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

Скандинавский остров в славянской языковой среде. Диалект села Старошведское: имя существительное (статья 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

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

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 XX 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

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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 significally 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.[3] 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 *Змїївка/Zmiïvka*) is located in the southern part of Ukraine, in the

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[3] Nouns of type m. 1a were published in [Mankov 2013a]. On the morphological classification of nouns in the present-day dialect, see [Mankov 2011b; 2013b].

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].

[5] See [Kotljarchuk 2012] on the post-Revolution period in the history of the village.

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 Gammalsvenskby 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 MÅRTENSSON [2001].

In 2004 I made my first trip to the village.[6] 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.[7] 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 Gammalsvenskby 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–

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[6] This trip took place as part of the project "Gammalsvenskby, the Swedish Colony in the Ukraine" organized by Södertörn University College, Stockholm, and funded by the Swedish Institute and the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies, Sweden. A report on the work carried out by 2011 is in [MANKOV 2011A].

[7] For example, there is no mention of the dialect in [IAZYKI NARODOV SSSR 1966] and in [COMRIE 1981]. The dialect is briefly referred to in [HAUGEN 1976: 353], however with no mention that it is still spoken in the village.

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 *befáll* 'order,' *bemárke* 'notice,' *beséke* 'visit,' *bevår* 'defend,' *skräkke* 'frighten' as Standard Swedish[8] and cites their dialect equivalents: *säte ˈpō, blī de ˈvaṣṣ-e, kuma näst nōn, vär, rädd ˈō.*

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 2013в]. 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 2013d]). 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 "säte ˈpō": "Umm-en änt vill gära-e, so sätt ˈpō-en de gära-e," a "befáll" kumär ˈūt po hökk-svänsk* 'We say here *säte ˈpō*: "If he doesn't want to do it, so order him to do it," whereas *befáll* 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 1989] 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 Nuckö, 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 Gammal-svenskby 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:

> *bost,* pl. *bostar,* m. Borste. DGNORW

In this paper it is quoted as follows:

> *bost, -ar* 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, "*boṣṭ* m. 1" in Danell's dictionary is cited as "*boṣṭ, -ṇ, -ar, -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 (Matsovna) Portje (1923–2008);
EU — Emma Ivanovna Utas (born in 1932);
LU — Lidiia 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], *ā* [aː], *e* [e̞], *ē* [eˑi, e̞ː],[10] *i* [i], *ī* [iː], *o* [o], *ō* [oː], *u* [u], *ū* [uː], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ǟ* [ɛː], *ö* [œ], *ȫ* [œː], *ü* [ɵ], *ǖ* [ʉː], *äi* [ɛˑi, ɛ̆i], *öü* [œːʉ, œ̆ʉ].

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

The consonants *p, t, k* are not aspirated; *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* are postalveolar *d, t, n* (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations *dj, gj, nj, sj, tj* designate palatalized consonants; *skj, stj* are [skʲ, stʲ]. The length of consonants within morphemes

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[10] On the distribution of [eˑi] and [e̞ː] 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* [vɛnːt] 'to wait,' whereas on morpheme boundaries it is designated: *tumm-t* (neuter sg. of *tumm-är*). The hyphen is employed to show elements of compounds (e.g., *sīr-boṣṣ* 'sorrel soup,' *hjǭḷ-slāe* 'killed' (participle), *soṣṣ-som* 'because') and enclitic forms of personal pronouns (e.g., in *hāv-e* 'had it,' *vār-e* 'was it,' *to-de* 'when you'[11]); it is also used on word boundaries where postalveolar consonants occur (e.g. *vā-ṇ* < *vār han* 'was he'). Word stress is shown only when it does not fall on the first syllable: *konnfőre* 'why,' *loŋäṭíär* 'long ago,' *alăina* 'alone.' Phrase stress is shown with ˈ, e.g., *slū ˈhjǭl*. 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:

Type	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
m.1a	*-en*	*-ar*	*-a//-ana*	*fisk, fisk-en, fisk-ar, fisk-a//-ana* 'fish'
m.1b	*-n*			*kvüst, kvüst-n, kvüst-ar, kvüst-a//-ana* 'branch'
m.1c	*-ṇ*			*stūḷ, stūṇ, stūḷ-ar, stūḷ-a//-ana* 'chair'
m.1d	*-Ø*			*bjūn, bjūn, bjūn-ar, bjūn-a//-ana* 'bear'
m.1e	*-en*	*-j-ar*	*-j-a// -j-ana*	*säkk, säkk-en, säkk-j-ar, säkk-j-a//-j-ana* 'sack'
m.2a	*-en/ -n/-Ø*	*-är// -ar*	*-e//-ena// -a//-ana*	*svänsk, svänsk-en, svänsk-är//-ar, svänsk-e// -a//-ana* 'Swede'
m.2b	*-n*	*-är//-Ø*	*-e//-ena// -na*	*bokar, bokan, bokar-är, bokar-e//bokana* 'baker,' *biggjar, biggjan, biggjar//biggjar-är, biggjar-e//-ena* 'builder'
m.3a	*-n*	*-r*	*-na*	*stoka, stoka-n, stoka-r, stoka-na* 'stick'
m.3b	*-an*	*-ar*	*-ana//-a*	*ēnd, ēnd-an, ēnd-ar, ēnd-a//-ana* 'end'
m.4	*-n/-Ø*	*-är* with umlaut	*-re/-e* with umlaut	*fūt, fūt-n, fēt-är, fēt-re* 'foot'

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[11] 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 *-n̩* after *ḍ* and *ṭ*) in the definite singular form. It is here that nouns with the following stem finals belong: *d* (but not *nd*), *ḍ, 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 *-en* 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 *Nūḍen* "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.: *buldn̩* (*buld* 'abscess'), *gaḍn̩* (*gaḍ* 'yard'), *hatn̩* (*hat* 'hat'), *boṣtn̩* (*boṣt* 'brush'), *brumsn̩* (*brums* 'gadfly'), *foṣn̩* (*foṣ* 'rapids in a river'), *hasn̩* (*has* 'neck') [Karlgren 1953: 17]. Nouns in *l* and *rr* had a non-syllabic *-n*: *tafeln, snurn* [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.: *buldn̩* (*buld* 'ploughshare'), *godn̩* (*god* 'yard'), *kutn̩* (*kut* 'fir cone'), *boṣtn̩, ısn̩* (*ıs* 'ice'), *hasn̩* (*has* 'neck'), *kæḷn̩* (*kæḷ* 'kettle'), while nouns in *l* as well as monosyllabic nouns in *r* had an ordinary *-n*: *kıln* (*kıl* 'wedge'), *burn* (*bur* 'cage') [Danell 1905–1934: 102–103]. It should be noted that in the present-day dialect of Gammalsvenskby, 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 *būr* 'cage' is *būrn* in Nuckö, *būn̩* in Gammalsvenskby. 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*: *boṣtn̩* 'the brush' instead of *boṣtn̩* [ibid.: § 32].

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

1. bḷikst 'lightning': *Bḷikstn*₍DEF.SG.₎ *slū ˈinn ot stjūe, tēr var iŋen änt terínn öte koman, a soṣṣ vār-e füllt mä räik öte koman, o bḷummana lō umm goḷve ütär kvaṭána kasta. Umm nōn a vāre terínn öte koman, kannskē hāv-e hjōḷ-slāe. Mama vār po arbete o gamma vār terūt öte gōḍn, kūka jäta* 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 vār üte Север, so slū-e än mann ˈxjōl̦, bl̦ikst. Han stäiv ˈupp o gī unde trǟ, o tēr slū-e ˈxjōl̦-en. He slū ˈinn po-en, som-en stū ˈunde, än kaţüsn brann ˈsundär, o äin rōnd po kruppen. Tom gitsa, än-en kumär ˈtjō̄-şe, a han bl̦äi ˈō 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: *bl̦ikst* DOGN 'to glimmer, flash' [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 25], *bläkst* 'to flash' DG [ibid.: 27]; *bl̦ıkst* 'to twinkle' [Danell 1951: 30]. Vendell recorded the following words for 'lightning': *bl̦ikk, -ar* m. NOW, *bläkstand, -ėr* n. D [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 25, 27].

2. bl̦ūd 'saucer' (< Russ. *блюдо* 'dish'): *katt-bl̦ūd* 'cat saucer'; *Ja hällt ˈinn grädd ot me e bl̦ūdn*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'I poured sour cream in the saucer'; *Ja kann ribl̦ ˈinn mindäre bitar üte bl̦ūdn*_{DEF.SG.} *o rēr ˈhūp-e me grädd* 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, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 60].

4. boşş 'beet soup' (< Russ. *борщ*): *sīr-boşş* 'soup with sorrel'; *Umm-de har kätt, so kasta-ḑe ale fäşt käte ˈinn de kūk, a änt, so bl̦iär-e şmälsandär boşş* 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. bŏ̄şt 'brush': *färg-boşt* 'paintbrush'; *roka-boşt* 'shaving brush'; *Gnīe änt mä boştn*_{DEF.SG.}*, före-e än-en bl̦iär skarpär, han boştn*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'Don't rub with the brush (when tarring a barrel) because it gets stiff, the brush'; *Tēr som ja vār po koţţäre, hon hūs-mūär hon bā pīkar de kuma kl̦īstär ˈūt kēka näst-on. Tom kl̦īstra ˈūt-on. Ot me, he foll-e änt, soşş-som dom hāv-on kl̦īstra, soşş-som dom flotsa titt me boşta*_{DEF.PL.} *po fläkken* 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.'

‖ *boşt, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 28]; *boşt, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 17]; *boşt/bost, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 39]. This noun originally belonged to the weak declension (type m. 3b in my classification): compare Sw. *borste*, Icel. *bursti* m.

6. bōt AL MP, *bōd* LU 'steamship' (the usual word for 'boat' in the present-day dialect is *lusk* f.)

|| *båt*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 37]; *bo̯t*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [DANELL 1951: 65].

7. brims AP, *brins* MP, *brints* AL 'gadfly'

|| *brims*, *-ar* m. GO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 30]; *bræms*, *-n̥*, *-er*, *-e* m. [DANELL 1951: 58].

8. bärefīs LU, *bärofīs* AL 'type of beetle': *Än bärefīs jär än svaṭṭär makk, spits-atṣo̯latär o spits-näsatär, han jär slikär lōṇär som fiŋäṣ-lēan. To-de rēr üten, so lüftas-n. Tom bärefisa*DEF.PL. *kuna vara ˈō üte källan* LU 'Bärefīs 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.'

|| *bärêfís*, *-ar* m. 'shield bug' (Cimex baccarum) G [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 38]; *bær-fı̣s*, *-n̥*, *-er*, *-e* m., *-a*, *-ar*, *-a* f. [DANELL 1951: 66].

9. bäss, also **fōr-bäss** 'male sheep'

|| *bäss*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 38]; *bæṣ*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. '(castrated) male sheep' [DANELL 1951: 67].

10. būld 'boil': *Hon hāv än būld üte briste* LU 'She had a boil on the breast'; *To-de hār būldar*PL., *üte han būldn*DEF.SG. *jär küṭṭ tärínn* LU 'When you have boils, in that boil there is core inside.'

|| *búd*, *-ar* f. G, m. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 36]; *bu̯ld*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [KARLGREN 1953: 17]; *be̯d*, *-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: PGerm. **bul-ið-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 OEng., OIcel. *nest* n. 'viands' (*-to-) on the other. As the combination *ld* in the dialects of Gammalsvenskby and Nuckö is retained and does not give *ḍ* (see examples in [MANKOV 2010A: § 10.3]), the consonant *ḍ* in Vendell's *búd* and Danell's *be̯d* may go back to *ḷd*, where the retroflex *ḷ* is explained by its originally intervocalic position: **buḷd-* < PGerm. **bul-ið-ō*. This PGerm. form accounts for Vendell's *búd*. In Danell's dictionary, *be̯d ē* goes back to *y*,[12] which appeared either by contamination with **bul-ði-* (> **byḷð-* > **byḷd* > **böḷd* > **bọ̈̄ld* > *bēḏ*) or by analogy with *i*-umlauted *i*-stems (such as OIcel. *skyld*). The form *būld* m., recorded in present-day Gammalsvenskby goes back either to PGerm. **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 OSw. *byrþ* f.//*burþer* 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 > ē*.

