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The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: an outline of verb morphology

The village and speakers of its dialect

The village of Staroshvedskoye (Sw. *Gammalsvenskby*; current Ukrainian name *Зміївка*) is located in the Kherson region, on the bank of the Dnieper River. The official name of this area in the 19th century was *Старошведская волость Херсонского уезда Херсонской губернии* ("Old Swedish volost of the Kherson uyezd of the Kherson guberniya"). The village was founded in 1782 by migrants from the island of Hiiumaa (Sw. *Dagö*). At that time this island belonged to the Russian Empire. The native language of the founders of the village was the dialect of Dagö.¹

In all likelihood, the number of residents of the Swedish colony has never exceeded 1000. According to (PISAREVSKII 1899: 249), the initial number of migrants from Dagö was 966, of which only 880 reached their final destination. By the Revolution of 1917 there were 718 Swedes in the colony (SPISOK 1917: 126).

From a linguistic point of view, the population of the village is made up of the following groups:

1) Speakers of Russian and Russian-Ukrainian who have no relationship to the dialect. They constitute the majority.

2) Children of the older generation of Swedes who were born in the 1950s–1970s. Their main language is Russian-Ukrainian. No one in this group is able to speak the dialect and thus be a linguistic informant in its study.

3) Ethnic Swedes of the older generation born in the 1920s–1930s, the only speakers of the dialect. Their number does not exceed fifteen persons. This group is the object of my study. Their main language now is Russian-Ukrainian (the variety called *суржик*), though they often use the Swedish dialect in everyday conversations. All of them possess a good command of German, and many of them learned Standard Swedish at a young age either from their parents or at school and they are able to speak it.

My fieldwork up to 2012 was concentrated on interviewing the following three fluent speakers: Anna Semionovna Liutko (1931–2013), Lidiia Andreevna Utas (born in 1933), and Melitta Fridrikhovna Prasolova (born in 1926). They speak the most conservative variety of the dialect.

Spelling

(for details of the spelling and phonetics of the dialect, see MANKOV 2010; 2014)

For the present-day dialect I have developed the following orthography (accompanied by symbols of the latest version of IPA):

Vowels: *a* [a], *ā* [a:], *e* [e], *ē* [e:¹, e:], *i* [i], *ī* [i:], *o* [o], *ō* [o:], *u* [u], *ū* [u:], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ā* [ɛ:], *ö* [œ], *ō* [œ:], *ü* [ɐ]², *ū* [u:], *äi* [ɛ:i, ɛi], *öü* [œ:u, œü].

Consonants: *b* [b], *d* [d], *d̥* [d̥], *f* [f], *g* [g], *h* [h], *j* [j], *k* [k], *l* [l], *l̥* [l̥], *m* [m], *n* [n] ([ŋ] in front of *k*), *ŋ* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *š* [ʃ], *t* [t], *t̥* [t̥], *v* [v], *x* [x], *z* [z], *ž* [ʒ].

The consonants *p*, *t*, *k* are not aspirated; *d̥*, *t̥*, *ŋ* are postalveolar *d̥*, *t̥*, *ŋ* (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations *dj*, *gj*, *nj*, *sj*, *tj* designate palatalized consonants; *skj*, *stj* are [sk^l, st^l]. The length of consonants within morphemes is designated by doubling the letter: *tummär* 'empty.' If a long consonant occurs in front of another consonant within a morpheme, its length is not designated: *vänt* [vɛn:t] 'to wait,' whereas on morpheme boundaries it is designated: *tumm-t* (neuter sg. of *tumm-är*). The hyphen is employed to show elements of compounds (e.g., *sir-bošš* 'sorrel soup,' *hjärl-släe* 'killed' (participle), *sošš-som* 'because') and enclitic forms of personal pronouns (e.g., in *häv-e* 'had it,' *vär-e* 'was it,' *to-de* 'when you'); it is also used on word boundaries where postalveolar consonants occur (e.g. *vā-ŋ* < *vār han* 'was he'). Word stress is shown only when it does not fall on the first syllable: *konföre* 'why,' *loñätär* 'long ago,' *aläina* 'alone.' Phrase stress is shown with ' , e.g., *slū 'hjöl*. Phonetic variants are divided with /, morphological with //.

