VIII. Congress of International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics
(14-18 September 2015)
*
Selected Papers

Editors

Vügar Sultanzade
Ahmet Pehlivan
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VIII. Uluslararası Diyalektoloji ve Jeolengüistik Kongresi
(14-18 Eylül 2015)
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Seçilmiş Bildiriler

Editörler

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VIII. Congress of International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics

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Baskı: DAÜ Basımevi

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Preface

I am very pleased to briefly present this collection of papers from the 8th Congress of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics (SIDG), which was held at the Eastern Mediterranean University (North Cyprus) on 14-18 September 2015. They cover the areas that were developed in the different sections of the conference: new methodological and technical approaches to variety linguistics & language geography, interdisciplinary dialectology, dialect synthesis, quantitative dialectology, cognitive linguistics and dialectology, dialect dictionaries and atlases, dialect corpora, standards and norms, online dialectology, perceptual dialectology, dialect dynamics between standardization and dialectalization, sociolinguistics, minority languages and interference phenomena, dialect and cultural studies, dialect and media and dialect translation.

The Society has a long history. Founded in 1989, at its next conference, which is expected to be in Vilnius (Lithuania), it will have reached nearly thirty years of existence. Its purposes include the exchange of knowledge in the domain of dialectology and geolinguistics, in particular with regard to new theories and methods. And the conferences that have taken place since then (Budapest 1993, Amsterdam 1997, Lublin 2000, Riga 2003, Braga 2006, Maribor 2009, Austria 2012 and Famagusta 2015) have brought together researchers and scholars from all over the world and from all traditions and methods of dialectology, which have dealt with a wide range of issues concerning dialectology and geolinguistics from different points of view.

As Cyprus has a rich diversity of linguistic varieties, it seemed fitting to meet in the north of this island where there is a strong interest in dialectal studies.

The Eastern Mediterranean University in North Cyprus hosted the eighth conference of the SIDG and the venue far exceeded all expectations. The support and friendship the participants received from the organizers, the beautiful campus, the great surroundings, the interesting excursions, the luxurious holiday resort Hotel Cratos Premium where some sessions took place, the interesting and highly qualified presentations from both parallel sections: English and Turkish, will remain in the minds of all those participating in the conference.

Eighty-two researchers from seventeen different countries attended the congress and 76 lectures were given, which showed how rich our discipline is, both in the topics developed and in the modern and updated methods applied. Three excellent researchers were invited as the keynote speakers and

the lectures were classified into four topics: a) geolinguistics, b) sociolinguistics, c) descriptive linguistics, documentation, dictionary and corpus, and d) dialect education. All the scholars who attended the congress had the pleasure of meeting new colleagues and of meeting old ones again, of sharing knowledge, experiences and resources, of discussing ongoing research, of discovering different language varieties and cultures, of finding ways of collaboration and of weaving international networks.

My most sincere thanks are due to all the authors, reviewers, conference participants, the heads of the Organising Committee, Prof. Vügar Sultanzade and Prof. Ahmet Pehlivan, and all of those who helped in what proved to be a very productive, successful and enjoyable conference.

On behalf of the members of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics I would like to thank editors-in-chief Astris van Nahl, Vügar Sultanzade and Prof. Ahmet Pehlivan most cordially for their efforts in editing this volume, which they have produced so accurately and beautifully.

Barcelona, November 2016

Prof. Dr. Maria-Pilar Perea

President of the International Society for
Dialectology and Geolinguistics

The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: An Outline of Verb Morphology*

Alexander MANKOV

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1 Introduction

The village of Staroshvedskoe (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.

[1] An outline of Swedish dialects of Estonia is given in Lagman 1979. For a detailed account of Swedish settlements in Estonia, see Aman, Lagman, Nyman 1961, Lagman 1964.

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 2013 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.

