SG after load.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG cheese and
 2086 *purtava ajn tschalè.*
 bring.IMPF.3SG in cellar.M.SG

‘And after this one had to, the animals would again go and graze and then the ... the alpine dairyman had to, he would make cheese, and after that he would load the cheese and bring it to the cellar.’

2087 *Quaj èra in ... tgilada gjù val, ajn in'*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG slip down valley.F.SG in INDEF.F.SG
 2088 *autra alp, in ... in liuc cètrau pŕ duaş alps. A lura*
 other alp INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG place central for two.F.PL alp.PL and then
 2089 *al, als pástars mavan cùls tiars, al*
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.SG
 2090 *... al purtgè a 'l tarségl vèvan dad èssar ajn ...*
 DEF.M.SG swineherd and DEF.M.SG assistant have.IMPF.3PL to COP.INF in
 2091 *ajn tégja a buglí gjù, sas, lu fá la ...*
 in alpine_hut.F.SG and boil.INF off know.PRS.2SG then do.INF DEF.F.SG
 2092 *la scòtga.*
 DEF.F.SG whey

‘That was a ... slip down the valley, into another alpine pasture, a ... a central place for two pastures. And then the, the herdsmen would go with the animals, the ... the swineherd and the assistant had to stay in ... in the alpine hut and boil off, you know, and then prepare the ... the whey.’

2093 *Lu vagnéva fatg tschagrún. Cu 'l latg*
 then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.M.SG whey_cheese when DEF.M.SG milk
 2094 *èra tratgs òra, scha l' ò 'l ...*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG pull.PTCP.M.SG out CORR DEF.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG
 2095 *al zignùn finju, api cargjav' al al magnuc*
 DEF.M.SG dairyman finish.PTCP.UNM and load.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M DEF.M.SG cheese
 2096 *da la ... dal dé avaun né da la sèr' avaun a*
 of DEF.F.SG of.DEF.M.SG day before or of DEF.F.SG evening before and
 2097 *cargjava a ... purtava ajn tschalè.*
 load.IMPF.3SG and bring.IMPF.3SG in cellar.M.PL

‘Then they made whey cheese. When the milk was pulled out, the, the ... the dairyman had finished, and then he would load the cheese from the day before or from the evening before and would load [it] and ... bring [it] to the cellar.’

2098 *A dantaun stèvas buglì sé al, la scòtga,*
and meanwhile must.IMPF.2SG.GNR boil.INF up DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG whey
2099 *quaj stèvas ... quaj duvrava la plé bjè*
DEM.UNM must.IMPF.2SG DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more much
2100 *lèna ... quaj stèva buglì.*
firewood.COLL DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG boil.INF

‘And meanwhile one had to boil up the, the the whey, this one had to ... that required the highest quantity of firewood ... the whey had to boil.’

2101 *A lu vagnévi sésúra quèla «schichta»⁹⁴ ... quèla*
and then come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL upon DEM.F.SG layer DEM.F.SG
2102 *dèv’ al tschagrùn ... gè, al tschagrùn ... cò*
give.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG wey_cheese yes DEF.M.SG wey_cheese how
2103 *diani al tschagrùn a tudèstg? ... [f4] Ziger ... [m3] Ziger ...*
say.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG whey_cheese in German Ziger Ziger
2104 *a lura cu quaj è ... è ... stèv’ ins*
and then when DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG must.IMPF.3SG GNR
2105 *pascá gjù quaj a métar ajn ajn quaj ... quaj dèv’*
fish.INF down DEM.UNM and put.INF in in DEM.UNM DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG
2106 *usché ampau scù magnùc a quaj vagnéva lu*
so a_bit like cheese and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then
2107 *schazagjau fétg.*
appreciate.PTCP.UNM much

‘And then this layer would come up ... this would yield the whey ... yes, the whey ... how do they call the Swiss German whey cheese? [f4] Ziger ... [m3] Ziger ... and then when this is ... is ... one had to skim this and put into into, this would produce something a bit like cheese and this was very appreciated.’

2108 *A pér cu quaj èra fatg, scha èra*
and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR COP.IMPF.3SG
2109 *la scòtga mèmi tgauda, api vèv’ al purtgè la*
DEF.F.SG whey too hot and have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG swineherd DEF.F.SG

⁹⁴ *Schichta* is adapted from German *Schicht* ‘layer’; the Standard Sursilvan form is *stresa*.

- 2110 *quajda né né al plaşhaj dad ira par au' ad' au' ad aua*
 desire or or DEF.M.SG pleasure ATTR go.INF for water.F.SG and water and water
 2111 *... quèls zajvars da végn fùns, şchèvan nus... a purtà*
 DEM.M.PL washtub.PL of twenty pound.M.PL say.IMPF.1PL 1PL and bring.INF
 2112 *a métar ajn ála caldèra tòca tga èra*
 and put.INF in into.DEF.F.SG cauldron until SUBORD COP.IMPF.3SG
 2113 *tamprau, tg' als pòrs savèvan magljè.*
 lukewarm.PTCP.UNM SUBORD DEF.M.PL pig.PL can.IMPF.3PL eat.INF

'And only when this was done was the whey too hot, and then the swineherd had the desire or or the pleasure to go and fetch water and water and water ... these «washtubs of twenty pounds» as we used to say ... and bring it and put it into the cheese cauldron until it was lukewarm so the pigs could eat it.'

- 2114 *A lura quaj èran lèzs schòn lò a griavan*
 and then DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL already there and shout.IMPF.3PL
 2115 *a fagèvan al gjával... pi⁹⁵ árvar sé in barcún api*
 and do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL devil and open.INF up INDEF.M.SG shutter and
 2116 *vagnèvan quèls, quaj èra da quaj da trènta ... trènta*
 come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.UNM of thirty thirty
 2117 *pòrs biabégn.*
 pig.PL good.ADV

'And then they were already there and shouted and behaved like the devil ... and then open a shutter and then they would come, there were good thirty ... thirty pigs.'

- 2118 *A lur' vèv' inş da dá ... da magljè da lèzs ... a*
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR to give.INF to eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL and
 2119 *quaj èra antir ritmus, antira stat ...*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG whole.M.SG rhythm whole.F.SG summer
 2120 *vagnéva lu plé pauc, ancúnt' agl atún èri*
 come.IMPF.3SG then more little towards DEF.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 2121 *plé paucs tiarş a quaj ad è da quèlas, anstagl da*
 more little.M.PL animal.PL and DEM.UNM and also of DEM.F.PL instead SUBORD
 2122 *mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa mù tşchuncònta, da*
 milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe only fifty of
 2123 *quèlas tg' èran schòn schétgas ... a tutín' al*
 DEM.F.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG already dry.F.PL and after_all DEF.M.SG

⁹⁵There is an unintelligible part between *pi* and *árvar*.

8 Texts

- 2124 *sjantarmjadş-dé era ... inş gudéva lu aun, in' ura,*
afternoon COP.IMPF.3SG GNR enjoy.IMPF.3SG then still one.F.SG hour
- 2125 *duas ... savèvas ... schá dá l' aura*
two.F.PL can.IMPF.2SG.GNR let.INF give.INF DEF.F.SG weather
- 2126 *pals lárishs.*
through.DEF.M.PL larch.PL

‘And then one had to feed ... feed them ... and that was a constant movement, during the whole summer ... fewer would come, towards autumn there were fewer animals and that and also of these, instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe only fifty, of those that already were without calves ... and in the afternoon there was after all ... one could then enjoy one hour, two, ... one could ... relax.’

8.17 Al cuntí mèlan

The yellow knife

(Tuatschín, Cavòrgja, m7, aged 64)

Recorded 2017/03/07 in Sedrun

Duration 5’50”

- 2127 *Quaj è uschéa, ju èr' in buéb da nùv né*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy of nine or
- 2128 *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
- 2129 *scùla èri mù gl unviarn.*
school.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL only DEF.M.SG winter

‘This is so, I was a boy of nine or ten years, and years ago it is clear that we attended school only during winter.’

- 2130 *La stat ... èra simplamajn bigja scùla. Quaj*
DEF.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV NEG school.F.SG DEM.UNM
- 2131 *gnang vèva nùm vacanzas. La stat ...*
not_even have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG holidays.F.PL DEF.F.SG summer
- 2132 *èra nagina scùla.*
EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.F.SG school

‘During summer ... there was simply no school. This wasn’t even called holidays. During summer ... there was no school at all.’

- 2133 *La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarcladur, ad ins*
 DEF.F.SG school end.IMPf.3SG DEF.M.SG May June.M.SG and GNR
 2134 *schèva da quaj bigj èxnùm vacanzas. Sjantar*
 say.IMPf.3SG of DEM.UNM NEG definitively holidays.F.PL after
 2135 *èri bigja scùla, líbar.*
 EXIST.IMPf.3SG.EXPL NEG school.F.SG free.ADJ.UNM

‘School ended in May ... June, and one wouldn’t necessarily call this holidays. After that, there was no school, free.’

- 2136 *A ... cò mava ‘lş buéts la stad ad alp, ábar*
 and here go.IMPf.3SG DEF.M.PL boy.PL DEF.F.SG summer to alp.M.SG but
 2137 *avaun c’ al tjams dad alp èri lu aun dad*
 before COMP DEF.M.SG time of alp be.IMPf.3SG.EXPL then in_addition to
 2138 *í majšès ... culs tiars.*
 go.INF assembly_of_houses with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL

‘And ... here, during summer, the boys would go to the summer pastures, but before going to the summer pastures one had to go to the *majšès* with the animals.’

- 2139 *A ... nuş vèvan par èxèmpal al majšès ajnta*
 and 1PL have.IMPf.1PL for example.M.SG DEF.M.SG assembly_of_houses in
 2140 *Pardatsch, in autar vèva sé Miléz né Val Gjuf né nù c’*
 PN INDEF.M.SG other have.IMPf.3SG up PN or PN or where REL
 2141 *i èran èra.*
 3PL COP.IMPf.3PL also

‘And ... we had our *majšès* in Pardatsch, somebody else had it in Milez or Val jiuu or wherever they were.’

- 2142 *Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in désidéri,*
 each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPf.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG longing
 2143 *savaj í majšès a durmí sé lò. Tùt símpal,*
 can.INF go.INF assembly_of_houses and sleep.INF up there all simple.ADJ.UNM
 2144 *ins savèva gidá ajn téj’ 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 *majšès* and sleep up there. Very easy, in the hut one could help cooking and so on.’

8 Texts

2145 *Api quaj è usché tga ... al bap ... vagnéva ...*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO COMP DEF.M.SG father come.IMPF.3SG
 2146 *als ùmans, quaj èr' aun plé purs lò ... Nuş*
 DEF.M.PL man.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG still more farmer.M.PL there 1PL
 2147 *vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts, a*
 have.IMPF.1PL to mind.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.PL boy.PL and
 2148 *stèvan lò sé, sé majşès.*
 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 *majşès*.’

2149 *A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun*
 and precisely in DEM.UNM PN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five
 2150 *buéts.*
 boy.M.PL

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

2151 *A ... in era fumègl tiar quèl, tschèl era*
 and one.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG farmer.M.SG at DEM.M.SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
 2152 *förza ... in pur, èfèctív al fégl, api ..., ábar savènş*
 maybe ... INDEF.M.SG farmer effective.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG son and ... but often
 2153 *è aun da quèls tg' èran fumègl tschè né lò.*
 also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL farmhand.M.SG here or there

‘And ... one was a farmhand for that person, the other was maybe .. a farmer, as a matter of fact his son and ..., but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.’

2154 *Ad ju era tial bap. Quaj era*
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG by.DEF.M.SG father DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 2155 *naturálmajn flòt. Scha lu ò quaj*
 natural.M.SG.ADV great.ADJ.UNM if then have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 2156 *dau òns tg' ins stèv' ira ... cul*
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM year.M.PL REL GNR must.IMPF.3SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG
 2157 *fagòt ... tiar in pur a gidá.*
 bundle by INDEF.M.SG farmer SUBORD help.INF

‘And I was with my father. This was great, of course. Then there were years where one had to go ... with one’s bundle ... to a farmer and help.’

2158 *A quaj òn vèva 'l détg: «Ah uòn nò*
 and DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM eh this_year go.IMP.2SG
 2159 *té ajnta Pardatsch.» Al PN, mju frá, èr'*
 2SG into PN DEF.M.SG PN POSS.1SG.M.SG brother be.IMPF.3SG
 2160 *juş ajn in autar ljuc.*
 go.PTCP.M.SG into INDEF.M.SG other place

‘And that year he had said: «Eh, this year go to Pardatsch.» PN, my brother, had gone to another place.’

2161 *Scadín cas, a vagnévan ... i ajn culs tiars, api ...*
 each.M.SG case and come.IMPF.3PL 3PL in with.DEF.M.SG animal.PL and
 2162 *alş ùmans ... durmévan lò, mungjèvan a mavan a*
 DEF.M.PL man.PL sleep.IMPF.3PL there milk.IMPF.3PL and go.IMPF.3PL to
 2163 *tgèsa ... ah la damaun.*
 home.F.SG eh DEF.F.SG morning

‘In any case, and they came ... up with the animals, and ... the men ... would sleep there, they would milk [the cows] and would go home ... eh ... the next morning.’

2164 *Api ancùntar sèra, las quátar, las tschun vagnévani*
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.F.PL four DEF.F.PL five come.IMPF.3PL.3PL
 2165 *sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun. Al dé ò èran nus parsuls.*
 up_out again and so further DEF.M.SG day out COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL alone.M.PL

‘And towards evening, at four o’clock, five o’clock they would come up again and so on. During the daytime we were alone.’

2166 *Alş ùmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a quaj*
 DEF.M.SG man.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and DEM.UNM
 2167 *èra ... in' ur' a paj bjabégn. A scadín cas ...*
 COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG hour by foot good.ADV and every.M.SG case
 2168 *prndèv' al bap lur' ajn tiar quaj gjantá tg' ins*
 take.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG father then in by DEM.M.SG lunch REL GNR
 2169 *duvrava magnùc a tgarnpiartg.*
 need.IMPF.3SG cheese.M.SG and bacon.M.SG

‘The men would go home with the milk and that would take them a good hour on foot. And in any case ... my father would bring here, in addition to the lunch one needed, also cheese and bacon.’

8 Texts

2170 *Quaj vèv' inš adina, ábar quaj èra tga 'l*
 DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG GNR always but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP 3SG
 2171 *purtava fòrz' ajn: «Ò la mùma ò fatg*
 bring.IMPF.3SG maybe in oh DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM
 2172 *ina péta.», né, né, ina tgaussa né l' outra tg' ins*
 INDEF.F.SG cake or or INDEF.F.SG thing or INDEF.F.SG other REL GNR
 2173 *salagrava lura.*
 REFL.be_pleased.IMPF.3sg then

'This we always had, but it could happen that maybe he brought here: «Oh, mother has made a cake.», right? right?, this or that so that we could feel happy.'

2174 *Ûša, in' jèda ... stù fòrz' aun dí òdavaun,*
 now INDEF.F.SG time must.PRS.1SG maybe say.INF in_addition in_advance
 2175 *mintga buéb vèva ... tarmagljava cul cuntí da*
 every.SG boy.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG play.IMPF.3SG with.DEF.M.SG knife of
 2176 *sac ... tgapiala ... a cuntí da sac. A ... ju*
 pocket.M.SG hat.F.SG and knife.M.SG of pocket.M.SG and 1SG
 2177 *sa tga ju vèva bégja cuntí ... né usché in tgu*
 know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG knife.M.SG or such one.M.SG REL
 2178 *schèv' ajn tégja.*
 leave.IMPF.1SG in alpine_hut.F.SG

'Now, once ... I might say in advance, every boy had ... would play with the pocket knife ... hat ... and pocket knife. And ... I know that I didn't have a knife ... or one I would leave in the hut.'

2179 *Quaj èra lu nuéta propi ... quaj cuntí èra ...*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then nothing really DEM.M.SG knife COP.IMPF.3SG
 2180 *scadín cas ... ah ... èra quaj ina sònda*
 every.M.SG case eh COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM INDEF.F.SG Saturday
 2181 *sèra ... al bab végn sé majšès ...*
 evening.F.SG DEF.M.SG father come.PRS.3SG up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 2182 *api cò ... sacadòs ... quaj tg' ins stù vaj:*
 and here backpack.M.SG DEM.UNM REL GNR must.PRS.3SG have.INF
 2183 *macrúnš a riš a quaj a tschaj.*
 macaroni.M.PL and rice.M.SG and DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM

'This was nothing really ... this knife was ... anyhow ... eh this happened on a

Saturday afternoon ... my father comes up to the ... and here ... backpack ... what one must have: rice, macaroni and this and that.’

- 2184 *Api prènd’ al ... prènd’ al ò ina sèrvla:* «Cò
and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out INDEF.F.SG cervelat⁹⁶ here
- 2185 *ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla, má*
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG cervelat because
- 2186 *tg’ i è damaun dumèngja. As té ... ah cù*
SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday have.PRS.3sg 2SG eh how
- 2187 *barsá stù ju bigja dí Fòrsa fas in fjuchèt*
roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF maybe make.2SG INDEF.M.SG fire.DIM
- 2188 *né, né sas scadá sé la»*
right or can.PRS.2SG warm.INF up DEF.F.SG

‘And then he takes ... he takes out a cervelat: «Here, mother provided a cervelat, because tomorrow is Sunday. Do you ... eh ... how to roast [it] I don’t have to tell [you] Maybe you could prepare a little fire, right?, or you could warm up the»’

- 2189 *Ad ju, quétun cun quèla sèrvla, má tga quaj*
and 1SG braggart.M.SG with DEM.F.SG cervelat because SUBORD DEM.UNM
- 2190 *èra ina raritat ... quaj dèvi bigja grat. A ...*
COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG rarity DEM.UNM exist.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG just and
- 2191 *la dumèngja ... alš ùmanš èn i angjù ...*
DEF.F.SG Sunday DEF.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL down
- 2192 *alš buéts èran šur tégja ... a:*
DEF.M.PL boy.PL COP.IMPF.3PL over alpine_hut.F.SG and

‘And I, [like a] braggart with that cervelat, because that was something scarce ... that you wouldn’t find just so. And ... on Sunday ... the men went down ... and the boys were above the hut: ’

- 2193 *«Tgé fas té gjantá?» «Tgé as té?» In vèva*
what do.PRS.2SG 2SG lunch.INF what have.PRS.2SG 2SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG
- 2194 *survagnú pèta a ... ad ju ... «Ju a survagnú*
get.PTCP.UNM cake.F.SG and and 1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG get.PTCP.UNM
- 2195 *ina sèrvala.» «Schòn?» Quaj èra scartèzja.*
INDEF.F.SG cervelat indeed DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG rarity.ELAT

⁹⁶ A *cervelat* is a typical kind of Swiss sausage.

‘«What are you going to prepare for lunch?» «What do you have?» One had got a cake and ... and I ... «I have got a cervelat.» «Really?» The cervelats were very scarce.’

- 2196 *A ‘l PN ...: «Vò gjù in’ jèda par quèla sèrvla!»*
and DEF.M.SG PN GO.IMPF.2SG DOWN INDEF.F.SG time for DEM.F.SG cervelat
2197 *Ad ju séglja gjù ajn tégja a végn sé cun èla*
and 1SG run.PRS.1SG DOWN INDEF.F.SG and come.PRS.1SG UP WITH 3SG.F
2198 *... a gljèz ... mirau a mirau, i èra bigj’*
and DEM.UNM look.PTCP.UNM and look.PTCP.UNM EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG
2199 *aun uraş da gjantá.*
already hour.F.PL COMP lunch.INF

‘And PN ...: «Go down and fetch that cervelat!» And I run down to the hut and come up with it ... and that ... looked and looked, it wasn’t yet time for lunch.’

- 2200 *Api prènd’ al PN in cuntí ò da sac ... quèls*
and take.PRS.3SG DEF.ART PN INDEF.M.SG knife out of pocket.M.SG DEM.M.PL
2201 *cuntjalş da mòni mèlan ... usché, lajn dí, in cuntí da*
knife.PL of handle.M.SG yellow so HORT.1PL say.INF INDEF.M.SG knife of
2202 *pauc, al mèndar èra mù tga quèl vèv’ ajn*
little DEF.M.SG worse COP.IMPF.3SG only COMP DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG IN
2203 *ina stria furclèta, api fò ‘l:*
INDEF.F.SG witch.F.SG notch and do.PRS.3SG 3SG.M

‘And then PN takes a knife out of his pocket ... one of those knives with a yellow handle ... so, let’s say, a worthless knife; the worst was that it had a damned notch and then he said:’

- 2204 *«Atgnamajn lès ju bratá ... Té sas vaj*
actually want.COND.1SG 1SG exchange 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF
2205 *al cuntí par adina a té datas da mé la sèrvòla.»*
DEF.M.SG knife for always and 2SG give.PRS.2SG DAT 1SG DEF.F.SG cervelat

‘«Actually I would like to exchange You may have the knife forever and you give me the cervelat.»’

- 2206 *Ad ju mirau sén quaj cuntí ... buah ..., ò gljèz, in*
and 1SG look.PTCP.UNM ON DEM.M.SG knife ... EXCL oh DEM.UNM INDEF.M.SG
2207 *cuntí fùs schòn ... A ... la sèrvòla dèv’ ju*
knife COP.COND.3SG indeed and DEF.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG
2208 *schòn nuídis.*
indeed reluctantly

‘And I looked at this knife ... wow! ... oh, well, a knife would indeed And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.’

- 2209 «PN, té saş vaj la sèrvòla ... Ju salv’ al
 PN 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat 1SG keep.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG
 2210 cuntí.» Stau ditg a fatg ... ju vèva
 knife be.PTCP.UNM say.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.IMPF.1SG
 2211 schòn quajdas, ábar quaj èra ... ad ju, gl’
 indeed desire.F.PL but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG and 1SG DEF.M.SG
 2212 amprém tgu a fatg ... è í
 first.ADJ.UNM REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM COP.PRS.3SG go.INF
 2213 in téc zanúa a ş-dulatschè⁹⁷ ad í in téc.
 INDEF.M.SG bit somewhere SUBORD carve.INF and go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit

‘PN, you can have the cervelat I keep the knife. No sooner said than done ... I had indeed the desire, but that was ... and I, the first thing I did ... was to go somewhere in order to carve and to walk around a bit.’

