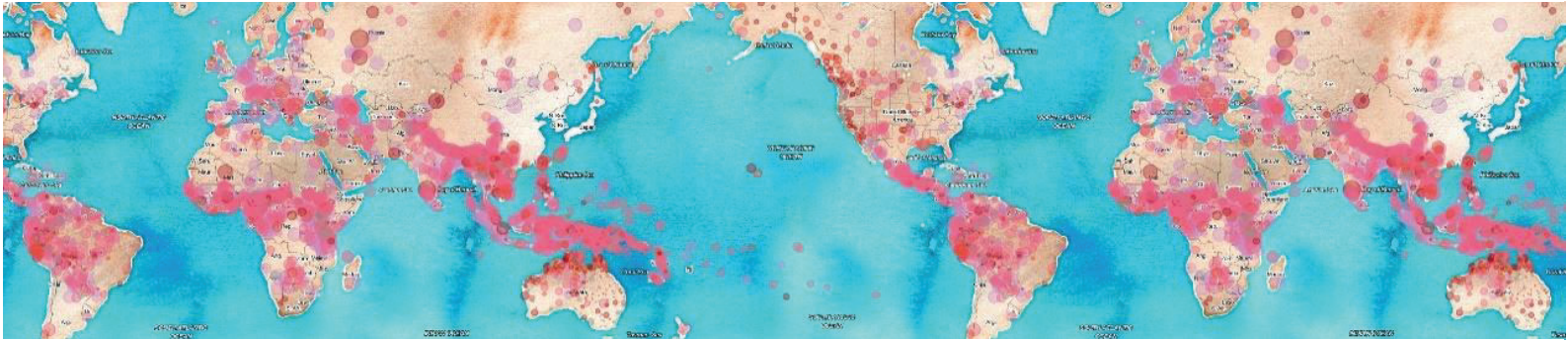


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# The dialect of Gammalsvenskby: Scandinavian-Slavonic language contact

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## Abstract

This paper deals with Slavonic lexical borrowings in the present-day dialect of Gammalsvenskby, a Swedish dialect spoken in Kherson province, Ukraine. The village of Gammalsvenskby was founded in 1782 by migrants from the island of Dagö (Hiiumaa). Now the dialect is highly endangered and requires urgent documentation. This paper describes the degree of structural assimilation of loanwords, distinctions between Russian and Ukrainian as donor languages, phonetics of loanwords (regularities in the reflection of sounds; suprasegmental features), grammar of loanwords (gender, inflection, word formation), semantic domains of loanwords. The material for this paper was obtained during fieldwork carried out by the author in the village.

**Keywords:** language contact, multilingual community, vocabulary of endangered language, assimilation of loanwords

## Introduction

The dialect of the village of Gammalsvenskby (Russ. *Сматоведское*; current Ukrainian name *Зміївка*) historically belongs to the Swedish dialects of Estonia, which were spoken in Noarootsi peninsula (Sw. *Nuckö*) before World War II, in the villages Kurkse (*Korkis*) and Vihterpalu (*Vippal*) and in the islands of Moonsund archipelago Osmussaar (*Odensholm*), Vormsi (*Ormsö*), Suur-Pakri and Väike-Pakri (*Stora och Lilla Rågöarna*), Ruhnu (*Runö*), Naissaar (*Nargö*), Hiiumaa (*Dagö*); see E. Lagman *et al.* (1961). In 1782, ca. 1000 Swedes from the island of Dagö, which then belonged to the Russian Empire, were resettled to the Kherson Governorate (now Kherson province, Ukraine). There, on the bank of the Dnieper River, a village later called Gammalsvenskby was founded; the native language of the founders of the village was the dialect of Dagö (Hedman & Åhlander 2003). Some of the elderly residents of the present-day village preserve the language variety that goes back to the dialect of Dagö; this is now the dialect of Gammalsvenskby. The number of speakers of this dialect is at the moment fewer than ten people, all of them being elderly women.

Before the resettlement from Dagö in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the dialect was in contact with the Estonian language (Lagman 1971b); during the entire 19<sup>th</sup> century and up to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, it was in contact with German because there were a number of German settlements in the neighbourhood of the Swedish village. Since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the main language of all residents of Gammalsvenskby, including the Swedes, has been the so-called Surzhik (Russ. *суржик*), a transition variety between Russian and Ukrainian; *суржик* is an old regional Russian word meaning “a mixture of rye and weeds; bad rye”, with reference to languages “a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian”.

