

SVENSKA LANDSMÅL OCH SVENSKT FOLKLIV



Tidskrift för talspråksforskning,
folkloristik och kulturhistoria

Redigerad av Fredrik Skott
och Mathias Strandberg

2018

Årgång 141



Utgiven av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur
i samarbete med Institutet för språk och folkminnen

SVENSKA LANDSMÅL OCH SVENSKT FOLKLIV 2018

SWEDISH DIALECTS AND FOLK TRADITIONS

Journal of dialectology, sociolinguistics,
folklore research and cultural history

Founded in 1878 by J. A. Lundell

Published by

THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE,
UPPSALA

in collaboration with

THE INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE

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2018

Volume 141

Distributed by Eddy.se

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2018

Årgång 141

Distribueras av Eddy.se

Årgång 141. H. 344 från början

Samtliga forskningsartiklar som publiceras i tidskriften har genomgått anonymiserad kollegial granskning av minst två granskare.

All research articles published in this journal have undergone double-blind peer review by at least two referees.

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Sättning: John Wilkinson, Textgruppen i Uppsala AB

Omslag: Mathias Strandberg

Distribution:

eddy.se ab

e-post: order@bokorder.se

Box 1310, 621 24 Visby. Telefon 0498-25 39 00

<http://kgaa.bokorder.se>

ISSN 0347-1837

Printed in Sweden by RK tryck, 2019

Innehåll

Förord	7
DACE BULA, SANITA REINSONE OCH RITA TREIJA, Dag Trotzig i Lettland	9
ALEXANDER MANKOV, Slavonic Loanwords in the Dialect of Gammalsvenskby	29
SUSANNE NYLUND SKOG, Från Småland till Michigan, och tillbaks igen. Verklighetens fiktiva platser i en svenskamerikans berättelser	75
ÅKE SANDSTRÖM, Säggen om fiskarlapparna på Holmön	93
MALIN THOR TUREBY, Svenskjudiska liv. Levnadsberättelser i skuggan av förintelsen	117
TERESE ZACHRISSON, »Genom Guds nåd sin hälso igen bekommit». Heliga källor i tidigmodern fromhetskultur	145
LARS-ERIK EDLUND & al., Aktuell litteratur om svenska dialekter	161

Meddelanden och aktstycken

JOHANNA BERG, RICKARD DOMEIJ, JENS EDLUND, GUNNAR ERIKSSON, PER FALLGREN, DAVID HOUSE, EVA LINDSTRÖM, ERIK MAGNUSSON PETZELL, ZOFIA MALISZ, SUSANNE NYLUND SKOG AND JENNY ÖQVIST, Making Archival Speech Recordings Accessible for Research. A Report from the Tilltal Project	171
GUNVOR FLODELL, Misionessvenskans dagar räknade?	178
ERIK MAGNUSSON PETZELL, Automatisk transkribering av landsmåls-text	184

Litteratur

Alf Arvidsson, <i>Musik, ritual och plats. Lokal tillhörighet i Holmsund under 1980-talet</i> . Rec. av Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius	201
Klaus Ebbesen, <i>Jelling – historien om Gorm den gamle, Thyre Danebod og Harald Blåtand</i> . Rec. av Anne-Sofie Gräslund	203
Bengt Edqvist & Johan Eklöf, <i>Fladdermusen – i en mytisk värld</i> . Rec. av Bengt af Klintberg	205
<i>Estlandssvenskans språkstruktur</i> . Red. Henrik Rosenkvist. Rec. av Erik Magnusson Petzell	207
<i>Föreställda finlandssvenskheter. Intersektionella perspektiv på det svenska i Finland</i> . Red. Sven-Erik Klinkmann, Blanka Henriks-son & Andreas Häger. Rec. av Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius	212

Ørnulf Hodne, <i>Påskefeiring i Norge. Kirke, folketro og folkelige skikker</i> . Rec. av Anders Gustavsson	214
Anders Hultgård, <i>Midgård brinner. Ragnarök i religionshistorisk belysning</i> . Rec. av Maths Bertell	217
<i>Identity and Dialect Performance: A Study of Communities and Dialects</i> . Red. Reem Bassiouney. Rec. av David Karlander	219
Bengt af Klintberg, <i>Påskharen. Folklore om årets dagar, månens fläckar och nedpålade döda</i> . Rec. av Tora Wall	223
Bengt af Klintberg, <i>Verser i svenska poesialbum 1820–1970</i> . Rec. av Carola Ekrem	224
Eirik Kristoffersen, <i>Kampen om folkeminnesamlingen. Da folkminnene ble et forskningsfelt og folket krevde dem tilbake</i> . Rec. av Agneta Lilja	226
Lars-Gunnar Larsson, <i>Per Holmberger och sockenlapparnas språk</i> . Rec. av Olle Kejonen	227
Göran Malmstedt, <i>En förtrollad värld. Förmoderna föreställningar och bohuslänska trolldomsprocesser 1669–1672</i> . Rec. av Ane Ohrvik	229
Susanne Nylund Skog, <i>Samlare, jägare och andra fågelskådare</i> . Rec. av Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch	231
Ane Ohrvik, <i>Medicine, Magic and Art in Early Modern Norway. Conceptualizing Knowledge</i> . Rec. av Ulrika Wolf-Knuts	232
<i>On the Border of Language and Dialect</i> . Red. Marjatta Palander, Helka Riionheimo & Vesa Koivisto. Rec. av Lena Wenner	234
Ulf Palmenfelt, <i>Berättade gemenskaper. Individuella livshistorier och kollektiva tankefigurer</i> . Rec. av Annika Nordström	238
<i>Romska liv och platser. Berättelser om att leva och överleva i 1900-talets Sverige</i> . Red. Lotta Fernstål & Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius. Rec. av Ida Al Fakir	240
Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark & Klas Nyberg, <i>Från kläde till silkesflor. Textilprover från 1700-talets svenska fabriker</i> . Rec. av Bo Lönnqvist	243
Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch, <i>Gångarter och gångstilar. Rum, rytm och rörelse till fots</i> . Rec. av Susanne Nylund Skog	246
Författare i denna årgång	253

Förord

I föreliggande årgång av *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* har vi förmånen att kunna publicera en rad viktiga artiklar inom tidskriftens områden, d.v.s. folkloristik, kulturhistoria och talspråksforskning.

En av artiklarna kan sägas gripa över samtliga dessa områden. Det rör sig om ett bidrag av Åke Sandström om en bebyggelsesägen från Holmön utanför Umeå. Framställningen har såväl folkloristiska och kulturhistoriska som dialektologiska – och onomastiska – fasetter.

Den starkt hotade östsvenska dialekten i Gammalsvenskby i Ukraina har under senare år varit föremål för ett förnyat intresse från flera forskare. I litteraturkrönikan i *SvLm* 2016 (s. 199 ff.) sammanfattas tre huvudsakligen sociolingvistiska artiklar av Ludvig Forsman, som bedrivit omfattande fältarbete i Gammalsvenskby. En annan forskare som har ägnat Gammalsvenskbymålet stort intresse under senare år är Alexander Mankov, som publicerat en rad artiklar huvudsakligen om dialektens morfologi och ordförråd. Som konstaterades i föregående årgångs litteraturkrönika (*SvLm* 2017 s. 197) är Mankovs hitillsvarande vetenskapliga produktion kring Gammalsvenskbymålet huvudsakligen på ryska. Vi är därför glada att i denna volym få publicera ett längre bidrag på engelska av Mankov om slaviska lånord i dialekten.

I avdelningen Meddelanden och aktstycken finner vi i denna årgång en beskrivning av läget för den likaledes hotade svenskan i Misiones i Argentina samt två redogörelser för pågående projekt kring digitalt tillgängliggörande vid Institutet för språk och folkminnen.

Flera av de folkloristiska och kulturhistoriska artiklarna rör ämneshistoria, särskilt de traditionssamlade arkivens verksamhet. Folkloristerna Dace Bula, Sanita Reinsone och Rita Treija bidrar med en studie av Dag Trotzigs verksamhet i Riga, en hittills oskriven del av etnologiämnets historia. Folkloristen Susanne Nylund Skog undersöker relationen mellan platser och personer i Karl Gösta Gilstrings samling vid Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala medan historikern Malin Thor Tureby diskuterar Nordiska museets insamling Judiska minnen. Till det aktuella numret har även historikern Terese Zachrisson bidragit med en artikel om heliga källor i tidigmodern fromhetskultur.

Vi vill här också ta tillfället i akt att nämna att tidigare nummer av tidskriften finns att ladda ner från Internet. Årgångarna 1878 till 1993 nås via Institutet för språk och folkminnens webbplats (www.sprakochfolkminnen.se). Nyare nummer återfinns på Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens webbplats (www.gustavadolfsakademien.se).

Slutligen vill vi tacka alla författare och referentgranskare för deras betydelsefulla bidrag till denna årgång av *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv*.

Fredrik Skott

Mathias Strandberg

Slavonic Loanwords in the Dialect of Gammalsvenskby

By Alexander Mankov

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to introduce new material on Slavonic loanwords in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby, the only surviving Scandinavian dialect in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The data on the present-day dialect presented here was obtained during fieldwork in the village carried out by the author in 2004–13. The article provides a corpus of Russian and Ukrainian loanwords that occurred in the interviews, together with examples of usage and parallels from earlier studies. It also contains an overview of the phonetics, morphology and semantic domains of the loanwords. This article deals almost exclusively with items that have undergone assimilation in the dialect. The degree and character of this assimilation vary significantly; the article studies specific processes by which it manifests itself. The great majority of the Slavonic loanwords are nouns. The overall number of nouns occurring in the interviews is approx. 1,000, of which around 100 non-compounds are of Russian or Ukrainian origin. Criteria for regarding a loanword as Russian or Ukrainian are also presented. These are phonetic and lexical features that differentiate Russian from Ukrainian.

Keywords: Gammalsvenskby, Swedish dialects of Estonia, language contact, endangered language.

1. Introduction

The dialect of the village of Gammalsvenskby (Russ. *Starošvedskoe*; current Ukrainian name *Zmïivka*¹) belongs historically to the Swedish dialects of Estonia, which were spoken before World War II in the Noarootsi peninsula (Sw. Nuckö), in the villages of Kurkse (Korkis) and Vihterpalu (Vipal), and in the islands of the Moonsund archipelago: Osmussaar (Odensholm), Vormsi (Ormsö), Suur- and Väike-Pakri (Stora och Lilla Rågöarna), Ruhnu (Runö), Naissaar (Nargö) and Hiiumaa (Dagö) (see E. Lagman et al. 1961). In 1782, around 1,000 Swedes from the island of Dagö, which at the time belonged to the Russian Empire, were resettled in the Kherson Governorate, now Kherson province, Ukraine. There, on the bank of the Dnieper River, a village that later came to be called Gammalsvenskby was founded (Hedman & Åhlander 2003). The native language of its founders was the

¹ Russian and Ukrainian are transliterated according to ISO 9. It should be noted that *i* (= *u* in the Cyrillic script) and *e* are pronounced differently in Russian and Ukrainian. Russ. *i* [i] palatalises the preceding consonant, whereas Ukr. *i* is [i] or [ɨ] (central close vowel resembling Russ. *y* = *ы*), which does not cause palatalisation. Likewise, Russ. *e* [e] causes palatalisation and Ukr. *e* [e] does not. This distinction is important in determining the sources of loanwords (see 3.2). *i* transliterates Ukr. *i* [i].

dialect of Dagö. Some of the elderly residents of the present-day village (where they are called ‘the Old Swedes’) preserve a language variety that goes back to the dialect of Dagö; this is now the dialect of Gammalsvenskby.² Before the resettlement from Dagö in the 18th century, the dialect was in contact with the Estonian language (H. Lagman 1971a); during the whole of the 19th century and up to the middle of the 20th, it was in contact with German because there were a number of German settlements in the vicinity.³ Since the mid 20th century, the dominant language of everyday communication of all residents of Gammalsvenskby, including the Old Swedes, has been what is known as *Suržik*, a transition variety between Russian and Ukrainian.⁴ Russian, the state language, was dominant in the media and in official spheres up to the mid 1990s, when it was replaced by Ukrainian. All the dialect speakers are familiar with German. Many of them learnt Standard Swedish either from parents and grandparents or at school and can read and speak it fluently, though in a specific manner which is rather different from the Swedish typically spoken in Sweden. They are aware of the difference between the dialect and Standard Swedish and contrast them as different, though of course cognate, languages.⁵ Some of the speakers had German as their main language in childhood; these are the semi-speakers of the dialect (see 2.1). Some speakers used the dialect in their families because their spouses also spoke it, but by the latter half of the 2000s and in the 2010s, it ceased to be used within families because of the death of one of the spouses. Overall, in recent times the dialect has only been used when its speakers get together, and even then they often switch to *Suržik*.

It should be noted that up to the Russian revolution of 1917, the Swedish village had been quite a self-contained community situated at a considerable distance from major roads and the larger towns of the region (Berislav, Nova Kakhovka and Kherson); even now the village is relatively remote and not very easily accessible. This was probably an important factor favouring

² The speakers themselves refer to it as *svänsk* or *voft gammöl-svänska sprök*, cf. the following impressive fragment from a narrative by Lidia Utas: *Ve tola allar bara po svänsk, voft sprök, voft gammöl-svänska sprök, gamma, o papa, o mama. Ja vār hon älst, so vār ja hon ēvēšt iite hūse, grād he, än ja fī-do līas po papa, mama o gamma, ko-dom sāi ot me. Gamma lād me allt, de sōim, o nōl, o bind, o hēkl. Tāta vār ivār sjutte ōr debāks...* ‘We all spoke only Swedish, our language, our Old Swedish language, granny, and dad, and mum. I was the eldest, so I was the senior in the house, it was only that I really needed to listen to dad, mum and granny, what they say to me. Granny taught me everything, to sew, to knit, to crochet. This was over seventy years ago.’

³ In the 19th century, Kherson Governorate was a very multinational and multilingual region; see Mankov 2014, p. 124, for the statistics.

⁴ *Suržik* is an old regional Russian word meaning ‘bad wheat; wheat mixed with rye’ (Dal’ 1882, IV, p. 371), and with reference to languages, ‘a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian’.

⁵ To give a brief example, one of the fluent speakers perceives such words as *hūs* ‘house’, *befāll* ‘order’, *bemārke* ‘notice’, *besēke* ‘visit’, *bevār* ‘defend’ and *skrākke* ‘frighten’ as Standard Swedish and cites their dialect equivalents: *stjū*, *sāte* ‘pō’, *bli* de ‘vašš-e, kuma nāst nōn, vār, rād’ ‘ō.

the preservation of the dialect before the revolution. In the 20th century, the situation changed dramatically. This was primarily due to the events of the first half of that century, i.e. so-called collectivisation (forcible introduction of the system of collective farming), the repression of the 1930s, forced resettlement of the Swedes in Germany during World War II and their subsequent exile to a 'special settlement' in Komi, the region in the north-east of European Russia known for its harsh continental climate and extremely severe winters.⁶ The present-day population of the village formed after the war and consists largely of newcomers from various parts of Ukraine. As a result of these events, the normal way of life of the village was disrupted; the dialect consequently lost its natural traditional setting. In the contemporary village, an ability to speak the dialect is not supported by any pragmatic considerations; the dialect exists outside any system of values that has clear practical significance. As already mentioned, its only niche is day-to-day communication among its elderly speakers. To give a brief sociolinguistic outline of the present-day dialect, it is convenient to use the descriptive guidelines in the document adopted by the International Expert Meeting on the UNESCO Programme 'Safeguarding of Endangered Languages'.⁷ This document recommends that minority languages should be characterised according to nine factors; most of these have a six-grade evaluation scale from the worst situation to the best ('safe – unsafe – definitely endangered – severely endangered – critically endangered – extinct'). These factors and the corresponding characterisation of the dialect are as follows.

1. Intergenerational language transmission. With regard to this factor, the dialect is in the 'severely endangered' category. No child will ever speak the present-day dialect as their first language. Even if it is revitalised, it will in all likelihood be a secondarily acquired language.

2. Absolute number of speakers. The number of individuals who spoke the dialect during the years of my fieldwork (2004–13) did not exceed 20, almost all of them elderly women.

⁶ Speakers of the dialect sometimes call Komi *Nūden* ['nu:den], 'the North'. This word in the dialect never refers to Scandinavia, for which there is no specific term; Sweden is called *Svärge* ['sver(:)ge]. 'Special settlement' in the Soviet context refers to locations where exiled population groups lived under strict restrictions. These settlements were usually very remote from more inhabited parts of Russia and were situated in regions with very harsh natural conditions and very limited infrastructure. See also *Sever* in 2.2. Strikingly, the Komi language, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric family, also left its trace in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby. The noun *jokk* n. 'marsh' in the dialect goes back to Komi: *Mälitta toļa, än-on var gōande ätt klūkvu o bröiit 'girm se iite he jokke, än-on äffnast komm 'ūt se fron tērfron LU* 'Melitta said that she was going to pick cranberries and got bogged down in that marsh, so she was hardly able to get out of there'. A similar word exists in Swedish – *jokk* or *jåkk*, *-en*, *-ar* 'rivulet' (particularly in Lapland, as a provincialism) – where it is borrowed from Sami.

⁷ UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, Language Vitality and Endangerment, 2003; available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001836/183699E.pdf> (accessed 10 Feb. 2019).

3. Proportion of speakers within the total population. The present-day village is quite large; its population is around 2,000. In this respect, the dialect is 'critically endangered', as a very small proportion are familiar with it and even fewer can speak it. Speakers of the dialect do not make up a linguistic continuum, as they are surrounded by people who do not know the dialect.

4. Shifts in domains of language use ('universal use – multilingual parity – dwindling domains – limited or formal domains – highly limited domain – extinct'). The dialect never reached beyond daily communication at home and in agricultural work. There may have existed certain forms of oral folklore before (such as songs and tales), but they are unfamiliar to the present-day speakers. There are several pieces of prose and poems written in the dialect (E. Lagman 1990, p. 104–126), but to consider these a literature in the sense relevant to the question of language endangerment would be going too far. As far as I know, the dialect was never used in the press. None of the speakers of the present-day dialect have higher education; many of them did not complete secondary-school education because of the severe conditions of World War II and the post-war years. In all periods, the only domain of the dialect was oral communication. But in this sphere, at least as the variety spoken by the fluent speakers, it is an entirely functional system that can fully serve all the needs of everyday communication.

