

Институт языкознания Российской академии наук

ЭМПИРИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ГЕРМАНСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ

Сборник статей
по материалам VII Чтений памяти В. Н. Ярцевой



Москва
2024

УДК 811.11-112
ББК 81.43
Э58

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Э58 **Эмпирические исследования германских языков:** сборник статей по материалам VII Чтений памяти В. Н. Ярцевой / ред. Д. Б. Никуличева, Н. С. Бабенко, Е. Б. Кротова. — М.: Языкознание, 2024. — 368 с.

Empirical Studies of Germanic Languages: A Collection of Articles Based on the VII Readings in Memory of V. N. Yartseva / edited by D. B. Nikulicheva, N. S. Babenko, E. B. Krotova. — Moscow: Jazykoznanie, 2024. — 368 p.

ISBN 978-5-6049527-5-7

doi: 10.37892/978-5-6049527-5-7

Предлагаемая книга призвана дать общее представление о современном этапе развития отечественной германистики и о появлении новых инструментов и методов исследования исторического и современного языкового материала. Представлен широкий спектр эмпирических методов исследования древних и современных германских языков в их текстовом и речевом функционировании с привлечением корпусных данных.

The book provides a comprehensive overview of the latest research in Germanic studies in Russia, highlighting the development of new tools and methodologies for analysing diachronic and contemporary linguistic data. The collection of articles showcases a diversity of empirical approaches for investigating old and modern Germanic languages, encompassing both written and spoken aspects and drawing on corpus data.

УДК 811.11-112
ББК 81.43

ISBN 978-5-6049527-5-7

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3.1. Исследование процессов аналитизации в грамматическом строе германских языков

ANALYTIC VERB FORMS IN THE DIALECT OF GAMMALSVENSKBY: PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT

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This article studies the usage of the perfect and pluperfect in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby. The research is based on interviews conducted by the author with fluent speakers of the dialect. All texts and examples from these interviews have been analyzed, and a comprehensive list of perfect and pluperfect examples has been compiled. The following topics are dealt with: patterns in the use of auxiliary verbs, the perfect infinitive and the past participle, the relationship between the perfect and the subjunctive, and the word order in sentences that use the perfect. The low occurrence of perfect forms throughout the interviews is explained by the frequent use of the preterite, which does not specifically express the completion or incompleteness of a certain activity. The preterite is therefore a more universal form in the dialect and for this reason, it competes with the perfect. Additionally, the completeness of an action is often expressed by verbal particles and by the adverb *räi* 'already'. All this limits the perfect to cases when the speaker specifically wishes to emphasize the relevance of a completed action or process to the current situation.

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doi: 10.37892/978-5-6049527-5-7-12

АНАЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫЕ ФОРМЫ В ДИАЛЕКТЕ СЕЛА СТАРОШВЕДСКОГО: ПЕРФЕКТ И ПЛЮСКВАМПЕРФЕКТ

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Впервые в научный оборот вводится фактический материал, связанный с употреблением перфекта и плюсквамперфекта в диалекте села Старошведского. Единственный источник материала — интервью с носителями диалекта, записанные автором в ходе полевой работы в селе. Были проанализированы все тексты и примеры словоупотребления, составлен полный список всех случаев употребления перфекта и плюсквамперфекта. Рассматривается план выражения и план содержания этих категорий, а именно: закономерности употребления вспомогательных глаголов, перфектный инфинитив, причастие II, соотношение перфекта и конъюнктива, порядок слов в предложениях с перфектом. Перфект в диалекте образуется с помощью глаголов «иметь» и «быть», основной глагол обычно употребляется в форме супина, хотя есть примеры, когда основной глагол имеет форму причастия II. Факторы, определяющие выбор вспомогательного глагола, — переходность и предельность. Все переходные глаголы образуют перфект с «иметь», непереходные непредельные — с «иметь», непереходные предельные — с «быть». Выдвигается предположение, что низкая частотность перфекта связана с тем, что форма претерита — сама по себе нейтральная в отношении завершенности и незавершенности — может одинаково обозначать и незавершенное, и завершенное действие. Во втором случае претерит создает конкуренцию перфекту. Завершенность также очень часто обозначается приглагольными частицами и наречием *räi* 'уже'. Таким образом, употребление перфекта оказывается ограниченным лишь теми случаями, когда говорящий хочет подчеркнуть связь совершенного действия с настоящим.

Introduction

The dialect of Gammalsvenskby is historically linked to the Swedish dialects of Estonia, which were spoken in several villages

on its coast and on the islands of the Moonsund Archipelago before World War II. These dialects appeared following the Scandinavian expansion westward (beginning in the 13th century), but, unlike Iceland and the Faroese Islands, a literary Scandinavian language did not develop in this region. In 1782, about a thousand Swedes from the island of Dagö (Est. *Hiiumaa*), which then belonged to the Russian Empire, were resettled to the south of the Kherson Governorate. There, at the bank of the Dnieper, the settlement *Staroshvedskoye* was founded, now known as *Gammalsvenskby* in Sweden. All Estonian Swedish dialects have died out, except for the dialect of Gammalsvenskby. This makes it the only surviving Scandinavian dialect left in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

I have developed the following spelling system for the dialect [Mankov 2019]:

Vowels: *a* [a], *ā* [a:], *e* [e], *ē* [e:ⁱ, e:],¹ *i* [i], *ī* [i:], *o* [o], *ō* [o:], *u* [u], *ū* [u:], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ā* [ɛ:], *ö* [œ], *ō* [œ:], *ü* [ø], *ū* [u:], *äi* [ɛ:ⁱ, eɪ], *öü* [œ:^u, œū].

