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VOCATIVES IN VARIETIES OF SWEDISH

Workshop on Case-impooverished Germanic

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Layout of the talk

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- Vocatives in Northern Swedish
- Vocatives in Övdalian
- Conclusions

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- Vocatives vs. imperatives
- Conclusions





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Section 1: data



Vocatives in varieties of Swedish

Vocatives in varieties of Swedish was first observed by Åström (1888, 1893), in studies of the dialect in Degerfors (in Västerbotten).

En särskild vokativform på -e med akut akcent förekommer av orden *páp*, *mám*, *poyk*, *stínt* (flicka) och tillfälligtvis även av andra ord: *pápe*, *póyke* o.s.v. Tvåstaviga förnamn, som annars hava gravis, få i vokativ akut: *aná*, *minà* o.s.v. (Åström 1893)

'A specific vocative form with -e and with acute accent occurs of the words *páp* ['dad'], *mám* ['mum], *poyk* ['boy'], *stínt* ('girl') and sometimes also of other words: *pápe*, *póyke* etc. Bisyllabic given names, which otherwise have grave accent, get acute in vocative: *ána*, *mína* etc.'

Vocatives have later been studied by Huldén (1957), Söderström (1975), and Steensland (2015).



Vocatives in Eastern Swedish

Huldén (1957) presents a survey of vocative forms in the Swedish varieties spoken in Finland. Only proper names and name-like nouns have such forms.

Some examples:

1. **Gunborgä**, kom in å jeät! (Vörå, Österbotten; nom. **Gunborg**)
Gunborg come in and eat
'Gunborg, come in and eat!'
2. Kom in **mamme**! (Närpes, Österbotten; nom. **mamm(a)**)
come in mum
'Come in, mum!'



Vocatives in Eastern Swedish

In Eastern Swedish, vocative is often = nominative, but there are (were?) also distinct vocative forms.

VOCATIVES IN EASTERN SWEDISH		
	vocative form	examples
Österbotten Åboland	-ä, -e	<i>Gunborg - Gunborgä!</i>
Nyland	-i	<i>papp - pappi!</i>

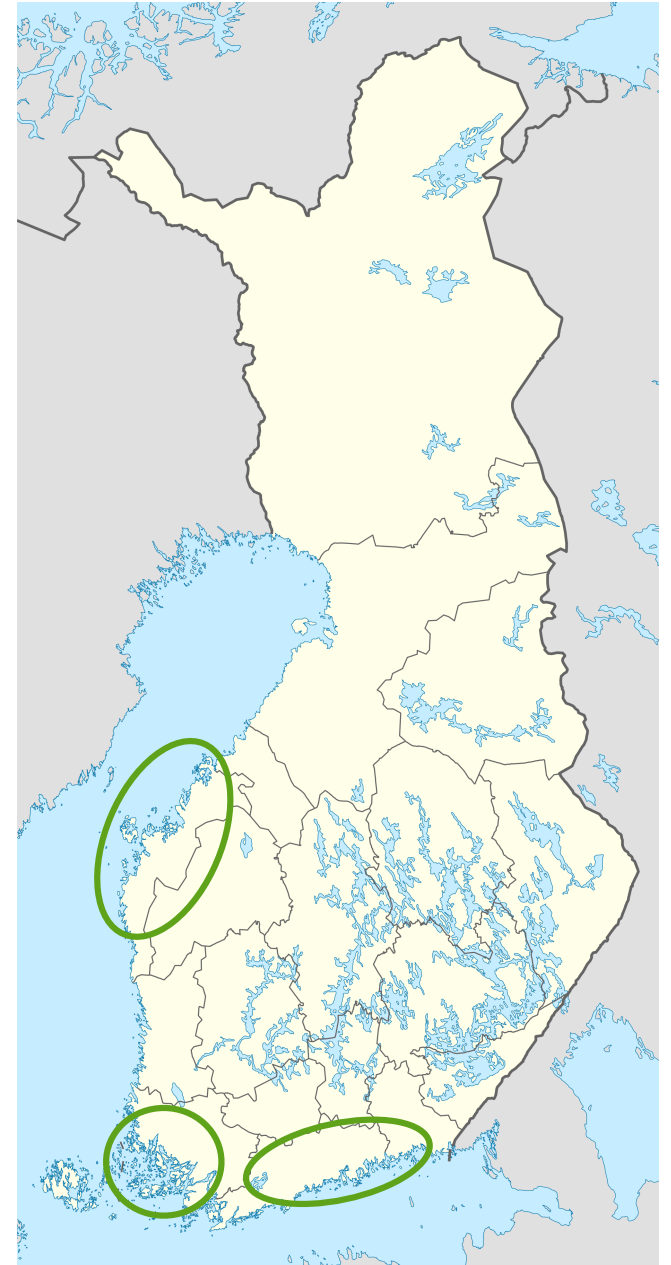
Huldén (1957) does not mention any suprasegmental features of the Eastern Swedish vocatives.



