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The Dialect of Gammalsvenskby: An Outline of its Phonology

By Alexander Mankov

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to present new material on the phonology of the present-day dialect of Gammalsvenskby, the only surviving Scandinavian dialect in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The data presented here was obtained during fieldwork carried out by the author in the village from 2004 to 2013. The article describes the principles of transcription devised by the author and compares them with transcriptions used in previous studies; establishes the inventory of consonant and vowel phonemes and describes features of allophonic distribution; studies suprasegmentals; and provides examples, the bulk of which are taken from interviews with three fluent speakers of the dialect.

Keywords: Gammalsvenskby, Swedish dialects of Estonia, endangered language, dialect phonology.

1. Introduction and aims

The aim of this paper is to give a description of the phonological system of the dialect of Gammalsvenskby, i.e. to establish the synchronic inventory of its phonemes, describe their occurrence and features of allophonic distribution, describe suprasegmentals (stress and quantity), and provide a sufficient number of examples. I also describe the articulation of sounds and their auditory perception, where these are not readily obvious. In certain cases I take the diachronic dimension into account and make historical digressions, though a detailed historical phonology and a systematic comparison with cognate dialects are not my immediate aims here; an acoustic analysis of the recordings is also a task for the future. Data for this article was obtained during my ten visits to the village (2004–2013), from interviews with Anna Lyutko (AL), Lidia Utas (LU) and Melitta Prasolova (MP),¹ who were the most knowledgeable and fluent speakers of the dialect at the time of my fieldwork. Practically all the interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The largest proportion of examples was provided by LU. In the following sections, I do not give her initials after examples of her speech; otherwise the initials of the informants are given. My current study is concerned with the present-day dialect, and therefore I do not include in the primary data any information from earlier descriptions of the dialect of Gammalsvenskby or of

¹ Interviewees' names are given by permission.

other Estonian Swedish dialects. Those descriptions belong to totally different periods and cannot be used as primary sources in a study of the contemporary dialect. The article is based on my earlier account of the phonology of the dialect (Mankov 2010, pp. 12–26); some sections have been added and some rewritten, with the addition of new examples obtained during my later fieldwork and processing of the interviews.

At least three systems of transcribing the dialect have been used in published studies. The earliest is the system developed by Herman Vendell and applied in the *Ordbok öfver estländsk-svenska dialekterna* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886). This is a mixture of the Swedish and Icelandic alphabets, with the addition of specific characters, including some from the Swedish Dialect Alphabet (*Landsmålsalfabetet*). Transcription according to the Swedish Dialect Alphabet is used by Anton Karlgrén (1924; 1953) and in Vendell's *Ordbok över de östsvenska dialekterna* (Vendell 1907). Later studies use a system that is as close as possible to Standard Swedish orthography (Tiberg 1962; E. Lagman 1979; E. Lagman 1990; H. Lagman 1971). Initially, I used the International Phonetic Alphabet, but as the data expanded, I decided to abandon writing down examples and texts in IPA and developed a special system of transcription. The reason for this was practical. In the later stages of the fieldwork relatively large quantities of lexical material and narratives had to be dealt with and transcribed, and doing this in IPA proved to be inconvenient. Tables 1 and 2 show the correspondences between the system used in this article (the first column) and the three systems mentioned above (see also Mankov 2013, pp. 68–70).²

In developing the system of transcription, I followed these principles:

1. Obviously, all characters should be non-ambiguous, i.e. the same character should not refer to different phonemes and, conversely, the same phoneme should not be expressed by different characters. The writing system is thus predominantly phonological. In the case of the vowels, it does not express the differences between the following allophones: [i] and [i̯], allophones of /i/; [ɛ] and [ɛ̯], of /ɛ/; [ɛ̄] and [ɛ̯̄], of stressed /ɛ:/; [e:] and [ē:], of /e:/; [ɔ:] and [o:], of /o:/; [ŋ] in front of /k/ is written as *n*. If it is necessary to specify the pronunciation in such cases, I use the IPA transcription. On the other hand, the following allophones are consistently expressed by distinct characters: [l] – *l* and [ɫ] – *l̥* (allophones of /l/); [ɛ] – *ä* and [œ] – *ö* (of stressed /ɛ/); [ɛ̄] – *ā* and [œ̄] – *ō* (of /ɛ:/); [i] – *i* and [ē] – *e* (of unstressed /i/); [ē] – *e*, [ɛ] – *ä*, [œ] – *ö* (of unstressed /e/); [u] – *u* and [ɔ] – *o* (of unstressed /u/); [y] is expressed by *y*, though it is a (very rare) allophone of stressed /i/.

² It should specifically be noted that in phonetic transcriptions in this article in accordance with IPA I use [ɟ, ɟ̥, ɟ̄] rather than [d, t, ŋ] for the postalveolars because in the current version of IPA the latter symbols refer to retroflex consonants (retroflex *d, t, n* are not found in the present-day dialect). The consonant *ʃ* is [ʃ] (2.2.1), not [ʃ̣].

Table 1. Representation of vowels in different transcription systems.

Present paper	Freudenthal & Vendell 1886	Vendell 1907; Karlgren 1924, 1953	H. Lagman 1971	IPA
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	a
<i>ā</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>ɑ</i>	<i>ā</i>	a:
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	e
–	<i>é</i>	–	<i>i, e</i>	ɛ̥
<i>ē</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>ɛ̄</i>	<i>ē</i>	e:
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>i</i>	i
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>å</i>	o
<i>ō</i>	<i>å</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ā̄</i>	o:
–	–	<i>ɑ, ɔ</i>	<i>å, ā̄</i>	ɔ, ɔ:
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	u
<i>ū</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ō</i>	u:
<i>ä</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ä</i>	ɛ
–	–	<i>æ</i>	<i>ä</i>	ɛ̥
<i>ā̄</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ā̄</i>	ɛ:
<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ö</i>	œ
<i>ō̄</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ō̄</i>	œ:
–	<i>ø</i>	–	–	ø:
<i>ü [ɔ]</i>	<i>ü [ɔ/ɣ]</i>	<i>u [æ/ɔ]</i>	<i>u [ɔ/ɯ]</i>	Misc.
<i>ü [ɛ]</i>	<i>ü [ɔ/ɣ]</i>	<i>u [ɯ]</i>	<i>u [ɔ/ɯ]</i>	Misc.
<i>ū̄</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	u:
–	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	–	ə
<i>äi</i>	<i>äi</i>	<i>eɪ</i>	<i>äi</i>	ɛi
<i>öü</i>	<i>öu</i>	<i>œu</i>	–	œu

2. Single sounds should not be expressed by a combination of two or more different characters, though doubling the same letter is allowed since this is necessary to show the consonant length.

3. The number of special characters and diacritics should be minimised.

4. The system should not require considerable effort to memorise it; it should be intuitively understandable, not only to specialists but also to those who do not have linguistic training, including the residents of the village.

5. It should not break too radically with existing tradition and cause too much surprise; my transcription is thus quite close to the one used by Herbert Lagman (Lagman 1971 pp. 23–24, 166–168). The use of the letters *o*, *u*, *ü* (and the long *ō*, *ū*, *ǖ*) instead of the Swedish *å*, *o*, *u* might seem doubtful to the Swedish scholar. The reason for employing *o* and *u* for [o] and [u] was to avoid ambiguity, because the use of the letters *o* for [u] and *u* for [ʊ] could of course be misleading to non-Swedes. But if we choose to express [o] by *o* and [u] by *u*, a special character needs to be found for [ʊ], as it can no longer be expressed by *u*. I decided to use *ü*, which, I admit, can cause unnecessary association with a totally different German sound. However, this seems to cause less ambiguity than if we were to follow the Standard Swedish spelling. Furthermore, *ü* was already used by Vendell for the same vowel (though the corresponding long vowel is expressed as *ú* in Vendell's dictionary, which is inconsistent).

6. Finally, it should not require the installation of a special font and should not be technically difficult in publication.

In addition, the system of transcription should not be oriented exclusively to the Swedish user, since descendants of speakers of the dialect live not only in Sweden, but also, for example, in Canada. In the village itself, far from all the residents are familiar with the Swedish language. In practical terms, this affects [u] and [o] (see above). The letters *ä* and *ö* in my transcription refer to the same types of vowels as in Swedish. The consonants that correspond in the dialect to Sw. *rd*, *rt*, *rn*, *rs* are expressed by *d*, *t*, *n*, *s*.³ If these consonants are long, the letters are doubled. The character *l* refers not to a postalveolar *l* (Sw. *rl*; postalveolar *l* does not occur in the dialect), but to a retroflex flap ('thick' *l*). Thus, if we disregard the letters *ä*, *ö*, *ü* and the macron for vowel length, the only diacritic is the dot under a letter and the only character absent from the standard Latin alphabet is *ŋ*. However, there is one exception to the rule 'one sound = one letter'. In such dialect words as *djūr* 'animal', *gjūd* 'did, made', *sjūn* 'person', *tjānd* 'off, away', the combinations *dj*, *gj*, *sj*, *tj* do not refer to the consonants thus spelt in Standard Swedish, but to palatalised *d*, *g*, *s*, *t*. They are expressed by two different characters: *d* + *j* etc., which creates ambiguity, but still seems more convenient than introducing a special diacritic or a symbol.

³ 'Sw.' here and elsewhere refers to Standard Swedish.

Table 2. Representation of consonants in different transcription systems.

Present article	Freudenthal & Vendell 1886	Vendell 1907; Karlgren 1924, 1953	H. Lagman 1971	IPA
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	b
–	–	<i>β</i>	–	β
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	d
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	ḍ
–	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	ḍ
–	<i>ð</i>	<i>ð</i>	–	ð
<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	f
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	g
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ng</i>	ŋ
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	h
<i>x</i>	–	<i>x</i>	–	x
–	–	<i>ʃ</i>	–	ç
<i>j</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɰ</i>	<i>i</i>	j
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	k
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	l
<i>ɭ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	ɭ
–	<i>λ</i>	–	<i>hl</i>	ɭ
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	m
–	–	<i>w</i>	–	ɱ
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	n
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>n</i>	–	<i>ɲ</i>	ɲ
–	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	–	ɲ
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	p
<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	r
–	<i>ř</i>	–	–	ʀ
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	s
<i>ʂ</i>	–	–	–	ʃ
–	<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	
–	<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	–	ʂ
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	t
<i>ʈ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	ʈ
–	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	–	ʈ
<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	v
–	<i>w</i>	–	–	w
<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	–	–	z
<i>ʒ</i>	–	–	–	ʒ

2. Consonants

Consonant phonemes and their principal realisations: /p/ [p], /t/ [t], /t̥/ [t̥], /k/ [k], /b/ [b], /d/ [d], /d̥/ [d̥], /g/ [g], /f/ [f], /v/ [v], /s/ [s] ([z] when voiced by assimilation (see 2.4.8); [x] in front of *l* in word-internal position (2.2.7), /ʃ/ [ʃ] ([ʒ] when voiced by assimilation), /h/ [h] (occasionally [x]), /m/ [m], /n/ [n] ([ŋ] in front of *k*), /ŋ/ [ŋ], /l/ [l, ɾ], /r/ [r], /j/ [j]. The phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /s/, /ʃ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/, /r/, /j/ can be both short and long. The phonemes /d̥/, /f/, /v/, /h/ are usually short, while /t̥/ is usually long (but cf. 2.1.6). In word-final position long consonants can shorten: ka[m̥] ‘comb’, but between vowels the length is preserved: *kammen*, *kammar*, *kamma*. On the phonological status of quantity in the dialect, see 4.2.

As for the status of *d*, *t*, *s*, the following solution may be proposed: within morphemes they are phonemes, whereas at morpheme boundaries they are realisations of /rd/, /rt/, /rs/, /ld/, /lt/ (see 2.1.5 and 2.2.1–3). In favour of the phonemic status of *d*, *t*, *s* within morphemes speaks the fact that the quality of final consonants in e.g. *būd* ‘table’, *kott̥* (of *kott̥är* ‘short’), *miss̥* ‘mix’ (postalveolar in *d*, *t* and alveolopalatal in *s*) is non-conditioned in synchrony and is the only means to distinguish the sense, cf. *būd* (preterite and supine of *bū* ‘lay an egg’), *kott* ‘where’, *miss* ‘knitted hat’. What is more, *d*, *t*, *s* within morphemes have lost all connection with *rd*, *rt*, *rs* in synchrony because the former sounds are never replaced with the latter. Therefore, *d*, *t*, *s* within morphemes cannot be regarded as realisations of /rt/, /rt/, /rs/. Postalveolar [ŋ] (2.3.4) at morpheme boundaries is a realisation of /rn/ and /ln/, and in forms such as *gōd̥n* def. sing. of *gōd* ‘yard’, it is an allophone of /nl/.

2.1. Stops

2.1.1. The consonants *p*, *t*, *k* are not aspirated, which is a shared feature of all Swedish dialects of Estonia and is considered to be due to Estonian influence (E. Lagman 1979, p. 84).

2.1.2. The consonants *g*, *k* before front vowels are pronounced as [g, k]: *girm* ‘through’, *gits* ‘think’, *gära* ‘do, make’, *gäva* ‘give’, *gäi* ‘to bark’, *gölandär* ‘yellow’, *göük* ‘cuckoo’, *kēk* ‘kitchen’, *kimb* ‘trough’, *kirke* ‘church’, *känn* ‘to touch’, *kätt* ‘meat’, *skära* ‘to cut’, etc. Compare also *Gēsēs* ‘Jesus’, where [g] may have appeared by association with *Gū* ‘God’, as *Geses* could have conflated with *Gū* in the expression *Ge¹sinne-de* ‘God bless you’, which can be interpreted both as *Geses sinne-de* and as *Gū sinne de*.

The combinations *rg*, *lg* are always pronounced [rg], [rg]: *argär* ‘angry’, *bärg* ‘riverbank’, *märg* ‘brain’, *Svärge* ‘Sweden’, *höl̥g* ‘holiday’, *tal̥g* ‘tal-low’, etc.

2.1.3. In a number of disyllabic stems the alternations *d~t*, *g~k*, *b~p* occur. Compare *blädär* LU and *blättär* AL ‘bladder’, *blötär* MP AL and *blödär* LU ‘to boil’, *botär* MP and *bodär* LU ‘to run with a rustling sound’ (e.g. of mice), *gnatär* MP AL and *gnadär* LU ‘to roar with laughter’, *fladär* and

flatär ‘to rustle, flap wings, flutter, shiver’, *flodär* and *flotär* ‘to splash’, *hita* and *hida* ‘heat’ (the second variant occurred only in interviews with LU), *klotär* and *klodär* ‘to bubble’ (when boiling), *kütär* and *küdär* ‘to bubble’. As can be seen, it is LU in particular who is inclined to use the pronunciation *d* instead of *t*.

Examples of *g~k*: *diken* MP, *dikn* AL and *digen* LU ‘twenty-four hours’, *vikn* AL and *vigu* LU ‘week’, *hargöl* LU, *hargl* AL and *harkäl* MP ‘to bark and try to bite’, *hako* ‘chin’, *kaku* ‘cake’, *tiköl* ‘brick’ and *hagu*, *kagu*, *tigäl* in the dialect of Dagö (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 76, 98, 232). Compare also other forms from Vendell’s dictionary: *nägu* and *näku* ‘looks, appearance’ in the dialects of Nuckö and Vippal (pp. 157, 158); *stäka* and *stäga* ‘glass for drinking’ in Gammalsvenskby (p. 219); *spikar* Gammalsvenskby, Nuckö, Ormsö, Rågö, Vippal and *spigar* Dagö (p. 206). A special case is the preposition *bait* ‘after’ < **baget* < **bak-ätt* (see 3.3.3).

The alternation *b~p* occurs in *kabet* AL and *kapet* LU ‘sock’.

It could be argued that the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops (especially short ones) is neutralised in intervocalic position, and that free allophonic variation is taking place here.⁴ However, this tendency is not universal in the available data, as the list of alternating forms given above is almost exhaustive, and there are many examples where this variation has never been recorded, e.g. *bita* ‘bit, piece’, *bítal* ‘pay’, *bliken* ‘wither’, *boka* ‘bake’, *djüpär* ‘deep’, *driköl* ‘dribble’, *dripöl* ‘drip’, *foitär* ‘run quickly’ (of cockroaches and mice), *froka* ‘smell’ (noun), *fädär* ‘feather’, *vädär* ‘wind’, etc. Interestingly, most words with *d~t* refer to the production of some kind of sound and involve an element of onomatopoeia.

2.1.4. In interviews with LU, there are a few examples of a non-intervocalic *d* instead of or alongside *t*. These are *drüff* ‘meet’ (cf. Sw. *träffa*), *böt~böd* ‘boat’ (only *böt* in interviews with AL), *öd* instead of *öt* (preterite of *jäta* ‘eat’). There is one example of alternation of *k~g* in word-initial position: *kraböl~graböl* ‘to rummage’. Compare also *hidd* Rågö, Vippal and *hitt* Dagö, Gammalsvenskby, Nuckö ‘kennel’ (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 81, 82); in my interviews only *hitt* occurred.

2.1.5. Postalveolar *ʈ*, *ɖ* go back to the following combinations of consonants:

1) *rt*, *rd*: *boʈʈ* ‘away’, *sjäʈʈa* ‘heart’, *skjoʈʈ* ‘shirt’, *ditt*, *stutt*, *svott*, *sütt*, *toʈʈ*, neuters of *dīran* ‘expensive’, *stūran* ‘big’, *svōran* ‘heavy’, *sjūran* ‘sour’, *torran* ‘dry’; *gōd* ‘yard’, *hōdär* ‘tight; stale’, *hēd*, *īd*, *lād*, *mīd*, *ōd*, *rēd*, preterites of *hēr* ‘hear’, *īr* ‘whirl’ (of snow), *lār* ‘learn’, *mīr* ‘build from stone’, *äre* ‘plough’, *rēr* ‘mix’. Examples with *ʈ* in loanwords: *kuʈka* ‘coat; jacket’, *soʈʈ* ‘sort’. Note that the noun for ‘potato’ is pronounced [‘kaɖff] by AL, [‘katʂff] by LU. At morpheme boundaries both *ʈ* and *rt* occur: *ōr-tītas* and *ō-tītas* ‘for years’.