Verbs

(based on MANKOV 2012)

Verb paradigm consists of the following forms: 1) infinitive (always identical with present pl. and in most cases with imperative sg.); 2) present sg.; 3) imperative pl.; 4) preterite; 5) supine. Supine and preterite of weak verbs are always identical.

Depending on the form of the preterite and supine I divide the verbs into the following morphological types (conjugations):

1) Verbs ending in *-a* in the preterite and supine: weak verbs with stems in *-a*.

¹ An outline of Swedish dialects of Estonia is given in E. LAGMAN 1979. For a detailed account of Swedish settlements in Estonia, see EN BOK OM ESTLANDS SVENSKAR 1961; 1964.

² Central rounded open vowel; lower than Standard Sw. [ø], lips are rounded and protruding.

2) Verbs ending in a dental stop in the preterite and supine: weak verbs with stems terminating in consonants, (long) vowels and diphthongs.

3) Verbs with changes in the root: strong and irregular.

1st conjugation

Morphophonological types of the 1st conjugation:

Type	Infinitive; Present pl.; Imperative sg.	Present sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
1a	<i>boka</i> 'bake'	<i>bokar</i>	<i>bokae</i>	<i>boka</i>
1b	<i>vänt</i> 'wait'	<i>väntar</i>	<i>vänte</i>	<i>vänta</i>
	<i>kļīstār</i> 'whitewash'	<i>kļīstrar</i>	<i>kļīst(ä)re</i>	<i>kļīstra</i>
1c	<i>inke se</i> 'groan', imper. — <i>inke-de änt</i>	<i>inkjar se</i>	<i>inke jār (änt)</i>	<i>inkja se</i>
	<i>skinde se</i> 'hurry', imper. — <i>skinde-de (änt)</i>	<i>skindar se</i>	<i>skinde jār (änt)</i>	<i>skinda se</i>
	<i>bire</i> 'begin'	<i>birjar</i> , also <i>bire</i>	<i>bire</i>	<i>birja</i>

S-forms:

	Infinitive; Present sg. & pl.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
1a	<i>bruta-s</i> 'struggle'	<i>bruta-s-e</i>	<i>bruta-s-t</i>
1b	<i>ōnda-s</i> 'breathe'	<i>ōnda-s-e</i>	<i>ōnda-s-t</i>

Other examples:

1a: *buka* 'root the earth' (of pigs), *bura* 'drill', *duna* 'thunder', *frōa* 'ask', *goļa* 'crow', *hita* 'heat', *hopas* 'hope', *kļōa* 'complain', *knōa* 'knead', *kukūka* 'cuckoo', *lōa* 'repair; prepare', *moka* 'move', *skoka* 'shake', *skoļa* 'peel', *skōa* 'look; watch', *svora* 'answer', *toļa* 'tell; speak', and many others.

1b: *arbet* 'work', *bļiken* (also *bļiknas*) 'wither', *bļīstār* 'whistle', *bļōnd* 'mix', *bodār* 'run with a rustling noise' (e.g., of mice), *bōļm* 'stir up', *flotār/flodār* 'splash', *fotār* 'run quickly' (of insects, mice), *frāist* 'try' (e.g., clothes), *gits* 'think', *gnixl* 'whimper', *gāisp* 'yawn', *mārknas* 'get dark' (also *mōrkjas* 1c), *njōrk* 'croak', *nōļ* 'darn', *rāven* 'rain', *samōļ* 'gather', *sjōņņ* 'sing', *skaff* 'send', *spats* 'have a walk', *sustār* 'make shoes', *svimōļ* 'go up' (of mist above the field in spring), *sōiim* 'sew', *šlabār* 'chatter', *šlūr* 'hang around', *tiken* 'become misty', *tjū* 'cast hay with a pitchfork', *tjūļ* 'winnow', *trokkl* (also *trokōļ*) 'to sew quickly', *tugg* 'chew', *vandār* 'travel', *vuzzl* 'be full of insects', *ālsk* 'want' (sic!; 'love' is *hōld* *ō*), and a very large number of others.