Vocatives in Eastern Swedish

Vocative forms have been attested in three Eastern Swedish regions in Finland:

- Österbotten
- Åboland
- Nyland





Vocatives in Northern Swedish

Söderström (1975) presents a survey of vocative forms in Northern Sweden. Only proper names and name-like nouns have such forms. Some examples:

3. Ha jä nann mat, **mamm**? (Ångermanland; nom. **mamma**)
have you any food mother
'Do you have any food, mum?'

4. Kemm, **farmore**! (Västerbotten; nom. **farmor**)
come grandmother
'Come, grandmother!'



Vocatives in Northern Swedish

5. Ptro, **häste**! (Lappland; nom. **häst**)
stop horse
'Stop, horse!'

6. Jasså, **fare**, I leva enn! (Norrbotten; nom. **far**)
so father you live still
'So, father, you're still alive!'

7. Kåmmen å drukken kaffi, **karåm**! (Västerbotten; nom. **kara**)
come and drink coffee men
'Come and drink coffee, men!'

Vocatives in Northern Swedish

In Northern Sweden, vocative is often = nominative, but there are also distinct vocative forms.

VOCATIVES IN NORTERN SWEDISH				
	type 1	type 2	type 3	examples
singular	no -V	-a - -e	Ø - -e	<i>mamma - mamm!</i> <i>pappa - pappe!</i> <i>farfar - farfare!</i>
plural	= dative			<i>kara - kårom</i>

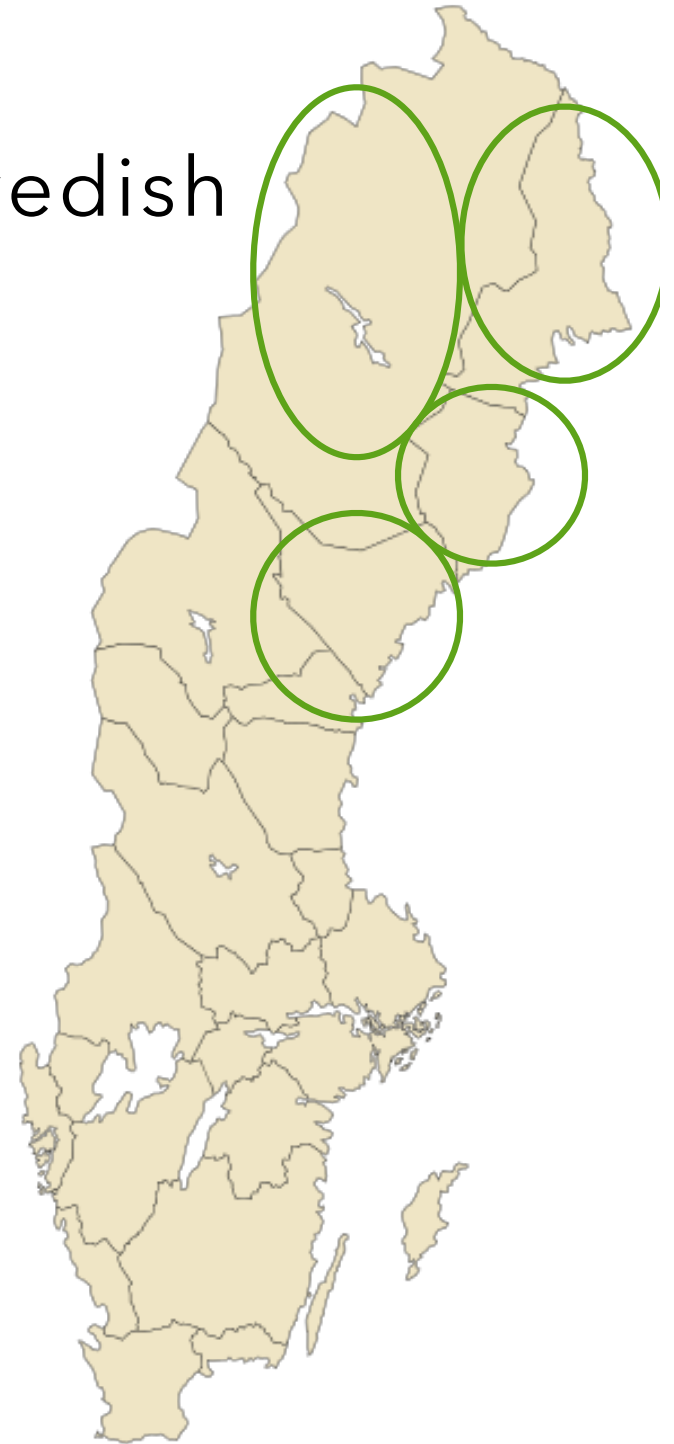
Vocative forms are also often marked suprasegmentally (change of accent (from 2 to 1) and syllable length).



