Documentation of Gutnish phonetics and phonology

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Preface

1.1 Abstract

This dissertation constitutes a basic description of the phonetics and phonology of the Gutnish language which is spoken in the Swedish province Gotland. Based on original recordings collected by me in Gotland during the summer of 2011 the vowel and consonant inventory is mapped, phonotactic rules are established and stress and pitch accents patterns described. The introduction gives some background information about the language and tries to evaluate the linguistic situation in Gotland. Throughout, local variation is acknowledged in an attempt to show the diversity but also the instability of the language.

1.2 Acknowledgements

First and foremost, my thanks go, of course, to my informants a list of whom is found in section 2.2.5, and especially those who opened their homes to elicitation sessions. Three other people have been very helpful: Bosse Carlgren, secretary of Gutamålsgillet, who enthusiastically drove me around Gotland introducing me to speakers who know and trust him and therefore were very willing to help me; the PhD student at Uppsala University Stefan Jacobsson-Schulstad who is

always willing to discus linguistic questions and my supervisor Monik Charette who answered my questions even in the middle of the summer break.

This project would have been much more difficult had I not been offered to live in my girlfriend's family's house in Visby. Cheers to them!

1.3   Abbreviations

Abbr.	Meaning
f.	feminine
FG.	Fårö Gutnish
G.	Gutnish
m.	masculine
n.	neuter
No.	Norwegian
OG.	Old Gutnish
OSw.	Old Swedish
sup.	supine (corresponding to the English past participle in the perfect)
Sw.	Swedish

Chapter 2

Introduction

2.1 About the language

2.1.1 Location

Gutnish is spoken on the island of Gotland, including Fårö, a small island just off the north eastern tip of the main island. Gotland is situated in the Baltic Sea somewhat closer to the Swedish mainland than to the Latvian ditto and has an area of about 3000 square kilometres and a little under 60,000 inhabitants, a third of which live in the only town, the medieval UNESCO cultural heritage site Visby on the west coast.

According to the locals, Gutnish is spoken on Fårö, along parts of the east coast and on the southern tip of Gotland, but is quickly giving way to Swedish which has been the official language since the 17th century. I have conducted most of my fieldwork in these areas or with people from these areas. My main fieldwork sites have been the north-eastern tip of Fårö, Östergarn parish and Burs parish (see the map in figure 2.1).
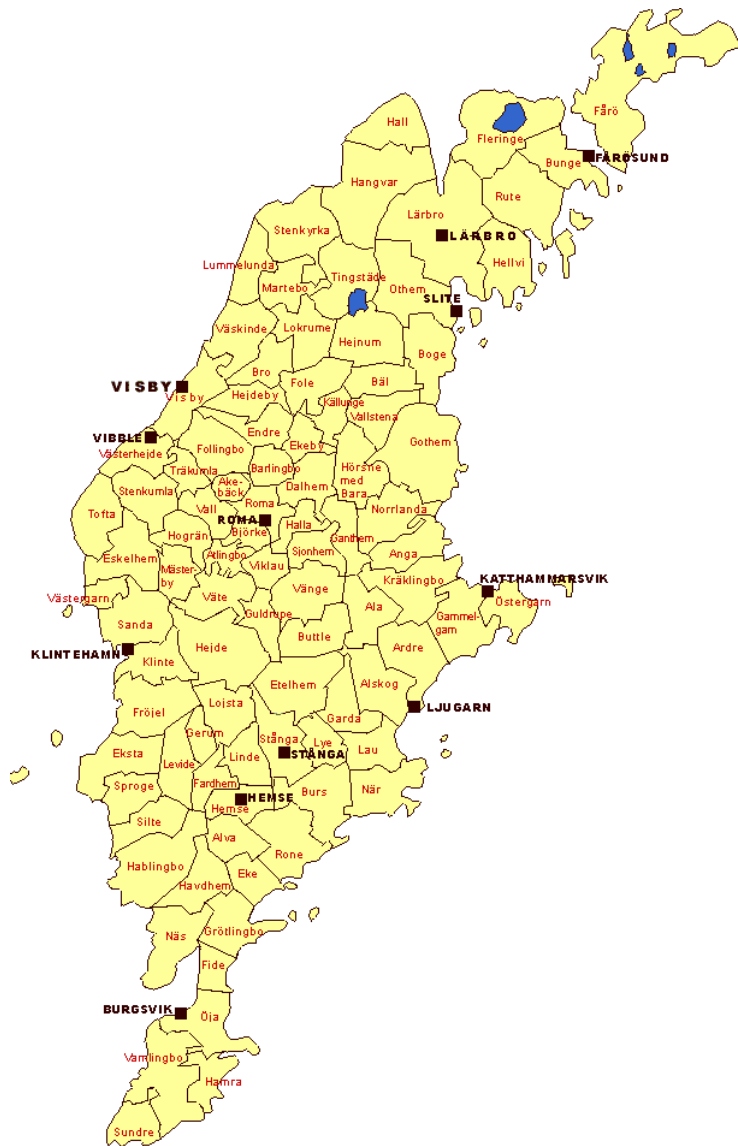
Figure 2.1: Parishes in Gotland

2.1.2 History[1]

The Gutnish language (Sw. *gutamål*, *gutniska* or *gotländska*, G. /²ˈɡɔt̪ːˌlen̪ske]/) has been spoken on the island of Gotland for at least 1500 years. The first written evidence for the existence of Gutnish are some inscriptions on runestones and the saga (mythical history) and law of the Gotlanders (*Gutasagan* and *Gutalagen*) which have survived in a manuscript from around 1350 but date further back (Gustavson, 1977). The language in these texts is clearly set apart from contemporary Swedish (Wessén, 1979, 109) (Lombard, 1990, 61).

Since then Gutnish has been under heavy influence by German, Danish and Swedish. Gotland has been a part of Sweden since 1645.

2.1.3 Genetics

Gutnish is a North Germanic language, probably most closely related to Swedish. It has been hinted at (Wessén, 1979, 110) that Gutnish and the extinct (East Germanic) Gothic should in some way be closer related than Gutnish to the other North Germanic languages but this remains unclear.

2.1.4 Dialectology

According to Herbert Gustavson (Gustavson, 1940, 1945, 1948, 1977) the only big dialectal divide in Gotland is between the island Fårö off the northern tip of Gotland and mainland Gotland. An obvious difference is the nature of the epenthetic vowel which on Fårö is /ɔ/ and on Gotland /a/:

(2.1) /¹ˈɡlaːd̪ɔr/ [¹ˈɡlɑːd̪̍ɔr] 'happy' BÖ

(2.2) /¹ˈɡlaːd̪ar/ [¹ˈɡlaːd̪̍aɹ] 'id.' IH

The pitch accent differs somewhat between the two in its tonal realisation even though the basic division in two contrastive pitch accents is the same,

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[1] The historical information comes from Gotlands fornsal, the local history museum and from Granlund and Andersson (1981), lemmata *Hansan*, *Gotlandshandel*, *Gutalagen* and *Gutasagan*.

as will be described below. There are also a number of morphological and syntactic differences between Fårö Gutnish and mainland Gutnish which are discussed throughout Gustavsons work.

2.1.5 Typology

Gutnish is a moderately inflecting SVO language similar to other mainland Scandinavian languages such as Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Dalecarlian etc. Its verbs inflect for tense and mood but not person or number (with the exception of Fårö Gutnish has verbs fully inflected for person and number). Nouns belong to one of three genders and inflect for number and definiteness, adjectives inflect for gender, number and definiteness.

Like in other North Germanic languages, Gutnish has two pitch accent patterns which are realised as regular changes in pitch.

Another typical feature shared with Scandinavian languages is the syllabic structure which is typologically rare and will be described in chapter 6.

2.1.6 Endangerment and political status

According to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (accessed 2011-08-13) Gutnish is an endangered language with an estimated number of speakers of around 5000.[2]

Gutnish has no official status in Sweden, and this is in fact true of all regional varieties of Swedish. Sweden does have legislation concerning minority languages, but the only officially recognised minority languages are Saami, Finnish, Yiddish, Romani and Meänkieli none of which are genetically related to Swedish (Språklag, 2009:600).

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[2]Tapani Salminen who is responsible for this evaluation has told me that it is not based on any trustworthy statistics but rather an informed guess (p.c.).

2.1.7 The Gutnish Society

The Gutnish Society (Gutamålsgillet) has close to 500 members (Bosse Carlgren, society secretary, p.c.) and works for the preservation of Gutnish by arranging meetings where speakers can meet and speak Gutnish together, awarding a yearly literary award (Fäi-Jakåpräise) for literature in Gutnish, hosting a website containing some (basic) material about Gutnish and producing merchandise related to Gutnish which is also available from the website.

The society has recently begun counting the number of Gutnish speakers in each parish (on a voluntary basis) but the results are not available yet.

2.1.8 Some observations concerning the linguistic situation

I want to give here a brief general account of the linguistic situation on Gotland, such as I view it based on my observations in the field and on numerous discussions with locals and with the PhD student at Uppsala university, Stefan Jacobsson Schulstad, who has studied Scandinavian languages for many years and has spent some time on Gotland doing fieldwork for his PhD thesis.

I would like to express my doubts about there being 5000 speakers who could hold a conversation in Gutnish without borrowing heavily from Swedish. Gutnish is not dying out in the sense that it is being replaced by Swedish; rather, it is being slowly assimilated by Swedish, a process made possible by the facts that the two languages are quite similar and that Swedish is the official language in Gotland.

I have been told by the speakers in Burs that there are at least two families with young children in Burs where Gutnish is spoken on a daily basis. It is unknown whether this also happens elsewhere on the island.

Schools have some activities connected with Gutnish, focussing on making the children aware of the existence of the language but not attempting to teach it to them. I have not come across any teaching material that goes into any

depth where phonetics or grammar are concerned.

Interestingly, among young people on the island, who do not speak Gutnish and often do not even have an accent when speaking their mother tongue Swedish, it is still quite common to be able to understand Gutnish words which differ quite a lot from their Swedish cognates, such as [^{1}ˌɹaudaɻ] 'red' (Swedish [ɹøːd]) or [^{2}ˈɡʏˌnːɛ] 'to begin' (Swedish [^{2}ˈbœrˌja] or somewhat archaically [^{1}bɛˈjʏnːa]) and sometimes even to produce them.

Among the members of Gutamålsgillet an interesting situation is evolving. The society has published a set of orthographic recommendations for Gutnish (Gutamålsgillets stavningsrekommendationer) which seem to be followed by many members who write in Gutnish (e.g. when contributing to the literary competition mentioned above). As a result of this, I have sometimes had informants explain to me how I should spell a certain word while eliciting. A process of local standardisation seems to be in progress, but, since there is no dictionary which follows any orthographic standards (either as recommended by the society or by anyone), this standardisation still leaves room for personal or regional variation.

2.1.9 Previous literature

Numerous word lists and notes on grammatical features of Gutnish have been produced by travellers and scholars on the island since the 17th century. These are of little interest to phonetic and phonological work since they are inconsistent and sketchy in their transcriptions and often produced in a spirit of linguistic conservatism guided by the desire to make Gutnish appear ancient and similar to the Old Norse language, rather than depicting the language as it was actually spoken at the time. A list of these can be found in Gustavson (1945), vol. 2, pp. III-XXIII.

There are a few works, however, which are of some usefulness, especially in the process of preparing elicitation. There is a big dictionary (Gustavson, 1945) which was edited by Gustavson but is in fact the result of the work of

many men over the century preceding its publication. The material for the dictionary has been collected from various sources including most of the word lists mentioned above and original collections by the various men involved in the dictionary. Due to this varied origin of data there is no consistent transcription and a lot of the entries are fairly useless from a phonetic point of view since they use the Latin alphabet. There are, however, also a great number of entries in which the Swedish dialect alphabet (landsmålsalfabetet) was used and these are very useful to the phonetician, since this alphabet is a highly sophisticated transcription system, perfectly adapted to Swedish dialects, in fact better so than the IPA. For the present purposes, the dictionary will serve mainly as the source of words used in elicitation lists.

Another useful piece of writing is Herbert Gustavson's PhD thesis (Gustavson, 1940) and the follow-up (Gustavson, 1948), in which he attempts a description of Gutnish phonetics and to some extent phonology based on the historical changes from Old Gutnish. He gives numerous examples of Old Gutnish phonemes and their modern reflexes in the different dialects of Gutnish and exemplifies some phonological phenomena such as reduction of complex clusters. He also has a few things to say about pitch accent, although this section is rather inaccessible due to a terminology that is neither well-defined nor well-organised.

A dissertation about the phonology of Fårö Gutnish was written by a student at Stockholm University in 1967 (Gerby, 1967). It is based on recordings made by the author on Fårö and is quite similar to the present work, albeit much shorter and focussed on Fårö Gutnish only. The analyses seem to be well-founded and well-presented although the bad quality of the copy I have found makes reading the text quite tiresome and at times impossible.

There is also a dissertation on the pitch accent system of Gutnish (Klintberg, 1884), written by the MA student Mathias Klintberg in 1884 based on his own fieldwork. It focuses on one dialect of Gutnish, that of the Lau parish on the southern east coast and employs musical notation as a means to describe the melodic patterns of the pitch accent of words of different structures, simplices,

morphologically complex forms, compounds, different syllabic structures etc. Many examples are given for each category, making the dissertation a good hunting ground for the gathering of elicitation material. The 130 years which have passed since its publication make the material less trustworthy, however, since at least some changes are bound to have happened under the influence of an increasingly fierce policy of Swedification enforced in the compulsory primary schools set up by the Swedish state.

A text hardly worth mentioning, were it not for the fact that it is the only text known to me that is directly connected to Gutnish and is written in English, is Anita Karlsson-Lenardt's essay (Karlsson-Lenardt, 2008), possibly some kind of academic essay since there is no information to be found about the publisher, which aims "to show that Guthnic is not a Swedish dialect, but indeed a language" (ibid. *Preface*). The essay gives an overview of a seemingly random collection of grammatical statements about Gutnish, usually without citing any sources. A comparison with Gustavson (1977) shows most of the material to be taken from there. There is no explanation of methodology and, in fact, hardly any explanations at all as to what the reader is supposed to be doing with the information provided. The objective set out in the preface and cited above is not achieved from a linguistic point of view.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are a number of literary works published in Gutnish, including the publication of the first 20 letters of 262 letters written in Gutnish by a farmer around the beginning of the 20th century (Karlsson, 2000), collections of short stories (eg. Pehrsson (2010)), the publications of the contributions to Gutamålsgillet's yearly literary award (see section 2.1.7) and other similar publications.

2.2 About this dissertation

2.2.1 Aims

The present work aims to be a basic description of the phonetics and phonology of Modern Gutnish. By 'basic' I mean three things: 1) it will not be exhaustive, 2) it will not be very theoretical, 3) it will not employ an awful lot of phonetic instrumental experiments. The first two are quite typical of descriptive work while the third is the consequence of a lack of time and proper training in experimental techniques.

The main aim of the work will be to come up with a set of phonemes and phonotactic rules taking into consideration phonological processes such as allophony, assimilation and the like. A description of suprasegmental phenomena, mainly stress and the connected pitch accent, will also be attempted.

An exact phonetic description of each phoneme will not be given since this would require a lot of experiments. Phonetic methods, mainly computer-based analysis in Praat, will be conducted to clarify any cases of uncertainty with regards to the phonology, especially, I expect, the suprasegmentals.

2.2.2 Methodology

The description will be based on sound recordings made with a small number of speakers based largely on elicitation techniques such as word list elicitation. Frame sentences will be avoided as much as possible, since they interfere with the pitch accent which is very sensitive to tonal and intonational sandhi phenomena, the nature and behaviour of which have not to my knowledge been described in a satisfactory manner even for such well-described languages as standard Swedish or Norwegian.

