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2001

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Phonology of a southern Swedish idiolect

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In this egocentric article I describe briefly the segmental phonology of my own southern Swedish idiolect. I grew up in Getinge in central Halland, about 20 km north of Halmstad, speaking a regional variant of southern Standard Swedish. Although my dialect has certainly changed somewhat after I moved to Lund in 1964 at the age of 20, I believe that I still retain the basic pronunciation of vowels and consonants from my original dialect. There is one older description of the Getinge dialect by Colliander 1868. At that time, the dialect differed much more from Standard Swedish, and the main remaining segmental differences are the effects of $r$ on surrounding segments, which are not treated by Colliander.

The fate of $r$
As is well known, a conspicuous feature of southern Swedish dialects is the realization of the /r/ phoneme as a uvular fricative (or trill) [ʁ], whereas Standard (Central) Swedish has an apical trill or fricative. The ‘$r$-border’ between the two dialect areas goes about 25 km to the north of Getinge. In the northern part of the uvular $r$ area, ‘vocalization’ of $r$ is common, so that an $r$ in a syllable coda becomes a glide or disappears completely, often influencing the quality of the preceding vowel. The standard reference for this is Sjöstedt 1936, who, curiously enough, does not include central and southern Halland in the ‘$r$ vocalization area’, although $r$ vocalization is regarded by the speakers as a characteristic feature of this dialect, distinguishing it from the Skåne dialects further to the south. In his 1913/18 monograph on the dialects of southern Halland, Ernst Wigforss’ consistently writes uvular $r$ even in typical vocalizing positions. Wigforss, who was a native of Halmstad, may unconsciously have reconstructed an underlying $r$ even when it had disappeared or become a glide. It seems unlikely that $r$ vocalization had not taken place 100 years ago when Wigforss collected his data; I know by personal experience that it is found in the speech of people born around 1910.

The reflexes of etymological $r$ (as indicated in the Swedish orthography) and their influence on surrounding segments is the main point in the segmental phonology where my idiolect differs from Standard Swedish:

3. An etymological $r$ which is a part of a syllable coda is deleted: [baɾk] bark ‘bark’ (Sw [bark]); [hɑm.li] harmliga ‘annoying’ (Sw [harm lig]).
4. The quality of a vowel which precedes a deleted $r$ is changed; see Vowels below.
5. A dental consonant that follows a deleted $r$ becomes alveolar; see Alveolars below.
Vowels

The vowels corresponding to the 18 Standard Swedish vowels (9 short and 9 long) are kept distinct. Furthermore, most of the vowels change their quality when they are followed by a deleted /r/. I will call these rhotacized vowels as opposed to plain vowels. I recorded a word list (presented in random order) illustrating all vowels in stressed syllables, and measured the two first formants and the duration of each vowel using the Praat analysis program created by Paul Boersma. I read each word in isolation five times, and the three middle recordings were analyzed. The results are shown in Table 1 and Figure 1. For those vowels which were identified as diphthongs, two formant measurements were made, one at the beginning and one at the end of the vowel. The vowels are shown with orthographic symbols in Figure 1, and with IPA symbols as well in Table 1.

Most plain vowels are similar to the Standard Swedish ones. Long /i/ and /y/ are clearly diphthongic [/ii: yy:], as are long /o/ and /a/ (Sw [u: o:]), which begin with an /u/e-like element: [u: eo:]. Except for /a/ [a: ] and /u/ [o: u:] the short vowels are similar in quality to the long ones (or to the endpoint of long diphthongs). The duration difference is very clear, the long vowels being more than twice as long as the short ones (on the average 273 and 122 ms for plain vowels).

Many of the rhotacized vowels are descending diphthongs ending in an /eo/-like element, but some are more open versions of the plain vowel: [æ æ: w/a: æ: o: ] vs. [ε ε: æ: ø: ο: e:o:]. Long plain /a:/ (as in /la:s/ las) corresponds to two different rhotacized vowels, /œ/ if the following consonant is an alveolar (/[læs] Lars), and /a:/ otherwise (/[larv] larv). Short /a/ and /u/ /e/ are not changed by /r/, and short /e/ /æ/ does not occur in this context. The short rhotacized vowels consistently have somewhat longer duration than the plain ones (138 vs. 122 ms on the average). The mean duration of long rhotacized vowels is longer (282 ms) than for the plain ones (273 ms), but this difference is less consistent.