The problems of language contact on the material of the present-day dialect of Gammalsvensky has not yet been

a subject of a specialized study. This topic was dealt with for the first time in my presentation “Dialekten i Gammalsvenskby: en översikt av strukturella förändringar orsakade av språkkontaktsituationen” (“Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: an outline of structural change caused by the situation of language contact”) at the 14<sup>th</sup> Conference in the History of the Swedish Language held at the University of Vaasa, Finland, 9–10th June, 2016. Slavonic loanwords were later described in two articles written in Russian by an undergraduate student under my guidance (Diachenko 2016; 2017). Earlier, Russian loanwords in the Swedish dialects of Estonia were studied by Herbert Lagman (1971a). He mainly described the material of the dialect of Nuckö, the most thoroughly described Swedish dialect of Estonia, and used both synchronic and archival data. The material of the spoken dialect of Gammalsvenskby of that time was inaccessible to him and, consequently, he used archival data when citing forms from this dialect. According to Lagman, direct contacts of Russians and Swedes in Estonia were rather limited because the Russian language 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 the Swedish population, which might have increased the frequency of the contacts. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 (H. Lagman, 1971a: 3). On the whole, the knowledge of Russian among Swedish farmers in Estonia was not widespread. As Lagman points out, those Estonian Swedes who really knew Russian were easy to name and count. Usually, these were educated persons, and mixing of the languages was not typical of them (Ibid.: 21). In his article, Lagman cites 75 words: 58 nouns, 4 adjectives, 8 verb



борщ [bore]), dinnje ‘melon’ (Russ. дыня [‘din’ja] or Ukr. диня [‘din’ja]), düllje ‘pear’ (Ukr. дуля [‘dul’ja]), gũ ‘mushroom’ (Russ. dial. губа [gʊ’ba] in the sense ‘mushroom’, particularly ‘polypore’), harb ‘cart’ (Ukr. гарба [yar’ba]), käven ‘watermelon’ (South Russ. or Ukr. кавун [ka’vun]), koft ‘cardigan’ (Russ. кофта [‘koftə] or Ukr. кофта [‘kofta]), kriss ‘rat’ (Russ. крыса [‘krisə] or Ukr. криса [‘krisa]), lapp ‘лапа’ (Russ. лапа [‘lapə] or Ukr. лапа [‘lapa]), Neppär/Nēpär ‘Dnieper’ (Russ. Днепр [dn’epɾ]), snopp ‘sheaf’ (Russ. сноп [snop]), svärk ‘quarter of a litre’ (Russ. четверик [tɛrtv’r’ik])<sup>1</sup>, stäka ‘glass’ (Russ. стакан [stə’kan]).

3. Inclusion of a borrowed stem into a compound, e.g. bakk-lak ‘tar varnish’ (Russ. or Ukr. лак [lak]). The form lak itself (which has only occurred in this compound) looks non-assimilated because the prosodic structure VČ# is untypical of the dialect, but the inclusion into a compound can imply a certain degree of assimilation.
4. Frequency in speech. The borrowed conjunction a ‘but; and’ has occurred many more times than the native män ‘but’ and should therefore be considered assimilated. By contrast, the Ukrainian conjunction чи [tei] ‘or’ is used incomparably less frequently than the native häldär. The emphasising particle аж [aʃ] has occurred several times, e.g. He vär so kallt, än ja az darra ‘It was so cold that I really shivered’; Az lölet de säi... ‘It’s really funny to say...’; Ja tolar ‘umm-e, o az än-e rūsär ‘girm me ‘I’m speaking about this, and it’s as if it’s shivering through me’. Conversely, the particle вродє [‘vrod’i] ‘like; kind of’ can hardly be regarded as assimilated because it has occurred only once (He här вродє änt iņa rētär, he gräse ‘It has kind of no roots, that grass’). The verb vī ‘skim; winnow’ (Ukr. віяти [‘vijati]) has acquired a full paradigm in the dialect and is perfectly assimilated, but it is used with hesitation and after thinking (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).

The frequency of use may be a significant factor for the structural assimilation of a loanword because the more often the word is used, the faster it is incorporated in the vocabulary, hence losing its foreign phonetical and morphological features. In turn, the 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 the loanword that has the same meaning. Thus, the dialect has the native verb narr ‘tease’ which has occurred several times in various interviews. Alongside narr, one of the most fluent speakers once cited the verb drážnet (Russ. дразнит [‘dražn’it]): Han änt a häve-de bite, um-de

änt a drážnet-en ‘He [the dog] wouldn’t have bitten you if you didn’t tease him’. This awkward-looking form is both phonetically and morphologically only weakly assimilated, which in this case is due to the 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 is relevant for аж vs. вродє, as well as for the verb vī. The sense of вродє can be easily expressed by the native means, e.g. by the suffix -ätich [-ç] and the conjunction som, whereas it is not as easy to find an equivalent of аж. 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 (though the amount of data is sufficient), which makes the criterion of frequency rather vague.

The degree of 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’, [ɣ]oste ‘guests’.