For the present-day dialect I have developed the following orthography (accompanied by symbols of the latest version of IPA): [2]

Vowels: *a* [a], *ā* [aː], *e* [ẹ], *ē* [eːⁱ, ẹː], *i* [i], *ī* [iː], *o* [o], *ō* [oː], *u* [u], *ū* [uː], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ā̈* [ɛː], *ö* [œ], *ȫ* [œː], *ü* [ɵ]₃, *ṻ* [ʉː], *äi* [ɛˑi, ɛĭ], *öü* [œˑʉ, œŭ].

Consonants: *b* [b], *d* [d], *ḍ* [ḏ], *f* [f], *g* [g], *h* [h], *j* [j], *k* [k], *l* [l], *ḷ* [ɽ], *m* [m], *n* [n] ([ŋ] in front of *k*), *ṇ* [n̠], *ŋ* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *ṣ* [ʃ], *t* [t], *ṭ* [t̠], *v* [v], *x* [x], *z* [z], *ẓ* [ʒ].

The consonants *p*, *t*, *k* are not aspirated; *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ* are postalveolar *d*, *t*, *n* (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations *dj*, *gj*, *nj*, *sj*, *tj* designate palatalized consonants; *skj*, *stj* are [skʲ, stʲ]. 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* [vɛnːt] '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., *sīr-boṣṣ* 'sorrel soup,' *hjȫḷ-slāe* 'killed' (participle), *soṣṣ-som* 'because') and enclitic forms of personal pronouns (e.g., in *hāv-e* 'had it,' *vār-e* 'was it,' *to-de* 'when you'); it is also used on word boundaries where postalveolar consonants occur (e.g. *vā-ṇ < vār han* 'was he'). Word stress is shown only when it does not fall on the first syllable: *konfőre* 'why,' *loŋäṭ̄́är* 'long ago,' *alä́ina* 'alone.' Phrase stress is shown with ˈ, e.g., *slū ˈhjȫl*. Phonetic variants are divided with /, morphological with //.

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[2]   For details of the spelling and phonetics of the dialect, see Mankov 2010, 2014

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

2   Verbs

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 (Mankov 2012).

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*.

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.

2.1   *First conjugation*

2.1.1   *Morphophonological types of the 1ˢᵗ conjugation*

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

2.1.2   *S-forms*

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

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Other examples:

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

1b: *arbet* 'work', *bḷiken* (also *bḷikknas*) 'wither', *bḷīstär* 'whistle', *bḷōnd* 'mix', *bodär* 'run with a rustling noise' (e.g., of mice), *böḷm* 'stir up', *fḷotär*/*fḷodär* 'splash', *fotär* 'run quickly' (of insects, mice), *fräist* 'try' (e.g., clothes), *gits* 'think', *gnixl* 'whimper', *gäisp* 'yawn', *märknas* 'get dark' (also *mörkjas* 1c), *njörk* 'croak', *nōḷ* 'darn', *rāven* 'rain', *samöḷ* 'gather', *sjöŋŋ* 'sing', *skaff* 'send', *spats* 'have a walk', *sustär* 'make shoes', *svimöḷ* 'go up' (of mist above the field in spring), *söüm* 'sew', *ṣlabär* 'chatter', *ṣlūr* 'hang around', *tiken* 'become misty', *tjū* 'cast hay with a pitchfork', *tjūḷ* 'winnow', *trokkl* (also *troköḷ*) 'to sew quickly', *tugg* 'chew', *vandär* 'travel', *vuzzl* 'be full of insects', *älsk* 'want' (sic!; 'love' is *hōld ō*), and a very large number of others.

1c: *bire*/*byre*/*b*[ę]*re* 'begin', *diŋe* 'dung', *fiske* 'fish; watch over (e.g. of a cat trying to catch a mouse)', *gnägge* 'neigh' (pres. *gnäggär*), *länke se* (also *länk se* 1b) 'long for', *mäitje* [-tʲ-]/*mäite* (also *mäit* 1b) 'fish (with a rod)', *mörkjas* 'get dark' (also *märknas* 1b), *skigge* (*skiggjas*) 'get dark' (alongside *skiggnas* 1b), *skinde se* 'hurry', and very few others.