5. Response to new domains and media. The UNESCO recommendation implies that if a language is not visible on the Internet and in modern media, this is a risk factor, even if it is used in its traditional ways. As for the dialect of Gammalsvenskby, at the moment it is in the 'inactive' category; it is not used as a means of communication (even 'artificial' or for entertainment) on the Internet or in the press.

6. Availability of materials for language education and literacy. The dialect has never had a consistent written form regularly used in the community by the speakers themselves, though there exist some texts and personal records written in the Swedish script. The dictionary and grammar of the dialect, on which the author of this article is currently working, will, it is hoped, provide a sufficient basis for a revitalisation of the dialect.

7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use. The dialect has never been either specifically prohibited or officially supported; in the 20th century, its existence was simply ignored, both by the authorities and in academic circles. It was never used in school education.

8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language. This factor should be regarded in relation to specific historical circumstances and social contexts, as attitudes to the dialect have not been the same in different periods and among different speakers. During the early post-war years, attitudes to dialect speech among non-speakers were hostile, because it was associated with the German language. This was fate's bitter irony, as speakers of the dialect suffered from Nazi German abuse no less than any other resi-

dents of the village. This hostile atmosphere influenced the speakers' own attitudes to the dialect. In addition, memories of the repression of the 1930s against the Swedes were very vivid in the village. All this resulted in the dialect being associated with suffering and tragedy. Speakers stopped speaking it to their children who were born in the 1940s and 1950s, and this was done deliberately. This situation of linguistic suicide could have been reversed in the comparatively mild 1970s and 1980s, but that did not happen. On the other hand, the dialect is clearly of great value to the fluent speakers who I worked with during my fieldwork. Among other things, this was reflected in their interest in and commitment to providing data for my research.

9. Type and quality of documentation. Before the revolution of 1917, the dialect was studied twice, by Herman Vendell (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886) and by Anton Karlgren (1924; 1953). In the 2000s and 2010s, the present-day dialect was studied in articles by Ludvig Forsman, as well as by the author of this paper.

As there are very few studies of the dialect overall, and the problem of language contact relating to the present-day dialect has not yet been the subject of an extensive specialised study, the main task at the moment is to make data on the dialect available. That is why the aim of this paper is primarily descriptive. It gives a list of Slavonic loanwords that occurred in my interviews, together with examples of usage, parallels (if available) from earlier studies, and comments on the phonetics and morphology of individual loanwords. I have tried to make the list of assimilated loanwords comprehensive, though some new items may appear during further processing of the data. However, the amount of new data will certainly not be large and it will not significantly change the overall picture. After the list comes a section with a summary overview of the phonetics, morphology and semantic domains of the loanwords. This overview systematises the features encountered in the section presenting the linguistic data; both sections are cross-referenced to avoid repetition.

The topic of language contact involving the present-day dialect was dealt with for the first time in my presentation 'Dialekten i Gammalsvenskby: en översikt av strukturella förändringar orsakade av språkkontaktsituationen' ('The dialect of Gammalsvenskby: an outline of structural change caused by the situation of language contact') at the 14th Conference on the History of the Swedish Language, held at the University of Vaasa, Finland, on 9–10 June 2016, and in the presentation 'The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Scandinavian–Slavonic Language Contact', given at the conference of the Foundation for Endangered Languages ('Endangered Languages and the Land: Mapping Landscapes of Multilingualism. 20 Years of Language Documentation', Vigdís International Centre for Multilingualism and Intercultural Understanding, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 23–25 August 2018;

Mankov 2018). Slavonic loanwords were later described in two articles written in Russian by an undergraduate student under my guidance (Dâčenko 2016; 2017). As for H. Lagman's study (1971b; 1987), he mainly described the dialect of Nuckö, the most thoroughly described Swedish dialect of Estonia, using both synchronic and archival data. Data on the spoken dialect of Gammalsvenskby at that time was not accessible to him, and consequently, in citing forms from this dialect, he relied on archival data, though his list only partly overlaps with Vendell's dictionary. According to Lagman, direct contact between Russians and Swedes in Estonia was limited because Russian was mostly used in the cities, whereas Swedish settlements were located on islands and in rural areas. Before the outbreak of World War I, Russian troops were quartered in areas with a Swedish population, which may have increased the frequency of contact. By the end of the 19th century, schools were opened in Estonian villages; a certain proportion of teaching there was in Russian. However, a larger number of Russian words found their way into the Swedish dialects of Estonia through Estonian Swedes who served in the Russian army and then returned home. On the whole, knowledge of Russian among Swedish farmers in Estonia was not widespread. As Lagman points out, Estonian Swedes who really knew Russian were easily named and counted. They were usually educated people, and did not typically mix the languages. In his article, Lagman cites 75 words: 58 nouns, 4 adjectives, 8 verb forms, 2 adverbs and 3 interjections. Many of these words are found in Estonian as well; they could therefore have entered the Swedish dialects from Estonian rather than directly from Russian. The bulk of the loanwords go back to the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century. The number of fully assimilated words that came to be part of the vocabulary of the dialect is very small. Many words in Lagman's list refer to historical phenomena, and their counterparts are either obsolete or uncommon in the contemporary Russian language. Only five of his words have been recorded in present-day Gammalsvenskby: *dúrak* 'fool', *djogg* 'tar', *gũ* 'mushroom', *gosste* 'guests' and *svärk* 'quarter' (< *sätvärk*).

1.1. Informants and data

The dialect data presented in this article was obtained during my ten visits to the village in 2004–13. As is common for endangered languages generally, there are at least two main types of speakers, namely fluent speakers and semi-speakers.⁸ In Gammalsvenskby, 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 of them) were not Swedish and who therefore did not speak the dialect in childhood. Pres-

⁸ There is an extensive literature on this issue; see, for example, Grinevald & Bert 2011. With reference to Gammalsvenskby: Forsman 2015a.

ent-day fluent speakers of the dialect spoke it as their first language in childhood, whereas semi-speakers acquired a knowledge of it as their second or third language and did not speak it actively in childhood. Obviously, there are important structural differences between the dialect varieties of fluent speakers and semi-speakers (these are discussed in Mankov 2013a; see also Forsman 2015b). In the case of our dialect, these differences primarily manifest themselves in morphology and vocabulary, and are so significant that it is not always easy to include the data from fluent and semi-speakers within a single description. The material presented below is taken from interviews with the three fluent speakers: Anna Semyonovna Lyutko (AL), Melitta Fridrikhovna Prasolova (MP) and Lidia Andreevna Utas (LU).⁹ The largest proportion of examples was provided by LU. In the following sections, I do not give her initials after examples of her speech; otherwise the initials of the informants are given. My current study is concerned with the present-day dialect, which is why I do not include in the primary data any information from earlier descriptions of the dialect of Gammalsvenskby or of other Swedish dialects of Estonia (namely, those by Karlgren, Vendell, Danell and Isberg).¹⁰ These descriptions belong to totally different periods and, strictly speaking, cannot be used as primary sources in a study of the contemporary dialect. However, I do cite their data for reasons of mutual verification and in order to comment on changes in the vocabulary. Besides, if a loanword is recorded by Vendell and Karlgren, it allows us to establish its age (see 3.1).

1.2. Phonetic transcription

For the present-day dialect, I have developed the following system of phonetic transcription:

Vowels: *a* [a], *ā* [a:], *e* [ɛ], *ē* [e:ⁱ, ɛ:],¹¹ *i* [i], *ī* [i:], *o* [o], *ō* [o:], *u* [u], *ū* [u:], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ā* [ɛ:], *ö* [œ], *ō* [œ:], *ü* [ø],¹² *ū* [u:], *äi* [ɛ:ⁱ, ɛɪ], *öü* [œ:^u, œũ].¹³

Consonants: *b* [b], *d* [d], *ḍ* [ḍ], *f* [f], *g* [g], *h* [h], *j* [j], *k* [k], *l* [l], *l̥* [t̥], *m* [m], *n* [n] ([ŋ] before *k*), *ṇ* [ṇ], *ŋ* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *š* [ʃ], *t* [t], *t̥* [t̥], *v* [v], *x* [x], *z* [z], *ž* [ʒ].

⁹ The names are given by permission.

¹⁰ This does not mean that I have neglected these descriptions altogether. During my fieldwork, I checked almost the whole of Vendell's dictionary against the data from the present-day speakers; the results of this comparison will be published in a separate article; see Mankov 2014, pp. 128–129, for preliminary conclusions.

¹¹ *ē* is [e:ⁱ] within morphemes, both in closed and in open syllables, e.g. *h[e:ⁱ]n* 'hen', [e:ⁱ]ra 'ear'. [ɛ:] (long close *ē*) typically occurs in morpheme coda position, e.g. *br[ɛ:]-är* 'brothers', *d[ɛ:]-är* 'dead'.

¹² Central rounded open vowel; lower than Stand. Sw. [ø], with rounded and protruding lips.

¹³ The diphthongs are usually shortened before long consonants or groups of consonants. In such cases the second element is pronounced particularly short, e.g. *g[ɛɪ]glar* 'gills', [œũ]ks-brūn 'cycbrow'.

The consonants *p*, *t*, *k* are not aspirated; *d*, *t*, *ŋ* are postalveolar (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations *dj*, *gj*, *nj*, *sj*, *tj* refer to palatalised consonants; *skj*, *stj* are [skʲ, stʲ]. Long consonants within morphemes are indicated by doubling the letter: *tummär* ‘empty’. If a long consonant occurs before another consonant within a morpheme, its length is not shown: *vänt* [ven:t] ‘to wait’, whereas at morpheme boundaries it is expressed: *tumm-t* (n. sing. of *tumm-är*). The hyphen is employed to show elements of compounds (e.g., *sīr-boss* ‘sorrel soup’) and enclitic forms of personal pronouns (e.g., in *hāv-e* ‘had it’, *vār-e* ‘was it’, *to-de* ‘when you’, *vā-ŋ* ‘was he’). Phrase stress is shown with a stress sign ^ˈ, e.g. *slū*^ˈ*hjö̌l*. Phonetic variants are separated by /, morphological by //.

1.3. Overview of inflection of nouns

Inflectional types of nouns are listed in the tables below. Roman numerals refer to morphological types, i.e. those that are not phonetically conditioned. Arabic numerals refer to phonetically conditioned variants within morphological types. As there are almost no verbs and adjectives among the loanwords, I do not give their inflections here. For details of the inflectional morphology of the dialect, see Mankov 2017.

Table 1. Masculine nouns.

Type	Def. sing.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
I.1	-en	-ar	-al/-ana	<i>fisk</i> , <i>fisken</i> , <i>fiskar</i> , <i>fiska</i> // -ana ‘fish’
I.2	-n			<i>kviist</i> , <i>kviistn</i> , <i>kviistar</i> , <i>kviista</i> // -ana ‘twig’
I.3	-ŋ			<i>stül</i> , <i>stün</i> , <i>stülar</i> , <i>stüla</i> // -ana ‘chair’
I.4	zero			<i>bjün</i> , <i>bjün</i> , <i>bjünar</i> , <i>bjüna</i> // -ana ‘bear’
I.5	-en	-j-ar	-j-al/-j-ana	<i>säkk</i> , <i>säkken</i> , <i>säkkjar</i> , <i>säkkja</i> // -jana ‘sack’
II.1	-en/-n/zero	-är// -ar	-ell-enal/ -al/-ana	<i>svänsk</i> , <i>svänsken</i> , <i>svänskär</i> // -ar, <i>svänske</i> // -al/-ana ‘Swede’
II.2	-n	-är//zero	-ell-enal/-na	<i>bokar</i> , <i>bokan</i> , <i>bokarär</i> , <i>bokare</i> // <i>bokana</i> ‘baker’, <i>biggjar</i> , <i>biggjan</i> , <i>biggjar</i> // <i>biggjarär</i> , <i>biggjare</i> // -ena ‘builder’
III.1	-n	-r	-na	<i>stoka</i> , <i>stokan</i> , <i>stokar</i> , <i>stokana</i> ‘stick’
III.2	-an	-ar	-anall/-a	<i>ënd</i> , <i>ëndan</i> , <i>ëndar</i> , <i>ända</i> // -ana ‘end’
IV	-n/zero	-är with umlaut	-re/-e with umlaut	<i>füt</i> , <i>füttn</i> , <i>fētär</i> , <i>fētre</i> ‘foot’

Table 2. Feminine nouns.

Type	Def. sing.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
I.1	-e	-ar	-ana	<i>brī</i> , <i>brīe</i> , <i>brīar</i> , <i>brīana</i> ‘bride’
I.2	-ell/-ja	-j-ar	-j-ana	<i>sāj</i> , <i>sāj-e</i> , <i>sāj-j-ar</i> , <i>sāj-j-ana</i> ‘bed’
II.1	zero	-r	-na	<i>viku</i> , <i>viku</i> , <i>vikur</i> , <i>vikuna</i> ‘week’, <i>näsa</i> , <i>näsa</i> , <i>näsar</i> , <i>näsana</i> ‘nose’
II.2	-a	-ar	-ana	<i>hēn</i> , <i>hēna</i> , <i>hēnar</i> , <i>hēnana</i> ‘hen’, <i>sistär</i> , <i>sistra</i> , <i>sistrar</i> , <i>sistrana</i> ‘sister’
II.3	-j-a	-j-ar	-j-ana	<i>kirke</i> , <i>kirkja</i> , <i>kirkjar</i> , <i>kirkjana</i> ‘church’
III	-e	-är with umlaut	-re/-e with umlaut	<i>būk</i> , <i>būk-e</i> , <i>bēk-är</i> , <i>bēk-re</i> ‘book’

Table 3. Neuter nouns.

Type	Def. sing.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
1	-e/zero	-är	-enal-na	<i>lōmb</i> , <i>lōmbe</i> , <i>lōmbär</i> , <i>lōmbena</i> 'lamb', <i>fīnstär</i> , <i>fīnstre</i> , <i>fīnsträr</i> , <i>fīnstrena</i> 'window', <i>kļē</i> , <i>kļē(e)</i> , <i>kļēär</i> , <i>kļē(e)na</i> 'cloth'
2	zero	-r	-na	<i>stikke</i> , <i>stikke</i> , <i>stikkär</i> , <i>stikkenä</i> 'piece' <i>öua</i> , <i>öua</i> , <i>öuar</i> , <i>öuana</i> 'eye'

1.4. Degrees of assimilation of loanwords

With respect to assimilation, Slavonic lexical items in the dialect can be divided into two groups. The first is made up of non-assimilated Russian and Ukrainian words, e.g. *Kimb som ve hāv de häll dehūp ot svīne: katiifl-skālär o fīn katiiflar*, *stampar ja 'sundär-e o kann än kast 'inn, än-e frokar*, ***makúha*** – *he som blār 'ötär, to-dom präss olljo*, – *tröška-kvāit, molat som grīn: dert'*, *sāiär-dom hēr* 'The trough that we had to pour for the pig: potato peelings and small potatoes, I mash it and I can also throw in, so that it smells, *makuha* [press cake] – that's what is left when they press vegetable oil – maize that is ground like cereal: *dert'* [grits], they say here'. More examples of non-assimilated items are given in section 2.2 below. The second group consists of words that have undergone assimilation and to a greater or lesser extent become part of the dialect vocabulary. Only items from this second group are loanwords in the strict sense, whereas the first group represents occasionally used alien items that cannot be regarded as permanent elements of the vocabulary. As for the criteria of assimilation, the following are relevant for the present-day dialect:¹⁴

1) Phonetic assimilation, i.e. changes that move the word away from its phonetic shape in the source language and bring it closer to the dialect. It is not uncommon for the same word to contain non-assimilated segments alongside those that have undergone assimilation. The noun [ɣ]óste 'guests' (South Russ. *gósti* or Ukr. *gósti*), for example, preserves the South Russ./Ukr. initial voiced velar fricative [ɣ], which is totally foreign to the dialect, but the final Slavonic [i], untypical of the unstressed vocalism of the dialect, came to be reflected as -e [ɛ], which is a frequent native word-final vowel (cf. *kirke* 'church', *bōne* 'the child', etc.). This allows us to regard *góste* as a (partly) assimilated form.

2) Morphological assimilation, i.e. the acquisition of native inflectional endings. The stem of the noun *batarájana* 'the radiators' preserves the phonetic shape of Ukrainian, but has acquired the definite plural ending -na of the dialect, which is the reason to consider this form morphologically as-

¹⁴ See O'Shannessy 2011 for an outline of issues of language contact that are particularly relevant for endangered languages.

simulated. Other examples: [ɣ]artʃíts vs [ɣ]artʃíts-a_{DEF.SG.} ‘mustard’; *kladó[u]k* ‘pantry’, which was cited with a full paradigm (*kladóuka*_{DEF.SG.}, *kladóukar*_{PL.}, *kladókana*_{DEF.PL.}); *paperósana*_{DEF.PL.} ‘the non-filter cigarettes’; *paroxóda*_{DEF.PL.} ‘the steamships’; *snarjádár* ‘projectiles, shells’; *vóloken*_{DEF.SG.} ‘type of fishing net’.

Examples of loanwords that have undergone full phonetic and morphological assimilation (i.e. no foreign phonetic elements and a full paradigm): *bássar* ‘open-air market’, *bástan* / *bástar* ‘melon field’, *boşş* ‘beetroot soup’, *dinnje* ‘melon’, *diüllje* ‘pear’, *gũ* ‘mushroom’, *harb* ‘cart’, *kāven* ‘watermelon’, *koft* ‘cardigan’, *kriss* ‘rat’, *lapp* ‘paw’, *Neppär* / *Nēpär* ‘Dnieper’, *snopp* ‘sheaf’, *svärk* ‘quarter of a litre’, *stāka* ‘glass’.

3) Inclusion of a borrowed stem in a compound. There are a significant number of compounds with a Russian/Ukrainian element which are only weakly assimilated, but inclusion in a compound where the second element is native can imply a certain degree of assimilation. This is the case, for example, with *boklezáne-plant* ‘tomato plant’, *búrjanz-biisk* ‘weed bush’, *tşerášne-trā* ‘sweet cherry tree’, *vínagradz-biisk* ‘grape bush’ and *vişne-trānar* ‘cherry trees’.