[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 OSw. *byrþ//burþer*) was caused by the influ-

between the masculine and neuter,[14] thus the neuter gender of Nuckö *bẹḍ* may go back to PGerm. **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 **-iðō-, *-ði-, *-ða-* there exist forms which might go back to the suffixes **-ð-an-* (Sw. *bolde* 'boil' [SAOB: B3791]) and **-ð-ōn-* (Icel. *búlda* f. 'round-faced woman; small axe' [Böðvarsson 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: *Pīkana bār ˈō po dansande* LU 'The girls went to the dances'; *Han gī 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*, *-ṇ̣*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 71].

12. *fiṣ-ṣtjäṭṭ* (pronounced [ˈfiʃːtʲɛtˌ] LU, [ˈfiʃːtʃɛtˌ] AL), also *fisstjäṭṭ* AA 'scolopendra': *Ja vatna trǟna, o vatne rinndär o rinndär, innot äit hōl, o sänn komm därūt än fiṣṣ-tjäṭṭ fron tǟrfron, fron he hoḷe som vatne rann ˈinn. Han vār säntimǟtra tjū̃, tjū-fämm lōŋär, än stūran, fiŋŋäṣ-tjokkär, som lill fiŋäre, o rēär. He vār aẓ grimmt före me ˈfrōn-en. Tom säi, än dom ˈō bītas* 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 *fishæll* or *hælfis* 'sore heel' [Böðvarsson 1993: 206]), to Russ. *пихать*, PIE. **peis-/ pis-* 'grind'; see [Pokorny 1959: 796]. The second component is *stjäṭṭ* 'tail.' The second component in *bärefis* (§ 8.8 above) does not belong here and goes back to the homonymic PIE. root **peis-* 'blow.'

13. *foṣṣ* 'rapids; current': *Foṣṣn jär stūran* LU 'The current is strong'; *Umm-de rokar bra, so kann-de do roka ˈūt, a umm änt, so kann han foṣṣn*~DEF.SG.~ *bära ˈō mä-de, o kann-de ˈän drunken ˈō, före he vriss, he vatne, to-e flūtär, o he jär hole stuṭṭ, stūran foṣṣ. Täta vār näst oss, to ve vār üte Север* 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 Север' (i.e., in the Komi ASSR).

|| *foṣ̣*, *-ṇ̣*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 17].

14. *frost* only sg. 'frost': *Edá he jär kallt, stūran frost* LU 'Today, there is a cold, hard frost'; *Edá vā-ḍär starkär frost* LU 'Today there was a hard frost';

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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].

Trāske änt a fröse ˈfast, um där änt a vare iŋa 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.; *kęd, -e* only sg., f.; *tæłve, -n* only sg., m. [Danell 1951: 112, 236, 432].

15. -frās in *bḷū-frās* 'boil': *Ja hāv tfō bḷū-frāsar*₍PL₎ *po armen, tēr vār bḷū o vār dehū́p. Ja gī ot больница, ja kunnt do änt arbet. No, ja fḭ tōa üte tom stukka mä arma, ja kunnt do änt gära iŋatiŋ änt mä han armen. Ja vā-ṭo aṭöta dōar häim mä tän armen. He mado vara färkī́lat, ve fḭ vär frǖs līte po vēgen som ve kēḍ?* 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 work. Well, I had to carry those beams with my arms, 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, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 122].

17. gōḍ 'yard; enclosure; fence': *gra-gōḍ* 'cemetery'; *gäss-gōḍ* 'enclosure for geese'; *fḷäita-gōḍ* 'wicker fence'; *ina-gōḍ* 'middle of the yard'; *kirke-gōḍ* 'church yard'; *koḷ-goḍ* (see [Mankov 2010a: § 53] on the shortening of long vowels in compounds) 'flood-meadow'; *milla-gōḍ* 'fence between yards'; *nägoḍ* 'cattle pen'; *rigōḍ /riggōḍ* 'vegetable garden'; *trisk-gōḍ* 'threshing yard'; *trä-gōḍ* 'orchard'; *vin-gōḍ* 'vineyard'; *gō ǖt ot gōḍn*₍DEF.SG₎ 'go out to the yard'; *Ko stō-ḍe hērǖt po gōḍn*₍DEF.SG.₎, *kum ˈinn ot stjǖe* LU 'Why are you standing in the yard, come into the house'; *Tom site tärǖt üte gōḍn*₍DEF.SG.₎ LU 'They are sitting out there in the yard'; *Ja bā hon Люся, än-on ska kuma mä me, än ve gō bōar... än ve bōar gō ot gragōḍn*₍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'; *Hänaṣ sonn lēvd änt ˈvār-on, a komm de höḷp-on, grāva riggōḍn*₍DEF.SG.₎ *näst-on* LU 'Her son didn't live with her, but came to help her, dug the garden at her place'; *Hon gī fron herfrṍn, girm foḷkes rigōḍṇ*[15]₍DEF.SG.₎, *tfaṭṭ ive* LU 'She went from here, through people's gardens, straight across'; *Fär kḷīstra dom trāna po lande e trāgōḍn*₍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 *gōḍn/-ṇ* occurred alongside [ˈgoːrdɛn], which is probably an orthographic pronunciation of Sw. *gården*. In the plural EU cited *tfō gōḍṇar* 'two yards,' *tom gōḍṇar* 'those yards.'

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[15] It should be noted that the definite form *rigōḍṇ* occurs here after the genitive *foḷkes* (def. sg. form). The definite form of nouns after the genitive is a common regularity in the dialect, cf. *min brūäṣ*₍GEN.SG.₎ *hǖse*₍DEF.SG.₎ 'my brother's house,' *tom bōnas*₍DEF.PL.GEN.₎ *färaldena*₍DEF.PL.₎ 'those children's parents,' etc. [Mankov 2010b: § 25].

|| g*å**d*, -*ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 75]; g*a̜d*, -*n̥*, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 17]; g*o̜d*, -*n̥*, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 141].

18. grīs 'piglet': *skŭ̄-grīs* 'hedgehog'; *fō grīsar* 'to farrow'; *Um-de hitt üte bīn än grīs, so kēft-de-en o fēd ꞌupp-en o slafta-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*PL.*, so tār-on ꞌinn ha̜lm üte munn o slā̄par-e de än ruka po he ställe som-on fōr grīsa*DEF.PL. 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-d̜om nēr tom ō-dū̄e grīsa*DEF.PL.*?* LU 'Where did they bury dead piglets?'

|| *grís*, -*ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 71]; g*ri̜s*, -*n̥*, -*er*, -*e* m. [Danell 1951: 132].

19. grūd 'potato sprout' (also f.): *Katüfl byrjar räi väks, han hār räi grūdar*PL. *po se* LU 'Potatoes start sprouting ("growing"), there are sprouts on them.'

|| *gródd*, -*ar* m. 'sprout; fetus of animals' NOW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 72]; g*ro̜d*, -*a*, -*ar*, -*ana* f. [Danell 1951: 132].

20. grädd only sg. 'cream; sour cream': *friskär grädd som ja grād laitra* LU 'fresh cream that I just skimmed'; *Fron han gräddn*DEF.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 povídl, häldär dū üte gräddn*DEF.SG. LU 'If you want, you can spread them (pancakes) with jam or dunk them in the cream.'

|| *grädd* only sg., m. GNOW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 73]; g*ræd*, -*n̥* only sg., m. [Danell 1951: 135].

21. gräit only sg. 'porridge': *gö̜lagrīns-gräit* or *gö̜la-gräit* 'millet porridge'; *hāvärgrīns-gräit* 'oatmeal porridge'; *kūngrīns-gräit* 'barley porridge'; *mana-gräit* 'semolina porridge'; *rīsgrīns-gräit* 'rice porridge'; *Gräitn*DEF.SG. *jär vädär-brändär* LU 'The porridge is burnt'; *Gräitn*DEF.SG. *jär allan* LU 'There's no more porridge' (calque of Russ. *каша вся*); *Ja satt upp de kūk gräitn*DEF.SG.*, o han bränd ꞌfast* LU 'I set the porridge to cook, and it got burnt.'

|| *gräit*, -*ar* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 73]; g*rai̯t*, -*n̥*, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 137].

22. gräns 'boundary'

|| *gräns*, -*ar* m. DGNOW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 73]; g*ræns*, -*n̥*, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 136].

23. hatt 'hat': *b̜lŭ̄m-hatt* 'sunflower'; *fiŋär-hatt* 'thimble'; *kēn-hatt* 'sunflower'

|| *hatt*, -*ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 79]; h*at̜*, -*n̥*, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 155].

24. hāṣ 'neck; throat': *Gäv ꞌōt-n po hāṣn*DEF.SG. MP 'Hit him on the back of his neck' (i.e., because he is being annoying); *Brämmen o pipaṇ tom bränn e hāṣn*DEF.SG. LU 'Vodka and pepper, they burn in the throat.'

|| *hás*, *-ar* m. DGNO, *hass, -ar* m. NRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 79]; *ha̱s/ha̱s̱*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 149].

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).

|| *häst*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 91]; *hæst*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 175].

26. ive-däil/ivä-ḏäil 'brassiere'

|| *ivėdäil*, *-ar* m. G, *ivä**d**äil* DRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 97], *evudail* NO [ibid.: 48] 'kerchief; cloak'; *ævo-ḏa̱l̥*, *-n*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 491].

27. īs only sg. 'ice': *īs-bita* m.3a 'block of ice'; *īs-kḷomp* m.1a 'lump of ice'; *īs-laggatär* 'ice-covered; icy'; *Vāgen jär īs-laggatär: he rāvna o var frost, o jär vāgen fülldär* (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 fröüs fast, īsn*DEF.SG. *stōr räi* MP 'The river has frozen over, ice has already formed'; *Īsn*DEF.SG. *jär räi sundär-lēndest* LU 'The ice has already melted'; *Min bō sinnär, Arvid o Vova, vār po īsn*DEF.SG.*, o han īsn vār änt tjokkär, tār läifft dom, o so bröütest-n girm, han mindäre. A tār vār-e to̱ḷv mētra djū̱ft. Bra, än händäre vār ōa po īsn*DEF.SG. '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.'

|| *ı̇́s*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 98]; *ı̱s*, *-n̥* m. [Danell 1951: 181].

28. jäst only sg. 'yeast,' also n. (as a countable noun *jäst-riblar* is used): *Säi, hö̱ṣṣ de gära jäst-riblar.—Fäṣt fō-ḏe kūk han hümmö̱l-ḇlummen, häll ꞌtjänd vatne, o üte he kūkat vatne rēä-ḏe ꞌinn mō̱l̥, o sänn üte kōld däien kasta-ḏe jästn*DEF.SG. ꞌinn, o han byre sänn hävjas. O tār kasta-ḏe ꞌinn tom kḷīana o sänn läggä-ḏe-e ütär kvaṭána, än-e torrkas. Soṣṣ ḇlīär-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.'

|| *iäst* only sg., m. GOW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 97], compare *äst* m. NO [ibid.: 268]; *æst*, *-n̥* m. [Danell 1951: 191].