The word lists are custom made, based on the dictionary (Gustavson, 1945) and constantly adapted to include material already elicited. Since the informants are all bilingual in Swedish, which will be the main elicitation language, and code switching between the two is common I would have liked to have two

informants elicit from each other in Gutnish. However, I have found no infor-
mants who have shown any interest in or understanding of linguistic structures
and I can thus only hope that the strong sense of cultural distinctiveness will
have helped to keep the influence of Swedish at a minimum. Strong Swedish
influence on Gutnish is already a fact and the search for "pure" Gutnish is futile.

The data thus collected has been transcribed to as large an extent as is
possible given the time frame. The recordings have been analysed in Praat
where necessary, looking at length, aspiration, voicing, intensity, pitch etc.

2.2.3   Organisation

The description is organised into the following sections: Chapter 3 gives the
vowel sounds including diphthongs. Chapter 4 does the same for consonants.
Chapter 5 describes stress and pitch accent. Syllabic structure is described in
chapter 6 and chapter 7 describes a number of phonological processes found in
Gutnish.

2.2.4   Some notes on transcription

The IPA is in many ways a rather crude system of phonetic transcription. Many
distinctions are made by means of diacritic symbols the use of which varies quite
widely, according to the personal interpretation and taste of the transcribing
linguist, and many symbols are stretched out across several different ways of
articulation, the distinction between which is maybe not phonemic but certainly
phonetically relevant.

Most Swedish dialects have a series of stops and fricatives which are pro-
nounced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, thus produc-
ing sounds very close to English t, d, n, s, but slightly further back. These are in
contrastive distribution with their dental counterparts in some positions, such
as in the minimal pair Standard Swedish [muːɖ] 'murder' and [muːd] 'courage'.
Note how the (post-)alveolar plosive in [muːɖ] is transcribed as a retroflex. This
is common when transcribing Swedish but incorrect in most Swedish varieties

since the tip of the tongue is not bent back to produce the sound. Since I do not have the means to conduct experiments to determine the exact places of articulation in Gutnish I will have to go by my ears and gut feeling and will thus transcribe the two series as dental and alveolar (since there is no straight forward way of transcribing postalveolar sounds in the IPA): [t̪ d̪ n̪ s̪] and [t d n s]. This is to be understood as a phonemic convention rather than phonetic transcription.

Gutnish has a lot of vowel sequences which form syllable nuclei[3]. These sequences are both short and long and to distinguish between these I apply the following principles: Vowel sequences which in length correspond to a short vowel (i.e. are followed by a syllable-final consonant) are transcribed as a short vowel followed by an extra-short vowel, eg. [eɛ̆], [oŭ] etc. Long vowel sequences (corresponding to a long vowel) are transcribed, as is usually the case, as two short vowels, eg. [au], [eɪ] etc. There are also some cases where plain long vowels have an offglide, ie. they change their quality slightly just before they end. These are transcribed as long vowel plus extra-short vowel. They are mostly [eːæ̆] and [oːŭ].

The superscript numbers 1 and 2 refer to the two pitch accent patterns in Gutnish, conveniently called 'accent one' and 'accent two'; see below section 5.

2.2.5   The speakers

Every example of Gutnish to follow will be indexed to indicate which speaker gave it. These are the speakers and their indices:

Name of speaker	Place	Index
Bertil Pettersson	Burs	BeP
Barbro Pettersson	Lau	BaP
Maggie Johansson	Burs	MJ
Barbro Södergren	Burs	BS
Fred Klingvall	Gammelgarn	FK

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[3]I.e. what is in more theoretically bound contexts usually called 'diphthongs'.

Åke Wahlgren	Gammelgarn	ÅW
Valter Söderström	Gammelgarn	VS
Sven Norberg	Östergarn	SN
Bengt Johan Östman	Fårö	BÖ
Ingvar Söderdahl	Fårö	IS
Ingemar Hägg	Hemse	IH

The speakers can be divided into four general areal varieties which I will call Burs (BeP, BaP, MJ, BS), Gammelgarn (FK, ÅW, VS, SN), Fårö (BÖ, IS) and IH. All the speakers have revealed themselves to be interested in their language and most of them are members of Gutamålsgillet. This means that they are more or less literate in Gutnish and are likely to be influenced by the written sources that exist in and on the language (cf. section 2.1.9).

Chapter 3

Vocalic phonemes

I have found the following contrastive vowels in Modern Gutnish:

(3.1) /ɪ/, /ʏ/, /e/, /œ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/

Of these all but /u/ have a short and a long version. For /u/ I have only found short examples, which is expected since what is etymologically a long /uː/ has been broken into the sequence [ʉu], for which see section 3.3.5.

A distinctive feature of Gutnish is the existence of a large number of sequences of vowel plus [ɪ] or [u] which form vocalic phonemes of their own. These sequences are the following:

(3.2) /eɪ/, /ɛɪ/, /œʏ/, /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, /ʉu/, /eu/, /au/, /ɔu/

As a matter of fact even two of the vowels here treated as simple (rather than sequential), /e/ and /ɔ/, are sometimes pronounced as sequences of two very short vowel sounds, as will be outlined below.

Some of these sequences alternate with short vowels between different morphological forms of the same lexeme, cf. such pairs as /vɛɪt̥ʰ/ 'white'(f.) ∼ /vɪt̥ʰː/ 'white'(n) BS. This will be described further down in section 7.4.1.

3.1   Vowel distribution

All vowel phonemes can be found in the position of nucleus of a stressed syllable,
as will be seen in sections 3.2 and 3.3 below. There are some vowel phonemes,
however, which may not form the nucleus of a lexically unstressed syllable, ie.
all non-first syllables of simplices and all non-first syllables of each stem in a
compound, provided that the words are not loanwords, as these may follow
other stress rules (cf. section 5). No long vowels and no vowel sequences are
allowed as nuclei of unstressed syllables. Among the short vowels I have not
been able to find any words with unstressed /ʏ/ or /œ/. Intonationally un-
stressed syllables, i.e. lexically stressed syllables which have become relatively
unstressed as a consequence of their position in an intonational unit, such as a
phrase or sentence, follow different rules than the lexically unstressed syllables
mentioned above. They can be referred to as secondarily unstressed since their
lexical representation is defined as stressed and the stress has been lost due to
intonational processes, whereas the lexically unstressed syllables are primarily
unstressed.

3.2   Vowels

3.2.1   /ɪ/

Both long and short /ɪ/ are notably lax in Gutnish, whereas tense [i]/[iː] seem
to be lacking completely.

Short and long stressed /ɪ/ are quite similar with the mean F1 being at
around 372 Hz for [ɪː] and 357 Hz for [ɪ] and mean F2 at 2165 Hz for [ɪː] and
2060 Hz for [ɪ], whereas unstressed [ɪ] is a little more open at a mean F1 of
423 Hz and somewhat further back at a mean F2 of 1998 Hz[1].

(3.3)   (a) /¹ˈbɪt̪ːar/ [¹ˈbɪt̪ʰːaɻ] 'bitter' FK

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[1]NB that the mean formants for unstressed [ɪ] are based on only five examples, albeit by
three different speakers (IH, FK, VS).

(b) /²ˈhɪˌn̩ːe/ [²ˈhɪˌn̩ːɛ] 'to make it on time' BS

(c) /vɪt̪ː/ [vɪt̪ʰː] 'white' (n.) BaP

(3.4) (a) /²ˈgɪːˌn̩um/ [²ˈgɪːˌn̩um] 'through' BÖ

(b) /¹ˈsmɪːd̪en̩/ [¹ˈsmɪːd̪n̩] 'the smith' IH

Unstressed [ɪ] is found in derivational and inflectional suffixes such as –[ɪŋ] which derives nouns and –[ɪ], the definite article of feminine nouns:

(3.5) (a) /²ˈbɪːˌkɪŋ/ [²ˈbɪːˌkʰɪŋ] 'smoked herring' FK

(b) /¹ˈflaɱɪ/ [¹ˈflaɱɪ] 'the rough surface of a board or tree stem' IH

3.2.2 /ʏ/

Like /ɪ/, /ʏ/ is notably lax even in its long version:

(3.6) (a) /²ˈgnʏːˌle/ [²ˈjnʏːˌlɛ] 'to whine' IH

(b) /¹ˈtrʏgːar/ [¹ˈt̪ʰɹʏgːa] 'safe' (m.) IH

It is only found in stressed syllables.

3.2.3 /e/

Short /e/ is usually pronounced [ɛ] but also quite commonly broken into a sequence [eæ̆] or [eɛ̆]:

(3.7) (a) /kven̪ː/ [çʋɛn̪ː] 'mill' IH

(b) /fet̪ː/ [feæ̆t̪ʰː] 'fat' (n.) MJ

(c) /²ˈbeˌgːɪ/ [²ˈbeɛ̆ˌgːr] 'both' FK

Before /r/ it shows a tendency towards a more open [æ]:

(3.8) (a) /²ˈbeˌrːe/ [²ˈbæˌɹːɛ] 'needles (of a tree)' VS

(b) /berg/ [bæɹ·gʰ] 'mountain' FK

This is also true before the post-alveolar sounds which are mostly found in
Fårö Gutnish:

(3.9)   (a) /²ˈkaːˌmern/ [²ˈkɑːˌmæɳ] 'the room' IS

        (b) /¹ˈsʏːvert/ [¹ˈsʏːvæʈ] 'you (sg.) are sleeping' BÖ

Long /e/ is realised as either a long vowel [eː] or as a long vowel with a more
or less prominent offglide [eːæ̆]:

(3.10) (a) /beːr/ [beːɹ̝] 'berry', 'bare, naked' FK

        (b) /²ˈd̥reːˌgɛ/ [²ˈd̥reːæ̆ˌgɛ] 'to pull' MJ, IH

In Fårö Gutnish /eː/ is pronounced [æː] before /r/ and /n/[2]:

(3.11) (a) /beːr/ [bæːr] 'berry' BÖ

        (b) /kvern/ [kvæːn] 'mill' BÖ

3.2.4   /œ/

The phoneme /œ/ is only present in loan words where it substitutes Swedish
(and probably Danish) [œ]. Its pronunciation is usually [ɑ] or [ɔ] before /r/:

(3.12) (a) /²fœrˌs̥teːv/ [²ˈfɑˑɹˌs̥tʰeːv] 'front stem (of a ship)'[3] FK

        (b) /²ˈbœrˌje/ [²ˈbɔɹˌjɛ] 'to begin'[4] FK

A long version exists but seems not to be consistently used:

(3.13) (a) /²ˈmœːrˌd̥e/ [²ˈmɑːɹˌd̥ɛ] 'to murder' MJ

        (b) /²ˈmœːrˌd̥e/ [²ˈmɑɹˌd̥ɛ] 'id.'[5] BS

I have only found one example where there is no following /r/. In this case
/œ/ is realised as [œʏ]:

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[2]/n/ is the result of an assimilation of /rn̥/.
[3]The Gutnish word is /²ˈbjauˌrɛ/ [²ˈbjauˌɹɛ] VS, FK.
[4]The Gutnish word is /²ˈgʏˌn̥ːe/.
[5]The Gutnish expression is [tʰa ˈlɛɪv aːv] 'take the life off' BaP.

(3.14) /mjœːd̥/ [mjœɤd̥] 'mead' IH

This is a loan word from Swedish /mjøːd̥/ 'id.' and therefore unlikely to contain the Gutnish phoneme /œɤ/ which would also be realised [œɤ].

3.2.5 /a/

Short /a/ is found in stressed and unstressed positions:

(3.15) (a) /salm/ [salm] 'psalm' BS, BaP, IH

    (b) /^{1}ˈbɔuln̥ar/ [^{1}ˈbɔuln̥ăⱱ̥] 'swells' FK

    (c) /^{1}ˈbasːlar/ [^{1}ˈbasːla] 'is busy' VS

Long /a/ is realised as [aː] on mainland Gotland, but on Fårö it is pronounced further back:

(3.16) (a) /baːt/ [ba̰ːt̥^{h}]^6 'boat' VS

    (b) /^{1}ˈglaːd̥ar/ [^{1}ˈglaːd̥aɽ] 'happy' (m.) IH

(3.17) /^{1}ˈglaːd̥ar/ [^{1}ˈglɑːd̥ɔ̯r] 'happy' (m.) BÖ

3.2.6 /ɔ/

Stressed short /ɔ/ is realised either as a simple vowel [ɔ] or as a sequence [oɞ̆]:

(3.18) (a) /bɔlg/ [bɔlg] 'bellows' VS

    (b) /^{2}ˈkoˌlːe/ [^{2}ˈk^{h}oɞ̆ˌlːɛ] 'skirt' IH

There is one case where a stressed short /ɔ/ seems to be realised as [œ] but this is unclear:

(3.19) /^{2}ˈkɔrˌkɔ/ [^{2}ˈk^{h}œʈ̣ˌk^{h}ɔ] 'church' BS

(3.20) (a) /^{2}ˈkɔrˌku/ [^{2}ˈk^{h}ɔɾɞ̆ˌk^{h}u] 'church' MJ

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[6] The breathiness is not phonemic but may hold some pragmatic significance, e.g. conveying boredom.

(b) /²ˈkɔrˌkɔ/ [²ˈkʰɔʈˌkʰɔ] 'id.' BaP

In example (3.19) the sound [œ] might seem to suggest that this is a different phoneme than /ɔ/, after all [œ] is a front vowel. However, the comparison with the pronunciation of the same lexeme by two other speakers in example (3.20) indicates that the phoneme in question is in fact /ɔ/.

Unstressed short /ɔ/ is found at the end of feminine nouns in the Burs and Lau varieties. One speaker has a tendency to open the sound towards [ɑ]. Otherwise it is pronounced [ɔ]:

(3.21)   (a) /²ˈgjauˌsɔ/ [²ˈgjauˌsɔ] a member of one of several species of gull
               (*Larus fuscus*, *L. argentatus* or *L. marinus*) MJ

         (b) /²ˈleːˌn̥dɔ/ [²ˈleːæ̆ˌdɑ] 'barn' BS

         (c) /²ˈʧʉuˌgɔ/ [²ˈʧʉuˌgɔ] 'twenty' BaP

In example (3.20a) MJ has [u] where BS and BaP have [ɔ]. This is most likely a morphophonemically different form, the definite form of an indefinite */²ˈkɔrˌkɔ/.

Long /ɔ/ is not very common. In the few examples I have found it is usually realised as [oːɔ̆]:

(3.22)   (a) /²ˈgjoːˌn̥e/ [²ˈjjoːɔ̆ˌn̥ɛ] 'to put on a show' IH

         (b) /boːt̥/ [boːɔ̆t̥ʰ] 'boat' MJ, BaP[7]

In one word as pronounced by IH, long /o/ is realised as [uaˠ] before /r/:

(3.23) /joːd/ [juaˠd] 'soil, dirt, earth' IH

3.2.7   /u/

Short stressed /u/ is usually realised as [u]:

(3.24)   (a) /¹ˈbut̥ːen/ [¹ˈbut̥ːn̥] 'bottom' VS

---

[7]This is in fact a Swedish loan word, the Gutnish word being /baːt̥/ (cf. section 3.2.5), but it seems to have replaced the Gutnish word in daily use.

(b) /ʧukː/ [ʧukʰː] 'thick' FR

In one case it sounds more like [ʊ]:

(3.25) /²ˈjusˌtre/ [²ˈjʊsˌtrɛ] 'to gore' IH

This is very likely to be influenced by Swedish where the corresponding phoneme is pronounced [ʊ]. Maybe the word is a loan from Swedish but it may also be an original Gutnish word.

Unstressed short /u/ is mostly found as an adjectival ending but also in some other words. It is realised as [u] or [ʊ]:

(3.26) (a) /ʔ²ˈbɔˌd̥ːu/ [¹ˈbɔd̥ˑu] 'polled' FK[8]

    (b) /²ˈsvemˌnu/ [²ˈsveæ̆mˌn̥u] 'sleepy' IH

    (c) /¹ˈgɪːn̥um/ [¹ˈjɪːn̥um] 'through' IH

    (d) /²ˈlɪːˌd̥u/ [²ˈlɪːˌd̥ʊ] 'free, idle' IH

There is no long /u/.