4) Frequency in speech. The borrowed conjunction *a* ‘but, and’ occurred many more times than the native *män* ‘but’ and can therefore be considered assimilated. By contrast, the Ukrainian conjunction *či* ‘or’ is used much less frequently than the native *hāldär*. The emphatic particle *až* occurred several times (see 2.1.4). Conversely, the particle *vróde* ‘like; kind of’ can hardly be regarded as assimilated, as it occurred only once (*He hār vrode änt iņa rētär, he grāse* ‘It has kind of no roots, that grass’). The verb *vī* ‘skim; winnow’ (Ukr. *viāti*) has acquired a full paradigm in the dialect and is perfectly assimilated, but it is used with hesitation and on reflection (it was used by a fluent speaker in one interview, but later, in another interview, the same speaker said that this verb did not really exist).

Frequency of use may be a significant factor in the structural assimilation of a loanword, because the more often a word is used, the faster it is incorporated in the vocabulary and loses its foreign phonetic and morphological features. In turn, frequency depends on the need for a particular word. If the language already has a native word that can be used at no cost to communication, this can obviously restrict the frequency of a loanword with the same meaning. Thus, the dialect has the native verb *narr* ‘tease’, which occurred several times in various interviews. Alongside *narr*, one of the most fluent speakers once cited the verb form *dráznet* (see 2.1.3). This awkward-looking form is only weakly assimilated, both phonetically and morphologically, which in this case is due to its low frequency (only one example) and, in turn, to the lack of uniqueness of the lexical sense: the dialect already possesses a verb with the same sense. Another example of a phonetically weakly assimilated form is *kladóuk*

‘pantry’: the dialect already has a more rooted term, *spikar*. The same explanation may be relevant to *až* vs *vróde* as well as to the verb *vī*. The sense of *vróde* can easily be expressed by native means, e.g. by the suffix *-āṭich* [-ç] and the conjunction *som*, whereas it is not as easy to find an equivalent of *až*. As for *vī*, the native equivalent is the verb *tjūl*. However, it should be borne in mind that the dialect is only known from interviews with a limited number of elderly women, which makes the criterion of frequency rather imprecise.

Assimilation can be slowed down due to the fact that speakers often hear and use a certain word when speaking Russian or Ukrainian. In this case the Russian/Ukrainian pronunciation, very familiar to the speakers, may impede assimilation. This may be relevant to such forms as *tabrétk* ‘stool’ and [ʏ]*oste* ‘guests’. Overall, loanwords in the present-day dialect are rather heterogeneous, and their degree of phonetic and morphological assimilation is very varied. The same word can contain both phonetically assimilated and non-assimilated segments; a form which is non-assimilated phonetically can undergo morphological assimilation and be incorporated into the inflectional system of the dialect.

2. Loanwords

The material presented in this section is organised according to the following scheme:

- 1) Loanword in the dialect, with an English equivalent and phonetic variants, if any.
- 2) Phrases from interviews illustrating usage of the word.
- 3) All known derivatives and compounds.
- 4) Cognates, if any, from the main published studies of the Swedish dialects of Estonia, namely Freudenthal & Vendell (1886), Karlgren (1953), Danell (1951) and Isberg (1970). These are given in their original orthography and preceded by a dash (–). 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). I preserve these abbreviations when referring to Vendell’s dictionary.
- 5) Indication of the source of a loanword, as well as comments on phonetics and morphology, preceded by a dash. Ukrainian words are cited in accordance with *Slovník ukraïn’skoj movi* (SUM 1970–1980); *Slovar’ ukrainskogo âzyka* by B. Grinchenko (Grinchenko 1907–1909) was consulted as well.

2.1. Assimilated loanwords

2.1.1. Nouns

1. *ablkõs* n. ‘apricot’: *Före krī väkst-dom 'õ hēr, ablkõs* ‘Before the war, they also grew here, apricots’. Compounds: *ablkõs-trā* n. ‘apricot tree’, *ablkõs-värke* n. ‘apricot wood’. – *àblikāzē* or *àbrikāzē* (à is a stressed *a*), pl. -*iar* m. G ‘apricot tree; apricot’ (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 14); the masculine gender of these forms instead of the feminine (as in German) is due to the influence of the corresponding Russian word. The stressed first syllable is characteristic of similar loanwords and is explained by the influence of Estonian (H. Lagman 1971a, p. 192).

In the present-day dialect, the form *ablkõs* is a conflation of Ger. *Aprikose* f. and Russ./Ukr. *abrikós* m. The forms recorded by Vendell represent another variant of Russian-German conflation. The consonant *l* of the modern word has superseded *l̥*, which, in its turn, replaced *r*; the fluctuation between *l̥* and *r*, recorded by Vendell, does not occur in the present-day dialect. The consonant *l̥* changed to *l* because *l̥* is generally not characteristic of Slavonic loanwords; compare the surname *Malmas*, which in Vendell’s time was pronounced *Malmas* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 142; in Vendell’s spelling, *l* = *l̥*). As for the preceding change *r* > *l̥*, it is not common; an isolated example is *kl̥it* ‘chalk’ < *krīt*, compare Sw. *krita* alongside the obsolete *klita* (SAOB K 2841).

This noun is used in two forms, *ablkõs* and *ablkõse*. The former occurred in both the singular (*äit ablkõs* ‘one apricot’) and the plural (*täss impa ablkõs* ‘these grafted apricots’); it can also be used as a collective noun, which is shown by the usage example above. The latter form only occurs in the plural (*tom impa ablkõse* ‘those grafted apricots’). The vowel -*e* in *ablkõse* reflects the Russian plural ending -*y* (= -*ы* in Russian script; or Ger. -*e* < -*en*); the same change of the final -*e* is seen in *baklazáne* ‘tomato(es)’, *slive* ‘plums’, *úse* ‘moustache’. Like many borrowed nouns, *ablkõs* can occur without a specific definite form, in both the singular and the plural¹⁵ (Karlgrén 1953, p. 18).

The neuter gender, rather than the masculine as in Russian or feminine as in German, poses something of a problem. I assume that *ablkõse* was originally used in a collective sense, like *boklezáne*. Neuter gender is generally characteristic of collective and mass nouns in the dialect (see 3.4.1), which may explain the gender change. A single apricot came to be designated by the form *ablkõs*, which is also neuter.

2. *akátse-trā* n. ‘acacia tree’: *Tēr 'õ vār grinde vräi-e 'ūt äitt stuŧŧ akatse-trā mā rētäre* ‘There too, near the gate, it [a storm] pulled up a big acacia tree by the roots’. – This word could go back to Ger. *Akázie*, Russ.

¹⁵ In the phrase *täss impa ablkõs*, for instance, the noun should normally be in the definite form after the demonstrative *täss*.

akáciâ or Ukr. *akáciâ*; identifying the exact source is difficult, owing to the phonetic similarity. A borrowing from Stand. Sw. *akacia* is less likely because of the combination *ts* in the dialect. One should also note the simplification of the final part of the word, where the final vowel has been dropped and *i*, having become final, has changed to *e*. The change of final *i* > *e* is a characteristic feature of the dialect (cf. *milítse* below).

3. *ámilt* m. I.1 'dumpling': *To ja kūkar torr aleskar, to skār ja-dom; to ja kūkar sjūrmölksalesk-väling, so plukkar ja-dom; manlar ja 'ūt däien o skār rōndar, o sänn tār ja tom rōndana po äitta o plukka-ðom* 'When I cook dry dumplings, I cut them; when I cook soup with sour milk and dumplings, I pick them: I roll out the dough and cut strips, and then I take those strips one by one and pluck them'. Compound: *alesk-väliņ* m. I.1 'dumpling soup'. – *aleskar* pl. (Karlgrén 1924, p. 47). – The ultimate source is Slavonic, e.g. Ukr. *galúška* [ɣ-] f.; the word may have entered the dialect through Estonian. Compare *sīpl*, which is probably another East European *Wanderwort* in the dialect. The loss of the initial *h* is typical of northern Estonian dialects (H. Lagman 1971a, p. 181). The original pronunciation could consequently be **halesk*, where *h* reflects the South Russian and Ukrainian voiced fricative [ɣ]. The stress on the first syllable may also be due to Estonian influence.

4. *Amārika* 'America', *amārikánäts* 'American', def. pl. *amrākántse* 'the Americans': *Äin pīk, Alvīna, gift se e Svärge me än amārikánäts, o kēð ot Amārika* MP 'One daughter, Alvina, got married in Sweden to an American, and went to America'. – From Russ. or Ukr. *Amérika*, Russ. *amerikánec* or Ukr. *amerikánec*.

5. *aplsīn* n. 'orange', pl. *aplsīne*: *Aplsīne fī ve änt sī* 'We didn't see oranges'. – *abəlsīn*, -*ēr* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 14); *apolsīn*, -*a*, -*ar*, -*ana* f. (Danell 1951, p. 6); *apolsīns-tīñ* m. 'orange pip'; *apolsīns-saft* m. 'orange juice'; *apolsīns-skāl* n. 'orange peel' (Isberg 1970, p. 7). The feminine gender indicated by Danell is due to the influence of the German noun. – The current form in Gammalsvenskby is most likely borrowed from Russ. *apel'sín* m. However, the length of the *ī* may reflect the German or Swedish pronunciation (cf. *ō* in *ablkōs*). The plural ending -*e* reflects the Russian -*y* (i.e. -*ы*; or Ger. -*e* < -*en*); cf. *ablkōse*, *slive*, *úse*. For the explanation for the neuter gender, see *ablkōs*.

6. *avtomáta* [-f-] (def. pl.; only this form occurred) 'assault rifles': *Risse vār argar, fere he än-dom vār e Tiskland, a ve vār änt skülde, tom jāga 'ūt oss fron gōða mā avtomáta* MP 'The Russians were angry because they [the Swedes] were in Germany, but it wasn't our fault, they [Germans] drove us out of our houses with assault rifles'. – From Russ. *avtomát* m.

7. *āgüst* / *āgust* 'August'. – In the present-day dialect, this may be a conflation of Russ. *āvgust*, Ger. *Augúst* and Sw. *augusti*. The German origin is probably supported by the clearly German word for March in the dialect,

märts. The change of Russ. *av* (*ay*) > *ā* may be due to the rarity of the combination *au* in the dialect; the only known example is *mjauk* ‘to miaow’. If we assume a German origin, the stressed first syllable can be explained by the tendency in the dialect to put the stress on the first syllable, cf. *bázar*, *búrak*, *Bárislav*, *Káson*. The pronunciation *águst* could also be characteristic of the German dialect of the village. The other words for the months are *jánvar*, *fábrar*, *märts*, *apríll*, *maj*, *júni*, *júli*, *septámbär*, *októbbär*, *novámbär*, *desámbär*.

8. *balk* m. I.1 ‘timber; beam’. – *balk*, *-ar* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 20); *balʔk*, *-an*, *-ar*, *-a* m. (Danell 1951, p. 16). – Compare Russ. *bálka* f. ‘beam’. In the present-day dialect, the form *balk* goes back either to Ger. *Balken* m. or to Sw. *balk*, whereas a borrowing from Russian is less likely due to the gender difference. However, in an interview with LU it occurred with the feminine indefinite article, *äin balk*, which may be due to Russian. The word is only partly assimilated, as it retains *l* before *k*. The native form would be *baʔk*, which was recorded by Vendell but did not occur in my interviews.

9. *bank* f. II.2 ‘jar’: *Ve hällt sugär 'ive-dom o klāmd 'inn-e üte banka*_{DEF.SG.} ‘We strewed sugar over them [rose petals] and pressed it into a jar’. – *baʔk*, *-ér* n. G ‘glass horn for drinking’ (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 20). – From Russ. or Ukr. *bánka* f. In the present-day dialect, the gender is feminine, i.e. the same as in Russian/Ukrainian, in contrast to Vendell’s form (see 3.4.1).

10. *banje* [ʔbaŋɕ] f. II.3 ‘sauna’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *bánâ* f.; the word is absent from Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries.

11. *baráka* (def. pl.) ‘the barracks’, in a forced labour camp in the Komi ASSR: *Han vār vīst han ēvešt po täss baráka som ve vār* ‘He was of course the chief over those barracks where we were’. – From Russ. *barák* m. This word occurred several times in narratives about the Komi ASSR, where the Swedes were forced to stay in a labour camp after World War II. In all instances apart from the one cited above, the word is singular, *barák*. This singular form can hardly be regarded as assimilated because it is pronounced with the second syllable stressed (whereas assimilated loanwords frequently move the stress to the first syllable), has a short *k*, which is typical of Russian (cf. Sw. *barack*), and never occurred with an article. Examples: *Min sis-tär, um nōte, toʔft detsámbar, fēd-on äin lill pīk, üte barák* MP ‘My sister, at night, the twelfth of December, she gave birth to a little girl, in the barracks’; *Ve gjūð räint üte barák, kasta üt snjūen o äilda räi, vār varmt, o tom satt o gräit. Barák vār tummār, dänna ipet, rūtar var änt, tēr var lēvd ijen änt* MP ‘We cleaned the barracks, threw out the snow and had already made a fire, it was warm, and they were sitting weeping. The barracks were empty, the door open, there were no window panes, no one lived there’.

12. *bástan* m. I.4 // *bástar* m. II.2 ‘melon field’. The latter form is due to reanalysis of *bastan* as a definite singular of the type m. II.2 (cf. *fiskjar* m. II.2 ‘fisherman’ and its definite singular *fiskjan*). *Han vafta kāvna po bastan* ‘He kept watch over melons in a field’. – *baštānar* pl. (Karlgrén 1924, p. 29). – From South Russ. or Ukr. *baštán* m. In the modern dialect, the combination *št*, recorded by Karlgrén, changed to *st*, which shows fuller phonetic assimilation.

13. *āūū šguīsū* (def. pl., only this form occurred) ‘the radiators’: *Tässn vintān vār-e varmt, tom gjūd 'umm allt, gjūd-e allt po nitt: täss pīpana, täss batarājana* ‘That winter it was warm, they changed everything, did everything all over again, those pipes, those radiators’. – From Ukr. *batarēi* pl.

14. *bázar* / *bássar* n. 1 ‘open-air market’. *Um unstan jā-dār bázar* ‘On Wednesdays, there is a market’. – *bàsar* (*à* is stressed *a*), pl. *bàsarēr*, n. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 21). – From Russ. or Ukr. *bazár* m. In all my interviews, this noun is invariably neuter, which is not an innovation of the present-day dialect, as the neuter was also indicated by Vendell. In other Estonian Swedish dialects it is masculine; compare Ger. *Basár* m., Sw. *basár*, -en, -er.

15. *blūd* m. I.1/2 ‘saucer’: *Ja hällt 'inn grädd ot me e blūdn* ‘I poured sour cream in the saucer’. Compound: *katt-blūd* ‘cat saucer’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *blúdo* n. The masculine gender may be due to the association with *taldrik* m. ‘plate’; see *dopär* and *kamōd* below. The word is phonetically only partly assimilated, as it retains *l* (a native form would have *ļ*).

16. *bokležāne* n. ‘tomato’: *Edā hāv ve sundār-stampa kadeftar o po äitt bokležāne* ‘Today we had mashed potatoes and one tomato each’. Compound: *bokležāne-plant* f. II.2 ‘tomato plant’: *Sätär-de 'inn bokležāne-plantar hāldār ko-de änt sätär 'inn, jāta-dom 'ō* ‘You plant tomatoes or whatever you plant, they [insects] eat it up’. – From regional Russ. or Ukr. *baklažán* m. in the sense ‘tomato’ (‘aubergine’, which is the meaning of this word in Standard Russian and Ukrainian, is in the dialect *bļō bokležāne*, i.e. ‘blue tomato’). According to Karlgrén, ‘tomato’ is *pomator* (1924, p. 29), but in the present-day dialect this word does not occur. ‘One tomato’ is confidently translated by LU as *äitt bokležāne*. In the sense ‘a single tomato’ she also cites *bokležán*. The form in -e in interviews with her (*bokležāne*, *bogležāne*) goes back to Russ./Ukr. *baklažany*; the final -e regularly corresponds to -y. Originally, *bokležāne* was used as an indeclinable collective noun; a similar case is *slive* n. ‘plum’, which is also collective and indeclinable, the word for a single plum being *slive-kūn*. The neuter gender instead of masculine as in Russian is due to the influence of collective neuter nouns in the dialect (see 3.4.1). To denote a separate tomato, the form *bokležán* appeared, which preserved the neuter gender of *bokležāne* (a noun such as **bokležāne-kūn* is not used, as *kūn* refers to a small vegetable or fruit). The speakers also cite plural forms with the endings -ar, -är, -ena, but these seem to be ad hoc coinages.

17. boşş m. I.2 ‘beetroot soup’: *Umm-de har kätt, so kasta-de ale fäšt käte 'inn de kūk, a änt, so bläär-e šmälsandär boşş* ‘If you have meat, then first of all you throw in the meat to cook, and if not, then it’s “fried” beetroot soup’. Compound: *sīr-boşş* ‘soup with sorrel’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *borš* m. The word is absent from Vendell’s, Danell’s and Isberg’s dictionaries.

18. butk f. II.2 ‘booth’: *Papa gjūd 'upp äin butk ive vāvān, kibítk, gjūd-ŋ som äit tāk po vāvān* ‘Daddy made a booth over the cart, a carriage, he made like a roof on the cart’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *búdka* [-t-] f.

19. butl m. I.4 ‘big jar’: *Fäšt skār ja kōn, sänn rēär ja 'hūp-e me salt o läggär 'inn-e üte kástrüll, o tät-n rai jär sjūran, so läggär ja 'inn-en üte butlar, üte trī-litāš* ‘First, I cut the cabbage, then I mix it with salt and put it in a pan, and when it turns sour, I put it in jars, in three-litre (jars)’. – The nearest source is probably Ukr. *bútel’* m. (compare Russ. *butýl’* f., colloquially also m.). A direct borrowing from Ger. *Buttel* f. is less likely because of the gender difference. A specific definite singular form is not used, which is typical of loanwords. – Cf. *potel, potil, -la, -lar, -lana* f.; from Est. *pudel* (Danell 1951, p. 61).

20. Bārislav ‘Berislav’, the main town of the district where Gammalsvensky is located. – From Ukr. *Berisláv*.

21. būrak m. I.1 ‘beet’: Compound: *rē-būrak* m. I.1 ‘red beet’: *Tom rē-būraka_{DEF.PL.} kūka ja blöütar o sänn gjūd ja 'inn-dom mä uksus o sugär* ‘I cooked beets until they became soft, then I added vinegar and sugar’. – Phonetically, this noun is closer to (regional) Russ. *burák* m.; in Ukrainian this word has a slightly different phonetic shape, *burák*. Despite the complete paradigm that has developed in the dialect, the word is not fully assimilated phonetically, as it preserves an uncommon stem-final *-ak*, which never occurs in native words.