Vocatives in Northern Swedish

Vocative forms can be found in:

- Ångermanland
- Västerbotten
- Norrbotten
- Lappland





Vocatives in Övdalian

- Älvdalen

- Övdalian has about 2 500 speakers
- Övdalian was recognized as a language by SIL in 2016
- Övdalian is an Upper-Siljan variety, with many archaisms and innovations





Vocatives in Övdalian

Steenland (2015) describes how vocatives are systematically used in Övdalian. Some examples:

8. proper names:

Lasse - **Lass!**, Äva - **Äv!**, Grita - **Grit!**

9. nouns for relatives, pets, etc.:

muna ('mother) - **mun!**, masse ('pussycat') - **mass!**

faðer ('father', 'God') - **fað!**

satan ('bastard') - **sat!**



Vocatives in Övdalian

Most words in Övdalian lose final vowels in speech (apocope).

11. **Lasse** willde t jyöpa pärur. (lexical word forms; Steensland 2015:169)
Lass willd t jyöp pärur. (spoken Övdalian)
Lasse wanted buy pears
'Lasse wanted to buy potatoes.'

Forms that are derived from bisyllabic words retain accent 2 (grave), while vocative forms have accent 1 (acute), as all monosyllabic stems.

12. Wen al **Làss** djärå? (derived form, accent 2)
13. Är o, **Láss**! (vocative, accent 1)



Vocatives in Övdalian

As for bisyllabic words that end with a consonant, the difference between nominatives and vocatives is related to stress. Vocatives have stress on the second syllable.

14. Ev jʉot an-dar, **Gunnár!** (Gúnnar - Gunnár)
throw here he-there Gunnar
'Throw it over here, Gunnar!'

VOCATIVES IN ÖVDALIAN		
word form	features	examples
bisyllabic, -V	no final V, acc 1	<i>Äva - Äv!</i> <i>muna - mun!</i>
bisyllabic, -C	stress on syll. 2	<i>Gúnnar - Gunnár!</i>



Vocatives in three varieties of Swedish

Summing up, we find five types of vocatives that differ from nominatives in varieties of Swedish.

VOCATIVES IN VARIETIES OF SWEDISH		
VARIETY	vocative form	examples
Northern Swedish Övdalian	no final -V	<i>Äva - Äv!</i>
Northern Swedish Övdalian	acute accent	<i>Làss - Láss</i>
Eastern Swedish Northern Swedish	extra final -V	<i>farfar - farfare!</i>
Northern Swedish	in plural, voc. = dat.	<i>kara - kåróm!</i>
Övdalian	bisyllabic, shift of stress	<i>Gúnnar - Gunnár!</i>



Vocatives in three varieties of Swedish

The survey indicates that:

- vocatives are (or have been) in use in large parts of the Swedish-speaking area – which is surprising considering the general loss of case forms
- there are both similarities and differences between the vocative forms in different areas
- it appears that the vocatives are innovations (they cannot be remnants from earlier stages of Germanic)
- Swedish vocatives have not been studied in depth, and have not been syntactically analysed



