

THE DIALECT OF GAMMALSVENSKBY: AN OUTLINE OF MORPHOLOGY

The village and speakers of its dialect

The village of Staroshvedskoye (Sw. *Gammalsvenskby*; current Ukrainian name *Зміївка*) is located in the Kherson region, on the bank of the Dnieper River. The official name of this area in the 19th century was *Старошведская волость Херсонского уезда Херсонской губернии* (“Old Swedish volost of the Kherson uyezd of the Kherson guberniya”). The village was founded in 1782 by migrants from the island of Hiiumaa (Sw. *Dagö*). At that time this island belonged to the Russian Empire. The native language of the founders of the village was the dialect of Dagö.¹

In all likelihood, the number of residents of the Swedish colony has never exceeded 1000. According to (PISAREVSKII 1899: 249), the initial number of migrants from Dagö was 966, of which only 880 reached their final destination. By the Revolution of 1917 there were 718 Swedes in the colony (SPISOK 1917: 126).

From a linguistic point of view, the population of the village is made up of the following groups:

1) Speakers of Russian and Russian-Ukrainian who have no relationship to the dialect. They constitute the majority.

2) Children of the older generation of Swedes who were born in the 1950s–1970s. Their main language is Russian-Ukrainian. No one in this group is able to speak the dialect and thus be a linguistic informant in its study.

3) Ethnic Swedes of the older generation born in the 1920s–1930s, the only speakers of the dialect. Their number does not exceed fifteen persons. This group is the object of my study. Their main language now is Russian-Ukrainian (the variety called *суржик*), though they often use the Swedish dialect in everyday conversations. All of them possess a good command of German, and many of them learned Standard Swedish at a young age either from their parents or at school and they are able to speak it.

My fieldwork up to 2012 was concentrated on interviewing the following three fluent speakers: Anna Semionovna Liutko (1931–2013), Lidiia Andreevna Utas (born in 1933), and Melitta Fridrikhovna Prasolova (born in 1926). They speak the most conservative variety of the dialect.

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

Spelling

(for details of the spelling and phonetics of the dialect, see MANKOV 2010A)

For the present-day dialect I have developed the following orthography (accompanied by symbols of the latest version of IPA):

Vowels: *a* [a], *ā* [a:], *e* [e], *ē* [e:¹, e:], *i* [i], *ī* [i:], *o* [o], *ō* [o:], *u* [u], *ū* [u:], *y* [y], *ä* [ɛ], *ā* [ɛ:], *ö* [œ], *ō* [œ:], *ü* [ɛ]², *ū* [u:], *äi* [ɛ:i, ɛi], *öü* [œ:u, œü].

Consonants: *b* [b], *d* [d], *đ* [d̪], *f* [f], *g* [g], *h* [h], *j* [j], *k* [k], *l* [l], *l̪* [l̪], *m* [m], *n* [n] ([ŋ] in front of *k*), *ŋ* [ŋ], *ŋ* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *š* [ʃ], *t* [t], *t̪* [t̪], *v* [v], *x* [x], *z* [z], *ž* [ʒ].

The consonants *p*, *t*, *k* are not aspirated; *đ*, *t̪*, *ŋ* are postalveolar *d*, *t*, *n* (as in Standard Swedish). The combinations *dj*, *gj*, *nj*, *sj*, *tj* designate palatalized consonants; *skj*, *stj* are [sk^l, st^l]. The length of consonants within morphemes is designated by doubling the letter: *tummär* ‘empty.’ If a long consonant occurs in front of another consonant within a morpheme, its length is not designated: *vänt* [vɛn:t] ‘to wait,’ whereas on morpheme boundaries it is designated: *tumm-t* (neuter sg. of *tumm-är*). The hyphen is employed to show elements of compounds (e.g., *sir-bosš* ‘sorrel soup,’ *hjöl-släe* ‘killed’ (participle), *sošš-som* ‘because’) and enclitic forms of personal pronouns (e.g., in *häv-e* ‘had it,’ *vär-e* ‘was it,’ *to-de* ‘when you’); it is also used on word boundaries where postalveolar consonants occur (e.g.

¹ An outline of Swedish dialects of Estonia is given in E. LAGMAN 1979. For a detailed account of Swedish settlements in Estonia, see EN BOK OM ESTLANDS SVENSKAR 1961; 1964.

² Central rounded open vowel; lower than Standard Sw. [ø], lips are rounded and protruding.

vā-ŋ < *vār han* ‘was he’). Word stress is shown only when it does not fall on the first syllable: *konföre* ‘why,’ *loŋätär* ‘long ago,’ *aläina* ‘alone.’ Phrase stress is shown with ‘, e.g., *slū* ‘hjä’. Phonetic variants are divided with /, morphological with //.

For the correlation between my orthography and that of Vendell’s, Karlgren’s, and Danell’s, see MANKOV 2010A; 2013C.

Nouns

On the principles of classification as well as the correlation between my classification and those of Karlgren and Danell, see MANKOV 2011A; the history of the endings is described in MANKOV 2010B.

Morphophonological types of masculine nouns:

Type	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
m.1a	-en	-ar	-a// -ana	<i>fisk, fisk-en, fisk-ar, fisk-a// -ana</i> ‘fish’
m.1b	-n			<i>kvüst, kvüst-n, kvüst-ar, kvüst-a// -ana</i> ‘branch’
m.1c	-ŋ			<i>stül, stün, stül-ar, stül-a// -ana</i> ‘chair’
m.1d	-Ø			<i>bjün, bjün, bjün-ar, bjün-a// -ana</i> ‘bear’
m.1e	-en	-j-ar	-j-a// -j-ana	<i>säck, säck-en, säck-j-ar, säck-j-a// -j-ana</i> ‘sack’
m.2a	-en/-n/-Ø	-är// -ar	-e// -ena// -a// -ana	<i>svänsk, svänsk-en, svänsk-är// -ar, svänsk-e// -a// -ana</i> ‘Swede’
m.2b	-n	-är// -Ø	-e// -ena// -na	<i>bokar, bokan, bokar-är, bokar-e// bokana</i> ‘baker,’ <i>biggjar, biggjan, biggjar// biggjar-är, biggjar-e// -ena</i> ‘builder’
m.3a	-n	-r	-na	<i>stoka, stoka-n, stoka-r, stoka-na</i> ‘stick’
m.3b	-an	-ar	-ana// -a	<i>ënd, ënd-an, ënd-ar, ënd-a// -ana</i> ‘end’
m.4	-n/-Ø	-är with umlaut	-re// -e with umlaut	<i>füt, füt-n, fët-är, fët-re</i> ‘foot’

Other examples:

m. 1a: *álesk* ‘dumpling’ (ultimately to Russ. *зачыўка* f.), *ánsux* ‘suit’ (< Germ. *Anzug*; specific def. sg. form is not used, which is typical of loanwords, see KARLGRÉN 1953: § 33, anm. 2; MANKOV 2010B: § 13), *bī* ‘village’ (pl. *bīar//bīär//bīnar*, def. pl. *bīa(na)*), *blipp* ‘pencil’, *blumm* ‘flowers’ (collective, e.g. *hümmöl-blummen* ‘hop blossom’), *blū* ‘blood’ (only sg.; also neuter), *brüsk* ‘cartilage’ (also n.), *-bukk* (in *för-bukk* ‘ram’, *gät-bukk* ‘he-goat’, *hür-bukk* ‘lecherous man’), *bumm* ‘bar lock’ (also *bummöl* m. 1c), *bürak* ‘beetroot’ (also *rē-bürak*; to South Russ. *буряк* m.), *büsk* ‘bush’, *bük* ‘belly’, *dā* ‘day’ (pl. *dōar*, def. pl. *dōana*), *dē* ‘death; dead body’, *drēm* ‘dream’, *däi* ‘dough’, *göök* ‘cuckoo’, *gürk* ‘cucumber’ (< Sw. *gurka*; masc. gender under the influence of Russ. *огурец* m.?), *hakkspikk* ‘woodpecker’ (also *hakkspikkar* m. 2b), *harkrank* ‘mosquito’, *holm* ‘meadow next to the river; island in the river’, *kalv* ‘calf’, *kask* ‘fur coat’ (< Est. *kasukas*³), *kimp* ‘hump’ (< Est. *kimp*), *knē-svīg* ‘knee joint’, *kolb* ‘corn cob’ (< Germ. *Kolben* m.), *kō* ‘tree resin’ (def. *kōn/kōen*), *kvit-löök* AL/*kvitt-l[ø]k* LU/*kvüt-lek* AA ‘garlic’, *lukk* ‘spider’, *makk* ‘worm; bug’, *pligg* ‘peg’, *pränik* ‘cookie’ (< Est. *pränik*), *pältik* ‘toilet’ (< Est. *peldik*), *pülk* ‘peg’ (< Est. *pulk*), *rapp* ‘hit; blow’, *räik* ‘smoke’, *sakk* ‘plough’ (< Est. *sahk* < Russ. *coxá* f.), *siróp* ‘jam’, *skē* ‘type of boot worn in rainy weather’⁴, *skorop* ‘carp’ (fish) (< Ukr. *кóпон?*), *skrū* ‘screw’, *skū* ‘forest’, *skū* ‘shoe’, *skāl* ‘stallion’, *snjū/snjü* ‘snow’, *snopp* ‘sheaf’, *stjöl* ‘stalk’, *strozak/strözak/štrözak* ‘mattress’ (< Germ. *Strohsack*, with metathesis), *svämm* ‘sleep’, *šarf* ‘scarf’ (< Russ. *уарф*), *talg* ‘tallow’, *tjū* ‘thief’, *ubb* ‘eagle owl’, *varg* ‘wolf’, *várnek* ‘a kind of stuffed dumpling’ (to Russ. *варёник*), *ü* ‘oven’, and a large number of others.