Consonants: *b* [b], *d* [d], *đ* [d̥] (as in Sw. *bord*), *f* [f], *g* [g], *h* [h], *j* [j], *k* [k], *l* [l], *l̥* [l̥] (retroflex flap), *m* [m], *n* [n] ([ŋ] in front of *k*), *ŋ* [ŋ] (as in *barn*), *ŋ* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r] (trill), *s* [s], *š* [ʃ] (palato-alveolar, similar to Rus. *u*, Germ. *sch*), *t* [t], *t̥* [t̥] (as in *bort*), *v* [v], *x* [x], *z* [z], *z̥* [z̥].

A hyphen divides elements of compounds and shows enclitics in cases where the enclitic form is significantly different from the non-enclitic form. For example, this can be found in the forms of the pronoun “he; him”: non-enclitic *han*, and enclitics *-en*, *-n*. Phrasal stress is shown by ‘. The symbol // shows morphological variation.

To the best of my knowledge, grammatical categories of verbs in the Swedish dialects of Estonia have not been described yet. A preliminary outline of the perfect can be found in [Маньков 2015]. Most information for this research was obtained by fieldwork conducted in Gammalsvenskby in 2004—2013. Most significant are the materials of interviews with Lydia A. Utas (LU), Melitta F. Prasolova (MP), and Anna S. Lyutko (AL). The metalanguage used in the interviews is Russian. It cannot be excluded that this may have influenced the use of the perfect and pluperfect forms, which are

¹ With [e:ⁱ] within morphemes and [e:] at the end of morphemes.

not particularly frequent in the interviews. Since the Russian language lacks analogous forms, one may assume that this has impacted their presence throughout the interviews, especially in the cases where the sentences were translated from Russian by the speakers. However, numerous non-translated narratives were also recorded, where the influence of the Russian language should not have been significant. Besides, many interviews are related to past experiences, which also may have affected the use of the perfect. Overall, the low use of the perfect and pluperfect forms in the Gammalsvenskby dialect is determined by dialect-internal factors, explained in further detail below.

The Plane of Expression

Auxiliary Verbs

The perfect in the Gammalsvenskby dialect is made using the auxiliary verbs *hōa* ‘have’ and *vara* ‘be’. The present tense distinguishes between the singular and plural, i.e., *hār* sg., *hōa* pl. (*hār*, *hōa* when pronounced carefully) and *jār/jār* sg., *jāra* pl. The pluperfect uses the preterite of these verbs; the preterite, unlike the present tense, does not distinguish numbers in the interviews: *hāv* (in the available examples *ā* is always long) and *vār*. The main verb is in the supine, the formation of which is described in [Маньков 2012]. The perfect forms of, for example, *gāra* ‘do; make’ and *kuma* ‘to come’ are thus *han hār gjūd* ‘he has done’, *han jār kume* ‘he has come’, *tom hōa gjūd* ‘they have done’ and *tom jāra kume* ‘they have come’. The pluperfect forms are *han/tom hāv gjūd* and *han/tom vār kume*.

As both the perfect and pluperfect forms are not frequently used in the interviews, supine and auxiliary verbs were usually obtained from the preterite subjunctive, which is a fully usable form. It is made using the element *a* (< **hāv*, preterite of *hōa* ‘have’) + *hāve* or *vare* (the supines of the auxiliaries *hōa* and *vara*; the use of these auxiliaries in the preterite subjunctive allows us to infer which verb uses *hōa* and which *vara* in the perfect) + the supine of the main verb; for more detail on the subjunctive, see below. For example, the verbs *gits* ‘think’ and *gō* ‘go’ did not occur in the perfect, but did occur in the preterite subjunctive: *Umm han a hāve gitsa po slūft, so-en änt a vare kēd* ‘If he had thought about such a thing, he would

not have gone', *Umm-en änt a hāve-on skaffa, so-on-do änt a vare gōje* 'If he had not sent her, she would not have gone'. This means that the auxiliary verbs of *gits* and *gō* are *hōa* and *vara*, respectively. If a verb did not occur not in the perfect, it is marked with * in the lists below. The total number of verbs found in the interviews is 816, of which 130 were used with *hōa* and 55 with *vara*. This means that there are 185 verbs whose auxiliary verb is known. The number of examples with the perfect proper (rather than the preterite subjunctive) is 101, of which 59 are with *hōa* and 42 are with *vara*. The number of pluperfect examples is 24 (21 with *hōa*, 3 with *vara*).

The main factors that determine the use of auxiliary verbs are transitivity and telicity. All transitive verbs use *hōa* in the perfect. Intransitive verbs use both *hōa* and *vara*. Intransitive atelic verbs use *hōa*, while intransitive telic verbs use *vara*.

Verbs that use *hōa* are as follows (lists in this section are comprehensive; verbs are given in the infinitive).