- 2214 A şè quaj stau fatg cun quaj ... ju
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM 1SG
 2215 mét’ al cuntí ajn sac. A la sèra
 put.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG knife into pocket.M.SG and DEF.F.SG afternoon
 2216 végn al bap sédò da las quátar ..., nuş vajn
 come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father up_out of DEF.F.PL four 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 2217 mùgnşch a fatg tèt quèlas lavurs.
 milk.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM all DEM.F.PL work.PL

‘And then this was done ... I put the knife into my pocket. And in the afternoon at four o’clock my father comes up ..., we milked and did all these works.’

- 2218 A sjantar ... las sjat, laş òtg èr’ ins avaun
 and after DEF.F.PL seven DEF.F.PL eight COP.IMPF.3SG GNR before
 2219 tégja, èr’ aun ditg clar ad in téc
 alpine_hut.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG still long_time clear.ADJ.UNM and INDEF.M.SG bit
 2220 als buéts⁹⁸ Scadín caş èr’ ju lò pşsuls
 DEF.M.PL boy.PL every case COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG there alone.M.SG
 2221 cul bap.
 with.DEF.M.SG father

⁹⁷The usual form is *dulatschè*, as in line 2245. The form *ş-dulatschè* has been rejected by the native speakers I consulted.

‘And after ... at seven, eight we were in front of the hut, it was still clear for a long time and the boys a bit In any case, I was there alone with my father.’

- 2222 *Al bap ... anvidau sé cò ina stùmpa scù adina, ad*
 DEF.M.SG father light.PTCP.UNM up here INDEF.F.SG cheroot as always and
 2223 *ju prèn òra quaj cuntí a ş-dulatscha cò zatgé api*
 1SG take.PRS.1SG out DEM.M.SG knife and carve.PRS.1SG here something and
 2224 *mir’ al bab via sèn mè:*
 look.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father over on 1SG

‘My father ... lit up a cheroot up here as always, and I take out that knife and carve here something and then my father looks over to me:’

- 2225 «Tgé ... tgé as té lò?» «Ò ju a in ...» «Da
 what what have.PRS.2SG 2SG there oh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.M.SG from
 2226 *tgi as quaj cuntí?» «Ah quèl va ju*
 whom have.PRS.1SG DEM.M.SG knife eh DEM.M.SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG
 2227 *survagnú.» «Lá mirá in’ jèda!» ... Vau*
 receive.PTCP.UNM let.IMP.2SG look.INF INDEF.F.SG time have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 2228 *dau via ... api détg èl: «Simplamajn*
 give.PTCP.UNM over and say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M simple.F.SG.ADV
 2229 *survagnú èl uschéa?»*
 receive.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M SO

‘«What ... what do you have there?» «Oh I have a ... «Whom do you have this knife from?» «Eh this one I have received.» «Let [me] see it!» ... I gave it over [to him] ... and then he said: «Just got it like this?»’

- 2230 «*Na, ju a stju ... ju a stju*
 no 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM
 2231 *dá la sèrvòla, brat’ ò.» Al bap ò*
 give.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat exchange.INF out DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG
 2232 *détg nuét. Ju va tartgau ... bigja bjè ...*
 say.PTCP.UNM nothing 1SG have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM NEG much
 2233 *nuét.*
 nothing

‘«No, I had ... I had to give the cervelat, exchange [it].» My father didn’t say anything. I thought ... not much ... nothing.’

⁹⁸Unintelligible part between *buéts* and *scadin*.

2234 «*Ò scha lura, sas té tgé, PN? Vò sé a*
 oh if then know.PRS.2SG 2SG what PN go.impf.2SG up and
 2235 *tùrna quaj cuntí dal PN. Quaj è lu è bigj'*
 give_back.IMP.2SG DEM.M.SG knife DAT PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG then also NEG
 2236 *in ... quaj è par safá mal. Na, quaj*
 INDEF.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SUBORD REFL.do.INF harm no DEM.UNM
 2237 *vala nuét.»*
 be_worth.PRS.3SG nothing

‘Oh well then, do you know what, PN? Go up and give back this knife to PN. This is not a ... you will hurt yourself with it. No, this isn’t worth anything.’

2238 «*Ah gljèz ... ju a schòn è quitau, na*
 eh DEM.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG indeed also think.PTCP.UNM no
 2239 *èfèctíf, na.» Ju sùn jus sé a détg dal*
 effective.ADJ.UNM no 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG up and say.PTCP.UNM DAT
 2240 *PN ... fòrza l' autar dé ... gljèz sa ju bégja ...*
 PN maybe DEF.M.SG other day DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG
 2241 *turnau al cuntí. Ju a détg:*
 give_back.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG knife 1SG have.1SG say.PTCP.UNM

‘«Eh that ... I also thought, no, effectively, no.» I went up and told PN ... maybe the following day ... I don’t know it ... gave back the knife. I said:’

2242 «*Té, quaj è tùt ajn ùrdan, ábar quaj cuntí cò, quaj*
 2SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all in order.M.SG but DEM.M.SG knife here DEM.UNM
 2243 *è bigja ... fòrz' aprècjèschas té èl plé fètg tgu.*
 COP.PRS.3SG NEG maybe appreciate.PRS.2SG 2SG 3SG.M more much than.1SG
 2244 *Ju tégn da quèl lò ... è bétga, quaj*
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG of DEM.M.SG here COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEM.M.SG
 2245 *sau è bigja pròpi dulatschè.»*
 can.PRS.1SG.1SG also NEG really carve.INF

‘«Listen, this is all OK, but this knife, this isn’t ... maybe you appreciate it more than I do. I think of this ... it is not, I cannot use it for carving».’

2246 *Quaj è stau la ... dumèngj' èra al*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG Sunday be.IMP.3SG DEF.M.SG
 2247 *bab vagnùş anòra⁹⁹ a la dumèngja sèra şè*
 father come.PTCP.M.SG out and def.F.SG Sunday afternoon.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
 2248 *quaj stau; èl vò anò gljèndişdiş andamaun.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M go.PRS.3SG out Monday.M.SG morning

8 Texts

‘This was ... on Sunday my father had come up and this took place on Sunday afternoon; he goes back Monday morning.’

2249 *A la sèra da las quatar végn al anajn.* «PN, ò,
and DEF.F.SG afternoon at DEF.F.PL four come.PRS.3SG 3SG.M in PN oh
2250 *nuét, ò ju sùn aun¹⁰⁰ in' jèda.» A prènd èl*
nothing oh 1SG be.PRS.1SG in_addition INDEF.F.SG time and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
2251 *ò dal sacadòs in cuntí réjsch néjv da mòni*
out of.DEF.M.SG backpack INDEF.M.SG knife brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG
2252 *mèlan ... èxáct al madèm.*
yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG same

‘And in the afternoon, at four, he comes up. «PN, oh, nothing, oh I [went] once again [to Sedrun].» And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the backpack ... exactly the same.’

2253 *Cù 'l bab è jus navèn da Cavòrgja sé Sadrún,*
how DEF.M.SG father be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG away of PN up PN
2254 *cù 'l ò òrganisau quaj cuntí ... má tga*
how 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG organise.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG knife because SUBORD
2255 *quaj èra bigja schi símpal, in cuntí*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG so simple.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG knife
2256 *vèv' ins bigja grad sèn cruna.*
have.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG precisely on rack.F.SG

‘How my father went from Cavorgia up to Sedrun, how he organised this knife ... because it was not so simple, you don't just have a knife on the rack.’

2257 *A quèla luschèzja, quaj va ju aprazjau*
and DEM.F.SG pride DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG appreciate.PTCP.UNM
2258 *énòrm ... tg' al bap ... ò sènza nuét ...*
enormous.ADJ.UNM COMP DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG without nothing
2259 *sènza dí in plajd¹⁰¹ cuntí ... l' autar dé in*
without say.INF INDEF.M.SG word knife DEF.M.SG other day INDEF.M.SG
2260 *cuntí réjsch néjv ... èxáct al madèm, da mòni mèlan.*
knife brand new.M.SG exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG same of handle.M.SG yellow

⁹⁹Anòra is a performance error for *anajn*.

¹⁰⁰Unintelligible part between *aun* and *in*.

¹⁰¹Unintelligible part between *plajd* and *cuntí*.

‘And this proudness, I appreciated enormously that my father ... had without anything, without saying a word ... the next day a brand-new knife ... exactly the same, with a yellow handle.’

2261 *A ... quaj è zatgé tgu a maj*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG something REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG never
 2262 *amblidau.*
 forget.PTCP.UNM

‘And ... this is something I have never forgotten.’

9 Tuatschin-English word list

The Tuatschin-English word list contains the items that occur in chapters 1-8, which represents about 1'650 lexical entries. The following observations about the lexical entries should be taken into account:

- For verbs with stem alternations, the first (respectively third) person singular present indicative or the first person present plural indicative is indicated, according to whether the stem alternation concerns the stressed or the unstressed syllable of the verb.
- Irregular participles are also indicated.
- The adjectives are listed in their unmarked (or masculine singular attributive) form.
- Voiced consonants in final position are pronounced voicelessly.

A

a, ad /ɐ, ɛd/ (CONJ) and

a, ad /ɐ, ɛd/ (PREP) in, at

a /ɐ/ (PURP) to, in order to

ábar /'a:bɛr/ (CONJ) but

accidèn /ɛktsi'dɛn/ (M.N) accident

acòrd /ɛ'kɔrd/ (M.N) piecework

ɛd usché vinavaun /ɛd u'sɛ vine'vawn/ and so on, etcetera

adina /ɛ'dinɐ/ (ADV) always

afèczjun /ɛfɛk'tsjun/ (F.N) affection

afòn (Selva) /ɛ'fɔn/ (M.N) child

agid /ɛ'dʒid/ (M.N) help

agjan, atgna /'a:dʒɛn, 'atɔnɐ/ (ADJ) own

agradgjù /ɛgrɛd'dʒʊ/ (ADV) steep down

agrèssiv, -a /ɛgrɛ'si:v, -ɐ/ (ADJ) aggressive

- aj, i** /aj, i/ 1. (PERS.PRON.3PL) they 2. (EXPL.PRON) there
aj /aj/ (UNM.PERS.PRON) it
ajfar-piast /'ajfər-'piɛst/ (M.N) hay rack post
ajn /ajn/ (PREP) in
ajn gamba /ajn 'gambə/ (ADV) well¹
ajn général /ajn 'dʒɛnərəl/ (ADV) generally
ajnajjù /ajne'dʒu:/ (ADV) in and down
ajnamiaz /ajne'miɛts/ (ADV) in the middle
ajnaquèla /ajne'kwelə/ (ADV) at that moment
ajnasé /ajna'se/ (ADV) in and up
ajnsasséz /ajnsɛ'sɛts/ (ADV) actually, in fact
ajnta /'ajntə/ (PREP) in, into; up the valley
ajntadém /ajntɛ'de:m/ (PREP) in the uppermost part of
ajssa /'ajsɛ/ (F.N) plank, board
al /ɛl/ (DEF.ART.M.SG) the
ala /'a:lə/ (F.N) 1. wing 2. side (of the roof)
alarm /ɛ'larm/ (M.N) alarm
alb → **alp**
alp /alb, albz/ (F.N) alp, summer pasture
als /ɛlz/ (DEF.ART.M.PL) the
álsò /'alzɔ/ (DISC) well
alv, -a /alv, -ɛ/ (ADJ) white
amblidá /ɛmbli'da:/ (TR.V) forget
ambòli /ɛmbɔ'li/ (F.N) embolism
amiaz /ɛ'miɛts/ (PREP) in the midst of, in the middle of
ampaglja /ɛm'paʎɛ/ (ADV) damaged
ampau /ɛm'paw/ (QUANT) some, a bit
amplaní (amplanèscha/amplajna) /ɛmplɛ'ni:/ (/ɛmplɛ'nɛʃɛ/ɛm'plajnɛ/) (TR.V) fill
amprém, -a /ɛm'prɛm, -ɛ/ (ORD.NUM) first
amprèndar /ɛm'prɛndər/ (TR.V) learn. **amprèndar d'ancanùschar** learn to know
amprèndissadi /ɛmprɛndi'sa:di/ (M.N) apprenticeship
ampruá da + inf (amprùva) /ɛm'prua: dɛ/ (/ɛm'prɔ:vɛ/) (TR.V) try to
ampurtá (ampòrta) /ɛmpur'ta:/ (/ɛmp'ɔrte/) (ITR.V) be important
ampustá (ampòsta) /ɛmpu'ʃta:/ (/ɛm'pɔʃte/) (TR.V) order
ana (da) /'anɛ dɛ/ (N) year (in year dates)
anada /ɛ'nadɛ/ (F.N) 1. year 2. age group
anavùs /ɛnɛ'vʊ:s/ (ADV) back, backward

¹Gamba 'leg' is only used in *ajn gamba*; the normal word for 'leg' is *tgòmba*.

ancanùschar /ɛnkɛ'nʊʃɛr/ (TR.V) know. *amprèndar d' ancanùschar* get to know

ancanuschènt, -a /ɛnkɛnu'ʃɛnt, -ɐ/ (ADJ) known

ancùntar, cùntar /ɛn'kɔntɛr/ (PREP) towards, in direction of (with human nouns, the dative marker *da* is used)

ancurí (anquera) (PTCP ancurétg) /ɛnku'ri:/ (/ɛn'kwɛrɐ, ɛnku'rétɕ/) (TR.V) look for, search

andamajn /ɛndɛ'majn/ (ADV) in mind. *vagní andamajn da* come into one's mind

andamaun /ɛndɛ'mawn/ (ADV) in the morning. *la sònda andamaun* on Saturday morning

andisau, -ada /ɛndi'zaw, -'adɛ/ (ADJ) used to

andrètɕ /ɛn'drɛtɕ/ (ADV/INVAR.ADJ) right

anèx, -a /ɛ'nɛks, -ɐ/ (ADJ) annexed

anf(a)rà (anfjara) /ɛnf(ɐ)'ra:/ (/ɛnfja:rɐ/) (TR.V) shoe a horse

anflá /ɛn'fla:/ (TR.V) find. *anflá òra* find out

angarschè (angrascha) /ɛngɛr'ʃɛ:/ (/ɛng'ra:ʃɐ/) (TR.V) fatten

angjù /ɛn'dzʊ/ (ADV) down

angrazjè /ɛngrɛz'jɛ:/ (TR.V) thank

angrazjajval, -vla /ɛngrɛts'jajvɛl, -vlɐ/ (ADJ) grateful

angulá (angùla) /ɛngu'la:/ (/ɛn'gʊ:lɐ/) (TR.V) steal

aní (PL anjal(t)s) /ɛ'ni:/ (/ɛn'jal(t)s/) (M.N) ring

animal /ɛni'ma:l/ (M.N) animal

anòra /ɛn'ɔ:rɐ/ (ADV) down the valley

a,nò:ragjù /ɛnɔra'dzʊ/ (ADV) down the valley

anqual /ɛn'kwɛl/ (QUANT) some

ansé /an'sɛ/ 1. (ADV) up 2. (CIRCP) *da ... ansé* from ... up

anséjgl (PL anşul(t)s) /ɛn'zɛjɣ:/ (/ɛn'zʊl(t)s/) (M.N) kid

ansjaman, anzjaman /ɛn'sjamɛn, ɛn'tsjamɛn/ (ADV) together

anstagl /ɛn'ʃtaɣ:/ (PREP/COMP) instead of

antardá /ɛntɛr'da:/ (TR.V) delay

antir, -a /ɛn'ti:r, -ɐ/ (ADJ) whole

antschata /ɛn'tʃatɛ/ (F.N) beginning

antschajvar (antschavín) /ɛn'tʃajvɛr/ (/ɛntʃɛ'vi:n/) (TR/ITR.V) begin

antupá (antaupa) /ɛntu'pa:/ (/ɛn'tawpɐ/) (TR.V) meet

antùrn /ɛn'tʊrn/ (PREP/ADV) around

anúnzja /ɛ'nuntsjɐ/ (F.N) announcement. *anúnzja da mòrt* death notice

anvidá /ɛnvi'da:/ (TR.V) light. *anvidá ajn* invite

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- anzardá** (anzjarda) /ɛntsɐr'da:/ (/ɛn'tsjarɔ/) (TR.V) aerate (soil)
anzatgé(j) /ɛntsɐ'tɕej/ (INDEF.PRON) something. **anzatgéj in/ina** something like
anzatgí /ɛntsɐ'tɕi:/ (INDEF.PRON) somebody
anzjaman → **ansjaman**
aparti /ɛ'parti/ (INVAR.ADJ) special, particular
aparti /ɛ'parti/ (ADV) specially, particularly
api /'api/ (CONJ) and then
aprazjè (apracjèscha) /ɛprɛ'tsɕe:/ (/ɛprɛ'tsɕɛ/) (TR.V) appreciate
ará /ɛ'ra:/ (ITR.V) plough
árdar (PTCP ars, -a) /'ardɔr/ (/ars, -ɛ/) (ITR.V) burn
armaul /ɛr'mawl/ (M.N) animal
artg /artɕ/ (M.N) rainbow
aründazjún /ɛröndɛ'tsjun/ (F.N) joining of properties
árvar (PTCP aviart, avjarta) /'arvɔr/ (/ɛ'viert, ɛv'jartɔ/) (TR.V) open
arvèglja /ɛr'vɛɛɛ/ (COLL.F.N) peas
asan /'azɛn/ (M.N) donkey
aschí → **schí**
astgè, stgè + inf /ɛʃ'tɕɛ:, ʃtɕɛ:/ (TR.V) be allowed
atacá /ɛtɛ'ka:/ (TR.V) attack
atgna → **agjan**
atgnamajn /atɕnɛ'majn/ (ADV) actually
atmoní /ɛtmɔ'ni:/ (TR.V) admonish
atractiv, -a /ɛtrɛkti:v, -a/ (ADJ) attractive
atrás, traş /ɛ'traz, traz/ (ADV AND PREP) through
atún /ɛ'tun/ (M.N) autumn
aua /'awa/ (F.N) water
auc /awk/ (M.N) uncle
aucségnar /awk'sɛɕnɛr/ (M.N) priest
aun /awn/ (ADV) in addition, moreover, still, really; **bétg aun** not yet
aungataun /,awnɕɛ'tawn/ (QUANT) as much as
aura /'awrɛ/ (F.N) weather
aut, -a /awt, -ɛ/ (ADJ) high
autar, -tra /'awtɛr, -trɛ/ (ADJ.) other
autò /'awtɔ/ (M.N) car
avanamajn(t) /ɛvɛnɛ'majn(t)/ (M.N) 1. incident 2. event
avat /ɛ'vat/ (M.N) abbot
avaun /ɛ'vawn/ 1. (ADV) forward, before 2. (PREP) before, ago; in front of
avaunmjadsdé /ɛ'vawnmjɛdz'dɛ:/ (ADV) morning

avrèl, avrèl /ɛv're:l, ɛv're:l/ (M.N) April

avùnda /ɛ'vʊndɛ/ (ADV) enough

axarsézi /ɛksɛr'setsi/ (M.N) rehearsal

B

bab /ba:b/ (M.N) father

badugn /bɛ'duŋ/ (M.N) birch

bagagè (baghègja) /bɛgɛ'dzɛ/ (/bɛ'gɛdzɛ/) (TR.V) build. *bagagè da néjv* renovate

bagagè gjù remove, mine, dismantle

baghétg /bɛ'gɛtɕ/ (M.N) building

bajbar (bubín) /'bajbɛr/ (/bu'bi:n/) (TR.V) drink

bajònèta /bɛjɔ'netɛ/ (F.N) bayonet

bal /ba:l/ (M.N) ball

balantschè /bɛlɛn'tʃɛ:/ (ITR.V) roll

balapaj /bɛlɛ'paj/ (M.N) football

balèzja /bɛ'lɛtsjɛ/ (F.N) 1. beauty 2. (ELAT) very beautiful

banadí, banadí òra (banadèscha) /bɛnɛ'di:/ (/bɛnɛ'dɛʃɛ/) (TR.V) bless

banadiczjun /bɛnɛdik'tsjun/ (F.N) blessing

bandiara /bɛn'diɛrɛ/ (F.N) flag

bar /ba:r/ (F.N) bar

bara /'ba:rɛ/ (F.N) corpse

barba /'barbɛ/ (F.N) beard

barbís /bɛr'bi:s/ (M.N) moustache

barcún /bɛr'kun/ (M.N) shutter

bargí (bragja) /bɛr'dzi:/ (/bra:dzɛ/) (ITR.V) cry

barlòt /bɛr'lɔt/ (M.N) sorcery

barsá (brassa) /bɛr'sa:/ (/brase/) (TR.V) roast

barşchè (brişcha) /bɛr'ʒɛ:/ (/bri:ʒɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) burn