Nouns in *-iŋ*: *armlīŋ* ‘orphan’, *huniŋ* ‘honey’, *kiklīŋ* ‘chicken’, *kuniŋ* ‘king’, *mäxlīŋ* ‘smallpox’, *späriŋ* ‘eagle’, *tumlīŋ* ‘thumb’, *täklīŋ* ‘sparrow’, and others.

Nouns in *-uŋ*: *bjūnuŋ* ‘bear cub’, *bonuŋ* ‘cub; young animal’, *fīlūŋ* ‘young bird’, *gäituŋ* ‘young goat’, *hundaun* ‘puppy’, *paŋtuŋ* ‘duckling’, *skrattuŋ* ‘(evil) spirit living in the house; naughty child’, *varguŋ* ‘young wolf’, etc.

Detailed publication of all nouns of type m. 1a is undertaken in MANKOV 2013C.

m. 1b: *blūd* ‘saucer’ (< Russ. *блюдо*), *blīkst* ‘lightning’, *bošš* ‘beetroot soup’ (Russ. *борщ*), *brims/brins/brints* ‘gadfly’, *bäreŋis/bäroŋis* ‘type of stinky bug’, *bäss* ‘ram’, *fiš-štjätt/fis-stjätt* ‘scolopendra’⁵, *grūd* ‘potato sprout’ (also f.), *gräit* ‘porridge’, *hēvöl-läst* ‘plane’ (tool), *kabet/kapet* ‘sock’ (< Est. *kapet*), *kadus/kađ[ø]s/kaŋis* ‘cap’, *krant* ‘water tap’ (< Russ. substandard *крант*), *käft* ‘mug; mouth’, *küŋt* ‘core of a boil’⁶, *rost* ‘rust’ (only sg.; also n.), *skratt* ‘devil’, *stjätt*

³ On this and other Estonian loanwords see LAGMAN 1971A. On Russian loanwords see LAGMAN 1971B.

⁴ Compare Icel. *skæði* n., Far. *skøði* n. ‘leather boot’.

⁵ This noun is absent in Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries. The first component may be related to Icel. *fis* n. ‘chaff; wound’ (e.g. in compounds *fishell* or *hælfis* ‘sore heel’), to Russ. *nuxamb* ‘to stick’, PIE. **peis-/pis-* ‘grind’.

⁶ This noun is absent in Vendell’s and Danell’s dictionaries. It is related to Sw. *körtel* ‘gland’ (with the obsolete meaning ‘thickening in flesh; boil’ (SAOB: K3858)), OSw. *kirtil* m. Regarding the phonetic change *i* > *ö/ü*, compare *stüvel/stövel*. Judging by Sw. *körtel*, the form *küŋt* replaced in Gammalsvenskby **küŋtäl* or **küŋtöl* due to the

'tail' (of birds, fishes), *sürest* 'cottage cheese', *-tīt* in *tō-tīt* 'tip of string'⁷, *uks* 'ox', *vāđ* 'world'⁸, *äild* 'fire', *üst* 'cheese', and many others.

m. 1c: *fūļ* 'bird', *mūr* 'stone fence; wall', *nāl* 'finger nail', *spōļ* 'mirror', *tjūr* 'bull', etc. Disyllabic stems: *bugār* 'plough' (< Germ. *Bucker*)⁹, *digār* LU / *dikār* MP AL 'ten' (def. sg. *diken* AL, *dīgān* LU; pl. *dikrar*, *digrar*; def. pl. *diġra*, *dikrana*, *digrana*)¹⁰, *ēņōļ* 'maggot'¹¹, *kvēldār* 'late evening' (pl. *kvēldar*//*kvēldnar*, def. pl. *kvēlda(na)*), *kvārvōļ*/*kvārvāl* 'door bar', *likōļ*/*likāl* 'key' (def. sg. *likān*/*liken*, pl. *liklar*, def. pl. *likla(na)*), *stīvāl*/*stīvōļ*/*stōvāl* 'boot', *sustār*/*sustār* 'shoemaker' (< Germ. *Schuster*), *vintār* 'winter', and some others.

m. 1d: *bástan* 'field where melons or water melons grow' (also *bástar* m. 2b; < Ukr. *бауман*), *böün* 'bean', *grāin* 'branch', *hund* 'dog', *kāven* 'water melon' (to Ukr. *кавун*), *mōn* 'moon; month', *pūrkan* 'carrot' (< Est. *porgand*), *sōnd* 'sand', *spōn* 'spoon', *stākan* 'glass' (also m. 3a), *tšauun* 'tub' (< Ukr. *чавун*), and many others.

m. 1e: *drāņņ*/*drāņ* 'servant' (particularly the one who looks after horses), *flākk* 'spot', *trisk* 'doorstep', *āik* 'horse', and very few others.

Detailed publication of nouns of types m.1b, c, d, e is undertaken in MANKOV 2014.

m. 2a: *bill* 'uncle' (def. sg. *-Øll-en*), *bī* 'bee' (also n.//f.), *fār* 'father', *fāraldār* 'parents' (only pl.; also *fāraldrar*), *hārr* 'master', *jūd* 'Jew' (def. sg. *-Øll-(e)n*), *präst* 'priest', *riss* 'Russian', *sāldat* 'soldier', *smē* 'smith', *stā* 'town', *tīsk* 'German', and a small number of others.

m. 2b: *aftar* 'early evening', *altar* 'altar' (also n.), *ankar* 'anchor' (also *ank* m. 3b), *bokar* 'baker', *drikk(j)ar* 'alcoholic', *fīskjar* 'fisherman', *homar* 'hammer', (*hōr-*)*kļippar* 'hairdresser', *kļukkar* 'bell-ringer', *kāllar* 'cellar', *middar* 'midday meal', *monnar* 'morning', *mūrār* 'mason', *pipar* 'pepper' (only sg.), *rukk-spinnar* 'spinning wheel', *sīlar* 'colander', *šjōļjar* 'salesman', *sumar* 'summer', *spikar* 'shed where straw was kept', *sōūmar* 'tailor', *tāk-tākkjar* 'thatcher', *tīar* 'ten', *vallar* 'shepherd', and others.

m. 3a: *drupa* 'drop' (also f. 2a), *froka* 'smell', *hita/hida* 'heat', *hoka* 'hook', *hona* 'rooster', *hāra* 'hare', *loka* 'catfish', *loka* 'pickle', *pusa* 'small sack', *ruka* 'heap', *runa* 'hog', *rādd-ōa* 'fright', *slāa* 'sledge', *stora* 'starling', and others.

m. 3b: *bakk* 'hill', *dānn-stjōļp* 'door frame', *fīl* 'file' (tool) (also f. 2b), *gan-spinn* 'uvula', *gāigōļ* (def. sg. *gāiglan*, pl. *gāiglar*, def. pl. *gāiglana*) 'gill(s)', (*hās-*)*strūp* 'throat' (also m. 1a), *hjōļ* 'heel', *hū* 'hoof', *kļūgg* 'opening in a wall; small window' (particularly inside the house), *kātt* 'garden in front of the house', *lē* 'joint' (also *lēa* m. 3a//*lē* m. 1a), *lī* 'scythe' (also m. 1a, and *līar* m. 2b), *viņņ* 'wing', and others.

m. 4: *brūār* 'brother' (def. sg. *brūān*, pl. *brēār*, pef. pl. *brēre*); *būnd* 'farmer' (*būnd*, *bēndār*, *bēndre*); *mann* 'man; husband' (*mann*, *mānnār*, *mānne*); *sonn* 'son' (*sonn*, *sinnār*, *sinne*).

Morphophonological types of feminine nouns:

Type	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
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reanalysis of the definite sg. form **kūtten* (regular for **kūtāļ*//*kūtōļ*) > *kūtten-en*. Examples of the same reanalysis are *trisk* 'threshold' (compare Sw. *tröskel*), *kvārv* (alongside *kvārvāl* 'latch'). Forms from cognate dialects demonstrate the metathesis of *r*: *kriļ*, pl. *kriļlar* f. NORW, *kräll*, *-ēr* n. 'gland' DW (FREUDENTHAL, VENDELL 1886: 113, 115); *kriļ*, *-a*, *-ar*, *-ana* f. 'gland' (DANELL 1951: 221); Sw. dial. *krittel*, *krissel* (SAOB: K2855).

⁷ The first component is cognate to Sw. *tåg* 'rope'; the second component, *tīt*, is not found in Vendell's and Danell's dictionaries. It may be cognate to Sw. *titta* 'nipple' (SAOB: T1635).

⁸ The masc. gender in the present-day Gammalsvenskby is probably due to the association with Russ. *муп* m.

⁹ According to Karlgren, this type of plough was invented by South Russian Germans and replaced in Gammalsvenskby by the pough called *sak*. Regarding the correlation between *ck* (in *Bucker*) and *g* (in *bugār*), it should be noted that the voicing of *k* and the alternation *k/g* in intervocalic position is widely spread both in Gammalsvenskby and in cognate dialects. Examples: *dīken* MP, *dīkn* AL alongside *dīgen* LU 'twenty-four hours'; *viku* AL and *vigu* LU 'week'.