Transitive: *bita* 'sundär' 'cut into pieces', **bīt* 'bite', *bigge* 'upp' 'build', *bital* 'ūt' 'pay out', *bjū* 'inn' 'invite', *boka* 'bake', *bosa* 'make warm', *bū* 'lay (an egg)', **but* 'ūt' 'cure', **bāra* 'carry', **drikk* 'drink', *drīv* 'inn' 'drive in', *flō* 'flay' (only the phrasal verb *flō inn üte se* 'get drunk' occurred in the perfect), **fō* 'get', **fōld* 'umm' 'hem', *frōa* 'ūt' 'interrogate', *futtär* 'feed (cattle)', **färlōt* 'forgive', *färtjēn* 'earn', **fästēr* 'disturb', *glēm* 'bojt' 'forget', **gnī* 'upp' 'rub', *grāv* 'ūt' 'dig out', *gära* 'do; make', **hakk* 'hoe', **hinn* 'manage (to get done)', *hōa* 'have', **hōld* 'ō' 'love; like', *hugg* 'hew', *häll* 'pour', *īr* 'fast' 'cover (in snow)', *jāg* 'upp' 'drive up snowdrifts', *jāta* 'eat', *kast* 'ūt' 'throw away', *kēp* 'buy', *klīstär* 'whitewash', *klämm* 'sundär' 'press apart', *klū* 'sundär' 'cut apart (with an axe)', *knäivöl* 'bojt' 'wear out (shoes)', **kuna* 'can', *kūk* 'fādes' 'cook', *last* 'ūt' 'load out', *lī* 'girm//ive' 'live through', **lōa* 'repair' and *lōa* 'fādes' 'prepare', *lōt* 'ō' 'stop; give up', *lāgge* 'put', *läiv* 'ō' 'stop; give up', **läpa* 'ūt' 'lap out', **mēt* 'meet', *napp* 'hūp' 'gather', **narr* 'tease', **prīt* 'poultice', **pätt* 'bojt' 'hide', **ränn* 'run' (*Umm-on änt a hāve rānd, so-on änt a vare nēr-falle o inatij änt ō-bröte* 'po se' 'If she had not run, she would not have fallen and broken anything'), *rūk* 'smoke', *samöl* 'hūp' 'gather', *sī* 'see', **sjöle* 'sell', *sjū* 'suck' and *sjū* 'ūt' 'suck out', **skaff* 'send', *skjūt* 'hjōl' 'shot down', **skōa* 'look', **skrīv* 'write', **skrū* 'fast' 'screw

up', *slīt* 'sundär 'tear apart', **slō* 'beat', *slække* 'ūt 'extinguish', *sō* 'inn 'plant', **stjōla* 'boṭṭ// 'ūt 'steal', *stupp* 'inn 'push in', **stāit* 'fast 'stumble; knock one's foot against' (*Tō änt a hāve fūtn fast-stāitt, umm-de a hāve skōa unde fētäre* 'You would not have stumbled if you had looked under your feet'), **stärke* 'ō 'choke', *svī* 'singe', **sāi* 'say', *sāte* 'inn 'put in; plant', *sōüm* 'fast 'sew up', *tapp* 'boṭṭ 'lose', *tarv* 'need', *tjēn* 'po 'light', **toḷa* 'speak', **tōa* 'take', *tōa ipet* 'open', *tramp* 'stamp (one's feet); tread', **triske* 'thresh', **vask* 'wash', **vila* 'want', *vinn* 'win', **vita* 'know', *vrī* 'fast 'screw; attach', *vrī* 'ūt 'twist; pull out', *vække* 'wake up', **väksl* 'change', **ärvén* 'remind'.

Reflexive: *fḷodär* 'inn *se* (*mä väis*) 'spatter oneself (with mud)', *färkīl* *se* 'catch a cold', *färsāin* *se* 'be late', *jāta mättär* *se* 'eat enough', *klē* *se* 'get dressed' and *klē* 'ō *se* 'get undressed', *kvēl* 'ūt *se* 'become exhausted', *lār* 'ūt *se* 'get taught; obtain education', *mōl* 'ūt *se* 'use make-up', *roka* *se* 'bathe', *sammḷas* 'upp *se* 'gather up', *sōa* 'ūt *se* 'sleep well', *vask* *se* 'have a wash'.

Intransitive atelic: *arbet* 'work', *blēs* 'blow', **drāi* 'be too slow', **gits* 'think', **leva* 'live', **lē* 'laugh', **ljū* 'deceive', *läike* 'mate' (of animals), **läke* 'leak', **site* 'sit', **sjū* 'buzz', **sōa* 'sleep', **stō* 'stand', *tjūt* 'howl', **värke* 'hurt'.

Mediopassive atelic: **bītas* 'bite', **līas* 'listen; obey', *skällas* 'argue; quarrel', **slōas* 'fight'.

Impersonal verbs: *skē* 'happen', **rāven* 'rain', *tjūl* 'hūp 'swirl up (snowdrifts)'.

An unclear case is **skimmḷas* 'become mouldy'. It is telic, but the auxiliary verb is *hōa*: *Um-de änt a hāve vott-e gjūd, brē änt a hāve skimmḷast* 'If you had not made it wet, the bread would not have become mouldy'. This verb is borrowed from Germ. *schimmeln* [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886, 191; Lagman 1973, 41], which uses both *sein* and *haben*; this may be reflected in the dialect.