basa /'ba:zɛ/ (F.N) base

basèlgja /bɛ'zɛldzɛ/ (F.N) church

bassa /'basɛ/ (F.N) Switzerland outside the canton of Grisons

bast /baʃt/ (M.N) packsaddle

basta /'baʃtɛ/ (INTERJ) enough

bau /baw/ (M.N) beetle

baun /bawn/ (M.N) 1. bench 2. ridge

baun-pégna /bawn-'pepɛ/ (M.N) oven bench

baud /bawd/ (ADV) early

bé → *bétga*

- béádi* /be'a:di/ (M.N) grandson
béádia /be'a:diə/ (F.N) granddaughter
bégn /be:ɲ/ (ADV) well
bèn /bɛn/ (ADV) yes (in response to a negative statement or question)
bétar (PTCP *béz*, -a) /'betər/ (/bets, -ɐ/) (TR.V) throw
bètlar /'betlər/ (M.N) beggar
bétga, bétg, bigja, bigj', *bé* /'betɕə, betɕ, 'bidzɐ, bidz, be/ (NEG) no
bétóná /betɔ'na:/ (TR.V) concrete
bi, bjals, bjala /bi, bjalz, 'bjalə/ (ADJ) beautiful, nice
bian, bunş, buna /'biɛn, bunz, 'buna/ (ADJ) good
bianmartgau /biɛnmər'tɕaw/ (INVAR.ADJ) cheap
bigja, bigj' → *bétga*
bitschè (bétscha) /bi'tʃɛ:/ (/ 'be:tʃɛ/) (TR.V) kiss
bjebégn/bjèbégn /bjɛ'bɛɲ/bjɛ'bɛɲ/ (ADV) a bit more than, around
bjala, bjals → *bi*
bjalaura /bjɛ'lawrɐ/ (F.N) nice weather
bjè /bjɛ:/ (ADV) much, often
bjèbégn → *bjabégn*
bjèrs, bjèraş /bjɛrʃ, 'bjɛrɐz/ (PL.QUANT.DET/PRON) many
blètsch, -a /blɛʃ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) wet
blòc /blɔk/ (M.N) block
blòca /'blɔkɐ/ (COLL.F.N) blocks
blùt, -a /blʊt, -ɐ/ (ADJ) naked. *blùt danè* money in cash
blusa /'blu:zɐ/ (F.N) blouse
bòb /bɔb/ (M.N) bob
bògn /bɔɲ/ (M.N) bath
bòla /'bɔ:lɐ/ (F.N) punch
braja /'bra:jɐ/ (F.N) trouble. *vaj braja* have troubles
brajnta /'brajntɐ/ (F.N) basket
bratá /brɛ'ta:/ (TR.V) exchange
bratsch /braʃ/ (M.N) arm
bratscha /'braʃɐ/ (COLL.F.N) (both) arms
brav, -a /'bra:v, -ɐ/ (ADJ) brave, important
brèmşa /'brɛmʃɐ/ (F.N) break
brutal, -a /bru'ta:l, -ɐ/ (ADJ) terrible
buantá /bwɛn'ta:/ (TR.V) water (animals)
buantad /bwɛn'tad/ (ELAT) very good, excellent
bubrantá (bubrajnta) /bubrɛn'ta:/ (/bub'rjantɐ/) (TR.V)) make drunk

bùc /bøk/ (M.N) billy goat
bùca /'bøkə/ (F.N) mouth. *dá la bùca sur da* make derisive remarks about
buéb (PL *buéts*) /bweb/ (/bwets/) (M.N) boy, son
buéba /'bwebə/ (F.N) girl, daughter
buébanaglja /bwebə'na:ʎə/ (COLL.F.N) children
bùf (PL *bùs/bùfs*) /bɔ:f/ (/bɔ:s/bɔ:fs/) (M.N) ox
buglí /bu'ʎi:/ (TR.V) boil
bugnè (bògna) /bu'ɲe:/ (/'bɔɲə/) (TR.V) give water
bumbardá /bumber'da:/ (TR.V) bomb
bunamajn /'bunə'majn/ (ADV) 1. almost 2. really
buna, bunş → *bian*
bùra /'bɔ:re/ (F.N) block
bùrdi /'bɔ:rdi/ (M.N) load
bùrsa /'bɔ:rsə/ (F.N) wallet
buşchia /bu'ʒiə/ (F.N) nickname
bùt /bɔt/ (F.N) barrel
butèglja /bu'tɛʎə/ (F.N) bottle
bürò /'byrɔ/ (M.N) office

C

ca /kə/ (REL) that, who (in combination with *tgéj* 'what' and *tgi* 'who')
cacèta /kə'tsetə/ (F.N) pot
cadajna /kə'dajne/ (F.N) chain
cafanún /kəfə'nun/ (M.N) church banner
calá /kə'la:/ (ITR.V) end. *calá da + inf* stop doing
caldèra /kəl'de:re/ (F.N) cauldron
calira /kə'li:re/ (F.N) heath
calum /kə'lum/ (M.N) thigh
calur/culur /kə'lu:r/ku'lu:r/ (F.N) colour
camarad /kəmə'ra:d/ (M.N) mate
caná /kəná:/ (TR.V) stab
cantá (cònta) /kən'ta:/ (/kɔntə/) (TR/ITR.V) sing
cantina /kən'tinə/ (F.N) canteen
cantún /kən'tun/ (M.N) 1. corner 2. canton
canzún /kən'tsun/ (F.N) song
capí /kə'pi:/ (TR.V) understand
capitá /kəpi'ta:/ (ITR.V) happen
capitani /kəpi'ta:ni/ (M.N) captain

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- caplòn** /kə'plɔn/ (M.N) chaplain
caplùta /kə'plɔtə/ (F.N) chapel
cáput /'kaput/ (ADV) shattered
car /ka:r/ (M.N) bus
car, -a /ka:r, -ə/ (ADJ) dear
carèzja /kə'rɛtsjə/ (F.N) love
cargè /kər'dʒɛ:/ (TR.V) 1. carry 2. drove animals to the summer pastures
carschantá (carschjanta) /kərʃen'ta:/ (/kər'ʃjantə/) (TR.V) thrive
carstgaun /kərʃtɕawn/ (M.N) human being
carta /'kartə/ (F.N) 1. letter 2. map
cas /kas/ (M.N) case
caşchè /kə'ʒɛ:/ (ITR.V) make cheese
caschnè /kəʃnɛ:/ (M.N) hay rack
castí (PL castjal(t)s) /kəʃ'ti:/ (/kəʃ'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) castle
castitg /kəʃ'ti:tɕ/ (M.N) punishment
catòlic, -a /kə'tɔlik, -ə/ (ADJ/N) Catholic
catschadur /kəʃfə'du:r/ (M.N) hunter
catschè /kə'ʃɛ:/ (TR.V) 1. hunt 2. drove (animals) 3. **catschè ajn** throw into
catschèjgl (PL catschùl(t)s) /kə'ʃɛjɔ/ (/kə'ʃɔl(t)s/) (M.N) sock
catschina /kə'ʃi:nɛ/ (F.N) limestone
cavá /kə'va:/ (TR.V) dig. **cavá òra** recover (metals)
cavaza /kə'vatʂə/ (F.N) skull
cavèstar /kə'vɛʃtər/ (M.N) bridle
caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga /kə'viərtɕ, kə'vɔrtɕ, -a/ (ADJ) hollow
cavréjgl (PL cavrùl(t)s) /kəv'rejɔ/ (/kəv'rɔl(t)s/) (M.N) roe deer. **bùc cavréjgl** male roe deer. **tgaurá cavréjgl** female roe deer
cazè /kə'tsɛ:/ (M.N) shoe
cazùla /kə'tsɔ:lə/ (F.N) light
cégn /tse:n/ (M.N) swan
cèntrau, -ada /tsen'traw, -a:də/ (ADJ) central
cèntrifuga /,tsentri'fu:gə/ (F.N) centrifuge
cèntrifugá /,tsentri'fu:ga:/ (TR.V) centrifugate
cèrt, -a /tsert, -ə/ (ADJ) certain
circa /'tsirkə/ (ADV) about, around
clar, -a /kla:r, -ə/ (ADJ) clear
classa /'klasə/ (F.N) class
claustra /'klawʃtrə/ (F.N) monastery
clavau /klə'vaw/ (M.N) hay barn

cléjg, clétg /kledʒ, kletʃ/ (M.N) luck
clumá (clòma) /klu'má/ (/klómə/) (TR.V) call
clutgè /klu'tʃe/ (M.N) clock tower. *clutgè-basèlgja* church tower
cò /kɔ/ (ADV) here
còc /kɔk/ (M.N) core
còca /'kɔkə/ (F.N) small cake
cògna /'kɔŋə/ (F.N) bitch (female dog)
còléga /kɔ'legə/ (N) colleague
còmpatènza /kɔmpətentsə/ (F.N) competence
còmPLICAZjun /kɔmplikə'tʃjun/ (F.N) complication
còmPJutar /kɔmp'ju:tər/ (M.N) computer
còmunal, -a /kɔmun'a:l, -'a:lə/ (ADJ) communal
cònfadarazjun /kɔnfədərə'tʃjun/ (F.N) confederation
còntáct /kɔn'takt/ (M.N) contact
còntèxt /kɔn'tekt/ (M.N) context
còrda /'kɔrdə/ (F.N) string, rope. *ir' ajn còrda* go in single file
còrna /'kɔrnə/ (COLL.F.N) horns
còrns → *tgérn*
còrpòralmajn /kɔrpɔ'ra:l,majn/ (ADV) physically
còschar /'kɔʃər/ (IRR.ITR.V) keep quiet, keep silent
còtgal /'kɔtʃəl/ (M.N) charcoal
còt gla /'kɔtʃəl/ (COLL.F.N) charcoal
còtschans, còtschna → *tgétschan*
craj /kraj/ (IRR.TR.V) believe
crap /krap/ (M.N) stone
crapa /'krapə/ (COLL.F.N) stones
crèšchar (carschín) /'krɛʃər/ (/kər'ʃi:n/) (ITR.V) grow, grow up
crèst /krɛʃt/ (M.N) 1. hill 2. high ground
criac (PL cròcs) /'kriək/ (/krɔks/) (M.N) plough
cristala /kriʃ'talə/ (F.N) crystal
cròtscha /krɔ'tʃə/ (F.N) plough
cruna /'kru:nə/ (F.N) rack, bookshelf
crusch /kru:ʃ/ (F.N) cross
cu, cura /ku:, 'ku:rə/ 1. (INTERR.PRON) when 2. (REL.PRON) when
cúa /'kuə/ (F.N) tail
cùdisch /'kʊdɪʃ/ (M.N) book
cudizá (cudéza) /kudɪ'tsa:/ (/ku'de:tsə/) (TR.V) tease, provoke
cuélm /kwelm/ (M.N) 1. peak (of a mountain) 2. mountain 3. assembly of houses

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- cuérş** /kwerz/ (M.N) course
cuérşa /'kwersə/ (F.N) course. **cuérşa ljuŋa** cross-country skiing
cuért, -a /kwert, -ə/ (ADJ) short
cugljaná (cugljuna) /kuʎə'na:/ (/ku'ʎu:nə/) (TR.V) cheat
cugljèda /kuʎɛ:də/ (F.N) clotted milk
cugljún /ku'ʎun/ (M.N) scoundrel
cùgn /kɔŋ/ (M.N) wedge
culiar (PL culjars) /ku'liər/ (/ku'ljars/) (M.N) collar
culiaz /ku'liəts/ (M.N) neck
cumandá (camònda) /kumən'da:/ (/kə'məndə/) (TR.V) order
cumandamèn (PL cumandamajnts) /kuməndə'mɛn/ (/kuməndə'majnts/) (M.N) commandment
cumar /ku'ma:r/ (F.N) chatterbox
cuminòntza /kumi'nɔntsə/ (F.N) 1. community 2. working-group
cumissjuná /kumisju'na:/ (TR.V) commission
cumpagnia /kumpə'ɲiə/ (F.N) association
cumpagnè (cumpògna, cumpagnajn) /kumpə'ɲɛ:/ (/kum'pɔɲə, kumpə'ɲajn/) (TR.V) accompany
cumpignia /kumpiɲi'e/ (F.N) company. **stá da cumpignia** stay together
cùmpra /'kɔmpɾə/ (F.N) shopping
cumprá (cùmpra) /kum'pra:/ (/kɔmpɾə/) (TR.V) buy
cun /kun/ (PREP) with
cunquaj tga /kun'kwaj tɕə/ (COMP) since
cunscianza /kuns'tsiəntsə/ (F.N) conscience
cuntantá (cuntjanta) /kuntən'ta:/ (/kun'tjantə/) (TR.V) satisfy
cùntar → **ancùntar**
cuntí (PL cuntjal(t)s) /kun'ti:/ (/kun'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) knife
cuntjanz, -a /kunt'jants, -ə/ (ADJ) pleased, happy
cunzún /kun'tsun/ (ADV) especially
cùp /kɔp/ (M.N) bowl
cùpa /'kɔpə/ (F.N) bowl
cupaná /kupə'na:/ (TR.V) fertilise (e.g. bees)
cùr /kɔ:r/ (M.N) heart
curdá (crùda) /kur'da:/ (/krɔ:də/) (ITR.V) fall
curégjar (curagín) /ku'redʒər/ (/kurə'dʒi:n/) (TR.V) correct
curí (cùra) /ku'ri:/ (/kɔ:rə/) (ITR.V) go on. **Tgéj cùra?** What's going on?
curjòş, -a /kur'jɔz, -ə/ (ADJ) strange
curnada /kur'na:də/ (F.N) push with horns

curnagl /kur'naʎ/ (M.N) Alpine chough
curnaglja /kur'naʎɐ/ (COLL.F.N) Alpine choughs
curònta /ku'ròntɐ/ (NUM) forty
curtín /kur'ti:n/ (M.N) garden
cuşchina /ku'zi:nɐ/ (F.N) kitchen
cuşchiná /ku'zi'na:/ (TR/ITR.V) cook
cuşchinada /ku'zi'na:dɐ/ (F.N) cooking
custá (cuésta) /kuf'ta:/ (/kweʃtɐ/) (TR.V) cost
cusunz /ku'zunts/ (M.N) tailor
cuiarar (cuvrín) (PTCP cuvreté) /ku'vierɐr/ (/kuv'ri:n, kuv'retɕ/) (TR.V) cover
cuzá (quéza) /ku'tsa:/ (/kwetɐ/) (ITR.V) last

D

da, dad /dɐ, dɛd/ 1. (PREP) 1.i of 1.ii from 1.iii during 2. (COMP) during 3. dative marker
dá /da:/ (TR.V) 1. give. *dá anavùs* give back. *dá gjù* fall down, hand over. *dá vi* hand over 2. play (cards, sports, etc.) 3. (EXIST.V) there is
dacidar /dɛ'tsi:dɛr/ (TR.V) decide
dacù /dɛ'kɔ/ (INTERR.PRON) why
dadajñş /dɛ'dajnz/ (ADV) farther behind, in direction up the valley
daditg /dɛ'di:tɕ/ (ADV) a long time ago
dadò /dɛ'dɔ:/ (PREP) after (in direction down the valley)
dafartauntiar tga /dɛfɛr'tawn,tier tɕɐ/ (COMP) whilst
damanajval da /dɛmɛ'najvɛl dɐ/ (PREP) near
damaun /dɛ'mawn/ 1. (F.N) morning 2. (ADV) tomorrow
damèmja /dɛ'memjɐ/ (ADV) too much
danè /dɛ'nɛ:/ (M.N) money
dantaun /dɛn'tawn/ 1. (ADV) meanwhile 2. (CONJ) however, but
danùndar /dɛ'nɔndɛr/ (INTERR.PRON) where from
dapjandar (dapandín, IMPF dapandèvan) /dɛ'pjander/ (/dɛpɛn'di:n, dɛpɛn'dɛ:vɛn/) (ITR.V) depend
daplé /dɛ'plɛ:/ (ADV) more
darasá /dɛrɛ'za:/ (TR.V) spread
dargún /dɛr'gun/ (M.N) torrent
darivá /dɛri'va:/ (ITR.V) come from
dascrívar /dɛʃ'kri:vɛr/ (TR.V) describe
daşgrazjè /dɛʒgrɛ'tsje:/ (ITR.V) have an accident
daspèraş /dɛʃpɛrɐʃ/ (ADV) next to it

- dastadá** /dɛʃtɛ'da:/ (IRR.TR.V) wake up
dastùrbá /dɛʃtɔr'ba:/ (TR.V) disturb
datá (datèscha) /dɛ'ta:/ (/dɛ'tɛʃɛ/) (ITR.V) date
datiar /dɛ'tiɛr/ (ADV) next to it, alongside
dátum /'da:tum/ (M.N) date
davantá (davjanta) /dɛvɛn'ta:/ (/dɛv'jantɛ/) (ITR.V) become
davauntiar /dɛ'vawɛn'tiɛr/ (ADV) in front of (it), at the front
davùs, **-a** /dɛ'vʊ:s, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) last 2. (PREP) behind
davùsajn /dɛvʊ:s'zajn/ (ADV) into ... from the back
davùsòra /dɛ'vʊ:s'zɔ:rɛ/ (ADV) backwards
davùstiar /dɛvʊ:s'tiɛr/ (ADV) in the back
dé (PL dis) /de:/ (/di:s/) (M.N) day. **al dé ò(ra)** the whole day
décadènza /dekɛ'dɛntsɛ/ (F.N) decadence
dècèmbar /dɛ'tsɛmbɛr/ (M.N) december
déjşch /dejʃ/ (NUM) ten
dépònar /dɛ'pɔ:nɛr/ (TR.V) store
dèrgjar (dargín) (PTCP dèrs) /dɛr'dzɛr/ (/dɛr'dzi:n, dɛrs/) (TR.V) spill. **dergjar gju**
demolish
désidéri /dezi'de:ri/ (M.N) longing
déstiná /dɛsti'na:/ (ITR.V) suite
déstruí /dɛʃtru'i:/ (TR.V) destruct
dèt /dɛt/ (M.SG) finger
dèta /dɛtɛ/ (COLL.F.SG) fingers
dètɡ, **-a** /dɛtɛ, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) real, terrible 2. (ADV) much
dètɡa /'dɛtɛ/ (F.N) legend
di /di/ dative marker (obsolescent)
di, dis /di, dis/ definite dative article (obsolescent)
dí /di:/ (IRR.TR.V) say
dian (PL djants) /'diɛn/ (/djants/) (M.N) tooth
dias (PL dias) /'diɛz/ (/diɛz/) (M.N) back
difarènt, **-a** /difɛ'rent, -ɐ/ (ADJ) different
difarènza /difɛ'rentsɛ/ (F.N) difference
dificultat /difikul'ta:t/ (F.N) difficulty
digrá (daghira) /dig'ra:/ (/dɛ'gi:rɛ/) (ITR.V) drip
dir, **-a** /di:r, -ɐ/ (ADJ) hard
dirèczjun /dirɛk'tsjun/ (F.N) direction
discuérş /dij'kwɛrz/ (M.N) conversation
discusjun /dij'ku'sjun/ (F.N) discussion

discusjuná (discusjunèscha) /difkusju'na:/ (/difkusju'neʃe/) (TR.V) discuss
dişgrazja /diʒ'gra:tsjə/ (F.N) tragedy
dissònant, -a /diso'nant, -e/ (ADJ) dissonant
ditg /di:tɕ/ (ADV) long
djantar /'djantər/ (PREP) among
djantarájn /,djantər'ajn/ (ADV) in between
dju /dju/ (M.N) god
dòcumèntá /dɔkumèn'ta:/ (TR.V) document
dòmaşduş (M), -duaş (F), òmaşduş, -duaş /('d)ɔmaz'du:z, -eʒ/ (NUM) both
dòmínant, -a /dɔmí'nant, -e/ (ADJ) dominant
drègj, drètq, -a /drɛdʒ, drɛtɕ, -e/ 1. (ADJ) right 2. (ADV) straight ahead
drètq → *drègj*
dua /duə/ (NUM) two, in *duatschian* two hundred, *dua mili* two thousand, and
dua pèra two pairs
duatschian /,dua'ʃiən/ (NUM) two hundred
duaj /dwaj/ (IRR.TR.V) must
dubitá (dubéta) /dubi'ta:/ (/du'be:tə/) (TR.V) doubt
dùdişch /'dʊ:diʒ/ (NUM) twelve
dulatschè /dulaʃɛ:/ (TR/ITR.V) carve
dumagnè (damògna) /dumɛ'ɲɛ/ (/dɛ'mɔɲɛ/) (TR.V) cope with
dumandá (damònda) /dumən'da:/ (/dɛ'mɔndɛ/) (TR.V) ask
dumbrá /dumb'ra:/ (TR.V) count
duméngja /du'mendʒɛ/ (F.N) Sunday
dun /dun/ (M.N) gift
dùna /'dʊnɛ/ (F.N) woman, wife
durmantá (durmjanta) /durmən'ta:/ (/dur'mjantɛ/) (TR.V) make sleep
durmí (dòrma) /dur'mi:/ (/dɔrmɛ/) (ITR.V) sleep. *durmí òra* have a good sleep
durònt /du'rɔnt/ (PREP) during
duş (M), duaş (F) /du:z, 'duɛz/ (NUM) two
dustá (dòsta) /duʃ'ta:/ (/dɔʃtɛ/) (ITR.V) keep away
duvrá (drùva) /duv'ra:/ (/drʊ:vɛ/) (TR.V) 1. use 2. must, should

E

è → *èra*

éba, èba /'eβɛ, 'ɛba/ (ADV) exactly, precisely, in fact, after all
èfèct /ɛ'fɛkt/ (M.N) effect
èfèctív /ɛfɛk'tiv/ (ADV) effectively, as a matter of fact
èqsístar /ɛg'ziʃtɛr/ (ITR.V) exist

9 Tuatschin-English word list

ejf (PL ùfs) /ejf/ (/ʊfs/) (M.N) egg
èl (PL èls) /ɛl/ (/ɛls/) (PERS.PRON) he, they
èla (PL èlas) /'ɛlɐ/ (/'ɛlɛs/) (PERS.PRON) she, they
èlèctric, *-a* /ɛ'lɛktrik, -a/ (ADJ) electric
ènòrm, *-a* /e'nɔrm, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) enormous 2. (ADV) enormously
ér, *éjr* /e:r, ejr/ (ADV) yesterday
èra, *è* /'ɛ:rɐ, ɛ:/ (ADV) also
éŕsch /eʒ/ (M.N) door
èssar /'ɛsɐ/ (COP, ITR.V) be. *èssar da + inf* have to
étápa /e'tapɐ/ (F.N) leg
étg /etɕ/ (M.N) ointment
éxáct /ek'sakt/ (ADV) exactly
éxáman /ek'samɐn/ (M.N) exam
èxèmpal /ɛk'sɛmpɐl/ (M.N) example
èxnùm /ɛks'nɔm/ (ADV) definitively, imperatively
èxtra /'ɛkstrɐ/ (ADV) on purpose
èxtrèm, *-a* /ɛks'trɛ:m, -ɐ/ (ADJ) extreme