22. būrjanar only pl. ‘tall weeds’: *Häila rigōdŋ jär inn-vākst mä būrjanar* ‘The whole garden is overgrown with weeds’. Compound: *būrjan[z]-büsk* m. I.1 ‘weed bush’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *bur’án* m.

23. dinnje f. II.3 ‘melon’. – From Russ. *dýnâ* f. or Ukr. *dinâ*.

24. dişl n.1 // f. II.2 ‘shaft’ (to which a horse is harnessed). – From Russ. *dýşlo* n. or Ukr. *díşlo* n. This noun is usually neuter in the dialect, as in Russian and Ukrainian. The feminine gender in an interview with LU is due to the phonetic similarity of *dýşlo* to the definite singular form of nouns of type f. II.2, which ends in [a]: *hēna* ‘the hen’, *pīka* ‘the girl’, etc. In the dialect, the form *dişl* is only partly assimilated, owing to the uncommon combination *şl*; an assimilated form would be **dişl*.

25. divan (only this form occurred; the declension type and gender are not known) ‘sofa’. – Compare Sw. *diván*, Ger. *Díwan* m. As this word is not particularly common in Swedish and German, in the present-day dialect it may be borrowed from Russ. *diván* [dʲi-] m. or Ukr. *diván* [di-] m., with the

same stress shift as in *būrak*, *bázar*. It is absent from Vendell's, Danell's and Isberg's dictionaries, which may indicate that it is a recent borrowing in the dialect.

26. *djogg* [dʰog:] n. 'tar'. – Ultimately from Russ. *děgot'* m. For the gender difference, see 3.4.1.

27. *doftor/doftär* m. I.3 'doctor'. Derivative: *doftošk* f. II.2 'female doctor' (with the same suffix as in *dränjask* 'female servant', *däggjask* 'wet nurse'): *Vör hon ēvest, doftoška, hon satt 'pō de tōa 'tjānd sänn hokan frōn dänna iite roka-hiise, än-e änt soşş skēär mäiär* LU 'Our chief, the doctor, ordered that the hook on the door to the bathroom be removed, so that it wouldn't happen any more'. – *doftor*, -*ēr* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 42); *doftar*, -*anl-an*, -*er*, -*e* m. (Danell 1951, p. 75). – This word could go back to either Sw. *doktor* or Russ./Ukr. *dóktor*. The sequence -*ft*-regularly corresponds in the dialect to -*kt*-, cf. *maft* 'strength', *starft* (n. of *starkär* 'healthy'). Unstressed *ä* instead of *o* in interviews with MP and LU appeared to be due to the influence of nouns of type m. I.3 such as *bugär* 'plough', *jēgär* 'hunter'. Phonetically regular plural forms of *doftor* would be **doftorar*, def. pl. *doftora*, as the unstressed *o* is not syncopated in the dialect in the plural. The syncopated plural forms *dofttrar*, *dofttrana* derive from *doftär* rather than *doftor*.

28. *dopär* n. 'jail; prison' (the basic word for 'jail' in the dialect): *Kann-ske, än-dom a hāve boţt-on tāje ot dopär, ot fāņelse* MP 'She may perhaps have been taken away to *dopär*, to prison'. – From Russ. *DOPR*, abbrev. of *Dom prinuditel'nyh rabót*, a coinage of Stalinist times; in contemporary Russian it is not common. Another, less frequent, word in the dialect is *gefāņnisse* < Ger. The neuter gender of *dopär* may be due to the association with Sw. *fāņelse*, Ger. *Gefāņnis*.

29. *dūrak* AL, *dūrak* LU m. I.1 'fool; idiot': *Hēr jār än dūrak bātrare som anan* 'Here one idiot is better than the other' (phrase used ironically). – From Russ. or Ukr. *durák* m. – *durak* only sing., m. 'card game' G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 46); *durak*, -*en*, -*er*, -*e* m. (Danell 1951, p. 81).

30. *düllje* [-ʎ:] f. II.3 'pear': *Ve kūka povídl frōn dülljar* 'We cooked jam from pears'. – From Ukr. *dúlâ* f.

31. *fanēr* (only this form occurred) 'plywood': *Oss kēđ-dom läņjäre, tēr vār än fabrik, som-dom hāv upp-bēvd, de gära fanēr* MP 'As for us, they drove us further, there was a plant which they had built to make plywood'. Compound: *fanär-fabríkk*, also *fanār-brikk* 'plywood plant'. A 'sawmill' is also called *fanérne fábrica*: *Ive tfō vikur kēđ-dom oss ot fanérne fábrica* MP 'After two weeks they drove us to a sawmill'. – From Russ. or Ukr. *fanéra* f. 'plywood'.

32. *fūr* f. II.2 'long truck': *Milla oss vā-đār 'ān fūrar me sáldatar, tīska* 'Among us there were trucks with soldiers, German'. – *fór*, -*ar* f. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 58); *fōr*, *vōr*, -*a*, -*ar*, -*ana* f. (Danell 1951, p.

110). – The current dialect form most likely comes from Russian *fúra* f., rather than Ger. *Fuhre* f., Sw. *fora*, which is indirectly supported by the fact that Vendell recorded it only in Gammalsvenskby.

33. *fúbrar* ‘February’. – Probably a conflation of Russ. *fevrál*’ and Ger. *Februar*.

34. *gartsíts* [ɣ-] f. II.2 ‘mustard’: *Livra jár skarp, to-de bräsär, o mǎrgan jár blöütär. Min mann, han öd-e soşş, a ja brük’ hōlt ’ō-e mä lite uksus o* [ɣ]artsíts, *he jár gūare, to-de dūpar ’inn-e iite hon* [ɣ]artsítsa ‘The liver is tough when you fry it, and the brain is soft. My husband, he ate it just like that, but I used to like it with a little vinegar and mustard, it is better when you add mustard’. – Compare Ukr. *gorčică* f.; the pronunciation with a pretonic unstressed *a* < [ɐ] makes Russian *g[ɐ]rčica* a closer source.

35. *goste* [ɣ-] (only this form occurred) ‘guests, visitors’: *Han gi näst nōn de* [ɣ]oste AL LU ‘He went to visit someone’, a calque of Russ. *on pošel k komu-to v gosti*, literally ‘he went to someone as a guest. – From South Russian *gósti* or Ukr. *gostì* masc. pl. ‘guests’ (pronounced with the initial [ɣ] preserved in the dialect). Compare *gosste* n. (Danell 1951, p. 130) which meant ‘feast’, judging by Danell’s example: *tísk keisan giód ätt stót gosste* ‘The German Kaiser held a big feast’. Because of this difference in meaning, Danell’s form and the form in the modern dialect are probably not the same word, the latter being a more recent loan. However, the meaning ‘feast’ can be traced in *xostes-mänske* (no. 111 below); thus, Russ. *gosti* has been borrowed twice. The Russian word does not normally mean ‘feast’, though this sense can be inferred from a usage such as *U nih gosti*, literally ‘they have guests’ = ‘they have a feast’.

36. *grifl/griffl/grifel* m. I.4 ‘slate pencil’: *To ja gī ot skūla, so vār änt inja häftär. To vār täfl som ve skrīva me han grifl* ‘When I went to school, there were no exercise books. There was a writing slate then, which we wrote with that pencil on’; *Ve hāv grifflar de skrīv me* ‘We had slate pencils to write with’. – *griful* NO, *grifäl* DGRW, pl. *griflar* m. (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 70); *grifol*, -n, -lar, -la m. (Danell 1951, p. 131). – Probably goes back to Ger. *Griffel* m.; a borrowing from Russ. *grifel*’ m. is also possible but less likely, because Lidia Utas went to a German school. The form *grifäl* recorded by Vendell is more native as it preserves the thick *l*.

37. *gräk* ‘Greek’, used as a nickname: *Där vār ännan, hans famillje vār ’ō Utas, Oskar, tom kalla-en de gräk* ‘There was one, his surname was also Utas, Oskar, they called him the Greek’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *grek* m.

38. *gū* f. II.2 ‘mushroom’: *Näst oss jár änt müte de gära nōat de jäta fron gūar* ‘We have no habit of making something to eat from mushrooms’. Compound: *flōo-gū* ‘fly agaric’. – *gú*, -ar f. NO (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 74), *guar* pl. (Karlgrén 1924, p. 47); *gu*, -a, -ar, -ana f. (Danell 1951, p. 139). – This word goes back to Russ. dial. *gubá* f. in the sense ‘mushroom’, particularly a polypore fungus. The source of the borrowing

can only be Russian, as this noun was recorded not only in Gammalsvenskby but also in other Estonian Swedish dialects, i.e. it is an old loanword used before there was contact with Ukrainian.

39. *harb* f. II.2 ‘cart’: *äin harb mä haļm* ‘a cart laden with straw’. Compound: *harb-vāvār* m. I.3 ‘cart; wagon’: *Ūte harb-vāvār lāgge-dom* ‘inn haļm, hāi de kēr’ ‘In the wagon they loaded straw, hay to drive’. – From Ukr. *garbá* f.

40. *jánvar* ‘January’, probably a conflation of Russ. *ánvár* ‘m. and Ger. *Jánuar*.

41. *kádus*, *kád[ɔ]s*, *kátūs* m. I.2 ‘cap’. – *kaðəs*, -ar m. G, *katus*, -ar m. or f. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 98, 100); *kaʃus* m. (Karlgrén 1953, p. 8); *tobaks-kadoš*, -a, -ar, -ana f. (Danell 1951, p. 433). Vendell compares *katus* with Est. *katus* ‘roof’. – Sw. *kardus* does not have the meaning ‘headgear; cap’, which means that the dialect form *kátūs* more likely goes back to Russ. *kartúz*, with the same stress shift as in *bázar*. The alternation *t/d* could ultimately reflect Low German *kartūse*, *kardūse*, which is a source of this word in Swedish (SAOB K 561). However, it is more likely that this alternation is native, cf. such pairs in the present-day dialect as *blädär* ~ *blättär* ‘bladder’, *blödär* ~ *blötär* ‘to boil’, *gnadär* ~ *gnatär* ‘to laugh rudely or in a silly manner’, *kłodär* ~ *klotär* ‘to seethe, boil’, *küdär* ~ *kütär* ‘to seethe’, *dīgen* ~ *dīken* ‘twenty-four hours’, *vikū* ~ *vigū* ‘week’.

42. *kád(ü)fl*, *kátüfl* (pl. also *kád[ə]flar* EU, *kaðeʃlar* AA) m. I.4 ‘potato’: *Katiüfl byrjar räi väks, han hār räi grūdar po se* ‘Potatoes begin sprouting, there are sprouts on them’. Compound: *katiüfl-skālär* n. pl. ‘potato peelings’. – *kaðufl*, -ar f. G; compare *kadiüful*, -lar f. D (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 98). In the dialect of Nuckö, the word for ‘potato’ is borrowed from Est. *tuhvel*: *tufəl*, -la, -lar, -lana f. (Danell 1951, p. 195). – Probably goes back to Ger. *Kartoffel* f. Vendell indicates the feminine gender, whereas in the present-day dialect it is masculine, probably due to the association with Russ. *kartófel*. As for the alternation between *d* and *t*, compare *kadus* above.

43. *kamōd* n. ‘chest of drawers’: *E kamōd vā-där kastär, iüte he kamōde lād ve* ‘inn *kļēnar* ‘In the chest there were drawers, we put clothes in that chest’. – Compare *komot*, -ar m. in the dialect of Nuckö, a borrowing dating from the early 20th century (Danell 1951, p. 213). In Gammalsvenskby, this word was most likely borrowed from Russ. *komód* [kə'mot] m., whereas Sw. *kommod*, -en, -er is less close due to the phonetic difference and different genders. The neuter gender in the dialect may be due to an association with *skōp* n. ‘cupboard’; see also *blūd* (no. 15), *dopär* (no. 28).

44. *kánop* n. ‘sofa’: *Kanop briük stō vār gruba* ‘The sofa used to stand near the stove’. – A similar noun already existed in the dialect in Vendell’s time: *konapé*, -ēr G n. (p. 110). Vendell’s form was probably borrowed from Ger. *kanapee* n.; a borrowing from Sw. *kanapé*, -n, -er is less likely because

of the gender difference: non-neuter in Swedish, neuter in the dialect. The present-day form *kánop* was most likely borrowed from Russ. *kanapé* [kənɐ'pɐ] (in Russian it is neuter), with the same stress shift as in *bǘrak*, *bázar*.

45. kástrüll m. I.4 'pan': *He byre räi flötär üte kástrüll* 'It's beginning to boil in the pan'. – *kastrull*, -ar m. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 100); *kastrull* (Danell 1951, 199). – According to Lagman, this noun entered the Swedish dialects of Estonia via Est. *kastrul*, which is considered to be a Russian loanword in Estonian (1971a, p. 66).

46. katlât m. I.2 'meat patty or croquette': *De gära katlâtär, so moļa-ḁe kätt 'sundär po kät-kvēne* 'To make patties, you grind meat in a mincer.' – This word looks like a conflation of Sw. *kotlett* and Russ. and Ukr. *kotléta* f.; the phonetic shape goes back to Russian and Ukrainian, whereas the masculine gender is due to the non-neuter gender in Swedish (the Swedish definite article -en corresponds to the masculine definite article in the dialect). A borrowing from Ger. *Kotelétt* n., *Koteléte* f. is less likely because of the gender difference. The noun has developed a complete paradigm in the dialect: def. sing. *katlât*n, pl. *katlâtär*.

47. kâven m. I.4 'watermelon': *Ja skâr grād 'sundär än kâven* 'I have just cut a watermelon into slices'. Compounds: *kâvens-huniņ* n. (only sing.) 'watermelon honey' (actually, 'watermelon jam'), *kâvens-sirop* m. 1a (only sing.) 'watermelon jam', *kâven-skīv* f. II.2 'slice of watermelon'. – *kavnar* pl. (Karlgrén 1924, p. 29). – From South Russ. or Ukr. *kavín* m. (Stand. Russ. is *arbúz*). This noun is completely assimilated in the present-day dialect. The features of assimilation in this case are the replacement of the unstressed [u], uncommon in the dialect, with the regular *e*; the placing of stress on the first syllable and lengthening of the stressed vowel; the formation of compounds; and a complete paradigm.

48. kîbik/kibútk f. II.2 'Gypsy caravan'. – *kibik*, -ar f. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 101). – From Russ. *kibítka* f. This noun is an example of coexistence of two forms of a loanword, one of them more assimilated (*kîbik*), the other less so (*kibútk*).

49. kilómätär m. 'kilometre'. After cardinal numbers, the form *kilómätra* is used (-a in such cases goes back to the Old Swedish genitive plural): *Fron Šlaņedošš ända de svāḁe rāken-dom trī kilómätra, sänn fron svāḁe ända hitúpp – tēr mādō 'ān vara-dār än kilómätär* 'From Schlangendorf to the valley, they count three kilometres, then from the valley up here, it may be one more kilometre'. – From Russ./Ukr. *kilómetr* with the second syllable stressed, which is non-standard; in Standard Russian the last syllable is stressed. The combination -tr, uncommon in word-final position in the dialect, has been replaced with -tär.

50. kíno (only this form occurred; the gender is unknown) 'cinema': *Han kann gnāl 'ō, vill hōa päņar fron me, han vill-do gō ot kíno* 'He can nag too,

he wants money from me, he wants to go to the cinema'. – This word in the dialect is closest to Ger. *Kino*, but a borrowing from Russian *kinó* n. is also possible, with the same stress shift as in *búrak*, *bázar*. – *kino* f. (Isberg 1970, p. 155).

51. *kladó*[w]k f. II.2 'pantry' (occurred only in an interview with AL). – From Russ. *kladóvka* f., pronounced with a typically southern [ou].

52. *kófe* (only this form occurred; the gender is unknown) 'coffee'. – *kofè* or *koffè* n. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 109); *kofe* n., no pl. (Danell 1951, p. 191; Isberg 1970, p. 144). – The stressed *o* points to this being a borrowing from Russ. *kófe* rather than from Ger. *Kaffee* or Sw. *kaffe*. There is another word for 'coffee' in the dialect, *prips* n. (in fact, a drink resembling coffee).

53. *koft* f. II.2 'cardigan': *Täss kofta*_{DEF.SG.} *slitts 'sundär, um-de arbetar me-on* 'This cardigan will tear if you work in it'. – *koft*, *-ar* f. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 109). – This noun could have been borrowed from either Russ./Ukr. *kófta* f. or Sw. *kofta*. The fact that Vendell recorded the word only in Gammalsvenskby favours a Russian/Ukrainian origin. Another word for 'cardigan' in the dialect is *träi* / *tröjj* f. II.2.

54. *kólendär* ['kolçender] m. I.3 'calendar'. – *kalendur* N, *kolendär* DG, *kolendur* O, pl. *kalendrar* N, *kolendrar* DGO m. (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 99, 110); *kálændor* (Danell 1951, p. 192); *kalendör* m. (Isberg 1970, p. 146). – In the present-day dialect, this noun is a conflation of Ger. *Kalénder* m., Sw. *kalénder*, Russ. *kalendár*', Ukr. *kalendár*, with the same stress shift as in *búrak*. The origin of the vowel *o* in the dialect pronunciation is unclear. It cannot go back to Standard German or Swedish, and probably reflects some variant of Slavonic pronunciation (see 3.3.1).

In interviews with LU, the paradigm of this noun is not entirely straightforward. Masculine nouns with stems in *-är* belong to type m. I.3, e.g. *digär* 'ten', *digän*, *digrar*, *digra*[-ana]. A regular paradigm would thus be **kolendär*, *kolendän*, *kolendrar*, *kolendra*[-kolendrana]. However, the indefinite and definite singular forms are not in fact distinguished, a feature that is typical of masculine loanwords (Karlgrén 1953, p. 18). The combination [rn] instead of [n] in the definite plural is not common in the dialect. It appears instead of *n* or *ñ* in words with infrequent types of inflection (not only borrowed, but also native), where the definite plural ending *-na* is agglutinatively added to the indefinite plural. This is characteristic of LU, who uses such forms as *brēärna* 'the brothers', *fētärna* 'the feet', *doftärna* 'the doctors' and *dētärna* 'the daughters'. Masculine nouns with stems in *-ar* (which generally tend to occur with a great variety of plural forms) are also cited with such forms as *arbetärna* 'the workers', *tjēärna* 'the hired workers'. MP also cites *händärna*, *tändärna* alongside *händre*, *tändre* (from *hōnd* f. 'hand', *tann* f. 'tooth'). In all these cases, [-rn-] is a sign of the artificial character of the forms, and of uncertainty.