On the whole, loanwords in the present-day dialect are rather heterogeneous, and the degree of their phonetic and morphological assimilation is very varied. As we already saw, 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 dialect inflectional system.

### Distinction between Russian and Ukrainian as sources for loanwords

Clear distinctions between Russian and Ukrainian are not always possible to draw due to the fact that the dominant language of the dialect speakers is not Standard Ukrainian nor Standard Russian, but Surzhik. Furthermore, the variety of Surzhik spoken by the informants is not uniform, as its proximity to Standard Russian is not the same. Taking this into account, one should probably speak not of a straightforward distinction between Russian and Ukrainian forms, but of the distinction between the forms which may be regarded as going back to Standard Russian and those that cannot be regarded as such.

Where it is possible, the differentiation between Russian and Ukrainian is carried out 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 ‘copeck’) had spread in all Swedish dialects of Estonia and therefore had existed in the dialect of

<sup>1</sup> H. Lagman (1971a: 16) cites *sätvärk* m. ‘quarter’; *svärk* represents further phonetic transformation.



Dagö/Gammalsvenskby before its contact with Ukrainian.

The most frequent phonetic criteria are the following:

1. the distribution of [i] ~ [ɪ], i.e. the reflection of Russ. *u* [i] ~ Ukr. *u* [ɪ] in the dialect;
2. [e] ~ [ɛ], i.e. Russ. ~ Ukr. *e*;
3. unstressed [a] ~ [o] as the reflection of the corresponding Russian and Ukrainian unstressed vowels.

Following this, the pronunciation of the words *divan* 'sofa' (Russ. *диван* [dɪ'van]), *kibik* / *kibít* 'Gipsy caravan' (*кибутка* [kɪ'bɪtkə]), *povídl* 'jam' (*повидло* [pɐ'vɪdlə]), *sírop* 'jam' (*сироп* [sɪ'rɒp]); *tabrétk* (*табуретка* [tabu'rɛtkə]), *vínegret* (*винегрет* [vɪ'nɛ'grɛt]); *sáldat* 'soldier' (*солдат* [sɐl'dat]), *kamód* 'chest of drawers' (*комод* [kɐ'mot]), *vínagrad* 'grapes' (*виноград* [vɪnɛ'grat]), where [i], [e], [a] are heard, is closer to Russian, whereas the pronunciation of *batarájana* (Ukr. *батарей* [bata'reji]), *Bárislav* 'Berislav' (town near the village, Ukr. *Берислав* [berɪ'slav]), *tsemánt* 'cement' (*цемент* [tse'mɛnt]), *tšerášne* 'sweet cherry' (*черешня* [tʃɪ'reʃnʲa]) is closer to Ukrainian. In many cases the distinction between Russian and Ukrainian is impossible to draw because of the phonetic similarity or full correspondence of the Russian and Ukrainian words. This applies to *akátse* 'acacia' (Ukr. *акація* [a'katsɪja], Russ. *акация* [e'katsɪjə]); the word can also go back to Germ. *Akazie*, *bank* 'jar' (Russ. *банка* ['bankə], Ukr. *банка* ['banka]), *banje* 'sauna' (Russ. *баня* ['banʲə], Ukr. *баня* ['banʲa]), *blūd* 'saucer' (Russ. *блюдо* ['bludə], Ukr. *блюдо* ['bludo] 'bowl'), *boşş* 'beetroot soup', *boklezáne* 'tomato' (regional Russ. *баклажан* [bɐklɐ'ʒan] or Ukr. *баклажан* [bakla'ʒan] in the sense 'tomato'), *búrjanar* 'weeds' (Russ. *бурьян* or Ukr. *бур'ян* [bu'rɪjan]), *dinnje* 'melon', *dişl* 'shaft in horse harness' (Russ. *дышло* ['diʂlə] or Ukr. *дишло* ['diʂlo]), *doftor* 'doctor' (Russ./Ukr. *доктор*; the word can also go back to Sw. *doktor*), *fanār* 'plywood' (Russ. *фанера* [fɐ'nɛrə], Ukr. *фанера* [fa'nera]), *goste*, *kilómätär* 'kilometre' (Russ. *километр* [kɪ'lomɛtr], Ukr. *километр* [kɪ'lometr] with the sub-standard stress on the second syllable), *koft* 'cardigan' (Russ. *кофта* ['koftə], Ukr. *кофта* ['kofta]), *kran* / *kran* 'water tap' (Russ./Ukr. *кран* and substandard *крант* [kran(t)]), *kúraj* 'saltwort' (Russ./Ukr. *курай* [ku'raj]), *kuŋka* 'jacket' (Russ. *куртка* ['kurtkə], Ukr. *куртка* ['kurtka]), *lak* 'varnish', *paperósana*, *şarf* 'scarf' (Russ./Ukr. *шарф* [ʃarf]), *şlaŋ* 'water hose' (Russ./Ukr. *шланг* [ʃlank]), *várnek* 'ravioli' (Russ. *вареник* [vɐ'renɪk], Ukr. *вареник* [va'renɪk]).