F

fá /fa:/ (TR.V) do, make. *fá atrás* experience. *fá gjù* make an appointment
fadaral, *-a* /fɛdɐ'ral, -ɐ/ (ADJ) federal
fadiè (fadia, fadiajn, fadiava) /fedi'ɛ:/ (/fɛ'diɐ, fedi'ajn, fedi'avɐ/) (TR.V) earn
fagljet /fɛ'ɬet/ (M.N) youngest son
fagòt /fɛ'gɔt/ (M.N) bundle
fajn /fajn/ (M.N) hay. *fá fajn* make hay
falian (PL faljans) /fɛ'liɐn/ (/fɛ'ljans/) (M.N) spider
falju, *falida* /fɛ'lju, fɛ'lidɐ/ (ADJ) wrong
famiglja /fɛ'miɬɐ/ (F.N) family
fana /'fa:nɐ/ (F.N) flag
fanadur /fɛnɐ'du:r/ (M.N) July
fanèstra /fɛ'nɛstrɐ/ (F.N) window
fantasia /fɛntɛ'ziɐ/ (F.N) fantasy
fardá (fréjda) /fɛr'da:/ (/fɛrjɛɐ/) (TR/ITR.V) smell
farmá /fɛrma:/ (TR.V) tie
farmada /fɛr'madɐ/ (F.N) reservoir
faruct /fa'rukt/ (INTENS) crazily, very
fascha /'fafɐ/ (F.N) bandage
fasciná (fascinèscha) /fɛstsi'na:/ (/fɛstsi'nɛʃɐ/) (TR.V) fascinate

fatg /fatɕ/ (M.N) property
fatscha /'fatʃə/ (F.N) face
favré /fəv're:/ (M.N) February
fégl /fe:ʌ/ (M.N) 1. son 2. leaf
féglja /'fe:ʌjə/ 1. (F.N) daughter 2. (COLL.F.N) leaves
féjra /'fejɾə/ (F.N) market
fèl /fɛl/ (M.N) gall
fèmna /'fɛmnə/ (F.N) 1. woman 2. female
fèrm, -a /fɛrm, -ə/ (ADJ) strong
fétg /fetɕ/ (ADV) very, much
fiap (PL fòps) /'fiəp/ (/fɔps/) (M.N) hollow
fiar (PL fjars) /'fiəɾ/ (/fjars/) (M.N) iron. *fá ò cul fiar* iron
ficé /'fi:tse/ (M.N) vice, number two
figura /'fi:ɡu:rə/ (F.N) figure
fil /fil/ (M.N) 1. thread 2. jet
filá /fi'la:/ (TR/ITR.V) spin
fildiròm /fildirɔm/ (M.N) wire
filistùca /fili'ʃtɔkə/ (F.N) prank
fimá (féma) /fim'a:/ (/fɛ:mə/) (TR/ITR.V) smoke
fimantá (fimjanta) /fimən'ta:/ (/fim'jantə/) (TR.V) smoke
finadín, finadina /finə'din, -ə/ (PRON) everyone
finala /fi'na:lə/ (F.N) end. *la finala* in the end
finí /fi'ni:/ (TR/ITR.V) finish, end
fist /fist/ (M.N) stick
fjasta /'fjastə/ (F.N) party
fjuc /fjuk/ (M.N) fire
flagí (PL flagjal(t)s) /flə'dzi:/ (/flə'dʒal(t)s/) (M.N) flail
flajvlèza /flajv'letsə/ (F.N) weakness
flòt, -a /flɔt, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) great, smart, nice 2. (ADV) easily
flucs /fluks/ (PL.M.N) chopped straw
flur /flu:r/ (F.N) flower
fòl /fɔl/ (M.N) bellows
fòm /fɔm/ (F.N) hunger
fòmaz /fɔ'mats/, in *vaj fòmaz* be ravenous
fòntauna /fɔn'tawnə/ (F.N) source
fòpa /'fɔpə/ (F.N) big hollow
fòrèstal /fɔɾɛʃ'ta:l/ (M.N) forest ranger
fòrèstalèssar /fɔɾɛʃ'ta:l'ɛsɛɾ/ (M.N) forestry

- fòrmazjun* /fòrmə'tsjun/ (F.N) lineup
fòrsa, fòrza /'fòrsə, 'fòrtsə/ (F.N) power, strength²
fòrza, fòrsa /'fòrtsə, 'fòrsə/ (ADV) maybe
fòtògrafia /fòtògrə'fiə/ (F.N) photograph
frá /fra:/ (M.N) brother
frajd, -a /frajd, -ə/ (ADJ) cold
frang, franc /fraŋ, fraŋk/ (M.N) franc (monetary unit)
fraquantá, fraquantá ò /frəkwen'ta:, frəkwen'ta: ɔ:/ (TR.V) visit
fravi /fra:vi/ (M.N) smith
frèstg, -a /frɛʃtɕ, -ə/ (ADJ) fresh
frida /'fri:də/ (F.N) blow
frina /'fri:nə/ (F.N) flour
fuájna /fu'ajne/ (F.N) fireplace
fufargnè (fufrògna) /fufər'ɲɛ:/ (/fufɾɔɲə/) (ITR.V) rummage
fugí /fudzi:/ (IRR.ITR.V) flee
fulanau, -ada /fulə'naw, -'a:də/ (ADJ) crowded
fumatgèsa, fumitgèsa /fumə'tɕɛ:zə, fumi'tɕɛ:zə/ (F.N) maid
fumègl /fu'mɛʌ/ (M.N) farmhand
func /funk/ (M.N) radio
fùn /fʊn/ (M.N) pound
funcsaná /funksəna:/ (ITR.V) function
fundamajn /fundə'majn/ (M.N) foundation
fùns /fʊns/ (M.N) 1.ground. *ir' a fùns* drown 2.fields
furá (fùra) /fura:/ (/fʊ:rə/) (TR.V) pierce
furclèta /furk'letə/ (F.N) notch
furščá (fruscha) /fur'ʒa:/ (/fru:ʒə/) (TR.V) rub

G

- gaglina* /gə'ʎine/ (F.N) hen
galòpá /gəlɔ'pa:/ (ITR.V) gallop
gamba → *ajn gamba*
gang /gaŋg/ (M.N) corridor
ganùglja /gə'nʊʌɛ/ (F.N) knee
gártar /'gartər/ (M.N) grating
gartagjè (gartègja) /gərtə'dʒɛ:/ (/gər'tɛ:dʒə/) (ITR.V) succeed

²There is a certain confusion between *fòrsa* and *fòrza*. In my opinion, *fòrza* is the original Tuatschin word for 'maybe', and *fòrsa* for 'strength'. In Standard Sursilvan, it is the opposite.

gassagljà (gassèglja) /gəʂeˈlɛ:/ (/gɐˈsɛ:lɛ/) (TR.V) flagellate
gè /dʒɛ/ (ADV) 1. yes 2. in fact
gégja /ˈdʒe:dʒɐ/ (F.N) violin
géjvja /ˈdʒejvɐ/ (F.N) Thursday
général → **ajn général**
ghén /gen/ (M.N) gene
ghitar /ˈgiter/ (M.N) grid
gidá /dʒiˈda:/ (TR.V) help
gidòntar /dʒiˈdɔntɐ/ (M.N) assistant, helper
gisjat /dʒiˈsjat/ (NUM) seventeen
gizá (géza) /dʒiˈtsa:/ (/ˈdʒe:tʂɛ/) (TR.V) sharpen
gjadju /dʒɐˈdju/ (M.N) Jew
gjajna /ˈdʒajnɐ/ (F.N) 1. gate 2. hay rack of only two posts
gjalá /dʒɐˈla:/ (TR/ITR.V) freeze
gjaniˈturʂ /dʒɛniˈturʂ/ (PL.M.N) parents
gjassa /ˈdʒasɐ/ (F.N) narrow path
gjat /dʒat/ (M.N) cat
gjával /ˈdʒavɛl/ (M.N) devil
giantá /dʒɛnˈta:/ 1. (ITR.V) have lunch 2. (M.N) lunch
gjù /dʒʊ/ (ADV) down
gjúdajn /dʒʊˈdajn/ (ADV) down in(to), at the bottom
gjúdòra, gjùadòra /dʒʊ(ɐ)ˈdɔ:rɐ/ (ADV) down out, in direction down the valley
gjuc /dʒuk/ (M.N) game
gjuf /dʒuf/ (M.N) yoke
gjùta /ˈdʒʊtɐ/ (F.N) pearl barley
gjuvan, gjufna /ˈdʒu:vɛn, ˈdʒufnɐ/ (ADJ/N) young, young people
gjuvanòtar /dʒu:vɛnˈɔtɐ/ (M.N) youngster
gjuvantétgna /dʒu:vɛnˈtɛtɐnɐ/ (F.N) youth
gjusùt /dʒʊˈzʊt/ (ADV) down and under
gl /ɰ/ (M.DEF.ART before vowel) the
glas /gla:z/ (M.N) glass
glatsch /glatʃ/ (M.N) ice
gljèdʂ, gljèz /ɰɛdʂ, ɰɛts/ (UNM.DEM.PRON) this, that
gljèndiʂdiʂ /ɰɛndiʂˈdi:z/ (M.N) Monday
gljèz → **gljèdʂ**
gljud /ɰu:d/ (F.N) people
gljunsch /ɰunʃ/ (ADV) far, far away
gnanc, gnang /ɲaŋk, ɲaŋg/ (ADV) not even

gnarva /'narvə/ (F.N) nerve
grad /grad/ (ADV) just, exactly, immediately
gramática /grə'matikə/ (F.N) grammar
grascha /'graʃə/ (F.N) dung, fertiliser. **métar grascha** dung
graun /grawn/ (M.N) cereal, corn
gréjv, -a /grejv, -ə/ (ADJ) 1. heavy 2. difficult
grép /gɾep/ (M.N) rock
grépa /'gɾepə/ (COLL.F.N) rocks
grí (grèscha, grin, IMPF gréva) /gri:/ (/grɛʃə, gri:n, 'grɛ:və/) (ITR.V) shout
griaş, gròş gròssa /'griɛz, grɔz, 'grɔsə/ (ADJ) fat
griaş /'griɛz/ (M.N) drone (insect)
grişchún, -a /gri'ʒun, -ə/ (ADJ) from the Grisons
gròma /'grɔmə/ (F.N) cream
gròn, -da /grɔn, -də/ (ADJ) big, old
gròndèzja /grɔn'dɛzjə/ (F.N) size
gròndjuş, -a /grɔnd'ju:z, -ə/ (ADJ) great
gròş, gròssa → **griaş**
guardja /'gwardjə/ (F.N) guard
gudaj /gu'daj/ (IRR.TR.V) enjoy
gudignè (gudògna) /gudi'ɲɛ:/ (/gu'dɔɲə/) (TR.V) earn
guiş /gu'iz/ (F.N) rifle

H

habitazjun /hɛbitɛ'tsjun/ (F.N) apartment, flat
hald /hald/ (ADV) simply, just
hanléj, hanlétg /hɛn'ledʒ, han'letʒ/ (M.N) business
hèfti, -a /'hɛfti, -ə/ (ADJ) hard, strenuous, violent
hèrzig, -a /'hɛrtsig, -ə/ (ADJ) cute
històrja, istòrja /('h)ɪʃ'tɔrja/ (F.N) story
hòsp /hɔʃp/ (M.N) guest
hòspiz /hɔʃpi:ts/ (M.N) hospice
hòta /'hɔtə/ (M.N) rein
hòtèl /hɔ'tɛl/ (M.N) hotel
humòristic, -a /humɔ'rɪʃtik, -ə/ (ADJ) funny

I

i /i/ 1. (PERS.PRON.3PL) they 2. (EXPL.PRON) there

í → *ira*

iard (PL òrts) /'iært/ (/ɔrts/) (M.N) garden

iaş (PL òş) /iɛz/ (/ɔz/) (M.N) bone

iastar, jastars, jastra /'iɛftɛr, 'jaftɛrz, 'jaftɛr/ (ADJ) 1. foreign 2. strange

idé(j)a /i'de(j)ɛ/ (F.N) idea

impau, in pau /im'paw, in paw/ (QUANT) a bit

imprasjun /imprɛ'sjun/ (F.N) impression

in, -a /i:n, 'i:nɛ/ (NUM/INDEF.ART.SG) one, a

in pau → *impau*

incassá /inkɛ'sa:/ (TR/ITR.V) collect (money)

indigèn, -a /indi'dzɛ:n, -ɛ/ (ADJ/N) local, indigenous

indişch /'indiʒ/ (NUM) eleven

inqual, -a /in'kwal, -ɛ/ (INDEF.DET) some

inş /inz/ (GNR.PRON) one, we, you

instruczjun /inʃtruk'tsjun/ (F.N) teaching

instruí /inʃtru'i:/ (TR/ITR.V) teach

instrumajnt /inʃtru'majnt/ (M.N) instrument

insùma /in'sòmɛ/ (ADV) anyway. *insùma bétg* not at all

intanzjunau, -ada /intɛntsju'naw, -a:dɛ/ (ADJ) benevolent

intarassant, -a /intɛrɛ'sant, -ɛ/ (ADJ) interesting

intènt /in'tɛnt/ (M.N) plan

intèrn, -a /in'tɛrn, -ɛ/ (ADJ) domestic

intgarnauş, -ada /intɛar'naʊs, -'a:dɛ/ (ADJ) inveterate

ira, ir', í /'i:rɛ/ (ITR.V) go. *í par* look for

iral /'i:rɑ:l/ (M.N) threshing floor

isá /i'za:/ (ITR.V) run back and forth (cows)

işchí (PL işchjal(t)s) /i'ʒi:/ (/iʒ'jal(t)s/) (M.N) maple tree

istòrja → *històrja*

J

jamna /'jamnɛ/ (F.N) week

jarva /'jarvɛ/ (F.N) grass

jástars, jastra → *iastar*

jèda /'jɛ:dɛ/ (F.N) time. *in' jèda* once

jéli /'jɛli/ (M.N) oil

ju /ju/ (PERS.PRON) I

L

- la, l'* /lɐ/ 1. (DEF.ART.F.SG) the 2. (PERS.PRON) she
lad, -a /la:d, -ɐ/ (ADJ) large, broad
ládár /'la:dɛr/ (M.N) thief
lag /la:g/ (M.N) lake
lagagè (laghègja) /lɛgɛ'dzɛ:/ (/lɛ'gɛ:dzɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) lurk, lie in wait
laguétar (lagutín) /lɛ'gwɛtɛr/ (/lɛgu'ti:n/) (TR.V) swallow
lahargnè (lahrògna) /lɛhɛr'ɲɛ:/ (/lɛh'rɔɲɛ/) (ITR.V) giggle
lárish /'la:rɪʃ/ (M.N) larch
lartg, largja /lartɕ, 'lartɕɛ/ (ADJ) 1. wide 2. free
lata /'latɛ/ (F.N) slat
latjarna /lɛ'tjarnɛ/ (F.N) lantern
lavá (léjva) /lɛ'va:/ (/lɛjvɛ/) (ITR.V) get up
lavá (lava) /lɛ'va:/ (/lɛvɛ/) (TR.V) wash. *lavá gjù* do the dishes
lavaghè (lavaja, lavagajn) /lɛvɛ'gɛ:/ (/lɛ'vajɛ, lɛvɛ'gajn/) (TR.V) damage
lavina /lɛ'vi:nɛ/ (F.N) avalanche
lavinèra /lavɪ'nɛrɛ/ (F.N) avalanche barrier
lavur /lɛ'vu:r/ (F.N) work
*lèdi, -dja*³ /lɛ:di, -djɛ/ (ADJ) bachelor, not married
lèdʂ/lèz, lèza /lɛdʂ/lɛts, lɛtsɛ/ (DEM.PRON) this
légj, létg /lɛ:dʂ, lɛ:tɕ/ (M.N) bed
légjar (lagín) /lɛdʂɛr/ (/lɛ'dzi:n/) (TR/ITR.V) read
léjv, -a /lɛjv, -ɐ/ (ADJ) light
léjgar, -gra /lɛjgɛr, -grɛ/ (ADJ) funny
lèn /lɛn/ (M.N) wood, firewood
lèna /lɛnɛ/ (COLL.F.N) wood, firewood. *fá lèna* fell trees
létg → *légj*
lètg /lɛ:tɕ/ (F.N) marriage, matrimony
lèz → *lèdʂ*
líbar, -bra /'libɛr, -brɛ/ (ADJ) free
lingja /'lɪndʂɛ/ (F.N) line
li /li/ dative marker (obsolescent)
li, lis /li, lis/ definite dative article (obsolescent)
ljòngja /'lɔndʂɛ/ (F.N) sausage
ljuc (PL lògans) /ljuk/ (/lɔ:ganz/) (M.N) place
ljung, -a /ljunɲ, 'ljunɲɛ/ (ADJ) long

³For the masculine, the form *lèdic* is also used.

lò /lɔ/ (ADV) there
lòcál /lɔ'ka:l/ (M.N) place
lòcalitat /lɔkəli'ta:t/ (F.N) place
lòntscha /'lɔntʃə/ (F.N) lance
lu → *lura*
luá (líua) /lu'a:/ (/liwə/) (ITR.V) melt
luajn /'lwajn/ (ADV) out there (in direction up the valley)
luantá /luen'ta:/ (TR.V) melt
lubiantscha /lu'biəntʃə/ (F.N) permission
ludá (lauda) /lu'da:/ (/lawdɐ/) (TR.V) praise
luf /luf/ (M.N) wolf
lump /lump/ (M.N) rascal
lumparia /lumpə'riə/ (F.N) childish prank
lungatg /luŋ'ga:tɕ/ (M.N) language
lungatg-mùma /luŋ'ga:tɕ-'mɔma/ (M.N) mother tongue
lungurus, -*e* /luŋgú'ru:z, -ɐ/ (ADJ) boring
luòra /'lwɔrɐ/ (ADV) out there (in direction down the valley)
lura, *lu* /'lu:rɐ, lu/ (ADV) then
lùsch, -*a* /lʊʒ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) proud
luschèzja /lu'ʒɛtsjə/ (F.N) pride, proudness
luvrá (lavura) /luv'ra:/ (/lɐ'vu:rɐ/) (ITR.V) work
luvrè /luv'rɛ:/ (M.N) worker

M

má tga /ma: tɕɐ/ (COMP) since
macòrta, *macòrts* → *matgiart*
macrún /mɛ'krun/ (M.N) macaroni
madèm, -*a* /mɛ'dɛm, -ɐ/ (ADJ) same
madirá /mɛdi'ra:/ (ITR.V) ripen
magari /mɛ'ga:ri/ (ADV) sometimes
magljaş /'maʎɛz/ (PL.F.N) provisions
magljè /mɛ'ʎɛ:/ (TR/ITR.V) eat
magnùc /mɛ'ɲɔk/ (M.N) cheese
maj /maj/ (ADV) never
majl /majl/ (M.N) apple
majla /'majlə/ (COLL.F.N) apples
majnadistrict /,majnadi'ftriikt/ (M.N) head of district
majnş /majnz/ (M.N) month

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- majša** /'majʒə/ (F.N) table
majšèš /maj'ʒeʒ/ (M.N) assembly of houses in the Alps
majstar /'majʃtər/ (M.N) joiner
mal, -a /ma:l, -ə/ (ADJ) bad
mal /ma:l/ (ADV) badly
malagè (malègja) /mələ'dʒɛ/ (/mɛ'lɛdʒɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) paint
malaúra /mɛ'lauwɐ/ (F.N) bad weather
malètǵ /mɛ'lɛtɕ/ (M.N) picture
malitèr /mɛli'tɛr/ (M.N) 1. army, military 2. military service 3. soldier
maljún /mɛ'ʎun/ (NUM) million
malsagidajval, -vla /mɛlsɛdʒi'dajvɛl, -vlɛ/ (ADJ) ungainly
malsagir /mɛlsɛ'dʒi:r, -ɐ/ (ADJ) 1. unsafe 2. unsure
maná (majna) /mɛ'na:/ (/majnɐ/) (ITR./TR.V) lead
manajval /mɛ'najvɛl/ (ADV) easily
manèdal, -dla /ma'nɛ:dɛl, -dlɛ/ (ADJ) fine
manèstra /mɛ'nɛʃtrɛ/ (F.N) pottage
manizá (manéza) /mɛni'tsa:/ (/mɛ'netʃɛ/) (TR.V) chop
manualmajn /mɛnu'almajn/ (ADV) manually
mar /ma:r/ (F.N) sea
marcá /mar'ka:/ (TR.V) mark
mardís /mɛr'di:s/ (M.N) Tuesday
maridá /mari'da:/ (TR/ITR.V) marry, get married
marjanda /mɛr'jandɛ/ (F.N) meal
mars /mars/ (M.N) March
marsch, -a /marʃ, -ə/ (ADJ) 1. rotten 2. lazy
marschadétǵna /mɛrʃɛ'detɕnɛ/ (F.N) lazyness
marschè /mɛr'ʃɛ:/ (ITR.V) march, go on
martéri /mɛr'tɛri/ (M.N) ordeal
martí (PL martjal(t)s) /mɛr'ti:/ (/mɛr'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) hammer
martgadònt /mɛrtgɛ'dɔnt/ (M.N) merchant
martgau /mɛr'tɕaw/ (M.N) city
máscal /'maʃkɛl/ (ADJ) male
maschina /mɛʃ'i:nɛ/ (F.N) machine
masjamna /mɛz'jamnɛ/ (F.N) Wednesday
massa /'masɐ/ (ADV) lots, much
mastral /mɛʃ'tra:l/ (M.N) senior official
mastarlèssa /mɛstɛr'lɛsɛ/ (F.N) senior official's wife
mat /mat/ (M.N) boy, young man

mata /'matə/ (F.N) girl, young woman
mataj /mɛ'taj/ (ADV) probably
matal (PL matalts) /mɛ'tal/ (/mɛ'talts/) (M.N) metal
matg /ma:tɕ/ (M.N) 1. bundle (of flowers) 2. May
matgiart, macòrts, macòrta /mɛ'tɛiert, mɛ'kɔrts, mɛ'kɔrtɛ/ (ADJ) ugly
maun /mawn/ (M.N) hand. *vaj zatgėj ajnta maun* be responsible for something
maz /mats/ (M.N) killing
mazá /mɛ'tsa:/ (TR.V) kill
mazaun, -a /mɛ'tsawn, -ɐ/ (ADJ) ill
mé /me:/ (IO.PERS.PRON) me
mè /mɛ:/ (DO.PERS.PRON) me
mècsɟjar /'mɛksɟɛr/ (M.N) butcher
mégljar, -a /'mɛlɛr, -ɐ/ (ADJ) better
mégljar /'mɛlɛr/ (ADV) better. *al mégljar* the best
mégljardétg /'mɛlɛr'detɕ/ (ADV) more precisely
méjl /mejl/ (M.N) jam, marmelade. *méjl d'avjuls* honey
méjs, mia /mejz, 'miɐ/ (POSS.PRON.1SG.PRED) mine (SG)
méjs, mias /mejz, 'miɐz/ (POSS.DET.1SG) my (PL). *als méjs, las mias* (POSS.PRON.1SG.NOM) mine (PL)
mél /me:l/ (M.N) mule
mèlan, -lna /'mɛlɛn, -lnɐ/ (ADJ) yellow
méli → *mili*
mèmi, mèmja /'mɛmi, 'mɛmjɐ/ (ADV) too
mèndar /'mɛndɛr/ (ADV) worse
mèssa /'mɛsɐ/ (F.N) mass
métar (matajn) /'mɛtɛr/ (/mɛ'tajn/) (TR.V) put. *métar avaun* imagine
mètar /'mɛtar/ (M.N) metre
mèz, -a /mɛts, -ɐ/ (ADJ) myself
mia → *méjs, mju*
miadi /'miɛdi/ (M.N) doctor
miads, miaz, mjasa /'miɛɟz, 'miɛts, 'mjazɐ/ (NUM) half. *mjasa laş déjsch* half past nine
miart, mòrts, mòrta /'miɛrt, mɔrts, 'mɔrtɛ/ (ADJ) dead
miaz → *miads*
midá /mi'da:/ (V.TR) change. *midá ò* replace, exchange
midada /mi'da:dɛ/ (F.N) change
mili, méli /'mili, 'meli/ (NUM) thousand
minéral, -a /mine'ra:l, -ɐ/ (ADJ) mineral

