A Scandinavian Island in a Slavonic Linguistic Environment. The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Nouns (paper 2)'

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Abstract
This paper continues the series of publications on the morphology of the dialect of Staroshvedskoye (Sw. Gammalsvenskby), which is the only surviving Scandinavian dialect in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The village of Staroshvedskoye is located in the Kherson region, Ukraine. Its Swedish dialect historically belongs to the group of Swedish dialects of Estonia and goes back

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to the dialect of the island of Dagö (Hiiumaa). The dialect of Gammalsvenskby is of interest to slavists as an example of a language island in the Slavonic environment. From around the 1950s, the main spoken language of all village residents, including dialect speakers, has been surzhik. Due to the complete lack of studies of the present-day dialect and because of the severe endangerment in which the dialect is currently situated, the most urgent task is to collect, classify, and publish the factual material. This paper introduces comprehensive material on nouns in the conservative variety of the present-day dialect. It lists all masculine nouns of types 1b, c, d, and e together with their cognates from Estonian Swedish dialects; comments on the history of the forms are given as well. The sources for the material presented here are interviews with speakers of the conservative variety of the dialect recorded by the author during fieldwork in the village from 2004 to 2013. We plan to publish nouns of other types in later articles.

Keywords
documentary linguistics, endangered language, field linguistics, Slavic-Germanic language contact, Swedish dialectology, East Swedish dialects, Swedish dialects of Estonia, the village of Gammalsvenskby, dialect morphology, dialect vocabulary

Резюме
Статья продолжает серию публикаций, посвящённых морфологии диалекта с. Старошведское (шв. Gammalsvenskby), который является единственным живым скандинавским диалектом на территории бывшего СССР. Диалект Старошведского интересен для славистов как пример языкового острова в славянском окружении, т. к. со второй половины ХХ в. основным языком всех жителей села, включая носителей диалекта, является суржик. В связи с полным отсутствием исследований современного состояния диалекта и крайне неблагополучной ситуацией, в которой он в настоящее время находится, первоочередной задачей является сбор, классификация и введение в научный оборот фактического материала по фонетике, морфологии, синтаксису и лексике. В данной статье впервые предпринята исчерпывающая на данный момент публикация синхронного материала по имени существительному: приводятся все встретившиеся в интервью существительные мужского рода, относящиеся к типам 1b, c, d, e, даются примеры их употребления, соответствия из родственных диалектов, а также пояснения сравнительно-исторического характера. Источником материала являются интервью с носителями консервативного варианта диалекта, записанные автором в ходе полевой работы в селе в 2004–2013 гг. В последующих статьях планируется аналогичным образом опубликовать существительные остальных типов.

Ключевые слова
dокументирование исчезающих языков, исчезающий язык, полевая лингвистика, славяно-германские языковые контакты, шведские диалекты, восточношведские диалекты, шведские диалекты Эстонии, село Старошведское, диалектная морфология, диалектный словарь
INTRODUCTION

The study of endangered languages as an urgent task of present-day linguistics

§ 1. Among the tasks of present-day linguistics one of the most urgent is the task of documenting those languages which face the danger of extinction. An endangered language is one whose number of speakers is approaching zero. This may be caused by the death of the last speakers or by the language shift that occurs when domains of language use are shrinking so that ultimately no one can use the language in any context. If one is to describe the current linguistic situation in the world concisely, unprecedented catastrophe would be the most relevant characterization. The catastrophe has been caused by the rapid decrease in the number of spoken languages, and its unprecedented scale is conditioned by its worldwide character. According to an estimation by David Crystal, at the turn of the third millennium 96% of the world’s population spoke only 4% of its languages. Correspondingly, only 4% of the population spoke 96% of the world’s languages [CRYSTAL 2000: 14]. In a pessimistic scenario, 90% of languages will become either extinct or close to extinction during the current century [CRAUSS 1992: 7]; according to a more “optimistic” forecast, by the year 2100 half of the world’s languages will be extinct [CRYSTAL 2000: 19].

The extinction of languages has taken place throughout the history of mankind, but in the present century, the epidemic of language extinction has struck all continents, not only certain disadvantaged regions. A particularly bitter tragedy occurs when a language not only disappears, but disappears undocumented and unresearched, i.e., disappears without a trace. There are currently 6,909 known spoken languages [AUSTIN, SALLABANK 2011: 3], although this is an approximate number. Establishing the exact number of languages is difficult, among other reasons due to the lack or the insufficiency of data on them. Meanwhile, those languages that are insufficiently explored may, with high probability, be in the risk group. Europe is the continent with the least linguistic diversity: only 3% of the world’s languages are situated here.¹ Nevertheless, a language whose present-day state was uninvestigated has been discovered even in Europe: it is the dialect of Gammalsvenskby. Taking this into account, what might await discovery in regions with a high concentration of languages?

Though there is no uniformly grim forecast for all endangered languages, and despite reports of successful revitalization,² the general tendency is a decrease in the number of spoken languages. In this respect the future world

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¹ Asia 33%, Africa 30%, the Pacific 19%, and the Americas 15% [AUSTIN, SALLABANK 2011: 5].

² See, for example, [KAIA’TITAHKHE ANNETTE JACOBS 1998] on successful efforts to preserve the Mohawk language in Quebec, Canada.
will become less varied and thus more primitive. However, this process can be, if not halted, at least slowed down. If a language is spoken by a few families and there are children who use it in “natural” communication, it stands a chance of survival. A language can be preserved only by the active interest, love, and respect of its speakers for their roots. In any case, documentation and study of minority languages and endangered languages are clearly what is needed on the part of linguists. Detailed and systematic descriptions are of the highest value as they most fully preserve the language for future studies and can provide a basis for its revitalization. However, any thorough linguistic description in the area of endangered languages, even if brief or dealing with a narrow topic, is valuable. Over the last two decades a number of monographs and collections of papers on various issues associated with endangered languages have been published: see, for instance, [DORIAN 1989; DIXON 1997; BRADLEYS 2002; TSUNODA 2005; HARRISON et al. 2008; GRENOBLE, FURBEE 2010; HAIG et al. 2011]. A number of foundations supporting studies of endangered languages have been set up; see the list in [AUSTIN, SALLABANK 2011: 2]. In Russia, the Foundation for Fundamental Linguistic Research was launched in 2010 by Kirill Babaev; it focuses on supporting field research on endangered languages.

It might appear that describing a small and little known language which, to make things worse, is probably doomed to extinction, is too exotic, too narrow and, at the same time, too costly a task, however exciting it may be; moreover, it might seem that it is a task that would contribute little to the field of linguistics overall. The actual situation is in fact quite the opposite. Descriptions of unexplored or little explored languages are necessary for linguistic theory and, especially, for linguistic typology. Uninvestigated languages provide material that either changes or significantly corrects conceptions of what is possible in human languages [PALOSAARI, CAMPBELL 2011: 100–110]. The development of contemporary linguistics to a considerable extent depends on the study of unexplored languages and dialects.

This paper introduces factual material on nouns in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby and lists all masculine nouns of types 1b, c, d, and e that have occurred in my interviews to date with fluent speakers. Before proceeding to the factual material, let us give a brief outline of the history of the village and the current linguistic situation there.

The village of Gammalsvenskby and speakers of its dialect

§ 2. The village of Staroshvedskoye (Sw. Gammalsvenskby; current Ukrainian name Змiївка/Zmiïvka) is located in the southern part of Ukraine, in the
Berislav district of 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) in the Baltic [Pisarevskii 1899: 249–250]. At that time this island belonged to the Russian Empire. The native language of the founders of the village was the dialect of Dagö, which is one of the Swedish dialects of Estonia.⁴

In the 18th century regions adjacent to the North Coast of the Black Sea were thinly populated, and the government of Catherine the Great was implementing measures aimed at increasing the population of this area. The resettlement of Swedes from Dagö was part of this process. The number of foreign colonists in that part of the Russian Empire was, in that period, very high, and the majority of the colonists was made up of Germans. In 1838 in the Kherson guberniya alone there were 39 German settlements [Zablotskii 1838: 5–6]. By the middle of the 19th century, the Kherson guberniya was a multinational region, as seen from statistical data on the non-Russian population of this governorate in 1852: “Moldavians 75,000, Germans 31,700, Jews Talmudists 22,424, Bulgarians 11,132, Greeks 3,500, Gypsies 2,516, Armenians 1,990, Poles 850, Karaites 446, Serbians 436, Swedes 168, in total 150,162” [Spisok 1852]. According to [Novorossiiskii Kalendar’ 1864: 121], in the southern Russian guberniyas (the Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, and Taurida guberniyas, and Bessarabia), the number of “Germans with a small number of Swedes and Swiss” was 151,925, whereas the number of Russians was 13,162.

In all likelihood, the number of residents of the Swedish colony has never exceeded 1,000. According to [Pisarevskii 1899: 249], the initial number of migrants from Dagö was 966, of which only 880 reached their final destination on the bank of the Dnieper. Living conditions in the new place were hard (the climate of the region may appear rather harsh: cold, snowy winters and sweltering summers with 40°C as a usual temperature), and the number of settlers decreased quickly. By the year 1800, the population of the Swedish colony was 150 or 160 people [Skal’kovskii 1850: 265]. However, during the 19th century life in the village stabilized, and by the Revolution of 1917 there were 718 Swedes in the colony [Spisok 1917: 126]. In 1929 the Swedes of Gammalsvenskby managed to obtain a permit to emigrate to Sweden, but in 1931 some of them returned to the village.⁵ In the 1930s eighteen Swedes were killed in Stalin’s repressions. During the Second World War the Swedish population

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⁴ An outline of Swedish dialects of Estonia is given in [Lagman E. 1979]. For a detailed account of Swedish settlements in Estonia, see [En bok om Estlands svenskar 1961; 1964]. On the position of Swedish in Estonia, see [Kärk-Remes 2002].

of the village became subject to forced resettlement to Germany in the capacity of Volksdeutsche. After the war some of the Swedes returned to the village while the majority were sent to a “special settlement” in the Komi ASSR. The stay in Komi was fortunately not as prolonged as it could have been: due to the intervention of a Swedish engineer, who accidentally learned of the injustice against the Swedes, they were given permission to return to their home village. This happened in 1947, after approximately two years in Germany and two years in the Komi ASSR. The present-day Gammalsvenskbys is a large village, though it still remains relatively remote and difficult to access. At present its population is ca. 2,000 people. An impression of the present-day village and the people there can be gained from an excellent photo album by Svedberg and Märtensson [2001].

In 2004 I made my first trip to the village. In contrast to the history of the village itself, at that time nothing was known about the dialect and its speakers. There had been no systematic studies of the dialect since the beginning of the 20th century. Consequently, at the starting point of my research there was virtually no data on the present-day state of the dialect. As a result of that first trip, it became clear that the dialect has been preserved as a linguistic system (not as a mixture of, for example, Standard Swedish, German, and Russian/Ukrainian interspersed with odd dialect elements), and its discovery is a major finding in the field of Germanic and Scandinavian linguistics. The current objective is detailed documentation and description of the dialect. Up to now I have made ten expeditions to Gammalsvenskbys and published an outline of the phonetics of the dialect [Mankov 2010A], a brief description of nouns [Mankov 2010B; 2011B], adjectives and pronouns [2011c], and verbs [2012A], and an outline of word formation of nouns [2012B; 2013c]. These papers deal with the variety of the dialect spoken by the fluent speakers. The study of the language of the semi-speakers and of structural changes taking place in the dialect was begun in [Mankov 2013d].

§ 3. 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. Standard Swedish is taught as a supplementary subject at school and many representatives of this group have a certain command of it. No one in this group is able to speak the dialect and thus serve as a linguistic informant in its study. They recall how their grandparents spoke the dialect, but exclusively among themselves and never with the younger generation, and they note that this was done deliberately.

3) Ethnic Swedes of the older generation born in the 1920s–1930s. Their number does not exceed fifteen persons. This group is the object of my study. Their main language now is Russian-Ukrainian, 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, although of course in a somewhat different manner than present-day “Swedish” Swedes.

My work in 2004 and 2005 began by selecting informants in order to develop a basic grammar. All speakers of the dialect were interviewed. The main criterion in making this selection was the consistency of inflection and the preservation of the dialect vocabulary. The linguistic situation in Gammalsvenskby is characterized by the fact that speakers of the dialect are not uniform in their linguistic competence. Such a lack of uniformity is a common feature of a community where an endangered language is spoken. The main types of speakers that are distinguished in this regard are fluent speakers, semi-speakers, and terminal speakers [DORIAN 1977; GRINEVALD, BERT 2011: 49–51], i.e., speakers with linguistic competence of high, medium, and low levels. Highly competent speakers are also called “conservative.” All these types of speakers are found in the present-day village. The dialect variety of those whose parents were Swedish and who spoke the dialect as their main language in childhood is different from those whose parents (or one parent) were not Swedish and who therefore did not speak the dialect in childhood. The present-day fluent speakers spoke the dialect as the main language in childhood, whereas the semi-speakers acquired knowledge of the dialect as their second or third language and did not speak it actively in childhood. Thus, in the case of Gammalsvenskby the linguistic competence and the preservation of the language is conditioned by how much it was spoken in childhood. In addition to linguistic considerations in choosing the informants, their personal qualities had to be taken into account as well: their willingness to be communicative, availability of time for interviews, capability of answering questions clearly, and comprehensible pronunciation. My fieldwork up to 2012 was concentrated on interviewing the following three informants: 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. The majority of forms and phrases have been obtained from Lidiia
Utas. She has a prodigious memory; according to her own testimony, many of the words that she cited in interviews she last heard or used more than half a century ago. Despite this, she easily gave word forms necessary to establish paradigms and cited examples of their usage. It should be noted that all conservative speakers draw a conscious distinction between Standard Swedish and the dialect. As a brief example, L. Utas clearly perceives such verbs as befäll ‘order,’ bemärke ‘notice,’ besöke ‘visit,’ bevär ‘defend,’ skräkke ‘frighten’ as Standard Swedish and cites their dialect equivalents: säte ’pō, bli de ’vass-e, kuma näst nōn, vär, rädd ’ō.

Describing the conservative variety of the dialect, however important it is, does not produce a complete picture. In reality, there is no uniform dialect equally shared by all members of the community. In order to carry out a truly comprehensive study, we should take into account all of its varieties. During the expedition of 2012 I started to collect material on the variety spoken by the semi-speakers, namely the sisters Emma Utas (born in 1932) and Elsa Kozenko (born in 1930); preliminary results of this study are presented in [MANKOV 2013b]. Among the grammatical features of the language of semi-speakers, the most prominent is a high frequency of free variation [CAMPBELL, MUNTZEL 1989; PALOSAARI, CAMPBELL 2011]. In morphology, free variation implies expressing the same grammatical meaning with several interchangeable forms which occur without any regularity. Free variation takes place in the speech of fluent speakers as well but in their case, the occurrence of forms is generally quite predictable. In the speech of semi-speakers, the occurrence of forms is much less predictable. Furthermore, in their speech the number of forms does not decrease but in fact it increases (see examples in [MANKOV 2013b]). The “conservative” variety of the dialect represented by its fluent speakers serves as a basis and a starting point in the study of the dialect, whereas material obtained from semi-speakers will provide the opportunity for comparison and will therefore allow us to study structural changes taking place in the dialect.

The dialect of Gammalsvenskby is of interest to slavists as an example of a language island in the Slavonic environment. Before the resettlement from Dagö in the 18th century, the dialect was in contact with Estonian, and during the entire 19th century and up to the middle of the 20th century, it was in contact with German, which was due to the fact that there were a number of German settlements in the neighborhood of the Swedish village. From the middle of the 20th century the main language of all residents of Gammalsvenskby, including the Swedes, has been Russian-Ukrainian (a mixed variety called суржик/surzhik); it is the dominant language of present-day speakers of the dialect. The situation

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8 Her own explanation: Ve säi hēr “sāte ’pō”: “Umm-en änt vill gāra-e, so sātt ’pō-en de gāra-e,” a “befäll” kumär ’āt po hökk-svānsk ‘We say here sāte ’pō: “If he doesn’t want to do it, so order him to do it,” whereas befäll comes out as Standard Swedish.”
of multilingualism seems to affect the semi-speakers the most, as gaps in the knowledge of the dialect should be compensated from other sources, i.e., from Russian-Ukrainian, German, and Standard Swedish. I will address the phenomena that are caused by language contact in a separate study. For now, the most urgent task is to collect, classify, and publish factual material on the synchronic state of the dialect. This will provide a basis for a more in-depth study of the contact between the dialect and its Slavonic environment.