55. *k[o]mbáinar* (pl.; only this form occurred) ‘combines’: *Färr vār-e soṣṣ: ija kombáinar vā-ḍār änt de slō kväite, so skār ve mä särp o band-e mä snoppar, o sänn satt 'upp-e de stō, än-e torrkas 'ūt bättrare* ‘Earlier, it was like this: no combines to cut wheat, so we cut with a sickle and bound it into sheaves, and then put it up to stand, so that it dried better’. – From Russ./Ukr. *kombájn*, pronounced with a clear [o], which is a feature of Ukrainian or South Russian pronunciation; in Standard Russian, the unstressed vowel is [ə] (normally reflected as *a* in the dialect).

56. *kómeke* (def. pl., only this form occurred) ‘the Komi’ (ethnic group in the Komi ASSR): *Üte skūla komm mannfolke frōn kómeke o jāga 'ūt-dom frōn skūla* MP ‘The men from the Komi came to the school and drove them [the Swedes] from the school’. – From Russ. *komák* m. The ending *-e* in the definite plural is typical of words for nationalities: *risse* ‘the Russians’, *svänske* ‘the Swedes’, *tīske* ‘the Germans’, *jūde* ‘the Jews’; another form belonging to this group is *Málmase* ‘the Malmas family’.

57. *kópek* m. I.1 ‘copeck’. – *kopék*, *-ar* m. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 110; here *é* (i.e. *ē*) reflects Russ. *-ee-* in *kopéek* or *-ej-* in *kopějka*; in the present-day dialect *ē* has been shortened); *kópek*, *-en*, *-ar*, *-a* m. (Danell 1951, p. 213). – This is an old Slavonic loanword in Swedish; from Russ. *kopějka* f., in modern pronunciation [kə'pʲeɪkə]. In all likelihood, it was not borrowed directly from Russian in Gammalsvenskby.

58. *krant*, *kran* m. I.2 ‘water tap’: *Kran byrja drūp* ‘The tap began to leak’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *kran* m. and non-standard Russ. *krant* – *krant*, *-ar* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 112).

59. *kriss* [+i] f. II.2 ‘rat’: *Ja hēḍ änt, än-dom vār hēr, krissar, kvār hāv-do kattar* ‘I didn’t hear that there were rats here, in fact, everybody had cats’. Compound: *bḷind-kr[i]ss* ‘mole’ (animal). – From Russ. *krýsa* or Ukr. *krísa* f. In the dialect, this word is usually pronounced with an [i], similar to Russ. *y* (ы), Ukr. *i* (у). The occurrence of this vowel is not necessarily restricted to loanwords. It is also heard in native words such as *r[i]ḡḡ* ‘ring’, *r[i]ssje* ‘type of fishing tackle’. This is the only word for ‘rat’ in the dialect; ‘mouse’ is *rott* f. II.2. The noun corresponding to Sw. *mus* never occurred in the interviews.

60. *kúraj* (only this form occurred) ‘saltwort’: *Ve äilda me kúraj üte gruba, o haḷm* ‘We heated the stove with saltwort and straw’. Compound: *kúraj(s)-biisk* m. I.1 ‘tumbleweed’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *kuráj* m.

61. *kuṭka* (only this form occurred) ‘jacket’: *Ja byrja klīstār e koman o ja byrja rūš me kallt, so klēd ja 'pō kuṭka* ‘I began to whitewash in the room and I began to shiver with cold, so I put on a jacket’. – From Russ. *kurtka* [ˈkurtkə] or Ukr. *kúrta* f. Another word for ‘jacket’ in the dialect is *jakk* f. II.2.

62. *Káṣon* ‘Kherson’, the capital of the region in which Gammalsvenskby is located. – From Russ. *Herson* [xʲɪrˈsɐn] or Ukr. *Herson* [xerˈsɐn].

63. -lak, only in *bäkk-lak* ‘tar varnish’ (the gender and inflection type are unknown): *Umm-de änt vill hōa-dom kvītar, me bäkk-lak färgar ja-dom ive, o dom jära fālare, glīma-dom* ‘If you don’t want them [baskets] to be white, I paint them with tar varnish, and they are nicer, they shine’. – Compare *lakk*, no pl., n. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 123); *lak* n. (Isberg 1970, p. 181), and Sw. *lack*, Ger. *Lack*, Russ. and Ukr. *lak*. The exact source is hard to identify. This word is common in Russian and Ukrainian; the pronunciation with a short *k* may suggest it is a recent Slavonic loanword in the dialect.

64. lamp f. II.2 ‘lamp’. Compound: *gass-lamp* ‘paraffin lamp’. – Compare *lamp*, -ar f. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 123); *lamp*, -a, -ar, -ana f. (Danell 1951, p. 241); and Ger. *Lampe* f., Sw. *lampa*; Russ. and Ukr. *lampa* f. Owing to the phonetic similarity, it is hard to identify the exact source of the loanword.

65. lapp f. II.2 ‘paw’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *lāpa* f. Another word for ‘paw’ is *tass* m. I.1 or *hunda-tass* ‘dog’s paw’.

66. lāgre [-y-] (def. sing., n.) ‘the concentration camp’. This form occurred in an interview with MP: *Tom hänta 'inn oss ot lā[y]re, ot Offenburg. Tēr vār riska lā[y]re, tēr vār frōn all ländär terīnn* ‘They [Germans] brought us to the camp, to Offenburg. There was the Russian camp [i.e. where mostly Russians were incarcerated], there were people from all countries there’. – This is a conflation of Ger. *Lager* n. and Russ. *lāger* m. (in Ukrainian, another word, *tabir*, is more common). The fricative [y] is a feature of South Russian and Ukrainian, whereas the neuter gender goes back to German (or to Sw. *läger*). LU always pronounces this word with a plosive *g*, *lāgär* n., which points to Standard Russian or German: *To ve vār e Tīskland üte lā[g]äre, tom gāv brē ot oss, o ve ōd änt 'upp-e allt, o so torrka ve skorpar* ‘When we were in Germany in the concentration camp, they gave us bread, and we didn’t eat it all up, we dried it’.

67. littär (pl. *litrar*, *litra*) ‘litre’: *Kāre, kan-där gō 'inn de trī hundra litrar* ‘The barrel, it can hold up to 300 litres’. – Compare Sw. *liter*, Ger. *Liter* n., Russ. *litr* m., Ukr. *litr*. The nearest source is Russian/Ukrainian, in which case the word-final -tr > -tär as in *kilómätär*, with subsequent lengthening of *t* as in *Neppär* < *Dnepr*.

68. mašin (also *mašin*) f. II.2 ‘machine; car’: *Fār vā-där slīk mašin, tjūl-kvēne, so tjūla ve sē 'girm* ‘In the old days, there was such a machine, a winnowing mill, so we winnowed grain’.

Compounds: *häksl-mašin* ‘machine for cutting straw’: *Ja skār halmen po hon häksl-mašina_{DEF.SG.} o rīva būraka o blōnda de hūp-e o gāv-e ot kiida* LU ‘I cut the straw with that machine and grated the beets, and mixed it, and gave it to the cow’; *tjūl-mašin* ‘winnowing machine’: *Tō hälldär 'inn sē üte hon tjūl-mašina_{DEF.SG.} o sō vrīär ja he sjūle o he sē, he skokas* ‘You pour grain into that winnowing machine, and then you spin that wheel, and that grain,

it is shaken'; *triske-maşın* 'threshing machine'. – Compare *mášen*, *máşın* m. or f. (Danell 1951, p. 268) and Ger. *Maschine* f., Sw. *maskin*, Russ./Ukr. *mašina* f. The nearest source of the form with a short *i* is probably Russian/Ukrainian (*mašina*, the definite singular form, sounds identical to the Russian word); however, owing to the phonetic similarity the exact source is hard to identify.

69. *mětür*, *mětür* (pl. *mētra*) m. 'metre': *Tār vār-e tolv mētra djūft* 'It was twelve metres deep there'. – The exact source is hard to identify, though the form with the short stressed [e] is closest to Russ. *metr* [m'ɛ-] m.

70. *milítse* (only this form occurred) 'police' (in Soviet times): *Han fī vist vara fron milítse 'ūt* 'He was surely from the police'. – From Russ. *milíciâ* f., with the same change of the word-final element as in *akátse*.

71. *Neppär*, *Nēpär* m. I.3 'Dnieper', used in both the definite and the indefinite form: *Neppär kann frūs 'fast üte äin nōt, to-där jär stūran frost* LU 'The Dnieper can freeze up in a single night, when the frost is hard'. – The nearest source is Russ. *Dnepr* m.; Ukr. *Dn[i]pró* is more distant.

72. *okópar*, *okópana* 'trenches': *Tiske satt 'pō de grāv okópar... Papa mado färkīla se tēr, njūrana, to-dom grāva tom okópana* 'The Germans ordered them to dig trenches... Daddy might have caught a cold, the kidneys (i.e. the cold afflicted his kidneys), when they dug those trenches'. – From Russ. *okópy* pl.

73. *paperósana* (def. pl.; only this form occurred) 'the non-filter cigarettes': *Ko mike kvüist täss paperósana?* 'How much do these cigarettes cost?' – From Russ. *papirósa* or Ukr. *pap[i]rosa* f.

74. *par[o]xóda* (def. pl.; only this form occurred) 'the steamships': *O tēr kēd paroxóda po Neppär* 'And there steamships used to go along the Dnieper'. – From Russ. *parohód* m.; the unstressed [o] is a feature of South Russian or Ukrainian pronunciation.

75. *pírak* m. I.1 'small pie; cake': *Piraka_{DEF.PL.} änt hōle stūrar* 'Pies are not very big'. Compound: *äpl-pirak* 'apple pie'. – *pirag*, -ar m. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 163); *pírok*, -en, -er, -e m. 'bread with fish or meat baked into it' (Danell 1951, p. 311); *piroks-dağ* m. 'pie dough' (Isberg 1970, 245). Compare Est. *pirukas*, dial. *pirak* (Lagman 1971a: 67). This word is common in Estonian Swedish dialects and was most likely borrowed through Estonian rather than directly from Russian *pírog* [p'i'rok] m.

76. *pirōga* (def. pl.; only this form occurred) 'the pies': *Han vār änt dum-mär, a briik' kroka 'upp po tåke o briik' skrī: 'Ich bin bedrōga, uf[sic] sībe pirōga un zwei tasse prips!'*¹⁶ *Soşş gjūd-ñ, to-en 'ān vār lilldär, hāv änt ko de gära* 'He wasn't silly, but he used to climb up on the roof and roar: "I've

¹⁶ This is a sample of the variety of German spoken in the village. There is no available Swedish context for *pirōg(a)*, but the form itself belongs to the Swedish dialect, as the plural in -a after numerals (going back to the ancient gen. pl.) is typical of the dialect.

been cheated, for seven pies and two cups of coffee!” He did so when he was young, he didn’t have anything to keep him busy’. – From Russ. *piróg* + *-a*, the dialect ending of the masculine definite plural.

77. *povídl* (no other forms occurred; the gender is unknown) ‘jam’: *Ve kūka han saftn fron kāvna, tät-n änt blīār stinndär. O kumär-e sänn som povídl* ‘We boiled that juice from watermelons until it thickened. And then it looks like jam’. – From Russ. *povídlo* n. Compare Ukr. *pov[ɪ]dlo*; the dialect pronunciation is nearer to Russian.

78. *pränik* m. I.1 ‘cookie’: *Färr vā-där allhundaslæss fron bläkke gjūd formar, o ve boka pränikar üte üen* ‘In the old days, there were various baking tins made of copper, and we baked cookies in the oven’. – *bræn-ik*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f. ‘cookie with spices’ (Danell 1951, p. 317); *pränek/præinik*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f., *-e*, *-er*, *-ena* n. (Isberg 1970, p. 249). Compare Est. *präänik* (Lagman 1971a, p. 67). The word was probably borrowed into Swedish dialects through Estonian; ultimately from Russ. *prānik* m. ‘soft round cookie with spices’.

79. *pärsik-trū* n. ‘peach tree’. – The pronunciation with *ä* makes Ukr. *p[ɛ]rsik* m. ‘peach’ a closer source than Russ. *p[ɛ]rsik* (see 3.2).

80. *rakétar* (pl.) ‘the rockets’: *Tjöl nōte kēd-dom ’üt oss. Rakétana līst, än bīlen sō, kott de kēr üta äild* ‘Towards the night, they [the Germans] drove us away. The rockets lit up [the sky], so the truck saw where to drive without light’. – From Russ. *rakéty* f. pl.

81. *röbäl* (only this form occurred; the inflection type and gender are unclear) ‘rouble’: *Po stáncii* [Russ. word] *sjōd saldata brē, hundra tjū röbäl de kēp äitt brē* ‘At the stations the soldiers sold bread, 120 roubles to buy one loaf’. – *rubul* NO, *rubäl* DGRW, pl. *rublar* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 176), *rubol*, *robol*, m., *rubl* (Danell 1951, p. 330). – This noun ultimately goes back to Russ. *rubl’* m. The pronunciation with *l* instead of *!* (*!* was recorded by Vendell) may be due to the influence of the Russian word; compare the pronunciation of the surname *Malmas*, rather than Vendell’s *Malmas*. The vowel *ö* in *röbel* has obviously replaced *ü*.¹⁷

82. *sakk* m. I.1 ‘wooden ard’. – *sakk*, *-ar* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 181); *sak* (Karlsgren 1924, p. 30); *sak*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f. (Danell 1951, p. 343). Compare Est. *sahk*, the Russian loanword in Estonian which was borrowed by the Swedish dialects through Estonian (Lagman 1971a, p. 80, 185); ultimately from Russ. *sohá* f.

¹⁷ The alternation of *ü/ö* in open syllables of disyllabic forms can be observed in *üte/öte* ‘in’, *ütär/öter* ‘out of’ (*ü* is more frequent). Historically, the same alternation occurred in forms with *ō* that appeared due to the lengthening of *ö < ü* in an open syllable in disyllabic words, e.g. *flōu* ‘fly’, *dōas* ‘be suitable’ (alongside *flūu*, *dūas*; cf. Sw. *fluga*, *duga*), *rōo* ‘scab’ (Sw. *ruva*). In open monosyllables *ö* has superseded *ü*: *nō* ‘now’, *tō* ‘you’. The vowel *ü* also gives rise to *ö* in front of *!*: *gōlandär* ‘yellow’, *mōlendär* ‘cloudy’ (Sw. *gul*, *mulen*).

83. *sáldat* m. II.1 or I.2 ‘soldier’: *Tār vā-ḡo 'ān sáldatar som tū o kasta oss bōnar innot bīlen* ‘There were more soldiers there who threw us children into the truck’. Compound: *sáldats-bīla* (def. pl.; only this form occurred) ‘the military trucks’: *Fāšt lasta-dom 'pō oss po sáldats-bīla, tom stūr* ‘First, they loaded us onto military trucks, those big ones’. – *sallat*, also *salldat*, -*ēr* m. G, *solldat*, -*ēr* m. NOW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 181, 205); *sól-dat*, -*n*, -*er*, -*e* (Danell 1951, p. 381). – In the present-day dialect, this noun most likely goes back to Russ. *soldát* m., with the Russian unstressed *o* [ɐ] reflected as *a* and with subsequent stress shift. If the word had been borrowed from Swedish, German or Ukrainian, the first vowel would have been *o* rather than *a*.

84. *sígan* m. I.4 ‘Gypsy’: *Ve kēḡ 'ūt frōn Lisau, ve kēḡ soṣṣ-som sigana, ān vāvār bait anan* ‘We drove out from Lisau, we were driving like Gypsies, one cart after another’. – From Ukr. *cígan* m. or Russ. *cygán* m. Other Estonian Swedish dialects use a word taken from Estonian, *mōstlas* (Danell 1951, p. 279; Isberg 1970, p. 211).

85. *sírop* m. I.1 (only sing.) ‘jam’: *Murmūr hāist 'inn frōn kāven som-dom kūka... he kumār 'ūt som kāvens-huniṡe hāldār síropen* ‘Granny scooped out that watermelon which they cooked... it looks like watermelon honey or jam’. Compound: *kāvens-sírop* m. I.1 (only sing.) ‘watermelon jam’: *Fārr sjōḡ-dom iṡa prātslar e būe, ve boka soḡe, kan-de boka mā kāvens-sírop* MP ‘In the old days, they didn’t sell pretzels at the shop, we baked ourselves, you can bake [them] with watermelon jam’. – Compare *sirap*, *sírop* no pl., m. (Isberg 1970, p. 273) and Ger. *Sírup* m., Sw. *sirap*, -*en*, Ukr. *siróp* [-i-]. The dialect pronunciation is closest to Russian *siróp* [-i-] m.

86. *sīp(a)!* n. ‘onion’ (pl. *sīpl*, def. pl. *sīple*¹⁸). Compounds: *gill-sīpl* ‘briar’, *sāte-sīpl* ‘onion set (for planting)’, *vintār-sīpl* ‘winter onion’, *sīpl-frāi* n. ‘onion leaves’, *sīpl-skaft* n. ‘onion leaf’, *sīpl-skālār* n. (pl.) ‘onion peel’. – *sīpal*, pl. *sīpalēr* n. N; *sīpul*, pl. *sīplēr* n. or m. N; *sīpāl*, pl. *sīplēr* n. NOW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 188); *sīpaḡ* m. (Danell 1951, p. 346); *sīpaḡ*, *sīpāl*, *sīpoḡ* n.; *trano-sīpaḡ* ‘chives’ (*Allium schoenoprasum*), *sko-sīpaḡ* ‘field garlic’ (*Allium oleraceum*) (Lagman 1971a, p. 57). – Compare Ukr. or South Russ. *cibúlâ* f. The exact source of this word is unclear, owing to its phonetic similarity in the neighbouring languages. According to Lagman, it could have found its way into Estonian Swedish dialects from South Russian or Ukrainian, either directly or through Estonian, cf. Est. *sibul*; however, a similar word is found in Latvian: *sīpolis*. The original Scandinavian word for onion is preserved in present-day Gammalsvenskby only in the compound *kvit-lōūk* ‘garlic’.

¹⁸ The forms *sīpl* and *sīple* are used for the plural instead of the expected **sīplār*, **sīplena*. This is typical of neuter nouns with stems in a consonant + *l*; another noun with the same forms is *āpl* ‘apple’.