3.3 Vowel sequences

3.3.1 /eɪ/ and /ɛɪ/

/eɪ/ and /ɛɪ/ are distinctive phonemes only in the variety spoken in Burs and Lau (examples (3.27) and (3.28)), elsewhere they have merged to one phoneme which can be realised either way and will be transcribed /ɛɪ/ in phonematic transcription, cf. example (3.29):

(3.27) (a) /²ˈbreɪˌd̥e/ [²ˈbreɪˌd̥ɛ] 'board' BaP

    (b) /²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥e/ [²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥ɛ] 'to twist' BaP

(3.28) (a) /sleɪt̥/ [sleɪt̥ʰ] 'even (surface)' BaP

---

[8]One would expect this word to have accent 2 since all other adjectives formed with –/u/ do. This instance of the word may have a contextually conditioned accent 1 since it was uttered in a sentence. The processes behind this are not clarified.

(b) /slɛɪt̥/ [slɛɪt̥ʰ] 'a lot of work' BaP

(3.29)   (a) /²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥e/ [²ˈbreɪˌd̥ɛˑ] 'board' IH

(b) /¹ˈbrɛɪd̥ar/ [¹ˈbreɪd̥a] 'twists' IH

(c) /²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥a/ [²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥a] 'to twist' BÖ

(d) /²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥e/ [²ˈbrɛɪˌd̥e̥] 'board' BÖ

In one case in Burs /eɪ/ is pronounced [eː] but it seems to be kept separate from the /eː/ phoneme, as this is pronounced [eːæ̆]:

(3.30)   (a) /sleɪt̥/ [sleːt̥ʰə̆] 'smooth' MJ

(b) /²ˈleːˌd̥ɔ/ [²ˈleːæ̆ˌd̥ɔ] 'barn' MJ

Possibly the two are also kept apart by means of the epenthetic schwa which is a feature specific to the speech of MJ and added to the end of some, but not all, consonant-final words. Compare example (3.30a) to the following example:

(3.31) /greːn̥/ [greːæ̆n̥] 'spruce' (*Picea sp.*) MJ

One might argue that the offglide in example (3.31) and the epenthetic schwa in example (3.30a) collaborate to keep the vowel phonemes apart. Another possibility, that the epenthetic schwa be added to stops but not to sonorants, is disproven by example (3.32). More research is needed to settle this question.

(3.32) /gram̥/ [grain̥ə̆] 'branch' MJ

3.3.2   /œʏ/

/œʏ/ is usually pronounced as an open [œ] followed by a more or less rounded [ʏ]:

(3.33)   (a) /n̥œʏ/ [n̥œʏ] 'new' MJ, BS, BaP, BÖ

(b) /grœʏn̥t̥/ [grœʏnt̥ʰ] 'green' (n.) BS, BaP, BÖ

(c) /²ˈt̥rœʏn̥e/ [²ˈʰrœʏˌn̥ɛ] 'snout' BÖ

In the variety from Östergarn it seems that /œʏ/ and /ɔɪ/ (section 3.3.4) may have merged into the two allophones [ɔɪ] and [ɔʏ]. It is also possible, however, that they still differ in the roundedness of the second element, /œʏ/ being pronounced as [ɔʏ] and /ɔɪ/ as [ɔɪ]. Example (3.34) shows a word where /œʏ/ is expected, but we find [ɔʏ]:

(3.34) /²ˈbœʏˌgel/ [²ˈbɔʏˌgɛl] 'hoop' VS

Another speaker gave the pronunciation in example (3.35):

(3.35) /²ˈbʏːˌgel/ [¹ˈbʏːˌgɛl][9] 'hoop' FK

This suggests that the word might be a loan word from Swedish where it is pronounced [²ˈbyːˌgɛl]. Since Sw. /yː/ often corresponds to G. /œʏ/ (cf. Sw. /byː/ 'village' ∼ G. /bœʏ/ 'town') one might expect the word to be borrowed into Gutnish as either /²ˈbʏːˌgel/ (following the Swedish pronunciation) or /²ˈbœʏˌgel/ (following the regular sound correspondence). Since VS has [²ˈbɔʏˌgɛl] it is reasonable to assume that [ɔʏ] is here in fact a realisation of /œʏ/.

According to Gustavson (1940, 42-9) the diphthong was at that time pronounced as a rather more closed [œʏ] or even [øɪ] all across Gotland. Concerning /ɔɪ/ Herbert Gustavson says that it was also at the time quite alike across the island, usually [oɪ] but before labial consonants mostly [oʏ] (ibid. 225*ff.*).

More research is needed on the Östergarn variety to settle this question.

3.3.3 /aɪ/

/aɪ/ is pronounced more or less the same everywhere, namely as [aɪ]:

(3.36) (a) /laɪm̥s/ [laɪm̥s] 'how?' FK

   (b) /²ˈlaɪˌd̥e/ [²ˈlaɪˌd̥ɛ] 'to lead' MJ

   (c) /¹ˈfaɪˌt̥ar/ [¹ˈfaɪt̥ʰaɻ] 'fat' (m.) BaP

   (d) /jaːg vaɪt̥/ [jɐ ˈvaɪt̥ʰ] 'I know' BÖ

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[9]Concerning the accent cf. section 5.2.3

3.3.4   /ɔɪ/

In the Östergarn variety this sound is a fairly open [ɔɪ]:

(3.37)   (a) /²ˌt̪ɔɪˌve aːv/ [ˌt̪ʰɔɪv ˈaːʊ] 'to wait, hang out' VS

     (b) /²ˈbɔɪˌke/ [²ˈbɔɪˌkʰɛ] 'to grub' FK

In the other varieties it is usually a somewhat more closed [oɪ]:

(3.38)   (a) /d̪ɔɪ/ [d̪oɪ] 'to die' MJ, BS, BaP, BÖ

     (b) /fɔɪ/ [fɵɪ] 'surprised' MJ

3.3.5   /ʉu/

The phoneme /ʉu/ is most typically pronounced [ʉu], although there is a lot of variation along the continuum [ʉu]∼[ʏu]∼[ɛu]∼[øu], as seen in examples (3.39)-(3.41):

(3.39)   (a) /bʉur/ [bʉur] 'drill' MJ

     (b) /bʉur/ [bʏur] 'id.' BS

     (c) /bʉur/ [beur] 'id.' VS

(3.40)   /²ˈbʉuˌre/ [²ˈbøuˌrɛ] 'to drill' VS

(3.41)   (a) /²ˈmʉuˌlen̩/ [¹ˈmɪuln̩] 'the snout' BS

     (b) /²ˈmʉuˌlen̩/ [²ˈmʉuˌlɛn̩] 'id.' BÖ

In one case [au] stands where /ʉu/ is expected (example (3.42)), but this is probably a somehow contaminated, or possibly morphologically different, form. Note that the Swedish form [²ˈɕʉːʏˌgu] can hardly be the origin of the [au].

(3.42)   (a) /²ˈtʃauˌgɔ/ [²ˈtʃauˌgu] 'twenty' IH

     (b) /²ˈtʃʉuˌgɔ/ [²ˈtʃʉuˌgɔ] 'id.' BS

3.3.6 /ɛu/

/ɛu/ is realised as [ɛu]~[eu]~[eɔ]~[ɛo]. Several realisations occur in the speech of most speakers but it seems clear that they are not separate phonemes as can be seen in the following examples. Example (3.43) shows the same word pronounced by different persons with different diphthongs while example (3.44) shows how one speaker pronounces two morphologically different forms of the same word with different diphthongs:

(3.43)   (a) /²ˈslɛuˌte̠/ [²ˈsleɔˌt̠ʰɛ] 'to finish' BS

      (b) /²ˈslɛuˌte̠/ [²ˈslɛoˌt̠ʰɛ] 'id.' MJ

(3.44)   (a) /²ˈslɛuˌte̠/ [²ˈsleuˌt̠ʰə] 'to finish' BaP

      (b) /²ˈslɛuˌte̠/ [²ˈslɛuˌt̠ʰɛ] 'finished' BaP

3.3.7 /au/

/au/ sounds the same throughout the Gutnish linguistic area, namely [au], cf. example (3.45):

(3.45)   (a) /fn̥aus/ [fn̥aus] 'tinder' IH

      (b) /²ˈbjauˌre/ [²ˈbjauˌɹɛ] 'bow (of a ship)' FK

      (c) /²ˈgjauˌsɔ/ [²ˈgjauˌsɔ] 'gull (*Larus fuscus, L. argentatus, L. marinus*)' MJ

      (d) /ʃau/ [ʃau] 'seven' BaP

      (e) /raud̥/ [ɹaud̥] 'red' BÖ

3.3.8 /ɔu/

/ɔu/ can be realised as [ɔu] or [ɑu], the latter making it sound very similar to /au/, cf. example (3.46):

(3.46)   (a) /bɔud̥/ [bɔud̥] 'shop, shack' VS

(b) /bɔud̥/ [bɑud̥] 'id.' FK

(c) /²ˈklambaˌbɔud̥/ [²ˈkʰlambaˌbɑud̥] 'messy storage room' IH[10]

(d) /gɔu/ [gɔu] 'good (f.)' BS, MJ, BaP

(e) /¹ˈgɔuar/ [¹ˈgɔuaɻ] 'good (m.)' BaP

(f) /¹ˈkɔun̥er/ [¹ˈkʰɔun̥ɛr] 'the cows' BÖ

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[10]The second part of this compound is the same lexeme as in examples (3.46a) and (3.46b).

Chapter 4

Consonantal phonemes

4.1 Consonant distribution

Most consonants can be found both syllable-initially and finally, for details see the sections for each consonant. Many consonants have long allophones conditioned by syllabic structure as described in section 6.1.

4.2 Bilabials

4.2.1 /p/

The /p/ phoneme is usually aspirated in all positions, although not very heavily so. Some seemingly irregular exceptions exist, cf. example (4.3b). It can be short and long and occurs in the following positions. Initially, as in example (4.1)

(4.1) /²ˈpɛɪˌke/ [²ˈpʰæɪˌkʰɛ] 'maid' IH

Medially, /p/ can be short or long, as demonstrated in (4.2) and (4.3):

(4.2) /¹ˈskaːpe/ [¹ˈskɑːpʰɛ] 'the cupboard' IS

(4.3) (a) /²ˈklɪˌpːe/ [²ˈkʰlɪˌpʰːɛ] 'cut (grass, hair)' IH

     (b) /¹ˈtupːen̩/ [¹ˈtʰupːɛn̩] 'the top' MJ

Short and long /p/ are also found word-finally, as in example (4.4):

(4.4) /skɪːp/ [skʰɪːpʰ] 'ship' IH /tup:/ [tʰupʰː] 'top, rooster' BaP

There are several clusters involving /p/ and in these it is also usually aspi-
rated, even after /s/, a position in which voiceless stops are usually unaspirated
in Germanic languages.

The clusters I have found are all initial:

(4.5)   (a) /²ˈplaɪ̯te/ [²pʰlaɪ̯tʰɛ] 'stor fläck' IH

        (b) /²ˈproːta/ [²pʰroːtʰa] 'to talk' BÖ

        (c) /spjaut̯/ [spʰjautʰ] 'spear' IH

        (d) /sprund̯/ [spʰrund̯] 'vent (in a skirt or jacket)' IH

4.2.2   /b/

/b/ can be found at the beginning of words as in example (4.6):

(4.6) /baɪsk/ [baɪskʰ] 'bitter' FK

Medially /b/ can occur short or long as in examples (4.7) and (4.8):

(4.7) /²ˈrauˌbeːr/ [¹ˈɹaubeːɻ]¹ 'wild strawberry' (*Fragaria vesca*) FK

(4.8)   (a) /¹ˈrabːar/ [¹ˈrabːa] 'snatches' IH

        (b) /¹ˈkubːen̯/ [¹kʰubːɛn̯] 'the log' MJ

Final /b/ can also be either short (example (4.9)) or long (example (4.10)):

(4.9) /t̯ɛub/ [t̯ʰɛob] 'tube' IS

(4.10) /kubː/ [kʰubː] 'log, name of a Gutnish game' MJ

The phoneme /b/ can be combined with a number of other consonants both
at the beginning and at the end of syllables. Some of these are shown in exam-
ple (4.11):

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¹This word is a compound of the stems /rau/– 'red' and /beːr/ 'berry'.

(4.11) (a) /²ˈbjauˌre/ [²ˈbjauˌɹɛ] 'stem (of a ship)' FK

    (b) /blakː/ [blakʲʰː]² 'penniless' IH

    (c) /braust̩/ [br̆aust̩ʰ] 'breast, chest' IH

    (d) /²ˈbabˌle/ [²ˈbabˌlɛ] 'to blab' IH

    (e) /²ˈklambarˌbɔud̩/ [²ˈkʰlambaˌbɑud̩] 'messy storage room'³ IH

/b/ has an allophone [β] which is found, it seems, randomly at the beginning of words where the same speaker may also have [b]:

(4.12) (a) /²ˈbɔulˌn̩e/ [²ˈβɔulˌn̩ɛ] 'to swell' FK

    (b) /¹ˈbɔuln̩ar/ [¹ˈbɔuln̩a˞] 'swells' FK

This is most likely just the consequence of floppy pronunciation (cf. the pronunciation of IH in section 4.7.2).

4.2.3   /m/

/m/ can be found in all syllabic positions and is realised as [m] throughout the material. Example (4.13) shows initial /m/:

(4.13) /²ˈmʏˌlːe/ [²ˈmʏˌlːɛ] 'soil' IH

Medial /m/ can be short and long. Example (4.14) shows a short medial /m/:

(4.14) /²ˈsvɛɪme/ [²ˈsvæɪˌmɛ] 'to faint' IH

I have not elicited any long medial /mː/, but there is a song in Gutnish called "Summan kumma" ('Summer is coming') which gives us two words with long /mː/:

(4.15) (a) /¹ˈsumːarn̩/ [¹sumːan̩] 'the summer'

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² The palatal quality is most likely accidental.

³ This word is a compound but the relevant consonant sequence is not situated at the boundary: [²ˈkʰlamba-ˌbɑud̩] and thus still tells us something about the rules for word-internal consonant sequences.

(b) /¹ˈkumːar/ [¹ˈkumːa] 'comes'⁴

Final /m/ can also be short and long, as shown in examples (4.16) and
(4.17):

(4.16) /²ˈreŋgaˌrɔum/ [²ˌrɛŋgaˈrɔum̩] place name on Fårö, BÖ

(4.17) /st̩ımː/ [st̩ʰımː] 'school of fish, group' IH

/m/ can be found in combination with several other consonants both initially
and elsewhere. There are clusters beginning as well as ending in /m/. Exam-
ple (4.18) shows an initial cluster beginning with /m/ while example (4.19)
shows one where /m/ is the second member:

(4.18) /mjœɤd̩/ [mjœɤd̩] 'mead' IH

(4.19) /smaɪt̩/ [smaɪt̩ʰ] 'batter' IH

Medial clusters involve the ones in example (4.20):

(4.20)   (a) /²ˈklambarˌbɔud̩/ [²ˈkʰlambaˌbɑud̩] 'messy storage room' IH

        (b) /²ˈsvemˌn̩u/ [²ˈsveămˌn̩u] 'sleepy' IH

Final clusters can also have /m/ in first or second position as shown in
examples (4.21) and (4.22):

(4.21) /lamb/ [lamb] 'sheep' BÖ

(4.22) /salm/ [salm] 'psalm' BS, BaP

4.3   Labiodentals

4.3.1   /f/

In the material collected by me the /f/ phoneme is only found initially, cf.
example (4.23):

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⁴The song can be heard at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1Momn7sHbA.