29. kapet LU/**kabet** AL 'sock' (< Est. *kapet* [Lagman 1971a: 59]): *Ja nō̱l̥ar kapeta*DEF.PL. LU 'I'm darning the socks.'

|| *kapėt*, *-ar* m. GW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 100].

30. kadus/kaḏ[o̱]s/kaṭüs 'cap'

|| *kaðəs*, *-ar* m. G, *katus, -ar* m. or f. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 98, 100]; *kaṭus* m. [Karlgren 1953: 8]; *to̱baks-kado̱ṣ*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f. [Danell 1951:

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38. *kütt* 'fir cone'

‖ *kott*, *-ar* GW m., *kütt*, *-ar* m. DN [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 112, 118]; *kuṭ*, *-ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 226].

39. *kvast* 'broom; besom': *kvast-rīs* n. 'sorghum' (plant from which brooms were made); *Hon sūpa ˈhūp-e, kvastn*_{DEF.SG.} *krapsa po tsemȧnte* LU 'She was sweeping, the broom was scraping on the cement'; *Kvast-rīse, mä he rīse bind dom kvastar*_{PL.} LU 'Sorghum, from that grass they make ("bind") brooms out of'; *Tom band kvasta*_{DEF.PL.} *mä kvast-rīse* LU 'They made brooms from sorghum.'

‖ *kwast*, *-ar* m. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 118], *koist*, *-ar* m. O, *kost*, *-ar* m. N, *kwäst*, *-ar* m. RW [ibid.: 110, 111, 120]; *kost, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 228].

40. *kvüst* 'twig': *Ja släit ˈsundär rokken, bļäi hēŋjande po än kvüst* LU 'I tore the dress, I caught it on a twig'; *Gräin bröütest ˈō, o po han kvüstn*_{DEF.SG.} *bļäi ja hēŋjande o släit ˈsundär dūken* LU 'The branch broke, and I got caught on that twig and tore the kerchief'; *Tom hogg kvüsta*_{DEF.PL.} *ˈō trȧna o kasta tom kvüsta de bränn ˈupp* LU 'They sawed the twigs off the trees and threw those twigs into a fire.'

‖ *küst, -ar* m. GN, *kwist, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 118, 119]; *kust/koıst, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 228].

41. *käft* 'mug; mouth': *Gär käftn*_{DEF.SG.} *ˈfast, papplar hōle mike* 'Shut your trap, you're talking too much'; *Ēklat käftn*_{DEF.SG.}*!* LU 'Ugly mug!'

‖ *kæft, -a, -ar, -a* f. 'lower jaw' [Danell 1951: 232]. The masculine gender, preserved in Gammalsvenskby, is original (compare OSw. *kiäpter*, Icel. *kjaftur* m.).

42. *kärps* 'pumpkin,' (humorously) 'head': *riska kärpsar* "Russian pumpkins" (fed to livestock); *tīska kärpsar* "German pumpkins" (eaten by people); *Mä kärpsar*_{PL.} *stillt ve buskan, ot oss soļe dämt ve dom, gjūḍ 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*_{DEF.SG} *kūkar ȧn lite* LU 'I'm still able to think clearly'; *Ja rīvar ˈsundär gürkar häldär kärpsar*_{PL.}, *sänn bļōndar ja ˈhūp-e mä tom kļiana o gävär-e ot paṭṭuŋa o ot tom stūr gässe ˈō* 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. *kõrvits* [Lagman 1973: 56].

43. *küṭṭ* 'core of a boil': *To de hār būldar, üte han būldn jär küṭṭ tärínn. O so lōŋaṭ́är som han küṭṭn*_{DEF.SG.} *jär tärínn e būldn, rütnar-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. *kirtil* m. Regarding the phonetic change *i* > *ö/ü*, see *stüvel/stövel* (§ 10.31 below). Judging by Sw. *körtel*, the form *küṭṭ* replaced

küṭṭäl or *küṭṭöl* in Gammalsvenskby due to the reanalysis of the definite sg. form *küṭṭen* (regular for *küṭṭäl*/*küṭṭöl*) > *küṭṭ-en*. Examples of the same reanalysis are *trisk* 'threshold' (compare Sw. *tröskel*) and *kvärv* (alongside *kvärväl* 'latch,' § 10.19 below).

Forms from cognate dialects demonstrate the metathesis of *r*: *kriλ*, pl. *kriλlar* f. NORW, *kräll, -ėr* n. 'gland' DW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 113, 115]; *krιλ, -a, -ar, -ana* f. 'gland' [Danell 1951: 221]; Sw. dial. *krittel, krissel* [SAOB: K2855].

44. -läst in *hēvöḷ-läst/hävöḷ-läst* 'plane' (tool): *To de hävḷar brāa, me hävöḷ-lästn*_{DEF.SG.}*, so bḷī tom kanuna* LU 'When you plane a board, with a plane, you get wood shavings.'

‖ Compare *hävä**l**, pl. *hävlar* m. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 92], *hévä**l*** m. W [ibid.: 81]; *hævoᶥr, -oη, -ᶥar, -ᶥa* m. [Danell 1951: 170].

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

‖ *mát* only sg., m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 143]; *mạt, -ņ* m. [Danell 1951: 268].

46. puṭṭ 'gate': *Färr po svänska gragōḍņ, tār ˈvā-ḍär ūt-lādär mä stäinar gragoḍss-puṭṭņ*_{DEF.SG.}*. Tom tū tän puṭṭņ*_{DEF.SG.} *ütär kvaṭána. Tār vār ˈō än stäin-mūr, tū dom ˈō ütär kvaṭána* 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.'

‖ *pó**t**, -ar* m. GNORW, f. D [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 165]; *pǫḷ-* in the compounds *pǫḷ-lǫs* n. 'gate lock,' *pǫḷ-lıkoᶥr* m. 'gate key,' *pǫḷ-vafı* n. 'doorkeeper' [Isberg 1970: 248].

47. rost only sg.; also n. 'rust': *rostas* 'to rust'; *rostas ˈboṭṭ* 'to rust away'; *rostatär* and *rostndär* '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 hällt min skjoṭṭ mä saft* LU 'I spilled juice on my shirt'; *Ve vaska ˈō kāvna, skoḷa dom o sänn kūka han saftn*_{DEF.SG.} *fron kāvna, tät-n änt bḷīär stinndär. O kumär-e sänn som povídl* LU 'We washed the watermelons, peeled them, and then cooked that juice from the watermelons until it gets thickened. It eventually becomes like jam.'

‖ *saft, -ar* m. DGN, f. O, n. RW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 181; Isberg 1970: 267].

49. skiss 'small scythe' (< Ukr. *скісок*)

‖ This word is absent from Vendell's and Danell's dictionaries.

50. skratt 'devil': *Konntjōḷ tarvar ja de, än slikär skratt* LU 'What do I need you for, such a devil'; *Skrattn*_{DEF.SG.} *väit-e* 'The devil only knows'; *Skrattn*_{опр.ед.} *a tāe ˈmūt-n* 'Let the devil take him!'; *Fär skrattn*_{DEF.SG.} *a tāe ˈmūt-n* LU 'Let the devil take him!'

|| *skratt*, *-ar* m. 'spectre,' *skrattn* 'the devil' DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 194]; *skrǣț*, *-n̥* m. [Danell 1951: 360].

51. *snürr* 'snout': *svin-snūr* AL 'snout of a pig,' *gr*[i·]*s-snürr* AL 'snout of a piglet'; *Ja satt ꞌinn än riŋŋ üte snürren*_{DEF.SG.}, *än-e änt bukar* LU 'I fixed a ring in the snout, so that it doesn't root.'

In interviews with AL *snürr*, *-en* occurred alongside *snūr*, *snūŋ*, *snūrar*, *snūra* m.1c. In interviews with LU: *snürr*, *-(e)n*, *-ar*, *-ana*.

|| *snu̦r*, *-n*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 18]. Vendell recorded this noun only as an element of the compound *snurrspír*, *-ar* f. 'whisker' W [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 204].

52. *spits* 'sharp end': *sōnd-spits* 'sandspit'; *spits* 'to sharpen'; *spitsatär* 'prickly'; *spits-näsatär* 'sharp-nosed'

|| *spits*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 207]; *spets*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 385].

53. *stjä̦țț* 'tail of birds and fish'; *fiskas stjä̦țț* AA, *fisk-stjä̦țț* AL 'fishtail'

|| *stiätt*, *-ar* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 214], compare *stätt*, *-ar* m. NO [ibid.: 220]; *stǣț*, *-n̥*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 396].

54. *sväit* only sg. 'sweat': *sväit-lüft* n. 'smell of sweat'; *sväitas* 'to sweat'; *sväitatär* 'sweaty'; *Dūken vār so soḷkatär o lüftast ätt* (also *fron*) *sväit, än vatne b̦läi svațț* LU 'The kerchief was so dirty and stank so much of sweat that the water turned black.'

|| *swäitt* only sg., m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 225]; *svǣi̦ț*, *-n̥* m. [Danell 1951: 408].

55. *sürest* only sg. 'cottage cheese': *sürest-vatn* n. 'whey'; *Hon rē̦d̦ ꞌhūp sürest me grädd ot se de jäta* LU 'She mixed together cottage cheese with cream to eat'; *Han sürestn*_{DEF.SG.} *kḷämmär ja ꞌsundä-ŋ, grīnar ꞌsundär-en milla händäre... O sänn bräiär ja ive марля o hälldär ꞌinn han kūka sürestn*_{DEF.SG.} *üte he sōlde... Po än kilo kūkande sürestn*_{DEF.SG.} *tässn läggä-d̦e ꞌinn än jätaspōn-fülldär 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.'

|| *suru̦st* [Karlgren 1924: 47]. According to Karlgren, the first component goes back to Est. *soir*, Russ. *сыр*. In the dialect of Nuckö 'cottage cheese' is *surmoḷks-ust* m. [Danell 1951: 406].

56. *tass* 'cup' (< Germ. *Tasse* f. [Lagman 1973: 48]): *kofe-tass* 'coffee cup'; *Ja tonast, vilt tōa tassn*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'I reached out, I wanted to take the cup.'

|| *tass*, *-ar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 230]; *taș*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f. 'tea saucer' [Danell 1951: 427].

57. *tass* 'paw': *hunda-tass* 'dog's paw'; *Katta hōldär ꞌō de läik me gon-nikḷa, he rammḷar, o hon kan ꞌän slō ꞌätt-n me tassa*_{DEF.PL.} 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.'

|| *tass, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 230].

58. tont AL, **tomt** AP 'goblin' (also *tonte-gübb*)

|| *tont, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 235]; *tont, -n̦, -er, -e* m. [Danell 1951: 434].

59. tōt 'ear (of grass)': *Där jär tōtar po gräse, he kumär ˈūt som aks-āțich, soṣṣ-som po sē jär tōtar, tēr konn sē väksär. O to pl̦ukka ve tom gräss-tōtana ˈhūp o band kransar ot oss po hūe* 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.'

|| *tåt, -ar* m. 'piece of string' DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 243]; *to̱t, -n, -ar, -a* m. 'piece of string.'

60. -tīt in *tō-tīt* 'tip of string'

The first component is cognate to Sw. *tåg* 'rope'; the second component, *tīt*, is not found in Vendell's or Danell's dictinaries. It may be cognate to Sw. *titta* 'nipple' [SAOB: T1635].

61. tratt 'funnel'

|| *tratt, -ar* m. DGO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 237]; *træț, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Isberg 1970: 340].

62. tri-fŭt/tre-fūt 'tripod' (used to put bread in the oven): *Mä grülaka krapsa-d̦e aska ütär kvațána, o sätä-d̦e trifūtn*DEF.SG.*, o po han trifūtn*DEF.SG. *boka-pannana mä brē* LU 'With the poker you rake the ashes aside, and you set the tripod, and on that tripod the roasting pans with bread.'

|| *trifót, -féṫr* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 237].