87. skask f. II.2 ‘fairy tale’: *toļa äin skask* ‘to tell a fairy tale’. – From Russ. *ska[s]ka* f.; Ukr. *ka[s]ka* is phonetically different as it lacks the initial *s*-. – *skask*, -*ar* f. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 190).

88. skiss m. I.2 ‘small scythe’.¹⁹ – From Ukr. *sk[i]sok* m.

89. skórop m. I.1 ‘carp’ (fish). – *skorop*, -*ar* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 193). – From Ukr. *kórop* m.; the initial *s*- in the dialect remains unclear.

90. slive/sleve ‘plums’ (collective; a single plum is *slive-kūn*): *Um sleve... tom kuna-do änt ligge lōṇaṭiär, tom fādes* ‘If plums... they can’t really be kept for a long time, the ripe ones’. Compounds: *slive-kūn* n. ‘a plum’, *slive-trā* n. ‘plum tree’. – Phonetically close to Russ. *slivy* [‘slʲivʲi] f. pl. ‘plums’. The alternation of *i/e* in stressed syllables of disyllabic words is not common in the dialect.²⁰ Apart from in *slive*, it occurred before *r* and *v* in *b[ɛ]re* ‘to begin’ (in interviews with MP; cf. *b[i]re* AL and *byre* LU), *skr[ɛ]ve* LU (supine of *skrīv* ‘write’), *l[ɛ]va* AL LU ‘to live’ and *liva* MP.

91. sna[rʲ]ád (with a palatalised *r*) m. I.1 ‘projectile; shell’: *Üte hūse foll änt iṇa snarjád* ‘inn’ ‘No shell fell into the house’. – From Russ./Ukr. *snarād* m.

92. snopp m. I.1 ‘sheaf’: see loanword 55 for a usage example. – *snopp*, -*ar* m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 203). – The source is probably Russ. *snop* m., because Ukr. has *snip* (though the oblique form is *snopa*).

93. sōda f. (indeclinable) ‘soda’: *Po än kilo kūkande sürestn tässn läggä-de* ‘inn än jätaspōn-fülldär salt o än tespōn-fülldär sōda o hundra gramm smēr’ ‘To one kilo of this boiled cottage cheese [*sic*: not ‘boiling’; preceding sentences in this narrative clearly indicate that the cottage cheese has already been ‘boiled’], you add one spoonful of salt and one teaspoonful of soda and a hundred grams of butter’. Compound: *vask-sōda* ‘washing soda’ (cf. Ger. *Waschsoda*)²¹: *Ja skīḍ min kastrüller räinar: fäst mä sōnd, bait sōnd blī-dom blō-lētatar, so fōr ja tōa me sōp hāldär täss vask-soda* ‘I cleaned my pans: first with the sand, after the sand they become blueish, so I need to use soap or this washing soda’. – This word most likely comes from Russian or Ukrainian *sōda* f. (because soda is very commonly used in Russia as a household cleaning agent); conflation with Ger. *Soda* f./n. is also possible. A direct borrowing from Sw. *soda* is less likely because of the vowel [u:] in the Swedish word.

¹⁹ This is how it is described: *Ve hāv än slikär lilldär līa, he jär bra me-en, kan allaställ slō* ‘ūt *he grässe. Skafte jär kottare, o soḷe līan jär lilldäre. He häittest “skisok”* LU ‘We had a small scythe like that, it’s good, you can cut grass everywhere. The handle is shorter, and the scythe itself is smaller. It was called a *skisok*’.

²⁰ By contrast, [i] does not occur in open monosyllables in stressed position, where only [ɛ] is used. Examples are the pronouns *me*, *te* (object forms of *ja* ‘I’, *tō* ‘you’), *se* ‘oneself’, *ve* ‘we’, *ne* ‘you (pl.)’, *he* ‘it’.

²¹ The short *o* of the second element may go back directly to a Russ./Ukr. short vowel, but may also be a result of shortening. Long vowels in second elements of compounds sometimes shorten: *blū-fräs* AL ‘boil, furuncle’ (alongside *blū-frās* LU), *grā-goḍ* AL ‘graveyard’ (alongside *gra-gōḍ* LU), *hōlg-da* [‘hœtɡda] LU ‘holiday’ (cf. *nams-dā* ‘name day’ AL), *koḷ-gōḍ* [‘koŋɡoḍ] LU and *koḷ-goḍ* [‘koŋɡoḍ] AL ‘water meadow’, *svin-sti* ‘pigsty’.

94. stäka m. III.1 ‘glass’: *Han kann bara snjū 'inn ot stäkan, soʃʃ byrjar-en ötär drikk* ‘He only has to sniff the glass, and he starts drinking again’. The native noun *glās* n. is also common. – *stäga/stäka*, -r m. G (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 219). – From Russ. *stakan* [stɐˈkan] (in Ukrainian, the common word for ‘glass’ is different, *sklânka*). The form *stäkan*, m. I.4, also occurred in interviews with AL and LU, while *stäka* appeared due to reanalysis of *stäkan* as a definite singular *stäka-n*. The vowel *ä* instead of the Russian unstressed *a* represents a remarkable phonetic phenomenon; this noun is the only example of such a correspondence. The sequence *aCa* is uncommon in the dialect, as the first *a* regularly changes to *o*. Compare *boka* ‘to bake’, *skoka* ‘to shake’, *komar* ‘room’, *homar* ‘hammer’ and Sw. *baka*, *skaka*, *kammare*, *hammare*. However, in this word for ‘glass’ the phonetically regular form **stoka* would coincide with another frequently used word, *stoka* ‘stick’, with the result that the string *-aka-* was replaced with *-äka-* rather than the phonetically predicted *-oka-*.

95. svärk m. I.1 ‘quarter of a litre’: *Äin svärk mä brämnen, tfo hundra fämnte gramm jä-där tärinn üte hon svärka* ‘A “svärk” of vodka, there are 250 grams in that “svärk”’. – In the modern dialect this word is an equivalent of Russ. *čekúška* f. ‘quarter-litre bottle of wine or vodka’ and goes back to Russ. *četverík* m. (H. Lagman 1971b) or *četvërka* f. ‘quarter, as a measure of bulk solids, a measure of land’, ‘four horses’ (Dal’ 1882, IV, p. 620). Lagman cites it as *sätvärk*; the current form *svärk* shows such a degree of transformation that it is not recognisable to speakers of Russian.

96. šarf m. I.1 ‘scarf; shawl’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *šarf* m. – *šarf* (Karl-gren 1924, p. 48).

97. šlaŋ m. ‘water hose’ (def. sing. *šlaŋ*, pl. *šlaŋar*, def. pl. *šlaŋa*): *Ja lād 'inn šlaŋ de släpp 'inn vatn ot tunna* ‘I put in a hose to pour water into the barrel’. – From Russ./Ukr. *šlang* m. or obsolete Sw. *schlang*. Ger. *Schlange* f. is more distant owing to the gender difference.

98. tabrétk f. II.2 ‘stool’. – From Russ. *taburétka* f.

99. tankana (def. pl.; only this form occurred) ‘the tanks’: *Sänn birjas krī, skaffa-dom 'üt vär gränsn, de gräv okópar, än tankana änt ska kuma 'ive ot Tiskland* MP ‘Then the war started, they sent people to the border to dig trenches, so that the tanks wouldn’t get across into Germany’. – From Russ. *tank* m.

100. tsifär f. II.2 ‘number’. – Compare *sifär*, pl. *sifrar* m. DGNORW (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 183) and Ger. *Ziffer* f., Russ. and Ukr. *čífra* f.; the dialect noun is probably a conflation of German and Slavonic words.

101. tsimánt / tsemánt n. ‘cement’: *Hon sūpa hūp-e, kvastn krapša po tsimánte* ‘She was sweeping, the broom was scratching on the cement’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *cemént* m.; the Ukrainian pronunciation with [ɛ] > ä is phonetically nearer. The neuter gender instead of the masculine is due to the influence of neuter mass nouns (see 3.4.1).

102. tšáun m. I.4 ‘vat; tub’: *Sätt 'upp tsaun po grit-űen, o ան-e ska kűk fiksare, tā 'tjānd riŋŋa* ‘Put the vat on the cooker, and in order for it to boil faster, take off the rings’. – From Ukr. *čavún* m.; Russ. *čan* is phonetically different.

103. tšerášne-trā n. ‘sweet cherry tree’. – The phonetic shape is close to Ukr. *čer[ε]šnā* f. ‘sweet cherry’.

104. úse (other forms were not used) ‘moustache’: *Han bār úse* ‘He has a moustache’. Derivative: *usjatār* ‘moustached’, compound: *katt-use* ‘cat’s whiskers’. – Russ. *usý* m. pl. is the nearest source, as the common form in Ukr., *vusi*, is phonologically different because of the initial *v-*.

105. vagóna ‘the railway carriages’: *Vila ne kēr 'inn oss ot Tiskland, so sāte 'inn oss ot vagóna o kēre 'inn oss. A ne, so tāje o skjüte 'nēr oss allar o pīne oss ānt!* MP ‘If you want to take us to Germany, then board us onto the carriages and take us. And if not, then shoot us all down and don’t torture us!’ (this was said by the Swedes to Germans). – From Russ. *vagóny* m. pl.

106. várnek m. I.1 type of ravioli: *Han kōŋ kann-de brās sänn pirakar mā, hāldār gāra varnekar* ‘That cabbage, you can bake pies with it or make vareniki’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *varénik* m.

107. vínagrad m. ‘grapes’: *Tom sjū-do 'ō vinagrad, o han torrkas sänn 'ūt, torrkas torran* ‘They [wasps] suck out grapes, and they get dry then, completely dry’. Compounds: *vínagradz-bűsk* ‘grape bush’, *vínagradz-kűps* ‘bunch of grapes’. – From Russ. *vinogrād* m.

108. vűnegret m. (no other forms occurred) ‘salad with boiled beetroot’: *To min gamma blāi dē, so drēmd ja, ան han vűnegret stōr po būde, so gűd ja fādes 'ō vűnegret o satt 'upp-en po būde* ‘When my granny died, I had a dream that that salad was on the table, so I also made that salad and put it on the table’. – From Russ. *vinegrét* m.

109. višne n. (no other forms occurred) ‘cherries’: *Tom jāra-do ānt fīnar, tom jāra som višne* LU ‘They [cranberries] are not small in fact, they are like cherries’. Compound: *višne-trānar* n. pl. ‘cherry trees’: *Višne-trānar byre műlken, fōre he, ան tān bark-jātan kann kroka 'inn ot trā o gnāvō! terīnn he, som jār inműttete* ‘Cherry trees start rotting because this bark-feeder can crawl into the tree and gnaw at what is inside’. – From Russ. *vűšnā* [‘vűšnə] f.

110. vóloken (def. sing.; only this form occurred) m. I.1 ‘dragnet’ (type of fishing net): *Tom gī drāa fisk mā voloken* MP ‘They used to go fishing with a dragnet’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *vólok* m.

111. xostes-mānske f. II.3 ‘guest’ (pronounced with a distinct voiceless velar fricative): *Xóstes-mānske jā-de tridakks-tī, a sänn kann-on skōa snűtt po-de* ‘You are a guest for three days, and then she can look askance at you’. – The form *xostes* is originally a genitive singular of **xoste* ‘feast’ and ultimately goes back to Russ. *gósti* ‘guests’. It did not occur in my interviews,

but was recorded by Danell (see *goste*, no. 35). *Xostes-mänske* literally means ‘person of the feast’. The initial *x* instead of Danell’s *g-* is due to the South Russian and Ukrainian pronunciation with [ɣ-]. As this word existed in other Swedish dialects of Estonia with the same specific meaning, which is not typical of Russian, it was inherited by the modern dialect from the time before the resettlement, whereas *goste* is a more recent borrowing of the same word.

2.1.2. Adjectives

112. *fanärne* ‘making plywood’ (of a plant): see loanword 31. – From Russ. *fanérnyj* or Ukr. *fanérnij*.

113. *kaprónove* ‘Kapron’ (i.e. nylon 6): *Ja gār 'fast-dom me kaprónove loke* ‘I close them [jars of sauerkraut] with Kapron lids’. – From Russ. *kaprónovyj* or Ukr. *kaprónovij*.

114. *rādär* ‘glad’: *Han bläi so rādär än-en fī sī me* ‘He was so glad that he got to see me’. – From Russ. or Ukr. *rad*.

The final *-e* in *fanärne*, *kaprónove* probably goes back to the endings Russ., Ukr. *-yj* (masc. nom. and acc. sing.) or *-ye* (Ukr. *-i*; nom. and acc. pl. of all genders). These forms are indeclinable in the dialect. Interestingly, an indeclinable form of the same type was recorded by H. Lagman in the dialect of Nuckö: *rubátske* ‘fisherman’s’, in *rubátske stivlar* ‘fisherman’s boots’, which shows that the stem-final *-e* in borrowed adjectives is an old feature rather than an innovation in Gammalsvenskby. As for *rādär*, it goes back to a Russian/Ukrainian adjective with the zero ending, whereas adjectives in the dialect with stems ending in consonants never have the zero ending in the masculine, which was why this stem acquired the ending *-är*.

2.1.3. Verbs

115. *dráznet* ‘tease’, used as a supine in the present subjunctive: *Han änt a hāve-de bite, um-de änt a dráznet-en MP* ‘He [the dog] wouldn’t have bitten you if you didn’t tease him’. – The native verb is *narr*: *Hund änt a hāve-de bite, um-de änt a hāve-en narra* ‘The dog wouldn’t have bitten you if you hadn’t teased him’. The form *dráznet* occurred only once; from the phonetic point of view it is closest to Russ. *dráznit* (3rd person sing., present indicative active), but can also go back to the infinitive *draznít*. Morphologically, it is non-assimilated because it lacks the ending of the supine; phonetically, it can be regarded as partly assimilated, owing to the change of the unstressed *i* to *e*, typical of the dialect.

116. *rubäl* (pres. sing. *rublar*, pret. *rubla*) ‘to smooth washed clothes using a wooden board’. Unfortunately, there is no context for this word; it did not occur in coherent speech, but was elicited using a questionnaire. In the dialect it is derived from the unattested noun **rubäl*, which goes back to

Russ./Ukr. *rubél'* m. 'wooden board used to drain and smooth washed clothes'. The presence of *l* is a sign of the fuller assimilation and age of the loanword, as in younger or less assimilated loanwords *l* occurs instead, cf. *blūd*, *boklezáne*, *grifl*.

117. vř 'winnow grain; skim milk': *Ja vřd rai 'girm mōlke* 'I have already skimmed the milk'. – From Ukr. *viāti*. The following forms occurred in the interviews: infinitive *vř*, pres. sing. *vřär* and *vřar*, preterite *vřd* and *vřa*, supine *vřd*. This verb was used with hesitation by LU. The native verb is *tjūl*: *Fär vä-där slīk mařın, tjūl-kvēne, so tjūla ve sē 'girm* 'In the old days, there was such a machine, a winnowing mill, so we winnowed grain'.

2.1.4. Conjunctions and particles

118. a 'but': *Han gř rai loņāřtār, a häim jā-ñ antān* 'He left a long time ago, but he's still not home'. – From Russ./Ukr. *a*.

119. ař 'really; even; in fact': *He vār so kallt, än ja ař darra* 'It was so cold that I was really shivering'. – From Russ./Ukr. *ař*.

120. dāže 'really, even': *Fär ōt ve änt iņa sillär, ja väit dāže änt, än-dom vār, täss sille* 'Before, there were no herrings, I didn't even know what they were, those herrings'. – From Russ. *dāže*.

121. no 'but': *Sūle gi nēr, no hon gřimar ān* 'The sun has set, but it's still glowing'. – From Russ./Ukr. *no*.

122. xotř / hotř 'just; if only; I wish': *Ja rai a häve loņāřtār ō-lote de rūk, hotř līte fōr ja drāa* MP 'I would have given up smoking long ago, but I need to take a drag occasionally'. – From Ukr. *hoč*.

2.2. Examples of non-assimilated Russian and Ukrainian words²²

bánka 'jar': *Ve hällt sugär ive-dom o klāmd 'inn-e üte banka, frisk blānar, tēblumms-blāna* 'We poured sugar on them and stuck them in a jar, fresh leaves, tea-rose leaves'.

bol'nica 'hospital': *Ja häv tfō blū-frāsar po armen, tēr vār blū o vār dehūp. Ja gř ot bol'nica, ja kunnt-do änt arbet* 'I had two boils on my arm, there was blood and pus together. I went to the hospital, I really couldn't work'.

čisló 'date': *Täta vār üte jánuar-mōn, ja kann änt säi kofär čislo än-e vār, kunnt vara fämmt häldär sjēt* 'This was in January, I can't say what date it was, it could have been the fifth or the sixth'.

halát 'dressing gown': *Ja fōlda 'umm halat, än-en jär kořtare* 'I hemmed the dressing gown to make it shorter'.

Kahóuka, provincial town near Gammalsvenskby: *Tom lēvd so bra, än-dom blāi üta nōat, före drikkjande, drakk 'upp allt, änt stjūe, män kořtare som-dom häv e Kahouke*²³ 'They lived so well that they ended up with noth-

²² This list is by no means exhaustive and could easily be expanded.

ing, because of their drinking, they drank away everything, not the house but the flat that they had in Kakhovka’.

klúkva ‘cranberry’: *Po han grēn musan väksär klúkva* ‘On the green moss cranberries grow’.

kolhóz ‘kolkhoz, rural cooperative’: *Gamma boka brē ot kolhóz* ‘Granny baked bread for the kolkhoz’.

kolhózniki ‘rural cooperative workers’: *Üte hūse som-dom säi* ‘*Hūs kolhoznikov*’, *tēr bläi ve ive nōte* ‘In the house which they called the “House of the kolhozniki”, there we stayed for the night’.

majonéz ‘mayonnaise’: *Rīv-dom räbetar* ‘*sundär po rīv-jēne o rēr dehūp-e mä... höšš de säi-e... majonéz... grädd-āi[ç], jār-e üte ställe grädd* ‘They grate beetroots on a grater and mix them with... how do you say ... mayonnaise... like sour cream, it’s instead of sour cream’.

načál’nik ‘chief’: *Tēr vār än načal’nik. Han sã:* “*Umm ne gō näst me de arbet, so gävär ja ott jār än komar*” MP ‘There was some chief there. He said: “If you come to me to work, I’ll give you a room’.

pricép ‘trailer’: *Tom fō kast* ‘*upp häie me tjūa po pricep* ‘They have to toss hay with a fork onto the trailer’.

rešētkä ‘grid plate’: *Umm-de änt dräär* ‘*tjānd he skinne, so gōr-e sänn änt de moļa, kann-e brūt* ‘*sundär rešētkä po kät-kvēne* ‘If you don’t tear off that skin, it’s not possible to grind, it can break the grid plate in the mincer’.