2) *lt*, *ld* at morpheme boundaries: *jüttrā* ‘Christmas tree’, *boʈʈ*, *fatt*, *fütt*,

⁴ I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer of the article for this observation.

neuters of *bōlan* ‘blunt’, *fālan* ‘beautiful’, *fūlan* ‘bad’, *skjōd*, *svōd*, *tjōd*, preterites of *skjōle* ‘rinse’, *svölge* ‘swallow’, *tjölge* ‘carve wood’. As for *lt*, *ld* within morphemes, see 2.3.1 (3). The noun *svād* ‘valley’ is related to Sw. *svalg* in the sense ‘precipice, chasm’ and, according to Tiberg, contains the ‘suffix’ *-d*, i.e. **svalg-d* (Tiberg 1962, p. 63). Another noun in the dialect that has the same element is *bōd* ‘hearse’ (Sw. *bår*). Similar examples from the cognate dialects cited by Tiberg are *gānd* ‘yarn’ Vippal (Sw. *garn*), *ūd* < **yglđ* Runö (Sw. *ögla* ‘loop’). Compare also *skōd* ‘spatula’, recorded by Vendell in Dagö alongside *skōl* Gammalsvenskby, Ormsö, Vippal and *skūl* Vippal (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 194, 197); however, the form **skūd* never occurred in my interviews. I think that this final *d* is not a suffix but a parasitic consonant; compare the tendency to add a homorganic stop to final sonorant consonants in cognate dialects: *Spitamb* ‘Spithamn’ (name of a village), *äisand* ‘lonely’ (Sw. *ensam*), *lokand* ‘bedsheet’ (Sw. *lakan*); see H. Lagman 1971, p. 86. In the dialect of Gammalsvenskby, this *d* also occurs in *fiḡrendar*, pl. of *fiḡär* ‘finger’, in such adjectives as *grēndär* ‘green’, and in verb forms such as *hälldär* and *lōndär*, present sing. of *häll* ‘pour’ and *lōn* ‘loan’, respectively; it is ultimately the same phenomenon as the insertion of *d* and *b* in Old Swedish (Wessén 1968, pp. 47–48).

2.1.6. The consonant *ɾ* is almost always long, *ɖ* short. There are just a few exceptions: *atoṭa* (alongside *aṭōta*) ‘eighteen’, *aṭetande*, *aṭōtande* ‘eighteenth’, neuters *bāt*, *bōṭ*, *hāt*, *svāt*, *gammāt*, *vakāt* of the adjectives *bāran* ‘bare’, *bōlan* ‘blunt’, *hālan* ‘slippery’, *svālan* ‘cool’, *gamlan* ‘old’, *vakran* ‘kind’. In such neuter forms, fluctuations are possible, e.g. [ha:ɾ] alongside [ha:ɾ:] and [ha:ɾ:] (neuter of *hālan*), likewise *boṭṭ*~*bōṭ* (of *bōlan*). The adverb meaning ‘soon’ also fluctuates: *snāt*~*snatṭ* LU. A long *ɖ* only occurred in the preterite and supine of *fēr* ‘lead’ in interviews with AL, i.e. [fɛ:ɖ] (but [fɛ:ɖ] LU, MP).

2.2. Fricatives

2.2.1. The consonant *ʃ* is the alveolopalatal [ʃ] and sounds identical to Russ. *š* (Cyrillic *u*). It goes back to *rs* and *ls*. Examples of *ʃ* < *rs*: *bōšt* ‘brush’, *bušš-klē* ‘tablecloth’, *de ánoš* ‘till next year’, *fošš* ‘rapid flow in a river’, *fošt* ‘hallway’, *fāšt* ‘first’, *Kāšon* ‘Cherson’ (capital city of the region where Gammalsvenskby is located), *silkesbāšš-trē* ‘mulberry tree’, *tošta* ‘thirsty’, *ättast* ‘last’, *stēšt*, superlative of *stūran*. Examples of *ʃ* < *ls*: *hāš* ‘neck’, *skjōš* (< **skjōls*) pres. sing. of *skjōles* ‘be washed off’, *tjō-še* < *tjōl se* in the expression *kuma tjō-še* ‘regain consciousness’.

The consonant *ʃ* can become voiced in regressive assimilation: *Ja kann änt mäiär kuma ehōne*, *hü[ʒ] ve kalla-dom*, *hö[ʒ]-dom häittest* ‘I can’t remember any more what we call them, what they were called’.

Note that in the adverb *sošš* ‘so; thus’, *šš* was probably added by analogy with *hōšš* ‘how’. In *Šlanedošš* ‘Schlangendorf’ (German village near Gammalsvenskby), *šš* replaced the foreign combination *rf*.

2.2.2. At morpheme boundaries in compounds *r + s* gives both [ʃ] and [rs], and occasionally [rʃ]: *ēr-snipa* ‘earlobe’, *finstäs-klē* ‘curtain’, *fō-šokk~fōr-skokk* ‘flock of sheep’, *färspäl~färspäl* ‘to lose’ (in a game), *fäštēr~färštēr~färštēr* ‘disturb; bother’, *färsáin se* ‘be late’, *giftä-še, gā-še* pres. sing. of *gift se* ‘get married’, *gära se* ‘be made’, *petärsilljar~petärsilljar~petärsilljar* ‘parsley’, *pipaškäi~pipar-skäi* ‘pepper pod’.

2.2.3. *l + s* at morpheme boundaries in compounds is pronounced [ʃs] and [rʃ], e.g. *hāl-stikke* ‘hailstone’, *kōl-strunk* ‘cabbage head’, *man(η)öl!-stukk~man!-stukk* : *man!-štukk* ‘rolling pin’ (also *manη-štukk*).

2.2.4. There are a number of loanwords with an initial *ʃ*: *šaff* ‘get out’ (i.e. *Ša[v:]de fron hēr-fron* ‘Get out of here!’), *šarf* ‘scarf; shawl’, *šipp* ‘scoop’, *šitt* ‘shit; filth’, *šlaiär* ‘veil’, *šlay* ‘hosepipe’, *Šlajedošš* ‘Schlangendorf’ (formerly German village near Gammalsvenskby), *šmäls* ‘to fry’, *šrōt* ‘grist’, *štīl* ‘pen’, *štup(p)l* ‘to glean, pick up leftover crops after the harvest’, *štäkk* ‘to infect’, *štäjäl* ‘stick, pole; onion leaf’.

Interestingly, in several cases *šl-* occurs in words with a clearly pejorative meaning: *šlabär* ‘to chat’ (e.g. *Hon gōr o šlabrar mä sin dumm tuηη* ‘She goes around chatting with her silly tongue’; *Tom jaxt mäseäitt opō, šlabär mä tom tuηηana* ‘They’re always making a noise, chatting with their tongues’), *šlappatär* ‘untidy’, *šlindär* ‘to shuffle’, *šlijär* ‘to swing, twist, fling carelessly’, *šlomm* ‘to swing open’ (*Sätt !fast dänna bra, än-on änt šlomm* ‘Close the door properly, so that it isn’t left swinging open’),⁵ *šlondär* ‘to hang about’ (*Hon gōr o šlondrar opō, hon drikks-bitta MP* ‘She’s always hanging about, that pisshead’; *Hon hār stonde boŧt-tappa, hon kann gō o šlondär um häila bīn* ‘She’s lost her senses, she can go hanging about the whole village’), *šlonkär* ‘to shuffle’ (*Han šlonkrar mä bäine, kastar bäine ot sia* ‘He shuffles his leg, throws his leg to the side’), *šlops* ‘to swipe’ (*To ja hāv kvastn, som ja sūpa hēr !hūp-e, so šlopsa ja-on* ‘As I had a broom that I was sweeping with here, I swiped her’), *šlorr* ‘to shuffle’, and the proper noun *Šlorr-Karlīna* (*Ve hāv Šlorr-Karlīna, hon kunt klē pō se än stövel o än skū o komm inn milla folke de fō arbet MP* ‘We had *Šlorr-Karlīna*, she could put on a boot and a shoe and go among the people to work’), *šlūr* ‘to hang about’ (*Hon gōr o šlūrar opō um bīn MP* ‘She’s always hanging about the village’).

2.2.5. In native words (and also in loanwords), *ʃl/* as a phoneme only occurs in initial position and in front of *t* within morphemes, but never intervocalically: *afar* ‘evening’, *ansüft* ‘cheek’, *daftiη* and *daft* ‘to chat’, *doftor* ‘doctor’, *froka* ‘smell’ (noun), *gift* ‘poison’, *gift se* ‘get married’, *grift* ‘funeral feast’, *häft* ‘notebook’, *käft*, rude word for ‘mouth; face’, *lüft* ‘attic’, ‘air; smell’, ‘to smell’ (transitive), ‘to lift’, *maft* ‘power’, *oft* ‘often’, *skaft* ‘shaft’, *slaft* ‘to slaughter’, *saft* ‘juice’, *sāfta* ‘slow(ly)’, *slāft* ‘relatives’, *vaft* ‘to guard’, *viŧt* ‘scales; scale weight’, ‘to weigh’, *väift* ‘to shake, flutter’, in the suffix *-aftndär* (*fäilaftndär* ‘silly; crazy’, *stūraftndär* ‘stuck-up’). Inter-

⁵ Compare also *fl-* in *floμμ* ‘to bang a door’: *Tom floμμ opō mä hon dänna, som tom dumm* ‘They’re banging that door like crazy’.

vocally and word-finally, /f/ only occurs in loanwords from German and Standard Swedish, e.g. *grifel~grifl~griffl* ‘slate pencil’, *katüfl* [-fəl] ‘potato’, *täfl* ‘school blackboard’, *tsifär* ‘number’, *tüfl* ‘slipper’, *brif* ‘letter’.

At synchronic morpheme boundaries, [f] is an allophone of /g/, /k/, /p/, /v/ which occurs in front of *t*, i.e. this is a position of neutralisation for these phonemes. This happens in the neuter form of adjectives, preterite of weak verbs, several adverbs and the ordinal numeral *tolft*.⁶ Examples:

/g/ [f]: *argär* ‘angry’ : neuter *arft*; *lögär* ‘low’ : *lōft*; *svägär* ‘weak’ : *svāft*.

/k/ [f]: *bräkär* ‘fragile’ : *brāft*; *märkär* ‘dark’ : *mārft*; *rikär* ‘rich’ : *rīft*; *starkär* ‘strong; healthy’ : *starft* (also, as an adverb, ‘loudly’), *bräke* ‘bleat’ : preterite *brāft*; *nōkas* ‘reach’ : *nōftest*; *sēke* ‘look for’ : *sēft*; *släike* ‘lick’ : *slāift*; *spörke se* ‘stumble’ : *spörft se*; *stirke* ‘starch’ : *stirft*, *strike* ‘do the ironing’ : *strift*; *stärke* ‘strangle’ : *stārft*; *värke* ‘hurt’ : *vārft*.

/p/ [f]: *djūpär* ‘deep’ : *djūft*; *skarpär* ‘hard’ : *skarft*; *hölp* ‘to help’ : *höft*; *kēp* ‘buy’ : *kēft*; *löüp* ‘fade’ : *löüft* (and *löüpt*); *stölpas* ‘stumble’ : *stölftest* (and *stölptest*).

/v/ [f]: *skäivär* ‘crooked’ : neuter *skāift*; *stivär* ‘stiff’ : *stīft*; *halv-ándär* ‘one and a half’ : *halft-ána*; *tolv* ‘twelve’ : *tolft* ‘twelfth’.

If *k* and *p* are preceded by a consonant other than *r* and *l*, the development is different: *bäskär* ‘bitter’ : *bässt*; *falskär* ‘evil’ : *falst*; *friskär* ‘fresh; healthy’ : *frisst*; *dämper* ‘stuffy’ : *dämmt*; *umpär* ‘dumb’ : *ummt* MP and *umft* AL; *dämp* ‘choke; stew’ : preterite *dämmt* and *dämft* (cf. the medio-passive preterite *dämptest* with an analogical *p*).

If /k/ is preceded by *n*, it is realised as [f] as above, but /n/, in turn, is realised as [m], due to the following labial consonant, i.e. *nk + t > mft*: *klänke* ‘hang’ (transitive) : *klämft*, likewise *dränke* ‘drown’, *skänke* ‘give as a present’, *tänke* ‘think’.

The neuter forms *döüft* and *höüft* (of *döüär* ‘deaf’, *höüär* ‘high, tall’) may go back directly to **dauft*, **haugt* (cf. Sw. *dövt*, *högt*) and, if so, represent the same situation as the examples above. In *snöüft* (from *snöüär* ‘mean, greedy’, cf. Sw. *snöd*), *f* is caused by the influence of *döüft*, *höüft*. An alternative explanation for *f* in these forms is consonantisation of the glide [w] which is clearly heard in the intervocalic position: [ʰœ:æwɛr].

As for /f:/, it occurs as a phoneme only in the loanwords *šaff se* ‘get out’ (Ger. *schaffen sich* in the meaning ‘see off’),⁷ *gaffl* ‘fork’, *skiffl* (also with a short [f]) ‘spade’, *raff* ¹*hūp* ‘to snatch’, *sküff* ‘to push’,⁸ *straff* ‘to judge’,⁹

⁶ In *säfta*, *f* should probably be interpreted as a phoneme, not an allophone of /k/, because there is no morpheme boundary between *f* and *t*; *säfta* cannot be analysed as *sāf-ta* as there is no adverb suffix *-ta* in the dialect.

⁷ By assimilation of voicedness it is realised as [v:] in e.g. *Šaff-de* [-v:-] *fron hēr-fron* ‘Get out of here!’

⁸ E.g. *Ijen sküffa-en änt, han foll soļe* ¹*nēr* ‘No one pushed him, he fell down himself’, *Tässa jär som kumär sküffande* ‘This is the one that comes pushing (his crutches)’, etc.

⁹ E.g. *Hon straffar allar, po allar hittär-on nōat* ‘She judges everybody, in everybody she finds something’.

äffnast [-f(:)-] ‘hardly’.¹⁰ *Gaffl* and *skiff* were either borrowed directly from Sw. *gaffel*, *skyffel* or were transformed under the influence of Standard Swedish; a clear indication of a borrowing is [l] instead of [ʈ] (see 2.3.3). More dialect-like forms are *gafäl* and *skifäl* (l = [ʈ]) recorded in Gammalsvenskby by Vendell (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 64, 190), but these forms never occurred in my interviews. As for *äffnast*, Vendell compares it with Danish *effen* adv. ‘just; hardly’ (*äfnast* in Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 264; *äfnast* in Vendell 1907, p. 168, with the meaning ‘only’); cf. also Sw. dial. *effen* ‘just now’, *äffen* ‘hardly’ (Rietz 1962, pp. 114, 844). Interestingly, Vendell recorded this adverb only in Gammalsvenskby.

In native words, [f:] occurs as an allophone of /k:/ and /p:/.

/k:/ [f:]: *tjokkär* ‘thick’ : neuter *tjofft*; *räkke* ‘hold out’ : preterite *räfft*, *släkke* ‘turn off (the light), put out (a fire)’ : *släfft*; *spräkke* ‘burst’ : *spräfft*, *täkke* ‘cover’ : *täfft*; *väkke* ‘wake up’ : *väfft*.

/p:/ [f:]: *klipp* ‘cut with scissors’ : *kliff*; *släpp* ‘leave; let go’ : *släfft*.

The long [f:] can also be a realisation of /k/ after *äi* and *ü*: *läike* [-ɛ·i-] ‘play’ : preterite [lɛi:f:]t; *mäike* ‘bend’ : *mäi*[f:]t, *bläikär* ‘pale’ *bläi*[f:]t, *mnjü-kär* ‘easily bent’ : *mnjü*[f:]t; *säikär* ‘wet’ : *säi*[f:]t, *sjükär* ‘sick, ill’ : *sjü*[f:]t. This is not a strict regularity because pairs such as *släike* ‘lick’ : *släift*, *djüpär* ‘deep’ : *djüift* were also recorded.

2.2.6. The phoneme /v/ occurs both word-initially, intervocalically and word-finally and in the latter two positions it is short in most examples (word-initially, of course, it can only be short): *vagg* ‘cradle’, *vita* ‘know’, *vrist* ‘ankle’, *vädär* ‘wind’, *räven* ‘rain’, *räv* ‘fox’, *gräv* ‘to dig’, *räv* ‘boundary’,¹¹ etc.; in a number of loanwords, e.g. *viņš* ‘to sing Christmas carols’ (Ger. *wünschen*), *mävđ* ‘maidservant’ (Ger. *Magd*), *višne* ‘cherries’ in a collective sense (Rus. *višná* ‘cherry’).

[v] can also be an allophone of *gg* in front of *d* at a morpheme boundary: *bigge* ‘build’ : preterite *bēvd*; *dägge* ‘breastfeed’ : *dävđ*.¹²

¹⁰ In e.g. *Mälitta tola, än-on bröüt 'girm se üte he jokke, än-on äffnast komm 'üt se fron tērfron* ‘Melitta was saying that she fell into that marsh, so she could hardly get out of there’, *Än svägär gübb, han gōr äffnast* ‘A frail old man, he hardly walks’, *Äffnast hänaš dütär fölga 'üt-on, hēr komm-on ötär debäks* ‘Hardly had her daughter seen her out than here she came back again’.

¹¹ In this word, *v* goes back to a glide [w] of the same kind as in *öüa* ‘eye’ (see 2.3.7). A regular paradigm in Gammalsvenskby would be **rō, rō(w)e, rō(w)ar, rō(w)ana*. The correlation **rō* sing. : *rō(w)ar* pl. was superseded by **rā : *rō(w)ar* under the influence of *dā* ‘day’ : pl. *dōar*; *w*, originally the glide in the intervocalic forms, was added to *rā* by analogy with the other forms of the noun and changed to *v* because the combination *āw* is not allowed word-finally in the present-day dialect. This gave rise to the correlation *rāv* : **rōvar*, where **ō* in the plural was replaced with *ā* by analogy with the singular, hence *rāv* : *rāvar*. The cognate dialects show alternative developments. Karlgren (1953, p. 20) recorded *raō* ‘båtshake; stång’ in Gammalsvenskby. Vendell (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 170, 175, 178) recorded *raw* ‘rå, gräns’ in Dagö, Gammalsvenskby, Rågö, Vippal, *row* ‘rå, segelrå’ in Dagö, *rā* ‘rå, segelrå’ in Nuckö, Ormsö. Danell (1951, p. 333) recorded *rō* in Nuckö. The original meaning is ‘pole’ (> ‘yard’ on a mast); the meaning ‘boundary’ developed from ‘pole used to mark a boundary’ (Hellquist 1980, p. 669).

¹² Compare also *ävnar* ‘chaff’, *räven* ‘rain’ (noun and verb), where *v* goes back to *g*. For the vowel length in these forms, see 4.2.1, 1c.

/v/ is realised as [v:] in the verb *ri[v:]las* ‘squabble’ (of dogs).

2.2.7. The velar fricative [x:] should be regarded as an allophone of /s:/ that occurs in front of *l*. The examples are *gnixl* ‘to whine’, *kixl* ‘flat round cake’,¹³ *knixl* AL LU or *knixxel* MP ‘swelling (e.g. caused by the cold), bump’,¹⁴ *mäxliŋ* ‘smallpox’ (*mäxliŋs-ärratär*, *mäxl-ärratär* ‘with scars from smallpox’),¹⁵ *näxlar* ‘nettle’. A regular form of the word for ‘eyelid’ may have been **öüx-lokk* < *öüs-lokk* (from *öü* ‘eye’), with *xl* < *sl* at a morpheme boundary, though this form never occurred in my interviews. The attested forms are *öüxs-lokk* (with a secondary *s* under the influence of such compounds as *arbets-mann* ‘workman’), *öüs-lokk* (with restored *sl*), *öüks-lokk* (with a transition from *xs* to *ks*?).