Previous studies of the dialect

§ 4. The pioneer in the study of the dialect of Gammalsvenskby was the outstanding Swedish dialectologist Herman Vendell. He visited the village in June 1881 [VENDELL 1889] and collected a large amount of lexical material for his *Ordbok öfver estländssvenska dialekterna* (“Dictionary of the Swedish Dialects of Estonia”) [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886]. This dictionary remains the only published source for the vocabulary of the dialect. The only description of the grammar is a brief article by Anton Karlgren written in 1906 and published in 1953 by Nils Tiberg [KARLGREN 1953]. Another important work is Tiberg’s monograph *Estlandssvenska språkdrag* (“Linguistic Features of Swedish Dialects of Estonia”) [TIBERG 1962]. Tiberg did not visit the village but interviewed those speakers of the dialect who had emigrated to Sweden in 1929. He used data from Gammalsvenskby to describe phonological and morphological features of Swedish dialects of Estonia, but does not give a systematic description of the dialect. Tiberg also compiled a card dictionary of Swedish dialects of Estonia, which is kept at *Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet* (SOFI) in Uppsala [BERGFORS 1981]. Another unpublished work kept at SOFI in Uppsala is the material for the dictionary of the dialect collected by J. Utas [UTAS 1979; BERGFORS 1978–1979]. Brief information about the dialect is given in [JOALAID, JUHKAM 1989].

The most fully described Swedish dialect of Estonia is the dialect of Nućkö, now extinct.9 Karlgren’s informants were born in the 1840s and in the 1860s–80s; his data therefore belongs to an entirely different epoch and cannot serve as a source for the synchronic study of the dialect. However, his data, together with Vendell’s and Danell’s works, is a source for the history of the dialect and allows us to study the relationship between the present-day state of the grammar and vocabulary and their state at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

A work summarizing the Swedish dialects of Estonia is [LAGMAN E. 1979]. Fundamental studies of the phonetics and grammar of East Swedish dialects

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9 Grammars: [VENDELL 1881; DANELL 1905–1934]; dictionary: [DANELL 1951]; supplement to the dictionary: [ISBERG 1970]; study of the word formation of nouns: [LAGMAN E. 1958].
are [Hultman 1894] and [Hultman 1939], and a bibliography of Gammalsvenskby and Swedish settlements in Estonia is contained in [Appelgren 1997].

It should be noted that Vendell’s dictionary of 1886 received extremely harsh criticism from Swedish dialectologists; see for example [Danell 1905–1934: 8–13]. With regard to nouns, the drawback of this dictionary is its incomplete morphological descriptions: only the plural form is cited, although a morphological classification requires indication of the definite singular as well [Mankov 2011b: § 5]. In my interviews I have compared the bulk of Vendell’s dictionary with the data from three fluent speakers. If a word cited by Vendell was familiar to them, the forms they cited are, in most cases, identical to those given by Vendell. If phonetic and morphological discrepancies occur, only in rare cases do they appear to be inaccuracies that cannot be explained by a process of linguistic change. A more serious problem is in fact not such discrepancies but rather the very large number of words in Vendell’s dictionary that are unknown to the present-day speakers. However, Vendell collected his material in 1881, and it is separated from my interviews by an interval of more than 120 years. In Vendell’s day, the dialect was the main language for its speakers, whereas for present-day speakers it ceased to be the main language many decades ago. Bearing in mind the circumstances in which the dialect existed after the Revolution of 1917, the divergence between Vendell’s data and modern data appears understandable. Inaccuracies which are presumably contained in Vendell’s dictionary are fully justified by the pioneering character and the scale of his work, which in addition was carried out single-handedly in a relatively short period of time. It should be remarked that the dictionary of the dialect of Nuckö came out almost fifty years after the beginning of Danell’s work, while lexical materials collected by Karlgren and Tiberg remained unpublished.

Organization of the data

§ 5. The factual data presented below is organized according to the following scheme:

1) dialect noun with a translation and phonetic variants (if any);
2) all known derivatives and compounds;
3) phrases from interviews illustrating the usage (in some cases I cite not only short phrases and sentences but also fairly extensive narratives, which will allow the reader to form a more general impression of the dialect);
4) cognates, if any, from the main published studies of Swedish dialects of Estonia, namely, from [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886; Karlgren 1953; Danell 1951; Isberg 1970].

Vendell uses the following abbreviations for the dialects: D — Dagö, G — Gammalsvenskby, N — Nuckö, O — Ormsö, R — Rågö (LillR — Lilla Rågö,
StorR — Stora Rågö), and W — Wichterpal (Vippal). For example, DGNORW after a certain form means that it was recorded in the dialects of Dagö, Gammalsvenskby, Nuckö, Ormsö, Rågö, and Vippal. I preserve these abbreviations when referring to Vendell’s dictionary. Instead of full forms of the plural given by Vendell, I indicate only endings (if the root is unchanged in the plural). Translations in Vendell that are identical to the translation of the entry word are not repeated. For example, the entry for ‘brush’ in Vendell’s dictionary looks like this:

\[ \text{bo} \text{st, pl. bo} \text{st} \text{ar, m. Borste. DGNORW} \]

In this paper it is quoted as follows:

\[ \text{bo} \text{st}, -\text{ar} \text{ m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 28].} \]

With respect to information quoted from [Danell 1951], instead of numbers referring to the declension type, I give the endings of nouns. For example, “bo\text{s}t m. 1” in Danell’s dictionary is cited as “bo\text{s}t, -\text{n}, -\text{ar}, -\text{a} m. [ibid.: 39]” in this paper.

Material from preceding studies is given in this paper in its original orthography, i.e., exactly as it appears in publications by Vendell, Danell, and others. An outline of orthographic systems employed for Swedish dialects of Estonia as well as a detailed table of correspondences between my orthography and the preceding orthographies are given in [Mankov 2010a; Mankov 2013a].

In most cases the usage examples from my interviews are given with the initials of the informant who cited them:

- AA — Anna Andreevna Annas (born in 1936);
- AL — Anna Semionovna Liutko (1931–2013);
- AP — Anna Matveevna Portje (1923–2008);
- EU — Emma Ivanovna Utas (born in 1932);
- LU — Lidia Andreevna Utas (born in 1933);
- MP — Melitta Fridrikhovna Prasolova (born in 1926).

§ 6. For the present-day dialect I have developed the following orthography:

Vowels: \( a [a], \ddot{a} [\underline{a}], e [\underline{e}], \ddot{e} [\underline{\varepsilon}, \underline{\epsilon}], 10 \ddot{i} [i], \ddot{i} [\underline{i}], o [\underline{o}], \ddot{o} [\underline{o}], u [u], \ddot{u} [\underline{u}], y [\underline{y}], \ddot{a} [\underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{\ddot{a}} [\underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{o} [\underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{\ddot{o}} [\underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{u} [\underline{u}], \ddot{\ddot{u}} [\underline{u}], \ddot{a}i [\underline{\varepsilon}, \underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{\ddot{a}}i [\underline{\varepsilon}, \underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{o}u [\underline{\varepsilon}, \underline{\varepsilon}], \ddot{\ddot{o}}u [\underline{\varepsilon}, \underline{\varepsilon}]. \)

Consonants: \( b [b], d [d], \ddot{d} [\underline{d}], f [f], g [g], h [h], j [j], k [k], l [l], \ddot{l} [\underline{l}], l [l], m [m], n [n], \ddot{n} [\underline{n} \text{ in front of } k], n [u], \ddot{n} [\underline{n}], p [p], r [r], s [s], \ddot{s} [\underline{s}], t [t], \ddot{t} [\underline{t}], v [v], x [x], z [z], \ddot{z} [\underline{z}]. \)

The consonants \( p, t, k \) are not aspirated; \( d, t, n \) are postalveolar \( d, t, n \) (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations \( dj, gj, nj, sj, tj \) designate palatalized consonants; \( \ddot{sk}j, \ddot{s}tf \) are \( [\ddot{sk}j, \ddot{s}tf] \). The length of consonants within morphemes

\[ \footnotesize{10 \text{ On the distribution of } [\underline{e}]: \underline{\varepsilon} \text{ and } [\underline{\varepsilon}] \text{ as well as for other phonetic details, see Mankov 2010a.}} \]
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* [vɛnt] ‘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-bos* ‘sorrel soup,’ *hjöl-slæ* ‘killed’ (participle), *soşsom* ‘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. *vān* < *vār han* ‘was he’). Word stress is shown only when it does not fall on the first syllable: *konnföре* ‘why,’ *lönjattär* ‘long ago,’ *aläina* ‘alone.’ Phrase stress is shown with ˈ, e.g., *slū hjöl*. Phonetic variants are divided with /, morphological with //.

Declension types of masculine nouns

**§ 6.** In order to establish the paradigm of a noun and determine the declension type, I asked the informants to cite the following forms: with the numeral/pronoun ‘one’ (to elicit the indefinite singular); with the pronouns ‘this’ or ‘that’ (definite singular); with the pronoun *mike* ‘many’ (indefinite plural); and with the pronouns ‘these’ or ‘those’ (definite plural).

Morphonological types of masculine nouns and their endings are shown in the table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Def. sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Def. pl.</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.1a</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-a/-ana</td>
<td><em>fisk, fisk-en, fisk-ar, fisk-a//-ana</em> ‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.1b</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-är</td>
<td>-e/-ena/-a</td>
<td><em>kvüst, kvüst-n, kvüst-ar, kvüst-a//-ana</em> ‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.1c</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td><em>stūl, stūn, stūl-ar, stūl-a//-ana</em> ‘chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.1d</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-j-a/-j-ana</td>
<td><em>bjūn, bjūn, bjūn-ar, bjūn-a//-ana</em> ‘bear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.1e</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-j-ar</td>
<td>-j-a//j-ana</td>
<td><em>säkk, säkk-en, säkk-j-ar, säkk-j-a//-j-ana</em> ‘sack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.2a</td>
<td>-en/ -n/-Ø</td>
<td>-är//-Ø</td>
<td>-e/-ena/-a</td>
<td><em>svänsk, svänsk-en, svänsk-är//-ar, svänsk-e//-a//-ana</em> ‘Swede’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.2b</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-är//-Ø</td>
<td>-e/-ena/-na</td>
<td><em>bokar, bokan, bokar-är, bokar-e//-bokana</em> ‘baker,’ <em>biggjar, biggjan, biggjar//-biggjar-är, biggjar-e//-ena</em> ‘builder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.3a</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>stoka, stoka-n, stoka-r, stoka-na</em> ‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.3b</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-ana/-a</td>
<td><em>ěnd, ěnd-an, ěnd-är, ěnd-a//-ana</em> ‘end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.4</td>
<td>-n/-Ø</td>
<td>-är with umlaut</td>
<td>-re/-e with umlaut</td>
<td><em>fūt, fūt-n, fēt-ār, fēt-re</em> ‘foot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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See [MANKOV 2011c] on regularities in the use of enclitics.
The principles of classification as well as the correlation between my classification and those of Karlgren and Danell are discussed in [MANKOV 2011b]; the history of the endings is described in [MANKOV 2010b].

Type m. 1b

§ 7. A distinguishing feature of this type is the ending -n (usually -n after d and t) in the definite singular form. It is here that nouns with the following stem finals belong: d (but not nd), d, t, ṭ, s, ṣ, rr; occasionally l after a consonant or an unstressed vowel [MANKOV 2010b: §12.2].

In interviews with LU and MP (but not with AL) the ending ĺen occasionally occurs alongside -n in the definite singular. This may be caused both by the influence of the more numerous nouns of type m.1a and the phonetic change -n > -en which is due to the loss of the syllabic character of -n. The nouns borr ‘burr’ and Nūd ĺen “the North” (this is what the Swedes of Gammalsvenskby call the Komi ASSR) occurred only with the ending -en, thus they cannot be included in type m. 1b.

As far as one can judge by Karlgren’s examples, at the time of his research (i.e., in 1904–1905) nouns with stems terminating in d, ḍ, t, ṭ, s, ṣ and in the retroflex s (which does not exist in the present-day dialect) had a syllabic -n in the definite sg.: buldn (buld ‘abscess’), gødý (gød ‘yard’), hatn (hat ’hat’), ëostn (ëost ‘brush’), brimsn (brims ‘gadfly’), fósý (fós ‘rapids in a river’), hásý (hás ‘neck’) [KARLGREN 1953: 17]. Nouns in l and rr had a non-syllabic -n: tafélñ, snun [IBID.: 18]. In the dialect of Nuckö, nouns terminating in d, ḍ, t, ṭ, s, ṣ and in the voiceless l had a syllabic -n in the definite sg.: buldn (buld ‘plough-share’), gødý (gød ‘yard’), kytñ (kyt ‘fir cone’), ëostn, iss (is ‘ice’), hásý (hás ‘neck’), kædý (kæd ‘kettle’), while nouns in l as well as monosyllabic nouns in r had an ordinary -n: kln (kal ‘wedge’), bûrn (bûr ‘cage’) [DANELL 1905–1934: 102–103]. It should be noted that in the present-day dialect of Gammalsvensksby, in contrast to Nuckö, nouns in l and ll after a stressed vowel belong to type m. 1a (i.e., have the definite sg. in -en rather than -n), while nouns in r belong to type m. 1c: the definite sg. of bûr ‘cage’ is bûrn in Nuckö, bûṇ in Gammalsvensksby. It should also be remarked that according to Danell, in the dialect of Nuckö the dental n after postalveolar consonants was more frequent than the postalveolar n: ëosty ‘the brush’ instead of ëost [IBID.: §32].

§ 8. Nouns of type m. 1b which have occurred in the interviews:

1. blikst ‘lightning’: BlikstnDEF.SG. slū ’inn ot stjū, tēr var ījen ānt terīn ļote koman, a sōs vār-e füllt mā rāik ļote koman, o blumama lō umm golve utār kvātāna kasta. Umm nōn a vāre terīn ļote koman, kannskē hāv-e hjōl-släe. Mama vār po arbete o gamma vār terūt ļote gōdn, kūkā jāta LU ‘The lightning struck in the house, there was no one there in the room, and so the room was
full of smoke, and the flowers were scattered all over the floor. If there had been someone in the room, it would probably have killed him. Mommy was at work, and Grandma was in the yard, she was cooking something to eat. To ve vâr üte Ceseb, so slû-e än mann ‘xjôl, blikst. Han stäiv ’upp o gi unde trà, o têr slû-e ‘xjôl-en. He slû ‘inn po-en, som-en stû ‘unde, än katiusn brann ‘sundår, o än rönd po kruppen. Tom gitza, än-en kumär ‘tjô-še, a han bläi ‘ô dēär LU ‘When we were in the North (i.e., in the Komi ASSR), it killed a man, lightning. He stood up and went under a tree, and there it killed him. It struck him when he was standing underneath, so that his cap was burned through and there was a streak on his body. They thought that he would regain consciousness, but he was dead.’

Vendell and Danell cite only the corresponding verb: blikst DOGN ‘to glimmer, flash’ [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 25], bläkst ‘to flash’ DG [IBID.: 27]; blikst ‘to twinkle’ [DANELL 1951: 30]. Vendell recorded the following words for ‘lightning’: blîkk, -ar m. NOW, blâkstand, -ér n. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 25, 27].

2. blûd ‘saucer’ (< Russ. блудо ‘dish’): katt-blûd ‘cat saucer’; Ja hällt ‘inn grädd ot me e blûd_{DEF.SG}. LU ‘I poured sour cream in the saucer’; Ja kann ribl ‘inn mindâre bitar üte blûd_{DEF.SG}. o rēr ‘hüp-e me grâdd LU ‘I can crumble smaller bits into the saucer and mix it with sour cream.’