(4.23) (a) /²ˈfaːɡˌn̩ŋ/ [²ˈfaːɡˌn̩ŋ] 'raking' IH

    (b) /²ˈfœːrˌsten̩ː v/ [²ˈfɑˑɻˌst̪ʰeːv] 'front stem (of a ship)' FK

    (c) /fɪsk/ [fɪskʰ] 'fish' IH

/f/ can be combined with other consonants as can be seen in the following examples:

(4.24) (a) /fjaun̩/ [fjauˑn̩] 'down (feathers)' IH

    (b) /¹ˈflam̩ɪ/ [¹ˈflam̩ɪ] 'surface of the trunk of a tree or unplaned surface of a board' IH

    (c) /fn̩aus/ [fn̩aus] 'tinder' IH

    (d) /²ˈfrauˌse/ [²ˈfɹauˌsɛ] 'freeze' IH

    (e) /²ˈt̪faːˌɡen̩/ [²ˈt̪faːˌɡɛn̩] 'washed' IH

    (f) /²ˈt̪fɪˌtru/ [²ˈt̪fɪˌt̪ʰɹu] 'female being in the Gotlandic folklore' IH

    (g) /kven̩ː/ [kʰvfɛn̩ː] 'mill' MJ

    (h) /kven̩ː/ [kfv̆ɛn̩ː] 'mill' BS

4.3.2 /v/

The phoneme /v/ is found in all syllabic positions, but I have not found any instances of long /v/. The various positions are demonstrated in example (4.25):

(4.25) (a) /¹ˈvaːdar/ [¹ˈvaːda] 'wades' IH

    (b) /²ˈfœːrˌsteːv/ [²ˈfɑˑɻˌst̪ʰeːv] 'front stem (of a ship)' FK

    (c) /lɛɪv/ [lɛɪv] 'life' BaP

    (d) /²ˈt̪ɔɪˌve/ [²ˈt̪ʰɔɪˌvɛ] 'to wait' VS

Clusters involving /v/ include those in example (4.26):

(4.26) (a) /²ˈd̪vaːˌle/ [²ˈd̪vaːˌlɛ] 'hibernation' IH

    (b) /svaɪɡ/ [svaɪɡ] 'twig' IH

    (c) /²ˈsvaˌkːe/ [²ˈsvaˌkʰːɛ] 'dell' IH

    (d) /²ˈsvemˌn̥u/ [²ˈsveămˌnu] 'sleepy' IH

    (e) /²ˈsvɛɪˌme/ [²ˈsvæɪˌmɛ] 'to faint' IH

    (f) /kveːn/ [kʰvæːn] 'mill' BÖ

One speaker pronounces the sequence /kv/ as [çʋ]:

(4.27) /kven̥ː/ [çʋɛn̥ː] 'mill' IH

Compare the more common pronunciation:

(4.28) /kven̥ː/ [kʰvɛn̥ː] 'mill' MJ

4.4   Dentals

The dentals are not necessarily always truly dental, but they are more fronted
than the post-alveolars (section 4.5) and sound dental enough to justify this
classification until further research can clarify the matter.

4.4.1   /t̪/

/t̪/ can be found in all syllabic positions. At the beginning as in example (4.29),
intervocalically short and long, cf. example (4.30) and at the end, short and
long, cf. example (4.31):

(4.29) /t̪ɛub/ [t̪ʰɛob] 'tube' IS

(4.30)   (a) /²baɪˌt̪e/ [²ˈbaɪˌt̪ʰɛ] 'to graze' FK

    (b) /¹ˈbɪt̪ːar/ [¹ˈbɪt̪ʰːaɻ] 'bitter' FK

(4.31)   (a) /faɪt̪/ [faɪt̪ʰ] 'fat' (u.) MJ

    (b) /baːt̪/ [ba̰ːt̪ʰ] 'boat' VS

    (c) /fet̪ː/ [feăt̪ʰ] 'fat' (n.) MJ

Clusters involving /t̪/ include the ones in example (4.32):

(4.32)　(a)　/bul̪t̪/ [bul̪t̪ʰ] 'bolt, peg' FK

　　　　(b)　/²ˈbu͵st̪e/ [²ˈbu͵st̪ʰɛ] 'to brush' VS

　　　　(c)　/¹ˈbut̪ːen̪/ [¹ˈbut̪ːn̪] 'bottom' FK

　　　　(d)　/²ˈakt̪ar͵st̪eːv/ [²ˈakt̪a͵st̪ʰeːv] 'back stem (of a boat)' FK

　　　　(e)　/tfaː/ [tfɑː] 'two' BÖ

4.4.2 　/d̪/

/d̪/ can be found in all syllabic positions, initially (cf. example (4.33)), medially short and long (cf. example (4.34)) and finally short and long (cf. example (4.35)):

(4.33)　/d̪ɔɪ/ [d̪oɪ] 'to die' MJ

(4.34)　(a)　/²ˈbeː͵d̪e/ [²ˈbeːɛ̆͵d̪ɛ] 'to steam bend' VS

　　　　(b)　/²ˈbɪː͵d̪e/ [²ˈbɪː͵d̪ɛ] 'to wait' FK

　　　　(c)　/²ˈbɔd̪ːu/ [¹ˈbɔd̪·u] 'polled' FK[5]

(4.35)　(a)　/bɔud̪/ [bɑud̪] 'shack' FK

　　　　(b)　/bɔd̪ː/ [boŭd̪ː] 'head (of a fish)' IS

　　Clusters with /d̪/ include those in example (4.36):

(4.36)　(a)　/²ˈbald̪ar͵hɔn̪ː/ [²ˈbald̪a͵hɔn̪ː] 'talkalot' VS

　　　　(b)　/²ˈbal͵d̪re/ [²ˈbal͵d̪rɛ] 'to talk a lot' VS

　　　　(c)　/²ˈbɔun̪͵d̪e/ [ˈbɔun̪d̪ɛ] 'farmer' FK[6]

　　　　(e)　/bʏgd̪/ [bʏgd̪] 'region' FK

　　　　(f)　/¹ˈbran̪d̪en̪/ [¹ˈbɹan̪d̪n̪] 'the fire' FK

　　　　(g)　/²ˈd̪reː͵ge/ [²ˈd̪reːæ̆͵gɛ] 'to pull' MJ

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[5]Concerning the accent cf. section 5.2.3.

[6]The accent is not clear here. By virtue of its etymology, having been disyllabic since Old Norse times (cf. Icelandic *bóndi*), it ought to have accent 2, but FK's accents are not always clear and he tends to use accent 1 even where other speakers use accent 2. Cf. section 5.

4.4.3   /n̥/

/n̥/ is found initially, medially and finally and can be short and long except initially (examples (4.37)-(4.39)):

(4.37) /n̥œʏ/ [n̥œʏ] 'new' (u.) MJ

(4.38)   (a) /²ˈbaːˌn̥e/ [²ˈbaːˌn̥ɛ] 'track, course, trajectory' FK

   (b) /¹ˈhm̥ːar/ [¹ˈhm̥ːaɻ] 'is on time' BS

(4.39)   (a) /bam̥/ [bam̥] 'foot' FK

   (b) /²ˈbald̥arˌhɔn̥ː/ [²ˈbald̥aˌhɔn̥ː] 'talkalot' VS

   /n̥/ occurs in the following clusters among others:

(4.40)   (a) /ben̥sk/ [beĕn̥n̥skʰ] an adjective describing someone who tries to speak more Swedish than Gutnish, VS

   (b) /²ˈbɔun̥ˌn̥de/ [ˈbɔun̥n̥dɛ] 'farmer' FK[7]

   (c) /¹ˈbɔuln̥ar/ [¹ˈbɔuln̥aɻ] 'becomes swollen' FK

   (d) /¹ˈbʉugn̥ar/ [¹ˈbʉugn̥aɻ] 'becomes rounded' FK

   (e) /lam̥s/ [lam̥s] 'how?' FK

   (f) /grœʏn̥t/ [grœʏn̥n̥tʰ] 'green' (n.) BÖ

   (g) /¹ˈfɛugeln̥/ [¹ˈfɛogln̥] 'the bird' MJ

   (h) /¹ˈbɪld̥en̥/ [¹ˈbɪlːn̥] 'the ploughshare' VS

The only non-labial nasal found before /k/ and /g/ is [ŋ] which in this position is most likely to be viewed as an allophone of /n̥/ (example (4.41). The same sound is a phoneme of its own when found at the end of words, cf. section 4.7.3.

(4.41)   (a) /²ˈd̥aɪgˌbun̥ke/ [²ˈd̥aɪgˌbuŋkʰɛ] 'dough bowl' IS

   (b) /²ˈren̥gaˌrɔum/ [²ˌrɛŋgaˈrɔum] place name on Fårö, BÖ

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[7]FK's accent is unclear, cf. section 5.2.3.

4.4.4 /s/

/s/ is found in all syllabic positions (examples (4.42)-(4.44)), but the only instances of long /sː/ I have found are where it forms the first part of a cluster (example(4.45)):

(4.42) (a) /²ˈsaːˌge/ [²ˈsaːˌgɛ] 'to saw' IH

(b) /²ˈsɛɪˌgle/ [²ˈsæɪˌglɛ] 'to sail' IH

(4.43) (a) /²ˈbaːˌse/ [²ˈbaːˌs̪ɛ] 'to steam bend' FK

(b) /²ˈgjauˌsɔ/ [²ˈgjauˌs̪ɔ] a member of one of several species of gull (*Larus fuscus*, *L. argentatus* or *L. marinus*) MJ

(4.44) /ʉus/ [ʉus] we' BÖ

(4.45) (a) /¹ˈbaslar/ [¹ˈbasˑla] 'entangles, makes difficult' VS

(b) /²ˈbusˌte/ [²ˈbusˑˌt̪ʰɛ] 'to brush' VS

(c) /²ˈbusˌke/ [²ˈbusˑˌkʰɛ] 'shrubbery' FK

Clusters involving /s/ include the ones in example (4.46):

(4.46) (a) /²ˈakt̪arˌst̪eːv/ [²ˈakt̪ʰaˌst̪ʰeːv] 'back stem (of a ship)' FK

(v) /bensk/ [bĕn̪s̪kʰ] an adjective describing someone who tries to speak more Swedish than Gutnish, VS

(c) /²ˈlaksˌn̪eːt̪/ [²ˈlaks̪ˌn̪eːt̪ʰ] 'salmon net' FK

(d) /laɪn̪s/ [laɪn̪s] 'how?' FK

(e) /²ˈskɛut̪ˌvaːr/ [²ˈskeut̪ʰˌvaːɻ] 'scared' FK

(f) /sleːt̪/ [s̪leːt̪ʰ ̆ə] 'smooth' MJ

(g) /¹ˈbɔɪskar/ or /¹ˈbœɤskar/[8] [¹ˈbɔɤskʰaɻ] 'grim' FK

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[8]Cf. section 3.3.2

4.5 (Post-)alveolars

The post-alveolars [ʈ], [ɖ] and [ɳ] occur very irregularly in Gutnish and prob-
ably due to influence from Swedish where they are the regular result of a still
productive assimilation of /r/ to a following dental stop, nasal, sibilant and lat-
eral. According to Gustavson (1948, 1977) these combinations (/rt/, /rd/, /rn/
and also /rs/, /rl/) underwent assimilation in Gutnish too, but the products of
the assimilation were dental instead of post-alveolar. However, post-alveolars
do occur in Gutnish every now and then, sometimes as allophones of the dental
series and sometimes as phonemes of their own. They are treated here together
since they are so few and their status in the phonemic system is still unclear.

In Fårö Gutnish the process of assimilation is still fairly visible in such pairs
as:

(4.47)   (a) /d̥ɛu ¹ˈsʏːvert/ [d̥ɛu ¹ˈsʏːvæt̪] 'You (sg.) are sleeping' BÖ

   (b) /han̪ː ²ˈaɪˌger eʈː hɛus/ [han̪ː ²ˈaɪˌger etʰɛus] 'He owns a house.' BÖ

In this example the first sentence has a verb with the suffix for the second
person singular, which is –/rt/, and the second sentence has a third person
singular verb form with the suffix –/r/. All verbs, with the likely but not elicited
exception of some auxiliary verbs, have these suffixes and it is very likely that
the second person suffix is composed of a singular suffix –/r/ and a second person
singular suffix –/t/, since Gustavson gives the second person singular forms (for
mainland Gutnish) "skatt, vitt" 'you (sg) shall, will' (<*/skal-t/, */vil-t/) and
"fatt" 'you (sg.) get' (<*/far-t/) (Gustavson, 1977, 34) where there is clearly
no /r/ in the suffix.

4.5.1 /ʈ/

The only [ʈ] I have found on mainland Gotland occurs after an [ɻ] and can there-
fore hardly be considered a phoneme (example (4.48)). From Fårö, however, a
number of second person singular verb forms end in /ʈ/, cf. example (4.49):

(4.48) /svart/ [svaɻt] 'black' BS

(4.49) (a) /d̥ɛu ¹ˈsʏːvert̥/ [d̥ɛu ¹ˈsʏːvæt̥] 'You (sg.) are sleeping' BÖ

   (b) /d̥ɛu ¹ˈbʏgːert hɛus/ [d̥eu ¹ˈbʏgːət̚ʰeus] 'You (sg.) are building a house.' BÖ

   (c) /d̥ɛu ²ˈvɛɪˌlert̥/ [d̥ɛɔ ²ˈvɛɪˌlæt̥] 'You (sg.) are resting.' BÖ

   (d) /d̥ɛu ²ˈpɛusˌtert̥/ [d̥ɜ ²ˈpeosˌt̥æt̚] 'You (sg.) are taking a break.' IS

4.5.2 /d/

A few cases of /d/ have been found, but influence from Swedish seems very likely in all of them:

(4.50) (a) /bɔurd/ [bɑud] 'table' FK (Sw. buːɖ 'id.')

   (b) /joːrd/ [joːɚ˞d] 'earth, dirt, soil' BÖ (Sw. juːɖ 'id.')

   (c) /oːrd/ [oːɚ˞d] 'word' BÖ (Sw. uːɖ 'id.')

   (d) /²ˈmœːrˌde/ [²ˈmɑːɭdɛ] 'to murder' MJ (Sw. ²ˈmœːɖa 'id.')

4.5.3 /n/

Of the three examples of /n/ the first two are from Fårö, where the post-alveolars are somewhat more common than on mainland Gotland, and are not as likely to be influenced by Swedish, although it can not be disproven. The third, from Hemse, is very likely to be a slightly modified Swedish form (cf. the footnote to section 4.5.7):

(4.51) (a) /kvern/ [kvæːn] 'mill' BÖ

   (b) /²ˈkaːˌmern/ [²ˈkʰɑːˌmæn] 'the room' IS

   (c) /²ˈstʃerˌne/ [²ˈstʃæːɻ̩nɛ] 'star' IH (cf. Sw. /²ɧæːˌɳa/)

4.5.4 /r/

/r/ is realised in several different ways across the linguistic area. On Fårö it is almost exclusively pronounced with a slight trill as [r], with some few cases of a more fricative [ɹ]. On mainland Gotland both these varieties occur but a third one, a post-alveolar or retroflex [ɻ] is very common, possibly somewhat more so syllable-finally than elsewhere. Across the whole Gutnish area there is also a tendency to drop final /r/, cf. section 7.3. Between full realisation and drop are some intermediate stages such as super-short /ř/ (example (4.55f)), voiceless /r̥/ (example (4.54b)) and rhoticity in vowels (example (4.55g)).