63. trŭt 'spout'

|| *trút, -ar* m. DGNRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 239]; *tru̱t, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 441].

64. tups 'bow' (of cloth)

|| *tups, -ar* m. 'tuft; plait' DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 242]; *tups, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. 'tuft' [Danell 1951: 433]; *tøps* m. [Isberg 1970: 337].

65. uks 'ox': *Tjūn̦ han jär änt ūt-skŭre, a uksn*DEF.SG. *jär ūt-skŭrendär* 'Tjūr is not castrated, whereas *uks* is castrated.'

|| *uks, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 246]; *øks, -n̦, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 306].

66. väks only sg. 'height; stature': *Han jär höüär po väksn*DEF.SG. 'He is tall in stature'; *Tom jära bōar ˈäitt po väksn* 'They are the same height'; *Hon jär lill (stūr) po väksn*DEF.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//-ėr* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 260]. Danell recorded it only in compounds, e.g. *græṣ-vækst* 'growth of grass' [Danell 1951: 137]; compare *vækst* m. 'tumor' [Isberg 1970: 373].

67. *vā̤ḍ* 'world'; *üte vā̤ḍṇ* LU 'in the world'; *Kott-dom kēr oss, tēr kēr ve, um häila vā̤ḍen*_{DEF.SG.}*, höṣṣ tīske kēḍ oss. Me ko än dom still oss, so jäta ve. Ve fī mike* LU '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'; *Slüft jār-e ˈō e vā̤ḍn*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'There's also such a thing in the world'; *He jär räi tīär po han vā̤ḍn*_{DEF.SG.} MP (calque of Russ. *пора на тот свет*) 'It's time to go to the other world.'

|| *væd* f. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 261]; *væḍ, -e* f. [Danell 1951: 476]. These forms preserve the feminine gender, original for this noun. The masc. gender in the present-day Gammalsvenskby is probably due to the association with Russ. *мир* m.

68. *äild* '(camp)fire; fire; electricity': *äild-gnista* n. 'spark'; *äild-stäin* m. 'flint'; *äild* 'to heat up'; *Tjēn änt iŋa äild ˈupp* 'Don't make a fire'; *Släkk ˈūt äildn*_{DEF.SG.}*, ān-en änt rūkär mäiär* LU 'Put out the fire, so that it doesn't smoke any more'; *Ja släfft ˈūt äildn*_{DEF.SG.}*, män han rūkär äiles, bḷäi ˈān än värke-bita ˈōtär, o han rūkär ˈän opó́* LU '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'; *Edā́ vār änt iŋa äild, tom kūka po gāz, so vār ättäre änt bḷöütar* LU 'There was no electricity today, they cooked on the gas, so the peas weren't soft.'

|| *äil(d), -ar* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 265]; *ai̯ld, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 89].

69. *üdd* 'sharp end': *sjöḷva spitts-üddn* 'the very tip.'

|| *üdd, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 248]; *uḍ, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 450].

70. *üst* 'cheese': *Soṣṣ fō-ḍe gära üstn*_{DEF.SG.} *ˈfā̤ḍes. Han sürestn som ja hällt ˈtjänd (som ja gjūḍ fron he sjūr-mölke), kḷämmär ja ˈsundä-ṇ, grīnar ˈsundär-en milla händäre. O sänn hälldär ja frist möḷk, änt laitrat (tär kann-de ˈō tōa laitrat möḷk) o sänn sätär ja ˈupp-e de kūk, o fō-ḍe stō o rēär-e mäseá̤itt, tät-e änt byre kūkas. O sänn tār ja sōlde, o sänn bräiär ja ive марля o hälldär ˈinn han kūka sürestn üte he sōlde. O sänn kḷänkä-ḍe ˈupp-e, än he vatne drūps ˈtjänd. To-e bḷäär kallt, so bḷäär-e skarft som än stäin, so fō-ḍe änt iŋa rēda ˈpō-en. Soṣṣsom-en jär häitär o drūpär ˈā̤n, läggä-ḍe ˈinn-e ot fāte. Po än kilo kūkande sürestn tässn läggä-ḍe ˈinn än jätaspōn-fülldär salt o än tespōn-fülldär sōda o hundra gramm smēr, o so fō-ḍe rēär-e ōtär, tät-n änt byre täias. O so jär üstn*_{DEF.SG.} *fā̤ḍes* LU '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]; *wst, -ṇ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 304].

Type m. 1c

§ 9. In this type belong nouns whose stems end in *ḷ* and *r*. A distinguishing feature is *-ṇ* (< *-ḷ-n, -r-n*) in the definite singular.[16]

According to Karlgren, at the time of his research, monosyllabic nouns with stems in *ḷ* had the retroflex *n* in the definite sg.: *stǫrʲ* (*stǫlʲ* 'chair'). Nouns with stems in *r* (both monosyllabic and disyllabic) had *n* in the def. sg.: *bun* (*b<u>u</u>r* 'cage') [Karlgren 1953: 18]. In the dialect of Nuckö, monosyllabic nouns in *ḷ* had the fusion *ḷn > ṇ* (occasionally also *n*) in the def. sg.: *stǫṇ*. In nouns whose stems end in *r*, the fusion *rn > ṇ* does not take place: *b<u>u</u>rn* (def. sg. of *b<u>u</u>r* '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 han bugäṇ*DEF.SG. *sätä-ḍe ˈunde äiken o ā̌-ḍe 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 *saḳ*. 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: *dīken* MP, *dīkn* AL alongside *dīgen* LU 'twenty-four hours'; *viku* AL and *vigu* LU; *hako* 'chin,' *kaku* 'cake,' *tiköḷ* 'brick' and *hagu, kagu, tigäl* in the dialect of Dagö [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 76, 98, 232]; *nägu* 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. *b<u>ū</u>r* 'cage'

‖ *búr, -ar* m. DGNRW, *-ėr* n. O [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 36]; *b<u>u</u>r/ bǫr, -n, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 60].

3. *digär* LU, **dikär** MP AL 'ten' (def. sg. *diken* AL, *digäṇ* LU; pl. *dikrar, digrar*; def. pl. *digra, dikrana, digrana*): *än digär äggär* 'ten eggs'; *Än digär jär*

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[16] See [Mankov 2010b: § 12.3] on the fluctuation between *ṇ* and *n* in the definite singular of nouns terminating in *ḷ, r*.

tī stikke LU 'One *digär* means ten'; *tfō digra*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'two tens'; *trī digrar*_{INDEF.PL.} LU 'three tens'[17]

This noun was originally a *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 *än tjūg 'ten' (which would be a phonetically regular form) one began to say *än tigär* by analogy with *tfo tigär* 'two tens; score,' after which the noun went over to type m.1c. The form *dikär* with initial *d* instead of *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.[18] Alternatively, *digär* may have appeared due to the voicing of *k* in *dikär*.

|| *dɪkɐr,* pl. *dɪkra* m. (according to Tiberg's note, the plural in -*a* occurs only after numerals) [Karlgren 1953: 19].

4. djävöḷ (def. sg. *djäväṇ*) 'devil'

|| *diæväl*, pl. *diævlar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 41]; *dævoʟ*, also *dı̣ævol*, *dı̣ævoʟ* [Danell 1951: 75].

5. doftor 'doctor' (< Russ. or Germ.). Forms of this noun having occurred in the interviews:

	Sg.	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.
MP	*doftär*	*doftäṇ*	*doftrar*	*doftrana*
LU	*doftär*	*doftäṇ*	*doftrar*	*doftärna*
AL	*doftor*	*doftoṇ*	*doftrar*	*doftora*

Unstressed *ä* instead of *o* in *doftär* appeared under the influence of *bugär, jēgär*, and other nouns in -*är*. Phonetically regular plural forms of *doftor* are **doftorar,* def. *doftora* (unstressed *o* is not syncopated in the dialect [Mankov 2010b: § 39]). The syncopated plural forms *doftrar, doftrana* derive from *doftär* rather than *doftor*.

|| *doftor, -ėr* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 42]; *doftar, -an/-aṇ, -er, -e* m. [Danell 1951: 75].

6. ēŋöḷ 'maggot': *Fḷōu skäit ꞌūt-se po he käte häldär po fiska. O ēŋlar*_{PL.}, *tom site änt ōapo, a kroka ꞌinn djēpäre, o tom vuzl tärínn üte 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'; *Käte hār ēŋlar*_{PL.} *üte se, tö kan ꞌō änt sī-dom, tom ēŋḷa*_{DEF.PL.}, *män to-de byre skōa bätrare, so kan-de sī,*

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[17] In the last two examples a fluctuation between the def. pl. *digra* and indef. pl. *digrar* takes place after a numeral.

[18] An example of a distant assimilation with reference to quality is *sustär* < *ṣustär* 'shoemaker' (compare Lat. *quinque* 'five' < *penkʷe).

än-e r[*ę̣*]*ꞩꞩ* (< *rērs*) *tärínn* LU '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 *ēŋöḷ* is possibly a result of the contamination of these words.

‖ *égglér* only pl., m. G 'pinworm' [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 48]; *ęggoʶ*, *ęggʶa*, *-ʶar*, *-ʶa* f. 'leech' [Danell 1951: 179].

7. fū̃ḷ 'bird': *Fū̃la*_{DEF.PL.} *jära bott-flǭe* AL LU MP 'The birds have flown away.'

‖ *fiúl*, *-ar* m. G, *fúl*, *-ar* m. DGNO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 53, 61], compare *fól*, *-ar* m. RW [ibid.: 58]; *fuʶ/foʶ*, *fuŋ/foŋ*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 116].

8. gammen 'grandfather' (**gammöḷ-n* "the old one," def. sg.): *Ja kumär e hōn-e min mamases fār, gammen: to ja vār lill, komm ˈupp näst mur-mūr, so satt gammen ˈpo oss de kroka ˈinn bākom būḍe po lāsa (tēr vār äin bräi lās, tēr kann-de ˈān läggjas ˈnēr de sōa po-on), o murmūr häist ˈinn fron kāven som dom kūka (he kumär ˈūt som kāvens-huniŋe häldär siropen). Tēr kann-de ˈō häll ˈtjōḷ lite friskär grädd. Gammen satt sänn ˈpo de tōa än brē-bita o de jäta* 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. gāvöḷ (also *stjū̃-gāvöḷ*) 'gable': *sēŋe-gāvöḷ* 'headboard'; *stūḷ-gāvöḷ*, *-än* 'back of a chair'; *Ja väit, än gamma kēft tēr äin sēŋ ot me, o hon vār mä jēndär gāvöḷ... jēn gāvḷar*_{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: *gāvöḷ, gāvän/gāven, gāvḷar, gāvḷana*. In interviews with AL: *gāvöḷ, gāvän, gāvnar, gāvna* (*gāvnar* is a plural form of type m.1d; compare *kāvnar* pl. of *kāven* 'watermelon').

‖ *gávä**l*** DGRW, *gávu**l*** NO, *-lar* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 65]; *gavoʶ*, *-øn*, *-ʶar*, *-ʶa* m. [Karlgren 1953: 18]; *gavoʶ/gavoʶ*, *-on*, *-ʶar*, *-ʶa* m. [Danell 1951: 124].

10. himmäḷ only sg. 'sky': *Ve vār unde bār himmen tfo vikur* MP 'We were under the open sky for two weeks'; *Himmen*_{DEF.SG.} *jär kḷāran, där jär änt iŋa än möḷe-kḷomp ˈpō-n* LU 'The sky is clear, there's not a cloud in it'; *Himmen*_{DEF.SG.} *jär möḷendär, he kan gäva rāven* LU 'The sky is overcast, it might rain'; *Fär vār himmöŋ fülldär mä stjēnar, a nö sīnas dom änt, 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 *himmäḷ* occurred in interviews with LU. AL cites the follow-
ing forms: *himm(ä)l*, def. sg. *himm(ä)l* (type m.1d) / *himm(ä)ln* (type m.1b);
in these forms *l* instead of *ḷ* is due to the influence of Germ. *Himmel* and Sw.
himmel.