This word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.

3. bolt ‘bolt’

[bolt, -ar m. ‘bolt’ W, ‘pendulum bob’ N [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 28]; bolt, -n, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 60].

4. bosş ‘beet soup’ (< Russ. борщ ‘soup with sorrel’; Umm-de har kätt, so kasta-de ale fâst kâte ‘inn de kûk, a ânt, so bļiâr-e šâlsandâr boşš LU ‘If you have meat, first of all you throw the meat on to cook, and if you don’t, then it’s “fried” beet soup.’

This word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.

5. bôst ‘brush’: fârg-bôst ‘paintbrush’; roka-bôst ‘shaving brush’; Gnîe ânt mâ bôstn_{DEF.SG}., fôre-e ân-en blîiâr skarpor, han bôstn_{DEF.SG}. LU ‘Don’t rub with the brush (when tarring a barrel) because it gets stiff, the brush’; Têr som ja vâr po kôttâre, hon hûs-mûâr hon bû pikar de kuma klistär ‘åt këka nást-on. Tom klistra ‘åt-on. Ot me, he foll-e ânt, soş-som dom häv-on klistra, soş-som dom flotsa tîtt me bôstn_{DEF.PL}. po flâkken LU ‘Where I rented a flat, the landlady asked girls to come and whitewash the kitchen. They whitewashed it. Me, I didn’t like it how they had whitewashed it, as they slapped it there on that spot with the brushes.’

[bost, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 28]; bôst, -n, -ar, -a m. [KARLGREN 1953: 17]; bôst/bóst, -n, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 39]. This noun originally belonged to the weak declension (type m. 3b in my classification): compare Sw. børste, Icel. bursti m.
6. böt AL MP, böd LU ‘steamship’ (the usual word for ‘boat’ in the present-day dialect is lusk f.)
   || böt, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 37]; bö̞t, -η, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 65].
7. brims AP, brins MP, brints AL ‘gadfly’
   || brims, -ar m. GO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 30]; bræms, -η, -er, -e m. [DANELL 1951: 58].
8. bärefís LU, bärofis AL ‘type of beetle’: Än bärefís jär än svättår makk, spits-atsɔlätar o spits-näsatår, han jär slikär lônjar som fiñås-lean. To-de rër üte-n, so lūftas-n. Tom bärefisa, kuna vara ‘ö üte källan LU ‘Bärefis is a black beetle, with a pointed back and a pointed nose, it’s as long as a finger joint. When you touch it, it stinks. Those beetles can also be in the cellar.’
   || bärefis, -ar m. ‘shield bug’ (Cimex baccarum) G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 38]; bær-fis, -η, -er, -e m., -a, -ar, -a f. [DANELL 1951: 66].
9. bäss, also för-bäss ‘male sheep’
   || bäss, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 38]; bæs, -η, -ar, -a m. ‘(castrated) male sheep’ [DANELL 1951: 67].
10. bōld ‘boil’: Hon hāv än bōld üte briste LU ‘She had a boil on the breast’; To-de hār bōldar pl., üte han bōldn, jär kitṭ tārinn LU ‘When you have boils, in that boil there is core inside.’
   || būld, -ar f. G, m. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 36]; būld, -η, -ar, -a m. [KARLGREN 1953: 17]; bed, -e, -er, -e n. [DANELL 1951: 68].

Gender fluctuation between the forms recorded by Vendell, Karlgren, and Danell, as well as phonetic differences may be caused by a contamination of the following forms: P Germ. *bul-íd-ō f., *bul-ði- f. (probably also m.), *bul-ða- m.//n. A similar derivational synonymy is found in Goth. ganists f. ‘salvation’ (*-ti-) on the one hand, and O Eng., O Icel. nest n. ‘viands’ (*-to-) on the other. As the combination ld in the dialects of Gammlasvěnksby and Nuckó is retained and does not give d (see examples in [MANKOV 2010A: § 10.3]), the consonant d in Vendell’s būld and Danell’s bed may go back to ld, where the retroflex l is explained by its originally intervocalic position: *būld < P Germ. *bul-íd-ð. This P Germ. form accounts for Vendell’s būld. In Danell’s dictionary, bed e goes back to y,12 which appeared either by contamination with *bul-ði- (> *byld > *byld > *bōld > bēd) or by analogy with i-umlauted i-stems (such as O Icel. skyld). The form būld m., recorded in present-day Gammlasvěnskby goes back either to P Germ. *bul-ða- m. or to *bul-ði- m. The fluctuation between masc. and fem. in the reflexes of the i-stem *bul-ði- is paralleled by O Sw. byr̩ f.//bur̩er m. ‘bearing.’13 Forms with the suffix *-ða- fluctuated

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12 See [DANELL 1905–1934: 98] for details of the change y > e.
13 According to Olson, the gender change fem. > masc. in nouns with the suffix *-ti- as well as the gender fluctuation f.//m. (as in O Sw. byr̩ //bur̩er) was caused by the influ-
between the masculine and neuter, thus the neuter gender of Nuckö bed may go back to PGer. *bul-ða- n. The corresponding OSw. noun byld f. (Sw. böld) goes back to *bul-ði- f. [OLSON 1916: 326]. It should be noted that together with forms in *-iðo-, *-ði-, *-da- there exist forms which might go back to the suffixes *-ð-an- (Sw. bolde 'boil' [SAOB: B3791]) and *-ð-ón- (Icel. búlda f. ‘round-faced woman; small axe’ [BÖDVARSSON 1993: 115]).

11. dans 'dance'

In a context in which this noun should be expected, the verbal noun in -ande (see [MANKOV 2013c]) is used: Pikana bār ‘o po dansande LU ‘The girls went to the dances’; Han gi po dansande, de drikk o dans LU ‘He went to a discotheque, to drink and dance.’

|| dans, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 39]; dans, -η, -ar, -a m. [DANEL 1951: 71].

12. fis-stjätt (pronounced [ˈfɪsˈjɛtː] LU, [ˈfjɛsˈjɛtː] AL), also fisstjätt AA 'scolopendra': Ja vatna tråna, o vatne rinndär o rinndär, innot äit höl, o sänn komm dāruð að fis-stjätt frōn tārfro, frōn he hole som vatne rann ‘inn. Han vār santématra fjū, fjū-fāmm lōnjār, än stūran, finnəs-tjokkār, som lill fjńəre, o rēār. He vār az grimmt före me ‘frōn-ēn. Tom sāi, än dom ‘ō bita LU ‘I was watering the trees, and the water is running and running into a hole, and then a scolopendra came out of there, from the hole that the water was running into. It was about 20–25 centimetres long, big, as thick as a finger, and red. It really scared me. They say that they also bite.’

|| This noun is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries. The first component may be related to Icel. fis n. ‘chaff; wound’ (e.g. in compounds fishærill or hælfis ‘sore heel’ [BÖDVARSSON 1993: 206]), to Russ. nuxamâ, PIE. *peis/-pis- ‘grind’; see [POKORNÝ 1959: 796]. The second component is stjätt ‘tail.’ The second component in bärefís (§ 8.8 above) does not belong here and goes back to the homonymic PIE. root *peis- ‘blow.’

13. foss ‘rapids; current’: Fossn jār stūran LU ‘The current is strong’; Umm-de rokar bra, so kann-de do roka ‘ūt, a umm änt, so kann han fossn[def.sg] bāra ‘ō mā-de, o kann-de ‘ān drunken ‘ō, före he vriss, he vatne, to-e flōtār, o he jār hole stūt, stūran foss. Tāta vār näst oss, to ve vār ūte Ceeep LU ‘If you swim well, you can swim out there, and if you don’t, well, that current can carry you away, and you can even drown, because it twists, that water, when it flows, and it’s very strong, a strong current. This was at our place, when we lived in Ceeep’ (i.e., in the Komi ASSR).

|| foss, -η, -ar, -a m. [KARLGREN 1953: 17].

14. frost only sg. ‘frost’: Edá he jār kallt, stūran frost LU ‘Today, there is a cold, hard frost’; Edá vā-dār starkār frost LU ‘Today there was a hard frost’;

ence of masculine nouns with the suffix *-tu- and—in Scandinavian languages—by the influence of masculine i-stems [OLSON 1916: 465–466].

14 See examples in [KLUGE 1926: § 117].
Träske änt a fröse ‘fast, um där änt a vare ija frost’ MP ‘The river would not freeze over if there wasn’t a frost.’

|| frost only sg., n. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 59]. In the dialect of Nuckö ‘frost’ is frusa, -n, -r, -Ø m.; ked, -e only sg., f.; tebe, -n only sg., m. [DANELL 1951: 112, 236, 432].

15. -fräs in blù-fräs ‘boil’: Ja hāv tfō blù-fråsar_pl, po armen, tēr vār blù o vār dehūp. Ja gi ti bolyńcza, ja kūnt do änt arbet. No, ja fi tōa ute tom stukka mà arma, ja kūnt do änt gāra iņatīn änt mà han armen. Ja vā-to ațōta dōar hāim mà tān armen. He mado vara fārkīlāt, ve fi vār frīs lite po vēgen som ve kēd? LU ‘I had two boils on my arm, there was blood and pus together. I went to the hospital, I really wasn’t able to do anything with that arm. After that I had to spend eighteen days at home because of that arm. It was probably because of the cold, and didn’t we really freeze a little on the way we were taking?’ (i.e., in the Komi ASSR, said with bitter irony).

16. galt ‘hog’

|| galt, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 64]; galt, -n, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 122].

17. göd ‘yard; enclosure; fence’: gra-gōd ‘cemetry’; gāss-gōd ‘enclosure for geese’; flāita-gōd ‘wicker fence’; ina-gōd ‘middle of the yard’; kirke-gōd ‘church yard’; kol-gōd (see [MANKOV 2010A: § 53] on the shortening of long vowels in compounds) ‘flood-meadow’; milla-gōd ‘fence between yards’; någōd ‘cattle pen’; rigōd/rgiggōd ‘vegetable garden’; trisk-gōd ‘threshing yard’; trā-gōd ‘orchard’; vin-gōd ‘vineyard’; gö ût ot gödn_def.sg. ‘go out to the yard’; Kostō-de hērūt po gödn_def.sg., kum ‘inn ot stjūc LU ‘Why are you standing in the yard, come into the house’; Tom siē tārūt ute gödn_def.sg. LU ‘They are sitting out there in the yard’; Ja bā hon Lŏcșa, ān-on ska kūma mà me, ān ve gö böar... ān ve bōar gö ot gragōdn_def.sg. LU ‘I asked that Lyusya (LU’s neighbor) to come with me, so that we go both... that we both go to the cemetery’; Hānasɔ sonn lēvd änt ‘vār-on, a komm de hōlp-on, grāva rigōdn_def.sg. nāst-on LU ‘Her son didn’t live with her, but came to help her, dug the garden at her place’; Hon gi fron herfrōn, girm folkes rigōdn15_def.sg., tfātt ive LU ‘She went from here, through people’s gardens, straight across’; Fār klīstora dom trāna po lande e trāgōdn_def.sg. LU ‘Before, they used to whitewash the trees in the orchard on the steppe.’

In an interview with EU the genuine dialect form gödn/-n occurred alongside [gō:rdɛn], which is probably an orthographic pronunciation of Sw. gården. In the plural EU cited tfō gödnar ‘two yards,’ tom gödnar ‘those yards.’

15 It should be noted that the definite form rigōdn occurs here after the genitive folkes (def. sg. form). The definite form of nouns after the genitive is a common regularity in the dialect, cf. min brāis_gen.sg. hāse_def.sg. ‘my brother’s house,’ tom bōnas_def.pl.gen. fāraldena_def.pl. ‘those children’s parents,’ etc. [MANKOV 2010B: § 25].
18. **gris** ‘piglet’: skū-grīs ‘hedgehog’; fō grīsar ‘to farrow’; Um-de hitt ute bin än gris, so kéft-de-en o fēd upp-en o släf-ta-en LU ‘If you found a piglet in the village, so you bought it and fattened it and slaughtered it’; To svīne ska fō grīsar, so tār-on inn hal ̣m ute munn o sl ƿ par-e de än ruka po he ställe som-on fōr grīsa ̥.LU ‘When the pig is about to farrow, she gathers straw in her mouth and pulls it into a heap to make a place to give birth’; Konn grāva-d ̣om nēr tom o-dūe grīsa ̥.LU ‘Where did they bury dead piglets?’

19. **grūd** ‘potato sprout’ (also f.): Katüfl byrjar räi väks, han hār räi grūdar ̥.LU ‘Potatoes start sprouting (“growing”), there are sprouts on them.’

20. **grädd** only sg. ‘cream; sour cream’: friskär grädd som ja grād laitra LU ‘fresh cream that I just skimmed’; Fron han gräddn ̥.sg., som ve hāv laitra, kēn ve sänn smēr LU ‘From the cream that we had skimmed we churn butter later’; Umm-de vill, so kann-de smäre-dom me poví dl, häldär d ƶ üte gräddn ̥.LU ‘If you want, you can spread them (pancakes) with jam or dun k them in the cream.’

21. **gräit** only sg. ‘porridge’: göḷ agrīns-gräit or göḷ a-gräit ‘millet porridge’; hāvärgrīns-gräit ‘oatmeal porridge’; kūngrīns-gräit ‘barley porridge’; mana-gräit ‘semolina porridge’; risgrīns-gräit ‘rice porridge’; Gräitn ̥.def.sg. jär vädär-brāndār LU ‘The porridge is burnt’; Gräitn ̥.def.sg. jär allan LU ‘There’s no more porridge’ (calque of Russ. каува еца) Ja satt upp de kūk gräitn ̥.def.sg., o han brānd ‘fast LU ‘I set the porridge to cook, and it got burnt.’

22. **gräns** ‘boundary’

23. **hatt** ‘hat’: blū-m-hatt ‘sunflower’; fīnjär-hatt ‘thimble’; kēn-hatt ‘sunflower’

24. **hās** ‘neck; throat’: Gäv ˈót-n po hāsn ̥.def.sg. MP ‘Hit him on the back of his neck’ (i.e., because he is being annoying); Brāmmen o pipan tom brānn e hāsn ̥.def.sg. LU ‘Vodka and pepper, they burn in the throat.’
25. häst ‘horse’: hūr-häst “whore-horse,” ‘libertine’; Han jär än bra hūr-häst ‘He’s a real whore-horse.’ This noun occurs rarely; the usual word for ‘horse’ in the dialect is äik m. (§ 13.10 below).

26. ivē-däil/ivä-däil ‘brassiere’

27. īs only sg. ‘ice’: īs-bita m.3a ‘block of ice’; īs-klomp m.1a ‘lump of ice’; īs-laggatär ‘ice-covered; icy’; Vāgen jär än bra īs-laggatär: här vϕ gen jär īs-laggatär: he r vϕ gen jär īs-laggatär (also täfftär) mä īs LU ‘The road is icy: it has rained and there has been frost, and the road is covered in ice (“full with ice”); Trāske frōōς fast, isnˌDEF,SIG. stōr rāi MP ‘The river has frozen over, ice has already formed’; ĪsnˌDEF,SIG. jär rāi sundār-lēndest LU ‘The ice has already melted’; Min bō sinnār, Arvid o Vova, vār po īsnˌDEF,SIG. o han īsn vār änt tjokkär, tϕ r läifft dom, o so brōūtęst-n girm, han mindäre. А tϕ r vō-e tol v mētra djǭft. Bra, än håndäre vār ōa po īsnˌDEF,SIG. ‘Both of my sons, Arvid and Vova, were on the ice, and that ice wasn’t thick, they were playing there, and so he broke through the ice, the younger one. And it was twelve metres deep there. It was good that his hands were on the ice.’