Some words are not typical of the Russian language, or, at least, of its standard variety, and therefore may be considered Ukrainian in origin. These are *düllje* 'pear', *harb*, *kāven* 'watermelon', *skiss* 'small scythe' (Ukr. *скісок* ['skɪsok]), *tšáun* 'vat, tub' (Ukr. *чавун* [tʃa'vun]). Likewise, considering the lexical and phonetic criteria, such words as *búrak* 'beetroot' (Russ. *буряк* [bu'rak]), *kánop* 'sofa' (*канане* [kənə'ne]), *kófe* (*кофе* ['kofɛ]), *kriss* (*крыса* ['krisə]), *Neppär* / *Nēpär* (*Днепр*), *skask* (*сказка*

['skaskə]), *snopp*, *úse* (*усы* [u'si]) have Russian as the nearest source.

## The phonetics of loanwords

**Reflection of Russian and Ukrainian sounds.** Stressed Russ. *u* [i] and Ukr. *i* are reflected as [i]: *littär*, *maşín*, *skiss*, *kívik*, *povídl*, *vişne*. Pronunciation with [i] rather than [ɪ] in such words as *povídl* is a sign of Russian as the nearest source.

Unstressed Russ. *u* [i] and Ukr. *i* are usually reflected as a close *e*: [y] *óste*, *paperósana*, *varnek*. In a closed syllable, Russ. *u* is sometimes preserved, e.g. *kívik*. This is in full accordance with the regularity observed in native words, as the unstressed [i] in the dialect is only characteristic of closed syllables (e.g. *rädik* 'radish', *kiklín* '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'. If the Russ. *u* becomes stressed in the dialect due to a secondary stress shift, it is preserved as *i* (e.g. *divan*, *sírop*) and does not change for [e], which may be due to the rarity of the stressed [e] in the dialect.

Stressed Russ. *ы*, Ukr. *u* [ɪ] are often preserved: *d[i]nnje*, *d[i]şl*, *kr[i]ss*. It should be noted that the pronunciation with a more retracted *i* [ɪ] or with [i] occurs in native words as well. According to the speakers, the sound of *i* in *díne* 'dung', the native word, is the same as *ы* in *дыня* 'melon'.

Word-final unstressed Russ. *ы* and Ukr. *u* [ɪ] are reflected as a close -*e*: *ablkóse*, *baklazáne*, *slive* 'plums', *úse*, i.e. in the same way as the unstressed Russ. *u*, Ukr. *i*.

Stressed Russ. [e] is reflected as [e]: *metär* 'metre', *tabrétk*. Pronunciation with [e] is a sign of Russian origin because the Ukrainian pronunciation of *e* gives *ä* in the dialect, cf. such pronunciation as *särp* 'sickle' < Ukr. *серп* [-ɛ-]. The unstressed *e* in front of *l* is syncopated: *aplsín*, *butl*. This syncope is typical of the dialect overall (cf. *gaffl* 'fork', *aksl* 'axis').

Ukr. [ɛ] is reflected as ä: *batarájana*, *Bárislav*, *Kášon*.

Stressed Russ. and Ukr. *a* and *o* are preserved: *banje*, *boşş*, *dopär* 'prison' (Russ. *ДОПР* [dopr], *Дом принудительных работ*, the coinage of Stalin time; in contemporary Russian it is uncommon), *koft*, etc. With a subsequent stress shift: *bástan*, *bázar*, *búrak*, *búrjanar*, *dúrak*, *Kášon*.

Both stressed and unstressed Russ. and Ukr. [y] are reflected sometimes as *ü*, sometimes as *u*: *butl* 'bottle', *düllje* 'pear'. With a secondary stress shift: *búrak*, *búrjanar*, *dúrak* / *dúrak*, *kátüs* / *kádus* 'cap' (*каптыз*), *kúraj*. The pronunciation with *ü* is probably the sign of a higher degree of assimilation; compare the old Russian loanword *gū* 'mushroom' (with a phonetically regular lengthening of *ü*) < *рыба*. In highly assimilated loanwords the unstressed Russian/Ukrainian [u] gives *e*: *alesk*

‘dumpling’ (Russ. and Ukr. галушка [ɣaˈluʃka]), *käven* ‘watermelon’.