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- mintga* /'mintɕe/ (INDEF.DET) every
mintgataun /mintɕa'tawn/ (ADV) sometimes
mintgín, -ina /min'tɕi:n, -'i:nɐ/ (INDEF.PRON) everybody
minuta /mi'nute/ (F.N) minute
mir /mi:r/ (M.N) 1. wall. *mir da farmada* wall of a reservoir 2. rock face
mirá /mi'ra:/ (TR.V) 1. look. *mirá da* care for. *mirá sén* control 2. *mirá tga* make sure that
misérja /mizé:rjɐ/ (F.N) problem, trouble
mistrégn /mif'treɲ/ (M.N) profession
misarabal, -bla /mizɐ'ra:bɛl, -blɛ/ (ADJ) miserable
misjun /mis'jun/ (F.N) mission
mitschè (métscha) /mi'tʃe:/ (/me'tʃɛ/) (ITR.V) escape
mjasa → *miads*
mjasanòtg /mjazɐ'nɔɕ/ (F.N) midnight
mjòla /'mjɔ:lɐ/ (F.N) cup
mju, mia /mju, 'mie/ (POSS.DET.SG) my. *al mju, la mia* (POSS.PRON.1SG.NOM) mine
mòni /'mɔni/ (M.N) handle
mòrdar (murdín) /'mɔrdɛr/ (/mur'di:n/) (TR.V) bite
mòribund /mɔri'bund/ (M.N) dying people
mòrt /mɔrt/ (F.N) death
mòrta, mòrts → *miart*
mòtif /mɔ'ti:f/ (M.N) reason
mù /mɔ/ 1. (ADV) only 2. (CONJ) but
muantá /muɛn'ta:/ (TR.V) move
mucs, in *fá bigja mucs* not move at all, make no sound at all
mudargè (mudrègja) /mudɛr'dzɛ:/ (/mud're:dzɛ/) (TR.V) torment
mujèra /mu'jɛrɐ/ (F.N) cow without calves
mulá (mòla) /mu'la:/ (/mɔ:lɐ/) (TR.V) grind
mulissiar /muli'siɛr/ (M.N) negotiator
mùma /'mɔmɐ/ (F.N) mother
mùn /mɔn/ (M.N) world
munajda /mu'najdɐ/ (F.N) coin
mùngjar (PTCP mùgnšch) /'mɔndzɛr/ (/mɔɲɟ/) (TR/ITR.V) milk
munglá (maungla) /mung'la:/ (/mawn:glɐ/) (ITR.V) should
mumèn /mu'mɛn/ (M.N) moment
munièssa /muni'ɛsɐ/ (F.N) nun
munizjun /muni'tsɟun/ (F.M) munition
murí (mùra) /mu'ri:/ (/mɔ:rɛ/) (ITR.V) die

muséum /mu'zeum/ (M.N) museum
música /'muzikə/ (F.N) music
musicant /muzi'kant/ (M.N) musician
mussá (mùssa) /mu'sa:/ (/mʊsə/) (TR.V) show
mùssavia /,mʊsə'vi:ə/ (F.N) signpost
mùtg /mʊtɕ/ (M.N) two-year-old calf
múval /'muvəl/ (M.N) cattle

N

na /na:/ (ADV) no
Nadal /nə'da:l/ (M.N) Christmas. *Nadal-nòtg* Christmas Eve
nagá (nèga) /nə'ga:/ (/nɛ:ge/) (ITR.V) drown
nagantá (nag-janta) /nəgən'ta:/ (/nɛg'jantə/) (TR.V) drown
nagín, nagina /nə'dʒin, -ə/ (INDEF.PRON) no
nagljú /nə'ɬu:/ (ADV) nowhere
najr, -a /najr, -ə/ (ADJ) black
najv /najv/ (F.N) snow. *métar najv* remove snow
nara /'na:rə/ (COLL.F.N) mad people
nataléci /nɛtə'letsɪ/ (M.N) birthday
nátèl /'natəl/ (M.N) smartphone
natira /nə'tire/ (F.N) nature
natural, -a /nɛtur'a:l, -ə/ (ADJ) natural
naturálmajn /nɛtu'ralmajn/ (ADV) naturally
nausch, -a /nawʃ, -a/ (ADJ) bad
navada /nə'va:də/ (F.N) snowfall
navé /nə've/ (DISC) right?
navèn /nə'ven/ 1. (ADV) away 2. (PREP) *navèn da* away from
navònta /nə'vɔntə/ (NUM) ninety
né /nɛ/ (CONJ) or. *né ... né* neither ... nor
néjfs /nejfs/ (M.N) nephew
nègla /'nɛ:glə/ (F.N) carnation
néjv, nùvʃ, nùva /nejv, nʊ:vʃ, 'nʊ:və/ (ADJ) new. *da néjv* again
néschar (néscha, naschín, naschéva) /nɛʃər/ (/nɛʃə, nɛʃ'in, nɛʃ'e:və/) (ITR.V) be born
névétg /nɛ'vetɕ/ (DISC) right?
niabal, nòbalʃ, nòbla /'niebəl, 'nɔ:belz, 'nɔ:blə/ (ADJ) noble
nias, nòssa /niɛz, nɔsə/ (POSS.DET.1PL) our (SG). *al nias, la nòssa* (POSS.PRON.1PL) ours (SG)

9 Tuatschin-English word list

nibla /'ni:blə/ (F.N) cloud
njaza /'njatsə/ (F.N) niece
nògj, nòtg /nɔdz, nɔtʃ/ (F.N) night
nònavaun /,nɔnə'vawn/ (ADV) awake. **vagní nònavaun** 1. recover 2. wake up
nòrd /nɔrd/ (M.N) north
nòs, nòssa /nɔz, 'nɔsə/ (POSS.PRON.PRED) ours (SG)
nòs, nòssaş /nɔz, nɔsəz/ (POSS.DET) our (PL)
nòssa → *niaş*
nòtg → *nògj*
nòtizja /nɔ'titsjə/ (N.F) news
nòvèmbar /nɔ'vembər/ (M.N) November
nù, nùca (tga) /nɔ, 'nɔkə (tʃə)/ 1. (REL.PRON) where 2. (PREP) by
nùa /'nɔə/ (INTERR.PRON) where
nùda /'nɔdə/ (F.N) brand
nuégl /nu'eɣ/ (M.N) barn
nuét /nwet/ (INDEF.PRON) nothing
nuéta /'nwetə/ (NEG) no
nuf /nu:f/ (M.N) knot
nuídis /nu'i:dis/ (ADV) reluctantly
nula /'nule/ (NUM) zero
nùm /nɔm/ (M.N) name. **vaj nùm** be called
nùndétg, -a /,nɔn'detʃ, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) indescribable 2. (ADV) incredibly
nùnpussajval, -vlə /,nɔnpu'sajvəl, -vlə/ (ADJ) impossible
nùrsa /'nɔrsə/ (F.N) sheep
nuş /nu:z/ (PERS.PRON) we, us
nùv /nɔv/ (NUM) nine

O

ò, òra /ɔ:, 'ɔ:rə/ 1. (ADV) out 2. (PREP) in direction down the valley
òbligazjun /ɔbligə'tsjun/ (F.N) obligation
òctòbar /ɔk'tɔ:bər/ (M.N) October
òdavaun /,ɔ:də'vawn/ (ADV) in advance
òdaviart /,ɔ:da'viart/ (ADV) outside
òdém /,ɔ:'de:m/ (PREP) at the lowest part of the valley
òficiar /ɔfi'tsier/ (M.N) officer
ògj, òtg /ɔdz, ɔtʃ/ (NUM) eight
ògn /ɔŋ/ (M.N) alder
ògna /'ɔŋə/ (COLL.F.N) alders

òlma /'ɔlmɐ/ (F.N) soul
òmaşduş → **dòmaşduş**
òn /ɔn/ (M.N) year
òn /ɔn/ (ADV) this year
ònda /'ɔndɐ/ (F.N) aunt
ònur /ɔ'nu:r/ (F.N) honour
òra → **ò**
òragjùsùt /,ɔ:rɛdz'zɔt/ (PREP) underneath in direction down the valley
òrasé /,ɔ:rɛ'se/ (ADV) up, down the valley and up
òravauntùt /,ɔ:rɛvawn'tɔt/ (ADV) above all
òrazjun /ɔrɛ'tsjun/ (F.N) prayer
òrd /ɔrd/ (PREP) out of
òrdavaun /ɔrde'vawn/ (ADV) in advance, in front
òrdinari, -a /ɔrdi'na:ri, -ɐ/ (ADJ) usual. **par ordinari** usually
òrdlùndar /ɔrd'lɔnder/ (ADV) out of it
òrdònanz /ɔrdɔ'nants/ (M.N) orderly
òrganisá (òrganisèscha) /ɔrgɛni'za:/ (/ɔrgɛni'zɛʃɐ/) (TR.V) organise
òrgla /'ɔrglɐ/ (F.N) organ
òrjèntazjun /ɔrjɛnta'tsjun/ (F.N) orientation, sense of orientation
òrts → **iard**
òtg → **ògj**
òtgònta /ɔ'tɔntɐ/ (NUM) eighty
òvra /'ɔvrɐ/ (F.N) work
òz /ɔts/ (ADV) today
òzaldé /,ɔtsɛl'de:/ (ADV) nowadays

P

pádar /'pa:dɛr/ (M.N) Father
padèl /pɛ'dɛl/ (M.N) caretaker
pagljè (pèglja, pagljajn) /pɛ'ʎɛ:/ (/pɛ:ʎɛ, pɛ'ʎajn/) (TR.V) hit
paj /paj/ (M.N) foot
pajr /pajr/ (M.N) pear
pajra /'pajrɐ/ (COLL.F.N) pears
pal /pa:l/ (M.N) post
palé /pa'le/ (M.N) post
paliat (PL paljats) /pɛ'liɛt/ (/pɛ'ljats/) (M.N) arrow
panaglja /pɛ'na:ʎɐ/ (F.N) butter barrel, butter tub
panşjuná /panʃju'na:/ (TR.V) pension off

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- par, pr** /pɛr, pɾ/ 1. (PREP) for 2. (COMP) in order to
pará /pɛ'ra:/ (ITR.V) seem
parada /pɛ'ra:dɛ/ (F.N) parade
paraj /pɛ'raj/ (ITR.V) seem
parcadi /pɛr'ka:di/ (M.N) parking space
pardagè (pardégja) /pɛrdɛ'dʒɛ:/ (/pɛr'dɛdʒɛ/) (ITR.V) preach
pardert, -a /pɛr'dɛrt, -ɛ/ (ADJ) clever
parmavèra, pɾmavèra /pɛrmɛ'verɛ, pɾmɛ'verɛ/ (F.N) spring
parquaj, pɾquaj tga /pɛr'kwaj, pɾ'kwaj tɛ/ (COMP) because
parschuadjus, -dida /pɛrʃwa'dʒuz, -'di:dɛ/ (PTCP/ADJ) convinced
parsjantar /pɛr'sjanter/ (ADV) therefore, for it
parsul, pɾsul, -a /pɛr'su:l, pɾ'su:l, -ɛ/ (ADJ) alone
parsuna /pɛr'su:nɛ/ (F.N) person
part /part/ (F.N) part. **par part** partially
partí ajn /pɛr'ti: ajn/ (TR.V) divide
partgé(j) /pɛr'tɛ(j)/ (COMP) because
partgirá /pɛrtɕi'ra:/ (TR.V) mind (animals)
parvaj /pɛr'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) feed
parvasèdar, pɾvasèdar /pɛrvɛ'zɛ:dɛr, pɾvɛ'zɛ:dɛr/ (M.N) herdsman
parví da /pɛr'vi dɛ/ (PREP) because of
pas /pas/ (M.N) 1. step 2. pass
pasanca /pɛ'zankɛ/ 1. (F.N) heavy load 2. (ELAT) very heavy
pascá /pɛʃ'ka:/ (TR/ITR.V) fish
pástar /paʃtɛr/ (M.N) shepherd. **pástar gròn** main shepherd. **pástar pin** second shepherd
pastgè /pɛʃ'tɛ:/ (ITR.V) graze
pastira /pɛʃ'ti:rɛ/ (F.N) pastureland
pastur /pɛʃ'tu:r/ (M.N) herdsman
patarlá /pɛtɛr'la:/ (ITR.V) chatter
patar'niaş /pɛtɛr'niɛş/ (M.N) Lord's prayer
patarnòş /pɛtɛr'nɔz/ (M.N) Lord's prayer
patartgè (patratga) /pɛtɛr'tɛ:/ (/pɛ'tra:tɛ/) (ITR.V) think, reflect
patgè (pétga, patgajn) /pa'tɛ:/ (/pɛ:tɛ, pɛt'gajn/) (TR.V) hit, beat, knock
patschíficamajn /pɛ'ʃi:fikamajn/ (ADV) peacefully
patrún-basèlgja /pɛ'trun-bɛzɛl'dʒɛ/ (M.N) Church Patron
pau → **impau**
pauc, -a /pawk, -ɛ/ (QUANT.DET/ADV) little
paun /paw'n/ (M.N) bread

paupar, -pra /'pawpɐr, -prɐ/ (ADJ) poor
paupradat /pawprɐ'da:t/ (F.N) poverty
pausa /'pawzɐ/ (F.N) pause
pával /'pavel/ (M.N) food (for animals)
pazjènt, -a /pɐ'tsjɛnt, -ɐ/ (ADJ) patient
pégn /pɛɲ/ (M.N) spruce, fir tree
pègn /pɛɲ/ (M.N) pledge
pégna /'pɛɲɐ/ (F.N) oven
péjda /'pɛjdɐ/ (F.N) time, leisure
pèlègrinadi /pɛlɛgrɪ'na:di/ (M.N) pilgrimage
pèn /pɛn/ (M.N) buttermilk
pènşjònau, -ada /pɛnzjɔ'naw, -'a:dɐ/ (PTCP/ADJ) retired
pènşum /'pɛnzum/ (M.N) homework
pér /pɛ:r/ (ADV) only
pèr /pɛ:r/ (M.N) pair. **in pèr** a couple of
pèra /pɛ:rɐ/ (COLL.F.N) pairs (with paired terms like **traja pèra cazès** three pairs of shoes)
péta /'petɐ/ (F.N) cake
pétg /petɕ/ (M.N) prick, hoe
pétga /'petɕɐ/ (F.N) post
pèz /pɛts/ (M.N) chest
pi /pi/ (CONJ) and then
pia /'piɐ/ (ADV) thus, therefore
piaglja /pi'aλɐ/ (F.N) salary
piartg, pòrs /piertɕ, pɔrs/ (M.N) pig
piè (paja) /pi'ɛ:/ (/pajɐ/) (TR/ITR.V) pay
pin, pins, pintga /pin, pinz, 'pintɕɐ/ (ADJ) small
piná (pajna) /pi'na:/ (/pajɲɐ/) (TR.V) 1. prepare. **èssar pinauş** be ready 2. fell (wood), log
pintga → **pin**
pista /'piftɐ/ (F.N) slope
pistraca /piʃ'trake/ (F.N) mixture (food)
pitgògna /pi'tɕɔɲɐ/ (F.N) steep slope
piún /pi'un/ (M.N) lard
pjal /pja:l/ (F.N) skin
pjardar (pardín) (PTCP pjars) /pjardɐr/ (/pɐr'di:n, pjars/) (TR.V) lose
pjandar (pandín) /pjandɐr/ (/pan'di:n/) (TR/ITR.V) hang
placat /plɛ'ka:t/ (M.N) poster, signboard

- pladí** (plajda, plidajn) /pla'di:/ (/ˈplajda, pliˈdajn/) (TR.V) employ
- plaja** /ˈplajə/ (F.N) wound
- plajd** /plajd/ (M.N) word
- plajn, -a** /plajn, -ə/ (ADJ) full
- plajv** /plajv/ (F.N) parish
- plantschju** /planˈtʃju/ (M.N) floor
- pläschaj** /plɛˈʒaj/ 1. (M.N) pleasure 2. (ITR.V) please
- plat** /plat/ (M.N) flat ground
- plat, -a** /plat, -ə/ (ADJ) flat
- plata** /ˈplate/ (F.N) slab
- plaunca** /ˈplawnkə/ (F.N) slope
- plavòn** /plɛˈvɔn/ (M.N) parish priest
- plauna** /ˈplawnə/ (F.N) chasuble
- plaunsjú** /plaunˈʃju/ (ADV) slowly
- plaz** /plats/ (M.N) place
- plaza** /ˈplatsə/ (F.N) job
- plé** /ple:/ (ADV) more. **bétga ... plé** not any more. **plé passau, -ada** older (of people)
- plèc** /plɛk/ (M.N) flat bell
- pléjdar** /ˈplejdər/ (M.N) block
- plénangjù** /ˌplenɛnˈdʒʊ:/ (ADV) more downhill
- plénansé** /ˌplenɛnˈse/ (ADV) more uphill
- pléndanajn** /ˌplendɛˈnajn/ (ADV) more up the valley
- pléndanòra** /ˌplendɛˈnɔrə/ (ADV) more down the valley
- pléndanòragjù** /ˌplendɛnɔrɛˈdʒʊ:/ (ADV) down (more down the valley)
- plétòst** /pleˈtɔst/ (ADV) rather
- plirá** /pliˈra:/ (ITR.V) moan, complain
- plüvar** (IMPF pluéva) /ˈplʊ:vər/ (/ˈpluːˈvɛ/) (ITR.V) rain
- pòlicia** /pɔliˈtsiə/ (F.N) police
- pòlisch** /ˈpɔlif/ (M.N) thumb
- pòndará** (pòndarèscha) /pɔndɛˈra:/ (/ˌpɔndɛˈrɛʃɛ/) (ITR.V) think
- pòp** /pɔp/ (M.N) baby
- pòrs** → **piartg**
- pòrschar** (puršhín) /ˈpɔrʃər/ (/ˈpurˈʒi:n/) (TR.V) offer
- pòrta** /ˈpɔrtə/ (F.N) door
- pòrta-clavau** /ˈpɔrtə-klɛˈvaw/ (F.N) barn door
- pòrtga** /ˈpɔrtɛ/ (F.N) dirty girl
- pòst** /pɔst/ (M.N) guard

pr → *par*, *prè*

práctisch /'praktiʃ/ (ADV) practically, virtually

prajt /prajt/ (F.N) wall. **prajt-crap** rock face

prapará, **prapará tiar** /prəpə'ra: 'tiar/ (TR.V) prepare

pratjandar (pratandín) /prət'jandər/ (/prə'ten'din/) (TR.V) pretend

prau /praw/ (M.N) meadow

praula /'prawlə/ (F.N) fairy tale

préci /'preʃi/ (M.N) price

préfatschènta /,pɹefətʃɛntə/ (F.N) intermediate trade

préjr /prejr/ (M.N) priest

prénci /'prentsi/ (M.N) prince

prèndar /'prɛndər/ (IRR.TR.V) take. **prèndar ajn** adopt, accept. **prèndar anavùs** take back. **prèndar anzjaman** assemble. **prèndar avaun** plan

prèsèn → *vaj prèèsèn*

prèsidèn, *prsidèn* /prɛzi'dɛn, pʃzi'dɛn/ (M.N) president

prígal /'pri:gəl/ (M.N) danger

prigulus, *-a* /prigu'lu:z, -ɐ/ (ADJ) dangerous

princèssa /prin'tsɛsə/ (F.N) princess

privá /pri'va:/ (TR.V) deprive

privat, *-a* /pri'va:t, -ɐ/ (ADJ) private

pròblèm /prɔb'lɛm/ (M.N) problem

pròcènt /prɔ'tsɛnt/ (M.N) percent

pròpi /'prɔpi/ (ADV) exactly, really

pròvèrbi /prɔ'vɛrbi/ (M.N) proverb

pròxim, *-a* /'prɔksim, -ɐ/ (ADJ) next

pudaj /pu'daj/ (IRR.V) can, be able

pugn /pu:ŋ/ (M.N) fist

pulit, *-a* /pu'lit, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) well behaved 2. capable 3. (ADV) very, quite

pùn /pʊn/ (F.N) bridge

pùntga /'pʊntɔ/ (F.N) chisel

pupí /pu'pi:/ (M.N) paper

pupira /pu'pi:rɐ/ 1. (F.N) poverty 2. (ELAT) very poor

pur /pu:r/ (M.N) farmer. **fá al pur** work as a farmer

puráncal /pu'rɔnkəl/ (M.N) small farmer

purèssar /,pu:r'ɛsɛr/ (M.N) 1. agriculture, farming 2. farm 3. farming sector

purèt /pu'rɛt/ (M.N) small farmer

purschí (PL purschal(t)s) /pur'ʃi:/ (/pur'ʃal(t)s/) (M.N) piglet

purschida /pur'ʃi:ðɐ/ (F.N) offer

9 Tuatschin-English word list

puršèpan /pur'zɛpən/ (M.N) manger
purtá (pòrta) /pur'ta:/ (/pɔrte/) (TR.V) 1. bring 2. carry
purtgè /pur'tɛ:/ (M.N) swineherd
puscha /'pu:ʃɛ/ (F.N) cow (familiar speech)
puschégn /pu'ʃɛn/ (M.N) snack
pusmaun /puʃmawn/ (ADV) the day after tomorrow
puspè /puʃpɛ/ (ADV) again
pussajval, -vla /pu'sajvɛl, -vlɛ/ (ADJ) possible
pussajvladat /pusajvla'da:t/ (F.N) possibility
pussòntza /pu'sɔntʂɛ/ (F.N) power
pustrètsch /puʃtrɛʃ/ (M.N) herdsman's money
pùts /pʊts/ (M.N) pond