2.2   *Second conjugation*

2.2.1   *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* [ę]) with: a) long; b) short roots.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.	Imperative	
			Sg.	Pl.
1	*kēp* 'buy'	*kēpär*	*kēp*	*kēpe*
	gḷēm 'forget'	*gḷēmär*	*gḷēm*	*gḷēme*
	leva/liva 'live'	*levär/livär*	*lēv*	*leve*
	trū 'believe'	*trūär*	*trū*	*trūe*

2	*häll* 'pour'	*hälldär*	*häll*	*hälle*
	bränn 'burn'	*bränndär*	*bränn*	*bränne*
	lōn 'borrow'	*lōndär*	*lōn*	*lōne*
3	*hēr* 'hear'	*hēr*	*hēr*	*hēre*
4a	*riŋŋe* 'surround'	*riŋŋär*	*riŋŋe*	
	sēke 'look for'	*sēkär*	*sēk*	*sēke*
4b	*sjöḷe* 'sell'	*sjȫḷ*	*sjȫḷ*	*sjöḷe*
	äre 'plough'	*ǟr*	*ǟr*	*ǟre*
	säte 'set'	*sätär*	*sätt*	*säte*
	kräve 'demand'	*krävär*	*krǟv*	*kräve*

2.2.2   *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*, *ld*;
2) with the ending -*d* (after *m*, *mm*, *nn*, *v*, *d*, and any vowel except the diphthong *äi*), -*ḍ* (< *r+d*, *ḷ+d*);
3) with the ending -*dd* (after *äi* and sometimes after *ē*);
4) with the zero ending.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive	Preterite/supine
1	*bḷēs* 'blow'	*bḷēst*
	lōn 'borrow'	*lōnt*
	still 'feed'	*stillt*
	hōld 'hold'	*hōlt*
	sēke 'look for'	*sēft*
	kēp 'buy'	*kēft*
2	*drēm* 'dream'	*drēmd*
	kḷämm 'press'	*kḷǟmd*
	bränn 'burn'	*brǟnd*
	leva/liva 'live'	*lēvd*
	hēr 'hear'	*hēḍ*
	sjöḷe 'sell'	*sjȫḍ*
	svöḷge 'swallow'	*svȫ̄ḍ*
	hēŋe 'hang'	*hēmd*
	bigge 'build'	*bēvd*
	rū 'row'	*rūd*
3	*strä̈i* 'straw'	*strä̈idd*
	kḷ[ę̄] *(pō)* 'put on'	*(pō-)kḷ*[ę]*dd/kḷēd*
4	*hitt* 'find'	*hitt*

The verbs *lägge* 'lay; put', *sīnas* 'be seen', *smäre* 'smear', *säte* 'set; plant', *sätjas* 'sit down', *äre* 'plough' change the root vowel: *lād*, *sōndest*, *smōḍ*, *satt*, *satest* (also *sattes*), *ōḍ*.

2.2.3 S-forms

Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
skäll-as 'quarrel'	*skäll-s*	*skäll-s-e (änt)*	*skäll-t-es-t*
gehĕ́ras 'need'	*gehĕ́ṣ*	—	*gehĕ́ḍest*
sīnas 'be seen'	*sīns*	—	*sōndest*
läggjas (nēr) 'lay oneself'	*lägg-s (nēr)*	*lägg-s-e (nēr)*	*lādest (nēr)*
sätjas (nēr) 'sit down'	*sätt-s*	*sätt-s-e*	*sattest/satest* AL LU // *sattes* MP
dūas/dōas 'be suitable'	*düss*	—	*dūdest/dōdest*
bäias 'ask'	*bäitts*	*bäittse*	*bäiddest*
līas 'listen; obey'	*litts*	*littse*	*līdest/lĭddest*

2.2.4 Isolated conjugation patterns

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
gära 'make; do'; *gärjas* 'be done; ferment'	*gā̄r* *gäṣṣ*	*gära* *gärjas*	*gā̄r* —	*gäre* —	*gjūḍ* *gjūḍest*	
hōa 'have'	*hār*	*hōa*	?	?	*hāv*	*hāve*
säi 'say'	*säiär*	*säi*	*säi*	*säie*	*sā*	*sōa*