Verbs with vara

Mediopassive telic: *bindas ipet* 'get untied', *blūmsnas* 'ō 'fin-ish blossoming', *brāsas* 'become fried', *brūkas* 'ō 'become worn out', *brūtas* 'ō 'break off', *bātras* 'ō 'heal over', *darvas* 'boṭṭ 'go bad', *dōmbas* 'ūt 'become shaken out', *drūpas* (*fūllt*) 'drip' (so that

something is full), *dämpas* ‘become stewed’ and *dämpas* *fādes* ‘be stewed’ (so that it is ready), *hävjas* ‘*upp*’ ‘rise’ (of dough), *kūkas* (*blöütt*) ‘become cooked’ (so that the food is soft), *mäikjas* ‘*nēr*’ ‘become bent’, *näitas* ‘*ō*’ ‘become worn out’, *rüssmas* ‘*ūt*’ ‘become unknit’, *sammļas* ‘*hūp*’ ‘gather up’, **skēas* ‘happen’, *slōas* ‘*sundār*’ ‘become broken’, *svoļas* ‘*ō*’ ‘become cool’, **sätjas* ‘*upp*’ ‘sit upon’ and *sätjas* ‘*ō*’ ‘sink down’, *torrkas* ‘*ūt*’ ‘become completely dry’, **tāias* ‘*ūt*’ ‘become stretched’, **umm-gōs* ‘manage to do without’, **vēndas* ‘*umm*’ ‘turn upside down’.

Intransitive telic: *blīken* ‘*ō*//’ *boṭṭ* ‘wither’, *blī* ‘become’, *brinn* ‘*ō*//’ *upp* ‘burn up’) and *brinn* ‘*ūt*’ ‘burn out’, *būn* ‘*ūt*’ ‘become inflated because of wetness’, **drunken* ‘*ō*’ ‘get drowned’, **fall* ‘*nēr*’ ‘fall down’, *flū* ‘*boṭṭ*’ ‘fly away’, **gō* ‘go’ and **gō* ‘*girm*’ ‘go away’, *fārsvinn* ‘disappear’, **kēr* ‘drive’ and *kēr* ‘*boṭṭ*’ ‘go away’, *kuma* ‘come’, *lēn* ‘*sundār*’ ‘melt’, *lōiup* ‘*ō*’ ‘fade’, *rinn* ‘*boṭṭ*’ ‘pour out’, *rūst* ‘*boṭṭ*’ ‘become rusty’, *rūttn* ‘*boṭṭ*’ ‘become rotten’, **sinke* ‘*inn*’ ‘sink’, **skrill* ‘*ūt*’ ‘slide out’, *slaken* ‘*ō*’ ‘faint’, *sluken* ‘*ūt*’ ‘die out’ (of fire), *sprint* ‘*upp*’ ‘jump up’, *sprīņņ* ‘*sundār*’ ‘burst; crack’, *stīv* ‘*upp*’ ‘get up’, *sun* ‘*ō*’ ‘fall asleep’, **sväll* ‘*upp*’ ‘swell up’, *vaken* ‘*upp*’ ‘wake up’, *vāks* ‘*inn*’ ‘become overgrown’ and *vāks* ‘*ūt*’ ‘grow up’.

The verb *vara*: **Jār** *rāi lōņatār iņa rāven ānt vare* ‘It has not rained for a long time already’.

There is almost no fluctuation between the auxiliaries; the only known example is **ligge* ‘lie’, which in similar contexts occurred both with *hōa* and *vara*: *Um-de egōr ānt a hāve lēa hāila dāen, so-e nō a vare bātrare ot-de* LU ‘If you had not laid around all day yesterday, you would be feeling better’; *Umm-de ānt egōr a vare lēa, so-de a vare bātrare edā* MP ‘If you had not laid around yesterday, you’d be feeling better now’. In an interview with AL, the following sentence occurred: *Ja hār bittle upp-stive* ‘I have gotten up early’, but according to LU, this is wrong because *vara* should have used instead of *hōa*: *Min bōnar jāra rāi upp-stive* ‘My children have already gotten up’.

Supine vs. Past Participle

The form of the supine in the dialect differs from that of the past participle. The latter is a declined form [Маньков 2017]; for exam-

ple, the past participle of the verb *bīt* ‘bite’ is masc. *bītndār*, fem. *bīte*, neut. *bītet*, pl. *bītndar*. The supine is *bīte*. There are several examples where the past participle is used alongside or instead of the supine, indicating that the supine has not completely replaced the past participle in the perfect: *Skjūt ‘fast spālde e gruba, jā-do allt üt-brunne*^{SUP.(PERF.)}, *he gävär änt ija svalm mäiär. Umm-e äntän jär üt-brunne*^{SUP.(PERF.)} (also *üt-brunnet*^{PART. II; NEUT.}) *allt, so kann-de dämp ‘ō-de fron han svalmen* ‘Close the shutter in the stove, everything has cleared out, it does not give out any more fumes. If it has not all cleared out yet, you can choke on those fumes’. There is also an example with the pluperfect form, where the participle of the verb *lār* ‘ūt se is used: *Sänn, to-dom rai vār stēre, hāv ‘ūt se lādar po svänsk... sänn gi Älza ot skūla* ‘Later, when they were already older, they had obtained some education in Swedish... then Elsa went to school’.