Section 2: not data

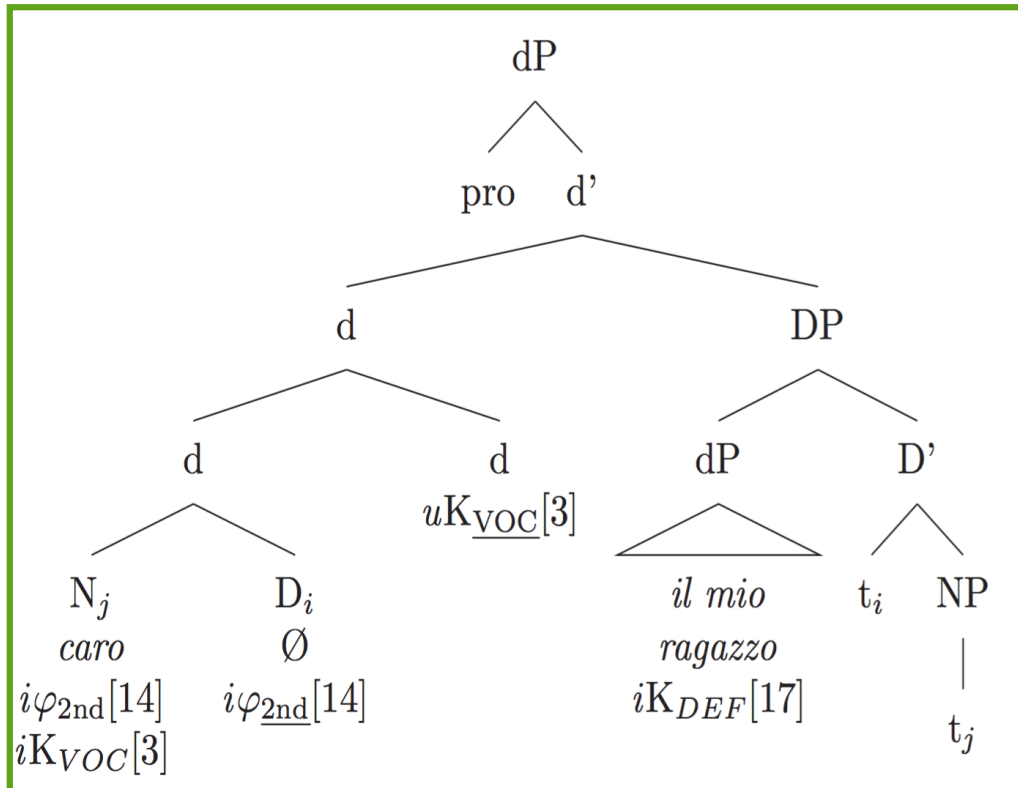


Is vocative a proper case?

Slocum (2016:64ff): nominative/vocative syncretism is a myth, based on the observation that in Greek and Latin vocative \approx nominative.

- in many languages, vocative is distinct from nominative
- in some languages, attributive adjectives agree with vocative nouns and pronouns
- so: nominative \neq vocative!

"... vocative morphology is able to satisfy the case requirements of a noun, although at this point it is not clear how Case is valued on the vocative DP." (Slocum 2016:66)



D enters the derivation with unvalued ϕ features and selects an NP complement, *caro*, which bears valued second ϕ features and a vocative case feature, and raises to D under N to D movement. D also selects a restriction argument, the full dP *il mio ragazzo*, which already bears interpretable and valued inherent default case. The DP projects (or is selected by) little d, which bears unvalued case features. The complex head N+D raises to d and values d's case features. The complex head N+D+d now bears valued and interpretable inherent 2nd person and vocative case features.

Slocum 2016:86, deriving *caro il mio ragazzo*!