2.3 Third conjugation

2.3.1 Preterite and supine: classes of strong verbs

Examples:

1. *bīt* 'bite' — *bäit* — *bite*;
   bḷī 'become' — *bḷäi* — *bḷō̄e*;
   gnī 'rub' — *gnäi//gnīd* — *gnēe//gnīd*;
   rī 'ride' — *räi//rīd* — *rēe//rīd*;
   rīv 'grate' — *räiv//rīvd//rīva* — *rive//rīvd//rīva*;
   slīt 'tear' — *släit* — *slite*;
   stīv (upp) 'get up' — *stäiv* — *stive*;
   svī 'remove feathers from poultry holding it over open fire' — *sväi//svīd* — *svēe//svīd*;
   vrī 'twist' — *vräi//vrīd* — *vrēe//vrīd*.

2. *bjū̄* 'invite' — *bjöü//bjūd* — *bjō̄e//bjūd*;
   brūt 'break' — *bröüt* — *brüte*;
   drūp 'drip' — *dröüp* — *drüpe/dröpe*;
   fḷū̄ 'fly' — *fḷöü* — *fḷō̄e*;
   fḷūt 'float' — *fḷöüt* — *fḷüte/fḷöte*;
   frū̄s 'freeze' — *fröüs* — *früse*;
   kḷū̄ 'cleave' — *kḷöü* — *klō̄e*;
   ljū̄ 'lie' — *löü* — *lō̄e*;
   njū̄s 'sneeze' — *njöüs* — *njüse*;
   rū̄k 'smoke' — *röük* — *rüke*;
   sjū̄ 'buzz' — *sjöü* — *sjō̄e*;
   skjūt 'shoot' — *skjöüt* — *sküte*;
   strūk se 'dry oneself' — *ströük se* — *strüke se*;
   tjūt 'howl' — *tjöüt* — *tjüte*.

3. *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*;

spriŋŋ 'crack' — *spraŋŋ* — *spruŋe*;

sprint 'jump' — *sprant* — *sprunte*;

stiŋŋ 'sting' — *staŋŋ* — *stuŋe*;

sväll 'swell' — *svall* — *svülle*;

triske 'thresh' — *trask//triskja* — *truske/trüske//triskja*;

vinn 'win' — *vann* — *vunne*.

4. *bära* 'bear' — *bār* — *büre*;

kuma 'come' — *komm* — *kume*;

skära 'cut' — *skār* — *sküre*;

sōa 'sleep' — *sō* — *sūe*;

stjöḷa 'steal' — *stjūḍ* — *stjöḷe*.

5. *bā̃a* 'ask' — *bā* — *bā̃e*;

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. *drā̃a* 'pull; draw' — *drū* — *drō̃e*;

däi ʹō 'die' (of animals) — *dū ʹō* — *ō-dūe*;

fäṣtő 'understand' — *fäṣtű* — *fäṣtőe*;

gäi 'bark' — *gū* — *gūe*;

lē 'laugh' — *lū* — *lūe*;

slō 'hit' — *slū* — *slāe*;

stō 'stand' — *stū* — *stōe*;

sväre 'swear' — *svār* — *svüre*;

tōa 'take' — *tū* — *tāe*.

7. *fall* 'fall' — *foll* — *falle*;

fõ 'get; receive; must' — *fĩ* — *fõe*;

grōt 'cry' — *gräit* — *grote*;

gō 'go' — *gī* — *gōe*;

hugg 'hew' — *hogg* — *hugge*.