/r/ is found in all syllabic positions, medially and finally also long (examples (4.52)-(4.54)):

(4.52) (a) /rʏt̪ː/ [rʏt̪ʰ̩ː] 'red' (n.) MJ, BS, BaP

(b) /rat̪ː/ [rat̪ʰ̩ː] 'red' (n.) BÖ

(4.53) (a) /²ˈbeːˌre/ [²ˈbeːɛ̆ˌrɛ] 'to carry' VS

(b) /²ˈbeˌrːe/ [²ˈbæˌɹːɛ] 'needles (of a tree)' VS

(c) /²ˈbeˌrːe/ [¹ˈbæɻ̩ˈɛ] 'id.' FK

(4.54) (a) /beːr/ [beːɛ̆ɻ] 'berry' VS, FK

(b) /bʉur/ [bʉuɻ̥] 'drill' BÖ

(c) /vœːr/ [vœːr] 'we' BÖ

(d) /vœrː/ [vɜrː] 'we' BaP

Clusters involving /r/ include those in example (4.55):

(4.55) (a) /²ˈbalˌd̩re/ [²ˈbalˌd̩rɛ] 'to talk a lot' VS

(b) /²ˈbeːrˌmark/ [²ˈbeːɻˌmaɻkʰ] 'bare ground' FK

(c) /berg/ [bæɻgʰ] 'mountain' FK

(d) /²ˈbœrˌje/ [¹ˈbɔɻjɛ]⁹ 'to begin' FK

---

⁹Concerning the accent, see section 5.2.3

(e) /graṃ/ [graṃ] 'branch' BÖ

(f) /branṯ/ [br̆an̪t̪ʰ] 'burned' IH

(g) /oːrd/ [oːɚ˞d] 'word' BÖ

4.5.5   /l/

/l/ is realised as [l] throughout and fills all syllabic positions and medially and
finally can be short or long (examples (4.56)-(4.58)):

(4.56) (a) /²ˈlaksˌneːt̪/ [²ˈlaksˌneːtʰ] 'salmon net' FK

(b) /laṃs/ [laṃs̪] 'how?' FK

(c) /²ˈleːˌd̪ɔ/ [²ˈleːæ̆ˌd̪ɔ] 'barn' MJ

(4.57) (a) /²ˈbauˌle/ [²ˈβauˌlɛ] 'to moo, bellow' VS

(b) /²ˈgṇʏːˌle/ [²ˈjṇʏːˌlɛ] 'to whine' IH

(c) /²ˈbuˌlːe/ [²ˈbuˌlːɛ] 'bun' FK

(d) /¹ˈskelːar/ [¹ˈskeɛ̆lːaɪ̆] 'barks, scolds' FK

(e) /²ˈkɔˌlːe/ [²ˈkʰoæ̆ˌlːɛ] 'skirt' IH

(4.58) (a) /baul/ [baʊl] 'fire' VS

(b) /²ˈbœʏˌgel/ [²ˈbɔʏˌgɛl] 'hoop' VS

(c) /¹ˈfɛugel/ [¹ˈfɛogɛl] 'bird' MJ

(d) /t̪rulː/ [t̪ʰrulː] 'troll' IS

Clusters containing /l/ include the following:

(4.59) (a) /²ˈbalˌd̪re/ [²ˈbalˌdrɛ] 'to chat' VS

(b) /¹ˈbaslar/ [¹ˈbas̪·la] 'entangles, makes difficult' VS

(c) /bɪld̪/ [bɪld̪] 'ploughshare' VS

(d) /¹ˈbɪld̪eṇ/ [bɪlːn̩] 'the ploughshare' VS

(e) /bɔlg/ [bɔlg] 'bellow' VS

(f) /ʔbult̪/ [boltʰ] 'bolt, peg' VS[10]

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[10]This is probably a mispronunciation for *[bultʰ], cf. [bultʰ] 'id.' FK and the Swedish
cognate [bɵltʰ] 'id.' rather than *[bɔltʰ] which would correspond to G. */bɔlt/ *[boɛ̆ltʰ].

(g) /²ˈbɛulˌn̥e/ [²ˈbeolˌn̥ɛ] 'to swell, gather' VS

(h) /sleːt̪/ [sleːt̪̥ʰɘ̌] 'smooth' MJ

(i) /²ˈslɛuˌt̪e/ [²ˈslɛoˌt̪̥ʰɛ] 'to finish' MJ

(j) /²ˈbabˌle/ [²ˈbab·ˌlɛ] 'to babble' IH

(k) /²ˈbjɛlˌre/ [²ˈbjɛl·ˌrɛ] 'bell' IH

(l) /blakː/ [blakʲʰː] 'penniless' IH

(m) /¹ˈflam̥ɪ/ [¹ˈflamɪ] 'the unplaned surface of a board or the rough
     trunk of a tree' IH

(n) /¹ˈglaːd̥ar/ [¹ˈglaːd̥a·ɻ] 'happy' IH

(o) /²ˈkliˌpːe/ [²ˈkʰlɪˌpʰːɛ] 'to cut' IH

(p) /²ˈsɛɪgˌle/ [²ˈsæɪˌglɛ] 'to sail' IH

These are more than for any other consonant, suggesting that /l/ is for some reason favoured in clusters.

4.5.6   /ʃ/

I have found /ʃ/ only in one lexeme during elicitation, but it is clear from conversations I have had with speakers and from many overheard Gotlandic conversations that it is found in more words and is in fact a phoneme native to Gutnish. The example I have found is example (4.60):

(4.60) (a) /ʃau/ [ʃʲ au] 'seven' MJ, IH, BS

        (b) /ʃau/ [ʃau] 'id.' BaP

4.5.7   /ʧ/

/ʧ/ is found initially (example 4.61) and in at least one cluster (example 4.62).

(4.61) (a) /²ˈʧʉuˌgɔ/ [²ˈʧʉuˌgɔ] 'twenty' MJ, BS

        (b) /²ˈʧauˌgu/ [²ˈʧauˌgu] 'id.' IH

(c) /²ˈʧeːˌle/ [²ˈʧeːæ̆ˌlɛ] 'frost (in the ground)' IH

(d) /²ˈt̥rulːˌʧɔkː/ [²ˈt̥ʰrulːˌʧoǎʰkʰː] place name, IH

(4.62) /ʔ²ˈsʧeːrˌne/ [²ˈsʧæːˌʈnɛ] 'star' IH[11]

4.6 Palatal

4.6.1 /j/

/j/ occurs initially (example (4.63)) and in clusters (example (4.64)):

(4.63)   (a) /jaul/ [jaul] 'wheel' IH

(b) /²ˈjusˌ̥tre/ [²ˈjʊsˌtrɛ] 'to gore' IH

(4.64)   (a) /²ˈbjauˌre/ [²ˈbjauˌrɛ] 'stem (of a ship)' VS

(b) /²ˈgjauˌsɔ/ [²ˈgjauˌsɔ] a member of one of several species of gull
(*Larus fuscus*, *L. argentatus* or *L. marinus*), MJ

(c) /fjaun̥/ [fjauˑn̥] 'down (feathers)' IH

(d) /mjœːd̥/ [mjœɣd] 'mead' IH

(e) /²ˈnjauˌ̥te/ [²ˈnjauˌtʰɛ] 'to enjoy' IH

(f) /²ˈskjauˌ̥te/ [²ˈskʰjauˌtʰɛ] 'to shoot' IH

(g) /spjaut̥/ [spʰjautʰ] 'spear' IH

(h) /²ˈbœrˌje/ [¹ˈbɔɻjɛ][12] 'to begin' FK

In one instance /j/ occurs as an allophone of the second part of the diphthong /ɔɪ/ (section 3.3.4), see example (4.65):

(4.65) /²ˈbɔɪˌge/ [²ˈbɔjɵ̆ˌgɛ] 'to bend' FK

---

[11]This is likely to be a mix of Gutnish and (written) Swedish since according to the dictionary (Gustavson, 1945), lemma 'stjärna', the Gutnish word ought to be /²ˈst̠jeˌn̠ːe/ or /²ˈst̠jeˌn̠ːɔ/ whereas the Swedish is /²ˈɧæːɳa/, written <stjärna>.

[12]Concerning the accent cf section 5.2.3

4.7   Velars

4.7.1   /k/

/k/ occurs in all syllabic positions and can be short and long (examples (4.66)-(4.68)):

(4.66) /²ˈkaɪˌke/ [²ˈkʰaɪˌkʰɛ] 'to swim about' IH

(4.67)   (a) /²ˈbɛuˌku/ [²ˈbeoˌkʰu] 'round (person)' VS

    (b) /¹ˈg̊n̥ɪːˌkar/ [¹ˈj̊n̥ɪːkʰa] 'creaks' IH

    (c) /²ˈbʏˌkːen̥/ [²ˈbʏˌkʰːɛn̥] 'affronted' VS

    (d) /²ˈbaˌkːe/ [²ˈbaˌkʰːɛ] 'slope' FK

(4.68)   (a) /bɪːk/ [bɪːkʰ] 'pitch' VS

    (b) /bɛuk/ [beokʰ] 'stomach' VS

    (c) /bukː/ [bukʰː] 'ram' VS, FK

    (d) /blakː/ [blakʲʰː] 'penniless' IH

In example (4.68d) the /k/ is palatalised. This does not seem to hold any phonemic significance and it only occurs in this one instance.

Clusters with /k/ include the following:

(4.69)   (a) /¹ˈkn̥ɪːkar/ [¹ˈkʰn̥ɪːkʰaɻ] 'creaks' MJ

    (b) /kven̥ː/ [çʋɛn̥ː] 'mill' IH

    (c) /²ˈklambarˌbɔud̥/ [²ˈkʰlambaˌbɑud̥] 'messy storage room' IH

    (d) /kn̥aɪp/ [xnaɪpʰ] 'trick' IH

    (e) /¹ˈskelːar/ [¹ˈskeɛ̆lːaɻ̆] 'barks, scolds' FK

    (f) /²ˈkɔrˌku/ [¹ˈkʰɔr̆̌kʰu] 'the church' MJ

    (g) /²ˈbɪːkˌmœrkar/ [²ˈbɪːk̚ˌmɜɪkʰa] 'pitch blackness' VS

    (h) /ben̥sk/ [beɛ̆n̥skʰ] an adjective describing someone who tries to speak more Swedish than Gutnish, VS

    (i) /baɪsk/ [baɪskʰ] 'pungent' FK

    (j) /bark/ [baɹ˔kʰ] 'bark' FK

    (k) /bʏlk/ [bʏlkʰ] 'grimace' FK

    (l) /fɪsk/ [fɪskʰ] 'fish' IH

4.7.2 /g/

/g/ is found in all syllabic positions, although examples of long final /gː/ are missing. It is sometimes realised as [ɢ]. IH often pronounces it as a fricative [j] or [ɣ], but he seems to be the only speaker to do this.

(4.70)   (a) /gɔu/ [gɔu] 'good' MJ

    (b) /^{1}gɪːn̩um/ [^{1}jɪːn̩um] 'through' IH

    (c) /baug/ [baug] 'chuck' FK

    (d) /svaɪg/ [svaɪg] 'twig' IH

    (e) /^{1}ˈfɛugel/ [^{1}ˈfɛogɛl] 'bird' MJ

    (f) /^{1}ˈhʏːgar/ [^{1}ˈhʏːɢaɻ] 'right (direction)' MJ

    (g) /^{2}beˌgːɪ/ [^{2}beˑˌgːɪr] 'both' FK

    (h) /^{2}bʏˌgːe/ [^{2}bʏˌgːɛ] 'to build' FK

  Clusters with /g/ involve the following:

(4.71)   (a) /^{2}gnɪːˌka/ [^{2}gnɪːˌkʰa] 'to creak' BÖ

    (b) /^{2}gjoːˌn̩e/ [^{2}jjoːˑˌn̩ɛ] 'to put on a show' IH

    (c) /^{2}gn̩ʏːˌle/ [^{2}jn̩ʏːˌlɛ] 'to whine' IH

    (d) /^{1}glaːˌdar/ [^{1}ˈglaːd̩aˑɻ] 'happy' IH

    (e) /graɪp/ [ɣraɪpʰ] 'pitchfork' IH

    (f) /^{2}bʉugˌn̩e/ [^{2}bʏugˑˌn̩ɛ] 'to sag, buckle' VS

    (g) /bɔlg/ [bɔlg] 'bellow' VS

    (h) /berg/ [beɻgʰ] 'mountain' FK

    (i) /bʏgd̩/ [bʏgd̩] 'region' FK

4.7.3   /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a phoneme only word-finally where it is found in the morphemes –/ɪŋ/
and –/n̥ɪŋ/, cf. example (4.72):

(4.72)   (a) /²ˈbeːd̥ˌn̥ɪŋ/ [²ˈbeːɛ̆d̥ˌn̥ɪŋ] 'steam bending' VS

     (b) /²ˈbɪːˌkɪŋ/ [²ˈβɪːˌkʰɪŋ] 'smoked herring' VS

     (c) /²ˈfaːgˌn̥ɪŋ/ [²ˈfaːgˌn̥ɪŋ] 'raking' IH

There is at least one case where the latter of these morphemes is pronounced
[n̥ɪŋg], example (4.73):

(4.73) /²ˈbʏgˌn̥ɪŋ/ [²ˈbʏgˑˌn̥ɪŋg] 'building' BÖ

This pronunciation has been common across Gotland (compare the recom-
mended spelling <ngg> in Gutamålsgillets stavningsrekommendationer, p. 4)
but seems to be disappearing rapidly.

4.8   Glottal

4.8.1   /h/

/h/ is only found initially:

(4.74)   (a) /han̥ː/ [han̥ː] 'he' MJ

     (b) /haːr/ [ha] 'has' (unstressed position) MJ

     (c) /¹ˈhʏːgar/ [¹ˈhʏːɣaɻ] 'right (direction)' MJ

     (d) /heːr/ [heːɻ] 'here' IH

     (e) /²ˈhɪˌn̥e/ [²ˈhɪˌn̥ːɛ] 'to make it on time' IH

4.9   Syllabic consonants

There are two syllabic consonants in Gutnish, [n̥] and [l]. They are found in
complementary distribution with their non-syllabic counterparts, the syllabic

ones occurring in syllabic positions where a vowel would be expected, i.e. forming the syllable nucleus. In the Fårö variety there are no syllabic consonants, instead a vowel is inserted to break up a non-phonotactic cluster.

4.9.1 Syllabic [n̩]

Syllabic [n̩] occurs as an allomorph of /ɛn̩/ after dental stops and after [l], as in the following examples:

(4.75) (a) /^{1}ˈbut̪ːen̩/ [^{1}ˈbut̪ːn̩] 'bottom' VS

    (b) /^{1}ˈbrand̪en̩/ [^{1}ˈbɹand̪n̩] 'the fire' MJ

    (c) /^{1}ˈsmiːd̪en̩/ [^{1}ˈsmɪːd̪n̩] 'the smith' IH

    (d) /^{2}ˈmʉulen̩/ [^{2}ˈmʉuln̩] 'cloudy' BaP

    (e) /^{2}ˈmɛulen̩/ [^{2}ˈmeɔln̩] 'the snout' BS

It does not occur after non-dental stops as should be obvious from the following examples where the final [ɛn̩] is the same morpheme as the final –[n̩] in examples (4.75b), (4.75c) and (4.75e), namely the masculine definite article:

(4.76) (a) /^{1}ˈkubːen̩/ [^{1}ˈkʰubːɛn̩] 'the log' MJ

    (b) /^{1}ˈtupːen̩/ [^{1}ˈt̪ʰupːɛn̩] 'the rooster' MJ, BS, BaP

4.9.2 Syllabic [l̩]

Syllabic [l̩] I have only found in one word:

(4.77) (a) /^{1}ˈfɛugeln̩/ [^{1}ˈfɛogln̩] 'the bird' MJ

    (b) /^{1}ˈfɛugeln̩/ [^{1}ˈfeɔgln̩] 'id.' BS

The sound is an allophone to the sequence /el/ as can be seen in the indefinite form of the same word:

(4.78) /^{1}ˈfɛugel/ [^{1}ˈfɛogɛl] 'bird' MJ

In Fårö Gutnish there is no allophony in these cases, instead there is always a vowel which serves as syllabic nucleus:

(4.79)   (a) /²ˈmʉuˌleņ/ [²ˈmʉuˌleņ] 'the snout' BÖ

      (b) /¹ˈfɛugelņ/ [¹ˈfɛɔgɛln] 'the bird' BÖ

Chapter 5

Accentuation

There are two features which interact to form the system of accentuation in Gutnish. The first is stress which manifests itself as a rise in pressure in stressed syllables compared to unstressed ones. The second is pitch accent which is realised as a suprasegmental tonal curve. Both are lexical properties, although pitch accent is also partly grammaticalised, as will be shown below.