Sometimes the supine form is interchangeable with that of the past participle. This is seen in the feminine and neuter form of mediopassive participles: *Ja kūkar vatn ‘upp, o üte he kūka vatne, to he jär rai ō-svoļast, kastar ja ‘inn salt* ‘I boil water, and when it has (or ‘it is’) already cooled down, I throw in salt’. *Svoļast* can be both a supine and a neuter past participle of the verb *svoļas* ‘ō ‘cool down’. Another example is *Sūle var äntän upp-kume, a han stäiv rai ‘upp* ‘The sun had not yet risen, but he already got up’. *Kume* can be interpreted as both a supine and a feminine past participle of *kuma* ‘come’.

Perfect Infinitive

This form occurs after the verb *mado* ‘may’:¹ *Ja tjēnt ‘po han smōļ-rukan, han mado rai vara üt-brunne* ‘I have lit that heap of rubbish, it may have already burnt out’; *Han mado hōa mike fūrtjēnt* ‘He may have earned a lot’.

Historically, here also belong constructions with the following forms of the modal verbs: *lāt* (the imperative sg. of *läta* ‘to let’), *kun(n)t*, *skilt* (synchronically, these are the preterites of *kuna* ‘can’

¹ Historically, it is the defective verb *mā* ‘may’ (expressing probability) and the enclitic *-do* ‘in fact; actually; really’.

and *ska* ‘shall’); they all express wishes about the past: *Tö kunnt a vare kume egör* ‘You could have come yesterday’; *Komföre hällt-de* ‘*üt he mölke? Lät-e a vare sjütt blöe* ‘Why did you pour out that milk? You could have let it go sour’; *Tö skilt a häve* ‘*po me līdest* ‘You should have listened to me’. It should be noted that in these cases the full form of the infinitive, *hōa*, has never occurred in the interviews.

Perfect vs. Subjunctive

Forms corresponding to the Old Swedish synthetic present subjunctive forms occur in the interviews in a couple of traditional phrases, all having an optative meaning, e. g. *Gū hōlp-de!* ‘God help you!’ Old Swedish synthetic preterite subjunctive forms appear to have died out. The subjunctive is thus an analytic form in today’s Gammalsvenskby dialect. The present subjunctive is made using an “*a* + supine” structure: *He* ‘*än a vare bra, um-de a klīstra-en, tē-de a sūd, än-dār kumār räik* ‘*üt* ‘It would also be good if you white-washed it (the chimney), there you would see that smoke is coming out’. *A* goes back to *hāv*, the preterite of *hōa* ‘have’, which is seen in the dialect of the island of Dagö, the parent of the Gammalsvenskby. Judging by the available examples,¹ the Dagö dialect’s subjunctive auxiliary is *hāv* (Sw. *hafvi*), the final *v* is often lost: *han ha föle ner om svænska kōngen/kōngen hav tae tēt lande, hæ ma (mā?) ha vare bædra, hån valitsus, som ve nu haa, han æ alde værsta* ‘He would fall down if the Swedish king took this land; it would have been better. Those authorities (Est. *valitsus*) that we now have, they are the worst (of all)’ [Tiberg 1929, 707—708]; *om ja have* (< **ja a have* by elision < **ja hav have*) *bän, ja hav lät mita tūt, po svænska skōla* ‘If I had a child, I would send mine there, to the Swedish school’ [Ibid., 741]; *om ja nu ha viđa kon-on iær, koḷ ja*

¹ These examples are taken from Nils Tiberg’s diaries of his fieldwork on Dagö in the 1920s and 1930s. Tiberg was a prominent Swedish dialectologist, a leading figure in the study of Swedish dialects of Estonia. He collected a very sizable, but largely unpublished material. I am very grateful to Elis J. Ahlberg, who has transcribed Tiberg’s diaries and was so kind as to provide the examples given here.

skuld skrīv, sa hav ia skrīva ot-on: “*kōm nu skaa min banar!*” ‘If I knew where she is now, where I should write to, I would write to her: “Come now see my children!”’ [Tiberg 1932, 53]; *bisa-vigen, sōm̄var sæi, æn-e ska vara æn lid̄n, rōndær stæin. om ia mæiær hav vida, ia hav gist gova ud̄-e som hēna* “‘Bisa-viggen’ (ancient stone tool), some people say that it is a small round stone. If I knew more, I would immediately crow it out like a hen’ [Tiberg 1933, 41]. As seen above, the “*ha(v)* + supine” structure found in the dialect of Dagö is used to make counterfactual utterance about the present, thus making it the present subjunctive. Historically, the pluperfect subjunctive has replaced the synthetic preterite subjunctive for an obvious reason: the latter was inconvenient because in weak verbs it came to coincide with the preterite indicative in Swedish [Wessén 1965, 260]. In Gammalsvenskby, *hav* as a subjunctive marker has lost connection with the pluperfect. It is a proclitic and is inseparable from the supine, i. e., nothing can be inserted between *a* and the supine. It is therefore fully grammaticalized; in fact, *a* functions as a prefix and makes a single word form with the supine.