Q

quaj /kwaj/ 1. (UNM.DEM.PRON) this, that 2. (DEM.DET.M.SG) this
quajda /'kwajdɛ/ (F.N) desire
quajnasé /'kwajnɛ'sɛ/ (ADV) up there
quántum /'kwantum/ (M.N) amount
quart /kwart/ (NUM) quarter
quart, -a /kwart, -ɐ/ (ORD.NUM) fourth
quasi /'kwazi/ (ADV) almost
quátar /'kwatɛr/ (NUM) four
quèl, -a /kwɛl, -ɐ/ (DEM.PRON) this (one), that (one)
quèluísa /'kwɛl'wi:zɛ/ (ADV) so, in this way
quén /kwɛn/ (M.N) bill
quèst, quèsta /kwɛʃt, -ɐ/ (DEM.PRON) this (with temporal nouns that include the moment of speech). **quèst' jamna** this week
quétun /kwɛ'tun/ (M.N) braggart
quinada /kwi'na:dɛ/ (F.N) sister-in-law
quinau /kwi'naw/ (M.N) brother-in-law
quindişch /'kwindiʒ/ (NUM) fifteen
quitá (quéta) /'kwita:/ (/kwe:tɛ/) (TR.V) think, find
quitau /kwi'taw/ (M.N) worry
quitòrdişch /kwitɔrdiʒ/ (NUM) fourteen
quajn /'kwajn/ (ADV) here (in direction up the valley)
quòra /'kwɔ:rɛ/ (ADV) here (in direction down the valley)

R

- raclamá* /rɛklɛma:/ (ITR.V) complain
racògnòszá /rɛkɔgnɔs'tsa:/ (TR.V) reconnoitre
racrut /rɛk'rut/ (M.N) recruit
rádjà /'radjɔ/ (M.N) radio
radún, -da /rɛ'dun, -dɛ/ 1. (ADJ) round 2. (ADV) around, about
ragjún /rɛ'dʒun/ (F.N) region
ragurdá vi da (ragòrda) /rɛgur'da: vi dɛ/ (/rɛ'gɔrdɛ/) (ITR.V) remind
raminiscènza /rɛminis'tsɛntʂɛ/ (F.N) memory
ramòntsch → *ròmòntsch*
rantá /rɛnta:/ (TR.V) bind, tie
rap /rap/ (M.N) cent. **raps** money
raquintá (raquénta) /rɛkwint'a:/ (/rɛ'kwɛntɛ/) (TR.V) tell about
raritat /rɛri'ta:t/ (F.N) rarity
rascá /rɛʃ'ka:/ (TR.V) risk
raschlá /rɛʃ'la:/ (ITR.V) rake
rasdá (réjʂda) /rɛʒ'da:/ (/rɛjʂdɛ/) (ITR.V) speak
ras-plí (PL ras-pjal(t)s) /rɛs'pli:/ (/rɛs'pjɔl(t)s/) (M.N) pencil
rassarvá /rɛsɛr'va:/ (TR.V) reserve
rastá /rɛʃ'ta:/ (ITR.V) remain
rastí (PL rastjal(t)s) /rɛʃ'ti:/ (/rɛʃ'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) rake
rastònzà /rɛʃ'tɔntʂɛ/ (F.N) remnant
ratún /rɛ'tun/ (M.N) rat
rauba /'rawbɛ/ (F.N) 1. merchandise 2. fortune
rauna /'rawnɛ/ (F.N) frog
réaczjun /rɛɛk'tʂjun/ (F.N) reaction
règína /rɛ'dʒinɛ/ (F.N) queen
règla /'rɛ:glɛ/ (F.N) rule
réh, réha /rɛç, 'rɛhɛ/ (ADJ) rich
réjʂ /rɛjʃ/ (ADV) brand-, in **réjʂ néjv** brand-new
rèligjús, -a /rɛli'dʒu:z, -ɛ/ (ADJ) religious
rèma /'rɛmɛ/ (F.N) crack
résca /rɛʃ'kɛ/ (F.N) risk
rèst /rɛʃt/ (M.N) rest. **rèsts** leftovers
rí /ri:/ (IRR.ITR.V) laugh
riavan (PL rùvans) /'riɛvɛn/ (/rɔ:vanz/) (M.N) slope
rigurús, -a /riɡu'ru:z, -ɛ/ (ADJ) rigorous
rimná /rim'na:/ (TR.V) collect

9 Tuatschin-English word list

ring /riŋ/ (M.N) ring
riş /ri:z/ (M.N) rice
risada /ri'za:də/ (F.N) laughing
ritmica /'ritmike/ (F.N) rhythmic
ròla /'rələ/ (F.N) roll
ròma /'ròmə/ (COLL.F.N) branches
ròmòntsch, -a, ramòntsch, -a /ròmòntʃ, -ə, rəmòntʃ, -ə/ (ADJ/N) Romansh
ruassá (ruaussa) /rua'sa:/ (/ru'awsə/) (ITR.V) rest
ruassajval, -vla /ruə'sajvəl, -vlə/ (ADJ) calm
ruaus /ru'awz/ (M.N) quiet, tranquillity
ruclá (rùcla) /ruk'la:/ (/ròkklə/) (ITR.V) roll, fall
ruj /ruj/ (IRR.TR.V) gnaw
rujè (rùga, rugajn, rugava) /ruje:/ (/rʊ:ge, ru'gajn, ru'gavə/) (TR.V) ask that
rúmpar (PTCP rùt, -a) /'rumpər/ (/rʊt, -ə/) (TR.V) break
rumplaná (rampluna) /rumplə'na:/ (/rəm'plu:nə/) (ITR.V) rumble
rupá (raupa) /rupa:/ (/rawpə/) (ITR.V) burp
rusari /ru'za:ri/ (F.N) rosary
rùsna /'rʊsnə/ (F.N) hole
rusp /rufp/ (M.N) toad

S

sablún /sa'blun/ (M.N) sand
sac /sak/ (M.N) sack
sacadòş /səkə'dɔ:z/ (M.N) backpack
sacantá (sacjanta) /səkən'ta:/ (/sək'jantə/) (TR.V) dry
sacramèn /səkrə'mən/ (M.N) sacrament
sacùn, -da → **zacùn**
sacundara /səkun'darə/ (F.N) secondary school
sacussagljà (sacusséglja) /səkusə'ʎe:/ (/səku'se:ʎə/) (REFL.V) deliberate
sadá gju cun /sə'da: dʒʊ kun/ (REFL.V) have to do with, deal with
sadacidar da fá /sədə'tsidər/ (REFL.V) decide to do
sadapurtá (sadapòrta) /sədəpur'ta:/ (/sədə'pɔrtə/) (REFL.V) behave
sadèrgjar (sadargín) (PTCP sadèrs) /sə'derdʒər/ (/səder'dʒi:n, sə'ders/) (REFL.V) fall down
sadastadá /sədəstə'da:/ (IRR.REFL.V) wake up
sadrizá (sadréza) /sədri'tsa:/ (/sə'dretsə/) (REFL.V) address
sadurmantá ajn /sədurmən'ta: ajn/ (IRR.REFL.V) fall asleep
safá ajn /sə'fa: ajn/ (REFL.V) notice

sagir, *-a* /sə'dzi:r, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) secure, certain 2. (ADV) for sure
sagirá /sədzi'ra:/ (TR.V) insure
sagli (séglja) /sə'li:/ (/se:ʎɐ/) (ITR.V) run
sagljantá /səʎɐn'ta:/ (TR.V) blow up
sahaná (sahòna) /səhə'na:/ (/sə'hɔ:nɐ/) (ITR.V) appreciate
sajda /'sajdɐ/ (F.N) silk
sajv /sajv/ (F.N) fence
šala /'za:lɐ/ (F.N) hall
salagrá (salègra) /səʎɐ'ra:/ (/səʎɛ:grɐ/) (REFL.V) appreciate, be happy, be pleased
salamantá (salamjanta) /səʎɐmɐn'ta:/ (/səʎɐm'jantɐ/) (REFL.V) complain
salata /sə'latɐ/ (F.N) salad
salín /sə'lin/ (F.N) wheat
salit /sə'lit/ (M.N) greeting
salvá /sə'lva:/ (TR.V) keep
samagljàn, *-ta* /səmə'ʎɔn, -tɐ/ (ADJ) similar
samaná /səmə'na:/ (REFL.V) turn over, turn back
samétar sèn via /sə'metɐr sɛn 'viɐ/ (REFL.V) set off
samidá /səmi'da:/ (REFL.V) change
saminar /səmi'na:r/ (M.N) training college
samjè (síamja) /səmjɛ:/ (/siəmja/) (ITR.V) dream
sampatschè /səmpɐ'tʃɛ:/ (ITR.V) interfere
samudargè /səmudɐr'dʒɛ:/ (REFL.V) struggle
saniastar, *-tra* /sə'niɛstɐr, -trɐ/ (ADJ) left
santí (sjanta) /sɛn'ti:/ (/sjantɐ/) (TR.V) feel
santimajn /sɛnti'majn/ (M.N) feeling
santupá (santaupa) /sɛntu'pa:/ (/sɛn'tawpɐ/) (REFL.V) meet
sanudá (sanùda) /sɛnu'da:/ (/sa'nʊ:dɐ/) (REFL.V) swim
sanunzjè /sɛnun'tsɛ:/ (REFL.V) register
sapartgirá /səpɐrtɛ'i'ra:/ (REFL.V) be on one's guard
sapladi (sapladèscha) /səplɛ'di:/ (/səplɛ'dɛʃɐ/) (REFL.V) sign on
saprèndar ajn /sə'prɛndɐr ajn/ (REFL.V) take. *saprèndar ajn zatgèj starman-tús* take something very seriously. *saprèndar anzjaman* compose oneself
sapurtá /səpurta:/ (REFL.V) behave
sará (sjara) /sə'ra:/ (/sja:rɐ/) (TR.V) close
saragurdá (saragòrda) /səre'gur'da:/ (/səre'gɔrdɐ/) (REFL.V) remember
saravagní /səre'vɛ'ni:/ (IRR.REFL.V) recover
sarimná /sərim'na:/ (REFL.V) meet, assemble
sarvjèta /sə'r'vjɛtɐ/ (F.N) napkin

- sasfardantá** (sasfardjanta) /sɛffɛrdɛn'ta:/ (/sɛffɛr'djantɛ/) (REFL.V) catch a cold
- sasida** /sɛ'zi:dɛ/ (F.N) meeting
- sasjun** /sɛzjun/ (F.N) season
- saspártar** /sɛ'spartɔr/ (REFL.V) split
- saspruá da + inf** /sɛ'prua: dɛ/ (ITR.V) try hard to
- saspuantá** /sɛ'ʃpuɛn'ta:/ (REFL.V) get frightened
- satagljàda** /sɛtɛ'ʎɛ:dɛ/ (F.N) cut
- satjámbar** /sɛt'jamɔr/ (M.N) September
- satrá** (satjara) /sɛ'tra:/ (/sɛ'tjarɛ/) (TR.V) bury
- satrá anzjaman** /sɛ'tra: ɛn'tsjamɛn/ (REFL.V) contract. **satrá ò** take off one's clothes
- satschantá** /sɛ'ʃɛn'ta:/ (REFL.V) lie down
- sauma** /'sawmɛ/ (F.N) bridle
- saun** /saw'n/ (M.N) blood
- savaj** /sɛ'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) 1. know 2. can
- savènʃ** /sɛ'vɛnz/ (ADV) often
- savilá cun** /sɛvi'la: kun/ (REFL.V) get angry at
- ʃbagljè** /ʒbɛ'ʎɛ:/ (ITR.V) be wrong
- ʃbiar** /'ʒbiɛr/ (M.N) thug
- scadá** (scauda) /ʃkɛ'da:/ (/ʃkawdɛ/) (TR.V) warm. **scadá sé** warm up
- scadín, -ina** /ʃkɛ'di:n, -a/ (INDEF.DET) every, any
- scaf** /ʃka:f/ (M.N) footprint
- scalín** /ʃkɛ'li:n/ (M.N) bell
- scaliná** /ʃkɛli'na:/ (ITR.V) ring
- scanatsch** /ʃkɛ'natʃ/ (M.N) log
- scantschala** /ʃkɛn'tʃa:lɛ/ (F.N) pulpit
- scapá** /ʃkɛ'pa:/ (ITR.V) escape
- scargè⁴** /ʃkɛr'dʒɛ:/ (TR.V) drove the animals down from the summer pastures
- scargèda** /ʃkɛr'dʒɛ:dɛ/ (F.N) droving of the animals down from the summer pastures
- scarpá gjù** /ʃkɛr'pa: dʒu:/ (TR.V) pull off
- scart, -a** /ʃkart, -ɛ/ (ADJ) scarce
- scartèzja** /ʃɛr'tɛtsjɛ/ 1. (F.N) lack, shortage 2. (ELAT) very scarce
- scha** /ʃɛ/ 1. (COMP) if 2. (CORR) then
- schabagjè** (schabègja) /ʃɛbɛ'dʒɛ:/ (/ʃɛ'bɛdʒɛ/) (ITR.V) happen
- schabi tga** /ʃɛbi: tʃɛ/ (COMP) although
- schaglùc, schigljùc** /ʃɛ'ʎɔk, ʃi'ʎɔk/ (ADV) otherwise

⁴The form *dascargè* is also used

şhaj /ʒaj/ (IRR.ITR.V) lie
şchanè /ʒɛnɛ:/ (M.N) January
şchanza /ʃantsɛ/ (F.N) chance
şchazagè (schazègja) /ʃɛtsɛ'dzɛ:/ (/ʃɛts'ɛ:dzɛ/) (TR.V) appreciate
sché → *uschéja*
schè /ʃɛ:/ 1. (IRR.TR.V) let, leave. *schè ajn* let in 2. factitive verb
schèf /ʃɛf/ (M.N) boss
schéngghètɡ /ʃɛn'gɛtɕ/ (N) present
şchèniv /'zɛniv/ (NUM) nineteen
schétɡ, *-a* /ʃɛ:tɕ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) dry
şchi /ʃi/ (ADV) so (with adjectives and adverbs)
şchiarl (PL şchjarls) /'ʒiɛrl/ (/ʒjarls/) (M.N) kind of basket
şchindanajn /ʃindɛ'najn/ (ADV) so in
şchizún /ʃi'tsun/ (ADV) even
şchjantá /ʃjɛnta:/ (TR.V) dry
şchliat, *şchljats*, *şchljata* /'ʃliɛt, ʃljats, ʃljatɛ/ (ADJ) bad
şchlupá (şchlòpa) / ʃlu'pa:/ (/ʃlɔpɛ/) (ITR.V) burst
şchlupantá (şchlupjanta) /ʃlupɛn'ta:/ (/ʃlup'jantɛ/) (TR.V) blow up
şchnéz /ʃnɛts/ (M.N) cut
şchòn /ʃɔn/ (ADV) already
şchòtg /ʒɔtɕ/ (NUM) eighteen
şchuba /'ʃu:bɛ/ (F.N) skirt
şchúber, *-bra* /'ʒɔbɛr, -brɛ/ 1. (ADJ) clean 2. (INTENS) at all
şchubargjè (şchubrègja) /ʒubar'dzɛ:/ (/ʒu'brɛ:dzɛ/) (TR.V) clean
şchulá /'ʃula:/ (ITR.V) fall rapidly
şchurmagè (şchurmègja) /ʃurmɛ'dzɛ:/ (/ʃur'mɛ:dzɛ/) (TR.V) protect
şcòlár /ʃkɔ'la:r/ (M.N) pupil
şcòlarèssar /ʃkɔlɛr'ɛsɛr/ (M.N) school sector
şcòlast, *-a* /ʃkɔ'laft, -ɐ/ (N) teacher
şcòtga /'ʃkɔtɕɛ/ (F.N) whey
şcrinari /skri'na:ri/ (M.N) carpenter
şcrívar /'ʃkri:vɛr/ (TR/ITR.V) write
şcù /ʃkɔ:/ (ADV/COMP) as
şcúa /'ʃku:ɐ/ (F.N) broom
şcuá /ʃku'a:/ (TR/ITR.V) sweep
şcùla /'ʃkɔ:lɛ/ (F.N) school
şcùlèta /ʃkɔ'letɛ/ (F.N) nursery school
şcumandá (şcamònda) /ʃkumɛn'da:/ (/ʃkɛ'mɔndɛ/) (TR.V) forbid

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- scumbaglè** (scumbèglja) /ʃkumbɐ'ʎɛ:/ (/scum'bɛʎɛ/) (TR.V) confuse
scurşalá (scarşola) /ʃkurʂɐ'la:/ (/skɐr'zɔ:lɐ/) (ITR.V) sledge
sé /se/ (PREP/ADV) up
sédajn /se'dajn/ (ADV) up and in
sédaşch, sédişch /'se:dəʒ, 'se:diʒ/ (NUM) sixteen
sédòra /se'dɔrɐ/ (ADV) up there, up and out
sègn /sɛ:n/ (M.N) sign
séjs, sia /sejz, 'siɐ/ (POSS.PRON.3SG and PL.PRED) his, hers, their
séjs, siaş /sejz, 'siɐʒ/ (POSS.DET.3SG/PL) her, his (PL). **als séjs, las sias** (POSS.PRON.3SG/PL.NOM) hers, his, their
séjşar (sasín) /'sejʂɐr/ (/sɐ'zi:n/) (ITR.V) sit. **séjşar gju** sit down
sémpal → **símpal**
sén /sen/ (PREP) on
sènda /'sendɐ/ (F.N) trail, path
sènza /'sɛntʂɐ/ (PREP) without
sèra /'sɛrɐ/ (F.N) afternoon (from 12 o'clock onward), evening. **la sèra** in the afternoon, in the evening
sèrv(a)la, sèrvòla /'sɛrv(ɐ)lɐ, 'sɛrvɔlɐ/ (F.N) cervelat (kind of sausage)
sèrvitut /sɛrv'i'tut/ (F.N) constraint
séssum /se'sum/ 1. (PREP) on top of 2. (ADV) uppermost
séssura /sesu:rɐ/ (ADV) upon. **vagní séssura anzatgéj** get to know, find out
sèz, -a /sɛʒ, -ɐ/ (DET) self
şgarşchajval, -vla /ʒgɛr'ʒajvɐl, -vlɐ/ (ADJ) horrible, terrible
şgulá (şgùla) /ʒgu'la:/ (/ʒgɔ:lɐ/) (ITR.V) fly
şigir, -a /si'dʒi:r, -ɐ/ 1. (ADJ) sure 2. (ADV) for sure
şignún → **zagnún**
şignura /si'ɲu:rɐ/ (M.N) lady
şijè (IMPF şijèva) /si'je:/ (/si'jevɐ/) (TR.V) mow
şimaginá /simadʒi'na:/ (REFL.V) imagine
şímpal, -pla /'sɪmpɐl-plɐ/ (ADJ) simple
şimplamajn /'sɪmpɐl'majn/ (ADV) simply
şir /si:r/ (M.N) father-in-law
şira /'si:rɐ/ (F.N) mother-in-law
şiş /si:z/ (NUM) six
şissònta /si'sɔntɐ/ (NUM) sixty
şistém /siʃ'te:m/ (M.N) system
şit /sit/ (M.N) south
şitá (şièta) /si'ta:/ (/si'ɛ:tɐ/) (TR.V) 1. shut 2. blow up, blast

sjantar /'sjantər/ (ADV/PREP) after
sjantarmjadšdè /,sjantərmjədz'de:/ (M.N) afternoon
sjat /sja:t/ (NUM) seven
sjatònta /sja'tònte/ (NUM) seventy
sju, sia /sju, 'siə/ (POSS.DET.3SG/PL) his, her, their
sjut → *sòlvar*
ski /ʃki:/ (M.N) ski
smacá /ʃma'ka:/ (TR.V) squash
smanatschè /ʃmənə'tʃe:/ (TR.V) threaten
sò /sɔ/ (DISC) OK
sòcjètát /sɔtsjɛ'ta:t/ (F.N) society
sògn, sògnš, sòntga /sɔŋ,sɔŋz 'sɔntɔe/ (ADJ) 1. holy 2. Saint (in names)
sòlvar (sulvín) (PTCP sjut) /'sɔlvər/ (/sul'vi:n, sjut/) (ITR.V) have breakfast
sòlvar /'sɔlvər/ (M.N) breakfast
sònda /'sɔndə/ (F.N) Saturday
sònda-duméngja /'sɔndə-du'mendʒə/ (F.N) week-end
Sòntgalcrést /,sɔntɔɛl'kreft/ (M.N) Corpus Christi
sòntgèt /sɔn'tɔɛt/ (M.N) little chapel
sòra /'sɔrə/ (F.N) sister, Sister
sòrtida /sɔrti:də/ (F.N) going out
spargnè /ʃpɛr'ŋe:/ (ITR.V) save (money)
spassagè /ʃpɛsə'dʒe:/ (ITR.V) walk
spatgè (spètga) /ʃpɛ'tɔe/ (/ 'spe:tɔe/) (TR/ITR.V) wait
spaz /ʃpa:t/ (M.N) walk. *ir' a spaz* go for a walk
spazjal, -a /ʃpɛts'ja:l, -ə/ (ADJ) special
spéjgl (PL spùl(t)s) /ʃpejʃ/ (/ʃpɔl(t)s/) (M.N) bobbin
spèr /ʃpɛr/ (PREP) next to, close to
spèraş /'ʃpe:rəz/ (ADV) in addition, next to (it)
spèrasò /ʃpe:rə'zɔ:/ (ADV) next to (in direction down the valley)
spért /ʃpe:rt/ (M.N) spirit
spèrt /ʃpɛrt/ (ADV) rapidly, quickly
spès, -ssa /ʃpɛs, -ə/ (ADJ) dense
spina / 'spi:nə/ (F.N) tap
spital /ʃpi'ta:l/ (M.N) hospital
spjardar (spardín) /'ʃpjardər/ (/ʃpɛr'di:n/) (TR.V) lose
splaná (splauna) /ʃplɛ'na:/ (/ʃplawnə/) (TR.V) plane
spòntán, -a /ʃpɔn'ta:n, -ə/ (ADJ) spontaneous
spòrt /ʃpɔrt/ (M.N) sport