‖ *himmäl*, *-lar* m. DG, *himul* NO, *himäl* RW [Freudenthal, Ven-
dell 1886: 81]; *hɪmoᵏ, hɪmon, hɪmᵏar, hɪmᵏa* m. [Danell 1951: 159].

11. *hummöḷ* (def. sg. *hummän* AL) only sg. 'hop' (plant). In an interview
with LU this noun occurred with a neuter def. sg. form *hummḷe*.

‖ *hummäl* only sg., m. DGW, compare *humul* NO, *humäl* D, *hümmäl* R
[Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 86]; *homoᵏ/homoᵏ, -oŋ* m. [Danell 1951:
166].

12. *huŋär* 'hunger': *huŋä-ṭīn* m. 2a (def. sg.) 'famine; the time of starva-
tion'; *Ja orkar iŋatiŋ änt före huŋäŋ*_DEF.SG. 'I can't do anything because I'm so
hungry'; *Üte huŋäṭīn bḷäi mike dēar* LU 'In the time of famine many died.'

‖ *huɡɡər* only sg., m. G, compare *huɡɡur* m. O [Freudenthal, Ven-
dell 1886: 86]; *hoɡɡor, -oŋ* m. [Danell 1951: 167].

13. *jēgär* 'hunter' (< Germ. *Jäger*). Instead of a specific definite singular
form (*jēgän*, occurring in interviews with LU), AL uses the indefinite form,
which is typical of loanwords.

‖ *iégər, -ėr* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 93], compare *iægar* O,
iægər, -ėr m. RW [ibid.: 97]; *ɪ̯agar, -aŋ/-an, -er, -e* m. [Danell 1951: 182].

14. *kḷōndrar* only pl. 'clods of dry dung or mud': *Küda hōldär ʿō de värm
se e skōne, hon kann läggjas ʾnēr üte-e de bosa se. He bliär som kḷōndrar ʾumm-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).'

‖ Compare the verb *kḷondər* 'rumble,' recorded only in Vippal (according
to Vendell, it goes back to Middle Low German *klundern*) [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.

‖ *kalendór* (indef. and def. sg. are not distinguished) [Karlgren 1953:
18]; *kálændor* [Danell 1951: 192]; *kalendor* m. [Isberg 1970: 146].

16. *kōḷ* only sg. 'cabbage': *bḷumm-kōḷ* 'cauliflower'; *salt ʾinn kōṇ*_DEF.SG. 'to
pickle cabbage'; *Tö hōldär ʿō sjūran kōḷ?* 'Do you like sauerkraut?'; *Fäṣt skär ja
kōŋ*_DEF.SG., *sänn rēär ja ʾhūp-e mä salt o läggär ʾinn-e üte kástrüll, än stūran, o tät-n
räi jär sjūran, so läggär ja ʾinn-en üte butlar, üte trī-litäṣ, o gär ʾfast dom mä ka-
prónove loke. He tarvas to änt vask ʾō-en. A to-de hār-en üte tunna, to fō-ḍe lägge*

The following forms have occurred:

	Sg.	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.
LU	*kvärvöl/-äl̦*	*kvärven/kvärvän̦*	*kvärv̦lar*	*kvärv̦la*
AL	*kvärvär, kvärv*	*kvärven*	*kvärvar*	*kvärva//kvärvare*

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.

|| *kvervä**l**, -**l**ar* m. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 118].

20. *likäl̦/-öl̦* 'key': *skrū-likäl̦* 'screwdriver'; *Ja kann änt vrī umm likän̦*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'I can't turn the key'; *Ja kann änt drāa ˈūt likän̦*_{DEF.SG.} LU (*liken* MP) 'I can't get the key out'; *Ja tappa boṭṭ likk̦la*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'I've lost the keys.'

In def. pl. (in contact with *l̦*) *k* can lengthen: *likk̦la*.

|| *likä**l** DGR, *likul* NO, -*l*ar* m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 126]; *lɪkɒʟ, -ɒn, -ʟar, -ʟa* m. [DANELL 1951: 294].

21. *mūr* 'outer wall; stone fence': *gato-mūr* 'the wall that separates the front garden from the street'; *stäin-mūr* 'stone fence'; *Tom mīḍ mūr ˈupp* LU 'They built a fence'; *Fär vā-ḍär alastål̦l stäin-mūrar*_{PL.}*, lāŋs me häila bīn. Allar hāv mūrar*_{PL.}*, män summ̦lar hāv hēgäre, summ̦lar hāv lēgäre. A grinde summ̦lar hāv, summ̦lar hāv-e änt, före he än de tarva brāar, a konn de tōa-dom, vā-ḍär 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.'

|| *múr, -ar* m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 149]; *m<u>u</u>r/mør, -n, -ar, -a* m. [DANELL 1951: 279].

22. *näl̦* 'fingernail': *Hoṣṣ de läis ipet tom knjūta, to ja änt hār iŋa näl̦ar*_{PL.}*?* LU 'How do I untie those knots if I don't have any fingernails?'; *Ja färga hōre po me, färga läppa po me, färga näl̦a*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'I dyed my hair, put on lipstick, put on nail polish.'

|| *nä**l**, -ar* m. DGNO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 153]. In the dialect of Nuckö *n<u>a</u>ʟ* m. means 'nail' [DANELL 1951: 286], 'fingernail' is *fɪggɒ-ŋaʟ* [IBID.: 100].

23. *oldär* only sg. 'age'

|| *oldər* (pl. not used) m. DGO [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 159]; *aldɒr/oldɒr, -ɒn/-ɒŋ, -rar, -ra* m. [DANELL 1951: 480].

24. *pōl̦* 'pole; peg': *pōl̦ ˈfast* 'to tie to a pole'; *Än pōl̦ kann-de slō ˈinn ot jūḍe o bind küda ˈfast* 'You can drive a peg into the ground and tie a horse to it.'

|| *på**l**, -ar* m. GNOW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 168]; *p<u>ɒ</u>ʟ, def. sg. p<u>ɒ</u>ŋ//p<u>ɒ</u>ʟan, -ar, -a* m. [DANELL 1951: 319].

25. *raspöl̦* *(-ön, -l̦ar, -l̦a)* 'rasp'

|| *raspɒʟ, -ɒŋ, -ʟar, -ʟa* m. [DANELL 1951: 322].

26. snūr only sg. 'snot': *snūratär* 'snotty'; *Snūn*_{DEF.SG.} *rinndär fron näsa* 'Snot is running down the nose'; *Där jär slīk snūrat bōnar, än ärma gḷimar fron snūn*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'There are such snotty kids that their sleeves glisten with snot.'

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

27. spōḷ 'lath': *Üte svin-stīa kann där vara po goḷve ristar, o so fō-d̦e spikk ˈfast dom mä spōḷar*_{PL.}, *än dom änt brūt fētäre ˈpō 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 lükka üte svīn-stīa vār änt ända upp de lüft-värke, o tār konn hinse satt, tū svīne dom üte viŋŋan o drū ˈinn dom ot se, ōd ˈupp dom, före he än lükka vār änt ända ˈupp de lüft-värke. Tär gehēd̦est de spikk fast spōḷa*_{DEF.PL.}. *De spikk brāa ˈfast, so kumär änt iŋa lüft ˈinn 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.'

|| *spól, -ar* m. 'reel; lath; plank' DGNORW, compare *spula, -r* m. 'reel' O, 'hinge' G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 208, 209]; *spǫlʲ, -ǫŋ, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 388].

28. spō̄ḷ 'mirror': *skōa ˈinn ot spȫn*_{DEF.SG.} 'look in the mirror'

|| *spøl, -ar* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 210], compare *spégul* m. N FrV 206, *spägäl, -lar* W, *-ėr* R m., *späil, -ar* m. LillR, *spæl, -ar* m. O [ibid.: 209]; *spægolʲ, -on/ǫŋ, -lʲar, -lʲa* m. [Danell 1951: 384].

29. (jĕ̄n-)stävär 'crowbar': *Mä än stävär kann-de säte ˈmūt... spänn ˈtitt-n mūt grinde. Soṣṣ kann nōn tōa ipet grinde, a soṣṣ spänt ja ˈtitt han jēn-stävän ˈmūt* 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 *-öḷ* was cited as well: *jen-stävöḷ, -stävän, -stävḷar, -stävḷa,* where *-öḷ* instead of *-är* is caused by association with such nouns as *gāvöḷ,* which are identical with nouns in *-är* in the definite sg. (*gāvän = stävän*). Compare *kaḷkur* 'turkey,' *vāgur* 'cart' alongside *kaḷkuḷ, vāguḷ* in the dialect of Nuckö [Danell 1951: 192, 457].

|| *stávər* DGRW, *stávur* NO, *-rar* DGNO, *-rėr* RW m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 212]; *stavor/stǫvor, -on/ǫŋ, -rar, -ra* m. [Danell 1951: 393].

30. stūḷ 'chair': *kristne-stūl* 'font'; *vāv-stūḷ* 'loom'; *Han stūn*_{DEF.SG.}, *äit bäin jär koṭṭare, byrja mülken, o nö käikḷar-e* LU 'That chair, (which has) one shorter leg, began to moulder, and now it's unsteady'; *Stūŋ*_{DEF.SG.} *änt a vare sundär-brütest umm-de änt a vare upp-sattest po-en* LU 'The chair wouldn't have broken if you hadn't sat on it.'

‖ *stól*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 215]; *st̜o̩l̥*, *-o̩n/ -o̩ŋ*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 397].

31. stüväl̩ /stüvöl̩ (also *stöväl̩*) 'shoe; boot': *stövl̩-hol̩ena*_{DEF.PL.} 'holes for laces in boots'; *stöväl̩-bönd* 'lace for boots'; *läggjat stüvl̩ar* 'tall boots'; *skrill-stövl̩ar* 'skates'; *bind ipet snērena po stövl̩a*_{DEF.PL.} 'to untie laces on the boots'; *Skūa gnī, än stöväl̩ gniär* LU 'The shoes chafe, a boot chafes'; *Han skūen kann knark, häldär stövän̩*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'A shoe can squeak, or a boot'; *Täss stövl̩a*_{DEF.PL.} *kl̩ämm, tom jära mnjūasla* LU 'These boots are tight, they are a bit tight'; *Ja gitsa, än tom stövl̩a*_{DEF.PL.} *trampas ꞌüt, o tom kl̩ämm äiles, jära trāŋar* 'I thought that those boots would become less tight, but they are still tight, they're stiff'; *Ja änt a hāve iŋa bl̩äim upp-gnēe, umm stövl̩a*_{DEF.PL.} *änt a vare so trāŋar vare* LU 'There wouldn't have been any blisters if the boots hadn't been so tight.'

The root vowel fluctuates between [ɜ] 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, *stivul* NO, *-lar* DGNO, *-lėr* RW m. DGRW, f. NO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 214]; *stɪvo̩l̥*, *-l̥a*, *-l̥ar*, *-l̥a* f. [Danell 1951: 405]. Lagman cites *stiväl̩* f. for Dagö and Gammalsvenskby, considering it a loan from Baltic German [Lagman 1973: 46]; compare Germ. *Stiefel* m.