One would imagine that those verbs which use *vara* in the perfect would have a subjunctive auxiliary different from *a* < *hāv* (it would be something like ***va*, ***var* < *vār*). However, in the collected interviews, all verbs invariably have *a*, which means that either *a* has replaced the reflex of *vār*, or the reflexes of *hāv* and *vār* coincided and gave *a*. The former option is more likely because AL, who still pronounces *ha* rather than *a* (*ha* unambiguously reflects *hāv*), used it in the present subjunctive of *vara*, the verb which employs the auxiliary *vara* in the perfect: *Ja änt ha brīa, um-dār ha vare pānar* ‘I would not bother if there was money’.

It is also worth noting that throughout the interviews, the modal verb *skilt* (corresponding to Sw. *skulle*) has never occurred in conditional sentences. In the dialect, no one says “jag skulle köpa det nu om jag tjänade mer” as in Standard Swedish. From a historical point of view, one says “jag hade köpt det nu om jag hade tjänat mer”. Here, a question arises: how does one make a counterfactual utterance about the past? In other words, how is the preterite subjunctive made? The dialect has found an elegant solution. It turned the perfect into the subjunctive using the subjunctive marker *a*. So, *han har gjūđ-e* ‘he has done it’ becomes *han a hāve gjūđ-e* ‘he would have

done it' and *han jār kume* 'he has come' becomes *han a vare kume* 'he would have come'. The preterite subjunctive is constructed using *a + hāve* or *vare* (the supine of "have" and "be") + supine of the main verb. Some other relevant examples include: *Hund änt a hāve bītest*, *um-de änt a hāve-en narra* 'The dog would not have been biting if you had not teased it'; *Um ja änt a vare vare, so väit ja änt, ko a vare me min sistär Maria vare* 'If I had not been, I do not know what would have been with my sister Maria' (i. e. if it had not been for me, she would have died).

Consequently, the following system has been established in the plane of expression:

Mood	Aspect	Tense	
		Present	Past
Indicative	Non-perfect	<i>han gār</i>	<i>han gjūd</i>
	Perfect	<i>han har gjūd,</i> <i>han jār kume</i>	<i>han hāv gjūd,</i> <i>han var kume</i>
Subjunctive	(No aspects)	<i>han a gjūd,</i> <i>han a kume</i>	<i>han a hāve gjūd,</i> <i>han a vare kume</i>

Word Order

The only strict regularity in sentences with the perfect is placing the direct object (if it is a single noun or a pronoun) before the supine; the supine tends to be put at the end of a sentence:¹ *Hēna hār rāi ägge būd* 'The hen has already laid an egg' (**...*būd ägge*); *Tō gitsa de svī-en, a ja hā-ŋ rāi svēe* 'You were going to singe it (the rooster), but I have already singed it'; *Ätt kole sī[z]-de 'ūt, hōšš hā-de-de kļēdd?!* 'Who do you look like, what have you put on?!' (**...*kļēdd-de*).

If a verb has a particle, i. e. it is a phrasal verb (Sw. *partikelverb*), the particle is put before the supine, making a compound, where the main stress is placed on the first component (i. e., on the particle) and the secondary stress is placed on the second (i. e., the verb).

¹ This makes the present-day dialect different from Standard Swedish and similar to German.

Such accentuation is typical of most compounds in the interviews [Mankov 2019, 95]: *Koļe ha-ḡe inn-bjōe?* ‘Who have you invited?’ (**...bjōe inn); *Fūļa jāra boṡṡ-flōe* ‘The birds have flown away’.

Adjectives are also put before the supine: *He jār rāi svāļare bļōe, he jār rāi hēste* ‘It has already become cooler, it is already autumn’; *Tāt-dom jāra rāi brūnar brāstest, so kann-e byre sprāttas* ‘And when they (the cakes) have fried brown, it (the frying pan) can begin to spit’.

If a phrasal verb has an object, the following takes place: when the direct object is a noun, it is usually placed after the finite verb form (i. e. after the auxiliary verb); the verbal particle is placed before the supine: for example, *Ja hār dūken sundār-slite* ‘I have torn apart the kerchief’; *Ān svāgār gūbb, mār hār āntān sinne boṡṡ-tappa* ‘A frail old man, but he has not lost his mind yet’ (has not become senile).

When the direct object is a personal or a reflexive pronoun, it is usually put after the verbal particle: *Tō gitsa de svī-en, a ja hār rāi ō-en svēe* ‘You were going to singe it, but I have already singed it’; *Han hār inn se flodra me vāis* ‘He has spattered himself with mud’. An example where the reflexive pronoun is not placed after the particle is: *Hon hā-še hāil ūt-mōļa* lit. ‘She has painted herself entirely’ (i. e., she has put on a lot of make-up).

When the direct object is a phrase, it can be put after the supine: *Ja hār rāi hūp-samļā ān ruka kļēnar de vask* ‘I have already gathered a whole heap of clothes to wash’; *Han kann ōtār sjū lājāre, tāt-n hār ūt-sjūa hāila kļippsn* ‘It (the wasp) can go on sucking until it has sucked out the whole bunch’.