Imperatives

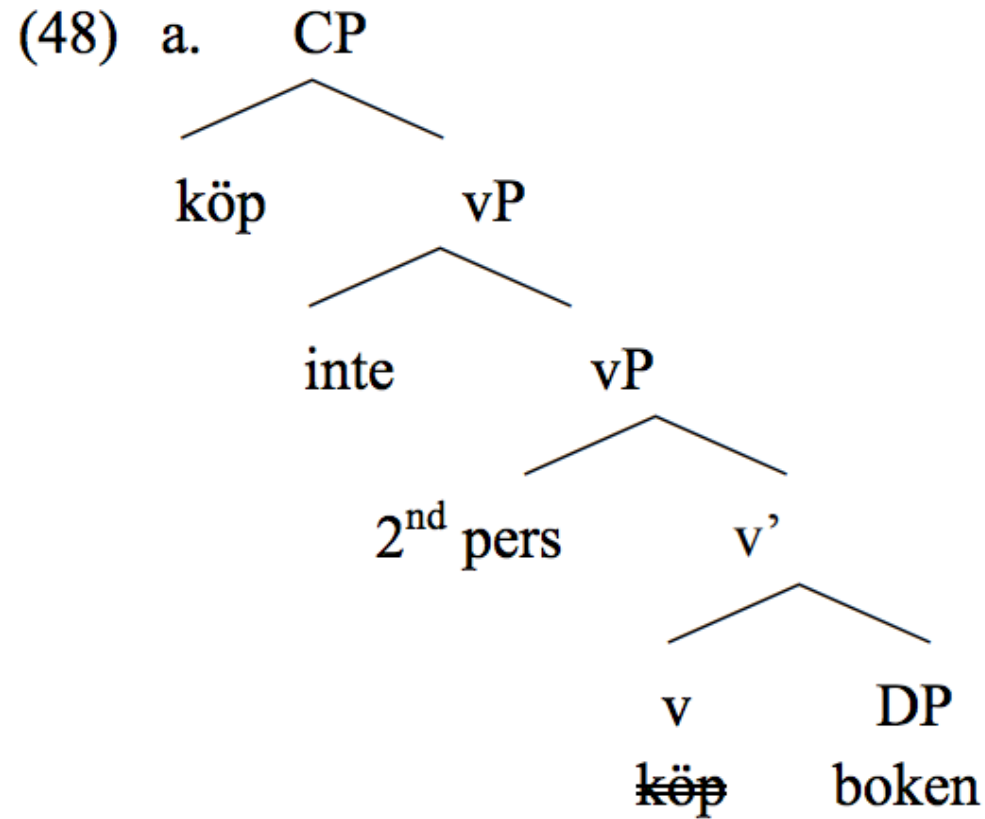
There are some interesting similarities between the formation of imperative verbs and vocatives (as they appear in Swedish).

15. vocative: *Äva* - **Äv!**

16. imperative: *leva* 'to live' - **lev!**

Further relevant features:

- neither vocatives nor imperatives seem to partake in syntax
- both are (pragmatically?) restricted to 2nd person
- both are directive, and they often co-occur in discourse
- and vocatives and imperatives are complementary



Platzack & Rosengren 2017:22, deriving *Köp inte boken!*



Imperatives

While imperative pronouns (ImpPron) sometimes are spelled out, they can in Swedish not co-occur with negations.

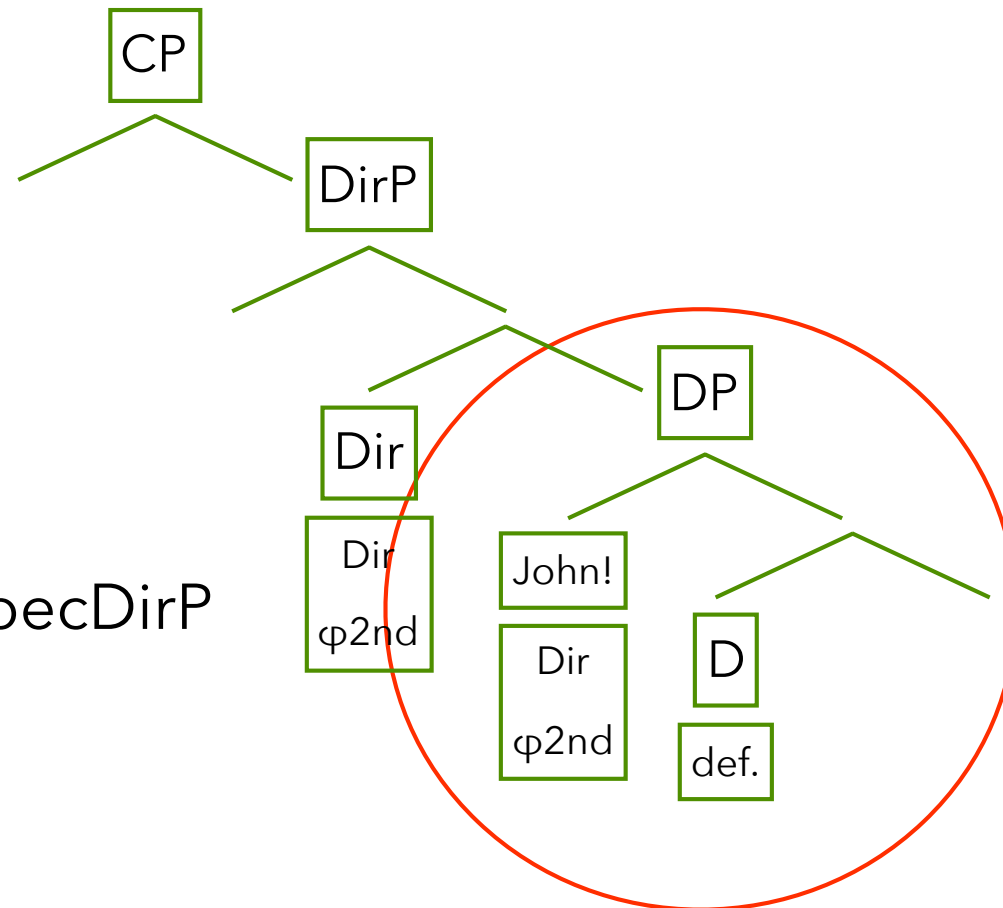
17. Spring du till affären!
18. Spring inte till affären!
19. *Spring du inte/inte du till affären!