Séver ‘North’ (refers to the Komi ASSR, not Scandinavia or Sweden; see footnote 6): *Täta vār näst oss, to ve vār üte Sever* ‘It [a stream] was next to us, when we lived in the North’.

separátor ‘milk separator’: *To ve komm fron Svärge, so kēft ve küda, ve hāv än separátor som ve släfft mölke girm, gräddn aläina, a mölke aläina* MP ‘When we came from Sweden, we bought a cow, we had a separator with which we separated milk, the cream alone, and the milk alone’.

tajgá ‘taiga’: *Tom kēđ änt* ‘*inn oss ot Ukráina, a kēđ* ‘*upp oss ot tajga, tēr vār bara skū o skū* MP ‘They didn’t take us to the Ukraine, but took us up to the taiga, where there was just forest and more forest’.

učástok ‘district; sector’ in a forced labour camp in Komi: *A to ve rāi vā-tēr po ställe, so bläi-en dēär... to ve komm tittot, fäšt učastok. Papa, han vār po ana učastok, a ve vār po fäšt* ‘And when we were there at that place, he died... when we got there, to the first sector. Daddy, he was in the second sector, and we were in the first’.

Výčegda, river in the Komi ASSR: *Ve vār po täss sĩa Vyčegda, a to kēr ve ive Vyčegda po hon ā-šĩa* ‘We were on this side of the Vyčegda, but then we went over the Vyčegda to the other side’.

²³ Note the Russian locative form *Kahóvke* after the native preposition *e* ‘in’. The same goes for the forms *klúkvu*, accusative singular of the direct object after the verb *napp* ‘pluck’, and *tajgú*, accusative singular after *üte* ‘into’, presented below.

zemplánka ‘dugout’ (dwelling dug in the ground in a forced labour camp in the Komi ASSR): *Tēr vār fjörete sjün üte hon zemlânka* MP ‘There were forty people there, in that dugout’.

zverobój ‘St John’s wort’: *He jár bässt, upp-kūkat gräss, zveroboј* ‘It’s bitter, a brewed herb, St John’s wort’.

3. Linguistic features of loanwords

3.1. Grouping of loanwords by origin and age

In the above lists, the following groups can be distinguished based on the origins and age of the items (see also 3.2 for details).

At least 23 words are borrowed from Russian rather than Ukrainian: *aplsîn, daze, dívan, djogg, dopär, gū, kamód, kanop, kîbik/kibít, povídl, róbäl, saldat, sirop, skask, slive, snopp, stäka, svärk, tabrétk, use, vinagrad, vinegret, višne*.

At least 20 words show clear Ukrainian or South Russian features: *bastan, batarájana, boklezáne, butl, büarak, düllje, gartšíts, goste, harb, kâven, kaldóuk, paroxóda, pärsik-trä, skiss, skorop, tsemánt, tšaun, tšerášne-trä, vī, xotš*.

The following words are borrowed from Russian or from Ukrainian, with no clear differentiation: *a, Amárika, amrákantse, avtomáta, az, bank, banje, baráka, bazar, blūd, bošš, butk, Bärislav, bürganar, dinnje, dišl, draznet, durak, fanér, fanárne, fūr, gräk, kapróнове, kâven, kilómätär, kladóuk, kofe, koft, kombáinar, komeke, krant, kriss, kuraj, kučka, Kāson, -lak, lapp, milítse, Neppär, no, okópar, paperósana, piróga, pärsik, rakétar, rädär, rubäl, róbäl, sigan, snarjád, šarf, šlaņ, tankana, tsimánt, tšaun, tšerášne, vagóna, varnek, voloken, xostes-*.

Words that may have Russian/Ukrainian as possible sources, but allow other explanations as well (this group also includes conflation): *ablkôs, akátse-, alesk, apslîn, ägiist, balk, butl, doftor, fäbrar, grifl, janvar, kadus, kádiüfl, katlât, kino, kolendär, lamp, läyre, littär, mašin, metär, sōda, tsifär*.

Seven words that are ultimately Slavonic but which found their way into the dialect through the neighbouring languages, primarily Estonian, and are therefore in all likelihood inherited from Dagö: *alesk, kastrüill, kopek, pirak, pränik, sakk, sīpl*. The word for mushroom, *gū*, is also among the oldest loanwords, though it was borrowed not through Estonian but directly from Russian.

If an item is cited in earlier studies, particularly those of Vendell and Karlgren, this is an indication of its greater age and its existence in the dialect at least in the 19th century. This is true of 39 items, i.e. approximately one-third of the loanwords: *ablkôs, alesk, apslîn, bank, bastan, bazar, djogg, doftor, durak, fūr, gū, kadus, kádiüfl, kastrüill, kâven, kibik, kofe, koft,*

kolendär, kopek, krant, lamp, pirak, pränik, röbäl, sakk, saldat, sīpaļ, skask, skorop, snopp, stäka, svärk, šarf, tsifär, xostes-mänske. The words *Bärislav*, *Käson* and *Neppär* were not recorded by Vendell, but definitely existed in the dialect in the 19th century.

The following 18 items are clearly new loanwords, as they refer to 20th-century phenomena: *avtomáta, baráka, batarájana, dopär, fanēr, kilómätär, kino, kombáinar, komeke, lägre, milítse, okópar, paperósana, rakétar, snarjad, tankana, kaprónove, vinegrét*.

3.2. Distinguishing between Russian and Ukrainian as sources of loanwords

A clear distinction between Russian and Ukrainian cannot always be drawn, owing to the fact that the dominant language of the dialect speakers is not Standard Ukrainian or Standard Russian, but Suržik. Furthermore, the variety of Suržik spoken by the informants is not uniform, as its proximity to Standard Russian or Ukrainian is not constant. Taking this into account, one should probably not speak of a straightforward distinction between Russian and Ukrainian forms, but rather of a distinction between forms that may be regarded as going back to Standard Russian and those that cannot. Where it is possible, the differentiation between Russian and Ukrainian is made according to phonetic and lexical criteria. The age of a loanword is also a factor, as certain words of Slavonic origin (e.g. *gũ* 'mushroom', *kopek* 'co-peck') were recorded in all the Swedish dialects of Estonia and had therefore existed in the dialect of Dagö/Gammalsvenskby before its contact with Ukrainian.

The most frequently used phonetic criteria are the following:

1) the distribution of [i] ~ [ɨ], i.e. the reflexes of Russ. *i* [i] ~ Ukr. *i* [ɨ] in the dialect;

2) [e] ~ [ɛ], i.e. Russ. ~ Ukr. *e*;

3) unstressed [a] ~ [o] as reflexes of the corresponding Russian and Ukrainian unstressed vowels.

Following this, the pronunciation of the words *dívan, kíbik / kibít, povídl, sírop, višne; metär, tabrétk, vínegret; sáldat, kamód, vínagrad*, in which [i], [e] and [a] are heard, is closer to Russian, whereas the pronunciation of *batarájana, Bárislav, pärsik, tsemánt* and *tšerášne* is closer to Ukrainian. In many cases it is impossible to distinguish between Russian and Ukrainian because of the phonetic similarity or even complete identity between the Russian and Ukrainian words (see 3.1).

As for lexical criteria, some words are not typical of the Russian language, or at least not of its standard variety, and therefore may be considered Ukrainian in origin. These are *diüllje, harb, kāven, skiss, skorop* and *tšaun*. Likewise, taking into account both the lexical and the phonetic criteria, words such as *dürak, kanop, Neppär/Nēpär, skask, snopp* and *use* have Russian as their near-

est source. An example of a conflation of Russian and Ukrainian is *katlât*, with the unstressed *a* from Russian and *ä* from Ukrainian.

3.3. Phonology of loanwords

3.3.1 Reflexes of Russian and Ukrainian vowels and consonants

Stressed Russ. *i* and Ukr. *ì* (= *i* in Ukrainian script) are reflected as [i]: *littär*, *maşín*, *skiss*, *kíbbik*, *povídl*, *vişne*. Pronunciation with [i] rather than [ɪ] in such words as *povídl* and *vişne* is a sign of Russian being the nearest source.

Unstressed Russ. *i* and Ukr. *ì* are usually reflected as a close *e*: [ʏ] *óste*, *paperósana*, *varnek*. In a closed syllable, Russ. *i* is sometimes preserved, e.g. *kíbbik*. This is in full accordance with the regularity observed in native (here in the sense ‘non-Slavonic’) words, where the unstressed [i] is only characteristic of closed syllables (e.g. *rädik* ‘radish’, *kiklîj* ‘chick’). In this case /i/ is sometimes realised as [ɛ] (*bräd[ɛ]sk* / *bredisk* ‘bread plate’, *pält[ɛ]k/pältik* ‘toilet’). In open syllables, native words only have [ɛ] rather than [i]: *brigge* ‘bridge’, *kirke* ‘church’, *lärke* ‘lark’, etc. If the Russ. [i] becomes stressed in the dialect, it is preserved as *i* (e.g. *dívan*, *sírop*) and, unlike the unstressed *i*, does not change to [ɛ], which may be due to the rarity of stressed [ɛ] in the dialect.

Stressed Russ. *y* (= *ы*) and Ukr. *i* (= *у*; both pronounced [ɪ]) are often preserved: *d[ɪ]nnje*, *d[ɪ]sl*, *kr[ɪ]ss*. It should be noted that the pronunciation with a more retracted *i* [ɪ] or with [ɪ] occurs in native words as well. According to the speakers, *i* in *diŋe* ‘dung’, the native word, is the same as the vowel in *d[ɪ]nâ* ‘melon’.

Unstressed Russ. *y* and Ukr. *i* (both [ɪ]) in word-final position are reflected as a close *e*, that is, differently than the corresponding stressed vowels: *ablkóse*, *baklazáne*, *slive*, *úse*, and in the same way as the unstressed Russ. *i*, Ukr. *ì*.

Stressed Russ. [e] remains [e]: *metär*, *tabrétk*. The pronunciation with [e] is a sign of Russian origin, because the Ukrainian pronunciation of *e* gives *ä* in the dialect, cf. a pronunciation such as *särp* ‘sickle’ < Ukr. *serp* [-e-]. The unstressed *e* before *l* is syncopated: *aplsîn*, *butl*. Such syncope is typical of the dialect generally, cf. *gaffl* ‘fork’, *aksl* ‘axis’.

Ukr. [e] is reflected as *ä*: *batarájana*, *Bárislav*, *Káşon*.

Both stressed and unstressed Russ. and Ukr. *u* [u] are sometimes reflected as *ü*, sometimes as *u*: *ägüst/águst*, *butl*, *diüllje*. With secondary stress shift: *búrak*, *búrjanar*, *dúrak/dúrak*, *kátiis/kádus*, *kúraj*. With lengthening: *blūd*. The pronunciation with *ü* is probably the sign of a higher degree of assimilation; compare the old Russian loanword *gū* ‘mushroom’ (with phonetically regular lengthening of *ü* in an open stressed syllable). In fully assimilated loanwords, unstressed Russ./Ukr. *u* > *e*: *alesk* ‘dumpling’, *kāven* ‘watermelon’.

Stressed Russ. and Ukr. *a* [a] and *o* [o] are preserved: *banje*, *boşş*, *dopär*, *kofť*, etc. With subsequent stress shift: *bástan*, *bázar*, *büarak*, *bürjanar*, *düarak*, *Káşon*.

Post-tonic Russ. *o* ([ə] in modern standard pronunciation) and Ukr. *o* are reflected as *o*: *doftor* ‘doctor’, *skorop* ‘carp’.

Russian [æ], an allophone of /a/ after palatalised consonants, is reflected as *e* in *kómeke* ‘the Komis’, from *komâk* [kə'mʲæk] with stress shift.

Pretonic Russ. *a* (in standard pronunciation [ɐ] in the first pretonic syllable), Ukr. *a* are preserved as *a*, both in old and in more recent words: *ablķôs* ‘apricot’, *akátse* ‘acacia’, *aplśń* ‘orange’, *batarájana* ‘radiators’, *fanár-* ‘plywood’, *gartśíts* ‘mustard’, *harb* ‘cart’, *kamôd* ‘chest of drawers’, *maşń* ‘machine’. With secondary stress shift: *bázar* ‘bazar’, *bástan* ‘watermelon field’, *kátűs* ‘cap’, *sáldat* ‘soldier’, *vínagrad* ‘grapes’. The noun *stäka* ‘glass’ with *ä* instead of *a* is an isolated case.

However, originally pretonic Russ. *o* ([ɐ] in modern standard pronunciation) is reflected as *o* in *kómeke*. The pronunciation with *o* (instead of *a*, as in *sáldat* etc., see above) may have been supported by the frequently used noun *Kómi*, the name of the region. There is at least one word where the Russ. pretonic [ɐ] (in spelling, *a*) is reflected as the unstressed *o*, namely *kánop* ‘sofa’ < Russ. *kanapé* [kənə'pɐ], with secondary stress shift to the first syllable. The dialect form may go back to a non-standard hypercorrect pronunciation, but because of the isolation of the example this is hard to confirm. In *kópek* (also with stress shift), *o* also goes back to the vowel which in modern Standard Russian is pronounced [ɐ]. However, this form is a somewhat different case than *kánop*, as it is an older loanword recorded in all the Swedish dialects of Estonia. It had existed long before the resettlement, which rules out any influence of the Ukrainian pronunciation with *o*. The unstressed *o* in this word may ultimately go back to the older Russian pronunciation.

Furthermore, there are two examples where in the second pretonic syllable Russ. *a* ([ə] in modern standard pronunciation) and Ukr. *a* are reflected as *o*: *boklezáne* ‘tomatoes’, *kólendär* ‘calendar’ (with secondary stress shift). These words might also be explained as going back to Russian/Ukrainian forms with a hypercorrect *o*.

Unstressed final vowels have been lost in *dişl*, *kladóuk*, *maşń*, *povídl* and *tabrétk*. This is probably not a purely phonetic but a morphophonological process, as these nouns belong in the dialect to declensions with the zero ending in the indefinite singular.

Consonant groups that are not typical of the dialect acquire a new shape or are simplified: *dóktor* > *doftor*; *kibítka* ‘Gypsy cart’ > *kíbik* (alongside *kibít*; cf. the more recent loanword *tabrétk*, where the simplification has not taken place); *Dnepr* ‘Dnieper’ > *Neppär/Něpär*, *kilómetr* > *kilómätär*, *litr* > *littär* (with subsequent lengthening of the consonant); *kurtka* > *kuťka*;

šlang > *šlap*. One should also note the reflexes of word-initial [ɣ], which are *h* and *x* alongside a preserved *y*: *harb*, *xostes-mänske* and *yoste*. Moreover, word-initial [x] yielded *k* in *Kášon*. However, the disparate and isolated character of the examples makes it difficult to characterise any regularity.

3.3.2. Suprasegmental features

The stress in native dialect words usually falls on the first syllable. Many assimilated loanwords also move the stress to this syllable. According to H. Lagman (1971a, p. 192), this stress pattern in loanwords is explained by the influence of Estonian, where the first syllable is stressed. Examples from the Swedish dialects of Estonia cited by Lagman: *ápolsîn*, *báron* 'baron', *káðin* 'curtain', *mášin* 'machine', *mátros* 'sailor', *pátron* 'cartridge', *sítron* 'lemon'. In Standard Swedish, these words are pronounced with stress on the final syllable. However, the dialect has a number of words with a stressed first syllable that were clearly borrowed after the migration from Estonia: *bástan*, *Bárislav*, *kómeke*, *Kášon*, *tšáun*. In these examples, the stress shift should be attributed to the influence of native words with stress on the first syllable. Other examples of this stress shift: *ágiist*, *bássar/bázar*, *búrak*, *búrjanar*, *dívan*, *dúrak*, *kánop*, *kíbik*, *kópek*, *kúraj*, *sáldat*, *sírop*, *úse*, *várnek*, *vínagrad*, *vínegret*.

Examples where the original position of the stress is preserved: *ablkós*, *akátse*, *aplsîn*, *kamód*, *kibútk* (cf. *kíbik*), *mašîn/maşín*, *tabrétk*, *tsemánt*, *tšerášne*.

In native dialect words, a stressed closed syllable is almost always long, i.e. it contains either a long vowel or a long consonant. The length of both vowels and consonants is expressed fairly distinctly, at least in careful pronunciation. Assimilated loanwords also lengthen stressed closed syllables. Judging by the available examples, lengthening more often affects the consonant: *bássar* (alongside the less assimilated form *bázar*), *djogg*, *düllje*, *kriss*, *lapp*, *littär*, *snopp*; cf. also the proper name *Lillje*. An example where the vowel is lengthened is *kamód*. The vowel length in *ablkós*, *aplsîn*, *trī-lītäš* 'three-litre' may go back to the German or Swedish pronunciation. Examples where a short closed syllable is preserved are extremely rare: *-lak* (in *bäkk-lak*), *gräk*; these words may be non-assimilated forms.

An open stressed syllable in native words can be either long or short. Loanwords can also either preserve short open syllables or lengthen them; sometimes parallel forms occur. Examples of words with short open stressed syllables are *dopär*, *dúrak*, *kánop*, *kíbik*, *kúraj*, *metär*, *stäka*. Examples of lengthening of a short open stressed syllable are *káven*, *Neppär/Nēpär*, *littär* (< *litär).

3.4. Grammar of loanwords

3.4.1. Gender

Nouns in the dialect are masculine, feminine or neuter. Gender is a stable category in the dialect, with only a few examples of variation.²⁴ In many cases, the gender of the borrowed noun is preserved, e.g. *banje* f., *bank* f., *bastan* m., *boşş* m., *bürak* m., *dinnje* f., *dişl* n., *diüllje* f., *dürak* m., *gũ* f., *harb* f., *kánop* n., *kátüs* m., *káven* m., *kívik* f., *koft* f., *krant* m., *kriss* f., *maşín* f., *Neppär* m., *sírop* m., *skask* f., *skiss* m., *snopp* m., *stäka* m., *şarf* m., *tabrétk* f., *várnek* m., etc.