¹⁰ This noun was originally an *u*-stem and should have had a vowel alternation in the root (like *sonn* 'son,' pl. *sinnār*); compare OSw. *tjuġher*, *tiogher*, pl. *tighir* m. 'ten'. The singular forms *dikār*/*digār* go back to the plural *tighir*, having supplanted the original singular form: instead of **ān tjuġ* 'ten' (which would be a phonetically regular form) one began to say *ān tīgār* by analogy with *tfo tīgār* 'two tens; score,' after which the noun went over to type m.1c. The form *dikār* with initial *d* instead of *t* can be explained through a metathesis of voicing: **tīgār* > *dikār*. The form *digār* instead of **tīgār* is probably due to assimilation in reference to voicing. Alternatively, *digār* may have appeared due to the voicing of *k* in *dikār*.

¹¹ Compare Germ. *Egel* m. 'leech' and *Engerling* m. 'grub of a cockchafer' (DANELL 1951: 179; LAGMAN 1973: 23). The form *ēņōļ* is possibly a result of the contamination of these words.

1a	-e	-ar	-ana	<i>brū, brū-e, brū-ar, brū-ana</i> 'bride'
1b	-e//ja	-j-ar	-j-ana	<i>sāñ, sāñ-e, sāñ-ar, sāñ-ana</i> 'bed'
2a	-Ø	-r	-na	<i>viku, viku, viku-r, viku-na</i> 'week', <i>nāsa, nāsa, nāsa-r, nāsa-na</i> 'nose'
2b	-a	-ar	-ana	<i>hēn, hēn-a, hēn-ar, hēn-ana</i> 'hen', <i>sistār, sistr-a, sistr-ar, sistr-ana</i> 'sister'
2c	-j-a	-j-ar	-j-ana	<i>kirke, kirkj-a, kirkj-ar, kirkj-ana</i> 'church'
3	-e	-är with umlaut	-re/-e with umlaut	<i>būk, bük-e, bēk-är, bēk-re</i> 'book'

Other examples:

f. 1a: *bū* 'shop', *grāv* 'grave', *hēst* 'autumn', *iks* 'axe', *jūde* 'the earth' (only def. sg.), *jūl* 'Christmas', *kvēn* 'mill' (def. sg. also *kvēna* < *kvēnana* due to the haplology), *kālij* 'woman', *māv* 'maid servant', *nōl* 'needle', *sjōl* 'soul', *stjū* 'house', *sūle* (only def. sg.) 'sun', *svād* 'valley', *vōr* 'spring', and a small number of others.

Nouns with the suffix *-häit*: *arghäit* 'anger', *fikshäit* 'speed', *höühäit* 'hight', *märkhäit* 'darkness', *nīhäit* 'news', *starkhäit* 'health', etc.

Nouns with the suffix *-aşk*: *bļū-sjūaşk* 'leech' (also *bļū-sjūar* m. 2b), *bōn-vaftaşk* 'nanny', *būtaşk* 'female doctor', *drānjaşk* 'female servant', *grāss-sprintaşk* 'grasshopper', *kuţ-lāggaşk* 'fortune-teller', *kūk(j)aşk* 'female cook', *lāraşk* 'female teacher', *sjōljaşk* 'saleswoman', *sōumāşk* 'female tailor', etc.

f. 1b: *fļik* 'child's blanket', *trāsk(e)* 'river', *vāgg(e)* 'wall' (no other nouns recorded).

f. 2a: *brāa* 'board', *finu* 'fin', *fļūulflōu* 'fly', *gruba* 'stove' (< Germ. *Grube* f. 'hole'), *hako* 'chin', *kaku* 'pie', *kvūsulkuvisu* 'pimple', *kūda* 'cow' (pl. *kūdnar*, def. pl. *kūdna(na)*), *suļu* 'sole', *sunukumu* 'daughter-in-law', *svalu* 'swallow', and a significant number of others.

f. 2b: *bilk* 'aunt' (**bill-kunu*; cf. *bill* 'uncle'), *bubōl* 'bubble', *dānn* 'door', *frō* 'question', *gatn* 'street', *gilt* 'sow', *grūlak* 'poker', *gādd* 'pike', *gū* 'mushroom' (< Russ. dial. *zyōá* in the meaning 'edible mushroom'), *harb* 'cart' (< Ukr. *zapōá*), *hont* 'handle' (also *honta* n.), *hād* 'shoulder', *karp* 'box' (< Est. *karp*), *kē* 'chain', *kēk* 'kitchen', *kībik* 'a type of cart' (< Russ. *кубумка*), *kimb* 'trough', *konn* 'toad' (< Est. *konn* 'frog'), *kriss* 'rat' (< Russ. *крыса* 'rat'), *kvik* 'heifer', *kōūs* 'scoop', *lās* 'bench', *livār* 'liver', *lusk* 'boat', *mūār* 'mother', *notşor* 'mole cricket', *paţ* 'duck' (< Est. *part*), *pīk* 'girl', *prādik* 'sermon', *rott* 'mouse', *sī* 'side', *skask* 'fairy tale' (< Russ. *сказка* f. 'tale'), *skifl* 'spade', *smē* 'smithy', *strüss* 'rabbit', *tabrétk* 'stool' (< Russ. *мабурёмка* f.), *vīdn* 'sheaf', *vāis* (only sg.) 'mud', and a very large number of others.

f. 2c: *ballje* 'tub', *bissje* 'kennel', *brigge* 'bridge', *dinne* 'melon' (< Russ. *дыня* f. 'melon'), *düllje* 'pear' (< South Russ. *дыля* in the meaning 'pear'), *lärke* 'lark', *migge* 'midge', *mānske* 'human', *rissje* 'a type of fishing tackle', *tække* 'blanket', *vīdje* 'rod', *ānke* 'widow', and several others.

f. 3: *dūtār* 'daughter' (def. sg. *dūtra*, pl. *dētār//dūtrar* f. 2b, def. pl. *dētre//dūtrana* f. 2b), *gōs* 'goose' (*gōse*, *gāssār//gōsar*, *gāsse*), *gūt* 'goat' (*gāite*, *gūtār*, *gāitre*), *hōnd* 'hand' (*hōnde*, *hāndār*, *hāndre*), *lūs* 'lose' (*lūse*, *lissār*, *lisse*), *nōt* 'night' (*nōte*, *nētār*, *nētre*), *rōnd* 'edge' (*rōnda*, *rēndār//rōndar*, *rēndre//rōndana*), *rūt* 'root' (*rūte*, *rētār*, *rētre*), *tann* 'tooth' (*tanne*, *tāndār*, *tāndre*).

Morphophonological types of neuter nouns:

Type	Def. sg.	Pl.	Def. pl.	Examples
(a)	-e/-Ø	-är	-ena/-na	<i>lōmb, lōmb-e, lōmb-är, lōmb-ena</i> 'lamb', <i>fīnstār, fīnstr-e, fīnstr-är, fīnstr-ena</i> 'window', <i>kļē, kļē(e), kļēär, kļē(e)na</i> 'cloth'
(b)	-Ø	-r	-na	<i>stikke, stikke, stikkä-r, stikke-na</i> 'piece' <i>öua, öua, öua-r, öua-na</i> 'eye'

Other examples:

(a) monosyllabic and disyllabic stems terminating in consonants; monosyllabic stems terminating in vowels: *ansūft* 'cheek', *arbet* 'work' (only sg.), *bāssar/bāzar* 'market' (to Russ. *базар*), *bļā* 'leaf' (pl. *bļānar*, def. pl. *bļāna*), *bōn* 'child' (pl. *bōnar*, def. pl. *bōna*), *brē* 'bread' (pl. *brēnar* 'loaves of bread'), *brist* 'breast', *brāmmen* 'vodka' (only sg.), *bāin* 'leg; bone', *dopār* 'gaol' (< Russ. *ДОПР* = *Дом принудительных работ* 'forced labour house'; loanword of the Stalin time), *djūr* 'animal', *dōmb* 'dust' (only sg.), *felōtāls* 'permit', *fijār* 'finger',¹² *foļk* 'people', *hankļ* 'mitten'

¹² Pl. *fijrendar*, def. pl. *fijrenda*, from **fijrenar* with an epenthetic *d* of the same kind as in *grēndār* 'green'. The pl. forms *fijār*, *fijrār*, *fijrar* and the def. pl. *fijrena* have also occurred in the interviews. Compare Dutch *been* in the meaning 'bone' — pl. *beenderen*; *hoen* 'hen' — pl. *hoenderen*.

(**hand-klē*), *hinsär* ‘poultry’ (only pl.), *hū* ‘head’, *jokk* ‘marsh’ (< Sami)¹³, *jūr* ‘udder’, *kräll* ‘necklace’, *kūn* ‘barley’, *kväit* ‘wheat’, *käraldär* ‘dishes’ (only pl.), *land* ‘fields outside the village; steppe’¹⁴ (only sg.; ‘land plot’ — *landstikke*), *mölk* ‘milk’, *päll* ‘apron’, *rō* ‘rye’, *rāven* ‘rain’, *sīp(a)!* ‘onion’, *sjūn* ‘person’ (in the pl. *folk* is usually used; cf. Sw. *hjon*), *striken* ‘iron’, *sjūl* ‘wheel’, *vädär* ‘wind’ (‘weather’ — *väderläik*), *äpl* ‘apple’ and a large number of others.

(b) disyllabic stems terminating in *-e*, very few nouns: *minne* ‘shallow place in the river’, *märke* ‘comet; omen’, *rīke* ‘state’, *trīne* ‘face of animals’, *värke* ‘firewood’ (only sg.), as well as Russian loanwords borrowed in the plural form: *bokle[z]áne* ‘tomato’ (South Russ. *баклажаны* pl. ‘tomatoes’), *slive* ‘plums’ (collective meaning; ‘single plum’ — *slive-kūn*; Russ. *сливы*, pl.), *use* ‘moustache’ (only sg.; Russ. *усы*, pl.).