Gutnish polysyllabic simplices can be divided into two groups which in most literature on Scandinavian languages are called accent 1 and accent 2. The differences between these will be described in the various sections of this chapter.

5.1   Stress

In this paper a stressed syllable is defined as a syllable the nucleus of which is pronounced with greater pressure measured in mean dB than the surrounding syllables. The correlation between length and stress will have to be the subject of another study and will not be touched upon here. Pitch is primarily a feature of pitch accent (and intonation) in Gutnish (cf. section 5.2), not of stress, but the the two are connected as will be seen in the following sections.
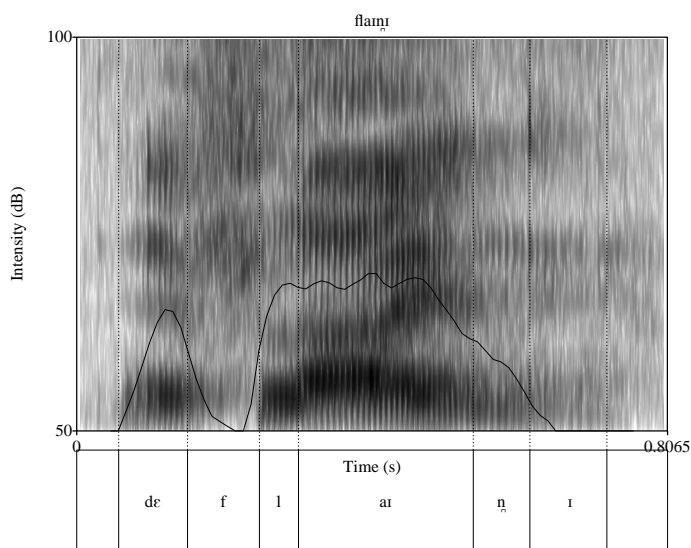
Figure 5.1: "It's the fuzzy stuff on an unplaned board." IH

5.1.1 Simplices

Stress falls on the first syllable in native Gutnish simplices. The mean interval between the first and second syllables of disyllabic words with accent 1 is 7.7 dB, measured between the mean pressure of the nuclei of the respective syllables, but the maximum interval I have measured is 19 dB in one word (cf. figure 5.1). The minimum is 2 dB in one word (cf. figure 5.2).

For words with accent 2 the mean interval is 4.5 dB, the maximum is 15 dB and the minimum 1 dB.

The difference between words with accent 1 and those with accent 2 shows that in fact stress and pitch accent cooperate to differentiate between accent 1 and accent 2.

In loan words stress can fall on non-initial syllables. The only example I have elicited is (5.1) but there is bound to be more since in Swedish these words with unstressed first syllables are very common.
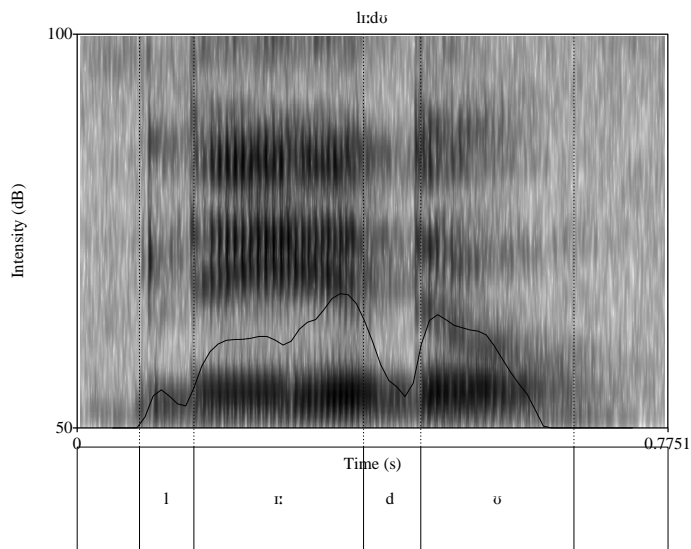
Figure 5.2: "idle" IH

(5.1) /¹fœrˈɔɪḑɛ/ [¹fɜɹˈɔɪḑɛ] 'to lay waste to' BS

5.1.2 Compounds

In compounds it is harder to establish any rules of stress. Out of 20 compounds twelve have stronger pressure on the stressed syllable of the second member than on the stressed syllable of the first member, while seven have stronger pressure on the stressed syllable of the first compound. The last one has higher mean pressure on the first member (first: 58 dB, second: 57 dB) but a higher peak pressure on the second (first: 60 dB, second: 61 dB, cf. figure 5.3). Gunnar Gerby notes a tendency to stress the second member of compounds in his study on Fårö Gutnish phonology (Gerby, 1967).

There is a tendency for disyllabic compounds to have stronger stress on the first member, while in trisyllabic compounds the second member is more commonly stressed, but this is only a tendency.

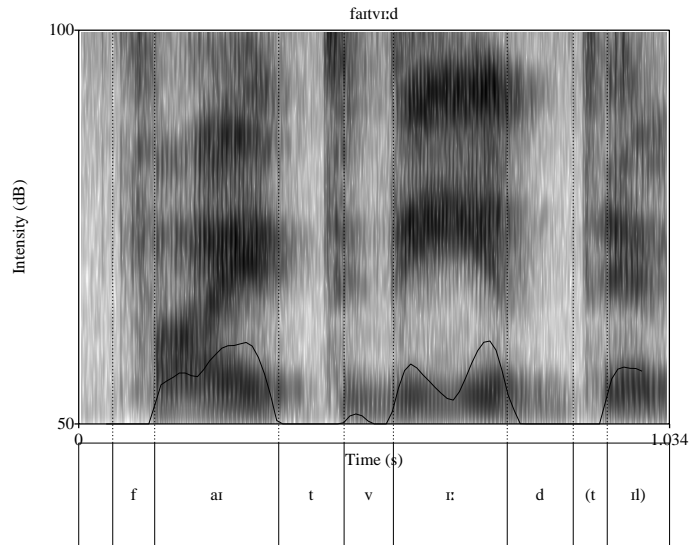In the disyllabic compounds there is no obvious correlation between stress

Figure 5.3: "resinous wood (for [example])" BÖ

and any other phonological properties. In the trisyllabic ones, however, a pattern emerges. Trisyllabic compounds can be divided into two groups: 1) the first member is disyllabic and the second monosyllabic (2+1), 2) the first member is monosyllabic and the second disyllabic (1+2). All the examples belonging to the 2+1 group have main stress on the second member. In the 1+2 group words the second members of which have accent 1 have main stress on the second compound member (cf. example 5.2) while those whose second members have accent 2 have main stress on the first member (cf. example 5.3).

(5.2) (a) /²ˌbɪːkˈmœrkar/ [²ˌbɪːk˥ˈmɜɻkʰa] 'pitch darkness' VS (/¹ˈmœrkar/ 'darkness')

       (b) /²ˌhʏn̩sˈbɛurɪ/ [²ˌhʏn̩sˈbœoɻɪ] 'the chicken cage' FK (¹ˈbɛurɪ 'the cage')

(5.3) (a) /²ˈbjaurˌlɛuke/ [²ˈbjauɻˌleukʰɛ] 'bow hatch' FK (²ˈlɛuˌkɛ 'hatch')

       (b) /²ˈdaɪgˌbuŋke/ [²ˈdaɪgˌbuŋkɛ] 'dough bowl' IS (²ˈbuŋˌkɛ 'bowl')

The material collected for this study is, however, far too small to be subjected to any statistical analyses. Further research into this matter is thus needed.

5.2 Pitch accent

The pitch accent system in Gutnish is similar to pitch accent systems found in standard Swedish and Norwegian and in many dialects of these languages and is also related to the Danish opposition between words with and without *stød* (Riad, 2000). The system divides all polysyllabic words into two groups most commonly called 'accent 1' and 'accent 2'. The difference between the groups lies in the suprasegmental pitch curve that the voice follows while pronouncing the word. Across the Scandinavian linguistic area the curves vary but the opposition between accent 1 and accent 2 is maintained in almost all mainland Scandinavian dialects (cf. Meyer (1937, 1954), Gårding (1977)).

Pitch accent is probably rarely the feature which helps the speaker decide on the correct interpretation of a word, since the context will usually make it clear what is intended. Pitch accent would thus seem to be more or less redundant but since it is one of the most distinctive features of several Scandinavian languages, among them Gutnish, it will be treated here in some detail. Also, despite its seeming lack of function the pitch accent system is maintained in many Scandinavian varieties, suggesting that it does hold some kind of significance to the speakers.

Gutnish maintains an opposition between pitch accents in simplices but not, again following the general mainland Scandinavian trend, in compounds (cf. Riad (1996, 135-7)).

In the following description only disyllabic words will be considered since they make up the vast majority of all the polysyllabic non-compound words. Compounds will be treated separately.
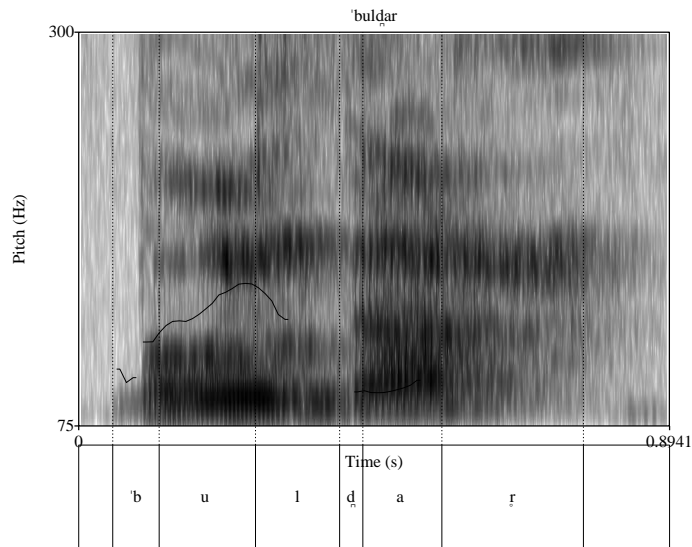
Figure 5.4: "noise" VS

5.2.1 Simplices

Within the two pitch accent groups there is quite some variation in the realisation of the pitch accents. Both accents have a pitch peak, i.e. one highest point in the pitch curve, and the general difference between the accents seems to be that the pitch peak of accent 1 is located somewhat closer to the beginning of the word than that of accent 2. This generalisation holds true for mainland and Fårö Gutnish but there are some differences between the varieties in the details.

In mainland Gutnish the most typical accent 1 has a pitch peak somewhere in the nucleus of the first syllable, followed by a drop in pitch which traverses the boundary to the second syllable. At the end of the second syllable there is often a small rise in pitch. This pattern will be referred to as 'G1a'[1]. A representative example is found in figure 5.4.

Another, less common, type of accent 1 has the pitch peak in the vicinity of the syllable boundary, cf. figure 5.5

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[1] G = Gotland (as opposed to F(årö)), 1 = accent 1, a = first pattern type for this accent.
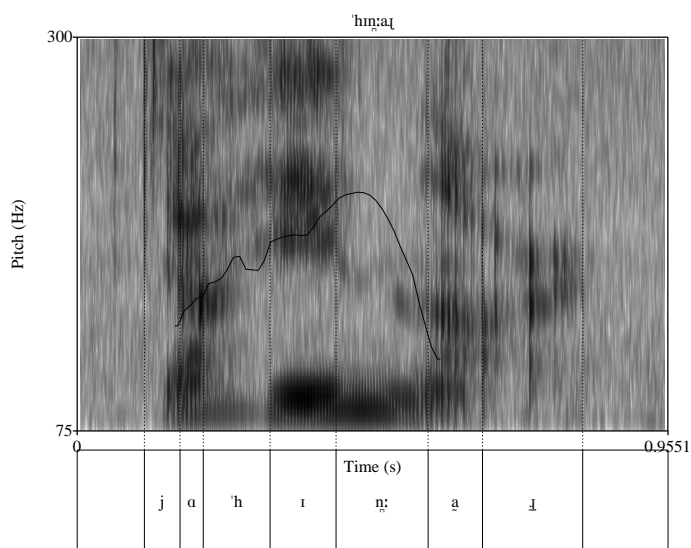
Figure 5.5: "I am on time." BS

This second type, G1b, is very similar to the second most common type of accent 2, G2b, of which an example can be seen in figure 5.6.

The most common type of accent 2, G2a, has a low or rising tone on the first syllable and a falling tone on the second. This is also quite common to G1b, but in G2a the peak is clearly closer to the end of the word than in G1b, cf. figure 5.7.

In Fårö Gutnish the pitch curves for accent 1, F1a and F1b, are almost identical to those of mainland Gutnish, cf. fingures 5.8 and 5.9. The only difference is that the tone of the second syllable of F1a is falling rather than dipping as in G1a.

Fårö Gutnish accent 2 has four different pitch curve patterns, F2a-d, two of which are very uncommon and will not be considered here. The other two, F2b and F2d, are demonstrated in figures 5.10 and 5.11. F2b is clearly set apart from the accent 1 patterns by the low tone on the first syllable. F2d, however, is similar to F1b but has a characteristic pitch dip on the first syllable which is
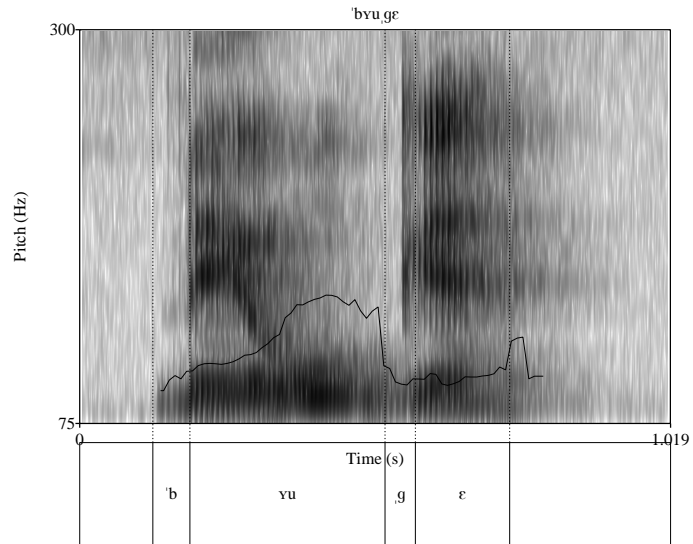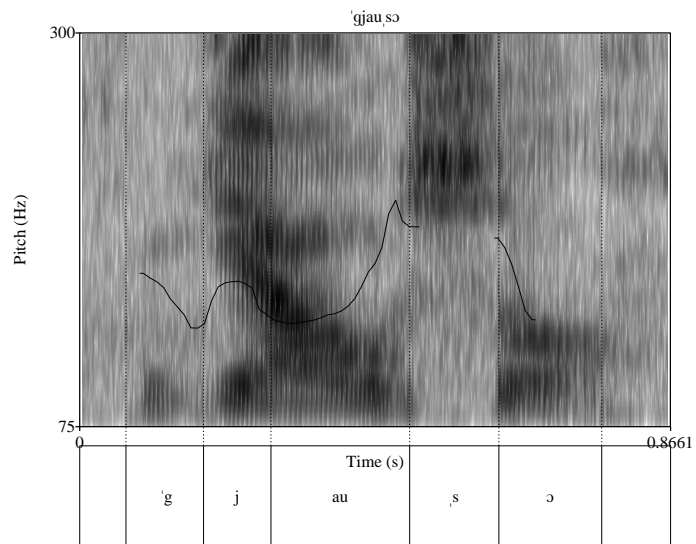
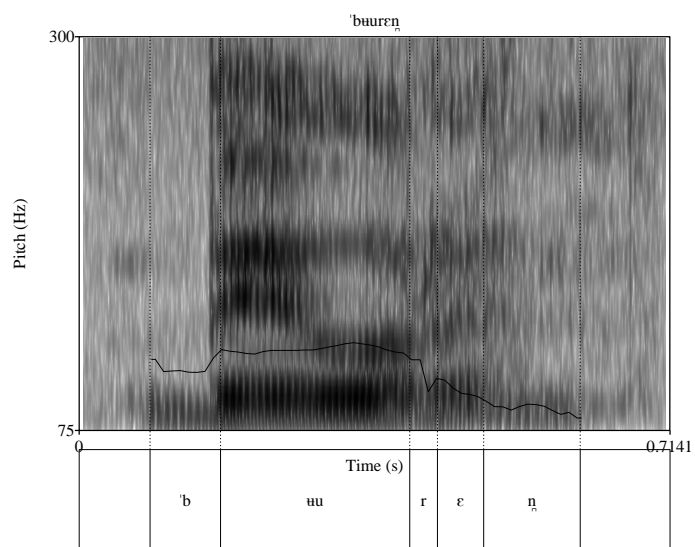Figure 5.6: "bow" FK