1c: *birelbyre/b[ē]re* 'begin', *dīņe* 'dung', *fiske* 'fish; watch over (e.g. of a cat trying to catch a mouse)', *gnägge* 'neigh' (pres. *gnāggār*), *länke se* (also *länk se* 1b) 'long for', *māitje* [-t-]/*māite* (also *māit* 1b) 'fish (with a rod)', *mōrkjas* 'get dark' (also *mārknas* 1b), *skigge* (*skiggjas*) 'get dark' (alongside *skiggnas* 1b), *skinde se* 'hurry', and very few others.

2nd conjugation

Infinitive, present, imperative

On the basis of the correlation between the infinitive and present sg. (which is determined by the stem final of the verb), I distinguish the following types in the 2nd conjugation:

- 1) Stems in a voiced consonant, *m*, and a vowel (always long);
- 2) Stems in *ll*, *nn*, *n*;
- 3) Stems in *r*;
- 4) Stems in **j* (which is reflected as *-e* [ē] with a) long; b) short roots.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.	Imperative	
			Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>kēp</i> 'buy'	<i>kēpār</i>	<i>kēp</i>	<i>kēpe</i>
	<i>glēm</i> 'forget'	<i>glēmār</i>	<i>glēm</i>	<i>glēme</i>
	<i>leva/liva</i> 'live'	<i>levār/livār</i>	<i>lēv</i>	<i>leve</i>
	<i>trū</i> 'believe'	<i>trūār</i>	<i>trū</i>	<i>trūe</i>
2	<i>häll</i> 'pour'	<i>hälldār</i>	<i>häll</i>	<i>hälle</i>
	<i>bränn</i> 'burn'	<i>bränndār</i>	<i>bränn</i>	<i>bränne</i>
	<i>lōn</i> 'borrow'	<i>lōndār</i>	<i>lōn</i>	<i>lōne</i>

3	<i>hēr</i> ‘hear’	<i>hēr</i>	<i>hēr</i>	<i>hēre</i>
4a	<i>riņņe</i> ‘surround’	<i>riņņār</i>	<i>riņņe</i>	
	<i>sēke</i> ‘look for’	<i>sēkār</i>	<i>sēk</i>	<i>sēke</i>
4b	<i>sjöle</i> ‘sell’	<i>sjōļ</i>	<i>sjōļ</i>	<i>sjöle</i>
	<i>äre</i> ‘plough’	<i>ār</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>äre</i>
	<i>säte</i> ‘set’	<i>sätär</i>	<i>sätt</i>	<i>säte</i>
	<i>kräve</i> ‘demand’	<i>krävär</i>	<i>kräv</i>	<i>kräve</i>

Preterite and supine

Depending on the preterite/supine form, 2nd conjugation verbs are divided into 4 morphophonological types:

- 1) with the ending *-t* which occurs after roots in *s, n, ll, t* (if *t* does not follow *äi*), *k, p, l, d*;
- 2) with the ending *-d* (after *m, mm, nn, v, d*, and any vowels except the diphthong *äi*), *-d* (< *r+d, l+d*);
- 3) with the ending *-dd* (after *äi* and sometimes after *ē*);
- 4) with the zero ending.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive	Preterite/supine
1	<i>blēs</i> ‘blow’	<i>blēst</i>
	<i>lōn</i> ‘borrow’	<i>lōnt</i>
	<i>still</i> ‘feed’	<i>stillt</i>
	<i>hōld</i> ‘hold’	<i>hōlt</i>
	<i>sēke</i> ‘look for’	<i>sēft</i>
	<i>kēp</i> ‘buy’	<i>kēft</i>
2	<i>drēm</i> ‘dream’	<i>drēmd</i>
	<i>kļämm</i> ‘press’	<i>kļāmd</i>
	<i>bränn</i> ‘burn’	<i>bränd</i>
	<i>leva/liva</i> ‘live’	<i>lēvd</i>
	<i>hēr</i> ‘hear’	<i>hēd</i>
	<i>sjöle</i> ‘sell’	<i>sjōd</i>
	<i>svölge</i> ‘swallow’	<i>svōd</i>
	<i>hēņe</i> ‘hang’	<i>hēmd</i>
	<i>bigge</i> ‘build’	<i>bēvd</i>
	<i>rū</i> ‘row’	<i>rūd</i>
3	<i>sträi</i> ‘straw’	<i>sträidd</i>
	<i>k[ļ:ç:]</i> (<i>pō</i>) ‘put on’	<i>(pō-)k[ļ:ç:]dd/kļēd</i>
4	<i>hitt</i> ‘find’	<i>hitt</i>