Disyllabic stems terminating in *-a*: *ēra* ‘ear’, *honta* ‘handle’, *jäta* ‘food’, *nista* ‘ball of yarn’, *sjätta* ‘heart’ and a couple of others.

Adjectives

(for details and more examples, see MANKOV 2011B)

The adjective has the following inflectional forms:

Sg. (strong form)			Pl.		Weak form
Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Attributive ¹⁵	Non-attributive	
<i>varm-är</i> ‘warm’	<i>varm</i>	<i>varm-t</i>	<i>varm</i>	<i>varm-ar</i>	<i>varm</i>

Morphophonological types:

Type 1: stems terminating in consonants (except *r, l*) and in long vowels;

Type 2: stems terminating in *r, l*;

Type 3: stems terminating in short vowels.

	Masc. sg.	Fem. sg.; Attributive pl.; Weak form	Neut. sg.	Non-attr. pl.
Type 1	<i>tummär</i> ‘empty’ <i>när</i> ‘new’	<i>tumm</i> <i>nī</i>	<i>tummt</i> <i>nitt</i>	<i>tummar</i> <i>nīar</i>
Type 2	<i>dīran</i> ‘expensive’ <i>fālan</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>dīr</i> <i>fāl</i>	<i>dītt</i> <i>fātt</i>	<i>dīrar</i> <i>fālar</i>
Type 3	<i>liklendar</i> ‘happy’ <i>rostndär</i> ‘rusty’ <i>nakondär</i> ‘naked’	<i>likle</i> <i>roste</i> <i>nako</i>	<i>liklet</i> <i>rostet</i> <i>nakot</i>	<i>liklendar</i> <i>rostndar</i> <i>nakondar</i>

Adjectives of types 1 & 2 can be grouped according to sandhi regularities observed on the boundary of the root/stem and the neuter ending. Some examples:

Type 1

Stems in *m, v, s*:

häisär [‘hɛ:iser] — *häis* [hɛ:is] — *häüst* [hɛis:t] ‘coarse’,
kvassär — *kvass* — *kvassst* ‘sharp’,
ljūsär [‘λu:sɛr] — *ljūs* [λu:s] — *ljüst* [λus:t] ‘light’,
löüsär [‘lœ:usɛr] — *löüs* [lœ:us] — *löüst* [lœüs:t] ‘loose’,
lūmmär — *lūmm* — *lūmmt* ‘tepid’,
skäivär — *skäiv* — *skäift* ‘crooked’,
vīsär — *vīs* — *vī[s:]t* ‘sober’.

Stems in *g, k, p*:

argär [‘ar:gɛr] — *arg* — *arft* ‘angry’,
bläikär [‘brɛ:iker] — *bläik* [brɛ:ik] — *bläift* [brɛif:t] ‘pale’,
djūpär [‘dʰu:per] — *djūp* — *djūft* ‘deep’,
lögär — *lög* — *löft* ‘low’,
mnjūkär [‘mnʰu:kɛr] — *mnjūk* — *mnjūft* ‘agile’,
sjūkär [‘sʰu:kɛr] — *sjūk* — *sjūft* ‘ill’,
tjokkär [‘tʰok:ɛr] — *tjokk* — *tjofft* ‘thick; fat’.

¹³ Compare Sw. regional *jokk* or *jåkk*, *-en*, *-ar* (SAOL, 13:e uppl. Stockholm, 2006, p. 401).

¹⁴ This form has replaced **lōnd* under the influence of Germ. *Land* or Sw. *land* (cf. dial. *sōnd* ‘sand’, *hōnd* ‘hand’).

¹⁵ Compare: *tfō varm*_{ATTR.PL.} *rokkar* ‘two warm dresses’ ~ *täs rokka jära varmar*_{NON-ATTR.PL.} ‘these dresses are warm’.

Stems in *t*:

b|öütär [ˈbʰœ:ʉtɐ] — *b|öüt* [bʰœ:ʉt] — *b|öütt* [bʰœüt:] ‘wet; mild’,
f|ätär — *f|ät* — *f|ät/f|att* ‘flat’,
h|ätär — *h|ät* — *h|ēt* ‘hot’,
kv|ätär — *kv|ät* — *kvitt* ‘white’,
s|ätär [ˈse:ʉtɐ] — *s|ät* — *sett* [sɛt:] ‘sweet’,
v|ätär — *v|ät* — *vott* ‘wet’.

Stems in *tt*, *t̥t*, *nt*:

brantär — *brant* — *brant* ‘steep’,
koṭṭär — *koṭṭ* — *koṭṭ* ‘short’,
mättär — *mätt* — *mätt* ‘full; not hungry’.

Here belong numerous adjectives with the suffix *-at-*: *gū-lüftatär* ‘fragrant’, *kruka-bäinatär* ‘with crooked legs’, *skimlatär* ‘mouldy’, *spits-näsatär* ‘with a pointed nose’, *stūr-nikkatär* ‘stubborn’, *ṣlappatär* ‘untidy’, *trütt-mokkatär* ‘with thick lips’, and many others.

Stems in *l*, *n*:

bründär — *brün* — *brünt* ‘brown’,
fülldär — *füll* — *füllt* ‘full’,
grëndär — *grēn* — *grēnt* ‘green’,
grunndär — *grunn* — *grunnt* ‘shallow’,
häildär — *hail* — *häilt* ‘whole’,
runndär — *runn* — *runnt* ‘round’,
räindär — *räin* — *räint* ‘clean’.

Stems in *ŋ*:

uŋŋär — *uŋŋ* — *umft* ‘young’,
lōŋär — *lōŋ* — *lāmft* ‘long’,
trāŋär — *trāŋ* — *trāmft* ‘narrow’.

Stems in long vowels and diphthongs:

b|ōär — *b|ō* — *b|ott* ‘blue’,
bräiär — *bräi* — *bräitt* ‘broad’,
dēär — *dē* — *dett* ‘dead’,
döüär [ˈdœ:uwer] — *döü* — *döüft* ‘deaf’,
höüär [ˈhœ:uwer] — *höü* — *höüft* [hœüf:t] ‘high; tall’,
mnjüär — *mnjü* — *mnjütt* ‘narrow’,
nīär — *nī* — *nitt* ‘new’.

Type 2

Stems in *r*:

bāran — *bār* — *bāt* ‘bare’,
stūran — *stūr* — *stuṭṭ* ‘big’,
sjūran [ˈsʰu:ran] — *sjūr* — *sjüṭṭ* ‘sour’,
svōran — *svōr* — *svott* ‘heavy’,
torran — *torr* — *toṭṭ* ‘dry’.
Disyllabic: *vakran* — *vakär* — *vakät* ‘kind’.

Stems in *l̥*:

bōlan — *bōl̥* — *boṭṭ/bōṭ* ‘blunt’,
fūlan — *fūl̥* — *füṭṭ* ‘bad’.
Disyllabic: *ga[m̥]lan* — *gamōl̥* — *gam(m)ät* ‘old’.

Type 3

It is made up of adjectives and participles II formed with the suffix *-en-*. In the masculine they attached the ending *-är* by analogy with Type 1: **mölen* > *mölendär* ‘cloudy’. The only known exception is *līn* ‘small’ (alongside *līndär*). In front of *-är* the epenthetic *d* is inserted. If *e* follows *t* of the root, it is syncopated in front of *nd*: *güts-früktndär* ‘pious’, *lüstndär* ‘funny’, *rostndär* ‘rusty’, *rütndär* ‘rotten’, etc.

Pronouns

(for details and more examples, see MANKOV 2011B)

Personal

	Ед. ч.			Мн. ч.		
	1 st pers.	2 nd pers.	3 rd pers.	1 st pers.	2 nd pers.	3 rd pers.
Subject	<i>ja</i> [ja]	<i>tö</i> [tœ] weak: <i>-de</i> [dɛ]	m.: <i>han</i> [han(:)]; weak: <i>-en</i> [ɛn]/-n f.: <i>hon</i> [hon(:)]; weak: <i>-on</i>	<i>ve</i> [vɛ]	<i>ne</i> [nɛ]	<i>tom</i> ; weak <i>-dom</i>
Object	<i>me</i> [mɛ]	<i>te</i> [tɛ] weak: <i>-de</i> [dɛ]	n.: <i>he</i> [hɛ]; weak: <i>-e</i> [ɛ]	<i>oss</i> [os:]	<i>jār</i> [ja(:)ɾ]	

Tö, te, han, hon, he, tom have a strong and a weak phonetic realisation. The strong form occurs at the beginning of the sentence (regardless of the phrase stress) and, as a rule, in the stressed position. The weak form is an enclitic. Compare: *Tom 'sō me?* 'Did they see me?' (*tom* is a strong form at the beginning of the sentence), and with a different word order: *'Sō-dom me?* (*dom* is an enclitic).