28. jäst only sg. ‘yeast,’ also n. (as a countable noun jäst-riblar is used): Sāi, hōss ̣ de gāra jäst-riblar.—Fāst fō-đe kūk han hümmöl-blummen, hāll ̣ tjānd vatne, o ūte he kūkät vatne rēā-đe ‘inn mōł, o sānn ūte kōld dāien kasta-đe jästnˌDEF,SIG. ‘inn, o han byre sānn hāvjās. O tār kasta-đe ‘inn tom klīana o sānn läggā-đe-e ūtār kvatānā, ān-e torrkas. Soş bļiār-e jäst-riblar LU ‘Explain how to make yeast.—First you have to boil the hop blossom, drain the water, and into the boiled water you stir flour, and then you throw the yeast into the cold dough, and then it begins to ferment. And then you throw the bran and then spread it out, so that it gets dry. This is how it becomes yeast.’

29. kapet LU/kabet AL ‘sock’ (< Est. kapet [LAGMAN 1971A: 59]): Ja nōlār kapetaˌDEF,PL LU ‘I’m darning the socks.’

30. kadas/kaḍ̌s/kaťūs ‘cap’
31. **kant** ‘edge’
   
   Vendell compares *katus* with Est. *katus* ‘roof.’ The fluctuation between the voiced and voiceless consonant may go back to Middle Low German *kartûse/kardûse*.  

32. **klips** ‘bunch’: *vinagra*[t]-*klips* ‘bunch of grapes’; *To vînagards-klipsar*<sup>pl</sup> liggä-de ruka, so byre dom bli blöûtar, tom klâmmas o bli blöûtar, soûs-som dom byre sjûn* LU ‘When bunches of grapes lie in a heap, they get squashed and become soft, so they start to rot’; *Ja drû ‘upp üte stjûe räip-stîkkär o band tom vînagards-klîpsa*<sup>def.pl</sup>. ‘fast, än dom hêye torrar’ LU ‘I put ropes up in the house and hung the bunches of grapes, so that they hang to get dry.’  

33. **klots** ‘log’ (Germ. *Klotz* m.): *Ja sōga räi lōûǻ râãi-e, o tom klotsa*<sup>def</sup>. ‘liggä räi lōûǻ râãi. Nö fûr ja klû́ ‘sundär-e* LU ‘I sawed it long ago, and those logs have been lying around for a long time. Now I have to cleave it.’  

34. **knops** in *fût-knops* ‘ankle’; also in the expression *gäva knops* ‘to beat up; to smack someone’; *Ja gävär o[t] de knops* ‘I’ll slap you.’  

35. **knjût** ‘knot’: *ärm(s)-knjût* ‘cuff’; *bind* ‘fast po knjût’ ‘to tie a knot’; *lâis ipet knjûtn*<sup>def.sg</sup>. ‘to untangle the knot’; *Ja kann änt bind ’ipet knjûtn*<sup>def.sg</sup>. ‘I can’t untie the knot’; *Ja kann änt drâa’ inn snêre innot stövl-holenä, äñ dâr jär knjûtar*<sup>pl</sup>. po dom, nö für ja fäst bind ipeta-dom, a hoss de lâis ’ipet tom knjût*<sup>def.pl</sup>. ‘to ja änt hâr iña nälär?’ LU ‘I can’t put the shoelace through the eyelets because there are knots on them (sholaces); I have to untangle them (the knots) first, but how do I untie those knots when I don’t have any fingernails?’  

36. **krans** ‘wreath’  

37. **krant, kran** ‘tap’ (< Russ. *kran*; substandard *kran*): *Kran byrja drûp* LU ‘The tap began to leak.’
38. **kütt** ‘fir cone’

| **kott, -ar** GW m., **kütt, -ar** m. DN [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 112, 118]; **kuṭ, -η, -ar, -a** m. [DANELL 1951: 226].

39. **kvast** ‘broom; besom’: **kvast-rīs** n. ‘sorghum’ (plant from which brooms were made); **Hon sūpa ’hūp-e, kvastn krapsa po tsemânte** LU ‘She was sweeping, the broom was scraping on the cement’; **Kvast-rise, mä he rise bind dom kvastar**₆₈ PL LU ‘Sorghum, from that grass they make (“bind”) brooms out of’; **Tom band kvasta**₆₈ LU ‘They made brooms from sorghum.’

| **kvast, -ar** m. DG [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 118], **koist, -ar** m. O, **kost, -ar** m. N, **kwäst, -ar** m. RW [FÅ: 110, 111, 120]; **KÅst, -n, -ar, -a** m. [DÅ: 1951: 228].

40. **kvüst** ‘twig’:

| **Ja släit ’sundär rokken, bläi hēŋjande po än kvüst** LU ‘I tore the dress, I caught it on a twig’; **Gräin bröütest ’ō, o po han kvüstn**₆₈ LU ‘The branch broke, and I got caught on that twig and tore the kerchief’; **Tom hogg kvüsta**₆₈ LU ‘They sawed the twigs off the trees and threw those twigs into a fire.’

| **küst, -ar** m. GN, **kwist, -ar** m. DGNORW [FÅ: 118, 119]; **Kúst/-Ko7 ist, -n, -ar, -a** f. [DÅ: 1951: 232]. The masculine gender, preserved in Gammalsvenskby, is original (compare OSw. **kiäpter** Icel. **kjaftur** m.).

41. **käft** ‘mug; mouth’: **Gär käftn**₆₈ ‘Shut your trap, you’re talking too much’; **Ēklat käftn**₆₈ ! LU ‘Ugly mug!’

| **kæft, -a, -ar, -a** f. ‘lower jaw’ [DÅ: 1951: 232]. The masculine gender, preserved in Gammalsvenskby, is original (compare OSw. **köpt** Icel. **kjøft** m.).

42. **kärps** ‘pumpkin,’ (humorously) ‘head’: **riska kärpsar** “Russian pumpkins” (fed to livestock); **tīska kärpsar** “German pumpkins” (eaten by people); **Mä kärpsar, stillt ve buskan, ot oss solōe dämt ve dom, gjūd pirakar. He jär bra ot sjūne de jäta kärps LU ‘We fed animals with pumpkins, for us ourselves we stewed them, made pies. It’s good to eat pumpkins’; **Kärpsn kūkar**₆₈ L LU ‘I’m still able to think clearly’: **Ja rīvar ’sundär gärkar håldär kärpsar**, sänn blōndar ja ’hūp-e mā tom klīana o gāvā-e ot paṭtuŋa o ot tom stūr gässe ’ō LU ‘I grate cucumbers or pumpkins, then I mix it with bran and give it to the ducklings and to the big geese as well.’

| Compare Germ. **Kürbis** m. ‘pumpkin; head,’ Est. **körvits** [LAGMAN 1973: 56].

43. **kütt** ‘core of a boil’:

| **To de hār būldar, üte han būldn jār kütt tārīnn. O so lūnājār som han küttēn jār tārīnn e būldn, rūtnar-e se** LU ‘When you have boils, in that boil there is a core inside. And as long as that core is inside the boil, it rots.’

| This noun is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries. It is related to Sw. **körtel** ‘gland’ (with the obsolete meaning ‘thickening in flesh; boil’ [SAOB: K3858]), OSw. **kirtiλ** m. Regarding the phonetic change i > ӧ/ü, see **stūvel/stövel** (§ 10.31 below). Judging by Sw. **körtel**, the form **kütt** replaced
*kūttāl* or *kūttōl* in Gammalsvenskby due to the reanalysis of the definite sg. form *kūttén* (regular for *kūttāl,kūttōl*) > *kūtt-en*. Examples of the same reanalysis are *trisk* ‘threshold’ (compare Sw. *tröskel*) and *kvārv* (alongside *kvārvāl* ‘latch,’ § 10.19 below).

Forms from cognate dialects demonstrate the metathesis of *r. křiː*, pl. *křiːlar* f. NORW, *kräll, -er* n. ‘gland’ DW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 113, 115]; *křd, -a, -ar, -ana* f. ‘gland’ [DANELL 1951: 221]; Sw. dial. *krittel, krisel* [SAOB: K2855].

44. *-läst* in *hēvöl-läst/hävöl-läst* ‘plane’ (tool): *To de hävlar brāa, me hāvöl-lästn*DEF,SG.*, so bli tom kanuna LU ‘When you plane a board, with a plane, you get wood shavings.’

|| Compare *hävāl*, pl. *hāvlar* m. DG [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 92], *hēvāl* m. W [IBID.: 81]; *hēvök, -on, -kar, -ka* m. [DANELL 1951: 170].

45. *māt* ‘food’; ‘kernel of a nut’: *im-māt* ‘entrails.’

|| *māt* only sg., m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 143]; *mat*, -n m. [DANELL 1951: 268].

46. *puṭṭ* ‘gate’: *Fārr po svānska gragōdōn, tār *vā-dār *ūt-lādār mā stāinart* gragōdss-puṭtn*DEF,SG.*. Tom tū tān puṭṭn*DEF,SG.* ātār kvašāna. Tār wār ‘ō ān stāin-mūr, tū dom ‘ō ātār kvašāna LU ‘Before, at the Swedish graveyard, there was a graveyard gate, faced with stone. They pulled this gate to pieces. There was also a stone wall, they also tore it to pieces.’

|| Compare *pōt, -ar* m. GNORW, f. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 165]; *pōt-* in the compounds *pōt-lōs* n. ‘gate lock,’ *pōt-likāk* m. ‘gate key,’ *pōt-naft* n. ‘door-keeper’ [ISBERG 1970: 248].

47. *rost* only sg.; also n. ‘rust’: *rostas* ‘to rust’; *rostas* ‘boṭṭ’ ‘to rust away’; *rostatār* and rostāndār ‘rusty’

|| *rost* only sg., m. D or n. GNO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 175]; *rost, -e* only sg., n. [DANELL 1951: 329].

48. *saft* only sg. ‘juice’ (< Germ. *Saft* m.): *Ja hālitt min skjōtt* *mā saft* LU ‘I spilled juice on my shirt’; *Ve vaska ‘ō kävna, skōla dom o sānn kūka han saftn*DEF,SG.* fōn kāvna, tāt-n ānt blūr ātār aintndār. O kumār-e sānn som povidl LU ‘We washed the watermelons, peeled them, and then cooked that juice from the watermelons until it thickened. It eventually becomes like jam.’


49. *skiss* ‘small scythe’ (< Ukr. *ckīcok*)

|| This word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.

50. *skratt* ‘devil’: *Konntjoł tarvar ja de, ān slikār skratt* LU ‘What do I need you for, such a devil’; *Skratttn*DEF,SG.*, vāit-e ‘The devil only knows’; *Skratttn*IMP,ED.* a tāe ‘mūt-n’ ‘Let the devil take him!’; *Fār skratttn*DEF,SG.* a tāe ‘mūt-n’ LU ‘Let the devil take him!’
skratt, -ar m. ‘spectre,’ skrattn ‘the devil’ DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 194]; skræt, -ø m. [Danell 1951: 360].

51. snärr ‘snout’: svin-snärl AL ‘snout of a pig,’ gr[i]江山-snärr AL ‘snout of a piglet’. Ja satt ‘inn än ring üte snärrn, än-e änt bukar LU ‘I fixed a ring in the snout, so that it doesn’t root.’

In interviews with AL snärr, -en occurred alongside snær, snän, snämn, snärn, snärm. In interviews with LU: snärr, -(e)n, -ar, -ana.

52. spits ‘sharp end’: sönd-spits ‘sandspit; spits ‘to sharpen; spitsatär ‘prickly; spits-näsatär ‘sharp-nosed’

53. stjätt ‘tail of birds and fish; fiskas stjättt AA, fisk-stjättt AL ‘fish tail’

54. sväit only sg. ‘sweat’: sväit-lüft n. ‘smell of sweat; sväitas ‘to sweat; sväitatär ‘sweaty; Däken vår so sołkatär o luftast ått (also fron) sväit, än vatne bläi svattt LU ‘The kerchief was so dirty and stank so much of sweat that the water turned black.’

55. sürest only sg. ‘cottage cheese’: sürest-vatn n. ‘whey; Hon red ’hüp sürest me grädd ot se de jätta LU ‘She mixed together cottage cheese with cream to eat; Han sürestn, klämmär ja ’sund-ø, grinar ’sundär-en milla händäre... O sänn brätär ja ve marjya o håldlär ‘inn han kûka sürestn, üte he sölde... Po än kilo kükande sürestn, tässn läggä-ðe ‘inn än jätaspän-füldär salt LU ‘That cottage cheese, I squeeze it, grind it in the hands... And then I stretch cheesecloth and pour that boiled cottage cheese into the sieve... For a kilo of this boiled cottage cheese you put in a spoonful of salt.’

56. tass ‘cup’ (< Germ. Tasse f. [Lagman 1973: 48]): kofe-tass ‘coffee cup’; Ja tonast, vilt tôa tassn, LU ‘I reached out, I wanted to take the cup.’

57. tass ‘paw’: hunda-tass ‘dog’s paw’; Katta hältår ’o de läik me gon-nikl, he rammlar, o hon kan ’än slō ’ält-n me tass, LU ‘The cat likes to play with a ball of yarn, it (the yarn) rolls around, and it can still push it with its paw.’
58. **tont** AL, **tomt** AP ‘gnoblin’ (also **tonte-gübb**)

59. **töt** ‘ear (of grass):’ Där jär tötar po gräs, he kumär ˈüt som aks-ātich, soʊːsom po sē jär tötar, tēr kōn sē väksär. O to plūkka ve tom gräss-tötana ˈhüp o band kransar ot oss po hüe LU ‘There are ears on the grass, they are like ears, just like on cereals there are ears, where they grow. And so we picked those ears and bound wreaths to wear on our heads.’

60. **tit** in **tō-tīt** ‘tip of string’

61. **tratt** ‘funnel’

62. **trí-fūt/tre-fūt** ‘tripod’ (used to put bread in the oven):

63. **trūt** ‘spout’

64. **tups** ‘bow’ (of cloth)

65. **uks** ‘ox’: Tjūn han jär ānt ˈūt-sküre, a uksn ˈdɛf,sg. jär ˈūt-skürendär ‘Tjür is not castrated, whereas uks is castrated.’

66. **väks** ‘height; stature’: Han jär höōär po väksn ˈdɛf,sg. ‘He is tall in stature’; Tom järə bōar ˈātt po väksn ‘They are the same height’; Hon jär lill (stūr) po väksn ˈdɛf,sg. LU ‘She’s small (big) in stature.’

Vendell recorded **väks** (alongside **väkst**) only in Vippal, and in the other dialects, including Gammalsvenskby, **väkst**, -ar/–ér m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 260]. Danell recorded it only in compounds, e.g. **græs-vækst** ‘growth of grass’ [Danell 1951: 137]; compare **väkst** m. ‘tumor’ [Isberg 1970: 373].
67. vōd ‘world’; ûte vādn̄ LA ‘in the world’; Kott-dom kēr oss, tēr kēr ve, um häila vāder(DEF.SG), hōss tiske kēd oss. Me ko än dom still oss, so jāta ve. Ve fi mike LA ‘Where they drive us, there we go, across the whole world, just as the Germans drove us. With what they feed us, so we eat. We lived through a lot’; Slīft jār-e ‘ē vādn̄(DEF.SG). LA ‘There’s also such a thing in the world’; He jār rāi tiār pō han vādn̄(DEF.SG). MP (calque of Russ. нора на мом свет) ‘It’s time to go to the other world.’

68. āild ‘(camp)fire; fire; electricity’: āild-gnista n. ‘spark’; āild-stāin m. ‘flint’; āild ‘to heat up’; Tjēn ānt īnā āild ‘upp ‘Don’t make a fire’; Slākk ‘ūt āildn̄(DEF.SG), ān-en ānt rūkār māiār LA ‘Put out the fire, so that it doesn’t smoke any more’; Ja slāftt ‘ūt āildn̄(DEF.SG), mān han rūkār āiles, blāi ‘ān ān vārke-bita ‘ōtār, o han rūkār ‘ān opō LA ‘I’ve put out the fire, but it’s still smoking, there’s still a piece of wood left and it’s still smoking away’; Edā vār ānt īnā āild, tom kūka po gāz, so vār āltār ānt blōūtar LA ‘There was no electricity today, they cooked on the gas, so the peas weren’t soft.’