As for initial *sl-* (in e.g. *slaft* ‘to slaughter’, *släft* ‘extended family’, *slāa* ‘sledge’, *slō* ‘to beat, mow’, etc.), it is never pronounced [ʃ], i.e. with a voiceless initial *l*, in clear contrast to the data of Vendell, who systematically writes *ʃl-* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 137 ff.). Overall, the consonant [ʃ] never occurred in any position in my interviews.

2.2.8. *h* is sometimes pronounced [x] in front of *j*: *hjöl* and *xjöl* ‘to death’. The adverb meaning ‘today’ is sometimes pronounced *hedá*, but more commonly *edá*.

2.3. Sonorants

2.3.1. /l/ is realised as [l] and [ɾ]. The first allophone is identical to Standard Sw. *l* in *lära*, *mål*, while the second is a retroflex flap (occurring in other Swedish dialects as well). [l] occurs in the following positions:

1) Word-initially: *lās* ‘bench in the house’, *lassas* ‘resemble, look like’, *larm* ‘make a noise’, *lē* ‘laugh’ (verb), ‘joint’ (noun), *lilldär* ‘small’, *lī* ‘to tolerate, stand, suffer’, ‘scythe’, ‘riverbank’, *līas* ‘listen; obey’, *līs* ‘to shine’, *lōgär* ‘low’, *lägge* ‘put’, *läike* ‘to play’ (of children); ‘to mate’ (of animals), *läiv* ‘to leave’, etc.; in the suffix *-läik*: *brēläik* ‘breadth’, *djūpläik* ‘depth’, *höüläik* ‘height’, *lōŋläik* ‘length’.¹⁶

2) When long: *allan* ‘all’, *bill* ‘uncle’, *bällat* ‘pregnant’, *milla* ‘between’, *päll* ‘apron’, *skall* ‘skull’, *vallar* ‘herdsman’. Historically, *bilk* [-l:k] ‘aunt’ < **bill-kunu* (cf. *bill*; Danell 1951, p. 24) and *älva* [-l:v-] ‘eleven’ (OSw. *ällivu*) also belong here. If *ll* is shortened, it continues to be pronounced *l* rather than *ɾ*: *alastáll* ‘everywhere’ (alongside *allastál*), *ale* ‘of all’ (with superlatives: *ale fäst* ‘first of all’, *ale bäst* ‘best of all’, *ale länst* ‘longest of all’), *aláina* ‘alone’ (Sw. *allena*), *bommül*, *bümül*, *bümäl*, *bummel*, *bumml* ‘cotton’ (cf. *üll*

¹³ Cf. Sw. *kyss*, *-en*, *-er* in the sense ‘small round cake’ (SAOB K 3565). The dialect form *kixl* probably contains the diminutive *-l-*, i.e. *kixl* < **kyssel*. On the diminutive *-l-* in Swedish, see Tamm 1897, p. 73, Olson 1916, pp. 248–253, Wessén 1992, p. 58.

¹⁴ Cf. Sw. *knyttel* ‘bludgeon; stick; rolling pin’ (SAOB K 1710).

¹⁵ Also *mäxliŋ* [-x;ɾ-] by association with other nouns in *-liŋ* (*armliŋ*, *kikliŋ*, etc.)

¹⁶ [l] instead of [ɾ] in *-läik* (compare *-liŋ* below) is probably due to fact that this suffix used to carry secondary stress (though in synchrony nouns with *-läik* are pronounced with no audible secondary stress on the suffix), whereas [ɾ] does not occur at the beginning of stressed syllables.

‘wool’), *väliŋ* ‘soup’ (Sw. *välling* ‘gruel’). Another example is *brülop* (alongside *bröllop*) ‘wedding’. The only exception to the regular pattern of *ll* giving *l* is the compound *bümöl-täkke* (alongside *bumml-täkke*) ‘cotton blanket’.

3) Before and after *d* and *t*: *baldär* ‘to rattle’, *föld* ‘to fold’, *färald* ‘butterfly’, *möld* ‘orache’, *müld* ‘mould, dry loose earth’, *täld* ‘bedsheet’; *bält* ‘belt’, *filt* ‘light thin blanket’, *hölt* preterite of *höld* ‘hold’, *salt* ‘salt’; *fräidlendär* ‘cheerful’, *nüdlar* ‘noodles’, *bittle* ‘early’.

4) After *s*, *x*: *slit* ‘to tear’, *slō* ‘to beat’, *släiv* ‘ladle’, *aksl* ‘axe’ (if it is not a Standard Swedish loanword, cf. Sw. *axel*), *krüslatär* ‘wavy’ (of hair); *gnixl* ‘to whine’ (of dogs).

As for *l* before *s* within morphemes (i.e. *ls#* and *ls* + vowel), examples are lacking in native words because in such cases *ls* has given *ʃ* (2.2.1). However, *l* does occur in front of *s* + consonant: *bülstär* ‘duvet’, *hälstär* ‘willow’, *älsk* ‘wish’. In *gälvssinn* (response to *ge-kvældär* ‘good evening’), metathesis of *l* has taken place, cf. Sw. *Gud välsigne dig* ‘God bless you’.

5) After *i*, *i*, *äi*: *fila* ‘to wag one’s tail’, *filas* ‘quiver’ (of grass or wheat), *fil* ‘file’ (tool), *kvil* ‘rest’, *kvilas* ‘have a rest’, *sil* ‘sieve’, *silar* ‘colander’; *däil* ‘divide’, *fäilas* ‘lack’, *färfäil se* ‘be mistaken’.

6) Instead of historical *rl*: *felótäls* ‘permission’, *höle* ‘very’ (corresponding to Sw. *hårdligt*; Danell 1905–1934, p. 183), *käliŋ* ‘woman’ (cf. Sw. (obsolete) *kärliŋ*). Probably, *āles* ‘otherwise’ also belongs here, if it goes back to **ār-lēds* ‘in a different way’; cf. Sw. *annorledes* (SAOB A 1633).

For *rl* at morpheme boundaries, see 2.3.5.

2.3.2. [ʃ] occurs:

1) Between vowels and word-finally after vowels: *bōlan* ‘blunt’, *fālan* ‘beautiful’, *koŋe* ‘who’, *skūl* ‘spatula’, ‘school’, *soŋe* ‘self’, *suŋo* ‘sole’ (of foot), *svalŋo* ‘swallow’ (bird); *fūl* ‘bird’, *nāl* ‘fingernail’, *nōl* ‘needle’, *nōl* ‘to darn’, etc.

2) Before *k*, *g*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *f*: *folk* ‘people’, *kalk* ‘lime’, *soŋkatär* ‘dirty’; *fölge* ‘to follow’, *svölge* ‘to swallow’, *talg* ‘wax’; *hölp* ‘help’, *stölpas* ‘stumble’; *bölm* ‘shake up’, *halŋ* ‘straw’, *svalŋ* ‘vapour’; *goŋv* ‘floor’, *halv-* ‘half-’, *kaŋv* ‘calf’, *toŋva* ‘twelve’ (non-attributive form of the numeral); *hölft* preterite of *hölp* ‘help’. A notable exception is *mülken*, *mülknas* ‘decay, rot’ (of trees), *boŋt-mülkna*, *mülkendär* ‘decayed, rotten’; these forms were confidently pronounced with a distinct *l* by the speakers.¹⁷

3) After *k*, *g*, *p*, *b*, *v*, *f*: *hankl* ‘mitten’, *klē* ‘cloth’, *klipp* ‘to cut’, *klüstär* ‘to whitewash’, *klukst* ‘to cackle’, *klänke* ‘to hang’, *liklendär* ‘happy’, *nikl* ‘ball of thread’, *tikkle* ‘often’; *glās* ‘glass’, *glē se* ‘be glad’, *glēm* ‘forget’, *sorglendär* ‘sad’, *öügl* ‘owl’; *plant* ‘plant’, *äpl* ‘apple’; *bŋu* ‘blood’; *flū* ‘fly’; *gnavlar* pres. sing. of *gnavöl* ‘gnaw’.

4) In the suffix *-liŋ*: *armliŋ* ‘poor fellow’, *dimliŋ* ‘mist’, *tumliŋ* ‘thumb’.

2.3.3. In loanwords or words altered under foreign influence (Standard

¹⁷ As suggested by Mathias Strandberg, *mülken* is probably a blend of two verbs corresponding to Sw. *multna* and *murkna*, with [l] from the former (the combination *lt* is phonetically regular, see 2.3.1,3) and *k* from the latter.

Swedish, German, Russian, Ukrainian or Estonian), *l* usually occurs instead of *l̥*: *ablkōs* ‘apricot’, *alesk* ‘dumpling’, *apls̄in* ‘orange’, *balk* ‘beam’, *blūd* ‘saucer’, *butl* ‘big bottle’, *bälet* ‘face’, *dōlendär* ‘sickly’ (cf. Sw. *dålig*), *ēklatär* ‘disgusting’, *ēkel se* ‘be disgusted’, *grībešmalts* ‘fried pork rinds’, *himmäl*, *himl* AL ‘sky’ (alongside the dialect forms *himmäl* [‘him:æɹ] LU, *himmöl* [‘him:œɹ] MP), *kađfl* [‘kađf] AL ‘potato’ (cf. *katüfl* [‘katɔf] LU), *kälküin* ‘turkey’, *kittl* ‘jacket’, *klats* ‘click’, *klēb* ‘to glue’, *klots* ‘log’, *kolb* ‘corn cob’, *Malmas* surname (instead of *Małmas*,¹⁸ under the influence of the Russian pronunciation with *l*), *plats* ‘place’, *plitt* ‘cooker’, *pruddl* ‘to mumble’, *prätsl* ‘pretzel’, *pülk* ‘peg’, *Sigalet* surname, *sikk(äl)* ‘bicycle’, *silke* ‘silk’, *silvär* ‘silver’, *skäl* ‘stallion’,¹⁹ *späl* ‘to play’ (a game, a musical instrument), *štuppl* ‘to glean, pick up leftover crops after the harvest’, *täf(ä)* *l* ‘blackboard’, *tilk* ‘drop’, *trokkl* (alongside *trokköl*) ‘to tack; sew with long stitches’, etc. There are, however, words that are likely to be loanwords in which *l̥* rather than *l* is pronounced: *flagg* ‘flag’, *hēkl̥* (alongside *hēkl*) ‘to crochet’.

2.3.4. In the contemporary dialect, instead of *rn* within morphemes only [n] is heard, never [ŋ].²⁰ The words for ‘child’, ‘horn’, ‘barley’ (Sw. *barn*, *horn*, *korn*), for example, are always pronounced [bɔ:n], [hu:n], [ku:n], whereas *kirke-tūn* ‘belfry’ should be regarded as a Standard Swedish loanword. The commonest definite plural ending of nouns is *-ana*, though *-ana* is also occasionally heard.

Generally, postalveolar *n* (instead of *rn* and *ln*) occurs only at morpheme boundaries, though even here a transition to a dental *n* or a fluctuation of *n~n* takes place. Most often, postalveolar *n* is heard in the definite singular of monosyllabic masculine nouns with roots terminating in *r* and *l*, e.g. *būn̄*, *fūn̄*, *spūn̄*, *tjūn̄*, def. sing. of *būr* ‘cage’, *fūl* ‘bird’, *spūl̄* ‘mirror’, *tjūr* ‘bull’. The verbs *sjūn̄* and *sjūnas* ‘go sour’ also belong here. In these examples the fluctuation of *n~n* is absent; the only exception is the verb *klān̄* alongside *klān* ‘become clear’.

In the definite singular of di- and polysyllabic nouns with stems in *-ar*, *n* is also more frequent than *n̄*, e.g. *arbetan* rather than **arbetan̄*. The following nouns only occurred with *-n̄* in the def. sing.: *blū-sūar* ‘leech’, *būtar* ‘doctor’, *drikkjar* ‘drunkard’, *fiskjar* ‘fisherman’, *hakk-spikkar* ‘woodpecker’, *kērar* ‘driver’, *lārar* ‘teacher’, *mołar* ‘miller’, *monnar* ‘morning’, *mūrar* ‘mason’, *post-bārar* ‘postman’, *sīlar* ‘colander’, *vaftar* ‘watchman’. Words found both with *-n* and with *-n̄* were *biggjar* ‘builder’ (*biggjan* AL, *biggjan* LU), *bokar* ‘baker’, *komar* ‘room’, *kūkar* ‘cook’, *källar* ‘cellar’, *spikar* ‘pantry’, *vallar* ‘herdsman’. *Homar* ‘hammer’, *sjōljjar* ‘seller’ only occurred with *-n*.

¹⁸ Vendell recorded *Malmas* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 142).

¹⁹ Vendell recorded *skæl* (= *skāl*) in Dagö and Gammalsvensky; from Ger. *Schälhengst* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 200).

²⁰ There are no examples of *ln* within morphemes.

Disyllabic nouns with stems in *-är*, *-äll-öl* occur with both *η* and *n* in the def. sing.: *brūän* : *brūän* (of *brūär* ‘brother’), *kvärvän* : *kvärven* of *kvärvöl* ‘door bolt’.

2.3.5. Postalveolar *l* did not occur in my interviews. Judging by the available examples, *rl* within morphemes has become *l*: compare *käliη* [‘keliη] ‘woman’ and older Sw. *kärling*. At morpheme boundaries *rl* occurs alongside *l*, but not a postalveolar *l*: *Hon jār lāt* [-rl-] ‘She’s lazy’. Compare also *färlót me* ‘I’m sorry’ and *felótäls* ‘permission’, *färlít se* alongside *fälít se* ‘to hope’.

2.3.6. /η/ is always realised as a short [η] after long vowels, but as both [η] and [η:] after stressed short vowels (after unstressed vowels only [η] is of course possible). The long and short allophones after short vowels are in free variation, though the long one is more frequent. Some words occurred only with [η:]: *añjär* ‘to regret’, *kliηη* and *kliηjär* ‘to ring, to sound’, *riηηe* ‘to ring’, ‘to fence’, *sjöηη* ‘to sing’, *sprīηη* and *sprīηηe* ‘to burst, blow up’, *stañη* and *stañηe* preterite and supine of *stiηη* ‘sting’, *unηjär* ‘young’ (and *iηηre*, *iηηst*), *viηη* ‘wing’ (but *kvēn-viηη* ‘mill sail’), *viηηl* ‘to whirl’. Some show variation: *riηη* [-η(:)] ‘ring’, *ēr-riηηar* indefinite pl. and *ēr-riηηa* definite pl. of the noun meaning ‘earring’ (but only *arm-riηη* ‘wrist’), *luηη* [-η(:)] ‘lung’, likewise *goη(η)* ‘time; walkway’, *huη(η)ra* ‘hungry’, *läη(η)äre* comparative of *lōηär* ‘long’, *moη(η)* (but *moηa* pl.) ‘many’, *pāη(η)ar* ‘money’, *stiη(η)är* present sing. of *stiηη* ‘to sting’. Some words occurred only with a short [η]: *dīηe* ‘dung’, *fiηär* ‘finger’ (but *fiηηäs-tjökkär* ‘finger-thick’ and *fiη(η)äs-lē* ‘knuckle’), *huηär* ‘hunger’, *iηa* ‘no’ (pronoun), *iηatiη* ‘nothing’, *iηen* ‘nobody’, *kliηäl* ‘bagel’, *šlanη* ‘hosepipe’, *Šlanηedošš* ‘Schlangendorf’, *šliηär* ‘to swing, fling’, *štāηäl* ‘stalk’.

This variation in quantity can be explained by the fact that *η* goes back to /ng/, where *n* [η] was frequently pronounced long (as is usually the case with the first consonant in the structure VCC; see 4.2.1d), but this length was not phonological, which manifested itself in the possibility of [η:] being interchangeable with [η] after the loss of the final *g*. At the time of Karlgren’s study, i.e. in 1905–1906, *g* was still pronounced, as he writes *loggär* (1953, p. 24). Tiberg in his comments on Karlgren’s article gives the pronunciation without *g* in all such cases, i.e. *logär*. The loss of *g* therefore took place between 1906 and 1929, when Tiberg interviewed immigrants from Gammalsvenskby in Sweden.

A specific realisation of /η/ is [m]. This occurs at a morpheme boundary in front of *d* (in the preterite of weak verbs). Examples are *dēηe* ‘hit, beat’ : *dēmd*, *hēηe* ‘hang’ (transitive and intransitive) : *hēmd*, *plāηe se* ‘strain’ : *plāmd se*, *sprāηe* ‘explode, blow up’ (transitive) : *sprāmd*, *trāηe ütär kvatāna* ‘unseam’ : *trāmd*; *riηηe* ‘ring’, ‘fence’ : *rēmd*. In fact, *m* here goes back to *n*, this development being parallel to *nk-t > mft* (2.2.5). The difference is that *g* after *n*, and also [v] as its realisation, were lost in the dialect, i.e. /ng/ +

/d/ [mvd] or [ɱd] > [md].²¹ However, the combination [mvd] occurred once in the preterite *dēmvd* (pronounced distinctly as [mvd] rather than [ɱd]) in an interview with MP. One would expect such forms as **dēɲd*, **hēɲd* in the dialect, but in fact they never occurred in the interviews.

If /ng/ ended up in front of *t* at a morpheme boundary, the synchronic result is different in that the labiodental consonant is voiceless. Unlike [mvd] > [md], *f* is preserved, i.e. *uɲɲär* ‘young’: neuter *umft*, *lōɲär* ‘long’: *lōmft*, *strōɲär* ‘strict’: *stromft* LU (and *strōɲt* AL MP), *trāɲär* ‘narrow; tight’: *trāmft*.

2.3.7. There are two glides in the dialect, [j] and [w]. The former occurs before and after front vowels, e.g. *brä[j]a* ‘board’, *finstär-br[æj]a* EU ‘window sill’ (*brāa* AL LU), *brü[j]är* ‘broad’, *fō[j]e* imperative pl. and supine of *fō* ‘get’, *före-[j]en* ‘because of him’,²² *hontā[j]e* def. sing. of *honta* ‘handle’, *ive-en* [‘ivejən] in *Hon lēär ive-en* ‘She laughs at him’, *lī[j]as* ‘obey’, *nī [j]a* ‘nine’ (non-attributive form of the numeral), *skrije* imperative pl. of *skri* ‘to yell’, *skäi[j]a* def. sing. of *skäi* ‘pod’, *tijande* ‘tenth’ (but usually *tīar* ‘a ten’, noun), *trätt[j]ande* ‘thirtieth’, *träsk-lī[j]en*, *-lī[j]ar*, *-lī[j]ana* (forms of *träsk-lī* ‘riverbank’). This glide is particularly prominent in the imperative plural of weak verbs with stems in *a*: *lōaje* [‘lō:aje] imp. pl. of *lōa* ‘cook’, *rokaje* (*roka* ‘bathe; shave’), *skokaje* (*skoka* ‘shake’), *skoļaje* (*skoļa* ‘peel’), *skōaje* (*skōa* ‘watch’), *toļaje* (*toļa* ‘speak’).