Figure 5.7: "gull" MJ
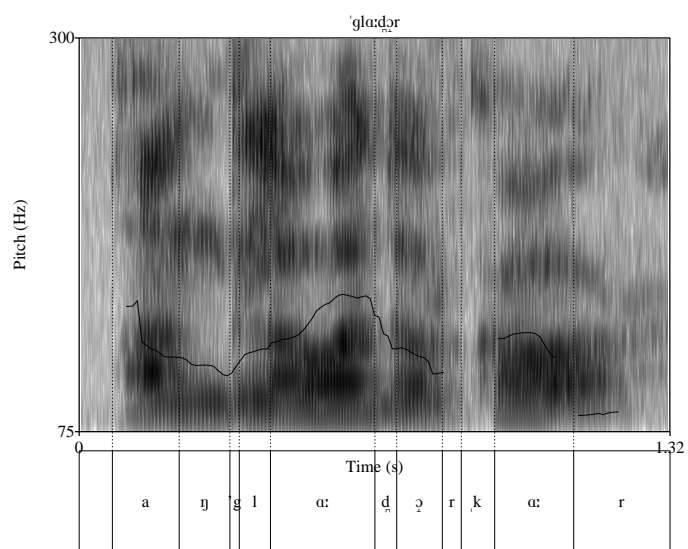
Figure 5.8: "the drill" BÖ
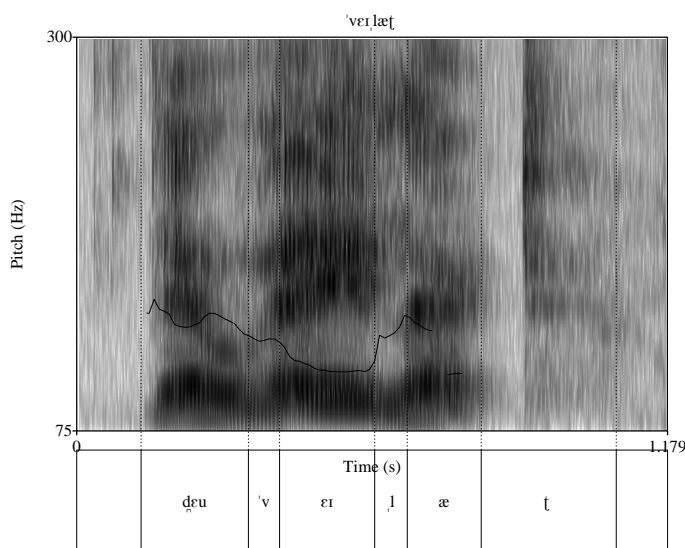

Figure 5.9: "a happy man" BÖ

Figure 5.10: "You are resting." BÖ

no found in F1b. This dip creates a peak at the beginning of the first syllable, making this pattern the only one in the Gutnish area to have two peaks, a common trait with accent 2 in many mainland Scandinavian dialects.

In mainland Gutnish all disyllabic present tense forms of verbs have accent 1, whereas Fårö Gutnish has a complex system involving forms inflected for person and number some of which force a particular accent by virtue of their suffix while others have a lexically assigned accent. This system needs to be researched in more detail.

5.2.2 Compounds

In Gutnish, as in many Scandinavian dialects[2], compounds always have accent 2. The highest pitch in compounds is often found on the last stressed syllable, which is also often the syllable bearing main stress (cf. section 5.1.2), whereas

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[2]Southern Swedish dialects divide compounds into two accent groups just like simplices, Mathias Strandberg, PhD student in Nordic languages at Uppsala University, p.c.
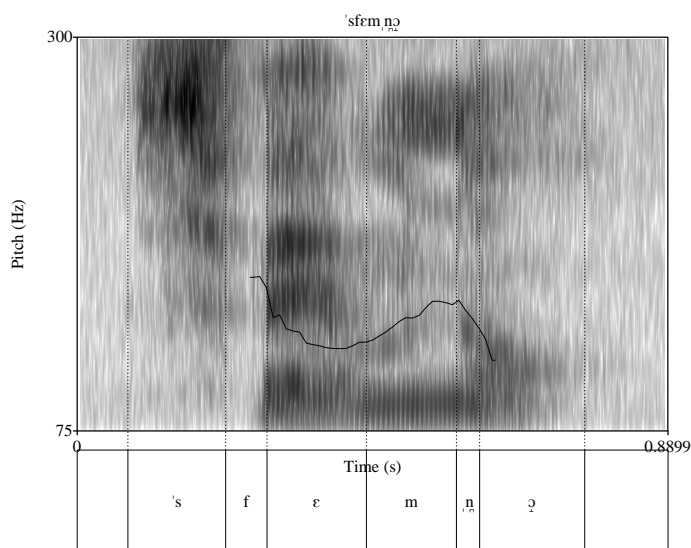
Figure 5.11: "sleepy" BÖ

the first stressed syllable (usually the first syllable of the word) has the lowest pitch. In this way the whole compound gets a more or less steadily rising tone (cf. figure 5.12), reaching its highest point in the stressed syllable of the second member and then, if there are any syllables left after that point, falling rapidly (cf. figure 5.13).

5.2.3 Irregularities

Accent is usually a lexical property, even if there are some principles governing its distribution across the lexicon. These principles will not generally be mapped here, since they are likely to be quite complex and outside the scope of this dissertation. One peculiar irregularity will be mentioned here.

One speaker, FK, has a tendency to use accent 1 in words where other speakers have accent 2, as in example (5.4):

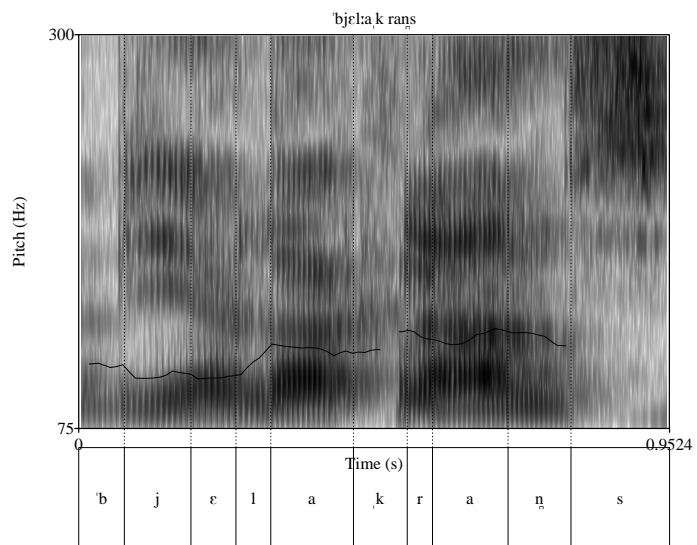(5.4)   (a) /^{2}ˈbʏːˌgel/ [^{1}ˈbʏːˌgɛl] 'hoop' FK
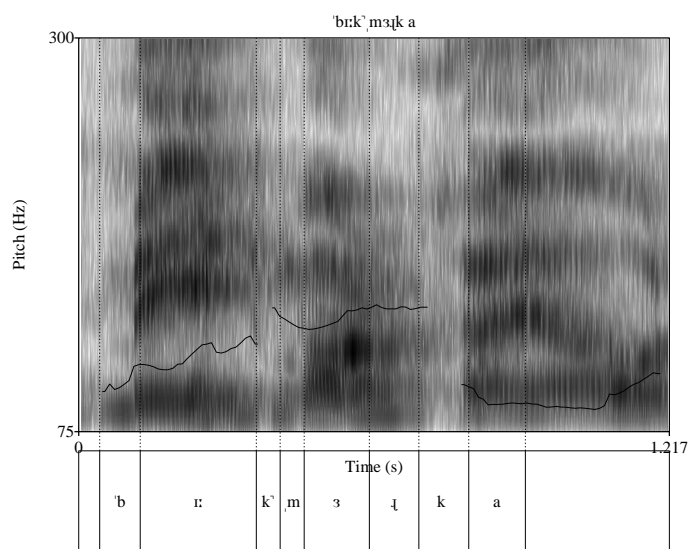
Figure 5.12: "horse collar with bells" IH

Figure 5.13: "pitch darkness, yes..." VS

(b) /^{2}ˈbœrˌje/ [^{1}ˈbɔɻjɛ] 'to begin' FK

It is not clear what the reasons for this are. One possibility is that the similarity between some instances of accents 1 and 2 (cf. section 5.2.1) is pushing the pitch accent system towards breakdown.

Chapter 6

Syllabic structure

Syllabic structure is connected to stress in Gutnish (cf. section 5.1). A syllable that bears main stress must have at least two morae whereas an unstressed syllable can be monomoraic. The minimal word is one syllable and therefore if unstressed monomoraic, such as the auxiliary verb [ha] 'has' and the conjunction [u] 'and' in example (6.1), but if stressed bimoraic, cf. example (6.2):

(6.1) (a) /ˌhaṉː haːr ˈd̯œʏt̯/ [ˌˈhaṉː ha ˈd̯œʏt̯ə̆][1] 'He has died.' MJ

     (b) /ˈsvart uː ˈvɛɪt̯/ [ˈsvaɻt u ˈvɛɪtʰ] 'black and white' BS

(6.2) (a) /ˌhaṉː ˈhaːr d̯œʏt̯/ [ˌhaṉː *ˈha d̯œʏt̯ʰ] 'He *has* died.'

     (b) /svart ˈuː vɛɪt̯/ [svaɻt *ˈu vɛɪt̯ʰ] 'black *and* white'

6.1   Syllable quantity

The quantity rules differ between stressed and unstressed syllables in Gutnish.

6.1.1   Stressed syllables

In Gutnish as in most North Germanic languages (Lorentz, 1996, 111-115) the syllabic structure is such that a stressed syllable must be heavy. This is realised

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[1]The [ə] is an epenthetic vowel found only in the speech of MJ, cf. section 7.1.

in such a way that a short vowel in a stressed syllable is always followed by a
(phonetically sometimes half-long but never long) consonant (example (6.3a))
which may be ambisyllabic (example (6.3b)), whereas a long vowel or diph-
thong is followed by a syllable boundary (examples (6.3c-e)). A special case is
example (6.3f) which at first sight seems to have an over-long first syllable.

(6.3) (a) /^{1}ˈbran̪.d̪en̪/ [^{1}ˈbȉan̪ˑ.d̪n̪] 'the fire' IH

       (b) /^{2}ˈhɪˌne/ [^{2}ˈhɪˌn̪.n̪ɛ] 'to make it on time' IH^2

       (c) /^{2}ˈs̪t̪raː.kˌle/ [^{2}s̪t̪raː.kˌlɛ] 'to rake by horse' IH

       (d) /^{1}ˈglaː.d̪ar/ [^{1}ˈglaː.d̪aɹ] 'happy' IH

       (e) /^{1}ˈbrɛɪ.d̪ar/ [^{1}ˈbrɛɪ.d̪a] 'turns' IH

       (f) /^{1}ˈbɔu.l.n̪ar/ [^{1}ˈbɔu.l.n̪ай] 'swells' FK

This last example, the structure of which is not at all unique in Gutnish,
is analysed having three syllables the second of which has no realised nucleus.
This is necessary from a theoretical point of view since otherwise the presence
of a diphthong in the first syllable could not be the result of the absence of a
syllable-final consonant.

Example (6.4) shows some examples of ungrammatical syllabic structure in
Gutnish:

(6.4) (a) *[^{1}ˈbȉa.d̪n̪]

       (b) *[^{2}ˈhɪ.n̪ɛ]

       (c) *[^{1}ˈbrĕȉ.d̪a]

From this data we can conclude that vowel length depends on the syllabic
structure as well as stress. We can also conclude that consonants are only long
when ambisyllabic. This length is not phonemic since phonemically it is the
combination of the coda of one syllable and the onset of the next.

---

[2]The syllable boundary, marked by a <.> is a phonological item, not phonetic. Therefore,
it can be found in the middle of a sound, as here, or on each side of a single consonant as in
example (6.3f).

Word-finally though, it seems that there are in fact short and long consonants, cf. example (6.5):

(6.5)   (a) /bɔu̯d̥/ [bɑu̯d̥] 'shack' FK

     (b) /bɔd̥ː/ [bŏd̥ː] 'head (of a fish)' IS

Phonologically, these would have to be explained as being disyllabic with an unrealised nucleus in the second syllable. (6.5a) would then have an open first syllable and (6.5b) a closed ditto.

One speaker, BaP, shows a tendency to producing monosyllabic words containing a diphthong and a long final consonant. The words in example (6.6) have clearly long diphthongs, between .23 and .32 seconds and clearly long final consonants with an occlusion of between .22 and .24 seconds. As a comparison the words in example (6.7) have short vowels, between .1 and .13 seconds and occlusions of between .23 and .38 seconds. A few words with short consonants, all with around .14 to .18 second occlusions, are found in example (6.8):

(6.6)   (a) /d̥œɪ̯ʈ̥/ [d̥œɪ̯ʈ̥ʰː] 'died (sup.)' BaP

     (b) /n̥œɪ̯ʈ̥/ [n̥œɪ̯ʈ̥ʰː] 'new (n.)' BaP

     (c) /ʈ̥ɛɪ̯ʈ̥/ [ʈ̥ʰɛɪ̯ʈ̥ʰː] 'dense' BaP

(6.7)   (a) /fat̪̥/ [fat̪̥ʰː] 'fat (n.)' BaP

     (b) /gut̪̥/ [gut̪̥ʰː] 'good (n.)' BaP

     (c) /rʏt̪̥/ [rʏt̪̥ʰː] 'red (n.)' BaP

     (d) /vɪt̪̥/ [vɪt̪̥ʰː] 'white (n.)' BaP

(6.8)   (a) /vɛɪ̯t̪̥/ [vɛɪ̯t̪̥ʰ] 'white (f.)' BaP

     (b) /d̥œɪ̯ʈ̥/ [d̥œɪ̯ʈ̥ʰː] 'died (sup.)' BS

     (c) /n̥œɪ̯ʈ̥/ [n̥œɪ̯ʈ̥ʰ] 'new (n.)' BS

     (d) /ʈ̥ɛɪ̯ʈ̥/ [ʈ̥ʰɛɪ̯ʈ̥ʰ] 'dense' BS

There is no obvious explanation for this fact. Perhaps the long consonants are just the result of slow pronunciation. Since the nature of the vowels before them already marks them as short the actual phonetic length is of lesser importance.

6.1.2   Unstressed syllables

Unstressed syllables are either open or 'closed'[3] but always have a short vowel, cf. section 3.1.

6.2   Clusters

Going through the material it is clear that Gutnish has quite a large number of consonant clusters. The clusters given in the examples below are not an exhaustive list of all Gutnish clusters, however, and therefore it seems in place to give a few generalisations about the structure of Gutnish consonant clusters.

First of all it must be acknowledged that there are different types of clusters which follow different rules. These types depend on the position in the syllable and in the word in which the cluster is found. There are word-initial, word-medial and word-final clusters.