Possessive

	Sg.			Pl.
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
Attributive	<i>min, tin, sin</i> <i>vōr, jār</i>		<i>mit(t), tit(t), sit(t)</i> <i>voɪ(t), jaɪ(t)</i>	<i>min, tin, sin</i> <i>vōr, jār</i>
Non-attributive	<i>minnan, tinnan</i> <i>sinnan</i> <i>vōran, jāran</i>	<i>mīna, tīna</i> <i>sīna</i> <i>vōra, jāra</i>	<i>mitta, titta, sitta</i> <i>voɪ(t)a, jaɪ(t)a</i>	<i>mīnar, tīnar, sīnar</i> <i>vōrar, jārar</i>

Demonstrative

'This':

		Attributive			Non-attributive		
		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	Subject/object	<i>tän, täsn</i>	<i>täs</i> [tes(:)]	<i>tät</i>	<i>tän, täsn</i>	<i>tässa</i>	<i>tät(t)a</i>
	Genitive	—			<i>täsns</i>	<i>tässas</i>	<i>tättas</i>
Pl.	Subject/object	<i>täs</i> [tes(:)]			<i>tässar</i>		
	Genitive	—			<i>tässas</i>		

'That':

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	Subject/object	<i>han</i> [han(:)]	<i>hon</i> [hon(:)]	<i>he</i> [hɛ]
	Genitive	<i>hans</i>	<i>(hōns)</i>	<i>(hēs)</i>
Pl.	Subject/object	<i>tom</i>		
	Genitive	<i>(toms)</i>		

After these pronouns nouns are always in the definite form; adjectives are weak: *tän rokken* 'this dress', *täs käliŋe* 'this woman', *tät bōne* 'this child', *täs männe* 'these men', *täs käliŋana* 'these women', *täs bōna* 'these children'; *tän rīk mann* 'this rich man'.

'Such':

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.		<i>slikär</i>	<i>slīk</i>	<i>slüft</i>
Pl.	Attr.	<i>slīk</i>		
	Non-attr.	<i>slīkar</i>		

In the meaning 'the same' the pronouns *han, hon, he, tom + äin* (weak form of *än* 'one') are used: *Tom jära he 'äin folke sošš som ve* 'They (Russians) are the same people as we are'. In the plural äitt also occurs: *Tom jära (grād) 'äitt* 'They are (completely) identical' (*grād* < Germ. *gerade*).

Interrogative

'Who' — *koŋe* ['koŋɛ]. 'Whose' — *koš* [koʃ(:)]. 'What' — *ko*. 'Which' — *kofär* ['kofɛɾ]. 'What sort of' — *kolikär*:

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.		<i>kolikär</i>	<i>kolik</i>	<i>kolüft</i>
Pl.	attr.	<i>kolik</i>		
	non-attr.	<i>kolikar</i>		

Indefinite

'Some':

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.

Attr.	<i>än</i>	<i>äin</i>	<i>äit</i>
Non-attr.	<i>ännan</i>	<i>äina</i>	<i>äitta</i>

Plural form of this pronoun is not used; *sum(m)lar* is used instead. The word *nósslass* ‘some’ is also used with nouns in the plural.

‘Some; certain’:

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.		<i>sum(m)lan</i>	<i>sum(m)öl/-äi</i>	<i>sum(m)ät/-öt, sumt</i>
Pl.	Attr.	<i>sum(m)öl/-äi</i>		
	Non-attr.	<i>sum(m)lar</i>		

‘Some(one)’ — *nōn*. This word does not occur attributively; in this case *än* is used in the singular, *sumlar*, *noslass* in the plural. Genitive — *nōns*.

‘Something’ — *nōat*.

‘Another’:

			Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg.	Attr.	Strong	<i>andär</i>	<i>är</i>	<i>anat</i>
		Weak	<i>anan</i>	<i>är</i>	<i>ana</i>
	Non-attr.	<i>anan</i>	<i>ära</i>	<i>ana</i>	
Pl.	Attr. (strong & weak)		<i>är</i>		
	Non-attr.		<i>ärar</i>		

‘Each other’ — *ännan anan* m., *äina ära* f., *äitta äna* n. If this expression refer to persons of different sex, the neuter form is used: *Tom tola äitta mä ana* ‘They [man and woman] are talking with each other’.

‘Every’ — *kvär*, indeclinable. After this word nouns are always in the def. form; adjectives are weak. In *kvaṭ ana* ‘each other’ the form *kvaṭ* [kvaṭ(:)] is used regardless of the gender.

‘Both’ — *bō* (attr.), *bōar* (non-attr.) After *bō* nouns are always in the definite form.

‘No’ — *iṅa*. In sentences with *iṅa* the adverb *änt* ‘not’ is often used; it is placed after the verb *Ja här änt iṅa svaṭṭ skjott* ‘I have no black shirt’.

‘No one’ — *iṅen*, gen. — *iṅens*. ‘Nothing’ — *iṅatiṅ*.

There is no specific indefinite personal pronoun such as Sw. *man* in the dialect. In this case, personal pronouns are used, most often ‘you’ and ‘they’: *Tär-üpp e Komi tär vär um däen so mike harkrankar, än-de änt kunnt arbet, so gā-de upp äild, än-e rīkär, o so arbete-de üte räiken* LU ‘In the Komi ASSR there were so many mosquitoes during daytime, that you couldn’t work, so you make up a fire and work in the smoke.’

Verbs

(based on MANKOV 2012)

Verb paradigm consists of the following forms: 1) infinitive (always identical with present pl. and in most cases with imperative sg.); 2) present sg.; 3) imperative pl.; 4) preterite; 5) supine. Supine and preterite of weak verbs are always identical.

Depending on the form of the preterite and supine I divide the verbs into the following morphological types (conjugations):

- 1) Verbs ending in *-a* in the preterite and supine: weak verbs with stems in *-a*.
- 2) Verbs ending in a dental stop in the preterite and supine: weak verbs with stems terminating in consonants, (long) vowels and diphthongs.
- 3) Verbs with changes in the root: strong and irregular.

1st conjugation

Morphophonological types of the 1st conjugation:

Type	Infinitive; Present pl.; Imperative sg.	Present sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
1a	<i>boka</i> ‘bake’	<i>bokar</i>	<i>bokae</i>	<i>boka</i>
1b	<i>vänt</i> ‘wait’	<i>väntar</i>	<i>vänte</i>	<i>vänta</i>
	<i>kḷistär</i> ‘whitewash’	<i>kḷistrar</i>	<i>kḷist(ä)re</i>	<i>kḷistra</i>
1c	<i>inke se</i> ‘groan’, imper. — <i>inke-de änt</i>	<i>inkjar se</i>	<i>inke jär (änt)</i>	<i>inkja se</i>

	<i>skinde se</i> 'hurry', imper. — <i>skinde-de</i> (änt)	<i>skindar se</i>	<i>skinde jär</i> (änt)	<i>skinda se</i>
	<i>bire</i> 'begin'	<i>birjar</i> , also <i>bire</i>	<i>bire</i>	<i>birja</i>

S-forms:

	Infinitive; Present sg. & pl.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
1a	<i>bruta-s</i> 'struggle'	<i>bruta-s-e</i>	<i>bruta-s-t</i>
1b	<i>ōnda-s</i> 'breathe'	<i>ōnda-s-e</i>	<i>ōnda-s-t</i>

Other examples:

1a: *buka* 'root the earth' (of pigs), *bura* 'drill', *duna* 'thunder', *frōa* 'ask', *goļa* 'crow', *hita* 'heat', *hopas* 'hope', *kļōa* 'complain', *knōa* 'knead', *kukūka* 'cuckoo', *lōa* 'repair; prepare', *moka* 'move', *skoka* 'shake', *skoļa* 'peel', *skōa* 'look; watch', *svora* 'answer', *toļa* 'tell; speak', and many others.

1b: *arbet* 'work', *blīken* (also *blīkknas*) 'wither', *blīstār* 'whistle', *blōnd* 'mix', *bodār* 'run with a rustling noise' (e.g., of mice), *bōļm* 'stir up', *flotār/flodār* 'splash', *fotār* 'run quickly' (of insects, mice), *frāist* 'try' (e.g., clothes), *gits* 'think', *gnixl* 'whimper', *gāisp* 'yawn', *mārknas* 'get dark' (also *mōrkjas* 1c), *njōrk* 'croak', *nōļ* 'darn', *rāven* 'rain', *samōļ* 'gather', *sjōņņ* 'sing', *skaff* 'send', *spats* 'have a walk', *sustār* 'make shoes', *svimōļ* 'go up' (of mist above the field in spring), *sōiim* 'sew', *šlabār* 'chatter', *šlūr* 'hang around', *tiken* 'become misty', *tjū* 'cast hay with a pitchfork', *tjūļ* 'winnow', *trokkl* (also *trokōļ*) 'to sew quickly', *tugg* 'chew', *vandār* 'travel', *vuzzl* 'be full of insects', *ālsk* 'want' (sic!; 'love' is *hōld* *ō*), and a very large number of others.

1c: *bire/byre/b[ē]re* 'begin', *diņe* 'dung', *fiske* 'fish; watch over (e.g. of a cat trying to catch a mouse)', *gnägge* 'neigh' (pres. *gnāggār*), *länke se* (also *lānk se* 1b) 'long for', *māitje* [-t^l-]/*māite* (also *māit* 1b) 'fish (with a rod)', *mōrkjas* 'get dark' (also *mārknas* 1b), *skigge* (*skiggjas*) 'get dark' (alongside *skiggnas* 1b), *skinde se* 'hurry', and very few others.