32. sustär/s̩ustär 'shoemaker' < Germ. *Schuster.*

33. targöl̩ 'rag': *slarv-targlar*_{PL.} 'rags'; *Ko jār-e för kl̩ēnar, he jär bara de targlar*_{PL.} *kast ꞌüt* LU 'What's the use of these clothes, you can only throw them away as rags'; *He jär bara de kast ꞌüt de slarv-targlar*_{PL.}*, gamal̩ kl̩ēnar, sundratar* 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'

‖ *tiúr*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 233]; *tɪu̯ur/tɪu̯ør*, *-n*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 432].

35. vāvär 'cart': *diŋe-vāvär* 'dung cart'; *harb-vāvär* 'araba' (type of cart); *Norr-vāven*_{DEF.SG.} 'Ursa Major'; *rī-vāvär* AA 'saddle'; *Tom tū ꞌbott papa de jāg äikja po vāvän̩*_{DEF.SG.} *som dom kēd üte* LU 'They took Dad away to drive the horses in the cart they were travelling in'; *Üte harb-vāvän̩*_{DEF.SG.} *lägge dom ꞌinn hal̩m, häi de kēr, o tēr jär än stāa po bō sīana de lüft-e ꞌupp hēgre, än där gōr mäire ꞌinn üte 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.

	Sg.	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.
MP LU	*vāvär*	*vāväṇ*	*vāvrar*	*vāvra(na)*
AL	*vāvär/vāven*	*vāväṇ/vāven*	*vāvnar*	*vāvna(na)*

‖ *vávn*, *-ar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 254]. Compare *vagər*, *-rar* m. Rågö, Vippal, *vaun*, *-ar* m. Dagö, *ván*, *-ar* m. Ormsö [ibid.: 251, 253, 254]; *vagoṇ/vagon/vagoɽ/vagor*, *-oṇ/-on* m. [Danell 1951: 457].

36. *vintär* 'winter': *um vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. 'in the winter'; *tjõḷ vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. 'for the winter'; *tän färgõje vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. 'last winter'; *Ja band ˈfãḍes äin bunt mä gräs, de bära häim ot gäite tjõḷ vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. LU 'I've tied up a bundle of grass, to carry home to the goat for the winter'; *Hēr näst oss tän färgõje vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. *hāv-e upp-jāga slīk stūr drīvar, än ve änt kunt tōa ipet dänna* LU 'Here at our place last winter there had blown such big snowdrifts that we couldn't open the door'; *Täsn vintäṇ*_DEF.SG. *vār hōle kōldär, vär stūran frost* LU 'This winter was very cold, there were heavy frosts.'

‖ *vintər* DGR, *vintur* N, *-rar* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 256]; *vintor*, *-oṇ/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 *ḷ* can be explained by its position after *s* [Mankov 2010a: § 10.4]. However, *-ḷ* could be replaced by *l* under the influence of Sw. *axel*.

‖ *aksal*, *-ér* m. DGNO [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 15], compare *ahkäl*, *-lar* m. W FrV 14, *aktl*, *-ar* m. Stor R; *aksar* [Karlgren 1953: 9]; *aksaɽ*, *-an/-aṇ*, *-er*, *-e* m. [Danell 1951: 11].

2. *bástan* 'field where melons grow' (< Russ. *баштáн*): *Svaṭṭ krōkana, tom hakk kāvna ˈsundär po bastan, han gō-ṣänn färlõra, hann rütnas ˈboṭṭ* LU

'Black crows, they peck at watermelons in the field, they get spoiled and they rot away'; *Tēr väks dom, po han bastan*_{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.

‖ *baṣṭanar* pl. [Karlgren 1924: 29].

3. bisman 'steelyard balance': *Ja vifta käte mä bisman* LU 'I weighed the meat with a steelyard'; *Tā tän bisman*_{DEF.SG.}*, ja hār iŋa 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.

‖ *bismann, -männėr* m. G, *bisman, -ėr* n. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 23]; *bɨs-man̲, -e, -er, -ena* n. [Danell 1951: 22].

4. bjün 'bear'

‖ *bión, -ar* m. DGNOR [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 23], compare *biún, -ėr* m. W [ibid.: 24]; *bᶅøn, -Ø, -ar, -a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 18; Danell 1951: 26].

5. brunn 'well': *Min mamases küsɪ́n grāva ˈūt ot se soḷe än brunn, äin rōnd mä stäinar fɪ-en slō ˈgirm. Tār tarva-ḍe änt grāv djūft, före he än svāḍe vār bräivār mä vatne. Före he, än dom änt lēvd tār mäiäre, so kasta dom ˈfast-n mä smōḷ, än iŋen änt falldär ˈinn üte-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 ˈupp fron brunn o drämft ˈō ämbare* LU 'I was pulling water out of the well and sank the pail.'

‖ *brunn, -ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 32], *bron̲, -Ø, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 49].

6. butl 'large jar': *Fäṣt skār ja kōn̄, sänn rēär ja ˈhüp-e me salt o läggär ˈinn-e üte kástrüll, o tät-n räi jär sjūran, so läggär ja ˈinn-en üte butlar*_{PL.}*, üte trīlitäṣ* 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).'

From Ukr. *бу́тель* m.; borrowing from Germ. *Buttel* f. is less probable because of the gender difference.

7. böün 'bean': *Vatne kūkar, so kastar ja bu̇raka häldär böüna*_{DEF.PL.}*, sänn katüfla som ja bita ˈsundär, pürkan* LU 'The water is boiling, so I throw in beets or beans, then potatoes that I cut into pieces, and a carrot'; *To böüna*_{DEF.PL.} *ligge üte skäiana, so gō dom änt färlōra. Tom som ligge soṣṣ lōŋaṭiär, so bḷiä-ḍär makkar üte dom. Tom brukat böüna*_{DEF.PL.}*, tēr siä-ḍe änt tom makka, a üte kvīt böüna*_{DEF.PL.}*, tēr siä-ḍe hon svaṭṭ pḷätta* 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.'

‖ *böun, -ar* f. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 39]; *baᶙn, -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*_{DEF.SG.} *tōa-e allt* (or *Han fan kan tōa-e allt;* or *Lät han fān tōa ˈmūt-e allt*) 'To hell with it all'; *Fär fān a tāe-e allt* (or *Fān a hāve-e allt tāje*) 'To hell with it all'; *Fān a hāve-on tāe* 'To hell with her.'

‖ *fán* only sg., m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 50], *fänėn* only def. sg., m. GW [ibid.: 62]; *fan* (according to Isberg, women distort this word, pronouncing it as *fæn*) [Danell 1951: 95].

9. *fīun* 'violin': *fīun-spǟlar* m. 2b 'fiddler.'

‖ *fiól, -ar* m. G, compare *fiülín, -ar* m. D [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 53]; *fᶙulın/fᶙolın, -a, -ar, -ana* f. [Danell 1951: 101].

10. *gaffl* 'fork'

Phonetically changed under the influence of Germ. *Gaffel* f. and Sw. *gaffel*; the genuine form would be **gafäḷ* (as recorded by Vendell). In interviews with EU the noun is feminine: *hon gaffla*_{DEF.SG.} 'that fork'; *Gäv ot mäi gaffla*_{DEF.SG.} 'Give me the fork.'

‖ *gafäl* G, *gaffäl* DRW, *gaful* NO, *-lar* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 64]; *gaføl, -n, -lar, -la* m. [Danell 1951: 122].

11. *grann* 'neighbor': *grann-fār* m. '(male) neighbor'; *grann-mūär* f. '(female) neighbor.'

‖ *grann, -ar* m. DGNORW; compare *gradnė*, pl. *gradnar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 70], an unclear form that looks like a Slavonic loanword; *gran, -Ø, -er, -e* m. [Danell 1951: 130].

12. *gräin* 'branch': *imp-gräin* 'graft'; *Gräin bröütest ˈō, o po han kvüstn bḷäi ja hēnjande* LU 'The branch broke, and I got caught on that twig'; *Han gräin*_{DEF.SG.}, *han kan gō färlṓra* LU 'That branch, it can get damaged'; *To-de häv strüssar, so gī-de do ˈō o bröüt tom gräina*_{DEF.PL.} *fron hälstrana. Strüssana jäta bḷāna o gnāvöḷ barken ˈtjänd fron tom gräina*_{DEF.PL.}, *a he värke bḷīär ˈōtär fron gräina*_{DEF.PL.}, *o me-e kann-de äild sänn, to-e bḷīär toṭṭ* 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'; *Gräina*_{DEF.SG.} *kīkas so hōle fron vädäre* LU 'The branches are waving so hard in the wind.'

‖ *gräin, -ar* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 73]; *graᶙn, -Ø, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 131].

13. *hann* 'male': *gos-hann* 'gander'; *gäit-hann* 'male goat'; *katt-hann* 'male cat'; *krōk-hann* 'raven'; *rāv-hann* 'male fox'; *strüss-hann* 'male rabbit'; *varg-hann* 'male wolf.'

|| *hann*, *-ar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 78]; *ha̱n*, *-Ø*, *-er*, *-e* m. [Danell 1951: 150].

14. hund 'dog': *drikks-hund* 'drunk; alcoholic'; *Han hund*_{DEF.SG.} *tjēnt ot me häila sin liffs-tīär* LU 'That dog has served me his whole life'; *Hund*_{DEF.SG.} *gnāvļar kätt-bäine* LU 'The dog is gnawing the bone'; *Narr änt hund*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'Don't tease the dog'; *Hund*_{DEF.SG.} *nürrar, han vill änt släpp ˈtitt me ˈmūt se* LU 'The dog is snarling, it doesn't want to let me approach it there'; *Ja hār hund*_{DEF.SG.} *xjōḷ-skjüte* AL 'I have shot down the dog'; *Släpp ˈlöüsär hund*_{DEF.SG.} MP 'Untie the dog'; *Hund*_{DEF.SG.} *sprōŋa ˈboṭṭ* LU 'The dog ran away'; *Hund*_{DEF.SG.} *kann svarv üte-de o bīt-de* LU 'The dog can grab you and bite you'; *Tēr var hund*_{DEF.SG.} *fast-bunde* LU 'There was a tied-up dog'; *Hunda*_{DEF.PL.} *gäi, gāv änt ott-on de sōa* LU 'The dogs were barking and didn't let her sleep'; *Hugg ˈsundär-en de bitar, o hunda*_{DEF.PL.} *jäta upp-e* 'Chop it into pieces, and the dogs will eat it up'; *Han byrja ˈōtär drikk, han drikks-hund*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'He started to drink again, that drunkard.'

|| *hünd*, *hünn* or *hunn*, pl. *hündar/hundar* DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 86, 87]; *hønd*, *-Ø*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Karlgren 1953: 18]; *hund*, def. sg. *hu̱n*, pl. *-ar*, *-a* [Danell 1951: 166]. In the dialect of Nuckö, the def. sg. *hünn* developed from **hündn*. The indefinite sg. form *hünn* (instead of *hünd*) recorded by Vendell appeared by analogy with such nouns as *grann*, which have identical forms in indef. and def. sg.