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- sprizá** (spréza) /ʃpri'tsa:/ (/ʃpre'tsɐ/) (TR.V) squirt
squéttsch /ʃkwɛʃ/ (M.N) pressure
stá /ʃta:/ (ITR.V) stay, live. **stá mal** be sorry
stat /sta:t/ (F.N) summer
stala /ʃta:lɐ/ (F.N) sheepfold
starmantús, -a; strmantús, -a /ʃtɛrmɛn'tu:z, -a; ʃʃrɛmɛn'tu:z, -a/ (ADJ) terrible
státua /ʃtatwɛ/ (F.N) statue
stauschbèna /ʃtauf'bɛnɐ/ (M.N) wheelbarrow
stával /ʃta:vɛl/ (M.N) cowshed
stazjun /ʃtɛ'tsɟun/ (F.N) station
stédi, -a /ʃtɛdi, -ɐ/ (ADJ) diligent
stédjamajn /ʃtɛdjɛ'majn/ (ADV) constantly
stém /ʃtɛ:m/ (M.N) 1. attention 2. **fa stém** pay close attention 3. **fá stém tga** make sure that
stgafa /ʃtɛafɐ/ (F.N) box
stgè → **astgè**
stgir, -a /ʃtɛi:r, -ɐ/ (ADJ) dark
stgiradétgna /ʃtɛirɛ'dɛtɛnɐ/ (F.N) darkness
stgiraglja /ʃtɛi'raʎɐ/ (F.N) darkness
stiarl (PL stjarls) /ʃtɛiərl/ (/ʃtjarls/) (M.N) one-year-old calf
stinau, -ada /ʃti'naw, -'adɐ/ (ADJ) obstinate
stiva /ʃti:vɐ/ (F.N) living room
stizá (stéza) /ʃti'tsa:/ (/ʃtɛtsɐ/) (TR.V) turn off
stjarsaʃ /ʃtjarsɛz/ (ADV) the day before yesterday
stradún /ʃtrɛ'dun/ (M.N) main way
strèntg, -a /ʃtrɛntɛ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) strict
stréja, stréa /ʃtrɛ(j)ɐ/ (F.N) witch
strèng → **strèntg**
strètg, -a /ʃtrɛtɛ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) narrow
stròm /ʃtrɔm/ (M.N) straw
strusch /ʃtru:ʃ/ (ADV) almost
stuaj /ʃtu'aj/ (TR.V) must, have to
studagjè (studègja) /studɛ'dʒɛ:/ (/stu'dɛ:dʒɐ/) (TR/ITR.V) study
stùmpa /ʃtɔmpɐ/ (F.N) cheroot
stupèn, -ta /ʃtu'pɛn, -tɐ/ (ADJ) excellent
stùrs /ʃtɔrz/ (M.N) sheet metal
stuschè (stauscha) /ʃtu'ʃɛ:/ (/ʃtawʃɐ/) (TR.V) push
suá (síua) /su'a:/ (/siwɐ/) (ITR.V) sweat

sufizjènts, -sufizjèntaş /sufits'jents, sufits'jentsaz/ (PL.ADJ) enough
suflá /su'fla:/ (ITR.V) blow
sujèt /su'jet/ (M.N) rope
sulégl /su'leɣ/ (M.N) sun
sulèt, -a /su'let, -e/ (ADJ) only
suna da bùca /'su:nə de 'bøkə/ (F.N) harmonica
suná /su'na:/ (TR.V) play (an instrument)
súpar /'supər/ (ADV/EXCL) great
şur /zu:r/ (PREP) over, above. *şur da* about
şurə /zu:rə/ (ADV) up. *dá şura pènşums* give homework
şurangjù /zu:rən'dzɯ/ (ADV) over and down, from above down
surdamaun /,su:rda'maun/ (ADV) the day after tomorrow
surfatscha /sur'fatʃə/ (F.N) surface
şuròra /zur'ɔ:rə/ (ADV) from above
surprèndar /sur'prændər/ (IRR.TR.V) take on, take over
sursilván, -a /sursil'va:n, -e/ (ADJ/N) Sursilvan
survagní /surva'ɲi:/ (IRR.TR.V) receive, get
survètsch /sur'vetʃ/ (M.N) service
surví (survèscha) /sur'vi:/ (/sur'veʃə/) (TR/ITR.V) serve
survigiládar /,survidzi'la:dər/ (M.N) supervisor
survigilòntza /,survidzi'lɔntʃə/ (F.N) vigilance
suschéja → *ussuschéja*
şùt /zɯt/ (PREP) under. *métar a şùt*⁵ yoke
sutá (sauta) /su'ta:/ (/sawtə/) (ITR.V) dance
şutajn /,zɯt'ajɲ/ (ADV) underneath
şutşvilupau, -a:da /zutʃvilu'paw, -adə/ (ADJ) underdeveloped
şuttètɣ /zut'tetɣ/ (M.N) accomodation
şvagljarin /ʒvɛ'ɣe'ri:n/ (M.N) alarm clock
şvaní /ʒvɛni:/ (ITR.V) disappear
şvidá /ʒvi'da:/ (TR.V) empty

T

tabla /'ta:blə/ (F.N) tray
tagljè /tɛ'ɣɛ:/ (TR.V) cut
tagljér (PL tagljòrs) /tɛ'ɣe:r/ (/tɛ'ɣɔrs/) (M.N) plate
tajş /tajz/ (M.N) badger

⁵Some people say *sut* instead of *şut* in this context.

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- talafòn* /tələ'fɔn/ (M.N) phone
talafòná/tafòná da /t(ə)ləfɔ'na: dɐ/ (V.TR) phone, call
talènt /tə'lent/ (M.N) talent
taljan /tə'lja:n/ (M.N) Italian (language)
taljánar, -a /tə'ʎa:nɐr, -ɐ/ (ADJ and N) Italian
tamprau, -ada /təm'prau, -adɐ/ (ADJ) lukewarm
tanaj /tə'naj/ (IRR.V) hold. *tanaj aut* uphold
tar → *tiar*
taratsch /tə'ratʃ/ (M.N) soil
taritòri /təri'tɔri/ (M.N) territory
tarmaglè /tərmə'ʎɛ:/ (ITR.V) play
tarmètar /tərmətɐr/ (IRR.TR.V) send
tarségl /tərs'e:ʎ/ (M.N) assistant (of the *zagnún*)
tart /tart/ (ADV) late
tartgè (tratga) /tərt'ʎɛ:/ (/tra:ʎɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) think
tat /tat/ (M.N) grandfather
tata /tatɐ/ (F.N) grandmother
tatlá (tajtla) /tət'la:/ (/tajtʎɛ/) (TR.V) listen
taun, -ta /tawn, -tɐ/ (QUANT.DET/PRON) so many
tauna /'tawnɐ/ (F.N) cave
taur /tawr/ (M.N) bull
té /te:/ (PERS.PRON) you (SG)
tè /tɛ/ (M.N) tea
tég, téc /te:g, te:k/, in *in te:k, in te:g* (QUANT) a bit
tégja /'te:ʎɛ/ (F.N) alpine hut
téjs, tia /tejz, 'tiɐ/ (POSS.PRON.PRED) yours (SG)
téjs, tiaş /tejz, 'tiɛz/ (POSS.DET.2SG) your (PL). *als téjs, las tiaş* (POSS.PRON.2SG) yours (PL)
tèma /'te:mɐ/ (F.N) fear
tèscha /'tɛʃɐ/ (F.N) bag
tèssinèş, -a /tɛsi'nɛz, -ɐ/ (ADJN) from the canton of Ticino
tètq /tɛtʃ/ (M.N) roof
tèxt /tɛkst/ (M.N) text
tga /tʃɐ/ 1. (REL.PRON) that, which 2. (COMP) that
tgamín /tʃɐ'mi:n/ (M.N) chimney
tgaminada /tʃɐmi'nadɐ/ (F.N) pantry
tgamus /tga'mu:s/ (M.N) chamois. *bùc tgamus* chamois buck. *tgaura tgamus* female chamois

tgapjala /tʰɛ'pja:lə/ (F.N) hat
tgär /tʰa:r/ (M.N) cart
tgär, -a /tʰa:r, -a/ (ADJ) dear
tgarn /tʰarn/ (M.N) meat
tgarnpiartg /tʰarn'piertʰ/ (M.N) bacon
tgau /tʰaw/ (M.N) head
tgaubriacal (PL tgaubròcals) /tʰaw'briakal/ (/tʰaw'brøkəls/) (M.N) somersault
tgaud, -a /tʰawd, -ə/ (ADJ) cold
tgaun /tʰawn/ (M.N) dog
tgaura /tʰawrə/ (F.N) goat
tgaussa /tʰawswə/ (F.N) thing
tgau-tégja (PL tgaus-tégja) /tʰaw-'te:dʒə/ (/tʰaws-'te:dʒə/) (M.N) head of the alpine huts
tgauschas /tʰawʃəz/ (PL.F.N) trousers
tgäuvitg (PL tgaüvitgs) /tʰaw'vi:tʰ/ (/tʰaw'vi:tʰs/) (M.N) head of village
tgavaj (PL tgavals) /tʰə'vaj/ (/tʰə'vals/) (M.N) horse
tgavégl (PL tgavéjgl(t)s) /tʰə'veʎ/ (/tʰə'vejʎ(t)s/) (M.N) hair
tgé(j) /tʰe(j)/ 1. (INTERR.PRON) what 2. (INTERR.DET) which
tgé(j)nín, -ina /tʰe(j)'ni:n, -ə/ (INTERR.PRON) which one
tgéjt /tʰejt/ (M.N) cock
tgèr, -a /tʰɛ:r, -ə/ (ADJ) expensive
tgèrn (PL còrnʃ) /tʰɛrn/ (/kɔrnz/) (M.N) horn
tgèsa /tʰɛzə/ (F.N) house. *tgèsa comunala* community hall
tgèsa-parvènda /tʰɛzə-pər'vendə/ (F.N) presbytery
tgétschan, còtschanʃ, còtschna /tʰɛtʃən, 'kɔʃənz 'kɔʃnə/ (ADJ) red
tgi /tʰi:/ (INTERR.PRON) who
tgiarp /tʰiərp/ (M.N) body
tgiè (tgaja) /tʰi'ɛ:/ (/) (tʰAJɐ) itr.v shit
tgil /tʰi:l/ (M.N) arse
tgilada /tʰi'la:də/ (F.N) slip
tgòmba /tʰɔmbə/ (F.N) leg
tgòmbra /tʰɔmbɾə/ (F.N) room
tgunʃch /tʰunʒ/ (ADV) easily
tiar, tar, tr /tʰiər, tər, tɾ/ (PREP) at, by
tiarm (PL tjarmʃ) /tʰiərm/ (/tʰjarmz/) (M.N) boundary stone
tiarz, tjarza /tʰiərts, 'tjartsə/ (ORD.NUM) third. *ina tjarza* one third
tiptòp /tip'tɔp/ (ADV) perfectly
tissi /tʰisi/ (M.N) poison

9 Tuatschin-English word list

tjamş /tjamz/ (M.N) time

tjarza → **tiarz**

tju, tia /tju, 'tiɐ/ (POSS.DET) your (SG)

tòc /tɔk/ (M.N) 1. part. **in tòc** a bit 2. theatre play 3. prank

tòca, tòcan /'tɔka, 'tɔkan/ (PREP) till, until

tṛ → **tiar**

trá /tra:/ (IRR.TR.V) pull. **trá ajn** put on. **trá sé** make fun of

tractá /trɛk'ta:/ (TR.V) treat

tradizjun /trɛdi'tsjun/ (F.N) tradition

tráfic /'trafik/ (M.N) traffic

traficá /trɛfi'ka:/ (ITR.V) be up to

trajs /trajz/ (NUM) three

traj(a)tschian /,traj(ɐ)'tschiɛn/ (NUM) three hundred

trans-pòrt /trɛns'pɔrt/ (M.N) transport

trans-pòrtá /trɛns'pɔr'ta:/ (TR.V) transport

traplá /trɛ'pla:/ (TR.V) catch

traj(a) /'trajɐ/ (NUM) three in **traj(a)tschian**, **traj(a) mili**, and **traja pèra** three pairs

traş → **atrás**

trèdişch /'trɛ:diʒ/ (NUM) thirteen

trèn /trɛn/ (M.N) train

trènta /'trɛntɐ/ (NUM) thirty

trést → **trist**

trist, -a /trift, -ɐ/ (ADJ) sad

tròcaş /trɔkɛz/ (PL.F.N) typical card game of the Surselva

trúfal /'trufɛl/ (M.N) potato. **métar trúfals** sow potatoes

trùtg (PL truigls) /trɔ:tʃ/ (/trwiʎs/) (M.N) narrow path

tschafan /'tʃafɛn/ (M.N) desire, pleasure

tschagrún /tʃɛg'rɛn/ (M.N) whey cheese

tschajna /'tʃajnɐ/ (F.N) dinner

tschajvar /'tʃajvɛr/ (M.N) carnival

tschalè /tʃɛ'le:/ (M.N) cellar

tschantá /tʃɛnt'a:/ (TR.V) put, place. **tschantá ajn** start, turn on

tschantanè /tʃɛntɐ'nɛ:/ (M.N) century

tscharva /'tʃarvɐ/ (F.N) deer. **taur tgarva** stag. **vaca tgarva** hind

tschavrè, tschavrèra /tʃɛv'rɛ:, tʃɛvrɛ:rɐ/ (M. and F.N) goatheard

tschèl, -a /tʃɛl, -ɐ/ (DEM.PRON.M/F) that, that one, the other one

tschèluisa /tʃɛl'wi:zɐ/ (ADV) in that/such a way

tschèrca /'ʃɛrkə/ (F.N) demand
tschiac, tschòcs, tschòca /'ʃiɛk, ʃɔks, 'ʃɔkə/ (ADJ) blind
tschian /'ʃiɛn/ (NUM) hundred
tschichi /'ʃiki/ (M.N) pig (familiar speech)
tschitschè (tschétscha) /ʃi'ʃɛ:/ (/ʃɛ:ʃɛ/) (TR.V) suck
tschò /ʃɔ/ (ADV) here. *tschò a lò* here and there
tschòca, tschòcs → *tschiac*
tschuculata /ʃucu'latə/ (F.N) chocolate
tschùf, -a /ʃʊ:f, -ɐ/ (ADJ) dirty
tschùf /ʃʊ:f/ (M.N) dirt
tschun /ʃun/ (NUM) five
tschuncònta /ʃun'kɔntə/ (NUM) fifty
tschúpá /'ʃupəl/ (M.N) lot
tualèta /twɛ'letə/ (F.N) toilet
tuatschín, -ina /tuɛ'ʃi:n, -ɐ/ (ADJ) from the Tujetsch valley
tucá /tu'ka:/ (TR/ITR.V) 1. beat 2. strike
tudèstg, -a /tu'dɛʃtɕ, -ɐ/ (ADJ/N) German
tumaj /tu'maj/ (IRR.TR/ITR.V) be afraid of, fear
tup, -a /tup, -ɐ/ (ADJ) stupid
tupadad /tupɛ'da:d/ (F.N) stupidity
tupira /tu'pi:rɛ/ 1. (F.N) stupidity 2. (ELAT) very stupid
tura /tu:rɛ/ (F.N) tour
turismus /tu'rismus/ (M.N) tourism
turist /tu'rɪʃt/ (M.N) tourist
turná (tùrna) /tur'na:/ (/tɔrnɛ/) (TR.V) turn, return, go back
turpègj, turpètɕ /tur'pɛdʒ, tur'pɛtɕ/ (M.N) shame
tussègazjun /tusega'tsjun/ (F.N) poisoning
tùt /tɔt/ (QUANT) all
tùtajnína /tɔtaj'ni:nɛ/ (ADV) suddenly
tùta /tɔtɛ/ (QUANT) whole
tùts, tùtas /tɔts, 'tɔtɛs/ (QUANT.DET.PL) all
tutina /tu'tina/ (ADV) nevertheless, in spite of it
tùp /tup/ (M.N) fellow

U

u ... né /u ... nɛ/ (CONJ) either ... or (with nouns)
u tga /u tɕɛ/ (CONJ) or. *u tga ... né tga* either ... or (with clauses)
u- /u:/ (ELAT) very

ualti /'walti/ (ADV) quite
uaut /u'awt/ (M.N) forest, woods
uclaun /uk'lawn/ (M.N) hamlet
udí (auda) /u'di:/ (/ 'awdø/) (TR.V) hear. **udí da** belong to
uélp /welp/ (F.N) fox
uést /u'ejt/ (N.M) August
uéstg /wéftʁ/ (M.N) bishop
ufaun /u'fawn/ (M.N) child
ufaunza /u'fawntʂə/ (F.N) childhood
ugagè (ughègja) /ugə'dʒɛ:/ (/u'gɛ:dʒø/) (TR.V) dare
ugèn /u'dʒɛn/ (ADV) gladly, with pleasure
uísa /'wi:zə/ (F.N) way, manner
ujara /u'ja:rə/ (F.N) war
ùm (PL ùmans) /ʊm/ (/ùmɛnz/) (M.N) man, husband
úndšchar ajn /'undʒər ajn/ (TR.V) 1. oil 2. rub in
unflá /unfla:/ (ITR.V) swell
unimòg /uni'mɔg/ (M.N) unimog
unjun /un'jun/ (F.N) union
unviarn (PL unvjarns) /un'viərn/ (/un'vjarns/) (M.N) winter
ura /'u:rə/ (F.N) 1. hour 2. clock
ùrdan /'ʊrdən/ (M.N) 1. order 2. utensil
urticla /ur'tiklə/ (F.N) nettle
ùʂ, úsa, ússa /ʊʂ, 'ʊzə, 'ʊsə/ (ADV) now
usché, uschéja /u'ʃe, u'ʃejə/ (ADV) so
úsit /'u:zit/ (M.N) habit, usage
ussusché(j)a /usu'ʃe(j)ə/ (ADV) exactly so
ustér /u'f'tɛr/ (M.N) restaurant manager
ustria /u'f'triə/ (F.N) restaurant
utschí (PL utschjal(t)s) /u'ʃi:/ (/u'ʃjal(t)s/) (M.N) bird
uzá (auza) /u'tsa:/ (/ 'awtʂə/) (TR.V) lift

V

vaca /'vakə/ (F.N) cow
vacanzaʂ /və'kantʂəz/ (PL.F.N) holidays
vadí (PL vadjal(t)s) /və'di:/ (/və'djal(t)s/) (M.N) calf
vadjala /və'djalə/ (F.N) female calf
vagljadétgna /və'ʎɛ'detʁnə/ (F.N) age
vagljan'tá /və'ʎɛn'ta:/ (TR.V) upset

vagní /vɛ'ɲi:/ 1. (ITR.V) come. **vagní atrás** earn a living. **vagní avaun** occur, be found. **vagní par** come and fetch. **vagní séssura** discover 2. become 3. passive auxiliary

vaj /vaj/ 1. (TR.V) have. **vaj ugèn** like, be fond of. **vaj da** have to. **vaj nùm** have to; be called. **vaj prèsèn** have in mind. 2. (EXIST) there is 3. (AUX.V) have

vajr, -a /vajr, -ɐ/ (ADJ) 1. true 2. real

vajramájn /vajrɛ'majɲ/ (ADV) really

val /va:l/ (F.N) valley

valaj /vɛ'laj/ (ITR.V) be worth

vališcha /vɛ'li:ʒɐ/ (F.N) suitcase

vandètga /vɛn'dɛtɛɣ/ (F.N) revenge

vargè /vɛr'dʒɛ:/ (ITR.V) pass by. **l'jamna vargèda** last week

vart /vart/ (F.N) side

vasaj /vɛ'zaj/ (IRR.TR.V) see

vaschala /vɛ'ʃa:lɐ/ (F.N) dishes

vaschnaunca /vaʃ'nawnkɐ/ (F.N) municipality

vazlè /vɛts'lɛ:/ (M.N) calf herdsman

végl, -glja /vɛʎ, -ɐ/ (ADJ) old

végljadétschna /vɛʎɛ'dɛtʃnɐ/ (F.N) age

végn /vɛɲ/ (NUM) twenty

véjdar, -dra /'vɛjdɛr, -drɐ/ (ADJ) old (only in certain contexts)

vèndar (vandín) /'vɛndɛr/ (/vɛn'di:n/) (TR.V) sell

vèndardîş /vɛndɛr'di:z/ (M.N) Friday

véntgaduş /vɛntɛ'duʃ/ (NUM) twenty-two

véntgín /vɛn'tɕin/ (NUM) twenty-one

vèrd, -a /vɛrd, -ɐ/ (ADJ) green

vèş /vɛz/ (ADV) difficult. **fá vèş** be difficult

vésta /'vɛʃtɐ/ (F.N) sight

véta /'vɛtɐ/ (F.N) life

vi /vi/ (PREP) over

via /'viɐ/ 1. (F.N) way, road, street 2. (ADV) ⁶ over 3. (CIRCP) **şur ... via** over

viafiar /viɛ'fiɛr/ (F.N) railway

viagè /viɛ'dʒɛ:/ (ITR.V) travel

viars /'viɛrs/ (PREP) towards

viaş, vòssa /viɛz, vɔʃɐ/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (SG). **al viaş, la vòssa** (POSS.PRON.2PL) yours (SG)

vid /vid/ (PREP) on

⁶Via in the sense of 'over' is an obsolescent synonym of vi.