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: *ablkõs* ‘apricot’, *akátse* ‘acacia’, *aplsîn* ‘orange’, *fanâr* ‘plywood’, *kamõd* ‘chest of drawers’. With a secondary stress shift: *bázar*, *bástan*, *sáldat*, *vinagrad*. The noun *stáka* ‘glass’ (< стакан [stɛˈkan])<sup>2</sup> with *ä* instead of *a* is an exceptional case, as it is the only example of a having yielded *ä*. I propose the following explanation. The sequence aCa is uncommon in the dialect, as the first *a* regularly changes for *o* in front of the following *a*. Compare *boka* ‘to bake’, *skoka* ‘to shake’, *komar* ‘room’, *homar* ‘hammer’ and Sw. *baka*, *skaka*, *kammare*, *hammare*. However, in *stáka* the phonetically regular form *\*stoka* (< *\*staka* < стакан) would coincide with another frequently used word, *stoka* ‘stick’, due to which the string *-aka-* was replaced with *-äka-* rather than *-oka-*.

However, there is at least one word where the Russ. pretonic *a* [ɐ] is reflected as the unstressed *o*, namely *kánop* ‘sofa’ < Russ. канапе [kənɐˈpɛ], with a secondary stress shift. This dialect form may go back to a substandard hypercorrect Slavonic pronunciation, but because of the isolation of the example this is hard to affirm.

In *kópek* (also with a 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 from *kánop* as it is an old loanword recorded in all Swedish dialects of Estonia. It existed before the migration to South Russia, which excludes the influence of the Ukrainian pronunciation with *o*. The unstressed *o* in this word may go back to the older Russian pronunciation.

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

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

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

Consonant groups that are not typical of the dialect acquire a new shape or are simplified: доктор > doftor; кибитка ‘Gipsy cart’ > *kívik* (alongside *kibítik*; cf. the more recent loanword *tabrétk*, where the simplification did not take place); Днепр ‘Dnieper’ > *Neppär* / *Něpär*, километр > *kilómätär*, литр > *littär* (with the subsequent lengthening of the consonant); куртка > *kuťka*; шланг >

*šlaņ*. One should also pay attention to the reflections of the word-initial [ɣ] which are *h* and *x* alongside the preserved *ɣ*: *harb*, *xostes-mänske* and *ɣoste*. Moreover, the word-initial *x* gave *k* in *Káson*. However, the disparate and isolated character of the examples makes it hard to formulate any regularity here.

**Suprasegmental features.** The stress in native dialect words is usually on the first syllable. Many assimilated loanwords also move the stress to the first syllable. According to H. Lagman (1971b: 192), the stress on the first syllable in loanwords is caused by the influence of Estonian where the first syllable is stressed. Examples from the Swedish dialects of Estonia cited by Lagman include *ápolšîn* ‘orange’, *báron* ‘baron’, *káđîn* ‘curtain’, *mášin* ‘machine’, *mátros* ‘sailor’, *pátron* ‘cartridge’, *síttron* ‘lemon’. In Standard Swedish, these words are pronounced with the final syllable stressed. However, the dialect contains a number of words with the stressed first syllable that were clearly borrowed after the migration from Estonia: *bástan*, *Bárislav*, *Káson*, *tšáun*. In these examples the stress shift can be explained by the influence of native words with stress on the first syllable. Other examples of the stress shift: *bássar/bázar*, *búrak*, *búrjanar*, *dívan*, *dúrak*, *kánop*, *kívik*, *kópek*, *kúraj*, *sáldat*, *sírop*, *úse*, *várnek*, *vinagrad*, *vinegret*.

Examples where the original position of the stress is preserved: *ablkõs*, *akátse*, *aplsîn*, *kamõd*, *kibítik* (cf. *kívik*), *tabrétk*, *tsemánt*, *tšerášne*.

In native dialect words, the 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 the stressed closed syllable. Judging by the available examples, the consonant lengthens more often: *bássar* (alongside the less assimilated form *bázar*), *djogg*, *düllje*, *kriiss*, *lapp*, *linnje*, *littär*, *skiss*, *snopp*; compare also the proper name *Lillje* (Лилля). An example where the vowel is lengthened is *kamõd*. The vowel length in *ablkõs*, *aplsîn*, *trī-lītāš* ‘three-litre’ may go back to the German or Swedish pronunciation. Examples where the closed stressed syllable is short: *gräk* ‘Greek’ (used as a nickname), *katlát* ‘meat chop’, *-lak* ‘varnish’ (in *bäkk-lak*; this may be a non-assimilated form), *mašin* ‘machine’ (alongside *mašín*).

The open stressed syllable in native words can be both long and short. Loanwords can also either preserve short open syllables or lengthen them; sometimes parallel forms occur. Examples of the short open stressed syllables are *dopär*, *dúrak*, *kánop*, *kívik*, *kúraj*, *metär*, *stäka*. Examples of the lengthening of the short open stressed syllable: *käven*, *Něpär* (alongside *Neppär*), *littär* (< *\*litär*).