2.3.2 *S-forms*

Infinitive; present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite	Supine
brūtas 'break'	*brŭts/brŭts*	—	*bröütes(t)*	*brütest*
kḷūas 'cleave'	*kḷüss*	—	*kḷöüstest*	*kḷə̄est*
stiŋŋas 'sting'	*stiŋŋs*	—	*staŋŋest*	*stuŋŋest*
slōas 'fight'	*sloss*	*slōse, slōase*	*slusstes(t)*	*slāest*

2.3.3 *Irregular verbs*

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
läta 'let; allow'	*lätär*	*läta*	*lät*	*läte*	*läivd*	*läivd, lote*
lōt ˈō 'finish'	*lōtär ˈō*	*lōt ˈō*	*lōt ˈō*	*lōte ˈō*	*läivd ˈō*	*läivd, lote ˈō*
—	*kann* 'can'	*kuna*	—		*kunt*	
—	*ska* auxiliary		—		*skilt*	
vara 'be'	*jā̆r/jär*	*jära*	*vār*	*vare*	*vă̆r*	*vare*
—	*vill* 'want'	*vila*	—		*vilt*	
vita 'know'	*väit*	*vita*	—		*visst*	*vita*

2.4   *Participle I*

It is formed with the suffix -*ande*. In available examples it occurs after verbs of motion (*kuma* 'come', *bära ˈō* 'set out') and after *bḷī* 'become; remain': *Vallan kumär sallande mä buskan* LU 'The shepherd is coming, driving the cattle'. For details and more examples, see Mankov 2013.

2.5 *Participle II*

It is formed according to the following patterns:

Conj.	Infinitive	Participle II			
		Masc.	Fem	Neut.	Pl.
1	*boka*	*boka//bokandär*	*boka*	*boka//bokat*	*boka//bokandar*
	vatn	*vatna//vatnandär*	*vatna*	*vatna//vatnat*	*vatna//vatnandar*
	bire	*birja//birjandär*	*birja*	*birja//birjat*	*birja//birjandar*
2	*kväss*	*kvässtär*	*kvässt*		*kvässtar*
	bḷäit	*bḷäittär*	*bḷäitt*		*bḷäittar*
	läiv [-ɛˑi-]	*läivdär* [-ɛǐ-]	*läivd*		*läivdar*
	gift se	*giftär*	*gift*	—	*giftar*
	bränn	*brǟndär*	*brǟnd*		*brǟndar*
	bigge	*bēvdär*	*bēvd*		*bēvdar*
	dägge	*dǟvdär*	*dǟvd*		*dǟvdar*
	skjöḷe	*skjȫḍär*	*skjȫḍ*		*skjȫḍar*
	kḷē (pō)	*pǒ-kḷeddär, -kḷēdär*	*pǒ-kḷedd, -kḷēd*		*pǒ-kḷeddar, -kḷēdar*
3	*bīt*	*bitndär*	*bite*	*bitet*	*bitndar*
	bind	*bundndär*	*bunde*	*bundet*	*bundndar*
	drikk	*drukkendär*	*drukke*	*drukket*	*drukkendar*
	sväll	*svüllendär*	*svülle*	*svüllet*	*svüllendar*
	skära	*skürendär*	*küre*	*küret*	*skürendar*
	tōa	*tāendär*	*tāe*	*tāet*	*tāendar*

For details, see Mankov 2013.

2.5.1 *S-forms of participle II*

They are formed from the supine stem by means of the affix *-st-* if the stem terminates in a vowel (*svoḷa-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.
svoḷas	*svoḷastär*	*svoḷast*	*svoḷastar*
torrkas	*torrkastär*	*torrkast*	*torrkastar*
näitas	*näittestär*	*näittest*	*näittestar*
brūtas	*brütestär*	*brütest*	*brütestar*

3 Some notes on grammatical categories of verbs

The category of person is absent. Numbers are consistently distinguished in the present (*ja väntar*, *tö 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* (*hăr* sg., *hŏa* pl.) and *vara* (*jār/jär* sg., *jära* pl.) and the supine. *Hōa* is mostly used with transitive, *vara* with intransitive verbs:

Ja gehḗḍest gō, *män **hār** grannt boṭṭ-e **gḷēmd*** 'I needed to go, but I've completely forgotten about it'; *Ja **hār** sundä-ṇ* (*dūken*) ***slite** tjọ̄ḷ slarvar* LU 'I have torn it (the kerchief) apart for pieces of cloth'; *Ja **hār** ǖt me **sūe*** 'I've had a good sleep'; *Ja **hār** ṓ-**lote** de rūk* 'I've given up smoking'; *He snīd o īḍ*, *o **har** all stīgar fast-**īḍ*** LU 'I snowed and drifted, and it has blocked up all paths'.