69. ûdd ‘sharp end’: sjōlva spitts-ûddn ‘the very tip.’

70. āst ‘cheese’: Soš fō-de gāra ûstn(DEF.SG) ‘fādes. Han sūrestn som ja hālt ‘tjānd (som ja gjud fron he sjār-mōlke), klāmmnār ja ‘sundā-ŋ, grinar ‘sundār-en milla händāre. O sānn hālldār ja frist mōl, ānt lairat (tār kānn-de ‘ō tōa lairat mōl) o sānn sātār ja ‘upp-e de kūk, o fō-de stō o rēār-e mēsēāt, tāt-e ānt byre kūkas. O sānn tār ja sōldē, o sānn brūār ja ive mārlā o hālldā ‘inn han kūka sūrestn ûte he sōldē. O sānn klānkā-de ‘upp-e, ān he vatne drūps ‘tjānd. To-e blūār kallt, so blūār-e skarft som ān stāin, so fō-de ānt īnā rēda ‘pō-ën. Sošsom-en jār hāttār o drūpār ‘ān, lāggā- ‘inn-e ot fāte. Po ān kilo kūkande sūrestn tāssn lāggā- ‘inn ān jātaspōn-fūllār salt o ān tespōn-fūllār sōda o hundra gramm smēr, o so fō-de rēā-r-e ātār, tāt-ŋ ānt byre tāias. O so jār üstn(DEF.SG) ‘fādes LA ‘This is the way you have to make cheese. That cottage cheese which I strained (which I made from that sour milk), I squeeze it, grind it in the hands. And then I pour fresh milk, not skimmed (there you can also take skimmed milk), and then I set it up to boil, and you have to stand and stir it all the time, until it starts to boil. And then I take the sieve, and then I stretch cheesecloth and pour that boiled cottage cheese into the sieve. And then you hang it up so that the water trickles away. If you let it get cold, it gets as hard as a stone, so
you get no good of it. While it is hot and is still dripping, you put it on the dish. For a kilo of this boiled cottage cheese you put in a spoonful of salt and one teaspoonful of soda and a hundred grams of butter, and so you have to stir it again until it starts to stretch. And so the cheese is ready.

|| üst, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 249]; uст, -н, -ар, -а m. [DANELL 1951: 304].

Type m. 1c

§ 9. In this type belong nouns whose stems end in $l$ and $r$. A distinguishing feature is $-n$ ($<-l-n, -r-n$) in the definite singular.\(^{16}\)

According to Karlgren, at the time of his research, monosyllabic nouns with stems in $l$ had the retroflex $n$ in the definite sg.: $st$n (stöch ‘chair’). Nouns with stems in $r$ (both monosyllabic and disyllabic) had $n$ in the def. sg.: $bu$n ($bur$ ‘cage’) [KARLGREN 1953: 18]. In the dialect of Nuckö, monosyllabic nouns in $l$ had the fusion $l$n > $n$ occasionally also $n$) in the def. sg.: $stoN$. In nouns whose stems end in $r$, the fusion $rn$ > $n$ does not take place: $burn$ (def. sg. of $bur$ ‘cage’). Disyllabic nouns fluctuate between the dental and postalveolar $n$ in the def. sg. [DANELL 1905–1934: 49, 103].

§ 10. The following nouns of this type have occurred in the interviews:

1. bugär ‘type of plough’ (< Germ. Bucker): Üte hän bugän$_{\text{def.sg.}}$ sät$a$-de ‘unde äiken o å-de mä-en LU ‘You fasten this bugär to the horse and plough with it.’

|| bugr, -ar m. G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 34]; bugger [KARLGREN 1924: 31]. According to Karlgren, this type of plough was invented by South Russian Germans and replaced in Gammalsvenskby the plough called sak. Regarding the correlation between $ck$ (in Bucker) and $g$ (in bugär), it should be noted that the voicing of $k$ and the alternation $k/g$ in intervocalic position is widespread both in Gammalsvenskby and in cognate dialects. Examples: $diken$ MP, $dikn$ AL alongside $digen$ LU ‘twenty-four hours’; $viku$ AL and $vigu$ LU; $hako$ ‘chin,’ $kaku$ ‘cake,’ $tiköl$ ‘brick’ and $hagu$, $kagu$, $tigål$ in the dialect of Dagö [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 76, 98, 232]; $någu$ and $näku$ ‘looks; appearance’ NW [IBID.: 157, 158]; $stäka$ and $stäga$ ‘table-glass’ G [IBID.: 219]; $spikar$ GNORW and $spigar$ D ‘pantry’ [IBID.: 206].

2. bůr ‘cage’

|| $bůr$, -ar m. DGNRW, -ăr n. O [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 36]; $bu$r/$bůr$, -н, -ăr, -а m. [DANELL 1951: 60].

3. digär LU, dikär MP AL ‘ten’ (def. sg. $diken$ AL, $digän$ LU; pl. $dikrar$, $digrar$; def. pl. $digra$, $dikrana$, $digrana$): än digär äggär ‘ten eggs’; Än digär jär

\(^{16}\) See [MANKOV 2010b: § 12.3] on the fluctuation between $n$ and $n$ in the definite singular of nouns terminating in $l, r$. 

2014 №1 Slověne
tī stikke LU ‘One digār means ten’; tfō digra\textsubscript{DEF.PL.} LU ‘two tens’; tri digrar\textsubscript{INDEF.PL.} LU ‘three tens’\textsuperscript{17}

This noun was originally a \textit{u}-stem and should have had a vowel alternation in the root (like sonn ‘son,’ pl. sinnär); compare OSw. tjugher, tiogher, pl. tighir m. ‘ten’ (noun). The singular forms dikär/digär go back to the plural tighir, having supplanted the original singular form: instead of *ān tjāg ‘ten’ (which would be a phonetically regular form) one began to say ān tigär by analogy with tfō tigär ‘two tens; score,’ after which the noun went over to type m.1c. The form dikär with initial \textit{d} instead of \textit{t} can be explained through a metathesis of voicing: *tigär > dikär. The form digär instead of *tigär is probably due to assimilation in reference to voicing.\textsuperscript{18} Alternatively, digär may have appeared due to the voicing of \textit{k} in dikār.

\textit{\textit{dikēr, pl. dikra} m. (according to Tiberg’s note, the plural in -\textit{a} occurs only after numerals) [KARL	extsc{gren} 1953: 19].}

\textbf{4. djāvōl} (def. sg. djāvān) ‘devil’

\textit{\textit{diævāl, pl. diævlar} m. G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 41]: devo\textsubscript{K}, also diævol, diæv\textsubscript{K} [DANELL 1951: 75].}

\textbf{5. doftor} ‘doctor’ (< Russ. or Germ.). Forms of this noun having occurred in the interviews:

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
 & Sg. & Def. sg. & Pl. & Def. pl. \\
\hline
MP & doftār & doftān & doftar & doftarāna \\
LU & doftār & doftān & doftar & doftārāna \\
AL & doftor & doftōn & doftar & doftora \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Unstressed ā instead of \textit{o} in doftār appeared under the influence of bugār, jēgār, and other nouns in -ār. Phonetically regular plural forms of doftor are *doftorar, def. doftora (unstressed \textit{o} is not syncopated in the dialect [MANKOV 2010B: § 39]). The syncopated plural forms doftar, doftarana derive from doftār rather than doftor.

\textit{\textit{doftor, -ēr} m. G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 42]: doftar, -\textit{an}/-\textit{an}, -\textit{er}, -\textit{e} m. [DANELL 1951: 75].}

\textbf{6. ēŋōl} ‘maggot’: Flōu skāit ‘ūt-se po he käte hāldär po fiska. O ēñlar\textsubscript{pl.}, tom site ānt ōapo, a kroka ‘inn djēpāre, o tom vuzl tārinn ūte he käte LU ‘The fly laid maggots in the meat or in the fish. And maggots, they don’t sit above but crawl deeper inside, and they swarm there in that meat’; Kāte hār ēñlar\textsubscript{pl.} ūte se, tō kan ‘ō ānt sī-dom, tom ēñla\textsubscript{DEF.PL.}, mān to-de byre skōa bātrare, so kan-de sī,}

\textsuperscript{17} In the last two examples a fluctuation between the def. pl. digara and indef. pl. digrar takes place after a numeral.

\textsuperscript{18} An example of a distant assimilation with reference to quality is sustār < sustār ‘shoemaker’ (compare Lat. quīnque ‘five’ < *penk’e).
There are maggots in the meat, you still can’t see them, those maggots, but when you start to look closer, you can see that it is moving in there.’

Compare Germ. Egel m. ‘leech’ and Engerling m. ‘grub of a cockchafer’ [DANELL 1951: 179; LAGMAN 1973: 23]. The form ēngöl is possibly a result of the contamination of these words.

| ēnglēr only pl., m. G ‘pinworm’ [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 48]; ēnggök, ēnggka, -kar, -ka f. ‘leech’ [DANELL 1951: 179]. The form ēngöl is possibly a result of the contamination of these words.

7. fūl ‘bird’: Fūla-def.pl. jāra bott-flōe AL LU MP ‘The birds have flown away.’

| fūl, -ar m. G, fūl, -ar m. DGNO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 53, 61], compare fūl, -ar m. RW [IBID.: 58]; fūk/fūk̑, fūn/fūn, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 116].

8. gammen ‘grandfather’ (*gammöl-n “the old one,” def. sg.): Ja kumär e hön-e min mamases fär, gammen: to ja vår lill, komm ‘upp näst mur-mür, so satt gammen ’po oss de kraoa ‘inn bākom būde po läsa (tēr vår āin brāi läs, tēr kann-de ’ān läggjas ’nēr de sōa po-on), o murrμur hāist ’inn froon kāven som dom kūka (he kumār ‘ūt som kāvens-huninge hāldār sīrope). Tēr kann-de ‘ō hāll ‘jōl lite friskār grāidd. Gammen satt sānn ’po de tōa ān brē-bita o de jāta LU ‘I remember my mother’s father, Grandad: when I was little, I came to my grandmother’s place, so Grandad ordered us to climb onto the bench behind the table (there was a broad bench, you could even lay down to sleep on it), and Grandma scooped out of a watermelon that they were cooking (it is like watermelon honey or syrup). You can also pour a little fresh cream into it also. Grandad ordered us to take a bit of bread and to eat.’

9. gāvöl (also stji-gāvöl) ‘gable’: sēne-gāvöl ‘headboard’; stūl-gāvöl, -ān ‘back of a chair’; Ja vāit, ān gamma kēft tēr āin sēŋ ot me, o hon vår mā jēndār gāvöl... jēn gāvlar, pl. ‘I know that Grandma bought a bed for me there, and it was with an iron board... iron boards.’

The following forms occurred in interviews with MP and LU: gāvöl, gāvān/gāven, gāvlar, gāvlana. In interviews with AL: gāvöl, gāvān, gāvnar, gāvna (gāvna is a plural form of type m.1d; compare kāvna pl. of kāven ‘watermelon’).

| gāvāl DGRW, gāvul NO, -lar m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 65]; gavok, -on, -kar, -ka m. [KARLGREN 1953: 18]; gavok/gavok, -on, -kar, -ka m. [DANELL 1951: 124].

10. himmäl only sg. ‘sky’: Ve vår unde bār himmen tfo vikur MP ‘We were under the open sky for two weeks’; Himmen-def.sg., jār klāran, dār jār ānt īna ān mōle-kloomp ‘pō-n LU ‘The sky is clear, there’s not a cloud in it’; Himmen-def.sg. jār mōlendār, he kan gāva rāven LU ‘The sky is overcast, it might rain’; Fēr vår himmön fūldār mā stjēnar, a nō sīnas dom ānt, Kann bara mōn līs LU ‘In the
past, the sky used to be full of stars, but now they aren't visible, only the moon can shine’ (i.e., you can only see the moon and not the stars).

The form himmäl occurred in interviews with LU. AL cites the following forms: himm(a)l, def. sg. himm(a)l (type m.1d) / himm(a)ln (type m.1b); in these forms l instead of ḷ is due to the influence of Germ. Himmel and Sw. himmel.

\[ \text{himmäl, -lar m. DG, himul NO, himål RW \ [\text{Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 81]}; humok, humon, humkar, humba m. \ [\text{Danell 1951: 159].} \]

11. hummöl (def. sg. hummän AL) only sg. ‘hop’ (plant). In an interview with LU this noun occurred with a neuter def. sg. form himmäḷ.

\[ \text{himmäl, -larm. DG, compare humul NO, himäl D, himmål R \ [\text{Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 86]; homok/homok, -øn m. \ [\text{Danell 1951: 166].} \]

12. hu sięr ‘hunger’: hu sıgerīn m. 2a (def. sg.) ‘famine; the time of starvation’; Ja orkar i sıgän före hu sıgeran ‘I can’t do anything because I’m so hungry’; Üte hu sıgerän blåi mika dēar LU ‘In the time of famine many died.’

\[ \text{huølr only sg., m. DGW, compare huggur m. O \ [\text{Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 86]; hoggor, -øn m. \ [\text{Danell 1951: 167}.} \]

13. jëgär ‘hunter’ (< Germ. Jäger). Instead of a specific definite singular form (jegrän, occurring in interviews with LU), AL uses the indefinite form, which is typical of loanwords.

\[ \text{iégгран, -ør m. G \ [\text{Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 93], compare iægar O, iægr, -ør m. RW \ [\text{Ibid.: 97]; iządbr, -øn/-an, -ør, -e m. \ [\text{Danell 1951: 182].} \]

14. kløndrar only pl. ‘clods of dry dung or mud’: Küda höldar ‘ö de værm se e sköne, hon kann läggjas ’nér üte-e de bosa se. He blëar som kløndrar ’umm-on LU ‘The cow likes to warm itself in the dung, it can lie down in it to warm itself. It (the dung) forms clods on it (i.e., on the cow).’

\[ \text{Compare the verb klëndør ‘rumble,’ recorded only in Vippal (according to Vendell, it goes back to Middle Low German klundern) \ [\text{Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 105].} \]

15. kólendär ‘calender’ (< Est. kalender or Germ. Kalender).

According to both AL and LU, the definite singular form is the same as the indefinite, which is typical of loanwords; pl. kólendar LU, kolendrar AL; def. pl. kólendärna LU, kolendra AL.

\[ \text{kalendór (indef. and def. sg. are not distinguished) \ [\text{Karlgren 1953: 18]; kálandor \ [\text{Danell 1951: 192]; kalendor m. \ [\text{Isberg 1970: 146}.} \]

16. kól only sg. ‘cabbage’: blumm-kól ‘cauliflower’; salt ’inn kón def.sg., ‘to pickle cabbage’; Tō höldar ’ö sjüran kól? ‘Do you like sauerkraut?’, Fäst skår ja kón, sänn rēar ja ’hūp-e má salt o läggär ’inn-e üte kāstrüll, än stüran, o tät-n rāi jär sjüran, so läggär ja ’inn-en üte butlar, üte tri-litās, o gār ’fast dom mā ka-prōnove loke. He tarvas to ānt vask ’ō-en. A to-de här-en üte tunna, to fō-de lägge}
slarv ‘pö-en, klämm ‘inn-en riinn ‘umm e tunna o lägge loke po, sänn läggä–de titt vift, än stäin öapo. O tår fö–de tōa ‘tjänd hon slarva o skjöle ‘tit-on, äles kann-on bō läftat. Soss lōa ve ‘inn sjūran kōl [INDEF.SG. (also han sjūr kön [DEF.SG.) LU ‘First, I cut the cabbage, then I mix it with salt and put it in a saucepan, a big one, and when it gets sour, I put it in jars, in three-litre (jars), and close it with a nylon lock. It’s not necessary to wash it then. But when you have it in a barrel, then you have to put a cloth on it, fix it around the barrel and put the lock on, then you put a weight there, a stone on top. And there you have to take away the cloth and rinse it, otherwise it can become smelly. This is the way we made sauerkraut.’

|| kål only sg., m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 120]; kōk, def. sg. kön m. [DANELL 1951: 231].