2nd conjugation

Infinitive, present, imperative

On the basis of the correlation between the infinitive and present sg. (which is determined by the stem final of the verb), I distinguish the following types in the 2nd conjugation:

- 1) Stems in a voiced consonant, *m*, and a vowel (always long);
- 2) Stems in *ll*, *nn*, *n*;
- 3) Stems in *r*;
- 4) Stems in **j* (which is reflected as *-e* [ē] with a) long; b) short roots.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.	Imperative	
			Sg.	Pl.
1	<i>kēp</i> 'buy'	<i>kēpār</i>	<i>kēp</i>	<i>kēpe</i>
	<i>glēm</i> 'forget'	<i>glēmār</i>	<i>glēm</i>	<i>glēme</i>
	<i>leva/liva</i> 'live'	<i>levār/livār</i>	<i>lēv</i>	<i>leve</i>
	<i>trū</i> 'believe'	<i>trūār</i>	<i>trū</i>	<i>trūe</i>
2	<i>häll</i> 'pour'	<i>hälldār</i>	<i>häll</i>	<i>hälle</i>
	<i>bränn</i> 'burn'	<i>bränndār</i>	<i>bränn</i>	<i>bränne</i>
	<i>lōn</i> 'borrow'	<i>lōndār</i>	<i>lōn</i>	<i>lōne</i>
3	<i>hēr</i> 'hear'	<i>hēr</i>	<i>hēr</i>	<i>hēre</i>
4a	<i>riņņe</i> 'surround'	<i>riņņār</i>	<i>riņņe</i>	
	<i>sēke</i> 'look for'	<i>sēkār</i>	<i>sēk</i>	<i>sēke</i>
4b	<i>sjōļe</i> 'sell'	<i>sjōļ</i>	<i>sjōļ</i>	<i>sjōļe</i>
	<i>āre</i> 'plough'	<i>ār</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>āre</i>
	<i>sāte</i> 'set'	<i>sātār</i>	<i>sätt</i>	<i>sāte</i>
	<i>krāve</i> 'demand'	<i>krāvār</i>	<i>krāv</i>	<i>krāve</i>

Preterite and supine

Depending on the preterite/supine form, 2nd conjugation verbs are divided into 4 morphophonological types:

- 1) with the ending *-t* which occurs after roots in *s*, *n*, *ll*, *t* (if *t* does not follow *ai*), *k*, *p*, *ld*;
- 2) with the ending *-d* (after *m*, *mm*, *nn*, *v*, *d*, and any vowels except the diphthong *ai*), *-d* (< *r+d*, *l+d*);
- 3) with the ending *-dd* (after *ai* and sometimes after *ē*);

4) with the zero ending.

Examples:

Type	Infinitive	Preterite/supine
1	<i>bļēs</i> ‘blow’	<i>bļēst</i>
	<i>lōn</i> ‘borrow’	<i>lōnt</i>
	<i>still</i> ‘feed’	<i>stillt</i>
	<i>hōld</i> ‘hold’	<i>hōlt</i>
	<i>sēke</i> ‘look for’	<i>sēft</i>
	<i>kēp</i> ‘buy’	<i>kēft</i>
2	<i>drēm</i> ‘dream’	<i>drēmd</i>
	<i>kļämm</i> ‘press’	<i>kļāmd</i>
	<i>bränn</i> ‘burn’	<i>brānd</i>
	<i>leva/liva</i> ‘live’	<i>lēvd</i>
	<i>hēr</i> ‘hear’	<i>hēd</i>
	<i>sjōle</i> ‘sell’	<i>sjōd</i>
	<i>svōlge</i> ‘swallow’	<i>svōd</i>
	<i>hēje</i> ‘hang’	<i>hēmd</i>
	<i>bigge</i> ‘build’	<i>bēvd</i>
	<i>rū</i> ‘row’	<i>rūd</i>
	3	<i>strāi</i> ‘straw’
<i>k[ē:] (pō)</i> ‘put on’		<i>(pō-)k[ē]dd/klēd</i>
4	<i>hitt</i> ‘find’	<i>hitt</i>

The verbs *lāge* ‘lay; put’, *sīnas* ‘be seen’, *smāre* ‘smear’, *sāte* ‘set; plant’, *sātjas* ‘sit down’, *āre* ‘plough’ change the root vowel: *lād*, *sōndest*, *smōd*, *satt*, *satest* (also *sattes*), *ōd*.

S-forms:

Infinitive; Present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite/supine
<i>skäll-as</i> ‘quarrel’	<i>skäll-s</i>	<i>skäll-s-e (änt)</i>	<i>skäll-t-es-t</i>
<i>gehēras</i> ‘need’	<i>gehēš</i>	—	<i>gehēdest</i>
<i>sīnas</i> ‘be seen’	<i>sīns</i>	—	<i>sōndest</i>
<i>lāggjas (nēr)</i> ‘lay oneself’	<i>lāgg-s (nēr)</i>	<i>lāgg-s-e (nēr)</i>	<i>lādest (nēr)</i>
<i>sātjas (nēr)</i> ‘sit down’	<i>sätt-s</i>	<i>sätt-s-e</i>	<i>sattest/satest AL LU // sattes MP</i>
<i>dūas/dōas</i> ‘be suitable’	<i>düss</i>	—	<i>dūdest/dōdest</i>
<i>bāias</i> ‘ask’	<i>bāitts</i>	<i>bāittse</i>	<i>bāiddest</i>
<i>līas</i> ‘listen; obey’	<i>litts</i>	<i>littse</i>	<i>līdest/līddest</i>

Isolated conjugation patterns:

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
<i>gāra</i> ‘make; do’; <i>gārjas</i> ‘be done; ferment’	<i>gār</i> <i>gāšš</i>	<i>gāra</i> <i>gārjas</i>	<i>gār</i> —	<i>gāre</i> —	<i>gjūd</i> <i>gjūdest</i>	
<i>hōa</i> ‘have’	<i>hār</i>	<i>hōa</i>	?	?	<i>hāv</i>	<i>hāve</i>

säi 'say'	säiär	säi	säi	säie	sā	sōa
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3rd conjugation

Preterite and supine: classes of strong verbs

Examples:

1. *būt* 'bite' — *bäit* — *bite*;
blī 'become' — *blāi* — *blōe*;
gnī 'rub' — *gnāi/gnīd* — *gnēe/gnīd*;
rī 'ride' — *rāi/rīd* — *rēe/rīd*;
rīv 'grate' — *rāiv/rīvd/rīva* — *rive/rīvd/rīva*;
slīt 'tear' — *slāit* — *slite*;
stīv (*upp*) 'get up' — *stāiv* — *stive*;
svī 'remove feathers from poultry holding it over open fire' — *svāi/svīd* — *svēe/svīd*;
vrī 'twist' — *vraī/vrīd* — *vrēe/vrīd*.
2. *bjū* 'invite' — *bjöü/bjūd* — *bjōe/bjūd*;
brūt 'break' — *bröüt* — *brüte*;
drūp 'drip' — *dröüp* — *drüpe/dröpe*;
flū 'fly' — *flöü* — *flōe*;
flūt 'float' — *flöüt* — *flüte/flöte*;
frūs 'freeze' — *fröüs* — *früse*;
kļū 'cleave' — *kļöü* — *klōe*;
ljū 'lie' — *löü* — *lōe*;
njūs 'sneeze' — *njöüs* — *njüse*;
rīk 'smoke' — *röük* — *rūke*;
sjū 'гудеть' — *sjöü* — *sjōe*;
skjūt 'shoot' — *skjöüt* — *sküte*;
strūk se 'dry oneself' — *ströük se* — *striuke se*;
tjūt 'howl' — *tjöüt* — *tjüte*.
3. *bind* 'tie; bind' — *band* — *bunde*;
brinn 'burn' (intrans.) — *brann* — *brunne*;
drikk 'drink' — *drakk* — *drukke*;
hinn 'have enough time' — *hann* — *hunne*;
rinn 'run' (of liquids) — *rann* — *runne*;
sinke 'sink' — *sank* — *sunke*;
smäll 'lash' — *small* — *smulle*;
smält 'melt' — *smalt* — *smulte*;
spinn 'spin' — *spann* — *spunne*;
sprīņņ 'crack' — *spraņņ* — *spruņņe*;
sprint 'jump' — *sprant* — *sprunte*;
stiņņ 'sting' — *staņņ* — *stuņņe*;
sväll 'swell' — *svall* — *svülle*;
triske 'thresh' — *trask/triskja* — *truske/trüske/triskja*;
vinn 'win' — *vann* — *vunne*.
4. *bāra* 'bear' — *bār* — *büre*;
kuma 'come' — *komm* — *kume*;
skāra 'cut' — *skār* — *sküre*;
sōa 'sleep' — *sō* — *sūe*;
stjōla 'steal' — *stjūd* — *stjōle*.
5. *bāa* 'ask' — *bā* — *bāe*;
gāva 'give' — *gāv* — *gāve*;
jāta 'eat' — *ōt* — *jāte*;
ligge 'lie' — *lō* — *lēa*;
lāsa 'read' — *lās* — *lāse*;
sīte 'sit' — *satt* — *satt*;
sī 'see' — *sō* — *sīd*;
vara 'be' — *vār* — *vare*.
6. *drāa* 'pull; draw' — *drū* — *drōe*;
dāi 'ō' 'die' (of animals) — *dū* 'ō — *ō-dūe*;
fāštō 'understand' — *fāštū* — *fāštōe*;
gāi 'bark' — *gū* — *gūe*;
lē 'laugh' — *lū* — *lūe*;
slō 'hit' — *slū* — *slāe*;
stō 'stand' — *stū* — *stōe*;

sväre 'swear' — svār — sviüre;
 tōa 'take' — tū — tāe.
 7. fall 'fall' — foll — falle;
 fō 'get; receive; must' — fī — fōe;
 grōt 'cry' — grāit — grote;
 gō 'go' — gī — gōe;
 hugg 'hew' — hogg — hugge.