15. káḍ(ü)fl AL, **kátüfl** LU, pl. *kaḍflar* AL, *kád*[ə]*flar* EU, *kaḍeflar* AA 'potato' (< Germ. *Kartoffel* f.): *katüfl-skāḷär* n. pl. 'potato peelings'; *boka katüflar*_{PL.} 'baked potatoes'; *dämt katüflar* 'stewed potatoes'; *fīn katüflar* 'small potatoes'; *Katüfl byrjar räi väks, han hār räi grūdar po se* LU 'Potatoes begin sprouting, there are sprouts on it'; *Ja hōldär ˈō dämt katüflar*_{PL.} LU 'I like stewed potatoes'; *To-de grāvar kátüfla*_{DEF.PL.}*... tom jära üte rōana satt, än büsk bait anan. O soṣṣom-de grāva dom, soṣṣ ligge dom üte rōa. Tēr pḷukkar ja ˈtjänd dom fron büsken, sänn grabbḷar ja ˈān üte jūḍe, korar jūḍe ütär kvaṭána de sēke, umm där ˈān jär üte jūḍe. Tom kuna fall ˈinn ot katüflbüsks-hoḷena som räi var ūt-grāva, kannske än där ˈān jär inn-falle katüfla*_{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 ˈūt katüfla*_{DEF.PL.}*, o ja gī sän de napp ˈhūp dom* LU 'They had dug up the potatoes, and I went to gather them later'; *Ja dämt katüflar*_{PL.} *mä kätt, ja brāst fäṣt ˈive he käte līte o kasta ˈinn mä katüfla*_{DEF.PL.} *de dämpas. Ja bita ˈinn sīpḷ po tom katüfla*_{DEF.PL.}*, kasta ˈinn lurbäṣ-bḷā 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 jära de grāv katüfla*_{DEF.PL.} (also *Tom jära 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 (*kaḍüfl/katüfl*) also occurred in *kadus/kaḍos/kaṭüs* 'cap.'

|| *kaḍufl*, *-ar* f. G, compare *kadüful*, *-lar* f. D [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 98]. In the dialect of Nuckö this word is borrowed from Estonian (Est. *tuhvel*): *tuᵣfᵒl*, *-la*, *-lar*, *-lana* f. [DANELL 1951: 195].

16. *kálkün* 'turkey,' also used humorously for Russians: *Risse nämmd-dom de kalkünar*ₚₗ., *a konnfṓre väit ja änt, tom jära he äin foḷke soṣṣ-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*ₚₗ. LU 'They called Russians turkeys.'

|| *kaᵣkᵒr/-ᵣ*, *-oŋ/-on* m. [DANELL 1951: 192]; *kalkᵒn/-ŋ* m. [ISBERG 1970: 146].

17. *kástrüll* 'saucepan' (< Est. *kastrul*): *Kastrüll*ᴅᴇꜰ.ꜱɢ. *vār ūt-glozᛁ́ra, ja stäitt ˈfast-n o slō ˈūt än bita, o nö rostast-e, läkär-en* LU 'The pan was enamelled, I hit it and broke off a piece, and it got rusty, it leaks'; *Kastrüll*ᴅᴇꜰ.ꜱɢ. *sjöü räi, so gjūḍ ja ˈūt äildn* LU 'The saucepan was already boiling, so I turned off the gas'; *Ja skīḍ min kastrüllar*ₚₗ. *räinar, än dom gḷima nö: fäṣt mä sōnd, bait sōnd bḷī dom bḷō-lētatar, so fōr ja tōa me sōp häldär täss vask-soda, sän vask dom, so byre dom gḷima* LU 'I have scrubbed my saucepans clean, so they gleam now: at first with sand, and after the sand they become blueish, so I have to use soap or this washing soda, then wash them, so they start to gleam.'

|| *kastrull*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 100]; *kastrull* [DANELL 1951: 199].

18. *kǟ́ven* (pl. *kāvnar*, def. pl. *kāvna/kāvnana*) 'watermelon' (< Ukr. *кавун*): *Ja skār grād ˈsundär än kāven* LU 'I have just cut the watermelon into slices'; *Ja nipḷa kēna ˈūt me knīven fron kāven*ᴅᴇꜰ.ꜱɢ. LU 'I was picking pips from the watermelon'; *Han gī bait bīln som sjọ̈̄l kāvnar*ₚₗ., *han kēft än kāven, o spörftest me fūtn, o foll ˈnēr o slū ˈsundär han kāven*ᴅᴇꜰ.ꜱɢ. 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 slāest, so rütn-dom änt so fikst, a soṣṣ kann kāven*ᴅᴇꜰ.ꜱɢ. *byre rütn. Kāvna*ᴅᴇꜰ.ᴘʟ. *kast dom ˈänt po rukan, a fō-ḍe lägge ˈtitt-n po rukan, fäṣt rammḷa-ḍe ˈtitt-n, o sänn läggä-ḍe ˈupp-en hēgäre* 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 kāvna*ᴅᴇꜰ.ᴘʟ. *jära slāendar, tom kuna änt ligge lōŋaṭīär* LU 'Those watermelons are bruised, they can't be kept long'; *Ve vaska ˈō kāvna*ᴅᴇꜰ.ᴘʟ., *skoḷa dom o sänn kḷä̃md ˈgirm dom... girm sōlde, än kēna bḷī ˈōtär, o sänn kūka han saftn fron kāvna*ᴅᴇꜰ.ᴘʟ., *tät-n änt bḷiär stinndär. O kumär-e sänn som povídl* LU 'We

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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.'

‖ *ḳɐvnar* (pl.) [Karlgren 1924: 29].

19. kēn 'seed': *bḷumhatts-kēn* 'sunflower seed'; *kärps-kēn* 'pumpkin seed'; *kēn-hatt* 'sunflower'; *Tēr tarva-ḍe änt tōa ˈūt kēna*_{DEF.PL.} *frōn-dom* LU 'There you don't have to take the pits out of them (apricots).'

‖ *kén*, *-ar* DGNO m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 101]; *tḷɐn/kḷɐn*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f., *-Ø*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 234].

20. kit(t)l 'jacket' (< Germ. *Kittel* m.): *Ḳḷänk kittl*_{DEF.SG.} *ot skōpe, āles krimsn dehū̆p* LU 'Hang the jacket in the wardrobe, otherwise it will get rumpled'; *Üte kittl*_{DEF.SG.} *jär iŋa ina-futtär* LU 'There's no lining on the jacket.'

‖ *kɪtḷ* [Karlgren 1924: 48].

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 2010a: § 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': *gamaḷ-mōn* 'full moon'; *haḷv-mōn* 'half moon'; *nī-mōn* 'new moon'; *Snjüen lō ända de apríll mōn* LU 'There was snow all the way into April'; *Ja bitaḷ kvār mōn*_{DEF.SG.} *före äild, före vatne, före koṭṭäre* LU 'Every month I pay for the electricity, for the water, for the apartment'; *Paṭṭana jära bätrare de hōld de slaft, före-än dom väks fiksare ˈūt. Trī mōnar*_{PL.}, *so kann-de slaft-dom* LU 'Ducks are better to keep, as they grow up faster. Three months, and you can slaughter them'; *Hans mūär bḷäi dē, to vā-ņ trī mōna*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'His mother died when he was three months old'; *He jär fäṣt tfo mōna*_{DEF.PL.} *debā̃ ks som-on bār* LU 'It was only two months ago that she (cow) calved'; *Ja lō tēr tfō mōna*_{DEF.PL.} *üte sjūk-hūse* LU 'I lay there two months in the hospital.'

Names of the months: *jánvar, fắbrar, märts, apríll, maj, júni, júli, āgust, septắmbär, oktṓbär, novắmbär, desắmbär* MP.

‖ *mån*, *-ar* m. DGNORW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 150]; *mɐn* m., pl. *mɐna* (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/moṇ*, -Ø, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 281].

24. *munn* 'mouth': *Äin stūr kjōḍ! To-de ōndas, he svaḷmas fron munn* LU 'Hard frost! When you're breathing, vapor comes out of your mouth.'

|| *monn*, -*ar* m. G [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 147], *münn*, -*ar* m. DG-NORW [ibid.: 149]; *muṇ*, -Ø, -*ar*, -*a* m. [Danell 1951: 279].

25. *pinn* 'chip': *värkes-pinnar* 'wood chips'; *Me trōṣkakväits-kolba kann-de äild; kann-de dū ˈinn-e e gasse o tjēn ˈunde ūen üte ställe pinnar*PL. LU 'With corn cobs you can stoke (the stove); you can dip it in paraffin and stoke up the stove instead of using wood chips'; *Mä värkes-pinnar*PL. *tjēnt ve ˈunde ūen* 'With wood chips we stoked up the stove.'

|| *pinn*, -*ar* m. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 163]; *pịṇ*, -Ø, -*ar*, -*a* m. D 311.

26. *prätsl* 'pretzel' (< Germ.): *Färr sjōḍ dom iŋa prätslar*PL. *e būe, ve boka soḷe, kan-de boka mä kāvens-sirop, tom jära gūar* 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'; *Fär vā-ḍär änt iŋa pränika, soḷe boka prätsla*DEF.PL. LU 'In the past, there was no gingerbread, we baked pretzels ourselves.'

27. *pūrkan* 'carrot' (< Est. *porgand* [Lagman 1971a: 57]). *Ja rīva ˈsundär pürkana*DEF.PL. LU 'I've grated the carrots'; *Vatne kūkar, so kastar ja bůraka häldär böüna, sänn katüfla som ja bita ˈsundär, pürkan. Pürkana*DEF.PL. *kann-de ˈō brās ˈive mä sīpḷ* 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. *sígan* 'Gypsy' (< Ukr. *ци́ган*): *Hänaṣ küsī́n sa, än-on släfft ˈinn se mä sígana*DEF.PL.... *bändla ˈhūp se mä sigana*DEF.PL.... *o väit änt konn-on jär* LU 'Her cousin said that she went away with Gypsies... got involved with Gypsies... and doesn't know where she is.'

29. *sikk(ä)l* 'bicycle' (< Sw. *cykel*): *motär-sikkl* 'motorbike'; *Ja komm po sikkl kērande* LU 'I came by bike'; *De gō jär-e än lōŋär vāg fron Ṣlaŋedoṣṣ ända hitthḗr ot Svänsk-bīn, före he kēḍ ja ˈō po sikkäl* LU 'To walk, it's a long way from Schlangendorf here to the Swedish village, because of this I also rode a bike'; *Ve kēḍ äin goŋŋ de mäit fisk mä motär-sikkl* LU 'One time we rode on a motorbike to go fishing.'

30. *sōnd* only sg. 'sand': *sōnd-ruka* m.3a 'sand heap'; *Näst papa värft riggen, so brük-en tōa ˈmä me mä se, o so brük ja häis ˈupp sōnd po riggen, häitär sōnd. Han bḷiä-ḍo häitär fron sūḷe* 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 jär ale bäst sōnd-ruka, tom ligge tēr, valtras üte sōnd, grāv opṓ* LU 'For kids the best thing is a sand heap, they lie in it, roll around in it, dig all over.'

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

31. *spōn* 'spoon': *jäta-spōn* 'table spoon'; *te-spōn* 'tea spoon'; *Umm-de vrīär ˈinn bogleẓáne, gāv ˈtjōḷ än jätaspōn-fülldär mä salt, üte trī-lītäṣ butl. Där jär tū-slass spōnar*ₚₗ.*, mindäre o stērere, so fō-ḏe lägge ˈinn han mindäre spōn-fülldär. Umm-de läggär ˈinn mä han stūr, so kann-e bḷī 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]; *spǫn*, *-Ø*, *-ar*, *-a* m. [Danell 1951: 389].

32. *stäin* 'stone': *stäin-grīn* n. 'small stone'; *stäin-grūs* n. 'gravel'; *stäin-mūr* m. 'stone fence'; *bḷō-stäin* 'blue stone, vitriol'; *bänk-stäin* 'stone near the gate where people used to sit and chat'; *gro-stäin* 'granite'; *grūs-stäin* only sg. 'gravel'; *kaḷk-stäin* 'limestone'; *koṣtäin* 'chimney'; *kväss-stäin* 'whetstone'; *minn-stäin* 'monument,' *skinu-stäin* 'whetstone'; *slīp-stäin*, also *slīv-stäin* 'slipstone'; *äild-stäin* 'flint'; *öü-stäin* 'pupil (referring to the eye)'; *Färr va-ḏär äit hōḷ, o üte he hoḷe lād dom ˈinn stäina*DEF.PL. *o äilda, än-dom bränn ˈgirm se. Han som änt brinndär ˈūt, han bḷīär ˈō än stäin, o han som brinndär ˈūt se kann-de sänn släkke de kaḷk... Färr vā-ḏär än bīl som kom o sjōḏ slīk stäinar*ₚₗ. *de släkke kaḷk, o foḷke kēft tom ämbarena me kaḷk-stäinar*ₚₗ. 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 jära vär stūr stäina*DEF.PL.*... där jār stūr stäinar*ₚₗ. *vär brantan* 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 ˈhūp stäina*DEF.PL. *vär källaṣ danna* LU 'Anna said that I should gather the stones by the door of the cellar'; *Ve slīpa ikse, hakka, knīven, allt, po slīp-stäin* LU 'We sharpened the axe, hoe, knife, everything, on a slipstone.'