<sup>2</sup> With a secondary stress shift and reanalysis *stäkan* > definite sg. *stäka-n*, from where the indefinite sg. *stäka* was extracted.

## The grammar of loanwords

**Gender.** Nouns in the dialect are either masculine, feminine, or neuter. Gender is a stable category with only a few examples of variation. In many cases, the gender of the borrowed noun is preserved, e.g. *banje* f., *bank* f., *bastan* m., *boşş* m., *bûrak* m., *dinnje* f., *dişl* n., *düllje* f., *dûrak* m., *gũ* f., *harb* f., *kánop* n., *kátüs* m., *kåven* m., *kibik* 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., *aplsín* n., *bázar* n., *blūd* m., *boklezáne* n., *djogg* n., *dopär* n., *kamód* n., *kopek* m., *tsemánt* n. In most such cases, the gender change can be explained through intradialectal grammatical regularities:

1. A large number of native collective and mass nouns in the dialect are neuter; a list is given in Mankov (2013). This tendency affects loanwords as well, cf. the change of the masculine for the neuter of the mass nouns *djogg* ‘tar’, *tsemánt* ‘cement’ (however, *sírop* has remained masculine). The nouns *ablkós*, *aplsín*, *boklezáne*, *slive*, *vişne* were perceived as collective (cf. Russ. *вишня*, etc.), which might have caused their neuter gender. The same explanation may be relevant for *sîpł* n. ‘onion’; however, the influence of the native neuter nouns ending in a consonant + *ł* should not be excluded (e.g. *hankł* n. ‘glove’, *äpł* n. ‘apple’).
2. Some Slavonic nouns that presumably entered the dialect through Estonian — see Lagman (1971b) for details — have also changed their gender for the masculine: *álesk* m. (ultimately to Ukr. *залушка* f.), *kástrüll* m. ‘pot’ (*кастрюля* f.), *sakk* m. ‘ard’ (*соха* f.). This can be explained by the fact that the masculine paradigm is the most frequent in the dialect.
3. Gender change can sometimes be explained through semantic association, i.e. the influence of a different word that has the same or similar sense. The examples are *blūd* m. ‘saucer’ (instead of n.; possibly by association with *taldrik* m. ‘plate’), *dópär* n. (instead of m.; compare Sw. *fängelse* n., Germ. *Gefängnis* n.), *kamód* n. (instead of m.; cf. *skōp* n. ‘wardrobe; cupboard’). Similar non-Slavonic examples are *vād* m. ‘world’ (originally f.; masc. by association with *mur?*) and *kádşl* m. ‘potatoes’ (orig. f., compare *картофель* m.), *bukstäv* f. ‘letter’ (instead of m.; compare *буква* f.), *frīstik* m. ‘breakfast’ (instead of n.; cf. *завтрак* m.). Here may also belong *gürk* m. ‘cucumber’, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was recorded as f. (Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 74); the gender change might have been caused by Russ. *огурец* m.

In a few cases the gender change is hard to explain as it does not clearly conform to morphological processes or analogy. This concerns e.g. *bázar* n. (instead of m.; compare Sw. *torg* ‘square’, borrowed from Old Russian and

also being neuter in Swedish instead of the original masculine), *kopek* m. (cf. *копейка* f.) With regard to such cases, it should be noted that the preservation of the original gender requires, at least sometimes, the knowledge of which gender the noun belonged to in the donor language, which in its turn implies sufficient command of the donor language. Some nouns might 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 n., whereas in the present-day dialect it is feminine, in accordance with the donor language; the gender might have been “corrected” due to a better knowledge of Russian/Ukrainian.