S-forms:

Infinitive; present pl.	Present sg.; Imperative sg.	Imperative pl.	Preterite	Supine
<i>brūtas</i> 'break'	<i>brūts</i>	—	<i>brōütes(t)</i>	<i>brütest</i>
<i>kļūas</i> 'cleave'	<i>kļüss</i>	—	<i>kļöüstest</i>	<i>kļōest</i>
<i>stīņas</i> 'sting'	<i>stīņs</i>	—	<i>stāņest</i>	<i>stūņest</i>
<i>slōas</i> 'fight'	<i>sloss</i>	<i>slōse, slōase</i>	<i>slusstes(t)</i>	<i>slāest</i>

Irregular verbs:

Infinitive	Present		Imperative		Preterite	Supine
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
<i>lāta</i> 'let; allow'	<i>lātār</i>	<i>lāta</i>	<i>lāt</i>	<i>lāte</i>	<i>lāivd</i>	<i>lāivd, lote</i>
<i>lōt</i> 'ō' 'finish'	<i>lōtār 'ō</i>	<i>lōt 'ō</i>	<i>lōt 'ō</i>	<i>lōte 'ō</i>	<i>lāivd 'ō</i>	<i>lāivd, lote 'ō</i>
—	<i>kann</i> 'can'	<i>kuna</i>	—		<i>kunt</i>	
—	<i>ska</i> auxiliary		—		<i>skilt</i>	
<i>vara</i> 'be'	<i>jār/jār</i>	<i>jāra</i>	<i>vār</i>	<i>vare</i>	<i>vār</i>	<i>vare</i>
—	<i>vill</i> 'want'	<i>vila</i>	—		<i>vilt</i>	
<i>vīta</i> 'know'	<i>vāit</i>	<i>vīta</i>	—		<i>vīsst</i>	<i>vīta</i>

Participle I

It is formed with the suffix *-ande*. In available examples it occurs after verbs of motion (*kuma* 'come', *bāra* 'ō' 'set out') and after *bļī* 'become; remain': *Vallan kumār sallande mā buskan* LU 'The shepherd is coming, driving the cattle'. For details and more examples, see MANKOV 2013A.

Participle II

It is formed according to the following patterns:

Conj.	Infinitive	Participle II			
		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Pl.
1	<i>boka</i>	<i>boka//bokandār</i>	<i>boka</i>	<i>boka//bokat</i>	<i>boka//bokandar</i>
	<i>vatn</i>	<i>vatna//vatnandār</i>	<i>vatna</i>	<i>vatna//vatnat</i>	<i>vatna//vatmandar</i>
	<i>bire</i>	<i>birja//birjandār</i>	<i>birja</i>	<i>birja//birjat</i>	<i>birja//birjandar</i>
2	<i>kvāss</i>	<i>kvāsstār</i>	<i>kvāsst</i>		<i>kvāsstar</i>
	<i>bļāit</i>	<i>bļāittār</i>	<i>bļāitt</i>		<i>bļāittar</i>
	<i>lāiv [-e·i-]</i>	<i>lāivdār [-ēī-]</i>	<i>lāivd</i>		<i>lāivdar</i>
	<i>gift se</i>	<i>giftār</i>	<i>gift</i>	—	<i>giftar</i>
	<i>brānn</i>	<i>brāndār</i>	<i>brānd</i>		<i>brāndar</i>
	<i>bigge</i>	<i>bēvdār</i>	<i>bēvd</i>		<i>bēvdar</i>
	<i>dāgge</i>	<i>dāvdār</i>	<i>dāvd</i>		<i>dāvdar</i>
	<i>skjōle</i>	<i>skjōdār</i>	<i>skjōd</i>		<i>skjōdar</i>
	<i>kļē (pō)</i>	<i>pō-kļeddār, -kļēdār</i>	<i>pō-kļedd, -kļēd</i>		<i>pō-kļeddar, -kļēdar</i>
3	<i>bīt</i>	<i>bitndār</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>bitet</i>	<i>bitndar</i>
	<i>bind</i>	<i>bundndār</i>	<i>bunde</i>	<i>bundet</i>	<i>bundndar</i>

	<i>drikk</i>	<i>drukkendär</i>	<i>drukke</i>	<i>drukke</i>	<i>drukkendar</i>
	<i>sväll</i>	<i>svüllendär</i>	<i>svülle</i>	<i>svüllet</i>	<i>svüllendar</i>
	<i>skära</i>	<i>skürendär</i>	<i>sküre</i>	<i>sküret</i>	<i>skürendar</i>
	<i>tōa</i>	<i>tāendär</i>	<i>tāe</i>	<i>tāet</i>	<i>tāendar</i>

For details, see MANKOV 2013A.

Mediopassive forms of participle II

They are formed from the supine stem by means of the affix *-st-* if the stems terminates in a vowel (*svoļa-st-är*, *brüte-st-är*), and *-est-* if the stems terminates in a consonant (*näitt-est-är*).

Infinitive	Participle II		
	Masculine	Feminine; Neuter; Attributive pl.	Non-attr. pl.
<i>svoļas</i>	<i>svoļastär</i>	<i>svoļast</i>	<i>svoļastar</i>
<i>torrkas</i>	<i>torrkastär</i>	<i>torrkast</i>	<i>torrkastar</i>
<i>näitas</i>	<i>näittestär</i>	<i>näittest</i>	<i>näittestar</i>
<i>brūtas</i>	<i>brūtestär</i>	<i>brūtest</i>	<i>brūtestar</i>

Some notes on grammatical categories of verbs

(based on MANKOV 2013A).

The category of person is absent. Numbers are consistently distinguished in the present (*ja väntar*, *tō väntar*, *han väntar*, *ve vänt*, *ne vänt*, *tom vänt*) and imperative (*vänt* sg., *vänte* pl).

The future is expressed by the present form: *Umm more*, *to-de kumär*, so *mētar ja-de* ‘Tomorrow, when you arrive, I will meet you’. The verb *ska* (pret. *skilt*) with the future sense only occurs in subordinate clauses: *Ja stuppa inn-e ot barmen*, *än-e änt ska frīs* MP ‘I put it (the food) in my bosom, so that it does not become frozen’; *Han sā, än-en skilt kuma* ‘He said that he would come’ (alongside ...*än-en kumär*). In main clauses *ska* and *skilt* express recommendation and necessity.

Perfect is formed with *hōa* (*hār* sg., *hōa* pl.) and *vara* (*jār/jär* sg., *jära* pl.) and the supine. *Hōa* is used with transitive, *vara* with intransitive verbs:

Ja gehēdest gō, män hār grannt bojt-e glēnd ‘I needed to go, but I’ve completely forgotten about it’; *Ja hār sundā-n (dūken) slīte tjōļ slarvar* LU ‘I’ve torn it (the kerchief) apart for pieces of cloth’; *Ja hār üt me sūe* ‘I’ve had a good sleep’; *Ja hār ō-lote de rūk* ‘I’ve given up smoking’; *He snīd o īd, o har all sīgar fast-īd* LU ‘I snowed and drifted, and it has blocked up all paths’.

Han jār kume ‘He has arrived’; *Han jār rai bojt-gōe* ‘He has already left’; *Han jār sjūkär blōe* ‘He’s fallen ill’; *Snjūen jār bojt-smulte* ‘The snow has melted’; *Katta jār po būde upp-sprunte* ‘The cat has jumped on the table’; *Han jār upp-stive, ja tarva änt gō väkke-en* ‘He has got up, I didn’t need to go and wake him up’; *Fūļa jära bojt-flōe* ‘Birds have flown away’; *Täss skūa jära löūsare blōe* ‘These shoes have become looser’.

Pluperfect is formed with *hāv* (preterite of *hōa*) and the supine: *Ve kasta dom inn-e rai bait tīa umm kvēldn, a umm monnan, umm trīa, fjūra, än ijen änt sār än ja hāv üte-e kasta, tū ve üt-e* ‘We cast them (fishing nets) already after ten in the evening, and in the morning, around three, four, so that no one sees that I had cast them, we drew them out.’

Present subjunctive ((*h*)*a* + supine): *Ja ha hölft-de, män ja hār ija tīar* ‘I would help you, but I don’t have time’; *Ja ha vilt kuma more* ‘I would like to come tomorrow’. In complex sentences this pattern is used in both clauses: *Umm ja a hāve tīar nō, ja a gjūd-e gist* ‘If I had time now, I would do it at once’; *Ja änt a skinda me umm ja a hāve tīar* ‘I wouldn’t hurry if I had time’; *Umm ja a vīta, so ja a sōa-e* ‘If I knew, I would say it’; *He ha vare bra umm han ha kume more* ‘It would be good if he came tomorrow’; *Umm dār a vare äin lusk, so ve a gōe de mäit fisk* ‘If there were a boat, we would go fishing’; *Umm dār a vare vatn, so ja a vatna* ‘If there were water, I would water’.

Imaginary/hypothetical situations in the present can also be expressed with *kunt a* + supine: *Ja kunt a bāe mölk näst Anna* LU ‘I could ask milk at Anna’s’.

Past subjunctive ((*h*)*a* *hāve* or (*h*)*a* *vare* + supine): *Ja a hāve kēft-e hegōr, män ja hāv ija päjar* ‘I would have bought it yesterday, but I didn’t have money’; *Umm ja a hāve hegōr päjar hāve, ja a hāve kēft-e* ‘If I had had money yesterday, I would have bought it’; *He änt a drūpe, umm-de a hāve fast-e vrēe* ‘It wouldn’t drip if you had had screwed it’; *Han kunt drunken ’ō, umm händäre änt a vare ōapo blōe* LU ‘He could have drowned if the hands hadn’t remained above (the ice)’; *Umm tiske änt a vare vare hēr näst oss, so tätta änt a vare vare allt. A soşş fī ve lī mike* LU ‘If the Germans hadn’t been here at our place, this wouldn’t have happened. But because they were, we had to suffer a lot’.