*Han **jär kume*** 'He has arrived'; *Han **jär** räi boṭṭ-**gōe*** 'He has already left'; *Han **jär** sj̄ükär **bḹoe*** 'He has fallen ill'; *Snj̄üen **jär** boṭṭ-**smulte*** 'The snow has melted'; *Katta **jär** po būḍe upp-**sprunte*** 'The cat has jumped on the table'; *Han **jär** upp-**stive**, ja tarva änt gō väkke-en* 'He has got up, I didn't need to go and wake him up'; *Fū̄la **jära** boṭṭ-**fḹoe*** 'Birds have flown away'; *Täss skūa **jära** löüsare **bḹoe*** 'These shoes have become looser'.

Pluperfect is formed with *hāv* (preterite of *hōa*) and the supine: *Ve kasta dom inn-e räi bait tīa umm kvēldn, a umm monnan, umm trīa, fjūra, än iŋen änt sīar än ja **hāv** üte-e kasta, tū ve ūt-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** höḷft-de, män ja hār iŋa 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 nö, ja **a** gjūḍ-e gist* 'If I had time now, I would do it at once'; *Ja änt **a skinda** me umm ja **a hāve** tīär* '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 där **a vare** äin lusk, so ve **a gōe** de mäit fisk* 'If there were a boat, we would go fishing'; *Umm där **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 bãe möḷk 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 hegő̄r, män ja hāv iŋa päŋar* 'I would have bought it yesterday, but I didn't have money'; *Umm ja **a hāve** hegő̄r päŋar **hāve**, ja **a hāve** kēft-e* 'If I had had money yesterday, I would have bought it'; *He änt a drüpe, 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 **bḹoe*** LU 'He could have drowned if the hands hadn't remained above (the ice)'; *Umm tīske änt **a vare vare** hēr näst oss, so tätta änt **a vare vare** allt. A soṣṣ 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** hū̄se boṭṭ-**sjō̄ḍ** e fjō̄ḍeṣt* LU 'I could have sold the house last year'; *Tö **kunt a vare kume** egő̄r* '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 sjöḷe 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 källaṣ 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 hegốr* '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: *Tö **skilt a hāve sjỗḍ** boṭṭ hūse räi lōŋaṭīär* 'You should have sold the house long time ago (but you didn't)'; *Tö **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 bannast!* 'If only he didn't swear!'; *Um-on änt a vare sjūk!* 'If only she weren't ill!'; *Um-en hoṭṣ änt a röke* 'If only he didn't smoke'.

2. *Lät*: *Bind löüsä-ṇ* (*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 sjỗḍ 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: *Komfốre hällt-de ūt he möḷke? Lät-e a vare süṭṭ bḷọ̄e* 'Why did you pour out the milk? I wish it had gone sour'; *Komfốre gī-de* (*ot būe*)? *Lät-on a vare gōe!* 'Why did you go (to the shop)? I wish she had gone (there)'; *Kontjỗḷ släit-dom sundär kvēne, lätt-on a vare stōe* 'Why did they blow up the mill, I wish it had remained'.

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

Passive forms, as far as one can judge by the material available now, are rare. Such sentence as 'This house was built last year' was translated by LU as *Hūse **bḷäi upp-bēvd** e-fjỗḍeṣt*, but in real speech an active pattern with a personal pronoun 'they' would rather be used: *He hūse jär nitt, tom bēvd e-fjỗḍeṣt upp-e* 'That house is new, they built it last year'. Some real speech examples: *Tom **vār** fron stukkar **gjūḍ*** (also *gjūḍar*) 'They (the houses) were made of timbers'; *He fõr **bḷī ō-sīlat** än pār goŋŋar, āles byre-e sjūŋas* 'It (the wine) has to be filtered a couple of times, otherwise it begins to turn sour';

*Hon äiles **a vare sprāmd bḷȫe** '*It (i.e. the mill) would have been blown up in any case'.

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