17. kriŋāl ‘bagel’ (< Germ. Kringel m.).

Cognate dialects retain the original feminine form (compare Icel. kring-la, diminutive of kringr ‘ring’): kriŋgāl DGRW, kriŋgul NO, -lēr RW f. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 113]; kriŋgok, -ka, -kar, -kana f. [DANELL 1951: 221].

18. kvēldār ‘late’ evening: jūl–kvēldār ‘Christmas Eve’; tjūl kvēldn ‘towards the evening’; umm kvēldn ‘in the evening’; Ge-kvēldār! ‘Good evening!’; Edā här-e blēst häila dāen, kannskē lōtār-e ‘ō tjūl kvēldn de blēs LU ‘Today it has been blowing the whole day, maybe it will stop blowing towards the evening.’

In the root [eː] and [ei] are heard alongside ē [eː]. The noun is declined irregularly: in the singular the stem is kvēldār, in the plural kvēld-. The following forms have occurred in interviews:

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<th>Def. sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Def. pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>kvēldār</td>
<td>kvēlden</td>
<td>kvēldar</td>
<td>kvēldana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>kvēldār</td>
<td>kvēldn</td>
<td>kvēldar//kvēldnar//kvēldār</td>
<td>kvēlda(na)//kvēldena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>kvēldār</td>
<td>kvēld(a)n</td>
<td>kvēldar</td>
<td>kvēlda(na)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most consistent forms were cited by MP. LU’s def. sg. form kvēldn with syncopated ē (instead of the expected kvēldān or kvēlden) can be explained through analogy with type m.1b. The pl. form kvēldnar is caused by the influence of vāvnar, kāvnar. In kvēldār the plural ending -ar is attached directly to the singular stem. In the definite plural form kvēldena, the ending -ena may be a vestige of the neuter paradigm (the neuter gender is preserved in the dialect of Nuckō).


19. kvārvōl/kvārvvēl ‘latch’: Han kvārvān [DEF.SG.], jār ūte ställe hoka: hann jār fast-spikka mā spikken, än-en vriss; de kann vrī-en LU ‘That latch is in the place of the hook. It is nailed with a nail, so that it turns; you can turn it.’
The following forms have occurred:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>SG</th>
<th>Def. SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Def. PL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>kvärvöl/-äí</td>
<td>kvärvän</td>
<td>kvärvlar</td>
<td>kvärvla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>kvärv, kvärv</td>
<td>kvärven</td>
<td>kvärvar</td>
<td>kvärv//kvärvare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form kvärvär appeared due to the influence of nouns in -är (e.g. vintär ‘winter’); the form kvärv appeared through the reanalysis kvärven > kvärv-en in the definite sg.

20. likäl/-öl ‘key’: skrů-likäl ‘screwdriver’; Ja kann änt vri umm likän_def.sg. LU ‘I can’t turn the key’; Ja kann änt drāa ‘åt likän_def.sg. LU (likän MP) ‘I can’t get the key out’; Ja tappa botth likklar_def.pl. LU ‘I’ve lost the keys.’

In def. pl. (in contact with l) k can lengthen: likklä.

21. mūr ‘outer wall; stone fence’: gato-mūr ‘the wall that separates the front garden from the street’; stäm-mūr ‘stone fence’; Tom mid mūr ‘upp LU ‘They built a fence’; Får vå-där alastål stäm-mūrar_pl., läns me håila bin. Allar hāv mūrar_pl., män summlar hāv hēgāre, summlar hāv lēgāre. A grinde summlar hāv, summlar hēv-e änt, före he än de tarva brāar, a konn de tōa-dom, vå-där änt LU ‘Before, there were stone fences everywhere, all over the village. Everybody had stone fences, but some had higher ones, some had lower. But a wicket gate, some had it, some didn’t, because you needed boards, and where to get them, there weren’t any available.’

22. nāl ‘fi ngernail’: Hos de läis ipet tom knjasta, to ja änt hār in naḷar_pl. LU ‘How do I untie those knots if I don’t have any fi ngernails?’; Ja färga hōre po me, färga lēppa po me, färga nāla_def.pl. LU ‘I dyed my hair, put on lipstick, put on nail polish.’

23. oldār only sg. ‘age’

24. pōl ‘pole; peg’: pōl ‘fast ‘to tie to a pole’; Ån pōl kann-de slō ‘inn ot jūde o bind küda ‘fast ‘You can drive a peg into the ground and tie a horse to it.’

25. raspōl (-ön, -lar, -la) ‘rasp’

Slověne 2014 №1
26. **snūr** only sg. ‘snot’: **snūratār** ‘snotty’; **Snūn**\textsubscript{DEF,SG.} **rinndār** frön näsa ‘Snot is running down the nose’; Där jär slik snūrat bönar, än ärna glimar frön **Snūn**\textsubscript{DEF,PL.} LU ‘There are such snotty kids that their sleeves glisten with snot.’

|| **snúr** only sg., m. G, **snör** m. DGRW, n. NO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 202, 203]; **sngr** -n only sg., m. [Danell 1951: 378].

27. **spōl** ‘lath’: Üte svin-stīa kann där vara po golv ristar, o so fō-de spikk ‘fast dom må spōlar, än dom änt brūt fētäre ’pō se ’In the pigsty, there can be slits in the floor, so you have to nail them up with laths, so that they don’t break their legs’; Äin lukka üte svīn-stīa vār änt ända upp de lūft-värke, o tōr konn hinse satt, tū svine dom üte vinŋjan o drū ’inn dom ot se, od ’upp dom, före he än lükka vār änt ända ’upp de lūft-värke. Tār gehēdest de spikk fast spōla\textsubscript{DEF,PL.}. De spikk brāa ‘fast, so kumār änt ina lūft ’inn ot-n, ot svīne LU ‘A door in the pigsty didn’t reach the ceiling, and where the poultry were sitting, the pig grabbed them by the wings and pulled them in and ate them up, because the door didn’t reach the ceiling. It was necessary to nail laths there. But if you nail a board there, there won’t be any air coming in to it, to the pig.’

|| **spōl**, -ar m. ‘reel; lath; plank’ DGNORW, compare spula, -r m. ‘reel’ O, ‘hinge’ G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 208, 209]; **spōk**, -on, -ar, -a m. [Danell 1951: 388].

28. **spōl** ‘mirror’: skōa ‘inn ot spōn\textsubscript{DEF,SG.} ‘look in the mirror’

|| **spōl**, -ar m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 210], compare spēgul m. N FrV 206, spāgāl, -lar W, -ēr R m., spāil, -ar m. LillR, spel, -ar m. O [IBID.: 209]; spāgok, -on/on, -kar, -ka m. [Danell 1951: 384].

29. (jē-n-)**stāvär** ‘crowbar’: Mā än stāvär kann-de säte ‘mūt... spān ‘titt-n mūt grinde. Soṣσ kann nōn tōa ipet grinde, a soṣσ spānt ja ‘titt han jēn-stāvān ‘mūt LU ‘With a crowbar you can put... prop the wicket gate. This way someone can open the gate, but this way, when I prop it shut with a crowbar (no one can open it).’

The form in -öl was cited as well: jēn-stāvöl, -stāvān, -stāvlar, -stāvla, where -ööl instead of -år is caused by association with such nouns as gävöl, which are identical with nouns in -ār in the definite sg. (gāvān = stāvān). Compare kalkur ‘turkey,’ vāgur ‘cart’ alongside kalkul, vāgul in the dialect of Nuckö [Danell 1951: 192, 457].

|| **stāvor** DGRW, stāvur NO, -rar DGNO, -rēr RW m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 212]; stavor/stavor, -on/on, -rar, -ra m. [Danell 1951: 393].

30. **stūl** ‘chair’: kristne-stūl ‘font’; vāv-stūl ‘loom’; Han **stūn**\textsubscript{DEF,SG.} äit bāin jār kōttare, byrja mülken, o nō kāiklar-e LU ‘That chair, (which has) one short-er leg, began to moulder, and now it’s unsteady’; **Stūn**\textsubscript{DEF,SG.} änt a vare sundär-brūtest umm-de änt a vare upp-sattest po-en LU ‘The chair wouldn’t have broken if you hadn’t sat on it.’
A Scandinavian Island in a Slavonic Linguistic Environment.
The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Nouns (Part 2)

|| stól, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 215]; stök, -øn/-øn, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 397].

31. stövål/stövvål (also stöväl) ‘shoe; boot’: stövl-holena$_{DEF.PL}$ ‘holes for laces in boots’; stövål-bönd ‘lace for boots’; läggjat stövår ‘tall boots’; skrill-stövår ‘skates’; bind ipet snērena po stövår$_{DEF.PL}$ ‘to untie laces on the boots’; Skūa gnī, än stövål gnīăr LU ‘The shoes chafe, a boot chafes’; Han skūen kann knark, häldär stövän$_{DEF.SG}$ LU ‘A shoe can squeak, or a boot’; Täss stövår$_{DEF.PL}$ klämm, tom jära mnjūasla LU ‘These boots are tight, they are a bit tight’; Ja änt a hāve iŋa bläim upp-gnēe, umm stövår$_{DEF.PL}$ LU ‘There wouldn’t have been any blisters if the boots hadn’t been so tight.’

The root vowel fluctuates between [ə] and [œ]. Compare Sw. stövel ‘boot’, klöver ‘clover’ (from Middle Low German stevel, klēver), where ö instead of e may be due to the following rounded consonant [WESSÉN 1968: § 34].

| || stiväl DGRW, stivuł NO, -l ar DGNO, -l ēr RW m. DGNORW, f. NO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 214]; stivok, -ka, -kar, -ka f. [DANELL 1951: 405]. Lagman cites stiväl f. for Dagö and Gammalsvenskby, considering it a loan from Baltic German [LAGMAN 1973: 46]; compare Germ. Stiefel m.

32. sustär/sustär ‘shoemaker’ < Germ. Schuster.

33. targöl ‘rag’: slarv-targolar$_{PL}$ ‘rags’; Ko jär-e för klēnar, he jär bara de targlar$_{PL}$ kast ‘ut LU ‘What’s the use of these clothes, you can only throw them away as rags’; He jär bara de kast ‘ut de slarv-targlar$_{PL}$, gamal klēnar, sundrarat LU ‘They can only be thrown away as rags, old clothes, ragged.’

This noun is absent in Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries. DANELL only cites the corresponding verb [1951: 427]. Compare Sw. (obsolete) targla ‘to tear apart’ [SAOB: T492].

34. tjūr ‘bull’

| || tiür, -ar m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 233]; tiur/tiør, -n, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 432].

35. vāvär ‘cart’: diñe-vāvär ‘dung cart’; harb-vāvär ‘araba’ (type of cart); Norr-vāven$_{DEF.SG}$, ‘Ursa Major’; ri-vāvär AA ‘saddle’; Tom tā ’bott papa de jāg āikja po vāvär$_{DEF.SG}$, som dom kēd ‘ute LU ‘They took Dad away to drive the horses in the cart they were travelling in’; Üte harb-vāvën$_{DEF.SG}$, lāgge dom ‘inn hālm, hāi de kēr, o tēr jär än stāa po bō siana de lūf’t-e ‘upp hēgre, än där gōr māire ‘inn ‘ute hon harba LU ‘In the cart they put straw and hay to carry, and there is a ladder on both sides, to lift the hay up higher, so that the cart holds more.’

In interviews with AL this noun fluctuates between types m.1c (vāvär) and m.1d (vāven), which is due to the similarity of the definite sg. vāven (of vāvär) to such nouns of type m.1c as kāven. MP and LU cite regular forms of type m.1c.

Slověne 2014 №1
153

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<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Def. sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Def. pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MP LU</td>
<td>vāvār</td>
<td>vāvān</td>
<td>vāvra</td>
<td>vāvra(na)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>vāvār/vāven</td>
<td>vāvān/vāven</td>
<td>vāvna</td>
<td>vāvna(na)</td>
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36. vintār ‘winter’: um vintān, tjöl vintān, ‘in the winter’; tān fārg, hāv-e upp-jāga slik stūr drivar, än ve änt kunt toa ipet dānna LU ‘I’ve tied up a bundle of grass, to carry home to the goat for the winter’; Hēr näst oss tān fārgē vintān, hāv-e upp-jāga slik stūr drivar, än ve änt kunt toa ipet dānna LU ‘Here at our place last winter there had blown such big snowdrifts that we couldn’t open the door’; Tāsn vintān, vār hōle kōldār, vār stūran frost LU ‘This winter was very cold, there were heavy frosts.’

|| vintēr DGR, vintur N, -rar m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 256]; vintor, -on/-on, -rar, -ra m. [DANELL 1951: 470].

Type m. 1d

§ 11. A distinguishing feature is the zero ending in the definite singular. To this type belong nouns whose stems end in n and nd. Another group of nouns that occur with the zero ending in the def. sg. are those whose stems end in l after a consonant or an unstressed vowel. The zero ending in this case is probably due not to the phonetic loss of -en after l in the def. sg., but to the fact that these nouns are loanwords; see [MANKOV 2013A: § 9; KARLGREN 1953: § 33]. Nouns in l after a consonant or an unstressed vowel can also occur with the ending -n in the def. sg. (i.e., they belong to type m. 1b). This is particularly typical of interviews with AL and LU; in interviews with MP the zero ending is prevalent. The zero ending in this case makes the present-day dialect different from Karlgren’s records as well as from the dialect of Nuckö, where nouns in -l, -ll end in -n in the def. sg. It should also be noted that nouns with stems in l and ll after a stressed vowel belong to type m. 1a in the present-day dialect.

§ 12. The following nouns of type m.1d have occurred in the interviews:

1. aks(ä)l ‘axis.’ The final l instead of l can be explained by its position after s [MANKOV 2010A: § 10.4]. However, -l could be replaced by l under the influence of Sw. axel.

|| aksal, -ēr m. DGNO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 15], compare ahkäl, -lar m. W FrV 14, aktrl, -ar m. Stor R; aksar [KARLGREN 1953: 9]; aksak, -an/-an, -ēr, -e m. [DANELL 1951: 11].

2. bāstān ‘field where melons grow’ (< Russ. baumān): Svātt krōkana, tom hakk kāvna ‘sundār po bastān, han gō-šān fārlōra, hann rūtnas ‘boṭṭ LU
‘Black crows, they peck at watermelons in the field, they get spoiled and they rot away’; Tēr väks dom, po han bastan\textsubscript{def,sg}., kāvnar o dinnjar AL ‘There, in that field, melons and watermelons grow.’

The form bastar m. 2b was recorded as well; it may be due to the interpretation of bastan as a definite sg. form of type 2b.

3. **bisman** ‘steelyard balance’: Ja vifta käte mä bisman LU ‘I weighed the meat with a steelyard’; Tā tän bisman\textsubscript{def,sg}, ja hār i ūt a anat vift LU ‘Take this steelyard, I don’t have any other scales.’

In interviews with AL there occurred forms caused by the association with mann ‘man’: biss-mann, -Ø, -männär, -männe, type m. 4.

4. **bjūn** ‘bear’

5. **brunn** ‘well’: Min mamases küsün grāva ūt ot se sole än brunn, än rönd mā stāinar fi-en slō ‘girm. Tār tarva-de änt grāv djūфт, före he än svāde vā brāivār mā vatne. Före he, än dom änt lēvd tār māiāre, so kasta dom ‘fast-n mā smōl, än įjen änt fāllār ‘inn ūtē-en LU ‘My mother’s cousin dug a well for himself, he had to break through a layer of stone. There you didn’t have to dig deep because the gully was nearby with water. Because they didn’t live there any more, they filled it up with rubbish so that no one would fall into it’; Ja drū vatn ‘upp fron brunn o drāmft ūtē ambare LU ‘I was pulling water out of the well and sank the pail.’

6. **butl** ‘large jar’: Fāst skār ja kōn, sānn rēār ja ‘hūp-e me salt o läggār ‘inn-e ūtē kāstrūll, o tāt-n rājār sjūran, so läggār ja ‘inn-en ütē butlar\textsubscript{pl}, ütē tri-lītāš. LU ‘First, I cut the cabbage, then I mix it with salt and put it in a saucepan, and when it gets sour, I put it in jars, in three-litre (jars).’