**Inflection.** The noun paradigm in the dialect consists of four main forms: 1) indefinite sg., 2) definite sg., 3) indefinite pl., 4) definite pl. Depending on the definite sg. and indefinite pl., nouns are classified into morphological types, in which morphophonological subtypes are sometimes distinguished, see Mankov (2017) for details of inflectional classification. The development of paradigms of nouns borrowed in the dialect depends on two factors: their gender and morphological assimilation. Paradigms of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in the dialect do not coincide, which is the reason why the gender automatically imposes a specific paradigm. 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 this form, which leads to the morphological assimilation of the loanword. Thus, the noun *крыса* ‘rat’ (in the nominative sg.) resembles the definite sg. form of feminine nouns (such as *hēna* ‘the hen’, *sistra* ‘the sister’). The original nominative sg. in -*a* was reanalysed as feminine definite singular of the type f. 2b, which resulted in the inclusion of this loanword in this type and in the development of the paradigm *kriss*, *krissa*, *krissar*, *krissana*. The forms *баня*, *дыня*, *дуля* phonetically resemble such feminine definite sg. forms as *kirkja*, *briggja* (of *kirke* ‘church’, *brigge* ‘bridge’, type f. 2c), hence the paradigm *banje*, *banja*, *banjar*, *banjana*, etc. The same process of morphological assimilation has conditioned the paradigms of *bank*, *harb*, *kāven*, *kibik*, *lapp*, *maşín*, *Neppär*, *skask*, *tabretk*. The noun *dişl* fluctuates between the neuter and feminine; the former is due to the gender of this word in Russian, the latter is caused by the phonetic similarity of the form *дышло* and the definite sg. in -*a* of feminine nouns. The noun *bástan*, as one would expect, inflects according to type m. 1d, to which masculine nouns with stems in -*n* belong: *bastan*, *bastar*, *bastana*. At the same time, *bastan* resembles the definite sg., such as *bokan* ‘the baker’, *biggian* ‘the builder’ (type m. 2b), which generates competing forms *bastar*, pl. *bastarär*. However, there are a number of nouns that have not developed a full paradigm; the definite sg. is typically lacking in this case, e.g. *butł*, *kolendär*, *şlaş* do not have a specific definite sg. form, whereas the indefinite and definite plural of these nouns do occur; compare Karlgren (1953: 18).

**Word formation.** There are a considerable number of compounds in the dialect that include Slavonic constituents: *alesk-väliŋ* ‘soup with dumplings’, *šjūrmölks-aleskväliŋ* ‘soup with sour milk and dumplings’, *bázar-däen* ‘market day’, *boklezáne-plant* ‘tomato bush’, *blind-kr[i]ss* ‘mole’, *búrjanz-büsk* ‘weed bush’, *düllje-trä* ‘pear tree’, *fanär-fabrikk* / *fanär-brikk* ‘sawmill’, *flōo-gū* ‘fly agaric’, *harb-vāvār* ‘cart’, *katt-use* ‘whiskers’, *kāvens-huniŋ* ‘watermelon honey’ (type of jam), *kāven-skiv* ‘slice of watermelon’, *kúraj(s)-büsk* ‘tumbleweed’, *pärsik-trä* ‘peach tree’, *slive-kūn* ‘plum’, *slive-trä* ‘plum tree’, *tšerāšne-trä* ‘sweet cherry tree’, *vínagradz-büsk* ‘grape bush’, *vínagradz-kliš* ‘grape cluster’, *višne-träinar* ‘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 that involves Slavonic elements, it is extremely rare. The only known instance is the adjective *úsjatär* ‘mustachioed’, from *úse*.

### Semantics of loanwords

The absolute majority of Slavonic loanwords are nouns, most of them are related to the household (Diachenko 2017).

Utensils: *bank* ‘jar’, *blūd* ‘saucer’, *butl* ‘large bottle’, *ká-strüill* ‘pan’, *stäka* ‘glass’, *svärk* ‘quarter of litre’ (equivalent of Russ. *čekiuka*), *tšáun* ‘tub’.

Furniture: *dívan* ‘sofa’, *kamód* ‘chest of drawers’, *kánop* ‘sofa’, *tabrétk* ‘stool’.

Appliances and tools: *dišl* ‘shaft in horse harness’, *krant* ‘water tap’, *lamp* ‘lamp’, *mašín* ‘machine’, *sakk* ‘ard’, *skiss* ‘small scythe’, *šlaŋ* ‘water hose’, *vóloken* ‘drag net’.

Clothes: *kádus* ‘cap’, *koft* ‘cardigan’, *kuŋka* ‘jacket’, *šarf* ‘scarf’.

Vehicles: *fūr* ‘long truck’, *harb* ‘cart’, *kíbbik* ‘Gipsy caravan’.

Food: *alesk* ‘dumpling’, *bošš* ‘beetroot soup’, *[γ]artšúts* ‘mustard’, *katlāt* ‘meat chop’, *kofe* ‘coffee’, *pírak* ‘small pie’, *píróga* (definite pl.) ‘pies’, *povídl* ‘jam’, *prānik* ‘cookie’, *sírop* ‘jam’, *várnek* ‘ravioli’, *vínegret* ‘sallad with boiled beetroot’.

Plants, fruit and vegetables: *ablkōs* ‘apricot’, *akátse-trä* ‘acacia tree’, *aplsín* ‘orange’, *boklezáne* ‘tomato’, *búrak* ‘beetroot’, *búrjanar* ‘weed’, *dinnje* ‘melon’, *düllje* ‘pear’, *gū* ‘mushroom’, *kádfl* ‘potato’, *kāven* ‘melon’, *kúraj* ‘saltwort’, *pärsik-trä* ‘peach tree’, *sīpl* ‘onion’ (see Lagman 1971b: 57 on this word), *tšerāšne* ‘sweet cherry’, *vínagrad* ‘grapes’, *višne* ‘cherry’, *slive* ‘plum’.