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- vida** /'vidɐ/ + infinitive progressive marker
vidajn /vi'dajŋ/ (ADV) 1. there, into it 2. uphill 3. up the valley
vidanò /vidɐ'nɔ/ (ADV) 1. back and forth 2. and so on
vidòr(a) /vi'dɔ:r(ɐ)/ (ADV) down the valley
vidòragjù /vi'dɔrɐ'dʒʊ/ (ADV) over, out and down
vièdi /vi'ɛ:di/ (M.N) trip
vin /vi:n/ (M.N) wine
vin /vin/ (PREP) over in
vinavaun /vinɐ'vawn/ (ADV) still, farther, further, forward
visaví /vizɐ'vi:/ (ADV) in front
vit, -a /vit, -ɐ/ (ADJ) empty
vitg /vi:tʃ/ (M.N) village
vi'tgèt /vi'tʃɛt/ (M.N) small village
vitlündar /vit'lʊndɐr/ (ADV) 1. on it, next to it 2. progressive marker (without verb; cf. **vida**)
viv, -a /viv, -ɐ/ (ADJ) alive
vívar /vi:vɐr/ (TR.V) live
vjantar /vjantɐr/ (M.N) belly
vjaspraš /vjaʃ'prɛz/ (PL.F.N) vesper
vòluntárjamajn /vɔlun'tarja,majn/ (ADV) voluntarily
vòn /vɔn/ (M.N) glove
vònzaj /vɔn'tsaj/ (ADV) later
vòš, vòssa /vɔz, 'vɔsɐ/ (POSS.PRON.2PL.PRED) yours (SG)
vòš, vòssaš /vɔz, vɔsɛz/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (PL)
vòtajjun /vɔta'tsjun/ (F.N) vote
vulaj /vu'laj/ (IRR.TR.V) want
vuš /vu:z/ 1. (PERS.PRON.2PL) you 2. (POL.PRON.2SG/2PL) you
vusch /vu:ʃ/ (F.N) voice

X

x-zatgèj /iks-tɛ'tʃej/ something, anything

Z

zacònts, -tas /tsɐ'kɔnts, -tɛs/ (INDEF.DET/PRON) some
zacú, zacuras /tsɐ'ku:, tsɐ'ku:rɛs/ (ADV) sometime
zacù /tsɐ'kʊ/ (ADV) somehow
zacùn, -da /tsɐ'kʊn, -dɐ/ (ORD.NUM) second

zagnún /tsɛ'ɲun/ (M.N) alpine dairyman
zagríndar, -a /tsɛ'grindɔr, -ɐ/ (ADJ. and N) Yenish⁷
zajvar /'tsajvɔr/ (M.N) washtub
zamèn /tsɛ'mɛn/ (M.N) cement
zaná /tsɛ'na:/ (TR.V) renovate
zanúa /tsɛ'nue/ (ADV) somewhere
zanur /tsɛ'nu:r/ (F.N) dishonour
zarclá /tsɛrk'la:/ (ITR.V) weed
zarcladur /tsɛrkle'du:r/ (M.N) June
zarclunza /tsɛrk'luntʂɐ/ (F.N) weeder woman
zatgé(j) /tsɛ'tɕe(j)/ 1. (INDEF.PRON) something 2. (QUANT) some
zatgi /tsɛ'tɕi:/ (INDEF.PRON) somebody
zavrá (zajvra) /tsɛv'ra:/ (/ 'tsajvrɐ/) (TR.V) separate
ziap, zòps, zòpa /tsiɛp, tsɔps, 'tsɔpɐ/ (ADJ) limp
zuar /zwa:r/ (ADV) although, namely
zulá (zùla) /tsu'la:/ (/ 'tsɔ:lɐ/) (TR.V) roll out
zulè /tsu'le/ (M.N) corridor

⁷The Yenish are an impoverished group in Switzerland and elsewhere who became nomads in the 18th century, some of whom also became sedentary. In Switzerland they were discriminated for a long time, and even today many people are prejudiced against them. Only in 1995 were they recognised as a national minority, be they travelling or sedentary.

References

- Berther, Baseli. 2007. *Ovras da Pader Baseli Berther, 1858-1931. Tom I: Tujetsch*. Sedrun: Forum cultural Tujetsch.
- Berther, Francestg. 1998. *Tujetsch. ses originals e lur raquens*. Rueras: Francestg Berther.
- Büchli, Arnold. 1966. *Mythologische Landeskunde von Graubünden. 2. Teil: Das Gebiet des Rheins vom Badus bis zum Calanda*. Aarau: Sauerländer.
- Caduff, Léonard. 1952. *Essai sur la phonétique du parler rhétoroman de la Vallée de Tavetsch*. Bern: Francke.
- Decurtins, Alexi. 2012. *Lexicon romontsch cumparativ*. Cuera: Societad Retoromantscha.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1939-1946. Vol. 1. A. Cuaira: Bischofberger & Co. <http://online.drg.ch> (21 May, 2021).
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1947-1957. Vol. 2. B. Cuaira: Bischofberger & Col.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1958-1963. Vol. 3. C-CN. Cuaira: Bischofberger & Co.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1964-1967. Vol. 4. CO-CY. Winterthur: Stamparia Winterthur S.A.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1968-1972. Vol. 5. D-E. Winterthur: FABAG + Stamparia Winterthur S.A.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1973-1978. Vol. 6. F. Winterthur: Stamparia Winterthur S.A.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1979-1985. Vol. 7. G. Winterthur: Stamparia Winterthur S.A.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1993-1997. Vol. 9. INF-IP. Cuaira: Institut dal Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun.
- Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*. 1998-2000. Vol. 10. IR-LAZ. Cuaira: Institut dal Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun.
- Ebnetter, Theodor. 1994. *Syntax des gesprochenen Rätoromanischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Gadola, Guglielm. 1935. La sera de pustretsch. *Il Glogn. Calender dil pievel*. 9. 84-92.

References

- Gartner, Theodor. 1910. *Handbuch der rätoromanischen Sprache und Literatur*. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Grünert, Matthias. 2003. *Modussyntax im Surselvischen*. Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke.
- Hendry, Vic. 2010. Tujetsch, ses vallers e lur tschontscha. *Annalas da la Societad Retorumantscha* 123. 95–107.
- Il ratun tschiec. 1889. *Annalas da la Societad Retorumantscha* 4. 199.
- Linder, Karl Peter. 1987. *Grammatische Untersuchungen zur Charakteristik des Rätoromanischen in Graubünden*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Liver, Ricarda. 2010. *Rätoromanisch. Eine Einführung in das Bündnerromanische*. 2nd edn. Tübingen: Narr.
- Maurer, Philippe. 2017. Igl object indirect el tuatschin. *Annalas da la Societad Retorumantscha* 130. 81–87.
- Spescha, Arnold. 1989. *Grammatica sursilvana*. Cuera: Casa editura per mieds d'instrucziun.
- Valär, Rico. 2013a. *Filistuccas e fafanoias da temp vegl. Registraziuns dialectalas rumantschas. Andrea Schorta 1926*. Cuira: Societat Retorumantscha.
- Valär, Rico. 2013b. *Filistuccas e fafanoias da temp vegl. Registraziuns dialectalas rumantschas. Andrea Schorta 1926. Carnet agiuntà cun transcripziuns foneticas*. Cuira: Societat Retorumantscha.
- Winzap, Isidor. 1981. *La posiziun digl adjectiv en romontsch*. Cuera: Ligia Romontscha.

Name index

Berther, Baseli, 3, 43, 66, 85, 220, 247

Berther, Francestg, 3, 36, 37, 45, 166,
224, 254, 255

Büchli, Arnold, 3, 14, 29, 32, 34–38,
41, 42, 44, 51, 52, 55, 63, 69,
70, 73, 84, 85, 89, 91–97, 101,
103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 138–
140, 146, 147, 151, 155, 157,
158, 168, 178–180, 183, 192,
193, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202,
205, 208, 209, 218, 220, 222,
224, 227, 232, 234, 241, 242,
244, 246, 248, 251, 254–256,
259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 296

Caduff, Léonard, 3, 6, 13

Decurtins, Alexi, 8, 77, 126, 268

Ebnetter, Theodor, 200

Gadola, Guglielm, 3, 28, 41, 45, 156,
165, 174

Gartner, Theodor, 3, 43, 58, 74, 94, 95

Grünert, Matthias, 151

Hendry, Vic, 3, 6

Linder, Karl Peter, 35, 64, 65, 73

Liver, Ricarda, 8, 12

Maurer, Philippe, 3, 35

Spescha, Arnold, 25, 67, 68, 213, 265

Valär, Rico, 3, 99, 246, 253

Winzap, Isidor, 80

Language index

Putér, 1

Rumantsch Grischun, 1

Standard German, 4, 6, 8, 185¹⁴, 281¹¹,
363⁵⁹, 437⁸⁵

Standard Sursilvan, 1, 3–6, 8, 10, 12,
14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26, 30, 39,
39⁶, 48¹¹, 50, 51, 58¹³, 67¹⁵,
77, 80, 81, 94, 103, 109², 112,
114, 134, 151⁷, 159, 162, 174¹⁰,
178¹², 194¹⁸, 200²¹, 212²⁵,
232², 233, 267, 271², 272⁵,
278⁹, 304²⁵, 323³⁰, 348⁵²,
352⁵³, 354⁵⁶, 370⁶⁵, 372⁶⁷,
380⁶⁸, 384⁷⁰, 389⁷⁴, 443⁹¹,
443⁹², 446⁹⁴, 476²

Surmiran, 1, 12¹, 36, 187, 335

Sursilvan, 1

Sutsilvan, 1, 12¹, 36, 252, 323³⁰

Swiss German, 6, 8

Vallader, 1

Subject index

- ability, 174, 175
- adjective, 32, 40, 42, 61, 67, 80–83, 85, 107, 108, 136, 214, 256
- adjective phrase, 81
- adjunct clauses, 151, 238
- adpositional phrases, 187
- agent, 88, 236
- agreement, 66, 184, 234
- anaphoric, 40, 41, 43, 49, 193
- anaphoric demonstrative, 15
- animacy, 196
- antecedent, 40, 65, 100, 101, 104, 105
- argument clauses, 238
- argument order, 179
- article, 35, 142, 210, 239
- article verb, 164
- attributive, 1, 67, 68, 461
- attributive adjective, 40
- augmentative, 266, 267
- auxiliary, 95, 111, 112, 114, 128, 136, 135, 137–139, 146, 148 230, 259

- bare, 35
- bare noun, 31, 53, 54, 193
- bare noun phrases, 211
- beneficiary, 185
- beneficiary adjuncts, 214

- calendar, 206
- cardinal numerals, 58
- cataphorically, 42, 45

- causal, 50, 140
- causal adjuncts, 215
- causative, 233, 266
- causative verbs, 232, 233
- causative voice, 232
- close front rounded, 12
- collective, 29, 30, 58
- comitative, 167
- comitative adjuncts, 215
- comparative, 57, 61, 72, 189, 213
- compound nouns, 26
- compound tense, 112, 218
- compounding of nouns, 266
- concessive clauses, 258
- conditional, 17, 111³, 120, 158–161, 172⁹
- conditional clauses, 254
- consecutive, 49, 189
- consecutive clause, 256
- consonant clusters, 17
- consonants, 14–18, 22, 22², 23, 33, 34, 68
- contact languages, 6
- contracted, 90, 98¹⁸, 216
- Coordinating conjunctions, 237
- copulative verb, 70
- craj, 132

- dative article, 35, 35⁴, 37, 95
- dative indefinite pronoun, 56
- dative marker, 1, 2, 88, 93, 94, 109², 187, 236

Subject index

- definite article, 32, 34, 35, 37, 72, 105, 151, 193, 209
- definite dative article, 32, 35⁴, 38, 39, 93
- degrees of comparison, 72
- demonstrative, 40–42, 71, 108, 189, 210
- demonstrative determiner, 193
- demonstrative pronoun, 90, 260
- demonyms, 34
- derivational morphemes, 266
- derivational suffix, 267
- determiner, 32, 40, 43, 47, 48, 61, 209, 210
- diminutive, 17, 266
- diphthong, 1, 13, 21, 22, 26, 233
- direct conditional, 111, 159–161, 256
- direct object, 31, 44, 87, 99, 107, 109, 182, 185, 186, 223, 232, 276⁸
- directive speech act, 152, 154
- distal, 40
- ditransitive verb, 109, 183–185
- doubly-compound pluperfect, 150
- doubly-compound tenses, 111, 112, 135, 150
- duaj, 132
- dumandá, 109, 183
- dynamic passive, 234
- dá, 131, 174, 233
- dí, 93, 134
- relative, 74
- ending, 118
- epenthetic n, 14
- epistemic modality, 178
- èssar, 112, 136, 146, 230
- euphonic, 112
- existential verb, 169
- experiencer, 187
- expletive pronoun, 65, 91, 95, 96, 109, 112, 114, 161, 169, 171, 184, 240
- finite categories, 111, 135, 230
- finite causal clauses, 253
- finite comparative clauses, 257
- finite object clauses, 241
- finite purposive clauses, 251
- finite subject clauses, 240
- finite subordinate clauses, 238
- finite temporal clauses, 247
- first person singular object pronoun, 236
- first person singular pronoun, 238
- focus, 258
- free indirect speech, 153
- fugí, 135
- future, 111, 112, 114, 121, 143, 144, 149
- fâ, 37, 131, 232, 233
- gender, 9, 25, 32, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 59, 67, 71, 90, 91, 136, 146, 161, 235, 269
- generic, 29, 70, 71, 87, 105–107
- gerund, 111, 114, 121, 135, 140, 266
- glides, 12
- grammatical gender, 25
- gudaj, 132
- habitual, 143, 145, 150, 163
- hiatus, 13, 14, 21
- hortative, 229
- human nouns, 25, 195
- í, 64, 134, 144, 147, 182, 224, 237, 255
- imperfect, 112, 118, 119, 126, 142, 148, 150, 159, 256
- imperfect indicative, 111, 118, 120, 145
- imperfect subjunctive, 111, 121, 159

- impersonal, 109, 172
- impersonal constructions, 95
- impersonal passive, 95, 184
- impersonal verb, 109
- inanimate nouns, 195
- inchoative, 95, 147, 148
- indefinite article, 35, 37, 57, 105, 193, 210
- indicative mood, 153, 156
- indirect conditional, 111, 161, 256
- indirect interrogative clause, 242, 260
- indirect object, 3, 44, 87, 88, 109, 186, 187, 223, 228, 232
- infinitive, 111, 118, 135, 141, 142, 151, 229, 232, 239, 240, 258, 259, 266
- infinitive clauses, 70, 86, 87, 219
- infinitive phrase, 219
- instead of, 2¹
- instrumental adjuncts, 216
- intensifiers of the adjective, 76
- interrogative determiner, 227
- interrogative pronouns, 227
- interrogative word, 227
- intransitive, 109
- intransitive motion verbs, 146
- inverted subject, 217
- ir, 134
- ira, 134

- locative, 30, 43, 167
- locative adjuncts, 200
- locative adverb, 90, 206
- locative prepositional phrase, 30
- locative relative clauses, 98, 102, 104

- manner adjuncts, 214
- manner clause, 244

- manner relative clause, 105
- modal adverb, 214
- modal verb, 141, 219, 259
- monotransitive, 109, 185

- names of the days, 207
- names of the months, 206, 206²⁴
- natural gender, 25, 26
- negation, 221, 222
- negative adverbs, 221
- non-finite categories, 111, 135
- non-finite causal clauses, 253
- non-finite comparative clauses, 257
- non-finite interrogative clause, 242
- non-finite object clauses, 241
- non-finite purposive clauses, 250
- non-finite subject clause, 239
- non-finite temporal clauses, 246
- non-finite verb phrase, 141
- nonfinite subject clauses, 71
- noun, 26, 28, 29, 32, 37, 42, 44, 59, 64, 81, 86, 108, 193, 260, 266, 267
- noun phrase, 9, 26, 30–32, 40, 64, 71, 86, 94, 108, 164, 182, 187, 193, 209, 210, 269
- number, 32, 35, 36, 50, 59, 89, 93, 146
- numeral, 35, 48, 108

- object clause, 151, 158, 159, 241, 242
- object noun phrases, 30
- object pronoun, 91
- omission of the subject, 226

- paired body terms, 29, 30
- palatalisation, 1, 2
- particle, 260
- parts of the day, 207
- parvaj, 133
- passive, 88, 136, 146, 234, 236

Subject index

- passive verb, 234
- passive voice, 88, 135
- past counter-factuality, 161
- past counterfactual conditional clauses, 256
- past factual, 256
- past participle, 71, 84, 111, 118, 119, 135–137, 146, 148, 183, 184, 266, 267
- perfect indicative, 111, 163
- perfect subjunctive, 111, 163
- perfect tense, 259
- permanent state, 142, 148
- permission, 174
- personal ending, 111
- personal pronoun, 167
- place name, 34, 42, 204
- pluperfect indicative, 111
- pluperfect subjunctive, 111, 163
- plural indefinite noun phrases, 35
- polite pronoun, 89
- polite requests, 174
- position of the adjective, 80
- positive, 72
- possessive, 50, 108
- possessive determiner, 37, 50, 52
- possessive pronouns, 50, 52
- possibility, 177
- postpositional phrases, 209
- predicative, 1, 40, 42, 52, 67, 69–71, 137, 167
- predicative adjective, 67, 84, 137
- predicative noun, 42, 169
- prepositional argument clauses, 244
- prepositional phrase, 86, 99, 108
- present, 111
- present counter-factuality, 160
- present counterfactual conditional clauses, 256
- present factual conditional clauses, 256
- present indicative, 13, 111, 112, 120, 121, 461
- present subjunctive, 111, 131, 134
- progressive aspect, 151
- prohibitive, 228
- pronoun, 40, 42, 43, 45, 48, 62, 64, 87, 236, 240, 260
- proximal, 40
- prèndar, 134
- pudaj, 132
- purposive, 50, 152
- purposive clauses, 141
- quantifier, 33, 37, 57
- quantifying nouns, 62, 63
- recipient, 183, 184, 187
- reciprocal voice, 231
- reduced vowel, 69, 126
- reduplication, 263, 264
- reflexive, 97, 112, 146, 267
- reflexive verbs, 111, 230¹
- reflexive voice, 112, 230
- relative clause, 65, 99, 101, 108, 137, 158, 238
- relativiser, 99–102, 104
- rí, 135
- sadastadá, 131
- savaj, 132
- şchaj, 132
- schè, 134, 232
- simple tense, 218
- speech act verb, 161
- spelling system, 3, 9, 18
- stative passive, 234
- stative verb, 147, 229

- stujaj, 133
stá, 131
subject, 6, 42, 44, 52, 65, 71, 87, 90, 91,
106, 107, 109, 135, 136, 138,
142, 146, 159, 169, 179, 180,
182–184, 204, 223, 225, 228,
234
subject clause, 240
subject inversion, 28², 88, 90, 95, 96,
112, 113, 180, 182, 223, 224,
226, 227, 242, 254
subject nouns, 105, 179
subject pronoun, 88, 91, 226
subjunctive mood, 151, 153, 154, 156,
158, 229
subordinating conjunction, 238
subordination, 238
superlative, 61, 72, 73
syllabic, 15
syncretism, 40, 40⁸, 50

tanaj, 133
temporal, 40, 49, 167
temporal adjuncts, 98, 99, 209, 211
temporal adverbs, 137
temporal clause, 241, 248
temporal noun, 47
temporal relative clause, 98, 104, 105
temporal subordinate clause, 140
temporary state, 142
tense agreement, 162
theme, 184
time adverb, 65
topicalise, 142
trá, 131
tumaj, 133

unmarked, 40, 42, 43, 48, 49, 66, 67,
71, 79, 84, 90, 136, 184, 235,
461

vagní, 114
vaj, 112, 146, 148, 224
vaj tga, 163
vasaj, 133
verb, 40, 84, 91, 136, 142, 153, 167, 180,
182, 228, 232, 233, 258, 267
verb of movement, 141, 250
verb phrase, 141
verb phrase negator, 216, 221
verb-second, 223
verb-second syntax, 179
verbs of opinion, 152, 154, 159, 162
verbs of speaking, 151, 152
voiced consonants, 461
voiceless consonants, 15–18
vowels, 11, 12, 12¹, 13, 14, 18, 20–22,
22², 23, 33, 34, 68
vulaj, 133, 229

A grammar of Tuatschin

This book is the first descriptive grammar of Tuatschin, a Sursilvan Romansh dialect spoken by approximately 800 people in the westernmost part of the Romansh territory, in the canton of Grisons in southeastern Switzerland. The description is mainly based on narratives and elicitation, collected during fieldwork conducted between 2016 and 2020. Besides the grammatical description, it also offers a variety of narratives produced by female and male native speakers between thirty and eighty years of age.

ISBN 978-3-96110-318-8



9 783961 103188