The verbs *lāgge* ‘lay; put’, *sīnas* ‘be seen’, *smāre* ‘smear’, *säte* ‘set; plant’, *sätjas* ‘sit down’, *äre* ‘plough’ change the root vowel: *lād*, *sōndest*, *smōd*, *satt*, *satest* (also *sattes*), *ōd*.

S-forms:

Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
<i>skäll-as</i> ‘quarrel’	<i>skäll-s</i>	<i>skäll-s-e</i> (<i>änt</i>)	<i>skäll-t-es-t</i>
<i>gehēras</i> ‘need’	<i>gehēš</i>	—	<i>gehēddest</i>
<i>sīnas</i> ‘be seen’	<i>sīns</i>	—	<i>sōndest</i>
<i>lāggjas</i> (<i>nēr</i>) ‘lay oneself’	<i>lāgg-s</i> (<i>nēr</i>)	<i>lāgg-s-e</i> (<i>nēr</i>)	<i>lādest</i> (<i>nēr</i>)
<i>sätjas</i> (<i>nēr</i>) ‘sit down’	<i>sätt-s</i>	<i>sätt-s-e</i>	<i>sattest/satest</i> AL LU // <i>sattes</i> MP

<i>dūas/dōas</i> ‘be suitable’	<i>dūss</i>	—	<i>dūdest/dōdest</i>
<i>bāias</i> ‘ask’	<i>bāitts</i>	<i>bāittse</i>	<i>bāiddest</i>
<i>līas</i> ‘listen; obey’	<i>litts</i>	<i>littse</i>	<i>līdest/līddest</i>

Isolated conjugation patterns:

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
<i>gāra</i> ‘make; do’; <i>gārjas</i> ‘be done; ferment’	<i>gār</i> <i>gārşş</i>	<i>gāra</i> <i>gārjas</i>	<i>gār</i> —	<i>gāre</i> —	<i>gjūd</i> <i>gjūdest</i>	
<i>hōa</i> ‘have’	<i>hār</i>	<i>hōa</i>	?	?	<i>hāv</i>	<i>hāve</i>
<i>sāi</i> ‘say’	<i>sāiār</i>	<i>sāi</i>	<i>sāi</i>	<i>sāie</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>sōa</i>

3rd conjugation

Preterite and supine: classes of strong verbs

Examples:

- bīt* ‘bite’ — *bāit* — *bite*;
blī ‘become’ — *blāi* — *blōe*;
gnī ‘rub’ — *gnāi/gnīd* — *gnēe/gnīd*;
rī ‘ride’ — *rāi/rīd* — *rēe/rīd*;
rīv ‘grate’ — *rāiv/rīvd/rīva* — *rive/rīvd/rīva*;
slīt ‘tear’ — *slāit* — *slite*;
stīv (*upp*) ‘get up’ — *stāiv* — *stive*;
svī ‘remove feathers from poultry holding it over open fire’ — *svāi/svīd* — *svēe/svīd*;
vrī ‘twist’ — *vrāi/vrīd* — *vrēe/vrīd*.
- bjū* ‘invite’ — *bjöü/bjūd* — *bjōe/bjūd*;
brūt ‘break’ — *bröüt* — *brüte*;
drūp ‘drip’ — *dröüp* — *drüpe/dröpe*;
flū ‘fly’ — *flöü* — *flōe*;
flūt ‘float’ — *flöüt* — *flüte/flöte*;
frūs ‘freeze’ — *fröüs* — *früse*;
kļū ‘cleave’ — *kļöü* — *klōe*;
ljū ‘lie’ — *löü* — *lōe*;
njūs ‘sneeze’ — *njöüs* — *njüse*;
rīk ‘smoke’ — *röük* — *rūke*;
sjū ‘гудеть’ — *sjöü* — *sjōe*;
skjūt ‘shoot’ — *skjöüt* — *sküte*;
strūk se ‘dry oneself’ — *ströük se* — *strūke se*;
tjūt ‘howl’ — *tjöüt* — *tjüte*.
- bind* ‘tie; bind’ — *band* — *bunde*;
brinn ‘burn’ (intrans.) — *brann* — *brunne*;
drikk ‘drink’ — *drakk* — *drukke*;
hinn ‘have enough time’ — *hann* — *hunne*;
rinn ‘run’ (of liquids) — *rann* — *runne*;
sinke ‘sink’ — *sank* — *sunke*;
smäll ‘lash’ — *small* — *smulle*;
smält ‘melt’ — *smalt* — *smulte*;
spinn ‘spin’ — *spann* — *spunne*;
sprīŋŋ ‘crack’ — *sprayŋŋ* — *spruŋe*;
sprint ‘jump’ — *sprant* — *sprunte*;
stiŋŋ ‘sting’ — *stayŋŋ* — *stunje*;
sväll ‘swell’ — *svall* — *svülle*;
triske ‘thresh’ — *trask/triskja* — *truske/trüske/triskja*;
vinn ‘win’ — *vann* — *vunne*.
- bāra* ‘bear’ — *bār* — *büre*;
kuma ‘come’ — *komm* — *kume*;
skāra ‘cut’ — *skār* — *sküre*;
sōa ‘sleep’ — *sō* — *sūe*;
stjōla ‘steal’ — *stjūd* — *stjōle*.
- bāa* ‘ask’ — *bā* — *bāe*;

gäva ‘give’ — *gāv* — *gäve*;
jäta ‘eat’ — *ōt* — *jäte*;
ligge ‘lie’ — *lō* — *lēa*;
läsa ‘read’ — *lās* — *läse*;
site ‘sit’ — *satt* — *satt*;
sī ‘see’ — *sō* — *sīd*;
vara ‘be’ — *vār* — *vare*.
6. *drāa* ‘pull; draw’ — *drū* — *drōe*;
däi ‘die’ (of animals) — *dū* ‘*ō* — *ō-dūe*;
fäštō ‘understand’ — *fäštū* — *fäštōe*;
gäi ‘bark’ — *gū* — *güe*;
lē ‘laugh’ — *lū* — *lūe*;
slō ‘hit’ — *slū* — *slāe*;
stō ‘stand’ — *stū* — *stōe*;
sväre ‘swear’ — *svār* — *svüire*;
tōa ‘take’ — *tū* — *tāe*.
7. *fall* ‘fall’ — *foll* — *falle*;
fō ‘get; receive; must’ — *fī* — *fōe*;
grōt ‘cry’ — *gräit* — *grote*;
gō ‘go’ — *gī* — *gōe*;
hugg ‘hew’ — *hogg* — *hugge*.

S-forms:

Infinitive; present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite	Supine
<i>brūtas</i> ‘break’	<i>brüts</i>	—	<i>bröütes(t)</i>	<i>brütest</i>
<i>kļūas</i> ‘cleave’	<i>kļüss</i>	—	<i>kļöüstest</i>	<i>kļōest</i>
<i>stiņņas</i> ‘sting’	<i>stiņņs</i>	—	<i>staiņņest</i>	<i>stunņest</i>
<i>slōas</i> ‘fight’	<i>sloss</i>	<i>slōse, slōase</i>	<i>slusstes(t)</i>	<i>slāest</i>

Irregular verbs:

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
<i>lāta</i> ‘let; allow’	<i>lätär</i>	<i>lāta</i>	<i>lät</i>	<i>lāte</i>	<i>läivd</i>	<i>läivd, lote</i>
<i>lōt</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> finish’	<i>lōtär</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’	<i>lōt</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’	<i>lōt</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’	<i>lōte</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’	<i>läivd</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’	<i>läivd, lote</i> ‘ <i>ō</i> ’
—	<i>kann</i> ‘can’	<i>kuna</i>	—		<i>kunt</i>	
—	<i>ska</i> auxiliary		—		<i>skilt</i>	
<i>vara</i> ‘be’	<i>jār/jär</i>	<i>jāra</i>	<i>vār</i>	<i>vare</i>	<i>vār</i>	<i>vare</i>
—	<i>vill</i> ‘want’	<i>vila</i>	—		<i>vilt</i>	
<i>vita</i> ‘know’	<i>väit</i>	<i>vita</i>	—		<i>visst</i>	<i>vita</i>

Participle I

It is formed with the suffix *-ande*. In available examples it occurs after verbs of motion (*kuma* ‘come’, *bāra* ‘*ō* set out’) and after *blī* ‘become; remain’: *Vallan kumār sallande mā buskan* LU ‘The shepherd is coming, driving the cattle’. For details and more examples, see MANKOV 2013.

Participle II

It is formed according to the following patterns:

Conj.	Infinitive	Participle II			
		Masc.	Fem	Neut.	Pl.
1	<i>boka</i>	<i>boka//bokandär</i>	<i>boka</i>	<i>boka//bokat</i>	<i>boka//bokandar</i>
	<i>vatn</i>	<i>vatna//vatnandär</i>	<i>vatna</i>	<i>vatna//vatnat</i>	<i>vatna//vatnandar</i>
	<i>bire</i>	<i>birja//birjandär</i>	<i>birja</i>	<i>birja//birjat</i>	<i>birja//birjandar</i>
2	<i>kväss</i>	<i>kvässtär</i>	<i>kvässt</i>		<i>kvässtar</i>
	<i>bläit</i>	<i>bläittär</i>	<i>bläitt</i>		<i>bläittar</i>

	<i>läiv</i> [-ε-i-]	<i>läivdär</i> [-εī-]	<i>läivd</i>		<i>läivdar</i>
	<i>gift se</i>	<i>giftär</i>	<i>gift</i>	—	<i>giftar</i>
	<i>bränn</i>	<i>brändär</i>	<i>bränd</i>		<i>brändar</i>
	<i>bigge</i>	<i>bēvdär</i>	<i>bēvd</i>		<i>bēvdar</i>
	<i>dägge</i>	<i>dävdär</i>	<i>dävd</i>		<i>dävdar</i>
	<i>skjöle</i>	<i>skjöḍär</i>	<i>skjöḍ</i>		<i>skjöḍar</i>
	<i>kļē (pō)</i>	<i>pō-kļeddär, -kļēdär</i>	<i>pō-kļedd, -kļēd</i>		<i>pō-kļeddar, -kļēdar</i>
3	<i>bīt</i>	<i>bitndär</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>bitet</i>	<i>bitndar</i>
	<i>bind</i>	<i>bundndär</i>	<i>bunde</i>	<i>bundet</i>	<i>bundndar</i>
	<i>drikk</i>	<i>drukkendär</i>	<i>drukke</i>	<i>drukket</i>	<i>drukkendar</i>
	<i>sväll</i>	<i>svüllendär</i>	<i>svülle</i>	<i>svüllet</i>	<i>svüllendar</i>
	<i>skära</i>	<i>skürendär</i>	<i>sküre</i>	<i>sküret</i>	<i>skürendar</i>
	<i>tōa</i>	<i>tāendär</i>	<i>tāe</i>	<i>tāet</i>	<i>tāendar</i>

For details, see MANKOV 2013.

Mediopassive forms of participle II

They are formed from the supine stem by means of the affix *-st-* if the stems terminates in a vowel (*svoļa-st-är*, *brüte-st-är*), and *-est-* if the stems terminates in a consonant (*näitt-est-är*).