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

33. *stǻkan* 'glass (for drinking)' (< Russ. *стака́н*): *Han kann bara snjū ˈinn ot stäkan, soṣṣ byrjar-en ˈōtär 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 *stäkan* > *stäka-n* (after the pattern *stoka* 'stick' : def. sg. *stoka-n*).

|| *stäga/stäka*, *-r* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 219].

34. ṣtäŋäl *(-Ø, -lar, -la)* 'pole' (< Germ. *Stängel* m.): *tröṣkakväits-ṣtäŋla*_{DEF.PL.} 'cornstalks.'

‖ This word is absent from Vendell's and Danell's dictionaries.

35. tāf(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 *äŋal, ṣtäŋäl, kriŋäl, kittl, sikkäl*.

‖ *tával, -lar* f. G, *tavul, -lar* f. O, *táfl, -ar* m. W, *táful, -lar* f. N [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 230]; *tạfel, -n, -lar, -la* m. [Karlgren 1953: 18]; *tạføl/tạvøl, -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]; *tιn̲, -Ø, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 430].

37. tṣaun 'vat' (< Ukr. *чавýн* m.): *Sätt ˈupp tṣaun*_{DEF.SG.} *po grit-ṻen, o ā̈n-e ska kūk fiksare, tā ˈtjānd 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. täin 'spool': *spinn-täin* 'spindle'; *gon-täin* 'spool of thread'

‖ *täin, -ar* m. DGRW [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 244]; *taι̲n, -Ø, -ar, -a* m. [Danell 1951: 428].

39. äŋäl 'angel' (< Germ. *Engel* or Sw. *ängel*)

‖ *æggøɫ, -ɫa, -ɫar, -ɫana* f. [Isberg 1970: 380].

Type m. 1e

§ 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 [Noreen 1904: § 390–393], but in the present-day dialect *-j-* is attached to roots terminating in velar consonants. The following 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, *-bäkkė* O, pl. *-ar* DNRW, *-iar* GO m. [ibid.: 253] 'brook; small river'; *bæk̲, -en, -(ι̲)ar, -(ι̲)a* m. [Danell 1951: 65].

2. bänk 'bench': *ljū̄-bänk* AA 'bench by the gate' (where women sit and gossip; *ljū̄* means 'to tell a lie'); *site-bänk* AL 'bench in the street'; *skū̲l-bänk* 'school desk'; *Han sitä-ṭēr alǎ̈ina po bänken*_{DEF.SG.} LU 'He sits there alone on the bench'; *Umm-e a rǟvna, so-dom änt a satt tēr po bänka*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'If it were raining, they wouldn't be sitting there on the benches'; *To ve lēvd üte Pōln, so vā-ḍär üte skū̲la bḷakk-gḷāsna po parta... po skū̲l-bänkja*_{DEF.PL.} LU 'When we lived in Poland, there were ink pots in the school on the desk... on the school-desks.'

‖ *bäǥk* DGNRW, *bäǥkė* O, pl. *bäǥkiar* m. [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 37]; *bæǥk, -en, -ι̲ar, -ι̲a* m. [Danell 1951: 66].

3. *dräŋŋ/drā̄ŋ* 'servant' (especially groom)

|| *drægg* DGNRW, *dræggė* O, *-iar* m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 45]; *dræ̱gg, -en, -ı̱ar, -ı̱a* m. [DANELL 1951: 80].

4. *fļäkk* 'spot; stain': *bļōär fļäkk* 'bruise'; *Fļäkken*DEF.SG. *vill änt vaskas ˈūt, ja kann änt fō ˈūt-n* LU 'The stain won't wash off, I can't get it out.'

|| *fläkk* DGNRW, *fläkkė* O, pl. *-ar* RW, *-iar* DGN m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 56]; *fｌæ̱k, -en, -ı̱ar, -ı̱a* m. 'place' [DANELL 1951: 108].

5. *-lägg*: *biks-lägg* 'trouser leg'

|| *lägg* DGW, *läggė* NO, *-jar* m. 'shank; shin; hosiery leg' [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 134]; *læg, -en, -ı̱ar, -ı̱a* m. 'shinbone' [DANELL 1951: 260].

6. *rigg* 'back': *Tarvar änt bära-e po riggen*DEF.SG. *he, som-en hōldär ˈinn e hūe* 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*DEF.SG. LU 'Dad had a backache'; *Ja sattest ˈupp po riggen*DEF.SG. *näst hund* LU 'I sat astride the dog'; *Gamaļ dōana jära po riggen*DEF.SG. *räi. Bäina kann änt gō, riggen*DEF.SG. *bļiär kimpatär, hūe defrámm, atṣoļe debǎ̄ks* 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. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 171]; *rı̱g, -en, -ar, -a* m. [DANELL 1951: 332].

7. *strā̄ŋ* 'stream of liquid'

|| *strægg, -iar* m. DGNO, compare *strägg, -iar* m. RW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 217]; *strǣgg, -en, -ı̱ar, -ı̱a* m. [DANELL 1951: 401].

8. *säkk* 'sack': *rigge-säkk* 'backpack'; *Ja hänta änt häila säkken*DEF.SG. *fülldär, a hänta bara än ṣtimpl, a mäir kunt ja änt sļǟp. Ja a hāve büre än haļvär 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(ė), -iar* m. DGNORW [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 227]; *sæ̱k, -en, -ı̱ar, -ı̱a* m. [KARLGREN 1953: 18]; *sæ̱k, -en, -(ı̱)ar, -(ı̱)a* m. [DANELL 1951: 417].

9. *-trisk* in *dän(n)-trisk* 'threshold,' *trapp-trisk* 'threshold': *Ja gī änt lāmft, ja stū po trappa o bļaska ˈūt-e ive dänn-trisken*DEF.SG., *ja var lät de gō läŋäre* 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 **triskäļ*), which was recorded by Vendell, appeared due to the reanalysis of the definite sg.: *trisken* (def. sg. of *triskäļ*) > *trisk-en* by analogy with the correlation *gāvöļ : gāven*. Compare *kvärv* alongside *kvärväļ* (§ 10.19 above).

|| *triskäl* DG, *triskul* NO, *-lar* m. [FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 238]; *trıskoｌ, -oŋ/-on, -ｌar, -ｌa* m. [DANELL 1951: 443].

10. *äik* 'horse': *äike-hū* m. 3b 'horseshoe'; *äike-skōn* n. 'horse dung'; *Um där a vare än äik, so ja a rēe pō-en* MP 'If there were a horse, I would ride it'; *Kann-de rī po äiken*DEF.SG.*?* LU 'Can you ride a horse?'; *E bōn-tīen räi ja po*

*äiken*_{DEF.SG}. AL 'In childhood I rode a horse'; *To ve vār üte Komi... to-e räi byrjar lēn, snjūen, so kēḍ ve ʾūt umm monnan bittle, um trīa kēḍ ve räi ʾūt mä äiken*_{DEF.SG}. *fron stalle, o kēḍ värke mä slāa fron skūen so loŋäṭīär som-e äntān jär varmt. To jär-e varmare, so brütts äiken*_{DEF.SG}. *innot snjūen. Äiken*_{DEF.SG}. *som ja kēr värke mä, fōr ja skrīv ʾunde me ʾföre-en. Umm-e skēs nōat mä-en, so fōr ja bitaḷ före äiken*_{DEF.SG}. *Soṣṣ-som äiken*_{DEF.SG}. *jär lunkatär o stōr e stalle, bitaḷ ja fjörete-tfo rübl före än dā. So moŋŋ dōar som-en stōr, fōr ja bitaḷ* 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'; *Höṣṣ ja räi vār mätt me-en, han äiken*_{DEF.SG}.*! Tjōḷ vōre före middan lēndär-e, a tjōḷ kvēldn jär frostn* (also *frost*). *Allt jär skarft-fröset po de, kḷēna, stō ēnd o gnīas. Kḷēna jära allar vōtar, biksana o hankḷe, hēr fōr ja ān spänn ʾūt äiken*_{DEF.SG}.*, a händäre jära stīvar. Täta jär skū-arbet. He vār ʾve, a han stakkaṣ äiken*_{DEF.SG}.*, än ja gāv hon stuppa häi ot-n tjōḷ, han kann do änt läggjas nēr, fō-ḍo drāa allt* LU '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'; *Stīgen jär brantatär, so mnjūär, hēr kann-de änt kēr mä äikja*_{DEF.PL}. LU 'The path is steep, so narrow, here you can't ride horses.'

‖ *äik*, *-iar* m. DG [Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 265]; *aᶦke, aᶦken, aᶦkᶦar, aᶦkᶦa* m. [Danell 1951: 487].

§ 14. Nouns listed in the preceding paragraph tend to lose *-j-* in the plural (i.e., *bänkjar* alongside *bänkar*, 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:[19] *büsk* 'bush,' pl. *büsk(j)ar*, def. pl. *büsk(j)a(na)*; *riŋŋ* 'ring,' *riŋŋ(j)ar* (also in interviews with LU). Compare a similar fluctuation in feminine nouns: *fḷiŋ* 'shred,' def. sg. *fḷiŋa* AL, *fḷiŋja* LU, pl. *fḷiŋ(j)ar*, def. pl. *fḷiŋ(j)ana*.

§ 15. The noun *bḷäse* 'forehead'[20] can be included in type 1e. Its characteristic feature is a short root (all other nouns of this type have long roots), after

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[19] The only known exception is *gübb* 'old man,' which occurred with the pl. *gübbjar* (usually *gübbar*).

[20] See also [Tiberg 1962: 111–118] on this noun.

which *e* (< *-j-*) is preserved. Historically, this noun may be a *jan*-stem: **bḷäsja*
> *bḷäse*. The following forms occurred in the interviews:

	Sg.	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.
LU	*bḷäse*	*bḷäsn*	*bḷäsjar*	*bḷäsena, bḷäsja(na)*
AL	*bḷäse, bḷäs*	*bḷäsn*	*bḷäs(j)ar*	*bḷäsja(na), bḷäsana*
MP	*bḷäse, bḷäsen*	*bḷäsen*	*bḷäsjar*	*bḷäsena*

In the def. sg. the phonetically regular form is *bḷäsn*, where *e* is syncopated
between *s* and *n*. The wish to eliminate the non-trivial correlation *bḷäse* : *bḷäsn*
resulted in the forms *bḷäs* : *bḷäsn* (type m. 1b) and *bḷäsen* : *bḷäsen* (type m. 1d,
after the pattern of *kāven*). The def. sg. form *bḷäsen* and the def. pl. *bḷäsena* can
be explained as the stem *bḷäse-* (extracted from the indefinite singular) + the
endings *-n* and *-na*.

‖ *bläss, -ar* f. NO, compare *bläs* (pl. is not used) m. DGNORW, *bläsu, -r*
f. W 'blaze (on the forehead of animals)'; *bḷɑse, bḷɑsņ, bḷɑsꞮar, bḷɑsꞮa* m.
[Karlgren 1953: 18]; *bḷæṣ, ɑn, ɑr, ɑ* m. [Danell 1951: 34].

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