The presence of neither of these glides is obligatory in all instances; they are purely phonetic means of avoiding a hiatus such as [oæ] or [œ:æa], though the pronunciation with hiatus is also heard.

2.4. Palatalisation and other assimilation processes

2.4.1. The combinations *dj*, *gj*, *kj*, *nj*, *sj*, *tj* are pronounced as palatalised consonants, e.g. *djūr* [dj-] ‘animal’, likewise *vīdje* ‘withy’, *gjūd* preterite of *gāra*, *kjōd* ‘cold’ (noun), *sjānd* ‘since’, *sjūn* ‘person’, *sjōl* ‘soul’, *bissje* [‘bisjɛ] ‘kennel’, *tjānd* ‘off, away’, *tjāro* ‘tar’, *tjōlge* ‘carve wood’. Cf. also *atjé* [a’tjɛ] ‘goodbye’. As for palatalised *n*, it often alternates with dental *n*, e.g. *njōl!~nōl!* ‘darn’, *njörk~nörk* ‘croak’. In the numeral *sjäks* ‘six’ and its derivatives, [sj] is clearly heard, though a pronunciation with [sʲ] is also possible.

2.4.2. In front of *ü*, the consonants *t*, *s*, *n* are usually palatalised regardless of whether they go back to *tj*, *sj*, *nj* or not: *tjū* ‘thief’, *tjū* ‘twenty’, *tjū* ‘to throw with a pitchfork’, *tjūl* [tjʷ:ɛɽ] ‘to winnow (grain); swirl (of snow, dust)’, *tjūr* ‘bull’, *stjū* ‘house’, *stjū-fār* ‘stepfather’, *stjū-mūär* ‘stepmother’; *sjū* ‘to hum; hiss’, *sjū* ‘to suck’, *sjūa* (numeral, non-attributive form) ‘seven’,

²¹ Vendell recorded such forms as *hégge*: preterite *héggd*, *rigge*: *réggd* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 80, 172). Karlgren recorded *degge*: *dɛɣvd*, *rigge*: *rɛɣvd* (Karlgren 1953, p. 27), which shows that the development [ɲgd] > [ɱd] took place approximately between the times of their studies, i.e. at the end of the 19th century (Karlgren’s article was written in 1906).

²² E.g. *Än hund gū hälla nöte, än-de änt kann söa före-[j]en* ‘Some dog was barking all night, so you couldn’t sleep because of him’.

blū-sjūar ‘leech’, *sjūl* ‘wheel’, *sjūran* ‘sour’; *njūr* ‘kidney’, *njūs* ‘to sneeze’, *knjūt* ‘knot’. According to LU, the numeral *tjū* ‘twenty’ is pronounced identically to *tjū* ‘pitchfork’ and differently from *tū* ‘two’ (neuter of *tō*), though the latter word is also very often pronounced with [tʰ].

2.4.3. As for an original *d*, it is not palatalised in front of *ū*, whereas an original *dj-* is pronounced [dʲ]. Compare, for instance, *djūr* [dʲɥ:ʳ] ‘animal’ and *dū* [dɥ:] ‘pigeon’. Other examples are *dūas* ‘be fit’, *dūk* ‘kerchief’, *dūn* ‘down, soft feathers’.

2.4.4. The combinations *skj*, *snj*, *spj*, *stj* are pronounced [skʲ] etc. (cf. 2.1.2): *skjott* ‘shirt’, *skjūt* ‘to shoot’, *snjū* ‘snow’, *spjūt* ‘sting’ (of insects), *stjēn* ‘star’, *stjätt* ‘tail’, *stjōla* ‘to steal’. In all these examples, a more or less distinct [j] can be heard, i.e. *skjott* with [skj-] alongside [skʲ-]. As for *spj-*, it can lose *j* in front of *ū*, i.e. *spjūt* [spʲɥ:t] and *spūt*.

2.4.5. The combinations *lj*, *llj* are usually pronounced [ʎ], [ʎ:] or, more rarely, [lj] with an indistinct *j*: *ljū* [ʎɥ:] ‘to lie, deceive’,²³ *ljūsär* [ʎ-] ‘light’ (adj.), *familla* [-ʎ-] def. sing. of *famille* ‘family’, *ballje* [-ʎ:ɛ] ‘bathtub’ and def. sing. *ballja* [-ʎ:a], pl. *balljar* [-ʎ:ar]. The noun *ljūs* ‘candle’ is pronounced [ʎɥ:s] by AL, [ʎ:s] by LU. The noun *lūs* ‘louse’ is always pronounced [ʎ:s].

2.4.6. The combinations *nj*, *nnj* are usually pronounced [ɲ], [ɲ]: *banje* [-ɲɛ] ‘sauna’, *dinnja* [-ɲ:a] def. sing. of *dinne* ‘watermelon’.

2.4.7. The combination *hj*, if it is original (i.e. the result of Proto-Nordic breaking) and not the result of East Swedish breaking, has become *sj*, e.g. *sjūn* [sʰu:n] ‘person’ (cf. Sw. *hjon*), *sjätta* ‘heart’, but compare *hjöl* ‘heel’ with breaking (Sw. *höl*).

2.4.8. Due to regressive assimilation, /s/ in front of voiced consonants is often realised as [z]: *arm[z]-bōa* ‘elbow’, *bürjan[z]-büsk* ‘bush of tall weed’, *gädij[z]-bū* ‘wasps’ nest’, *Nibi[z]-gatna* literally ‘the street of the new village’, name of a street in pre-revolutionary Gammalsvenskby, *rū[z]-büsk* ‘rose bush’, *rāven[z]-bōa* ‘rainbow’, *vínagrad[z]-büsk* ‘grape bush’, *Ja vār e fárošt nā[zd]-dom* (also ...*nā[st]-tom*) ‘I stayed with them last year’, *He drā[z]-do rāi tjōl hēste* ‘It’s already drawing towards the autumn’.

Other examples of voicing caused by regressive assimilation: *Ō[d]-de rāi nōat?* ‘Have you already eaten something?’, *sō[b]-bita* ‘bit of soap’, *öü[gz]-brūn* ‘eyebrow’, *Hö[z] de kēr tit?* ‘How to get there?’

Regressive devoicing takes place in *vínagra[ts]-klips* ‘bunch of grapes’,²⁴ *öü[k]-stāin* ‘pupil of the eye’.

2.4.9. Examples of progressive assimilation of voicelessness are *tīstan* ‘Tuesday’, *tūštan* ‘Thursday’, *unstan* ‘Wednesday’ (cf. *mondan* ‘Monday’, *fřidan* ‘Friday’, *lōūdan* ‘Saturday’). Progressive assimilation of (post)alveolarisation, i.e. *ɖn > ɖ̥n*, takes place in *gōɖ̥n* def. sing. of *gōɖ* ‘yard’, *būɖ̥na* def. pl. of *būɖ* ‘table’, *ūɖ̥nar* pl. of *ūɖ* ‘word’.

²³ The supine is *lūe* [ʎɥ:ɛ] AL or *lōe* [ʎɥ:ɛ] MP LU.

²⁴ But *vínagra[dz]-büsk* ‘grape bush’, cf. *vínagrad* ‘grapes’, pronounced with a distinctly voiced *d* (it is a Slavonic loanword).

2.4.10. In two nouns which historically are compounds, the combination *tʃ* occurs: *notʃor* ‘mole cricket’, *atʃol* ‘backside, bottom’. The former noun probably goes back to **not-skorr*, where the first component is *nōt* ‘night’ and the second is probably related to Sw. *skorra* ‘to creak’, referring to the sounds that the insects make. Compare also Sw. *nattskärra* ‘nightjar’ (bird), the second element of which is related to Sw. *skärra* ‘creak, squeak, clatter’ (Hellquist 1980, p. 513). As for *atʃol*, it is originally **ats-hol* (compare *ats*-in *ats-klink* ‘buttock’). Judging by these two examples, the combinations *t-sk* and *ts-h* at a morpheme boundary have the reflex *tʃ* in the dialect. There are no other examples of this development.

Another unique development at a morpheme boundary is seen in *fiʃstjätt* ‘big centipede’ (*Scolopendra*), pronounced [ʃiʃ:tjet̚] LU, [ʃiʃ:tjet̚] AL, [ʃis:tjet̚] AA. The first element may be related to Icel. *fiś* neut. ‘wound’, e.g. in compounds *fiśhell* or *hælfis* ‘sore heel’ (Böðvarsson 1993, p. 206), the second is *stjätt* ‘tail’. If we assume that the original form was **fiś-stjätt*, a change of *s* > [ʃ] in front of [t̚] should be assumed.

2.5. Non-native consonants

In Slavonic and German loanwords (as well as forms influenced by these languages), [ʒ], [ʎ], [ç], [x], [z] occur: *bädd-zaxe* ‘bedclothes’²⁵ (Ger. *Bett-sachen*), *bokle[ʒ]áne* ‘tomato’ (South Russ. or Ukr. *baklažán* in the sense ‘tomato’), *stro[ʒ]ak* AL, *strö[ʒ]ak* LU and *štrözak* LU ‘mattress’ (Ger. *Strohsack*; note the metathesis and voicing of Ger. [ʃ]), [ʎ]oste ‘visitors’ (South Russ. *gósti* or Ukr. *gostì* ‘guests’), [ʎ]armónika ‘harmonica’ (Russ. *garmónika*), *gez[ç]t* ‘face’ (Ger. *Gesicht*), *ansux* ‘suit’ (Ger. *Anzug*), *bázar* (LU, compare *bássar* AL) ‘open-air market’ (Russ. or Ukr. *bazár*), *ri[ç]t* ‘to judge’²⁶ (Ger. *richten*), *tūzn* ‘thousand’ (alongside *tūsn/tūsen*; the form *tūzn* has [z] from Ger. *Tausend*), *vázent* ‘noise’ (cf. Ger. *Wesen*), *äxta* ‘real’²⁷ (a blend of Sw. *äkta* and Ger. *echt*).

3. Vowels

Phonologically relevant features of vowels are height and backness. Labialisation is not phonologically relevant because there are no examples of minimal pairs differentiated by it. Correlating short and long vowels are of the same quality, except for *ü* [ø] vs *ū* [œ].

²⁵ E.g. *Ja hār änt in̄a räin tãldär, ja hār räi 'hüp-samla äin ruka klēnar de vask, änt bara bädd-zaxe* ‘I don’t have clean bedsheets, I have now gathered a heap of clothes to wash, not only bedclothes’.

²⁶ E.g. *Före ko ri[ç]tar-on allar; hittär nōat po sjūne?* ‘Why does she judge everybody, finds something in the person?’

²⁷ E.g. *Hüšš ska-de säi, än-e jār räint näst-tom, to he jār ala-stáll som äin äxta solk-stupp?* ‘How can you say that it’s clean in their place when everywhere it’s like one real mass of dirt?’

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i> /i/ [i, i̯, ɛ̞, y]	<i>ü</i> /ø/ [ø, ʉ]	<i>u</i> /u/ [u]
Mid	<i>ä</i> /ɛ̥/ [ɛ̥, œ̥]		<i>o</i> /o/ [o]
Low	<i>a</i> /a/ [a]		

Fig. 1. Short stressed vowel phonemes in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby.

3.1. Short vowels

There are six short stressed vowel phonemes (see fig. 1).

3.1.1. /i/ is usually realised as [i]. A rarer realisation is [i̯], a more back *i* which resembles Russ. *y* [i̯] (Cyrillic *ы*). According to the speakers, *i* in *diję* ‘dung’ is the same sound as *y* in Russ. *dynâ* ‘melon’. [i̯] occurred in e.g. *r[i̯]ŋŋ* ‘ring’, *r[i̯]ssje* ‘fish trap; withy’, *r[i̯]ss* ‘Russian’,²⁸ *R[i̯]sslant* ‘Russia’, *r[i̯]st* ‘slit; crack; cut’, *skr[i̯]ll-skūar* ‘skates’, and in the Slavonic loanwords *d[i̯]nne* ‘melon’, *kr[i̯]ss* ‘rat’, *d[i̯]sl* ‘shaft’ (to which a horse is harnessed).

3.1.2. In a few words /i/ is realised as [ɛ̞], a close *e* resembling *i*: *b[ɛ̞]re* ‘begin’ (in interviews with MP; cf. *b[i̯]re* AL and *byre* LU), *skr[ɛ̞]ve* LU supine of *skrīv* ‘write’, *sl[ɛ̞]ve* ‘plum’ (alongside *slive*). The word for ‘live’ in interviews with AL and LU is pronounced with [ɛ̞], in interviews with MP with [i]. The forms of this verb that occurred in the interviews were:

infinitive: [ˈlɛ̞va] AL LU, [ˈliva] MP,
 present sing.: [ˈlɛ̞vɐ] AL LU, [ˈliver] MP, [ˈleːˈvɐr] LU,
 present pl.: [ˈlɛ̞va] AL, [ˈliva] MP,
 preterite: [leːˈvɔd] AL LU MP,
 imperative sing.: [lɛ̞v] AL, [leːˈv] MP,
 imperative pl.: [ˈlɛ̞vɛ] AL MP.

3.1.3. Stressed *i* [i] does not occur in open monosyllables, where [ɛ̞] is used. The examples are the pronouns *me*, *te* (object forms of *ja* ‘I’, *tö* ‘you’), *se* ‘-self’, *ve* ‘we’, *ne* ‘you’ (pl.) and *he* ‘it’. These forms should be distinguished from the enclitics *-de* (object form of *tö*), *-e* ‘it’ with a close [ɛ̞], typical of unstressed syllables (3.4.2).

3.1.4. /i/ in front of *re* < **rj* can be realised as [y], particularly in interviews with LU: *byre* ‘begin’, pres. sing. *byrjar*, preterite and supine *byrja* (*b[i̯]re*

²⁸ Danell also gives *rɪs* alongside *reŋ* (1951, p. 333).

AL, *b[ɛ]re* MP), medio-passive *byrjas* (infinitive, present sing. and pl.), *byrja* ‘beginning’. Likewise, in interviews with LU, *ö* and *y* occur in front of *re*, whereas the other speakers have the pronunciation *e*. The preposition meaning ‘in front of’ has the following phonetic variants: *före*, *fyre* LU and *fere* MP, AL. Compare also the adverb *framföre* LU and *framf[ɛ]re* AL ‘in front’. In addition, a pronunciation typical of LU is *mörft* neut. of *märkär* ‘dark’; the other speakers pronounce the word *märft*. In all these examples, the labial vowel is preceded by a labial consonant, but it is impossible to regard it as the only trigger for labialisation, as in the absence of a following *r* labial consonants do not cause this change: cf. *bittle* ‘early’, *bind* ‘to tie’, *bigge* ‘to build’, *bill* ‘uncle’, *mike* ‘many’, *miss* ‘knitted cap’, etc.

3.1.5. In front of *l*, */ɛ/* is realised as [œ] (see 3.1.7), in other positions as [ɛ], e.g. *gädd* ‘pike’, *gässär* pl. of *gös* ‘goose’, *hänt* ‘to bring’, *mä* ‘with’, *änt* ‘not’, *ätt* ‘after’. In the vicinity of *l*, *l*, *r* (particularly in AL’s speech), */ɛ/* tends to be realised as a more open [æ], which is similar to Standard Swedish (Riad 2013, p. 23): *kr[æ]ll* ‘necklace’, *p[æ]ll* ‘apron’, *fl[æ]kk* ‘spot’ (and *fl[ɛ]kk*, in interviews with LU only *fl[ɛ]kk*), *[æ]pl* ‘apple’, *h[æ]ra* AL, *h[ɛ]ra* LU ‘hare’, *h[æ/ɛ]rv* ‘skein’, *[æ]rm* ‘sleeve’, *lüft-v[æ/ɛ]rk* ‘ceiling’, *m[æ]rr* ‘mare’, *pr[æ]st* ‘priest’, *tr[æ]sk* ‘river’.

3.1.6. */ə/* is usually realised as [ə], an open–mid rounded central vowel. In contrast to Standard Swedish short *u*, the lips protrude considerably; in addition, [ə] is more open.²⁹ Examples of words pronounced with [ə]: *lüft-värk* ‘ceiling’, *nürr* ‘to snarl’, *rüll* ‘to roll’, *slütt* MP ‘to finish’, *spütt* ‘to spit’. However, this vowel can also be pronounced [ɥ], which eliminates the difference in quality between *ü* and *ǖ*, particularly in interviews with LU: *b[ɥ]lstär* (alongside *b[ə]lstär* AL) ‘duvet; feather bed’, *b[ɥ]sk* (*b[ə]sk* AL) ‘bush’, *b[ɥ]tn* (*b[ə]tn* AL) ‘bottom’, *b[ɥ]ss* ‘old clothes’, *l[ɥ]kk* AL LU ‘small door’.

3.1.7. In front of *l*, the vowels *ä* and *ü* have coalesced in *ö*, thus coinciding with the old *ö*, which, in turn, has been preserved only in this position. Examples of *ä > ö*: *hölg* ‘holiday’, *hölp* ‘to help’, *stjöl̥k* ‘stalk’, *sjöle* ‘to sell’, *ölg* ‘elk’ (Sw. *helg*, *hjälp*, *stjälk*, *sälja*, *älg*). Examples of *ü > ö*: *gölandär* ‘yellow’, *mölendär* ‘cloudy’ (Sw. *gul*, *mulen*); an exception is *güla* ‘yolk’.³⁰ An example of the original *ö* is *mölk* ‘milk’.

The closest cognate of *bölm* ‘to stir; shake’ (a liquid) and the adjective *bölmätär* ‘turbid’ is probably Sw. dial. *bälma* ‘look surly, angry; go about with hidden anger without saying anything’, cf. also *bolma* ‘blow out eddies of smoke or steam; steam or smoke a great deal’ (Rietz 1962, p. 71a). On the other hand, there are forms with *u*: Icel. *bull* ‘bubble up, boil with bubbling;

²⁹ Earlier studies of the dialect do not clearly describe the articulation of this vowel. Vendell (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 8) states that it is between Sw. *u* and *y* (*u–y*). Karlgren (1953, p. 11) distinguishes it from both Sw. *u* and Sw. *ö*, its quality being approximately between these two vowels.