Infinitive	Participle II		
	Masculine	Feminine; Neuter; Attributive pl.	Non-attr. pl.
<i>svoļas</i>	<i>svoļastär</i>	<i>svoļast</i>	<i>svoļastar</i>
<i>torrkas</i>	<i>torrkastär</i>	<i>torrkast</i>	<i>torrkastar</i>
<i>näitas</i>	<i>näittestär</i>	<i>näittest</i>	<i>näittestar</i>
<i>brütas</i>	<i>brütestär</i>	<i>brütest</i>	<i>brütestar</i>

Some notes on grammatical categories of verbs

(based on MANKOV 2013).

The category of person is absent. Numbers are consistently distinguished in the present (*ja väntar*, *tō väntar*, *han väntar*, *ve vänt*, *ne vänt*, *tom vänt*) and imperative (*vänt* sg., *vänte* pl).

The future is expressed by the present form: *Umm more*, *to-de kumär*, *so mētar ja-de* ‘Tomorrow, when you arrive, I will meet you’. The verb *ska* (pret. *skilt*) with the future sense only occurs in subordinate clauses: *Ja stuppa inn-e ot barmen*, *än-e änt ska frūs* MP ‘I put it (the food) in my bosom, so that it does not become frozen’; *Han sā, än-en skilt kuma* ‘He said that he would come’ (alongside ...*än-en kumär*). In main clauses *ska* and *skilt* express recommendation and necessity.

Perfect is formed with *hōa* (*häär* sg., *hōa* pl.) and *vara* (*jār/jär* sg., *jära* pl.) and the supine. *Hōa* is used with transitive, *vara* with intransitive verbs:

Ja gehēdest gō, män här grannt boṭt-e glēmd ‘I needed to go, but I’ve completely forgotten about it’; *Ja här sundä-ḥ (dūken) slite tjōļ slarvar* LU ‘I’ve torn it (the kerchief) apart for pieces of cloth’; *Ja här üt me sūe* ‘I’ve had a good sleep’; *Ja här ö-lote de rīk* ‘I’ve given up smoking’; *He snīd o īd, o har all stīgar fast-īd* LU ‘I snowed and drifted, and it has blocked up all paths’.

Han jār kume ‘He has arrived’; *Han jār rāi boṭt-gōe* ‘He has already left’; *Han jār sjūkär blōe* ‘He’s fallen ill’; *Snjūen jār boṭt-smulte* ‘The snow has melted’; *Katta jār po būde upp-sprunte* ‘The cat has jumped on the table’; *Han jār upp-stive, ja tarva änt gō väkke-en* ‘He has got up, I didn’t need to go and wake him up’; *Fūļa jära boṭt-flōe* ‘Birds have flown away’; *Täss skūa jära löüsare blōe* ‘These shoes have become looser’.

Pluperfect is formed with *hāv* (preterite of *hōa*) and the supine: *Ve kasta dom inn-e rāi bait tīa umm kvēldn, a umm monnan, umm trāa, fjūra, än ijen änt sār än ja hāv üte-e kasta, tū ve üt-e* ‘We cast them (fishing nets) already after ten in the evening, and in the morning, around three, four, so that no one sees that I had cast them, we drew them out.’

Present subjunctive ((*h*)*a* + supine): *Ja ha hölft-de, män ja här ija tīär* ‘I would help you, but I don’t have time’; *Ja ha vilt kuma more* ‘I would like to come tomorrow’. In complex sentences this pattern is used in both clauses: *Umm ja a hāve tīär nō, ja a gjūḍ-e gīst* ‘If I had time now, I would do it at once’; *Ja änt a skīnda me umm ja a hāve*

täär 'I wouldn't hurry if I had time'; *Umm ja a vita*, so *ja a sōa-e* 'If I knew, I would say it'; *He ha vare bra umm han ha kume more* 'It would be good if he came tomorrow'; *Umm dār a vare äin lusk*, so *ve a gōe de mait fisk* 'If there were a boat, we would go fishing'; *Umm dār a vare vatn*, so *ja a vatna* 'If there were water, I would water'.

Imaginary/hypothetical situations in the present can also be expressed with *kunt a* + supine: *Ja kunt a bāe mölk näst Anna LU* 'I could ask milk at Anna's'.