7. **böün** ‘bean’: Vatne kūkar, so kastar ja būraka hāldār böüna\textsubscript{def,pl}, sānn katūfla som ja bita ‘sundār, pūrkan LU ‘The water is boiling, so I throw in beets or beans, then potatoes that I cut into pieces, and a carrot’; To böüna\textsubscript{def,pl} liggē ūtē skāiana, so gō dom änt fārlōrā. Tom som ligge soś lōņațīär, so blīa-dār makkar ūtē dom. Tom brukat böüna\textsubscript{def,pl}, tēr sīä-de änt tom makka, a ūtē kvīt böüna\textsubscript{def,pl}, tēr sīä-de hon svāt plātta LU ‘When beans are stored in pods, they don’t get spoiled. Those which have been stored like this for a long time, bugs
appear in them. Spotted beans, there you can’t notice those bugs, but in white beans you see a black spot.'

|| bōun, -ar f. DG [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 39]; baun, -a, -ar, -ana f. [DANELL 1951: 68]. On the masculine gender of this noun in the present-day dialect (instead of the original feminine), see [MANKOV 2010B: 95].

8. fān ‘devil,’ a swear word: Lät han fan (or Han fan kan tōa-e allt; or Lät han fān mūär ‘To hell with it all’; Fān a hāve-e allt (or Fān a hāve- e allt tāje) ‘To hell with it all’; Fān a hāve- on ‘To hell with her.’

| fān only sg., m. DGNORW [FREENAL, VENDELL 1886: 50], fänėn only def. sg., m. GW [IBID.: 62]; fān (according to Isberg, women distort this word, pronouncing it as fæn) [DINNER 1951: 95].

9. fīun ‘violin’: fīun-spālar m. 2b ‘fiddler.’

| fīun, -ar m. G, compare fiuldn, -ar m. D [FREENAL, VENDELL 1886: 53]; fiuln/fioln, -a, -ar, -ana f. [DINNER 1951: 101].

10. gafē ‘fork’

Phonetically changed under the influence of Germ. Gaffel f. and Sw. gaffel; the genuine form would be *gafēll (as recorded by Vendell). In interviews with EU the noun is feminine: hon gafēll ‘that fork’; Gäv ot māi gafēll ‘Give me the fork.’

| gafē G, gaffē DRW, gaful NO, -lar m. [FREENAL, VENDELL 1886: 64]; gafol, -n, -lar, -la m. [DINNER 1951: 122].

11. grann ‘neighbor’: grann-fār m. ‘(male) neighbor’; grann-mūär f. ‘(female) neighbor.’

| grann, -ar m. DGNORW; compare gradnē, pl. gradnar m. G [FREENAL, VENDELL 1886: 70], an unclear form that looks like a Slavonic loan-word; gran, -Ø, -er, -e m. [DINNER 1951: 130].

12. grāin ‘branch’: imp-grāin ‘graft’; Grāin brōutest ‘o, o po han kvūstn blāja ja hēnja LU ‘The branch broke, and I got caught on that twig’; Han grāin (or kan gō fālōra LU ‘That branch, it can get damaged’; To-de hāv strüssar, so gi-de do ‘o o brōut tom grāin fra hāstrana. Strüssana jāta blāna o gnāvōl barken ‘tjānd fron tom grāin fra hāstrana. A he vērke blīār ‘otār fron grāin, o me-e kann-de åld sānn, to-e blīār töft LU ‘When people had rabbits, they went and broke off those branches from willows. Rabbits eat the leaves and browse bark off those branches, and the wood remains from the branches, and you can use it for heating when it gets dry’; Grāina, kikas so hōle fron vādāre LU ‘The branches are waving so hard in the wind.’

| grāin, -ar m. DGRW [FREENAL, VENDELL 1886: 73]; graun, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [DINNER 1951: 131].

hann, -ar m. G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 78]; han, -Ø, -er, -e m. [DANELL 1951: 150].

14. hund 'dog': drikks-hund 'drunk; alcoholic'; Han hund,DEF.SG. tjavax ot me häila sin liffs-tiär LU ‘That dog has served me his whole life’; Hunda,DEF.SG. gnävlar kätt-bäne LU ‘The dog is gnawing the bone’; Narr änt hund,DEF.SG. LU ‘Don’t tease the dog’; Hund,DEF.SG. nurrar, han vill änt släpp ‘titt me ‘mut se LU ‘The dog is snarling, it doesn’t want to let me approach it there’; Ja här hund,DEF.SG. xjöl-skjüte AL ‘I have shot down the dog’; Släpp ‘löüsår hund,DEF.SG. MP ‘Untie the dog’; Hund,DEF.SG. spröja ‘bott’ LU ‘The dog ran away’; Hund,DEF.SG. kann svarv üte-de o bit-de LU ‘The dog can grab you and bite you’; Tër var hund,DEF.SG. fast-bunde LU ‘There was a tied-up dog’; Hunda,DEF.PL. gäi, gäv änt ott-on de sōa LU ‘The dogs were barking and didn’t let her sleep’; Hugg ‘sundär-en de bitar, o hunda,DEF.PL. jāta upp-e ‘Chop it into pieces, and the dogs will eat it up’; Han byrja ‘ötär drikk, han drikks-hund,DEF.SG. LU ‘He started to drink again, that drunkard.’

15. káð(U)fl AL, kätüfl LU, pl. kadflar AL, káð[ə]flar EU, kadeflar AA ‘potato’ (< Germ. Kartoffel f.): kätüfl-skälär n. pl. ‘potato peelings’; boka kätüflar,pl. ‘baked potatoes’; dämt kätüflar ‘stewed potatoes’; fin kätüflar ‘small potatoes’; Kätüfl byrjar rāi väks, han hār rāi grūdar po se LU ‘Potatoes begin sprouting, there are sprouts on it’; Ja hōldär ‘o dämt kätüflar,pl. LU ‘I like stewed potatoes’; To-de grāvar kätüfla,DEF.PL... tom jāra üte rōana satt, än bisk bait anan. O soōssom-de grāva dom, soō ligge dom üte rōa. Tër plukkar ‘tjänd dom fron büsken, sānn grabblar ja ‘än üte jūde, korar jūde ütär kvatāna de séke, umn där ‘än jär üte jūde. Tom kuna fall ‘inn ot kätüflbüṣks-holena som rāi var ūt-grāva, kannke än där ‘än jär inn-falle kätüfla,DEF.PL. LU ‘When you dig up potatoes... they are planted in rows, one bush after another. And as you are digging them up, they are lying in a row. Then I tear them off the plant, then I keep on rummaging in the dirt, raking through the dirt to see if there are more. They can fall into holes from the plants which had already been dug up, probably there are more potatoes that have rolled inside’; Tom grāva ‘ūt kätüfla,DEF.PL. o ja gi sān de napp ‘hūp dom LU ‘They had dug up the potatoes, and I went to gather them later’; Ja dämt kätüflar,pl. mā kätt, ja brāst fāst ‘ive he käte lite o kasta ‘inn mā kätüfla,DEF.PL. de dāmpas. Ja bita ‘inn sip! po tom kätüfla,DEF.PL., kasta ‘inn lurbäs-blā o pipar LU ‘I stewed potatoes with meat, first I fried that meat a little and threw it in to stew with the potatoes. I sprinkled onion on those potatoes, threw in bay leaf and pepper’; Tom jāra de grāv kätüfla,DEF.PL. (also Tom jāra po
katüfl-grāvande) LU ‘They are digging up potatoes’; Tom gō po katüfl-grāvande LU ‘They will go to dig up potatoes.’

In interviews with EU the unstressed vowel fluctuates between [ə] and [u]. The fluctuation between a voiceless and voiced intervocalic consonant (kadüfl/katüfl) also occurred in kadus/kados/katūs ‘cap.’

| kaðufl, -ar f. G, compare kadüfl, -lar f. D [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 98]. In the dialect of Nuckó this word is borrowed from Estonian (Est. tuhvel): tufol, -la, -lar, -lana f. [Danell 1951: 195].

16. káltkùn ‘turkey,’ also used humorously for Russians: Risse nämmd-dom de kalkünar_pl, a konnföre väit ja änt, tom jära he äin folke sosš-som ve LU ‘They called Russians turkeys, but for what reason I don’t know, they are the same people as we are’; Tom kalla risse de kalkünar LU ‘They called Russians turkeys.’

| kakkor/-k, -on/-on m. [Danell 1951: 192]; kalkon/-n m. [Isberg 1970: 146].

17. kàstrüll ‘saucepan’ (< Est. kastrul): Kastrüll, -ar f. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 100]; kastrull [Danell 1951: 199].

18. kāven (pl. kävnar, def. pl. kävna/kävna/kàvnana) ‘watermelon’ (< Ukr. kàvun): Ja skār grād ‘sundär än käven LU ‘I have just cut the watermelon into slices’; Ja nipla kēna ‘út me kniven fron käven, LU ‘I was picking pips from the watermelon’; Han gi balt bilm som sjöf kävna_pl, han keft än käven, o spörftest me fūtn, o foll ‘nēr o slū ‘sundär han käven_def.sg. LU ‘He was following the car that sells watermelons, bought a watermelon, and stumbled, and fell down and smashed that watermelon’; Umm dom änt jära släest, so rütn-dom änt so fi kst, a sosš kann käven_def.sg. byre rütn. Kävna_def.pl. kast dom ‘änt po rukan, a fō-de lägge ‘titt-n po rukan, fäst rammla-de ‘titt-n, o sänn läggā-de ’upp-en hērgare LU ‘If they aren’t bruised, they don’t rot so quickly, but otherwise a watermelon can start rotting. You don’t throw watermelons in a pile, first you roll it there and then put it higher’; Tom kävna_def.pl. jära släendar, tom kuna änt ligge lōnāflīr LU ‘Those watermelons are bruised, they can’t be kept long’; Ve vaska ‘ō kävna_def.pl., skola dom o sänn klāmd ‘girm dom... girm sóld, än kēna bli ‘ötär, o sänn kūka han saftn fron kävna_def.pl., tāt-n änt bliär stinndār. O kumār-e sänn som povīdLU ‘We
washed the watermelons, peeled them, and then pressed them... through a sieve, so that pips were separated out, and then cooked that juice from the watermelons, until it gets thickened. And it eventually became like jam.'

19. **kēn** 'seed': blumhatts-kēn ‘sunflower seed’; kārps-kēn ‘pumpkin seed’; kēn-hatt ‘sunflower’; Tēr tarva-dē ănt tōa’ ūt kēna
frōn-dom LU ‘There you don’t have to take the pits out of them (apricots).’

20. **kit(t)l** ‘jacket’ (< Germ. Kittel m.): Klänk kittlDEF.SG. ot skōpe, āles krimsn dehūp LU ‘Hang the jacket in the wardrobe, otherwise it will get rumpled’; Üte kittlDEF.SG. jär i na ina-futtär LU ‘There’s no lining on the jacket.’

21. **kixxl** ‘cookie’

This word was not recorded by Vendell and Danell. A Standard Swedish cognate is kyss, -en, -ar in the meaning ‘round cookie’ [SAOB: K3565]. The dialect form kixxl probably contains the diminutive -l- (i.e. *kyssel); on this suffix in Swedish see [TAMM 1897: 43; OLSON 1916: 248–253; WESSÉN 1992: 58]. As for the phonetic development -ss(e)l- > -xxl-, compare the dialect forms gnixxl ‘wimper, of dogs,’ mäxxling ‘smallpox,’ näxxlar ‘nettle’ and Sw. gnissla ‘squeak,’ mässling ‘measles,’ nässla [MANKOV 2010: § 20].

22. **knixxl** AL LU, knixxel MP ‘swelling (caused by the cold).’

This word was not recorded by Vendell and Danell. Possible cognates are Sw. knyttel, -n, knyttlar ‘bludgeon; stick; rolling pin’ [SAOB: K1710], Germ. Knüttel m. ‘club; heavy stick.’ In this word -tt(e)l- gave -ssl- and then -xxl- (as in kixxl above). As for the change -tl- > -sl-, compare Sw. nässla and Eng. nettle [HELLQUIST 1922: 536].

23. **mōn** ‘moon; month’: gamal-mōn ‘full moon’; halv-mōn ‘half moon’; nimōn ‘new moon’; Snjūen lō ānda de aprīll mōn LU ‘There was snow all the way into April’; Ja bital kvār mōnDEF.SG. före äild, före vatne, före koṭtāre LU ‘Every month I pay for the electricity, for the water, for the apartment’; Paṭṭana jāra bātrare de höld de slaft, före-ān dom vāks fiksare ūt. Tri mōnarPL, so kann-de slaft-dom LU ‘Ducks are better to keep, as they grow up faster. Three months, and you can slaughter them’; Hans mūār blāi dē, to vā-n tri mōnaDEF.PL. LU ‘His mother died when he was three months old’; He jār fāst tfo mōnaDEF.PL. debā ks som-on bār LU ‘It was only two months ago that she (cow) calved’; Ja lō tēr tfo mōnaDEF.PL. ūte sjūk-hūse LU ‘I lay there two months in the hospital.’

Names of the months: jānvar, fābrar, mārts, aprīll, maj, jūni, jūli, āgust, septāmbrār, oktōbār, novāmbrār, desāmbrār MP.

|| **mån, -ar** m. DGNORW [FEUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 150]; **män** m., pl. **mana** (according to Tiberg’s note, the plural ending -a, which is in fact the
ending of the definite plural, only occurs after numerals) [KARLGREN 1953: 19]; mon/mon, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 281].

24. munn ‘mouth’: Äin står kjöd! To-de öndas, he svalmas fron munn LU ‘Hard frost! When you’re breathing, vapor comes out of your mouth.’

25. pinn ‘chip’: värkes-pinnar ‘wood chips’; Me trös būe, ve boka sol, kan-de boka mā kävens-sirop, tom jāra giar MP ‘In the past, pretzels weren’t sold in the shop, we baked them ourselves; you can bake them with watermelon syrup, they are tasty’; Fār vā-dār änt ija pränika, sole boka prätsla, LU ‘In the past, there was no gingerbread, we baked pretzels ourselves.’

26. prätsl ‘pretzel’ (< Germ.): Fārr sjād dom ija prätslar, e būe, ve boka sole, kan-de boka mā kävens-sirop, tom jāra giar MP ‘In the past, pretzels weren’t sold in the shop, we baked them ourselves; you can bake them with watermelon syrup, they are tasty’; Fār vā-dār änt ija pränika, sole boka prätsla, LU ‘In the past, pretzels weren’t sold in the shop, we baked them ourselves.’

27. pūrkan ‘carrot’ (< Est. porgand [LAGMAN 1971A: 57]). Ja rīva sundār pūrkana, LU ‘I’ve grated the carrots’; Vatne kūkar, so kastar ja būraka hāldār bōina, sānn katiūfla som ja bita sundār, pūrkan. Pūrkana, kann-de ‘ō brās ‘ive mā sip! LU ‘The water is boiling, so I throw in beets or beans, then potatoes that I cut into pieces, and a carrot. The carrots you can also roast with onion.’

28. sīgan ‘Gypsy’ (< Ukr. użan): Hānas kūsin sa, än-on slāf’t ‘inn se mā sīgana, LU... bändla ‘hūp se mā sīgana... o väit änt konn-on jār LU ‘Her cousin said that she went away with Gypsies... got involved with Gypsies... and doesn’t know where she is.’

29. sikk(ā)l ‘bicycle’ (< Sw. cykel): motār-sikklu ‘motorbike’; Ja komm po sikklerande LU ‘I came by bike’; De go jār-e än lōjār vāg fron Ślānědōs ‘ānda hitthēr ot Svānsk-bin, főre he kēd ja ‘ō po sikklu LU ‘To walk, it’s a long way from Schlangendorf here to the Swedish village, because of this I also rode a bike’; Ve kēd ‘āin goŋ de māt fisk mā motār-sikklu LU ‘One time we rode on a motorbike to go fishing.’