³⁰ Nominalised weak adjective, cf. *Tom bräs ägge, o so vënd-dom 'umm-e ot ä-šia, äin-e änt rinn-där ütär kvačána, he güla* ‘They fry the egg and turn it to the other side so that it doesn’t flow apart, the yolk’.

dabble, splash' (Árni Böðvarsson 1993, p. 116), Far. *bulla* 'bubble, gush up; simmer' (Young & Clewer 1985, 68), Norw. dial. *bylma* 'vera oppøst; ha ei trugande, morsk oppsyn; (om himmelen) skya over med mørke, tunge skyer; tjukna til' (NO I, p. 1152; Torp 1919, p. 51).

3.1.8. Judging by a few examples, *ä* and *ü* have coalesced in *ö* not only in front of *l* but in open syllables as well. Examples of *ä* > *ö* in open syllables: *aṭöta* 'eighteen', *aṭötande* (and *aṭetande*) 'eighteenth'.³¹ Examples of *ü* > *ö* in open syllables: *nö* 'now', *tö* 'you', *röbäl* 'rouble', *fjörete* 'forty', *fjöretände*, *fjöretande* 'fortieth', *e fjödeṣt* (and *e fjödeṣt*) 'last year' (cf. Sw. *i fjol*). With fluctuation: *üte~öte* 'in' (preposition), *ütär~öter* 'out of'; the pronunciation with *ü* is more frequent. The same fluctuation is observed in several supines: *br[œ]te* LU MP and *br[ø]te* LU (supine of *brüt* 'break'), *dröpe* MP LU and *drüpe* LU (*drüp* 'drip'), *flöte~flüte* (*flüt* 'float'), *löpe~lüpe* (*löüp* 'fade', of fabric), *skjöte~skjüte* (*skjüt* 'shoot').

Historically, forms with an *ö* that goes back to *ü* > *ö* lengthened in an open syllable also belong here: *flöu* [-œu] LU 'a fly' (*flüu* AL; Sw. *fluga*), *flüu-gü* 'fly agaric', *döas* 'be fit, be suitable' (alongside *düas*; Sw. *duga*), *röo* 'scab' (Sw. *ruva*). The verb *flü* 'fly' has the supine [ʰfœ:ɛ] and [ʰfœ:ɛ]; the verb *dräa* 'pull, draw' has the supine [ʰdrœ:ɛ] MP LU alongside [ʰdrœ:ɛ] AL, LU.

The noun meaning 'boot' occurred as *stüväl*, *stüvöl*, *stöväl*, with the root vowel fluctuating between [ø] and [œ]. This seems to be a special case, because judging from previous studies the root vowel here was originally *i* rather than *ü*. Vendell recorded the following forms: *stiväl* Dagö, Gammalsvenskby, Rågö, Vippal, *stivul* Nuckö, Ormsö (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 214). Danell gives *stivöl* (Danell 1951, p. 405). H. Lagman cites *stiväl* for Dagö and Gammalsvenskby, considering it a loan from Baltic German (Lagman 1973, p. 46); cf. Ger. *Stiefel* m. Compare also Sw. *stövel* 'boot,' *klöver* 'clover' (from Middle Low German *stevel*, *klēver*), where *ö* instead of *e* may be due to the following rounded consonant (Wessén 1968 § 34). Another fluctuating form is *hövöl* [ʰhœvœɾ] LU MP, *hävöl* [ʰhevœɾ] LU, *häväl* [ʰhevɛɾ] AL 'to plane', while the corresponding noun is *hävöl-läst* and *hävöl-läst*; cf. Sw. *hyvel*, *hyvla* and its cognates (SAOB H 1685).

3.1.9. The vowel [œ], then, normally occurs only in front of *l* and in open syllables. However, there are a number of words with [œ] in other positions. These are *höṣṣ* 'how' (and *hüṣṣ*), *njörk* 'croak', *sjöṣṣ* 'to sing', *slöft* (neut. of *slikär* 'such', a more frequent pronunciation being *slüft*), *tröṣka-kväit* 'maize'. The noun *träi* 'cardigan' has a doublet *tröjj*, where *ö* is due to association with Sw. *tröja*.

³¹ In interviews with AL, *atoṭa* (sic) and *aṭotande* also occurred.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>ī</i> /i:/ [i:]		<i>ū</i> /u:/ [u:]
Mid-high	<i>ē</i> /e:/ [e: ⁱ , e:]	<i>ī̄</i> /ɨ:/ [ɨ:]	<i>ō</i> /o:/ [o:]
Mid-low	<i>ā̄</i> /ɛ:/ [ɛ:, œ:]		
Low	<i>ā</i> /a:/ [a:]		

Fig. 2. Long vowel phonemes of the dialect of Gammalsvenskby

3.2. Long vowels

There are seven long vowel phonemes (see fig. 2).^{32, 33}

3.2.1. /e:/ has two realisations. The first is the diphthongoid [e:ⁱ], which occurs within morphemes, in both closed and open syllables: *h[e:ⁱ]n* ‘hen’, [e:ⁱ]ra ‘ear’, *f[e:ⁱ]tär* pl. of *fūt* ‘foot’, *sēke* [‘se:kə] ‘to look for’, [e:ⁱ]nd ‘end’, *kv[e:ⁱ]ldär* ‘evening’.³⁴

If in inflection *ē* ends up in front of a long consonant or group of consonants, it is usually realised as a short close *e* or a short diphthongoid [e]: *bēt* ‘change’: preterite *b[e:]tt* (alongside [betʰ] and *bēt* [be:t]); *blē* [-e:] ‘bleed’: *b[e:]dd* LU (*b[e:ⁱ]d* AL MP); *dēär* ‘dead’: neuter [de:t, de:t]; *fēr* ‘to lead’: *f[e:]dd*; *g[e:ⁱ]m* ‘forget’: *g[e:]md* (though compare *hēne* [‘he:ne] ‘to hang’: preterite [he:imd]); *grēndär* ‘green’: neut. *gr[e:]nt*, *hēgre* (comparative of *höüär* ‘tall, high’): superlative *h[e:]kst*; *klē* ‘to dress’: supine *klēdd* [-e:ɪd]; *lēgre* (comp. of *lōgär* ‘low’): *l[e:]kst*, *lētär* ‘light, cheap’: neut. *l[e:]tt*; *rēras* ‘to move’: pres. sing. *r[e:]sš* (< *rērs*); *slētär* ‘smooth’: neut. *sl[e:]tt*; *stēre* (comp. of *stūran* ‘big’): *st[e:]št* (and *st[e:]st*); *tētär* ‘dense’: neut. *t[e:]tt*.

3.2.2. The second realisation, [e:] (close *ē*), occurs at the end of morphemes: *brē* ‘bread’, *brēär* pl. of *brūär* ‘brother’, *dēär* ‘dead’, *kē* ‘chain’, *klē* ‘cloth’, *knē* ‘knee’, *lē* ‘laugh’, *sē* ‘seed’, *smē* ‘blacksmith’, the supines *gnēe*, *rēe*, *vrēe* of *gnī* ‘rub’, *rī* ‘ride’, *vrī* ‘twist, turn’. Within morphemes, [e:] is heard after *j*, *stj*, *tj*: *jēn* ‘iron’, *stjēn* ‘star’, *tjēn* ‘serve’, *tjēnar* ‘hired worker’.

3.2.3. In a few cases fluctuation of *ē* and *ā̄* occurs: *fēr~fār* (also *färr*) ‘earlier’, *sēη~säη* ‘bed’, *vēg~väg* ‘road’, *sēt~sät* ‘small stool’.

3.2.4. /ɛ:/ also has two main realisations, i.e. [œ:] in front of *l* (see 3.2.5) and [ɛ:] in other positions. Examples of [ɛ:]: *brāa* ‘board’, *bāa* ‘ask’, *drāη* ‘servant’, *fādes* ‘ready’, *hād* ‘shoulder’, *jār* pres. sing. of *vara* ‘be’, *rāt* ‘cor-

³² *ū̄* is realised in rare instances as [œ:] in interviews with AL and MP, see 2.3.6.

³³ Occasionally *ā̄* is realised as [ø:], particularly in interviews with LU.

³⁴ The pronunciation *kv[e:ⁱ]ldär* is typical of LU, whereas AL pronounces this word with [ɛ], both short and long: [‘kvelder], def. sing. [‘kve:ldn].

rectly', *rāv* 'fox', *rāven* 'rain', *slāp* 'to pull', *trā* 'tree', *ān* 'even, still' (adverb). Occasionally, e.g. in the vicinity of *r* (particularly in interviews with AL), *ā* tends to be given a more open pronunciation: *br[æ:]a* 'board', *br[æ:]-disk* 'plate for bread'.

3.2.5. In front of /l/ [ɫ], the vowels *ē* and *ā* have coalesced in *ō*, coinciding with the old *ō*, which, in turn, regularly occurs only in this position. Examples of *ē* > *ō*: *tjōl* 'for, to',³⁵ *spōl* 'mirror' (cf. Sw. *spegel*); example of *ā* > *ō*: *sjōl* 'soul'; examples of the original *ō*: *f(j)ōl* 'foal', *jōl* 'beer', *mōl* 'flour'.

3.2.6. As a rule, the vowel [œ:] only occurs in front of *l*. However, it also occurs in several forms where *l* merged with *d*, resulting in *d*: *kjōd* 'cold' (noun), *skjōd*, *svōd*, *tjōd*, preterites of *skjōle* 'rinse', *svölge* 'swallow', *tjölge* 'carve wood'. In the verb *dūas* 'be fit' (in interviews with AL and MP; preterite *dōdest*), *ō* goes back to *ū* > *ö* with lengthening. In interviews with LU the change of *ū* to *ö* is absent; she has the pronunciations *dūas*, *dūdest*.³⁶ It should also be noted that LU tends to use a closer *ō*, i.e. *hj[ø:]l* 'to death', whereas AL's pronunciation is clearly more open, *hj[œ:]l*.

3.2.7. *ū* [ɥ:] is of the same quality as Standard Sw. *u* in *hus*. Before *l*, *ū* is not fronted and lowered to *ō* (unlike *ū* > *ö*), e.g. *fūl* 'bird' etc.

3.2.8. In front of final *r*, *l*, the vowels *ū*, *ō*, *ī*, *ē* are often pronounced as diphthongoids: [ɥ:], [œ:], [i:], [e:], e.g. *mūr* [mɥ:r] 'stone wall' (but pl. *mūrar* [mɥ:rər], with a non-final *r*), *tjūl* [tjɥ:l] 'to winnow; swirl', *jōl* 'beer', *īr* 'to swirl' (of snow), *mīr* 'to build from stone', *h[e:]r* 'here', *rēr* 'to move, touch', *snēr* 'rope' (but *snērär* [sne:rər]). The same vocalic element occurs after the diphthong *öü* in front of final *r*, *l*: *böül* [bœ:ɥ:l] 'to roar', *möür* 'ant'. The vowels *ā* and *ō* are not subject to this process, e.g. *vōl* [vø:l] 'to roar'.

3.2.9. The most typical realisation of /o:/ is [ɔ:], a close *ō*. It occurs in the following positions:

1) In front of *mb*, *nd*, *ld*, as well as *ŋ*: *d[ɔ:]mb* 'dust', *l[ɔ:]mb* 'lamb', likewise *b[ɔ:]nd* 'to mix', *bōnd* 'lace', *lōndär* pres. sing. of *l[ɔ:]n* 'loan', *ōndas* 'breathe', *sōnd* 'sand', *rōnd* 'edge'; *fōld* 'to fold', *hōld* 'to hold', *mōld* 'orache'; *sprōŋ* 'to run, of animals', *stōŋas* 'to butt'.

2) In an open syllable in front of unstressed *a*: *d[ɔ:]ar* pl. of *dā* 'day', likewise *hōa* 'have', *lōa* 'to cook', *mōa* 'stomach', *skōa* 'to watch', *sōa* 'to sleep', *tōa* 'to take'.

3) In open monosyllables: *f[ɔ:]* 'to get', *fl[ɔ:]* 'to strip', *gō* 'to go', *kō* 'resin', *lō* preterite of *ligge* 'to lie', *sō* 'to sow', *sō* preterite of *sōa* 'sleep' and *sī* 'see', *stō* 'stand', *strō* 'straw', *tō* 'fuse'. In addition, [ɔ:] occurs without any apparent regularity in individual words: *bōn* 'child' (here *ō* is particularly close, resembling *ū*), *grōt* 'to weep', *hōn* 'female' (noun), *hōr* 'hair', *kōl*

³⁵ **til* > **tel* > **tēl*, with *e*, lengthened in a closed syllable (Wessén 1968, p. 56 (§ 35)).

³⁶ *ō* cannot be regarded a phoneme here. Phonologically, *d* in *skjōd* is /ld/, i.e. /l/ + /d/ at a morpheme boundary, see 2.1.5. Therefore [œ:] is bound to a position in front of /l/, similar to the examples given in 3.2.5. In *dōas*, [œ:] is a realisation of /ɥ:/.

‘cabbage’, *lōn* ‘to loan’, *lōs* ‘lock’, *mōl* ‘to paint, draw’, *nōt* ‘night’, *sōg* ‘saw’.³⁷ Alongside the close allophone, *ō* is often pronounced as a more open *ō*, i.e. *blōär* ‘blue’ with [o:] and [o:].

A close *ō* cannot be regarded as a separate phoneme because in all the examples the pronunciation [o:] would sound normal.

3.2.10. In inflection, when *ō* ends up in front of a long consonant or a group of consonants, it shortens, e.g. *rōär* ‘raw’ : neut. *r[ō]tt*.

3.3. Diphthongs

3.3.1. These are *äi* [ɛ:i] and *öü* [œ:ʏ].³⁸ In distinct, careful speech, the auditory perception is that the first element of *äi* is pronounced shorter than that of *öü*, but not as short as in the case of extra-shortness (see 3.3.2). Below are full lists of words with diphthongs that occurred in the interviews.

The diphthong *äi*: *aläina* ‘alone’, *bläikär* ‘pale’, *bläim* ‘blister’, *bläit* ‘to soak’, *bräi* ‘to spread’, *bräivär* [—] ‘near’ (adverb and preposition), *bräür* ‘broad’, *bäin* ‘leg; bone’, *bäias* ‘to ask’, *dräi* ‘to dawdle, put off’, *däi* ‘dough’, ‘to die’, *däil* ‘part’, *fläi* ‘to rise, of water in the river during a flood period’, *fläit* ‘to weave (and *fläita-gōd* ‘wattle’), *fräi* ‘seed’, *fräist* ‘test, try on’, *fäil se* ‘be mistaken’, *fäil* ‘reason’ (only in *hōa fäil* ‘have a reason for something’), *fäit* ‘fat’ (noun), *fäitär* ‘fat’ (adj.), *gräin* ‘branch’, *gräit* ‘porridge’, *gräivar* ‘pork rinds’, *gäi* ‘to bark’, *gägöl* ‘gill’, *gäisp* ‘yawn’, *gäit* ‘goat’, *häi* ‘hay’, *häildär* ‘whole’, *häils* ‘to greet’, *häim* ‘home’ (adverb), *häis* ‘to scoop, pour’, *häisär* ‘coarse’, *häit* ‘be called’, *häitär* ‘hot’, *kväit* ‘wheat’, *läike* ‘to play; to mate (of animals)’, *läiv* ‘to leave’, *läiär* ‘clay’, *mäike* ‘to bend’, *mäitje* [-t-] ‘to fish’, *mäiär* [‘mei.ɨer] ‘more’, *näi* ‘no’, *näitas* ‘be worn out’, *räi* ‘already’, ‘reed’, *räig* in *räig upp se* ‘become upset’, *räik* ‘smoke’, *räike* ‘to smoke’, *räim* ‘leather strip’, *räindär* ‘clean’, *räip* ‘rope’, *räiv se* ‘to creep’ (of plants), *skäi* ‘pod’, *skäivär* ‘crooked’, *släike* ‘to lick’, *släim* ‘slime’, *släiv* ‘ladle’, *snäitt* ‘askance’, *stäin* ‘stone’, *stäit* ‘to push’, *sväit* ‘sweat’, *säi* ‘to say’, *säikär* ‘wet’, *säindär* ‘late’, *träittär* ‘tired’, *täi* ‘rubber’, *täias* ‘to stretch’, *täin* ‘reel’, *täis* ‘their’, *väift* ‘to shake; flutter’, *väis* ‘mud; marsh’, *väit* present sing. of *vita* ‘know’, *äi* ‘to damage; waste; destroy’, *äia* [‘e.ɨa], *äik* ‘horse’, *äild* ‘fire’ (noun and verb), *äiles* ‘anyway, in any case’, the numeral ‘one’, indefinite pronoun ‘some’, indefinite article *äin* (fem.), *äit* (neut.); in the suffixes *-häit*, *-läik*. Preterites of the verbs *bīt* ‘bite’ (*bäit*), *blī* ‘become’ (*bläi*), *drīv* ‘drive, make someone move’ (*dräiv*), *fīs* ‘fart’ (*fäis*), *gnī* ‘rub’ (*gnäi*), *grōt* ‘weep’ (*gräit*), *lī* ‘suffer’ (*läi*), *rī* ‘ride’ (*räi*), *rīv* ‘grate’ (*räiv*), *skīt* ‘shit’ (*skäit*), *slīt* ‘tear’ (*släit*), *stīv upp* ‘get up’ (*stäiv*), *svī* ‘sing; remove feathers over a fire’ (*sväi*), *vrī* ‘twist’ (*vräi*).

³⁷ Fluctuation between the close and open pronunciations of *ō* is reflected by Vendell, who in Gammalsvenskby recorded *blōär* with [u:] (*ó* is [u:] in Vendell’s transcription) alongside *blåär* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 26).

³⁸ Most often (but by no means always) they go back to Proto-Nordic **ei*, **au* and correspond to *e* and *ö* in Standard Swedish.

In a few instances it is not easy by auditory perception to draw a distinction between the diphthong *äi* and *ē* [e:ⁱ]. These are *käiköl* ‘to wobble, be unsteady’ (but in the medio-passive form with the same meaning, [e:ⁱ] is clearly heard: *kēkļas*), *knäivöl* ‘to wear out shoes; to dangle one’s feet’, *skäint* ‘enough (but *skēn* ‘quite’, e.g. *skēn djūpār* ‘quite deep’).