“ImpPron is just marginally important, its function being more or less pragmatic in character.” (Platzack & Rosengren 2017:23)

However, negation and ImpPron seem to be structurally related to each other - in some way.

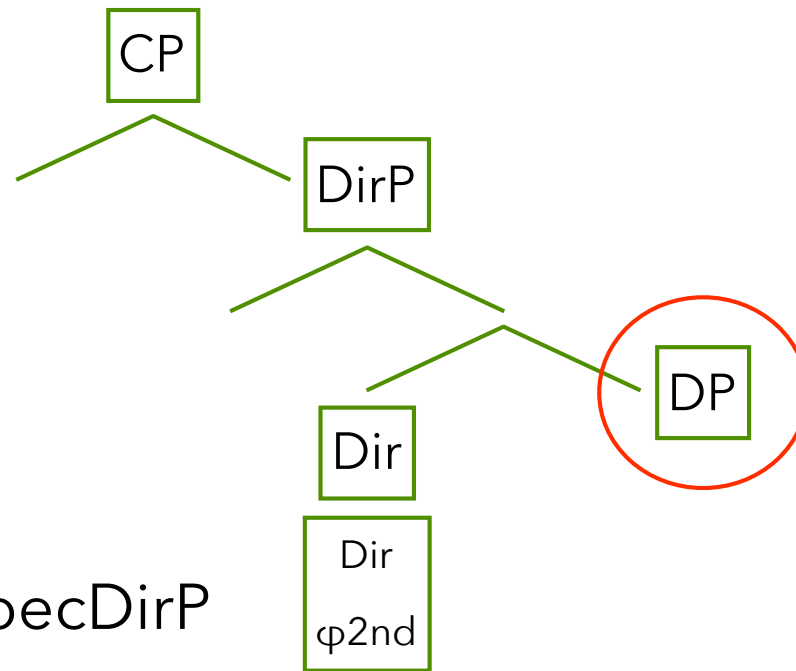


Imperatives and vocatives



vocative DP to SpecDirP

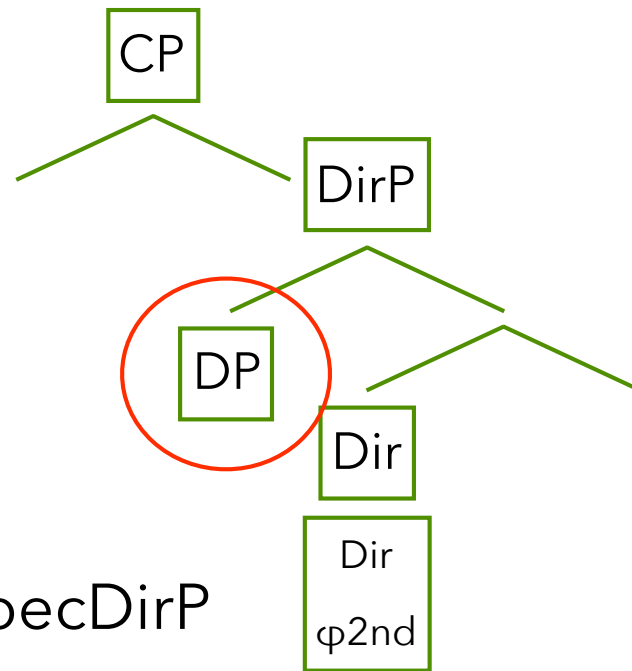
Imperatives and vocatives



vocative DP to SpecDirP



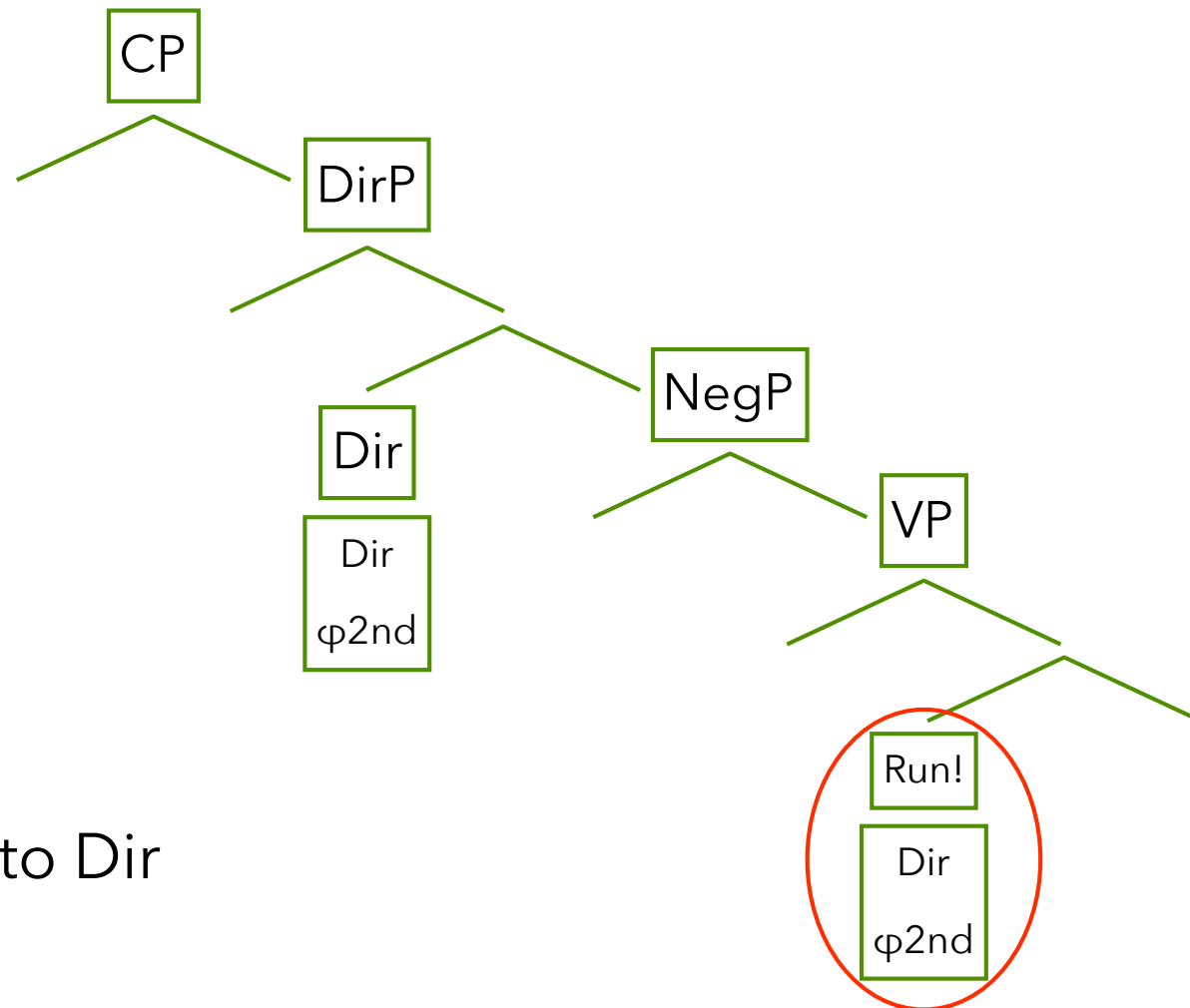
Imperatives and vocatives



vocative DP to SpecDirP



Imperatives and vocatives



imperative V to Dir



Conclusions

- There are distinct vocative forms in several varieties of Swedish
- Vocatives \neq nominatives
- Vocatives may be seen as nominal directives
- Vocatives \neq imperative subjects
- It would be interesting to explore the possibility of a unified analysis for vocatives and imperatives





Thank you for listening!

Please contact me for references or questions:

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