People: *amrükántse* ‘Americans’, *doftor* ‘doctor’, *dúrak* ‘fool’, *[γ]oste* ‘guests’, *gräk* ‘Greek’, *sáldat* ‘soldier’, *sírgan* ‘Gipsy’, *xostes-mänske* ‘visitor’.

Village life: *bástan* ‘melon field’, *bázar* ‘market’, *banje* ‘sauna’, *butk* ‘booth’, *kladók* ‘pantry’.

Animals: *kriss* ‘rat’, *skórop* ‘carp’ (fish).

Substances and materials: *fanér* ‘plywood’, *djogg* ‘tar’, *bäkk-lak* ‘tar vanish’, *sōda* ‘soda’, *tsimánt* ‘cement’.

Place names: *Amárika*, *Bárislav*, *Kášon* ‘Cherson’, *Neppär* ‘Dnieper’.

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

Varia: *balk* ‘log’, *kólendär* ‘calendar’, *lapp* ‘paw’, *skask* ‘fairy tale’, *snopp* ‘sheaf’, *tsifär* ‘number’, *úse* ‘moustache’.

Realia of recent times: *avtomáta* ‘assault rifles’, *batarájana* ‘heating batteries’, *bombar* ‘bombs’, *dopär* ‘prison’, *kíno* ‘cinema’, *kombáinar* ‘combines’, *lā[γ]re* ‘concentration camp’, *okópar* ‘trenches’, *paperósana* ‘cigarettes without filter’, *paroxóda* ‘steamships’, *rakétar* ‘rockets’, *snarjádär* ‘projectiles’, *tánkana* ‘tanks’, *traktoŋ* ‘tractor’, *vagóna* ‘carriages’.

Adjectives:

- 1) *fanérne* ‘making plywood’ (of a plant), e.g. *Ive tfō vikur kēd-dom oss ot fanérne fábrica* ‘After two weeks they took us to a plywood plant’;
- 2) *kaprónove* ‘capronic’, e.g. *Ja gār fast-dom me kaprónove loke* ‘I close them [jars with sauerkraut] with capronic locks’;
- 3) *rādär* ‘glad’, *Han bläi so rādär, än-en fī sī me* ‘He became so glad that he got to see me’.

The forms *fanérne*, *kaprónove* go back to Russian adjectives in *-bū/-uū*, *-bie/-ue*, i.e. to nominative-accusative sg. and pl. The unstressed *-e* is a regular reflection of *\*-i* < Russ. *-bū/-uū*, *-bie/-ue* (and Ukr. *-uū*, *-i*). These forms are indeclinable in the dialect. The form *rādär*, that goes back to Russ. *pad*, has acquired the masculine ending of the type *varm-är* ‘warm’.

Verbs: *dráznet* ‘tease’, *vī* ‘skim; winnow’; on these forms, see above.

Conjunctions and particles:

- 1) *a* ‘but’ (e.g. *Ja änt a vare upp-steve, a fī stīv upp* ‘I wouldn’t have got up, but I had to’);
- 2) *až* ‘really, in fact’ (see above the examples);
- 3) *dāze* ‘really, even’ (*Fār ot ve änt iŋa sillär, ja väit dāze änt, än-dom vār, täss sille* ‘Earlier there were no herrings, I don’t even know what they were, these herrings’);
- 4) *hotš* ‘if only’ (Ukr. *xoč*, e.g. *Um-en hotš änt a röke!* ‘If only he didn’t smoke!’, *Hotš än-on a vare stark!* ‘If only she were healthy!’).
- 5) *no* ‘but’ (*Sūle gi nēr, no hon glīmar ān* ‘The sun has set, but it’s still gleaming’).

There are at least three examples of replacing native words with Slavonic loanwords. *Gū* has completely replaced the native word for mushroom which had still existed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and was recorded by Vendell as *svomp* f. (Freudenthal, Vendell 1886: 223). *Kriss* has replaced the native *rott*, which now means ‘mouse’; the original ‘mouse’ (Sw. *mus*) has disappeared without trace. *Sīpl* is now the only word for onion; the old Scandinavian word occurs only in *kvit-löök* ‘garlic’.



## Conclusion

Contrary to what one would 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, ca. 1000 nouns have occurred, of which about 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 *sīpl*, which either entered the dialect through Estonian or whose exact source is unclear, the number of Slavonic loanwords is even lower. Overall, the proportion of Slavonic loanwords is approximately 4% of the dialect vocabulary. As for the non-assimilated Russian and Ukrainian occasional forms, their occurrence in interviews with fluent speakers is not particularly dense either.

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