Imaginary/hypothetical situations in the present can also be expressed with *kunt a hāve* or *vare + supine*: *Ja kunt a hāve hūse boŧt-sjōđ e fjōđešt* LU ‘I could have sold the house last year’; *Tō kunt a vare kume egōr* ‘You could have come yesterday’.

Necessity in the present can be expressed with *ska*: *Ko ska ja hänt ot de?* ‘What should I fetch you?’; *Hon säiär, än ja änt ska sjōle hūse* ‘She says that I shouldn’t sell the house’. *Ska* is also used in subordinate clauses when the verb in the main clause is in the preterite: *Anna sä, än ja ska napp hūp stäina vār källaš dänna* LU ‘Anna said that I should gather stones near the cellar’s door’.

Necessity in the past is expressed with *skilt*: *Ja skilt kēp täta hegōr* ‘I should have bought it yesterday’. The pattern *skilt a hāve* or *vare + supine* is used in order to add the sense of impracticability in the past: *Tō skilt a hāve sjōđ boŧt hūse rāi lōjaŧār* ‘You should have sold the house long time ago (but you didn’t)’; *Tō skilt änt a hāve täta sōa* ‘You shouldn’t have said it (but you did)’; *Ja skilt änt a vare hitt kume* ‘I shouldn’t have come here’.

The following patterns are used to express wishes:

1. *Um(m) a + supine*: *Um-en änt a bannast!* ‘If only he didn’t swear!’; *Um-on änt a vare sjūk!* ‘If only she weren’t ill!’; *Um-en hotš änt a röke* ‘If only he didn’t smoke’.

2. *Lät*: *Bind löüsä-n (hund), lät-n ränn umm* ‘Untie him (the dog), let him run around’. In order to add the sense of impracticability, *lät* can be combined with *a + supine*: *Lät-on a sjōđ hūse um-on vill* ‘Let her sell the house if she wants’.

For wishes expressed with reference to the past and therefore totally impracticable, the pattern *lät a hāve* or *a vare + supine* is used: *Komföre hällt-de üt he mölke? Lät-e a vare sūtŧ blōe* ‘Why did you pour out the milk? I wish it had gone sour’; *Komföre gī-de (ot būe)? Lät-on a vare gōe!* ‘Why did you go (to the shop)? I wish she had gone (there)’; *Kontjōļ släit-dom sundär kvēne, lät-on a vare stōe* ‘Why did they blow up the mill, I wish it had remained’.

Synthetic forms with an optative meaning are limited to isolated traditional phrases: *Gū hōlp de!* ‘God help you!’; *Tak vare Gū* ‘Thank God!’; *Gesinne!* ‘Jesus bless’.

Passive forms, as far as one can judge by the material available now, are very rare. Such sentence as ‘This house was built last year’ was translated by LU as *Hūse blāi upp-bēvd e-fjōđešt*, but in real speech an active pattern with a personal pronoun ‘they’ would rather be used: *He hūse jär nitt, tom bēvd e-fjōđešt upp-e* ‘That house is new, they built it last year’. Some real speech examples: *Tom vār fron stukkar gjūđ* (also *gjūdar*) ‘They (the houses) were made of timbers’; *He för blŧ ō-silat än pār goŧnar, āles byre-e sjūnas* ‘It (the wine) has to be filtered a couple of times, otherwise it begins to turn sour’; *Hon āiles a vare sprāmd blōe* ‘It (the mill) would have been blown up in any case’.

Text sample

Lydia Utas about the war time

To tiske jaga üt os, häila bāna var tummar, o gi änt iŧa äit sjūn tēr, än-e var grimmt de gō po gatna, o iŧa än hund gū änt. Tiske satt po de bitaļ före hunda, före he slū folke xjōļ hunda. Män min papa sä: “Han tġend ot me so mike som-en lēvd, o hōš de slō xjōļ-en?” O tiske tū voŧt mannfolk öte SS, än dom änt skült kuna gäva se öte plen. O tom tū ännan ot SS, o bait krī gav-dom ōt-n tī ōr de site öte dopäre. Tiske satt pō de grāv okōpar o vilt ō tōa Anna. Tom vilt fäšt tōa Maŧa, män hon hāv göļasjūka, so tū dom-on änt, Maŧa, o so skilt Anna fō gō öte hänaš ställ. Soš som-on var än uŧ so hōle, so tū-dom sänn äin pīk fron prästn boŧt öte ställe Anna, o Anna blāi sänn mä prästn. He vār öte Pōln. Han bīn han häit Horlebrunn. Tiske tū min papa o Anna Portjes sistra o Maria Härmanša, o tom blāi sjūkar bait he, o min papa blāi dēär rāi öte Komi ASSR. Papa blāi dēär sjūande fäbruar, o Annases sistra Maŧa blāi fjōttande, hon dū ive äin vigu. Trettiande januar var papa fjörete ōr, o um sjūande fäbruar blāi-en dēär, fjörete ōš gamļan vār-en. Bait krī öte Koväl var-e alle väšt, ve blāi unde bār himmen. Annas murmur... mäjeđāil... blāi tēr dē.

The same text in the IPA transcription:

to 'ti:skę jaga 'u:t_ɔs | hęila 'bi:ana var 'tum:ar | o gi 'ęnt iŧa eit 's'u:n 'te:r | ęn_ę var 'grim:t_đ ę_ 'gɔ: po 'gatna | o iŧa ęn 'hun:d gu 'ęnt || 'ti:ske sat:_pɔ ę_ 'bitaļ före 'hun:da || före_ 'hę 'slu: 'foŧkę 'xjɔ:ɾ 'hun:da || męn min 'papa 'sa: | han 't_ę:nd ot 'mę so 'mikę som_ęn 'l_e:vd | o 'hɔ:š ę_ 'slo_ 'xjɔ:ɾ_ęn || o 'ti:ske 'tu: voŧ: 'manfoŧk ę_ę_ ęs'ęs | ęn_dom 'ęnt skült kuna 'gęva_š_ ę_ę_ 'plen || o tom 'tu: ęn:an ot ęs'ęs | o bait 'kri: 'ga:v_dom 'o:tŧ tī 'o:r ę_ 'sitę ę_ę_ 'dopere || 'ti:ske sat:_pɔ: ę_ 'grāv o'kopar | o vilt 'o: tɔ:a 'an:a || tom vilt 'fęst 'tɔ:a 'maŧ:a | męn hon 'ha:v 'gɔ:ɾas'u:ka | so 'tu:_dom_on 'ęnt | 'maŧ:a | o so skilt 'an:a fo 'gɔ: ę_ę_ henaš 'stel: || 'soš_som_on var 'ę:n 'uŧ so 'hɔ:lę | so 'tu:_dom_sęn: ęin 'pi:k fron prästn 'boŧ: ę_ę_ stel_ę_ 'an:a | o 'an:a bŕei sęn: mę 'pręstn || hę 'va:r ę_ę_ 'pɔ:lŧ || han 'bi:n han 'heit horlę'brun: || 'ti:ske 'tu: min 'papa o an:a 'portjes 'sistra o ma'ria 'hęrmanša | o tom bŕei 's'u:kar bait 'hę | o min 'papa bŕei 'dę:er rei ę_ę_ 'komi 'ęses'er || 'papa bŕei 'dę:er 's'u:andę 'fębruar | o 'an:asęs sistra 'maŧ:a bŕei 'fjɔ:t_andę | hon 'du: ivę ęin 'vigu || 'treti:andę 'januar

var 'papa 'fjœrɛtɛ 'o:r | o um 's'æ:andɛ 'fɛbruar bʁɛi_ɛn 'dɛ:ɛr || 'fjœ:rɛtɛ 'o:f 'gamʁan 'var_ɛn || bait 'kri: œtɛ
'kovɛl var_ɛ 'alɛ 'vɛʃt | vɛ 'bʁɛi undɛ 'ba:r 'him:ɛn || 'an:as 'murmur | mɛjɛ'dɛil | bʁɛi tɛr 'dɛ:

When Germans drove us out, whole villages were empty, and no human walked there, so it was frightening to walk along the street, and no dog barked. Germans ordered to pay for dogs, so people killed the dogs. But my dad said: “He has served me all his life, and how to kill him?” And the Germans took our menfolk to SS, so that they wouldn’t be able to surrender [because those who served in SS were punished severely if caught, which made it meaningless for them to surrender]. They took away one to SS, and after the war he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The Germans ordered to dig trenches and wanted to take away Anna [Anna Lyutko]. First they wanted to take away Marta [A. Lyutko’s sister], but she had jaundice, so they didn’t take her, Marta, and Anna had to go instead of her. As she was very young, they took one girl from the priest instead of Anna, and Anna was at the priest’s place afterwards. This was in Poland. That village was called Horlebrunn. Germans took away my dad, Anna Portje’s sister and Maria Herman, and they fell ill after that, and my dad died already in Komi ASSR. Dad died on the seventh of February, and Anna’s sister Marta on the fourteenth [Marta Norberg, Anna Potje’s sister, Anna Lyutko’s cousin; she was 19 years old], she died in a week. On the thirtieth of January dad was forty years old, and on the seventh he died, he was forty years old. After the war it was worst in Kovel, we were under the open sky. Anna’s grandmother probably died there.

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