If the supine has an infinitive as an object, it is placed after the supine: *Ja hār ō-lote de rūk* ‘I have stopped smoking’; *Tār jār he moļa kāte, som ja har fāḡes-lōa de gāra korvar* ‘There is minced meat that I have prepared to make sausages’.

Adverbials can also be placed after the supine: *Dōmb jār hūp-sammļast allstāll* ‘Dust has gathered everywhere’; *Edā hār-e bļēst hāila dāen* ‘It has been blowing the whole day today’; *Tom hōa edā rāint-e gūḡ ūte kāttan* ‘Today, they have made it clean in the front garden’; *Hāila rigōḡn jār inn-vākst mū būrjanar* ‘The whole garden

has grown over with weeds’. However, this is not a strict rule, as proves the following case: *Katta jār po būde upp-sprunte* ‘The cat has jumped up on the table’.

The Plane of Content

I consider the perfect to be a grammeme of the grammatical category of verb aspect. This category is binary in the dialect, i. e. there is a non-perfective and a perfective aspect. As every finite verb form in the dialect has a category of tense,¹ the grammatical meaning of the aspect overlaps with the tense. The ‘perfect’ is therefore a term for the perfective aspect in the present tense, while the ‘pluperfect’ is a term for the perfective aspect in the past tense. A perfective aspect in the future tense never occurred in the interviews.

Earlier I wrote that the perfect does not occupy a very prominent niche in the dialect’s grammar and is usually used when the speaker wants to emphasize the relevance of a completed action, process, or state for the moment of speech [МАНЬКОВ 2015]. I have made a list of all occurrences of the perfect and pluperfect (it will be published in a full grammar of the dialect, the work on which is in progress), and, on the whole, the analysis of contexts confirms this view. The perfect has two components in its grammatical meaning, one being completeness (reaching a result), and the other being a link with the present or, in the case of the pluperfect, with a certain point in the past. Cases with completeness are seen in the examples above. As for the link with the present, it implies that in the current situation, there is a certain result of the completed action, process, or state. When one says *Hēna hār rāi ägge būd*, it means that it is now that one has the result of the action *bū ägge*, a newly laid egg. The full context is: *Hēna hār rāi ägge būd. A höşş väi[d]-de, än-on hār būd? Före he, än-on kakkjar* ‘The hen has laid an egg. But how do you know that it has laid? Because it is cackling’. This link is also represented by the fact that the action, process, and moment of speech belong to the same period, the present: *Ja hār hēr arbeta min häila*

¹ To express the future, the dialect almost exclusively uses the present, due to which there are only two grammemes in the category of tense, i. e., non-past and past.

liffs-tiär ‘I have worked here all my life’, cf. Engl. *I have never been to India* (“in my life”, which includes the moment “now”) vs. *He* (the deceased person) *never was in India* (his life does not include “now”). The obligatory character of this link is seen from the fact that the perfect in the interviews is never used in the context of the past; for example, with such adverbials as “yesterday”, “last year”, etc. It is only used regarding “now”; the typical context is an action or a process that has reached a result relevant at the moment of speech.

The problem is that in almost all examples (excluding those which have an explicit indication of the past) the perfect can be substituted by the preterite. Consider the following contexts, where the perfect is used alongside the preterite:

*Smōle jār rai allt upp-brunne*_{PERF.} and *Smōle brann*_{PRET.} *rai allt upp* ‘The rubbish (has) all burnt up’.

Katta jār po būde upp-sprunte and *Katta sprant* ‘upp po būde’ ‘The cat (has) jumped up on the table’.

Tom hōa edá räint-e gjūđ üte kättan and *Üte kättan gjūđ-dom edá räint-e*. ‘They (have) made it clean in the front garden today’.

Han löva se de kuma, o komm änt. Kannske hār-e nōat skēdd? ‘He promised to come and did not come. Maybe something has happened?’

Ko skēd-e? Ko skrī-dom tēr? ‘What happened? Why are they shouting there?’

Īsn jār rai sundär-lēndest and *Īsn lēnt* rai ‘upp’ ‘The ice has already melted’.

The number of such examples in the interviews is quite large. To explain the reason for this fluctuation, the grammatical meaning of the preterite in the dialect should be understood. Let us consider one more example: *He īđ*_{PRET.} *all stīgar* ‘fast, he snīđ_{PRET.} *o īđ*_{PRET.} *o har all stīgar fast-īđ*_{SUP.(PERF.)} ‘It snowed over all the roads, it snowed and whirled, and has snowed over all the roads’. The phrase *he snīđ o īđ* does not make it clear whether these processes have reached a result and if they are related to the moment of speech. One only knows that they just took place. If a speaker implies that a result was reached, a verbal particle will most likely be used; in this case *fast: he īđ all stīgar* ‘fast. If the process has reached a result and the speaker wants to say that it is now relevant, the perfect form is used:

he har all stīgar fast-īđ (the roads are now all covered with snow). The function of the preterite is to show that an action or a process just took place in the past. It can be used regarding both completed and non-completed actions or processes that either reached or did not reach the end result. Therefore, the preterite is encroaching upon the perfect in the component of completeness and makes the sphere of the perfect limited to expressing the link of a completed action to the present situation. If the speaker does not want to emphasize this connection, the preterite is more likely to be used, with the perfect being an optional form.