30. sōnd only sg. ‘sand’: sōnd-ruka m.3a ‘sand heap’: Nāst papa vārft riggen, so brūk-en tōa ‘mā me mā se, o so brūk ja häis ‘upp sōnd po riggen, häitār sōnd. Han bīā-ðō häitār fron sūle LU ‘Dad had a backache, so he used to take me with him, and I used to pour sand on his back, hot sand. In fact, it gets hot in the sun’; Ot bōna jār ale bāst sōnd-ruka, tom ligge tēr, valtras üte sōnd, grāv opō LU ‘For kids the best thing is a sand heap, they lie in it, roll around in it, dig all over.’
A Scandinavian Island in a Slavonic Linguistic Environment.
The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Nouns (Part 2)

|| sånd (only sg.) m. DGNO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 226], compare sán (only sg.) m. or n. W [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 182]; sond, def. sg. sön (< *sōnn < *sōndn) [Danell 1951: 344].

31. spón ‘spoon’: jāta-spón ‘table spoon’; te-spón ‘tea spoon’; Umm-de vriär ‘inn boglez, gäv ’tjol än jätaspón-füldår mä salt, ute tri-litäs butl. Där jär tå-slass spónar, mindäre o stére, so fö-de lägge ‘inn han mindäre spón-füldår. Umm-de lägggar ‘inn mä han stür, so kann-e bli saltasla LU ‘If you tin potatoes, add a tablespoon of salt, in a three-litre jar. There are two types of spoons: bigger and smaller, so you have to put in a smaller spoonful. If you put in the bigger (spoonful), it can become quite salty.’

|| spån, -ar m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 209]; spön, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [Danell 1951: 389].

32. stāın ‘stone’: stāın-grön m. ‘small stone’; stāın-grën n. ‘gravel’; stāın-mår m. ‘stone fence’; blō-stāın ‘blue stone, vitriol’; bänk-stāın ‘stone near the gate where people used to sit and chat’; gro-stāın ‘granite’; grūs-stāın only sg. ‘gravel’; kalt-stāın ‘limestone’; kostāın ‘chimney’; kvass-stāın ‘whetstone’; minnstāın ‘monument, skinny-stāın ‘whetstone’; slip-stāın, also sliv-stāın ‘slipstone’; äild-stāın ‘flint’; öü-stāın ‘pupil (referring to the eye)’; Färr væ-där äit hōl, o ute he hole lad dom ‘inn stāın, o äilda, än-dom bränn ‘girm se. Han som änt brindår ‘åt, han blijär ‘o än stāın, o han som brindår ‘åt se kann-de sänn släkke de kalk... Färr væ-där än bil som kom o sjōd slik stāın, o folke kēft tom ämbarena me kalk-stāın. LU ‘In the past, there was a pit, and they put stones in that pit and made a fire, so that they (the stones) burn out. The one that doesn’t burn out, it remains a stone, and from the one that burns out you can later make lime. In the past, there was a car that came and sold such stones to make lime, and people bought bucketfuls of limestones’; Hon drēmd, än dom järva vår stāın, dår jär stür stāın. LU ‘She had a dream that they (those who had drowned) were near the big stones... there are big stones by the precipice’; Anna sā, än ja ska napp ‘hūp stāın, vår källas danna LU ‘Anna said that I should gather the stones by the door of the cellar’; Ve slīpa ikse, hakka, kniven, allt, po slip-stāın LU ‘We sharpened the axe, hoe, knife, everything, on a slipstone.’

| stāın, -ar m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 219]; staın, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [Danell 1951: 394].

33. stākan ‘glass (for drinking)’ (< Russ. сmаxаn̩): Han kann bara snjū ‘inn ot stākan, sōss byrjär-en ‘ötär drikk. O han lōva se änt de drikk mäiär LU ‘He can just sniff the glass and he begins drinking (alcohol) again. And he promised not to drink (any alcohol) anymore.’

The form stäka m.3a was also cited. It appeared due to the reanalysis of stākan > stāka-n (after the pattern stoka ‘stick’: def. sg. stoka-n).

|| stäga/stäka, -r m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 219].
34. štájnl (-Ø, -lar, -la) ‘pole’ (< Germ. Stängl m.): trškakvčiš-štājla<sub>DEF.PL</sub>.
   ‘cornstalks.’
   || This word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.
35. taf(ä)l ‘blackboard’ (< Germ. Tafel f.)
   The masculine gender in the dialect may be caused by the influence of
   such masculine nouns in -äl as äŋäl, štájnl, kriŋnl, kittl, sikkäl.
   tafel, -n, -lar, -la m. [Karlsgren 1953: 18];
   tafol/tavol, -n, -lar, -la m. [Danell 1951: 428].
36. tinn ‘tooth’ (e.g., of a saw)
   || tinn, -ar m. GNORW, f. D [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 232];
   tin, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [Danell 1951: 430].
37. tšaun ‘vat’ (< Ukr. čavýn m.): Sätt ‘upp tšaun<sub>DEF.SG</sub> po grit-äien, o än-e
   ska kūk fksare, tā `tjānd riŋŋa ‘Put the vat on the stove, and to make it boil
   quicker, take the rings off the burners.’
   || The word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.
38. tāin ‘spool’:
   spinn-tāin ‘spindle’;
   gontāin ‘spool of thread’
   || tāin, -ar m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 244];
   tān, -Ø, -ar, -a m. [Danell 1951: 428].
39. äŋäl ‘angel’ (< Germ. Engel or Sw. ängel)
   || ægo§, -§a, -§ar, -§ana f. [Isberg 1970: 380].

Type m. 1<sup>e</sup>

§ 13. A distinguishing feature of this type is the element -j- which appears in
front of the plural endings. Originally the occurrence of -j- did not depend on
the final consonant of the root [Norren 1904: § 390–393], but in the present-
day dialect -j- is attached to roots terminating in velar consonants. The follow-
ing nouns of this type have occurred in the interviews:

1. -bäkk in vato-bäkk ‘puddle’
   || bäkk, -ar m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 37], vatubäkk
   DGNRW, -bäkkê O, pl. -ar DNRW, -iar GO m. [Ibid.: 253] ‘brook; small river’;
   bæk, -en, -(-j)ar, -(j)a m. [Danell 1951: 65].
2. bänk ‘bench’:
   ljū-bänk AA ‘bench by the gate’ (where women sit and
gossip; ljū means ‘to tell a lie’);
   site-bänk AL ‘bench in the street’;
   Han sitä-tär aläina po bänken<sub>DEF.SG</sub> LU ‘He sits there alone on
   the bench’;
   Umm-e a rāvna, so-dom änt a satt tär po bänka<sub>DEF.PL</sub> LU ‘If it were
   raining, they wouldn’t be sitting there on the benches’;
   To ve lēvd üte Pōln, so vā-där üte skuša bļakk-glāsna po parta...
   po skūl-bänkja<sub>DEF.PL</sub> LU ‘When we lived in
   Poland, there were ink pots in the school on the desk... on the school-desks.’
   || bägk DGNRW, bägkê O, pl. bägkiar m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886:
   37]; bägk, -en, -jar, -ja m. [Danell 1951: 66].
3. **dräŋg/dräng** ‘servant’ (especially groom)
   || **drägg** DGNRW, **drægø** O, -iar m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 45];
   **drægg**, -en, -iar, -ja m. [DANELL 1951: 80].

4. **fläkk** ‘spot; stain’: **blōär fläkk** ‘bruise’; **Fläkken** **def.sg. vill änt vaskas ’ūt, ja kann änt fö ’ūt-n** LU ‘The stain won’t wash off, I can’t get it out.’
   || **fläkk** DGNRW, **fläkke** O, pl. -ar RW, -iar DGN m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 56]; **flæk** 2, -en, -jar, -ja m. ‘place’ [DANELL 1951: 108].

5. **-lägg**: **biks-lägg** ‘trouser leg’
   || **lägg** DGW, **läggė** NO, -iar m. ‘shank; shin; hosiery leg’ [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 134]; **læ_g**, -en, -iar, -a m. ‘shinbone’ [DANELL 1951: 260].

6. **rigg** ‘back’:
   Tarvar änt bära-e po riggen LU ‘One doesn’t need to carry on the back what he carries in his head’ (i.e., knowledge is useful; proverb);
   Näst papa värft riggen LU ‘Dad had a backache’;
   Ja sattest ˈu u p p po riggen LU ‘I sat astride the dog’;
   **Gamal ̣dōana jära po riggen** LU ‘Old age is behind the back. The legs can’t walk, the back becomes bent, the head is forward, the bottom is backward.’
   || **rigg**, -iar m. DGNRW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 171]; **rig**, -en, -ar, -a m. [DANELL 1951: 332].

7. **sträng** ‘stream of liquid’
   || **strægg**, -iar m. DGNO, compare **strågg**, -iar m. RW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 217]; **strægg**, -en, -iar, -ja m. [DANELL 1951: 401].

8. **säkk** ‘sack’:
   rigg-säkk ‘backpack’;
   Ja hänta änt häila säkken **def.sg. fülldär**, a hänta bara än stimpl, a mäir kunt ja änt slåp. Ja a hāve büre än halvär säkk LU ‘I haven’t brought a full sack, but only brought less than half, and I couldn’t carry any more. I’d have brought half a sack.’
   || **säkk(e)**, -iar m. DGNRW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 227]; **sek**, -en, -iar, -ja m. [KARLГREN 1953: 18]; **sek**, -en, -(i)ar, -(i)ja m. [DANELL 1951: 417].

9. **-trisk** in dän(n)-trisk ‘threshold,’ **trapp-trisk** ‘threshold’:
   Ja gi änt lāmf, ja stū po trappa o blaska ’ūt-e iive dānn-triskenn **def.sg.**, ja var lāt de gö lājumlah LU ‘I didn’t go far, I stood at the porch and splashed it out over the threshold, I didn’t feel like walking any farther.’
   The form **trisk** (instead of *triskäl*), which was recorded by Vendell, appeared due to the reanalysis of the definite sg.: **trisken** (def. sg. of **triskäl**) > **trisk-en** by analogy with the correlation **gāvöl** : **gäven**. Compare **kvārv** alongside **kvārvöl** (§ 10.19 above).
   || **triskäl** DG, **triskul** NO, -iar m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 238]; **triskok**, -on/-on, -kar, -ka m. [DANELL 1951: 443].

10. **äik** ‘horse’:
    äike-hū m. 3b ‘horseshoe’; äike-skōn n. ‘horse dung’;
    Um dā r a vare än äik, so ja a rēe pō-en MP ‘If there were a horse, I would ride it’;
    Kann-de ri po äiken **def.sg.** LU ‘Can you ride a horse?’; E bōn-tien rāi ja po
äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG} AL ‘In childhood I rode a horse’; To ve vār üte Komi... to-e rāi byrjar lēn, snjūen, so kēḍ ve ‘üt umm monnan bittle, um tria kēḍ ve rāi ‘üt mā äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}.’ Von stalle, o kēḍ vārke mā slāa from skūen so lojātār som-e äntān jār varmt. To jār-e varmare, so brūtts äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. innot snjūen. Äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. som ja kēr vārke mā, för ja skrīv ‘unde me ’fōr-en. Umm-e skēs nōat mā-en, so för ja bītal fōr äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. Soṣs-som äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. jār lunkatār o stō e stalle, bītal ja fjörte-tfo rūbl fōr ān dā. So mōŋŋ dāor som-en stōr, för ja bītal LU ‘When we were in Komi... when it starts to thaw, the snow, we rode out early in the morning, around three we rode out with the horse from the stable, and carried wood with a sledge from the forest as long as it isn’t warm yet. When it’s warmer, the horse sinks into the snow. The horse that I carried the wood with, I had to sign for it. If something happens to it, I have to pay for the horse. Because the horse is limping and has to remain in the stable, I pay 42 roubles a day. For as many days as it stands there, I have to pay’. Höss ja rāi vār mātt me-en, han äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}.! Tjōł vōre fōre middan lēndār-e, a tjōł kvēldn jār frostn (also frost). Allt jār skarft-frōset po de, klēna, stō ēnd o gnias. Klēna jāra allar vōtar, biksana o hankle, hēr fōr ja ān spānn ‘üt äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. a händāre jāra stīvar. Tāta jār skū-arbet. He vār ve, a han stakkas äiken\textsubscript{DEF.SG}. ān ja gāv hon stuppa hāi ot-n tjōł, han kann do ānt lāggjas nēr, fō-d drāa allt LU ‘How I was fed up with it, that horse!’

How I was fed up with it, that horse! Towards spring before midday it thaws, and towards the evening there’s frost. Everything is frozen hard on you, the clothes, they stand on end and rub. The clothes are all wet, the trousers and mittens, and here I still have to unharness the horse, and my hands are stiff. This is forest work. This is how it was for us, and that poor horse, I give a handful of hay to it, he can’t lay down, to be sure, has to haul everything’; Stigen jār brantatār, so mnjūār, hēr kann-de ānt kēr mā äikja\textsubscript{DEF.PL} LU ‘The path is steep, so narrow, here you can’t ride horses.’

|| äik, -iar m. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 265]; aike, aiken, aikkar, aikka m. [Danell 1951: 487].

§ 14. Nouns listed in the preceding paragraph tend to lose -j- in the plural (i.e., bānkjar alongside bānkar, which is particularly typical of LU), going over to type 1a. The opposing regularity is also observed: -j- may appear in the plural of those nouns of type 1a which end in a velar consonant:\textsuperscript{19} būsk ‘bush,’ pl. būsk(j)ar, def. pl. būsk(j)a(na); riŋŋ ‘ring,’ riŋŋ(j)ar (also in interviews with LU). Compare a similar fluctuation in feminine nouns: flīŋ ‘shred,’ def. sg. flīŋa AL, flīŋja LU, pl. flīŋ(j)ar, def. pl. flīŋ(j)ana.

§ 15. The noun blāse ‘forehead’\textsuperscript{20} can be included in type 1e. Its characteristic feature is a short root (all other nouns of this type have long roots), after

\textsuperscript{19} The only known exception is gūbb ‘old man,’ which occurred with the pl. gūbbjar (usually gūbbar).

\textsuperscript{20} See also [Tiberg 1962: 111–118] on this noun.
which \( e < -j- \) is preserved. Historically, this noun may be a \( \text{jan}-\text{stem}: \) *bläsj* > \( \text{bläse} \). The following forms occurred in the interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Def. sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Def. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>( \text{bläs} )</td>
<td><em>( \text{bläsn} )</em></td>
<td>( \text{bläsjar} )</td>
<td>( \text{bläsen, bläsj}(n)a )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>( \text{bläs, bläs} )</td>
<td><em>( \text{bläsn} )</em></td>
<td>( \text{bläs}(j)ar )</td>
<td>( \text{bläsj}(n)a, \text{bläsana} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>( \text{bläs, bläsen} )</td>
<td><em>( \text{bläsen} )</em></td>
<td>( \text{bläsjar} )</td>
<td>( \text{bläse}na )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the def. sg. the phonetically regular form is \( \text{bläsn} \), where \( e \) is syncopated between \( s \) and \( n \). The wish to eliminate the non-trivial correlation \( \text{bläse} : \text{bläsn} \) resulted in the forms \( \text{bläsn} \) (type m. 1b) and \( \text{bläsen} \) (type m. 1d, after the pattern of \( \text{käven} \)). The def. sg. form \( \text{bläsen} \) and the def. pl. \( \text{bläsen} \) can be explained as the stem \( \text{bläse-} \) (extracted from the indefinite singular) + the endings \( -n \) and \( -na \).

|| \( \text{bläss, -ar} \) f. NO, compare \( \text{bläs} \) (pl. is not used) m. DGNORW, \( \text{blåsu} \), -r f. W ‘blaze (on the forehead of animals)’; \( \text{blæse, blæsn}, \text{blæsjar, blæsja} \) m. [KARLGREN 1953: 18]; \( \text{blæs}, \text{an}, \text{ar}, \text{a} \) m. [DANELL 1951: 34].

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