6.2.1   Initial clusters

The most typical initial cluster consists of a stop followed by a non-nasal sonorant, a fricative or the semivowel /j/, cf. example (6.9):

(6.9)   (a) /²ˈproːˌt̪a/ [²ˈpʰroːˌt̪ʰa] 'to talk' BÖ

      (b) /²t̪faːˌgen̪/ [²ˈt̪faːˌgɛn̪] 'washed (ptc.)' IH

      (c) /¹ˈglaːd̪ar/ [¹ˈglaːd̪aɹ] 'happy (m.)' IH

      (d) /²ˈplaɪˌt̪e/ [²ˈpʰlaɪˌt̪ʰɛ] 'big stain, smear' IH

---

[3]A truly closed syllable is phonologically heavy and should therefore be stressed. In these unstressed syllables, therefore, the final consonant is more aptly analysed as the onset of a subsequent syllable, the nucleus of which is not realised. This remains to be proven.

    (e) /²ˈbjeː₊ɾa/ [²ˈbjɛɪ₊ɹa] 'to carry' BÖ

    (f) /²ˈɡjau₊sɔ/ [²ˈɡjau₊sɑ] 'gull' BS

The only initial clusters involving a stop and a nasal are /kn/ and /ɡn/, cf. example (6.10):

(6.10)   (a) /²ˈkn̩ɪ₊ke/ [²ˈkʰn̩ɪː₊kɛ] 'to creak' BS

     (b) /²ˈɡn̩ʏː₊le/ [²ˈɟn̩ʏː₊lɛ] 'to whine' IH

There are, however, also clusters involving two sonorants or a sonorant and a fricative or a sonorant and the semivowel /j/. cf. example (6.11):

(6.11)   (a) /smaɪʈ/ [smaɪʈ̥ʰ] 'batter' IH

     (b) /¹ˈflaɪm̩ɪ/ [¹ˈflaɪm̩ɪ] 'the rough surface of an unplaned board or a tree stem' IH

     (c) /²ˈsvem₊nu/ [²ˈsveăm₊n̩u] 'sleepy' I

     (d) /fjaun̩/ [fjauˑn̩] 'down (feathers)' IH

     (e) /fn̩aus/ [fn̩aus] 'tinder' IH

Finally, clusters involving a stop and another element can additionally be preceded by an /s/, cf. example (6.12):

(6.12)   (a) /²ˈskjau₊te/ [²ˈskʰjau₊t̥ʰɛ] 'to shoot' IH

     (b) /spjauʈ/ [spʰjauʈ̥ʰ] 'spear' IH

     (c) /²ˈsʈɾaː₊kle/ [²ˈsʈ̥ʰɾaː₊klɛ] 'to rake with a horse' IH

     (d) /sprun̩d̩/ [spʰrun̩d̩] 'vent (in a skirt or jacket)' IH

6.2.2   Medial clusters

Medial clusters are those that traverse syllable boundaries. Initial and final clusters can also be found word-initially, in compounds, but they follow their phonotactic rules, while medial clusters have different phonotactic rules.

Medial clusters can have the same structure as initial or final clusters but the syllable boundary seems to give more freedom as to which combinations of consonants are possible, eg. two nasals can form a medial cluster as in example (6.13):

(6.13) /²ˈsvem̩ˌn̩u/ [²ˈsvɛm̩ˌn̩ɔ�] 'sleepy' BÖ

This is the only example of such homorganic medial clusters I have found, but there is reason to believe that clusters involving two stops exist as well, since they are found in Swedish, cf. example (6.14):

(6.14)   (a) Sw. /²ˈkøpˌte/ [²ˈɕœpˑˌtʰɛ] 'bought'

         (b) Sw. /²ˈtykˌte/ [²ˈtʰɤkˑˌtʰɛ] 'was of the opinion'

6.2.3 Final clusters

Typical final clusters consist of a sonorant followed by a stop, cf. example (6.15):

(6.15)   (a) /sprun̪d̪/ [spʰrun̪d̪] 'vent (in a skirt or jacket)' IH

         (b) /bɪld̪/ [bɪld̪] 'ploughshares' VS

         (c) /svart̪/ [svaɻt] 'black' BS

         (d) /berg/ [bæɻg] 'mountain' FK

Clusters consisting of a sonorant and a nasal are also possible, cf. example (6.16)

(6.16)   (a) /lam̩s/ [lam̩s] 'how?' FK

         (b) /salm/ [salm] 'psalm' BS, BaP, IH

At least one cluster containing two stops exists, cf. example (6.17):

(6.17) /bɤgd̩/ [bɤgd̩ 'region' FK

Finally, final clusters can additionally contain an /s/, as in example (6.18):

(6.18) /ben̩sk/ [beĕn̩sk] an adjective describing someone who tries to speak
        more Swedish than Gutnish, VS

Chapter 7

Phonological processes

Several phonological processes have caught my eye during my work with Gutnish and these will be briefly presented here. In-depth analyses can not be provided here since they would require much more work than has been possible, but some suggestions for explanations will be given.

7.1 Epenthetic vowel

One speaker, MJ, has a strong tendency to add an epenthetic schwa at the end of monosyllabic words. All the instances I have found are listed in example (7.1):

(7.1) (a) /bʉur/ [bʉurə̆] 'drill' MJ

   (b) /bɛur/ [beurə̆] 'cage' MJ

   (c) /grœm̪t̪/ [grœm̪t̪ʰə̆] 'green (n.)' MJ

   (d) /hɛus/ [heosə̆] 'house' MJ

   (e) /gaːt/ [gaːtʰə̆] 'gone (sup.)' MJ

   (f) /gram̥/ [gram̥ə̆] 'branch' MJ

   (g) /grœm̥/ [grœm̥ə̆] 'green (f.)' MJ

   (h) /d̥œɪt̪/ [d̥œɪt̪ə̆] 'died (sup.)' MJ

   (i) /n̪œɪt̪/ [n̪œɪt̪ʰə̆] 'new (n.)' MJ

   (j) /raud̪/ [raud̪ə̆] 'red (f.)' MJ

   (k) /sleːt̪/ [sleːt̪ʰə̆] 'even (surface, f.)' MJ

   (l) /t̪eːt̪/ [t̪ʰeːɪ̆t̪ʰə̆] 'dense (f.)' MJ

   (m) /t̪rɛut̪/ [t̪ʰrɛot̪ʰə̆] some kind of sea bird MJ

These words all share three features: 1) they are monosyllabic when pro-
nounced by other speakers, 2) their vocalic element, i.e. the nucleus, is long,
3) they end in dental or near-dental (a, b) consonant. There are, however, two
words in MJ's material which boast all these features and yet do not receive an
epenthetic schwa. These are shown in example (7.2):

(7.2) (a) /faɪt̪/ [faɪt̪ʰ] 'fat (f.)' MJ

       (b) /greːn̪/ [greːæ̆n̪] 'spruce (*Picea abies*)' MJ

There are no monosyllabic words with short nuclei nor any polysyllabic words
that get an epenthetic schwa. Since the schwa is a feature of one single person's
speech it might well be discarded as irrelevant for the description of Gutnish
were it not for the fact that it does tell us one thing: that a final schwa does
not bear any significance to the speakers of Gutnish. It is, for example, not
confused with any other final vowels.

7.2 Apocope

It is a common feature of connected speech, and in some cases also of pausa
forms, to drop the final vowel of a vowel-final word before a word beginning
with a consonant, thereby creating non-lexical clusters. I have not been able to
study this phenomenon in depth since it requires long systematic experiments
involving all different word classes, all intonational varieties etc. Also, since this
feature is likely to be more prominent in speech produced by linguistically less
self-conscious speakers, i.e. speakers who are not aware of their taking part in

a linguistic experiment, this data is probably best (maybe only?) collected by
a linguistically trained native speaker.

These considerations set aside, an example should illustrate the nature of
this process:

(7.3) /d̥oːm jeːr ²ˈfɔˌd̥ːe ²kan̥ˈhen̥ˌd̥e ²ˈɔˌt̥ːe ¹kɪlɔˈmeːt̥ar ²ˈheːrɪfraːn̥/

   [d̥ɔm e fɔd̥ː ²kaˈn̥ɛn̥ˌd̥ɛ ɔt̥ː ¹tʃɪlɔˈmeɪt̥ʰa ²ˈheːɹfraːn̥]

   'They were born perhaps eight kilometres from here.' BS

In this sentence the words /²ˈfɔˌd̥ːe/ 'born' and /²ˈɔˌt̥ːe/ 'eight' lose their
final vowel, a process which creates clusters and in the case of /²ˈɔˌt̥ːe/ reduces
the word to a single vowel and perhaps some added length to the following
consonant to which the /t̥/ of /²ˈɔˌt̥ːe/ is assimilated.

7.3 /r/ drop

The /r/ phoneme is rather commonly found at the end of words since it forms
part of several important and common suffixes, including the masculine singular
inflectional suffix on adjectives –/ar/ (on Fårö –/ɔr/), the present tense suffix
on verbs –/ar/ (in Fårö Gutnish only for first and third person singular) and
the most common nominal plural suffix –/ar/.

Word-final /r/ is often lost in Gutnish irrespective of the morpheme it be-
longs to. In pausa the loss seems to occur infrequently, but more frequently
in the speech of some, notably IH, cf. example (7.4), but compare also exam-
ple (7.5) where /r/ is not lost. In the material from Burs /r/ loss does not
happen.

(7.4) (a) /¹ˈbaslar [¹ˈbasˑla] 'entangles, makes difficult' VS

   (b) /²ˈbɪːkˌmœrkar/ [²ˈbɪːk̚ˌmɜ.ɪkʰa] 'pitch darkness' VS

   (c) /¹ˈbrɛɪd̥ar/ [¹ˈbreɪd̥a] 'turns' IH

   (d) /¹ˈgn̥ɪːkar/ [¹ˈjn̥ɪːkʰa] 'creaks' IH

  (e) /¹ˈtrʏɡːar/ [¹ˈt̥ʰrʏɡːa] 'safe' IH

  (f) /¹ˈn̥ʏːt̥ɔr/ [¹ˈn̥ʏːt̥ʰɔ] 'nuts' IS

(7.5) (a) /¹ˈbuld̥ar/ [¹ˈbuld̥ar̥] 'noise' VS

  (b) /¹ˈskelːar/ [¹ˈskeɛ̆lːa̯ɻ] 'barks, scolds' FK

  (c) /¹ˈɡlaːd̥ar/ [¹ˈɡlaːd̥aˑɻ] 'happy' IH

  (d) /¹ˈhʏːɡar/ [¹hʏːɡaɻ] 'right (direction)' IH

  (e) /¹ˈaɪkɔr/ [¹ˈaɪkʰɔɹ] 'oak trees' IS

The relative infrequency of /r/ loss in the elicited material may lay in the fact that it is a feature of spontaneous speech, whereas in elicitation one gets a pronunciation closer to the lexical forms which include the /r/. In line with this, /r/ loss is found more commonly in the relatively small amount of spontaneous or at least connected speech that I have collected. A few such instances are listed in example (7.6):

(7.6) (a) /²ˈklambarˌbɔud̥/ [²ˈkʰlambaˌbɔud̥] 'messy storage room' IH

  (b) /¹ˈrabːar ²ˈn̥oːˌɡe/ [¹ˈrabːa ²ˈn̥oːă̯ˌɡɛ] 'takes something' IH

  (c) /haː vaːr ²ˈd̥ukˌt̥u/ [ha va ²ˈd̥ukˌt̥ʰɔ] 'She was capable.' BÖ

In Fårö Gutnish final /r/ before a dental is lost but causes the dental to become alveolar:

(7.7) /d̥eː haːrt d̥eu ˈrɛɪt̥ ˌɛɪ/ [d̥ɛ hɑ˞d̥ɘu rɛɪt̥ʰɛɪ] 'You are right.' BÖ

7.4 Ablaut phenomena

There are at least two kinds of ablaut phenomena in Gutnish, the first one lexically specified and thus belonging to the morphophonemic layer of the language, the second depending on accentuation and thus more properly phonological in its nature.

7.4.1 Morphological ablaut

Morphological ablaut is a morphophonemic phenomenon and thus should be fully described in a morphological account of Gutnish rather than a phonological one. Nevertheless, since it does contain a phonological element it deserves to be mentioned here.

As in all Germanic languages there is ablaut in Gutnish which has the function of distinguishing functionally different forms of the same lexeme from each other. This is most typically found in the verbal system where a number of verbs (the so-called 'strong verbs') distinguish different tenses by means of ablaut.

In Gutnish, however, there is a more interesting ablaut which has some consequences for the phonological classification of the Gutnish vowels and diphthongs. This ablaut is found (not necessarily exclusively) in the inflection of some adjectives, namely those containing a diphthong followed by a stem-final dental stop or itself serving as the final sound of the stem. Three representative stems are listed in example (7.8):

(7.8)   (a) /gɔu/– 'good'

       (b) /rau̯d̥/– 'red'

       (c) /vɛɪt̥/– 'white'

The inflection of these adjectives is such that the singular neutral form is formed by adding a geminate –/t̥ː/ to the stem which assimilates the preceding dental stop if there is one. This geminate forces the diphthong to be shortened (cf. section 6.1) and, since there are no short counterparts of the phonemic diphthongs, monophthonised as well. This can be seen in the opposition between the feminine (same as stem) and neutral forms in examples (7.9)-(7.11):

(7.9) /gɔu/ (f.) ∼ /gut̥ː/ (n.) 'good'

(7.10) /rau̯d̥/ (f.) ∼ /rʏt̥ː/ (n.) 'red' (in Fårö Gutnish the neuter is /rat̥ː/)

(7.11) /vɛɪt̥/ (f.) ∼ /vɪt̥ː/ (n.) 'white'

These correspondences hint at some kind of phonemic connection between some vowels and diphthongs. A historical explanation is possible but does not belong here. More research is needed before a complete account of the synchronic phenomenon is possible. Cf., however, the next section.

7.4.2   Prosody-related ablaut

As a consequence of the fact that diphthongs may not appear in unstressed syllables (cf. section 3.1) there is a kind of ablaut related to the prosodic position of a word. This is most easily spotted in monosyllabic words containing a diphthong, such as /aɪm̥/ 'one, a (f.)' and /ɛɪ/ 'in'. Examples (7.12) and (7.13) show these two words each in a stressed position and in an unstressed position in a phrase or sentence:

(7.12)   (a) /ˈaɪm̥ ²ˌbʏɡn̥ɪŋ/ [ˈaɪm ˌbʏɡ·n̥ɪŋ] '*one* building' IS

      (b) /han̥ː ˈhaːr aɪm̥ ˌbʏɡn̥ɪŋ/ [han̥ː ˈhaːr a ˌbʏɡ·n̥ɪŋ] 'He has a building.' IS

(7.13)   (a) /ˈɛɪ ¹ˌskaːpe/ [ˈɛɪ ¹ˌskɑːpʰɛ] '*in* the cupboard' IS

      (b) /d̥eː jeːr ˈhʉul ɛɪ ˌbaːten̥/ [d̥e ˈhʉul ɪ ˌbɑːtʰɛn̥] 'There's a hole in the boat.' IS

Whether this prosody-related ablaut has any commonalities with the morphological ablaut in section 7.4.1 is unclear at the moment.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Gutnish has 16 vocalic phonemes, including 9 diphthongs, and 21 consonantal phonemes. There are numerous clusters both in onsets and rhymes. Two suprasegmental pitch accent patterns and an intensity-based stress make up the accentuation. The syllabic structure depends on stress.

There seems to be a divide between mainland and Fårö Gutnish, amongst other things in the realisation of the pitch accent patterns.

Many questions about the Gutnish language remain to be answered. Especially the phonological processes mentioned in chapter 7, apocope that creates clusters, /r/ drop and the ablaut phenomena, are both interesting theoretical issues and subjects that require in-depth studies.

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