Past subjunctive ((*h*)*a hāve* or (*h*)*a vare* + supine): *Ja a hāve kēft-e hegōr*, *mān ja hāv ija päñar* 'I would have bought it yesterday, but I didn't have money'; *Umm ja a hāve hegōr päñar hāve*, *ja a hāve kēft-e* 'If I had had money yesterday, I would have bought it'; *He änt a driupe*, *umm-de a hāve fast-e vrēe* 'It wouldn't drip if you had had screwed it'; *Han kunt drunken 'ō*, *umm händäre änt a vare ōapo blōe LU* 'He could have drowned if the hands hadn't remained above (the ice)'; *Umm tiske änt a vare vare hēr näst oss*, so *tätta änt a vare vare allt*. *A soşş fī ve lī mike LU* 'If the Germans hadn't been here at our place, this wouldn't have happened. But because they were, we had to suffer a lot'.

Imaginary/hypothetical situations in the present can also be expressed with *kunt a hāve* or *vare* + supine: *Ja kunt a hāve hūse boţt-sjōđ e fjōdeşt LU* 'I could have sold the house last year'; *Tō kunt a vare kume egōr* 'You could have come yesterday'.

Necessity in the present can be expressed with *ska*: *Ko ska ja hänt ot de?* 'What should I fetch you?'; *Hon säiär, än ja änt ska sjōle hūse* 'She says that I shouldn't sell the house'. *Ska* is also used in subordinate clauses when the verb in the main clause is in the preterite: *Anna sā, än ja ska napp hūp stäina vār källaş dänna LU* 'Anna said that I should gather stones near the cellar's door'.

Necessity in the past is expressed with *skilt*: *Ja skilt kēp täta hegōr* 'I should have bought it yesterday'. The pattern *skilt a hāve* or *vare* + supine is used in order to add the sense of impracticability in the past: *Tō skilt a hāve sjōđ boţt hūse rāi lōñafār* 'You should have sold the house long time ago (but you didn't)'; *Tō skilt änt a hāve täta sōa* 'You shouldn't have said it (but you did)'; *Ja skilt änt a vare hitt kume* 'I shouldn't have come here'.

The following patterns are used to express wishes:

1. *Um(m) a* + supine: *Um-en änt a barnast!* 'If only he didn't swear!'; *Um-on änt a vare sjūk!* 'If only she weren't ill!'; *Um-en hotş änt a röke* 'If only he didn't smoke'.

2. *Lät*: *Bind löüsä-n (hund)*, *lät-n ränn umm* 'Untie him (the dog), let him run around'. In order to add the sense of impracticability, *lät* can be combined with *a* + supine: *Lät-on a sjōđ hūse um-on vill* 'Let her sell the house if she wants'.

For wishes expressed with reference to the past and therefore totally impracticable, the pattern *lät a hāve* or *a vare* + supine is used: *Komföre hällt-de üt he mölke?* *Lät-e a vare sütt blōe* 'Why did you pour out the milk? I wish it had gone sour'; *Komföre gī-de (ot būe)? Lät-on a vare gōe!* 'Why did you go (to the shop)? I wish she had gone (there)'; *Kontjōļ släit-dom sundār kvēne*, *lät-on a vare stōe* 'Why did they blow up the mill, I wish it had remained'.

Synthetic forms with an optative meaning are limited to isolated traditional phrases: *Gū hōlp de!* 'God help you!'; *Tak vare Gū* 'Thank God!'; *Gesinne!* 'Jesus bless'.

Passive forms, as far as one can judge by the material available now, are very rare. Such sentence as 'This house was built last year' was translated by LU as *Hūse blāi upp-bēvd e-fjōdeşt*, but in real speech an active pattern with a personal pronoun 'they' would rather be used: *He hūse jär nitt*, *tom bēvd e-fjōdeşt upp-e* 'That house is new, they built it last year'. Some real speech examples: *Tom vār fron stukkar gjūd* (also *gjūdar*) 'They (the houses) were made of timbers'; *He fōr bļī ō-sīlat än pār goññar*, *āles byre-e sjūñas* 'It (the wine) has to be filtered a couple of times, otherwise it begins to turn sour'; *Hon äiles a vare sprūmd blōe* 'It (the mill) would have been blown up in any case'.

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