The diphthong *öü*: *blöütär* ‘soft’, *böül* [bœ:^æɥ] ‘to rake apart’, ‘to low, below’, *böün* ‘bean’, *döüär* ‘deaf’, *flöürak* ‘branches, beams, trees, etc., floating in the river during the flood period’, *göük* ‘cuckoo’, *höüär* ‘high, tall’, *klöü* ‘hoof’, *kröüm* ‘to swarm’, *kvit-löük* ‘garlic’ *köüs* ‘ladle’, *löü* ‘leaves’, *löüdan* ‘Saturday’, *löül* [lœ:^æɥ] ‘to sing loud (when drunk)’, *löüp* ‘fade’, *löüsär* ‘loose’, *möür* [mœ:^æɥɾ] ‘ant’, *pöüt* ‘pick out’, *röü-bäin* ‘rib’, *röüt* ‘to moo’, *snöüär* ‘mean, greedy’, *söüm* ‘to sew’, ‘seam’, *töümar* ‘reins’, *töüt* ‘to honk’, *öüa* ‘eye’, *öügl* ‘owl’. Preterites of the strong verbs *bjū* ‘invite’ (*bjöü*), *brūt* ‘break’ (*bröüt*), *drūp* ‘drip’ (*dröüp*), *flū* ‘fly’ (*flöü*), *flūt* ‘float’ (*flöüt*), *frūs* ‘freeze’ (*fröüs*), *klū* ‘cleave’ (*klöü*), *ljū* ‘tell a lie’ (*löü*), *njūs* ‘sneeze’ (*njöüs*), *rūk* ‘smoke’ (*röük*), *sjū* ‘hum, hiss’, ‘boil’ (*sjöü*), *skjūt* ‘shoot’ (*skjöüt*), *strūk* ‘wipe’ (*ströük*), *tjūt* ‘howl’ (*tjöüt*).

3.3.2. The diphthongs usually shorten in front of a long consonant or a group of consonants, their second element becoming extra-short. Compare the forms of the adjective ‘whole’: *h[ei]ldär* masc. and *h[ei]l* fem. Compare also *äitt* [ei:^t] ‘the same’, a form that is always stressed, and the neuter indefinite article *äit* [ei:^t], always unstressed and pronounced with a short *t*, in front of which the diphthong does not shorten. Other examples: *g[ei]glār* ‘gills’, *äild* [ei:^l:d] ‘fire; light’, [œ:^ä] *ks-brün* ‘brow’.

The diphthong *öü* in the second syllable has changed to *ö* in *brülöp* ‘wedding’ (cf. Icel. *brúðhlaup*). The word for ‘garlic’ occurs with the following variants: *kvit-l[œ:^ä]k*, *kvitt-l[ø]k*, *kvüt-l[e]k*; ‘head of garlic’ is *kvitlöks-hū* AL, *kvittleks-hū* LU.

3.3.3. The diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *oi* occur only in *laitär* ‘to skim milk’, *raim* ‘*upp-e*’ ‘do the cleaning’, *šlaiär* ‘veil’, *blauzl* ‘blueing’ (noun), ‘add laundry blue’, *braux* ‘to treat using folk medicine’, *tšau* ‘vat, tub’, *loik* ‘coffer’, *poike* ‘boy’, *lopagoi* ‘chatty woman’,³⁹ in the onomatopoeic verb *mjauk* ‘miaow’, and, finally, in *bait* ‘after’ (preposition and verbal particle in e.g. *drikk* ‘*bait*’ ‘to wash down’, e.g. a medicine). In my interviews *bait* was always pronounced as a single-syllable word; Karlgren (1953, p. 12) also cites *baüt* with a diphthong. Vendell, however, cites it as a disyllabic form, *bàèt* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 19),⁴⁰ which is a key to the analysis of this word. Originally, it is most likely to be a compound “bak-efter” (Vendell 1907, p. 29), i.e. **bak-ätt* > **bak-ät* > **baet* > *bait*. Its cognates in East Swedish dialects are *bakätär*, *bakätär*, *bákät*, *bákät*, *bákít* (ibid.). The preposition *ätt* ‘after’

³⁹ *Hon jār äin bra lopagoi, hon vüüt all ljū-hätär, all ni-hätär fron häila bīn* ‘She is a good chatterbox, she knows all the gossip, all the news from the whole village’.

⁴⁰ This is an adverb and preposition; accent 2 shows that *a* is not part of a diphthong. The superlative is *bàétast* ‘furthest back, last’. Vendell recorded these forms only in Gammalsvenskby and Dagö.

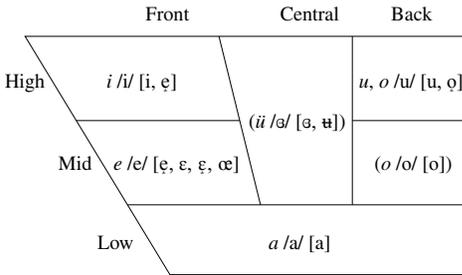


Fig. 3. Unstressed vowels in the dialect of Gammalsvenskby

does occur in Gammalsvenskby, but the loss of the intervocalic *k* is totally unique for the dialect. It can be explained as a result of voicing and lenition, particularly if the vowel after *k* was stressed; there are examples of *k > g* in the dialect (2.1.3),⁴¹ but the intervocalic consonant never disappears there.

3.4. Unstressed vowels

In native words, four vowel phonemes occur in an unstressed position (see fig. 3); /ø/ and /o/ are limited to specific cases (see 3.4.10–11).

3.4.1. Unstressed /i/ has two realisations, [i] and [ɛ]. The former occurs in closed syllables, e.g. *kibik* ‘Gypsy caravan’, *rädik* ‘radish’, in the suffixes *-ij*, *-liŋ*, *-niŋ*: *kikliŋ* ‘chicken’, *kuniŋ* ‘king’, etc. The latter realisation, [ɛ] (which is always close), occurs in open syllables, e.g. *brigge* ‘bridge’, *kirke* ‘church’, *lärke* ‘lark’, *risse* ‘type of fishing net’. In these words the unstressed *e* goes back to *i* (compare the def. sing. of these nouns: *briggja*, *kirkja*, *lärkja*, *rissja*). One can note that in unstressed closed syllables there is an opposition of /i/ : /e/ (e.g. *rädik* : *brifen* ‘the letter’), whereas in unstressed open syllables only [ɛ] occurs, which in this particular case eliminates the opposition /i/ : /e/. Borrowed nouns that go back to Slavonic nominative plurals ending in *-y* (i.e. retracted [ɨ] in Russian) also end in [ɛ] rather than [i] in the dialect: *bokležáne* ‘tomato’, *goste* ‘guests’, *sleve* ‘plum(s)’. Even the place name ‘Komi’ is often pronounced *Kome*. Furthermore, even in closed syllables, the unstressed *i* is occasionally realised as [ɛ], e.g. in *bräd[ɛ]sk* (alongside *bredisk*, *bräde-disk*) ‘plate for bread’, *pält[ɛ]k* and *pältik* ‘toilet’. Similar fluctuation is also seen in cognate dialects. Vendell cites *taldrik* Vippal ‘plate’, *täldrikk* Nuckö vs *taldr[e]k* Rågö, *tallr[e]k* Dagö; Danell gives *taldrek* for Nuckö (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, pp. 229, 230, Danell 1951, p. 426).

3.4.2. Unstressed /e/ also has two main realisations, close (*e*) and open (*ä/ö*). The former, [ɛ], occurs in all positions except before *r*, *t*, *ŋ*, *l*, e.g. *kabet* ‘sock’, *krävet* ‘crayfish’, *arbetar* ‘worker’; forms of the def. sing. of nouns, e.g. *brifen*, *sjöle*, *böne* etc. The preposition ‘with’ occurs as both *mä* and *me*.

3.4.3. In front of *r*, *t*, *ŋ*, /e/ is realised as a distinctly pronounced [ɛ]: *brüär* ‘brother’, *kvēldär* ‘evening’, *vintär* ‘winter’. Before *ŋ* and *t*, the unstressed

⁴¹ Cf. also Sw. *bagare* from *bakare* (see Wessén 1968, pp. 83–84).

ä is usually more open, e.g. *bug*[ɛ]n def. sing. of *bugär* ‘type of plough’. If *n* is replaced with *n* (2.3.4), the unstressed *ä* usually changes to *e*, i.e. *liken* alongside *likän* (def. sing. of *liköl* ‘key’). Compare also the forms of the word for ‘sky’ in interviews with AL and MP: [‘him:æɾ] LU, [‘him:æɾ] MP, def. [‘him:ɛn, ‘him:ɛn, ‘him:ɛn] LU, [‘him:ɛn] MP.

3.4.4. In front of *l*, /*e*/ is realised as [œ] and [ɛ, ɛ], with no apparent regularity in their distribution. Originally, it may have depended on the quantity of the preceding part of the word, namely [ɛ, ɛ] after a short root, [œ] after long (E. Lagman 1979, p. 47). Even if this was in fact the case, for the present-day dialect it cannot be stated with certainty because [œ] is often heard after both heavy and light roots, which implies that unstressed [œ] and [ɛ, ɛ] are in free variation; the same word often occurs either with [œ] or with [ɛ, ɛ]. Auditorily, the unstressed [ɛ, ɛ] and [œ] before *l* cannot be very clearly distinguished. When speakers pronounce the examples below, there is often an impression of either a slightly rounded open *ä* or an insufficiently rounded open *ö*.

Examples of *ö* (after a long root): *bummö!* ‘door bolt’, *ēñöl!* ‘maggot’, *gammöl!* fem. of *gamlan* ‘old’, *gävöl!* ‘gable’, *grummöl!* ‘to grumble’, *hum-möl!* ‘hops’ (plant), *kvärvöl!* ‘latch’ (also *kvärväl*, *kvärvär*), *käiköl!* ‘to wobble’, *püspöl!* MP ‘to whisper’ (cf. *püspär* LU), *rammö!* ‘to roll’ (also *ramöl!*), *raspöl!* ‘rasp’ (tool), *skimmöl!* ‘mould’, *summöl!* ‘certain’, *trokköl!* AL ‘to tack, sew with loose stitches’ (cf. *trokkl* LU MP), *tvivöl!* ‘to doubt’, *ājököl-mann* ‘widower’.

Examples of *ö* (after a short root): *buböl!* ‘bubble’, *dimöl!* ‘make or give off smoke’, *djävöl!* ‘devil’, *hävöl-läst* ‘plane’ (tool), *papöl!* AL LU (and *papp(e)* MP LU) ‘to babble’, *stüivöl!* (and *stüiväl!*) ‘boot’, *tapöl!* ‘to tap’, *tiköl!* ‘brick’, *ājöl!* ‘maggot’.

Examples of *ä*: *babäl!* MP, *baböl!*, *-äl!* LU ‘to chat’, *harkäl!* MP (*hargöl!* LU) ‘bark and try to snatch’, *himmäl!* [‘him:æɾ] LU and [‘him:æɾ] MP ‘sky’, *häväl!* AL, *höväl!* MP (alongside *hövöl!*, *hävöl!* LU, *hövöl!* MP) ‘to plane’, *kriñäl!* ‘bagel’, *likäl!*, *-öl!* ‘key’, *dripäl-räven* ‘drizzling rain’, *papöl!* ‘to babble’, *rokäl!* ‘phlegm’ (but the verb occurred with *ö*: *roköl!* ‘to cough phlegm’).

3.4.5. Unstressed [œ] in positions other than before *l* is extremely rare. It occurred in front of *t* (which goes back to *l* + *t* at a morpheme boundary) in *dübö!* (alongside *dübät!*) ‘in two; in two layers’, *dübö!-finstär* ‘double window frame’, *gammöt!* (more frequently *gammät!*) neut. of *gamlan* ‘old’, *summöt!* (and *summät!*) neut. of *sumlan* ‘some; certain’. In the latter two cases, [œ] may have been due to association with the feminine forms *gammöl!*, *summöl!*.

3.4.6. In a couple of cases, /*ə*/ [ə] and /*a*/ occur in front of *l*: *bub[ə]!* LU (alongside *bub[æ]!* AL) ‘bubble’, *bítal!* ‘pay’ LU MP (in interviews with AL the infinitive is [‘bitə/ɛɾ]; present [‘bitaɾ] and [‘bitə/ɛɾ], preterite and supine [‘bitaɾ:]), *hankal!*, *hank!* AL LU ‘mitten’ (but before the vocalic endings only *hank!e*, *hank!är*, *hank!ena*).

3.4.7. The vowel [ɛ] can occur epenthetically in front of sonorant con-

sonants, particularly in interviews with LU, e.g. [ˈdɪŋeja] def. sing. of *dinje* ‘dung’), cf. [ˈdɪŋja] in AL’s pronunciation.

3.4.8. The unstressed /u/ in a closed syllable is realised as [u], e.g. in the suffix *-uŋ*: *bjūnuŋ* ‘bear cub’, *bonuŋ* ‘cub’, *fūluŋ* ‘young bird’, *grisuŋ* ‘piglet’, *gäituŋ* ‘young goat’, *hundaŋ* ‘puppy’, *kattuŋ* ‘kitten’, *paŋtuŋ* ‘duckling’, *skrattuŋ* ‘naughty child’, *täkliŋsuŋ* ‘young sparrow’, *varguŋ* ‘young wolf’.⁴²

3.4.9. In an open unstressed syllable, /u/ is realised as [u] and [o] which are in free variation, e.g. *rōo* ~ *rōu* ‘scab’. As far as one can judge, [u] is more typical of AL and MP, [o] of LU. Compare *kaku* ‘cake’, *sulu* ‘sole of foot’, *blu-sinu* ‘vein’ AL and *kak[o]*, *blū-sino*, *näsa-büro* ‘nostril’ LU. The same speaker can also show this fluctuation, e.g. *näsa-büru*, *-o*, *flāo*, *-u* ‘dandruff’, *sinu*, *-o* ‘sinew’ AL. Some words, by contrast, never fluctuate in the interviews, e.g. *hako* ‘chin’, *kvüsu* ‘pimple’, *olljo* ‘vegetable oil’.

3.4.10. Unstressed /ɔ/ occurs only in loanwords: *kalkün* with [ɔ] AL, [ʌ] LU ‘turkey’, *kástrüll* ‘saucepan’, *kátüfl* ‘potato’, *rüsínar* (and *rösínar*) ‘raisins’. As for native words, unstressed /ɔ/ occurs in *sürüst* ‘cottage cheese’ (alongside *sürest*, both forms LU), historically a compound.

3.4.11. Unstressed /o/ is also typical of loanwords: *doftor* (and *doftär*) ‘doctor’, *doftošk* ‘female doctor’, *kán[o]p* ‘sofa’, *sírop* ‘jam’, *skórop* ‘carp’ (fish), *vólok* ‘type of fishing net’. In addition, it occurs in the second element of compounds or words that are compounds historically: *inonde* ‘under’ (and *innunde*), *inot* ‘towards the inside’, *mado* ‘probably’, *tittot* ‘in that direction’ (alongside *titet*), *ütom* ‘except’, *ütot* ~ *ütot* ‘towards the outside’. In a few cases, unstressed [o] occurs at the end of the first element of compounds: *bädo-stukk* ‘beam in the roof to which rafters are attached’ (MP AL; cf. *bäd-de-stukk* LU), *bäro-fis* ‘type of beetle’ (AL; *bäre-fis* LU),⁴³ *käpo-bäin* ‘cheekbone’, *rako-knīv* (and *roka-knīv*) ‘razor blade’, *spiko-läiär* ‘type of clay’, *strjüko-slarv* ‘towel’.

4. Suprasegmentals

4.1. Stress

4.1.1. The stress in native non-compound words falls on the first syllable. There is no tonal word accent in the dialect. In compounds, the primary stress usually falls on the first syllable of the first component, while the first syllable of the second component carries a secondary stress; this is the case throughout the paradigm.⁴⁴ Examples (components of compounds with primary

⁴² Originally, these were compounds, but in the present-day dialect they have lost phonetic features of compounds, i.e. they do not have secondary stress on the second component and do not shorten the long vowel in the first component (with the exception of *bonuŋ*).

⁴³ Words that only occurred with *e* rather than *o* were *bäre-kün* ‘berry’ (and *bär-kün*), *bäre-trä* ‘fruit tree’, *bäre-värke* ‘wood of fruit tree’

⁴⁴ E.g. *arm-bönd* [ˈarm.ɔ̃nd] ‘bracelet’ in interviews with AL: def. sing. *arm-bönde* [ˈ-ɪ-], pl. *arm-böndär* [ˈ-ɪ-], def. pl. *arm-böndena* [ˈ-ɪ-].

and secondary stress are divided with a hyphen): *arm-riy* ‘wrist’, *ask-bakk* ‘pile of ash’, *bār-futatär* ‘barefoot’ (also *bar-fūta*), *blum-hatt* ‘sunflower’, *gamal-fār* ‘grandfather’, *gamal-mōn* ‘full moon’, *gamal-mūär* ‘grandmother’, *golv-matt* ‘doormat’, *golv-tække* ‘floor carpet’, *gon-nikl* ‘ball of thread’, *gos-hann* ‘gander’, *gos-hōn* ‘she-goose’, *grann-fār* ‘neighbour’, *grann-mūär* ‘female neighbour’, *gräss-sprint* ‘grasshopper’, *gäit-bukk* ‘he-goat’, *gäss-gōd* ‘“goose-yard”, part of the yard where geese are kept’, *runnt-jezichtatär* ‘round-faced’, *sōnd-grīn* ‘grain of sand’, *stüdünte-blummar* ‘marigolds’, *Svänsk-bīn* ‘the Swedish village’, i.e. Gammalsvenskby, *vinagrads-klips* ‘bunch of grapes’. This group also includes past participles of verbs with particles: *sundär-klämdär* [‘- - -], past participle of *klämm* ‘squeeze to pieces’, likewise *boṭṭ-kēdär* of *kēr* ‘drive away’, *boṭṭ-mülkna* of *mülken* ‘rot completely’, *fast-frūsndär* of *frūs* ‘freeze over’, *fast-spikka* of *spikk* ‘fasten with nails’, *girm-brütestär* of *brütas* ‘break through’, *hüp-blōnda* of *blōnd* ‘hüp’ ‘mix together’, *hüp-krapa* of *krapa* ‘hüp’ ‘mix’, *hüp-mišsat* of *mišš* ‘hüp’ ‘entangle’, *hüp-rülla* of *rüll* ‘hüp’ ‘roll up, fold up’, *inn-bläittestär* of *bläitas* ‘inn’ ‘be soaked’, *ō-gnāvla* of *gnāvöl* ‘ō’ ‘gnaw bare’, *ō-rüttna* of *rüttn* ‘ō’ ‘rot completely’, *upp-kūkat* of *kūk* ‘upp’ ‘brew’, *upp-lēntär* of *lēn* ‘upp’ ‘melt’, *upp-torrkast* of *torrkas* ‘upp’ ‘get dry’.