One should also note the active use of verbal particles (Sw. *verbpårtiklar*) in the interviews. They compete with the perfect in terms of expressing completeness; cf. *bind* 'tie' and *bind* 'fādes lit. 'be tied' (the Russian equivalents are *взять* and *связать*), *brinn* 'burn' (*гореть*) and *brinn* 'ūt 'burn out' (*сгореть*): *Tjōļ de drånke 'ō-e, band ve stāinar titt* 'In order to drown it (a fishing net), we tied stones there' and *Ja band 'fādes āin bunt mā grās, de bāra hāim ot gāite tjōļ vintān* 'I tied up a bunch of grass to bring home to the goat for the winter'; *Māiāđāil mado nōn kasta 'ūt stikka, soşşān grāsse byrja brinn* 'Maybe someone threw out amatch, so that the grass began to burn' and *He smoļe brann rāi 'ūt allt* 'That rubbish has all burnt out'. Completeness can also be emphasized by the frequently used adverb *rāi* 'already': *Snjūen lēnt_{PRET} rāi 'upp allan. Han smalt_{PRET} rāi 'ō allan po jūde* 'The snow has all already melted. It has already all melted completely ('ō) on the ground'. However, though the particles and the word *rāi* are frequent in expressing completeness, they are not obligatory, i.e. they have not been grammaticalized and remain lexical means.

To indicate duration (i.e. to answer the question "how long?", regardless of completeness and incompleteness; cf. the perfect continuous in English) the present is usually, but not exclusively, used: *Pappa liggār rāi e taiga sjütte ōr* 'Daddy has been lying in the taiga seventy years'; *Kļēna ligge rāi lōņāīār* 'The (washed) clothes have already been lying long' (and they are still there); *Hon sāiār, ān-on rāi kvēla-şe fjōrete-sjāks ōr* 'She says that she has already been suffering for forty-six years' (she is still suffering); *Edā bļēsār vādāre hāila dāen* 'Today the wind has been blowing the whole day' (it is probably still blowing). Compare this sentence to: *Vādāre bļēst_{PRET}*,

edå häila dāen ‘The wind has been blowing the whole day today’ and *Edå här-e blēst^{SUP(PERF.)} häila dāen, kannskē lōtār-e ’ō t̄jōļ kvēldn de blēs* ‘Today it’s been blowing the whole day, maybe it stops blowing by the evening’.

The pluperfect is used to indicate that an action is antecedent to a certain point — expressed or implied — in the past: “*Kofēre hā-ḍe iṅa tändār?*” — “*Ån ja ska skrīv ’unde me, ko ja änt hāv gjūd. So blāi-dom argar o slū ’ūt tändäre*” ‘Why do you have no teeth? — Because I had to put a signature under what I had not done. So they got angry and kicked out my teeth’; *Ja trāmd ipet-e, som ja soļe hāv fast-söüma, o gjūd-e po nitt allt, soṣsom-e gehēs vara* ‘I unseamed it open what I myself had sewn up, and made it all again as it needs to be’; *He, som ja hāv boka de gāra olljo-bollar, skār ja he ’sundār t̄jōļ bitar* ‘What I had baked to make “oil-balls” (type of pastry), I cut it apart to bits’; *Tässn vintāṅ vār-e varmt, tom gjūd ’umm allt, gjūd-e allt po nitt: täss pīpana, täss batarājana. Tom vār boṭṭ-darvast, boṭṭ-rüsttat, tom äiddest ’ō* ‘This winter it was warm, they changed everything, did everything all over again, these pipes, these radiators. They became spoiled, completely rusty; they became ruined’.

Concluding Remarks

In this article the planes of expression and content of the perfect and pluperfect in the present-day dialect of Gammalsvenskby have been briefly described. This description is based on a comprehensive list of occurrences in interviews with fluent speakers of the dialect. Additionally, the historical relationship between the (plu) perfect form and the subjunctive has also been examined. Word order regularities in sentences using the perfect have also been outlined. The most conspicuous feature in using the perfect is that it is freely interchangeable with the preterite, except for the cases when the sentence contains an explicit indication of the past (“yesterday”, “last year”, etc.); in such contexts, only the preterite is used. Perfect forms in the present-day dialect, as the interviews reveal, occur in contexts when the speaker refers to a completed action related to the moment of speech. This relationship is represented either by the result of the action, which is observed at the moment of speech, or by the fact that both the action and the moment of the speech belong

to the same period, the present. The fluctuation between the preterite and the perfect is in all likelihood not due to the fact that their differentiation has not been established yet (as in e. g. Middle English, see [Смирницкая 2021, 174]). This is supported by the cognate dialect of Rågöarna, where perfect forms are actively used, judging by the narratives recorded by Tiberg [1940, 337—342]. The subjunctive, which is historically a transformation of the perfect and pluperfect forms, also provides indirect evidence that they were once used regularly.

In the future, in order to acquire a fuller understanding of the formal side and the meaning of the perfect, pluperfect, and subjunctive, it is necessary to study their use in the cognate Swedish dialects of Estonia, using unpublished archived materials.

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