In fewer cases, the gender of the borrowed noun is changed, e.g. *ablkós* n., *aplsîn* n., *bázar* n., *blūd* m., *boklezáne* n., *djogg* n., *dopär* n., *kamód* n., *kopek* m., *tsemánt* n.²⁵ In most such cases, the gender change can be explained by intradialectal grammatical regularities. Let us examine these.

A large number of native collective and mass nouns in the dialect are neuter; a list of these is given in Mankov 2013b. This tendency may have affected loanwords as well, cf. the change from masculine to neuter in the mass nouns *djogg* ‘tar’ and *tsemánt* ‘cement’ (however, *sírop* has remained masculine). The nouns *ablkós*, *aplsîn*, *boklezáne*, *slive*, *vişne* were perceived as collective (this is natural, particularly taking into account the fact that in Russian and Ukrainian nouns such as *sliva* ‘plum’, *vişná* ‘cherry’ and *âgoda* ‘berry’ are frequently used in the singular with a collective sense²⁶), which may explain their neuter gender. The same explanation may apply to *sîpl* n. ‘onion’; here, however, the influence of native neuter nouns ending in a consonant + *l* should not be excluded (e.g. *hankl* n. ‘glove’, *äpl* n. ‘apple’).

Some Slavonic nouns that presumably entered the dialect through Estonian have acquired masculine gender: *álesk* m. (ultimately from Ukr. *galúška* f.), *kástriüll* m. ‘pan’ (*kastrúla* f.), *sakk* m. ‘ard’ (*sohá* f.). This can be explained by the fact that the masculine paradigm is the most frequent in the dialect: the overall number of masculine nouns occurring in the interviews is 480, compared with 360 feminine and 240 neuter nouns (Mankov 2013c, p. 58).

Gender change can sometimes be explained by semantic association, i.e. the influence of a different word existing in the dialect or familiar to speakers that has the same or a similar sense. Examples are *blūd* m. ‘saucer’ (instead of n.; possibly by association with *taldrik* m. ‘plate’), *dópär* n. (instead

²⁴ The three-gender system is an inherited feature and is independent of Slavonic. It is so pervasive and deep-rooted in the nominal morphology of the dialect that it is hard to talk about its existence being supported by contact with Russian and Ukrainian, with their three genders.

²⁵ Compare also the nouns from H. Lagman’s (1971b) list above that are cited with a different gender than in Russian.

²⁶ E.g. *Oni prodaût čerešnû_{sg.}* ‘they sell sweet cherries’ (rather than **čereşni_{pl.}*). However, this use of a collective singular is not normally found with *abrikós*, *apel’sin*, *arbuž* ‘watermelon’, *dynâ* ‘melon’, as these nouns are generally used in the plural in the collective sense, e.g. *Oni torguât arbužami_{pl.}* ‘they sell watermelons’.

of m.; cf. Sw. *fängelse* n., Ger. *Gefängnis* n.), *kamôd* n. (instead of m.; cf. *sköp* n. 'wardrobe; cupboard'). Similar non-Slavonic examples are *våd* m. 'world'²⁷ (originally f.; masculine by association with Russ. *mir* 'world' m.), *kadfl* m. 'potatoes' (originally f., cf. Russ. *kartófel* 'm.'), *bukstäv* f. 'letter' (instead of m.; cf. Russ. *búkva* f.), *frīstik* m. 'breakfast' (instead of n.; cf. Russ. *závtrak* m. and Sw. *frukost*, -en). Another word belonging to this group may be *giirk* m. 'cucumber', which in the 19th century was recorded as feminine (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 74); the gender change may be due to Russ. *oguréc* m.

In a few cases the gender change is more difficult to explain, as it does not clearly conform to morphological processes or semantic association. This is true of *bázar* n. (instead of m.; cf. Sw. *torg* 'square', borrowed from Old Russian and also neuter in Swedish, rather than the masculine of Russian), *kopek* m. (cf. *kopéjka* f.). With regard to such cases, it should be taken into account that preservation of the original gender requires, at least sometimes, a knowledge of which gender the noun belonged to in the source language, which in turn implies a sufficient command of that language. Some nouns may have entered the dialect when its speakers were not familiar enough with Russian/Ukrainian to preserve the gender. Interestingly, *bank* 'glass jar' in Vendell's dictionary is cited as neuter, whereas in the present-day dialect it is feminine, in accordance with the source language; the gender may have been 'corrected' owing to a better knowledge of Russian/Ukrainian.

3.4.2. Inflection

The noun paradigm in the dialect consists of four main forms: (1) indefinite singular, (2) definite singular, (3) indefinite plural and (4) definite plural. Depending on the definite singular and indefinite plural, nouns are classified into morphological types, within which morphophonological subtypes are sometimes distinguished. In the case of nouns borrowed into the dialect, the development of paradigms depends on two factors: their original gender and the direction of their morphological assimilation in the dialect. The paradigms of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in the dialect do not usually coincide, which is why gender automatically imposes a specific paradigm. Besides, if the phonetic shape of a borrowed noun resembles a certain paradigmatic form in the dialect, the noun can acquire the whole paradigm that is typical of that form, leading to the morphological assimilation of the loanword. Thus, the noun *krysa* 'rat' (in the nom. sing.) resembles the definite singular form of feminine nouns (such as *hēna* 'the hen', *sistra* 'the sister'). The original nominative singular in -a was reanalysed as a feminine definite singular of the type f. II.2, resulting in the inclusion of the loanword in this

²⁷ E.g. *He jár rāi tīār po han vādn*_{DEF.SG.MASC.} MP 'It's time to go to that world' (i.e. to die).

type and the development of the paradigm *kriss*, *krissa*, *krissar*, *krissana*. The forms *banâ*, *dunâ*, *dulâ* phonetically resemble feminine definite singular forms such as *kirkja*, *briggja* (of *kirke* ‘church’, *brigge* ‘bridge’, type f. II.3), hence the paradigm *banje*, *banja*, *banjar*, *banjana*, etc. The same process of morphological assimilation has conditioned the paradigms of *bank*, *harb*, *kâven*, *kibik*, *lapp*, *maşîn*, *Neppär*, *skask*, *tabretk*. The noun *dişl* fluctuates between neuter and feminine; the former is due to the gender of this word in Russian, the latter to the phonetic similarity of the form *dyşlo* and the definite singular in *-a* of feminine nouns. The noun *bâstan*, as one would expect, inflects according to type m. I.4, to which masculine nouns with stems in *-n* belong: *bastan*, *bastan*, *bastar*, *bastana*. At the same time, *bastan* resembles definite singulars such as *bokan* ‘the baker’, *biggjan* ‘the builder’ (type m. II.2), which generates the competing forms *bastar*, pl. *bastarär*. However, there are a number of nouns that have not developed a full paradigm; typically, the definite singular is lacking in such cases, e.g. *butl*, *kolendär*, *şlaŋ* do not have a specific definite singular form, whereas indefinite and definite plural forms of these nouns do occur; compare Karlgren (1953, p. 18).

3.4.3. Word formation

There are a considerable number of compounds in the dialect that include Slavonic constituents: *alesk-väliŋ* ‘soup with dumplings’, *sjürmöłks-alesk-väliŋ* ‘soup with sour milk and dumplings’, *bázar-däen* ‘market day’, *bok-ležáne-plant* ‘tomato plant’, *błind-kr[i]ss* ‘mole’ (animal), *bürjanz-büsk* ‘weed bush’, *diüllje-trā* ‘pear tree’, *fanär-fabríkk* or *fanár-brikk* ‘sawmill’, *flōo-gū* ‘fly agaric’, *harb-vāvär* ‘cart’, *katt-use* ‘whiskers’, *kāvens-huniŋ* ‘watermelon honey’ (type of jam), *kāven-skīv* ‘slice of watermelon’, *kúraj(s)-büsk* ‘tumbleweed’, *pärsik-trā* ‘peach tree’, *slive-kūn* ‘plum’, *slive-trā* ‘plum tree’, *tşerášne-trā* ‘sweet cherry tree’, *vínagradz-büsk* ‘grape bush’, *vínagradz-klips* ‘bunch of grapes’, *vişne-tränar* ‘cherry trees’, *xostes-mänske* ‘guest, visitor’. There is one example in which both constituents are Slavonic: *kāvens-sirop* ‘watermelon jam’.

As for affixal word formation involving Slavonic elements, it is extremely rare. The only known instance is the adjective *úsjatär* ‘moustached’, from *úse* (Dâčenko 2017, p. 75).

An interesting (though rare) phenomenon is the loss of Slavonic derivational suffixes or suffix-like elements in borrowings; compare *djogg* and Russ. *děgot* ‘tar’, *skiss* and Ukr. *skisok* ‘small scythe’, *blūd* and *blūdce* ‘saucer’; but compare also *bürak*, *dürak*, which have retained *-ak*, going back to the Slavonic suffix. However, owing to the rare and disparate character of the examples, it is hard to characterise any regularity here.

3.5. Semantics of loanwords

The great majority of Slavonic loanwords are nouns, most of them related to the household (Dâčenko 2017). With regard to their semantic spheres, the non-compound nouns can be grouped as follows:

Utensils: *bank* 'jar', *blūd* 'saucer', *butl* 'large bottle', *kástrüll* 'pan', *stäka* 'glass', *svärk* 'quarter of a litre', *tšáun* 'tub'.

Furniture: *dívan* 'sofa', *kamóđ* 'chest of drawers', *kánop* 'sofa', *tabrétk* 'stool'.

Appliances and tools: *dišl* 'shaft to which a horse is harnessed', *krant* 'water tap', *lamp* 'lamp', *mašín* 'machine', *sakk* 'ard', *skiss* 'small scythe', *šlanj* 'water hose', *vóloken* 'dagnet'.

Clothes: *kádus* 'cap', *koft* 'cardigan', *kuťka* 'jacket', *šarf* 'scarf'.

Vehicles: *fūr* 'long truck', *harb* 'cart', *kívik* 'Gypsy caravan'.

Food: *alesk* 'dumpling', *bošš* 'beetroot soup', [ɣ]*artšíts* 'mustard', *katlát* 'meat patty or croquette', *kofe* 'coffee', *pírak* 'small pie', *píróga* 'pies', *povídl* 'jam', *pränik* 'cookie', *sírop* 'jam', *várnék* 'ravioli', *vínegret* 'salad with boiled beetroot'.

Plants, fruit and vegetables: *ablkós* 'apricot', *akátse-trā* 'acacia tree', *aplsín* 'orange', *boklezáne* 'tomato', *búrak* 'beetroot', *búrjanar* 'weed', *dinnje* 'melon', *diüllje* 'pear', *gū* 'mushroom', *kađfl* 'potato', *káven* 'melon', *kúraj* 'saltwort', *pärsik-trā* 'peach tree', *sīpl* 'onion', *tšerášne* 'sweet cherry', *vínagrad* 'grapes', *višne* 'cherry', *slive* 'plum'.

People: *amräkántse* 'Americans', *doftor* 'doctor', *dúrak* 'fool', [ɣ]*oste* 'guests', *gräk* 'Greek', *kómeke* 'the Komi', *sáldat* 'soldier', *sígan* 'Gypsy', *xostes-mänske* 'visitor'.

Village life: *bástan* 'melon field', *bázar* 'market', *banje* 'sauna', *butk* 'booth', *kladóuk* 'pantry', *snopp* 'sheaf'.

Animals: *kriss* 'rat', *skórop* 'carp'.

Substances and materials: *faněr* 'plywood', *djogg* 'tar', *lak* 'vanish', *sōda* 'soda', *tsimánt* 'cement'.

Place-names: *Amárika*, *Bárislav*, *Káson* 'Kherson', *Neppär* 'Dnieper'.

Measures: *kilómätär*, *kópek*, *littär*, *metär*.

Various: *balk* 'log', *kólendär* 'calendar', *lapp* 'paw', *skask* 'fairy tale', *tsifär* 'number', *úse* 'moustache'.

Phenomena of recent times: *avtomáta* 'assault rifles', *baráka* 'barracks', *batarájana* 'radiators', *dopär* 'prison', *kíno* 'cinema', *kombáinar* 'com-bines', *lā[ɣ]re* 'concentration camp', *milítse* 'police', *okópar* 'trenches', *pa-perósana* 'non-filter cigarettes', *paroxóda* 'steamships', *rakétar* 'rockets', *snarjádär* 'projectiles', *tánkana* 'tanks', *trakton* 'tractor', *vagóna* 'railway carriages'.

There are at least three examples of native nouns being replaced by Slavonic loanwords. *Gū* has completely replaced the native word for mushroom which still existed in the late 19th century and was recorded by Ven-

dell as *svomp* f. (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 223). *Kriss* has replaced the native *rott*, which now means ‘mouse’; the original ‘mouse’ (Sw. *mus*) has disappeared without trace. *Sīp!* is now the only word for onion; the old Scandinavian word occurs only in *kvit-löök* ‘garlic’.

4. Conclusion

The Swedish dialects of Estonia were in contact with Russian throughout their history, though the intensity of this contact was not always the same. The dialect of Gammalsvenskby has been isolated from its cognate dialects since 1782, and from the early 19th century it was surrounded by German, and then by the Russian and Ukrainian languages, but contrary to what one would probably expect, Russian and Ukrainian loanwords – loanwords in the proper sense, rather than non-incorporated items – are not a particularly prominent feature of the present-day dialect. In my interviews, around 1,000 nouns occurred, of which some 100 non-compounds are of Slavonic origin. If we exclude such words as *lamp*, which alongside Slavonic may be of German or Standard Swedish origin, and *sīp!*, which either entered the dialect through Estonian or whose exact source is hard to determine, the number of Slavonic loanwords is even lower. Overall, Slavonic loanwords make up approximately 4 per cent of the dialect vocabulary. As for non-assimilated Russian and Ukrainian items, their occurrence in interviews with fluent speakers is not particularly frequent either. The distribution of loanwords in terms of parts of speech is extremely uneven. The great majority are nouns, with other parts of speech represented by sporadic examples. The core Slavonic loanwords are related to everyday life; these are words for household objects, meals and plants. On entering the dialect, Slavonic nouns usually preserve their gender. The main factors determining the inflection type of Slavonic loanwords are their gender in the donor language and the phonetic similarity of the Slavonic nominative singular to the definite singular in the dialect. Slavonic loanwords are actively involved in forming compounds, whereas affixal derivation from borrowed stems is extremely rare. Of the 121 assimilated loanwords listed in this article, 32 per cent were cited by Vendell and Karlgren and are therefore old, in the sense that they existed in the dialect in the 19th century. Compared with Herbert Lagman’s list, the inventory of Slavonic loanwords in Gammalsvenskby is almost totally different. This can be explained partly by the different location of Gammalsvenskby and partly by a renewal of the vocabulary, but, strikingly, the discrepancy between the absolute numbers of loanwords is not very large: 75 vs 121. This is probably not a pure coincidence, but rather an indication that the proportions of Slavonic loanwords in Gammalsvenskby and in the Swedish dialects of Estonia were always comparable.

Acknowledgements

This study was carried out with support from the Royal Society for Swedish Culture Abroad (Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt), Sweden, and St Tikhon's University for the Humanities (Moscow, Russia). I am grateful to Bo Ralph, Henrik Rosenkvist och Anna Hannesdóttir for their advice and help in the project. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their suggestions.

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- SAOB = *Svenska Akademiens ordbok över svenska språket*. 1ff. Lund 1898ff.
- SUM = *Slovník ukrajin'skoj movi* (Kyiv 1970–1980) [Available at <http://sum.in.ua/>. Accessed 10 Feb. 2019.]

Sammanfattning

I denna artikel introduceras material om slaviska lånord i Gammalsvenskbydialekten, den enda nordiska dialekt som fortfarande talas i f.d. Sovjetunionen. Materialet samlades in under fältarbete i byn 2004–2013. De estlandssvenska dialekterna har varit i kontakt med ryska genom hela sin historia, men intensiteten hos dessa kontakter har varierat. Dialekten i Gammalsvenskby har varit isolerad från övriga estlandssvenska dialekter sedan 1782. Sedan början av 1800-talet har den varit omgiven av tyska och därefter av ryska och ukrainska, men trots detta är de ryska och ukrainska lånorden få i den nutida dialekten. I mina intervjuer förekommer ca 1 000 substantiv, av vilka ca 100 simplicia är av slaviskt ursprung. Om man utesluter sådana ord som *lamp*, som jämte slaviskt kan vara av tyskt eller standardsvenskt ursprung, eller *sīp!* 'lök', som kan vara ett vandringsord, är antalet slaviska lånord ännu mindre. Sammantaget utgörs ca 4 % av dialektens ordförråd av säkert slaviska lånord. Även icke-assimilerade ryska och ukrainska ord är ovanliga i intervjuerna med de informanter som talar gammalsvenskbydialekten flytande. De flesta lånorden är substantiv medan andra ordklasser representeras av enstaka exempel. Större delen av lånorden är konkreta substantiv som betecknar föremål i vardagslivet, t.ex. hushålls-

redskap, maträtter och växter. De slaviska lånorden bevarar vanligen det genus de har i det långivande språket. Böjningsmönstret avgörs huvudsakligen av lånordens genus i det långivande språket och av fonetisk likhet mellan slavisk nom. sg. med best. sg. i dialekten. Jfr. det slaviska ordet *krissa* 'råtta', vilket blir feminint i dialekten p.g.a. femininum i det långivande språket och dessutom ändelsen *-a*; den likalydande ändelsen i dialekten markerar best. sg. av feminina substantiv. Slaviska lånord förekommer i nybildade sammansättningar medan suffixavledning av inlånade stammar är mycket sällsynt. Av de 121 assimilerade lånord som tas upp i artikeln anföras 32 % av Axel Freudenthal & Herman Vendell (1886) och Anton Karlgren (1953) och fanns följaktligen i dialekten redan på 1800-talet. Beståndet av slaviska lånord i gammalsvenskbydialekten skiljer sig däremot markant från det som enligt Herbert Lagman (1971b) föreligger i övriga estlandssvenska dialekter. Detta kan bero dels på skillnaden i geografiskt läge, dels på att många av lånorden i Gammalsvenskbydialekten har lånats in efter förflyttningen till Ukraina. Däremot är det absoluta antalet lånord påfallande lika mellan mitt och Herbert Lagmans material. Förmodligen är detta inte en tillfällighet utan beror på att andelen slaviska lånord i Gammalsvenskbydialekten och i Estlands svenska dialekter alltid har legat på en jämförbar nivå.

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För översättning resp. granskning av engelskspråkiga texter och abstracts svarar aukt. translatorn Martin Naylor, Uppsala.