If a compound becomes an element of another compound, the secondary stress usually moves to the last element, e.g. *blum-hatt* [‘- -] ‘sunflower’ and *blumhattskēn* [‘- -] ‘sunflower seed’, *blumhattsojjo* ‘sunflower oil’. Likewise *gragoḍḍ-putṭṇ* ‘graveyard gate’ (on *gragoḍ-*, see 4.1.2), *Gragoḍḍ-svāde* ~ *Gragoḍḍ-svāde* name of the small valley where the village cemetery is situated, *kvast-rīs* ‘sorghum’ (plant from which besoms are made) and *kvasttris-fräi* ‘sorghum seeds’, *kvit-löük* ‘garlic’ and *kvitlöks-hū* ~ *kvitlöks-hū* ‘head of garlic’, *kvitlöks-bitä* ‘bit of garlic’, *riggebäins-sviga* ‘spinal bones’ (def. pl.), *svällstikk* ‘match’ and *svällsti[k]s-karp* ‘matchbox’, *tē-kann* ‘tea kettle’ and *tēblums-blā* ‘petal of tea rose’. This is not a strict rule, as the second component in a longer compound can retain the secondary stress, e.g. *hāvär-grīn* ‘oatmeal’ and *hāvärgrīns-gräit* [‘- - -] ‘oat porridge’, likewise *kün-grīn* ‘barley groat’ and *küngrīns-gräit* ‘barley porridge’, *rīsgrīns-gräit* ‘rice porridge’, alongside *kväitsgrīns-gräit* [‘- -] ‘wheat porridge’. Apart from *Svänsk-bīn* [‘- -], the name of the village also occurred as *Gamöl-svänskbīn* [‘- - -]. The longest compound recorded, *sjürmölksoleskväliḡ* ‘soup with sour milk and dumplings’, was pronounced [‘- - - -], with the secondary stress on *alesk* being stronger than on *väliḡ*.

4.1.2. In some compounds the main stress on the first component is especially strong and is much stronger than the secondary stress. This creates an impression that the secondary stress is partially or completely reduced, though the length of the vowel in the second component is still heard. Examples include *gon-strō* ‘thread’, *gon-täin* ‘reel of thread’, *grā-god* [‘gra:god] AL (but with a distinct secondary stress in an interview with LU, *gra-gōdṇ* [‘gra:go:dṇ]), *gräss-sprintask* ‘grasshopper’, *grūs-stäin* [‘græ:stein] ‘gravel’,

gädingz-bū ‘wasps’ nest’, *hins-skūr* [ˈhinskæ:r] AL LU ‘hen coop’, *hins-stall* AL ‘hen coop’, *hoströ* [ˈhoʃtrɔ(:)] ‘a hair’, *hād-blā* ‘shoulder blade’, *innunde* ‘under; underneath, below’, *innot* ‘to the inside’, *inüte* ‘within’, *iver-more* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *kol-hū* AL LU ‘cabbage head’, *framföre* LU and *framf[ɛ]re* AL ‘in front of’.

4.1.3. There are compounds (or words that are either historically compounds or go back to phrases) where the primary stress does not fall on the first component.⁴⁵ These are: *al(D)a-stáll*, *all-stáll* ‘everywhere’, *all-däiles* ‘completely, altogether’ (alongside *áll-däils*), *allhunda-sláss* ‘of various kinds’, *bräi-vār* (and *bräi-vār*) ‘beside’, *de-frámm* and *de-frámmet* ‘forward’, *dätér* ‘there’, *edá* ‘today’, *egór* ‘yesterday’, *fere-fáraldrar*, *förä-fáraldär*, *förä-fáraldrär* ‘ancestors’ (cf. *före-toġar* [ˈ--_--] ‘interpreter’), *ge-kvældär* ‘good evening’, *ge-míddar* ‘good afternoon’, *ge-mórren* ‘good morning’, *grād-níst* ‘just now’, *jūl-kvældär* [jʊ:ˈɾˈkvældər] AL, *jūl-aftar* [jʊ:ˈɾˈaftar] AL ‘Christmas Eve’ (but *jūl-bukken* [jʊ:ˈɾˈbuk:çən] ‘Santa Claus’, *jūl-nōt* [jʊ:ˈɾˈno:t] AL ‘Christmas night’), *halv-ándär*, *halv-ār*, *halft-ána* ‘one and a half’, *halv-tím* [ˌ_ˈ_] LU ‘half an hour’ (but *halv-rokk* [ˌ_ˈ_] LU ‘skirt’), *iväráins* (in *kuma se iväráins* ‘become friends again’), *katüft-büisk* ‘potato haulm’, *kon-före* ~ *kom-före* ‘why’, *kvašana* in *ütär kvašana* ‘apart’, *loŋaťár* (occasionally *lónaťár*) ‘for a long time; a long time ago’, *mäseáitt*, *mäseáint* ‘always’, *tröška-kvüit* ‘maize’, *ánt-án* ‘not yet’.

If a word is no longer easily understood as consisting of two components, it usually loses the secondary stress throughout the paradigm, e.g. *atşol* ‘backside’, *fişşjtjät* ‘big centipede’, *notşor* ‘mole cricket’, *sunukunu* ‘daughter-in-law’.

In the following ordinal numerals (which are historically compounds), the stress does not fall on the first syllable either: *trättiände* ‘thirtieth’, *fjöretände* ‘fortieth’ (but *fjöretande*), *fämmtiände* ‘fiftieth’, *sjäkstiände* ‘sixtieth’, *sjüt-tiände* ‘seventieth’, *otttiände* ‘eightieth’, *nitttiände* ‘ninetieth’, and the same goes for such compound numerals as *tjü-óttande* ‘twenty-eighth’, *tjü-níjande* ‘twenty-ninth’.

4.1.4. The first components of compound adverbs – *där-* (*tär-*, *ter-*), *her-*, *hit-*, *tít-* – are also often unstressed, e.g. in *ter-ínn*, *tär-ínn* ‘inside’, *där-üt*, *ter-üt*, *tär-üt* ‘from there’, *tänér*, *teñér* ‘below’, *ter-háim*, *tär-háim* ‘at home’, *her-hítt* and *hit-hér* ‘here, in this direction’, *her-ínn* ‘in here’, *hit-úpp* ‘up here’ (of direction), *tít-úpp* ‘up there’, *titt-tér* ‘in that direction’.

However, *tär-fron*, *tér-fron* ‘from there’ occurred only with the first component stressed; *hér-fron* ‘from here’ occurred alongside *her-frón*. Cf. the use of these adverbs: *Ja vatna trāna, o vatne rinndär o rinndär, inn-ot äit hōl, o*

⁴⁵ This is possibly due to the fact that some of these forms go back to phrases where the first word was unstressed and which became compounds rather late preserving the main stress on the second component (Kock 1884–85, p. 87). Cf. Sw. *kanhända*, *halvannan*, *ifrågakomma*, etc. Compare also the same accentuation of *julafton* in Skåne as in Gammalsvensky (with the first component unstressed; OSw. *jula aptan*).

sänn komm där-*ūt* än fišstjätt frōn tår-frōn ‘I was watering the trees, and the water is running and running into the hole, and then a big centipede came out of there’; *O* frōn tēr-frōn, frōn būe, rēmd-dom hitt-hēr ‘And from there, from the shop, they phoned here’; Mälitta tola, än-on bröüt ‘girm se üte he jokke, än-on äffnast komm *ūt* se frōn tēr-frōn ‘Melitta was saying that she fell into that marsh, so she could hardly get out of there’; *Tēr* jär äit söld, he falldär ‘nēr po he söld, so falldär tēr-frōn *ūt*-e, he rän sē ‘There is a sieve (in the winnowing machine), it falls on that sieve, so it falls out from there, the clean grain’; Sänn frōn tērfrōn jäga-dom ötar *ūt* oss ‘Later they kicked us out from there again’; *Tät* klē-sköpe fō ve bära *ūt* frōn hēr-frōn ‘This wardrobe we need to carry out from here’; *Tjöl* vintän flū svaluna ‘boṭt frōn hēr-frōn ‘By the winter, the swallows fly away from here’. Judging by these examples, the adverbs with the stressed first component are used if the sentence contains another spatial adverb, i.e. där-*ūt* ... frōn tår-frōn, frōn tēr-frōn ... hitt-hēr, *ūt* ... frōn tēr-frōn, tēr-frōn ... *ūt*, *ūt* frōn hēr-frōn, ‘boṭt frōn hēr-frōn. In these cases the context implies a certain contrast between the adverbs, which is reflected in placing the stress on the first component of one of the adverbs. Compare a sentence with her-frōn where there is no such contrast: *Hon* gī frōn her-frōn, girm folkes rigōḍḍ ‘She went from here, through the people’s garden’.⁴⁶

4.1.5. The prefixes *be-*, *fär-*, *ge-*, typical of Standard Swedish or German loanwords, are unstressed: *bedräg* ‘deceive’, *befäll* ‘to order’, *begräv* ‘bury’, *begrävniḡ* ‘funeral’, *bekántär* ‘familiar’, *bekímmär se* ‘bother; be anxious’, *bemärke* ‘notice’, *besēke* ‘visit’, *betí* ‘to mean’, *bevár* ‘defend’; *färfáil se* ‘be mistaken’, *färbí* ‘past’, *färgíft* ‘poison’, *färgō* ‘go by’ (and the participle *fär-gōe* ‘last’; the pronunciation *fär-gōe* also occurs), *fär-lförkíl se* ‘catch a cold’, *färkílande* ‘cold’, *fä(r)lít se* ‘hope’, *färlótälse* ‘forgiving’, *färlöra* ‘bad, spoilt, lost’, *färmán* ‘warn’, *färmínnar* ‘sexton’, *färsōa* ‘oversleep’, *fär-spál*, *färspál* ‘lose in a game’, *färstráff se* ‘be to blame’, *färsvinn* ‘disappear’, *färsáin se* ‘be late’, *färtjén* ‘earn’, *fäštēr*, *färštēr*, *färstēr* ‘disturb’, *fäštō* ‘understand’; *gefájnisse* ‘prison’, *gehēras* ‘need; be necessary’. However, the following words always carry the stress on *fär-*: *e fárošt* ‘last year’, *fáraldär*, *fáraldrar* ‘parents’, *färgör* ‘the day before yesterday’, *fär-vigu* ‘last week’.

⁴⁶ Interestingly, most usage examples of adverbs with the second syllable stressed do not have any contrast between adverbs, e.g. *De* gō jär-e än löñär väg frōn Šlajedošš ända hüthēr ot Svānsk-bīn ‘To go, it’s a long way from Schlangendorf up here to the Swedish village’; *Ve* häv äitt slík kār, tēr hölt ve sē tär-ínn ‘We had such a barrel, there we kept grain inside’, *Ve* kēft kaska üte būe, to ve lēvd tär-úpp üte Komi ‘We bought fur coats at a shop when we lived up there in Komi’, *Färr* po holmen jäga-dom *ūt* buskan de väll se, tom vār häila sumaḡ tär-*ūt* ‘Earlier, they drove out the cattle to the island to graze, they were out there the whole summer’, *Där* vār trī stikke där-ínn üte he būe ‘There were three of them (hedgehogs) in that nest’, *Tēr* e korgen hā-ḡe hałm terínn ‘There in the basket you have straw inside’, *Umm-där* änt jär ija ägg ter-ínn üte däen, so kann-e blätas ütär kvaṭána ‘If there’s no egg in the dough inside, it can become mushy’, etc.

4.2. Quantity

As for the status of quantity in the dialect, the following circumstances should be taken into account. In monosyllabic words, the quantity of a vowel or consonant does not exist per se, but is conditioned by the prosodic structure of the morpheme, e.g. a long vowel is only possible in open monosyllabic stems (*bū* ‘shop, ‘nest’, ‘to lay an egg’, *blā* ‘leaf’, etc.) or in front of a short consonant (*grāv* ‘grave’, ‘to dig’, *hād* ‘shoulder’). Likewise, a long consonant is only possible after a short vowel (*brinn* ‘to burn’, *ärr* ‘scar’). The only example of a potential difference in meaning due to the consonant quantity in a monosyllabic form is *kät* ‘meat’ vs. *kätt* ‘front garden’, though the former is pronounced with [t] as often as with [t:]. The contrast of *ot* ‘to’ (preposition) vs. *ott* ‘eight’ is insufficient to constitute a true minimal pair because the preposition is normally unstressed; besides, it is often pronounced with [t:]. The same is true of *so* ‘so’ (often with [o:]): *sō* ‘to sow’; *to* ‘then’ : *tō* ‘wick’ (in a lamp); *de* object of *tō* ‘you’ (sing.): *dē* ‘death’; *se* reflexive pronoun : *sē* ‘grain’; *vār* ‘near’ : *vār* ‘to defend’; *än* indefinite article : *ān* ‘still, yet’. However, the situation is made more complicated by numerous words with a short stressed syllable: *kroka* ‘to climb’, *bläse* ‘forehead’, *homar* ‘hammer’, etc. (see 4.2.2,3b). This creates the possibility of quantity distinguishing meanings. Compare the following minimal pairs that were attested in the interviews:

kuna ‘can’ (infinitive) : *kūna* definite pl. of *kūn* ‘grain’,
vare supine of *vara* ‘be’ : *vāre* definite sing. of *vār* ‘pus’,
fila ‘to wag’ (a tail) : *fila* preterite of *fil* ‘sharpen with a file’,
kroka ‘to climb’ : *krōka* def. sing. of *krōk* ‘crow’ (bird),
bukas ‘to bend’ : *bukkas* ‘to butt’,
hita ‘heat’ : *hitta* preterite of *hitt* ‘find’,
kita ‘to tickle’ : *kitta* preterite of *kitt* ‘to putty’,
kupar ‘copper’ : *kuppar* pl. of *kupp* ‘pot’,
napa ‘navel’ : *nappa* preterite of *napp* ‘pick’,
nätär ‘nuts’ : *nättär* pl. of *nätt* ‘net’,
roka ‘to swim’ : *rokka* def. pl. of *rokk* ‘dress’,
ruka ‘heap’ : *rukka* preterite of *rukk* ‘clean’
runar pl. of *runa* ‘hog’ : *runnar* non-attributive pl. of *runndär* ‘round’ (adj.),
skokar present sing. of *skoka* ‘shake’ : *skokkar* pl. of *skokk* ‘flock’,
spikar ‘pantry’ : *spikkar* pl. of *spikk* ‘nail’,
vila ‘to want’ : *villa* preterite of *vill* ‘lose one’s way’.

In *kuna* : *kūna* and *vare* : *vāre* quantity is the only means to differentiate the meaning, otherwise these forms are completely identical from a phonological

point of view.⁴⁷ This allows us to regard short and long vowels and consonants as separate phonemes.

Only a stressed syllable can be long. The types of stressed syllables occurring in the dialect are listed below.

4.2.1. Closed syllables:

1a) V:C, e.g. *grāv* ‘to dig’, *hād* ‘shoulder’, *pik* ‘girl’, *skīn* ‘shine’, *svād* ‘valley’, *svōd* preterite of *svölge* ‘swallow’, *sāj* ‘bed’, etc.

1b) VC:, e.g. *brinn* ‘burn’ (intrans.), *nakk* ‘back of head’, *ränn* ‘run’, *still* ‘feed’, *ärr* ‘scar’, etc.

1c) V:CC, e.g. a long vowel within morphemes occurs in front of the following groups of consonants:

ld: *bīld* AL ‘photograph’ (cf. *bi[l:]d* LU), *hōld* ‘hold’ (but present sing. *ho[l:]där* MP alongside *hōldär*), *sōld* ‘sieve’. However, short *a* is not lengthened: *baldär* ‘to rattle’.

lt: *hōlt* preterite of *hōld*; no lengthening in *bolt* ‘bolt’.

nd: *blōnd* ‘to mix’, *bōnd* ‘ribbon’, *būnd* ‘owner’, *ēnd* ‘end’, *hōnd* ‘hand’, *sōnd* ‘sand’, *ōndas* ‘breathe’. There is no lengthening in *band* (preterite of *bind* ‘tie’), *bländär* ‘browse’, *handl* ‘to trade’, *land* ‘land’, and *blindär* ‘blind’. The word for ‘devil, bastard’ is pronounced with both a long and a short *a*: *ānd* and [an:d]. The form with *ā* may have appeared instead of the unattested **ōnd* under the influence of Sw. *ande*; compare the native verb *ōndas*. The same change of the root vowel took place in *land* (instead of the phonetically regular **lōnd*) under the influence of Germ. *Land* or Sw. *land*.

mb: *dōmb* ‘dust’, *lōmb* ‘lamb’.

sk: *tisk* ‘German’, *risk* ‘withy’, but *fisk* ‘fish’, *friskär* ‘healthy’, *riska* adj. ‘Russian’; again, short *a* is not lengthened: *ask* ‘ash’, *blask* ‘splash’, *brask* ‘chaff’.

st: *blīstär* ‘whistle’, *klīstär* ‘whitewash’, *tīstan* ‘Tuesday’, but *gist* ‘at once’, *gnist* ‘spark’, *kist* ‘coffin’, *nist* ‘to wind (a ball of thread)’, *brist* ‘breast’, *vrist* ‘ankle’.

št: *bōšt* ‘brush’, as well as *bōšt*; the corresponding verb occurred only with a short vowel: *bošt*).

vd: *māvd* ‘female servant’.

A long vowel also occurs in front of *md* and *vd*, with a morpheme boundary between these consonants: *rēmd*, *bēvd*, *dāvd* preterite forms of *riñje* ‘to

⁴⁷ They are also identical in their morphological structure because both are bimorphemic, i.e. *kun-a*, *var-e* and *kün-a*, *vār-e* (cf. the preterite *kun-t*, infinitive *var-a* and the indefinite sing. *kün*, *vār*). In the other examples the pairs are not identical in terms of morphology, e.g. *fila* is synchronically a monomorphemic form, *fila* is bimorphemic, but at the prosodic level quantity serves to differentiate the meanings here as well. It is easy to see that in this list all word forms with long vowels or long consonants are bimorphemic. This is because the structure VC:V or V:CV, i.e. with a long vowel or a long consonant + unstressed vowel within a morpheme, is not frequent in the dialect because of the rule of apocope which requires unstressed vowels to disappear if the preceding part of the word is long. This, among other things, caused the split of the infinitive of the first conjugation into two subtypes, e.g. *boka* ‘bake’ and *vānt* ‘wait’.

fence', *bigge* 'build', *dägge* 'breastfeed'; for details, see 2.2.6 and 2.3.6. The long *ā* in *āvñar* 'chaff' probably also belongs here (cf. Sw. *agn*). Similarly, in *rāven* 'rain', *ä* lengthened in front of **vn*, cf. *rævn*, where *æ* = *ā* (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 181); the unstressed *e* appeared later as an epenthetic vowel; it is also heard in *āvens-skūr* AL 'shed for chaff' (alongside *āvn-skūr* LU). As for the word for 'oven', Sw. *ugn*, it is *ū* in the dialect. Its possible development is **ugn* > **uvn* > **ūvn* > **ūn*, reanalysed as a definite singular *ū-n*, hence *ū*.⁴⁸

Finally, *a*, *e*, *o*, *ä* can lengthen in front of *η* (it goes back to *ng*):⁴⁹ *lāηs* 'along', *hēη* LU (but *heη* and *heje* AL) 'hinge', *sprōη* 'to run' (of animals), *stōη* 'to butt', *drāη* LU (but *drāη* AL) 'servant, especially groom', *strāη* 'jet' (of water), *sāη* 'bed', *tōη* 'fuse'. In inflection, the length is preserved throughout the paradigm: *drāηen*, *drāηjar*, *drāηjana*, *sāηe*, *sāηjar*, *sāηjana*, etc.

Lengthening of *ä* is absent in *sprāηη* 'blow up' (cf. *sprāηe*), *stāηäl* 'stalk', *lāηäre* comparative of *lōηär*, *pāηar* 'money'. As for *i*, *u*, *ö* they never lengthen in front of *η*, in either a closed or an open syllable: *fīηär* 'finger', *fliη* 'patch, piece of cloth', *riηη* 'ring', *sprīηη* 'to burst', *stiηη* 'to sting', *sjōηη* 'to sing', *uηηär* 'young'.

1d) VCC; the first consonant is usually long, but in this case its length is not expressed by doubling the letter: *bi[n:]d* 'to tie', *da[m:]p* 'to praise', *da[n:]s* 'dance', *prä[s:]t* 'priest', *smä[l:]t* 'melt', *ta[l:]drik* 'plate', *ta[r:]v* 'to need', etc. Other examples include forms with diphthongs: *frāüst* [-*ēis:t*] 'to try (clothes)', *blōüüt* [-*œät:*], *häitt* [-*ēit:*] neut. of *blōütär* 'wet', *häitär* 'hot'.

4.2.2. Open syllables:

2a) V#: *blā* 'leaf', *bō* 'both', *fē* 'feed; give birth', *äi* 'do harm, spoil'.

2b) V:-: *blāe*, *blānar*, *blāna* inflected forms of *blā*; *grāvar*, *grāva* of *grāv* 'dig'; *ēηöl* 'maggot', *lōηär* 'long', *dēηe* 'to hit, beat', *hēηe* 'hang', *plāηe se* 'to strain', *sprāηe* 'to blow up', *trāηe* 'to unseam', *trāηär* 'narrow, tight' (with a long vowel throughout the paradigm). The forms with *η* historically belong to the type described in 4.2.1 because *η* goes back to *ng* (e.g. *traηgär*), the vowel thus being in a closed syllable.

3a) V#. This type systematically occurs in *ja* 'I', *tō* 'you', *me*, *te* object forms of *ja*, *tō*, *he* 'it', *se* '-self', *ve* 'we', *ne* 'you, pl.', *nō* 'now', and *ja* 'yes'. In addition, a short vowel is occasionally heard in the following open monosyllables: *dā* (and *dā*) 'day', also (*h*)*edā* 'today', *blū* AL 'blood' (but def. sing. *blūen* AL), *mā* 'may' (defective verb), *třō* 'two' (but *třōa*, non-attributive form of the same numeral). The word *brā* occurs with both a long and a short vowel in the senses 'good' and 'well', but in the sense 'okay, all right' the

⁴⁸ The final *n* in monosyllables is not apocopated in the dialect, cf. *bjūn* 'bear', which implies that *ū* is not a phonetically regular form, but a result of reanalysis. Cf. *ún*, where *ú* is [u:] (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 250). However, in this word *ū* may have appeared due to compensatory lengthening after the loss of *v* after a labial vowel.

⁴⁹ Vowel length appeared when *g* was still intact; see the corresponding forms recorded by Vendell and Karlgren: *lāggär* (*ā* is [o:]) (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 133), *lōggär* (Karlgrén 1953, p. 24).

form with the short vowel is common (influenced by *ja* ‘yes’?). Such cases as the subjunctive marker *a*, the infinitive particle *de*, *e* ‘in’, *mä* ‘with’, *o* ‘and’ do not belong here, as they are normally unstressed.

3b) V-: *brika* ‘handle’ (e.g. of a bucket), *bläse* ‘forehead’, *buböl* ‘bubble’, *finu* ‘fin’, *froka* ‘smell’, *fädär* ‘feather’, *gruba* LU ‘stove’ (alongside *grüba* AL), *homar* ‘hammer’, *hära* ‘hare’, *küda* ‘cow’, *roka* ‘swim, bathe’, *räken* ‘count’, *sugär* ‘sugar’, *sunukunu* ‘daughter-in-law’, *svola* ‘make cool’.

4.2.3. A stressed closed syllable is practically always long. Exceptions are some words in *-ŋ* (see 2.3.6) and the indefinite singular form of some neuter nouns with stems ending in a voiceless consonant, which may have the structure VC#: *gräs* LU ‘grass’ (and *gräss* AL LU), *kät(t)* ‘meat’, *lok(k)* ‘lock’, *skäp* ‘ship’. The shortness of a closed syllable is hardly an archaic feature here; rather, it appears secondarily, under the influence of disyllabic inflected forms such as *käte*, *loke* (4.2.6).

4.2.4. In syllables ending in two or more consonants, only the vowel can be phonologically long. Forms with the structure CV:C#, i.e. terminating in a long vowel or long diphthong + long single consonant (not a group of consonants), are extremely rare. There are no such structures making up a single morpheme, at least in my interviews. The verb *glēas* ‘smoulder’ occurred with a preterite *glēdest* (alongside *glēdest* and *gl[ē]sstest*) in interviews with LU; pres. sing. is *gl[ē:]s* or *glēss* [-ç-~eⁱ]. However, all other verbs with stems ending in *ē* occur with either *-dd* or *-d* in the preterite and supine, and *ē* is always shortened in front of *dd*: *kl[ē:]* ‘dress’ – *kl[ē]dd~klēd*, likewise *blē* ‘bleed’ (*bl[ē:]d* AL MP; *bl[ē]dd*), *glē* se ‘be glad’; *skē* ‘happen’ is known only with *skēd*, but *skēas* with *skeddest*; *fē* ‘give birth; feed’ and *fēas* ‘be born’ occurred only with *fēd*, *fēdest*.⁵⁰

4.2.5. An open syllable can be both long (type 2) and short (type 3). Open monosyllables are in most cases long (type 2a). Di- and polysyllabic forms with a long open syllable (type 2b) usually arise through the addition of vocalic affixes to stems of types 1a and 2a. However, there are a number of non-monosyllabic forms with a stressed long open syllable which are non-derived from a synchronic point of view, e.g. *brūär* ‘brother’, *brāa* ‘board’, *dūtär* ‘daughter’, *hävär* ‘oat’, *mūär* ‘mother’, *rāven* ‘rain’, *stāvär* ‘pole’, *vāvär* ‘cart’, *vidje* ‘withy’, *vōa* ‘wave’, etc.; infinitives such as *klōa* ‘complain’, *skōa* ‘watch’. But short stressed monosyllables (type 3a) are rare, the list given above being practically exhaustive.

4.2.6. A short open stressed syllable (type 3b) is typical of disyllabic stems.

⁵⁰ The only example of a verb with the root vowel *ī* and the same fluctuation is *lias* ‘listen, obey’: preterite and supine *līdest* or *līddest*. As for other weak verbs with stems terminating in *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ü*, the preterite/supine ending is invariably *-d*, and the root vowel remains long, e.g. *rū* ‘row’ – *rūd*, likewise *betī* ‘mean’, *brī* se ‘bother’, *brū* ‘husk’, *bū* ‘lay an egg’, *dī* ‘suckle’, *dūas~dōas* ‘be suitable’, *flō* ‘skin’, *gnī* ‘rub’, *īas* ‘be eager’, *krīas* ‘wage war’, *snī* ‘snow’, *sō* ‘sow’, *spī* ‘vomit’, *strīas* ‘quarrel’, *trū* ‘believe’, etc. Verbs with stems in *āi* invariably have *-dd*, before which the diphthong never remains long, i.e. *str[ē:]i* ‘straw’ – *str[ē:]idd*, likewise *brāi* ‘spread’, *bāias* ‘ask’, *flāi* ‘rise’ (of water in a river), *āi* ‘spoil’.

What is more, if due to the addition of a vocalic ending a disyllabic form arises, it – at least in a few cases – shortens the long vowel or a long consonant, i.e. V:C, VC:# → VCV. This applies to the following word forms: *gräss* AL LU (and *gräs* LU) : def. sing. *gräse* LU (also *grässe* LU, *gräse* AL), *katüfl-möļ* LU ‘potato flour’ : *katüfl-möļe*, *kätt* ‘meat’ : *käte*, *nätt* ‘net’ : *näte*, pl. *nätär*, def. pl. *nätena*. Strikingly, all these nouns are neuter. The only known masculine example is *tri-pigg* ‘thorn’ – pl. *tri-pigar*, though this alternation is absent in *pigg* ‘thorn’. In other nouns, such alternation was eliminated (or maybe never occurred at all) owing to analogical preservation of the length or its analogical spread across the whole paradigm.

4.2.7. There is a different case of alternation of short and long *k*, *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *m*: short when intervocalic, long when in front of a sonorant consonant. This is usually seen in the inflection of disyllabic stems. Examples:

b~bb: *graböl* ‘rummage’ : pres. sing. *grabblar*.

d~dd: *gnadär* ‘roar with laughter’ : *gnaddrar*.

t~tt: *flätär* ‘rustle’ (of leaves) : preterite *flättra*.

k~kk: *bliken* ‘wither’ : supine *ō-blikkna*; *kakäl*, *kaköl* ‘cackle’ : *kakklar*; *liköl* ‘key’ : def. pl. *likkļa*, *likļa*; *sluken* ‘ūt’ ‘die out’ (of fire) : *slukkna* ‘ūt’, supine *ūt-slukkna*; *tiken* : *tikknas* ‘become covered in mist’.

m~mm: *dimöl* ‘make smoke’ : *dimmlar*.

p~pp: *dripöl* ‘drip’ : *dripplar*, pret. *drippļa*; *knäpöl* ‘rattle’ : *knäpplar*.

This regularity is not strict, cf. *blikknas* *ō* alongside *bliknas* *ō* ‘wither completely’, *grabblar* but pret. *grabļa*, *knop(p)latär* [-p:ɾ~--pɾ-] ‘bumpy’, *vakkna* and *vakna* preterite of *vaken* ‘wake up’. Similarly, a long consonant can often occur intervocalically, e.g. *drippöl* and *dripöl* ‘drip’, *Neppär* and *Nēpär* ‘Dnieper’, *sumar* and *summar* LU ‘summer’ (AL only *summar*).

4.2.8. Long vowels in the first component of a compound are often shortened, not necessarily before a group of consonants: *bon-vaftašk* ‘nanny’ (alongside *bōn-vaftašk*), *bon-uj* ‘cub’ (cf. *bōn* ‘child’), *bre-disk* ‘plate for bread’ (also *brädisk*, *brädedisk*), *bre-stump* ‘crust around a freshly baked loaf, particularly on its ends’ (*brē* ‘bread’; compare *brē-skīv* with a long *ē*), *bumann* ‘salesman’ (alongside *bū-mann*; *bū* ‘shop’), *gon-nikļ* ‘ball of thread’, *gon-strō* ‘thread’, *gon-tāin* ‘reel of thread’ (*gōn* ‘thread’), *gos-hann* ‘gander’, *gos-hōn* ‘she-goose’ (*gōs* ‘goose’), *goš-štāvār* ‘pole in a fence’ (*gōd* ‘enclosure’), *gra-gōdņ* LU (but *grāgōd* AL) ‘graveyard’ (*grāv* ‘grave’), *gr[i]s-snürr* ‘piglet’s snout’ (*grīs*), *gro-stāin* ‘granite’ (but *grō-hōratär* ‘grey-haired’, *grō-lētätär* ‘greyish’), *hoštrō* [‘hoʃtrō(:)] ‘a hair’, *koļ-gōd* ‘flood meadow’, *koļ-hū* AL LU ‘cabbage head’ (*kōļ* ‘cabbage’), *kvit-lōök* ‘garlic’, *kv[i]t-brē* ‘white bread’ (*kvītär*), *skū-grīs* ‘hedgehog’ (*skū* ‘forest’), *te-spōn* ‘teaspoon’ (but *tē-blūmmar* ‘petals of tea rose’, *tē-kann* ‘kettle’), *trā-goļv* ‘wooden floor’, *tfo-slass* ‘of two types’, *vin-gōd* ‘vineyard’, *vin-drū* ‘grape’ (*vīn* ‘wine’).

A special case is *riggōd* ‘garden by the house’ (i.e. not in the fields outside the village).⁵¹ Here, the initial consonant of the second component length-

⁵¹ E.g. *Ve hāv do tfo grīsar; ānnan blāi sjūkār; o so slāfft ja* ‘ūt-n de *gō* ot *riggōdņ* de buka LU ‘We

ened, which made the first syllable closed. *Nägođ* ‘enclosure for cattle’, *trägođ* ‘garden’, *gragođ* ‘graveyard’ represent a historically different case because in these words the first syllable was originally closed; all three words occurred only with a short [g].

4.2.9. Shortening of the vowel in the first component of a compound does not occur with regularity, and forms with a long vowel in the first component seem to be more frequent, e.g.: *āvn-skūr* LU, also *āvens-skūr* AL ‘shed for chaff’, *bāka-po* ‘behind’ (and *baka-pō*), *bāk-bäin* ‘back leg’ (of a cow), *bāk-dänn* ‘back door’, *bāk-ēnd* ‘back part’, *bāk-lōr* ‘back haunch’, *bāk-stjū* ‘back room’ AL (but *bak-stjū* LU), *bāk-toļa* ‘to gossip’, *bākum*, *bākom* ‘behind’, *blū-ōdär* ‘blood vessel’, *blū-sinu* ‘blood vessel’, *bōn-hūs* ‘kindergarten’, *bōn-tīn* ‘childhood’, *bōn-täkke* ‘child’s blanket’, *brē-skīv* ‘piece of bread’, *hū-brī* ‘hassle’, *kōļ-strunk* ‘cabbage head’. The word for ‘cotton’, historically a compound, occurs with a whole range of variants, with both a long and a short vowel in the first element: *bommül*, *bummel*, *bumml*, *bümüil*, *bümäl*.

4.2.10. In the second component, vowel length is usually preserved: *bušš-klē* ‘tablecloth’, *frama-stū* ‘living room’, *hona-krūn* ‘cockscorn’, *kvitlöks-hū* ‘head of garlic’, *räi-tāk* ‘rush-thatched roof’, *vill-svīn* ‘wild boar’. However, in names of weekdays the vowel in the second element is short: *mondan*, *fīstan*, *unsdan*, *tūštan*, *frīdan*, *löüdan*, *sundan*. In addition, a short vowel in the second component occurs in the following compounds: *blū-fräs* AL ‘furuncle’ (but *blū-fräs* LU), *grā-gođ* AL (but *gra-gōđn* LU), *hōļ-da* ‘holiday’ (cf. *namms-dā* ‘name day’), *hoštrō* AL ‘a hair’, *koļ-gōđ* [‘koḷgođ] AL, [‘koḷgo:đ] LU ‘flood meadow’, *kväll-vōđ* [‘kvel;vođ] AL, [‘kvel;vo:đ] LU ‘supper’, *nā-gođ* ‘enclosure for cattle’, *rīv-jen* ‘grater’ (*jēn* ‘iron’), *svinsti* ‘pigsty’ (but *svin-stīa* def. sing., *-stīar* pl., *-stīana* def. pl.). *Gritū* ‘oven’ (cf. *ū* ‘oven’) occurred with [-ʉ] in interviews with AL, [-ə] with LU. The def. sing. is *grit-ūen* and *grit-ūen* LU; other forms only occurred with a short *ü*: *grit-üar* pl., *grit-üa* def. pl.

Preserving their length at the end of the second element of a compound is also typical of consonants. However, there are examples where a long consonant shortens in a compound in word-final position: *krōk-ha[n]* ‘raven’, *katt-ha[n]* ‘tomcat’, but intervocalically the length remains intact: *katt-hannar*, *katt-hanna*.

5. Concluding remarks

The dialect of Gammalsvenskby has a number of features which make it rather different from Standard Swedish. In the system of consonants, these are non-aspirated *p*, *t*, *k*; the presence of ‘thick *l*’; the absence of postalveo-

had two piglets, one fell ill, so I let him go in the garden to root’. The variant *rigōđ* also occurred in interviews with the same speaker (but never **rigōđ*). Vendell recorded *rigād* ‘enclosed part of the yard where grain is threshed’ only in Gammalsvenskby (Freudenthal & Vendell 1886, p. 172). See *ria* (SAOB, R 1703).

lar *l*; the phonemic status of *d*, *t*, *ʃ*; dental *n* instead of postalveolar *n* within morphemes; [x:] as a realisation of /s:/ in front of *l*; preserved *g*, *k* before front vowels as well as preserved *sk*, *st*, *sn*, *sp* + *j*; the consonant *z* < *s* due to assimilation. In the vowel system, key differences are the absence of the phonemes /y/, /ø:/ and /œ/; the mid-open rounded realisation of /ɜ/; and frequent diphthongs and diphthongoids. In prosody, characteristic features are the absence of tonal word accent, the existence of short stressed syllables and a phonological distinction of long and short vowels and consonants.

Work on the description of this dialect is still in progress. One of the immediate aims is to produce a dictionary and provide its online edition with audio files, which, it is hoped, will facilitate further study of the dialect.

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Sammanfattning

Syftet med denna artikel är att redogöra för Gammalsvenskbydialektens fonologi. Undersökningen bygger på material som samlats in under fältarbete i byn 2004–2013. I artikeln redogörs för och används ett nytt transkriptionssystem för dialekten, och jämförelser görs med system som använts i tidigare studier. I artikeln beskrivs vidare Gammalsvenskbydialektens vokal- och konsonantfonem och dessas allofoni. En översikt av prosodiska företeelser (betoning och kvantitet) lämnas också. De flesta exempel är tagna ur intervjuer med tre talare som talar dialekten flytande.

I jämförelse med standardsvenskan har Gammalsvenskbydialekten en rad karaktäristiska drag. I konsonantsystemet är dessa genomgående oaspirerade /p/, /t/ och /k/, tjockt *l* ([ɾ]), en allofon av /l/, fonematisk status hos de post-alveolara /d/ och /t/ och det alveopalatala /ʃ/, dental i stället för postalveolar realisation av /n/ inom morfem, [x:] som allofon av /s/ framför /l/; bevarat /g, k/ framför främre vokaler samt bevarat /sk, st/ framför /j/ och den assimilatoriskt betingade allofonen [z] av /s/. I vokalsystemet är dialektens viktigaste drag frånvaro av /y/, /ø:/ och /œ/, den mellanöppna rundade realisationen av /ə/ och diftongerna /ei/ och /œw/. I prosodin kännetecknas dialekten av frånvaron av tonaccent, talrika former med en kort betonad stavelse och den fonologiska distinktionen mellan korta och långa vokaler och konsonanter.

Arbetet med att beskriva dialekten är långt ifrån avslutat. Ett av de närmaste målen är att utarbeta en ordbok med en digital version försedd med ljudfiler, vilket förhoppningsvis skall underlätta studiet av dialekten.