Table 1. Duration and formant frequencies (means of three readings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Dur F1 F2</th>
<th>F1 F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i [his] hiss ‘lift’ 157 256 2212</td>
<td>ir [hiøs] hirs ‘millet’ 159 303 2170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e [vet] vett ‘sense’ 125 358 2074</td>
<td>e [vet] vätt ‘wet’ 123 494 1693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö [løs] löss ‘lise’ 145 463 1396</td>
<td>ör [boes] bors ‘purse’ 165 567 1152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u [sket] skutt ‘leap’ 108 345 1242</td>
<td>ur [ket] Kurt (name) 121 386 1159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o [skot] skott ‘shoe’d’ 106 305 786</td>
<td>or [kuet] kort ‘card’ 117 338 723</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å [sot] skott ‘shot’ 95 423 926</td>
<td>år [køet] kort ‘short’ 115 550 850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Dur F1 F2</th>
<th>F1 F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 [bu:n] bis ‘bee’s’ 250 320 1787</td>
<td>250 320 1787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e [e:s] es ‘e’s’ 301 315 2145</td>
<td>er [eø:s] ers ‘your’ 290 323 2151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä [la:s] las ‘read’ 296 514 1621</td>
<td>är [laø:s] lärs ‘is learned’ 286 649 1358</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a [la:s] las ‘was laid’ 288 525 1020</td>
<td>ar [laø:s] Lars (name) 290 608 1040</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y [hyys] hys ‘skin’s’ 265 315 1790</td>
<td>yr [hyø:s] hyrs ‘is hired’ 255 275 2011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö [hoø:s] hös ‘hay’s’ 279 387 1492</td>
<td>ör [hoø:s] hörö ‘is heard’ 288 565 1151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u [bu:s] bus ‘mischief’ 270 286 1748</td>
<td>ur [boø:s] burs cage’s 270 353 1087</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o [kuø:s] kos ‘cow’s’ 251 338 1538</td>
<td>or [kuø:s] kors ‘cows’ 246 331 672</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å [leo:s] las ‘lock’ 256 390 1373</td>
<td>år [løø:s] lärs ‘thigh’s’ 277 475 862</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels**

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Figure 1. F1-F2 diagram for the short (left) and long (right) vowels.

Alveolars
In most of the dialect area with apical \( r \), combinations of \( r \) and a following dental \([t, d, s, n, l] \) are realized as retroflexes \([\hat{t}, \partial, \beta = \epsilon] \), but in areas with uvular \( r \), the dentals are unchanged. In my idiolect, the dentals are slightly backed after etymological \( r \), but not nearly as much as in Standard Swedish. They can be regarded as alveolars \([t, d, s, n, l] \), as opposed to the dentals \([t, d, s, n, l] \). I believe that alveolarization is a general feature of the dialects in this area, although it has, as far as I know, not been noted by the dialectologists (cf. Sjöstedt 1936:197). Examples are: [kat] kart ‘unripe fruit’, Sw [kA…†]; [bu…Ed2] bord ‘table’, Sw [bu…∂]; [kπs2] kurs ‘course’, Sw [kπß]; [bå…n2] barn ‘child’, Sw [bå…=]; [cæ:] kärl ‘vessel’, Sw [cæ:]. [tœs.t] tôrsig ‘thirsty’, Sw [tœs.ţ]; more examples are given in Table 1.

Phonemes
Since the etymological \( r \) was deleted in codas, and changed the preceding vowel, the long rhotacized vowels became phonemes:

\[
\begin{align*}
[li:ka] & \quad \text{lika ‘like’} & [tɑːm] & \quad \text{tam ‘tame’} & [bʊk] & \quad \text{buk ‘belly’} \\
[li:ka] & \quad \text{läka ‘heal’} & [dφː] & \quad \text{dö ‘die’} & [kɔːk] & \quad \text{kork ‘cork’} \\
[seː] & \quad \text{se ‘see’} & [dyyːk] & \quad \text{dyk ‘dive’} & [bruː] & \quad \text{bo ‘live’} \\
[seː] & \quad \text{ser ‘sees’} & [dyːk] & \quad \text{dyrk ‘picklock’} & [bʊː] & \quad \text{bor ‘lives’} \\
[leːka] & \quad \text{lärka ‘lark’} & [dœː] & \quad \text{dör ‘dies’} & [kɔːk] & \quad \text{bor ‘lives’} \\
[laːka] & \quad \text{lärka ‘lark’} & [dœː] & \quad \text{dör ‘dies’} & [kɔːk] & \quad \text{kork ‘cork’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The short rhotacized vowels occur only before the alveolars \([t, s] \). The corresponding short plain vowels do not occur before alveolars, but before dentals (and in other positions):

\[
\begin{align*}
[hiːs] & \quad \text{hiss ‘lift’} & [sys.to] & \quad \text{syster ‘sister’} & [skut] & \quad \text{skott ‘shoed’} \\
[hiːs] & \quad \text{hirs ‘millet’} & [syːsa] & \quad \text{sysa ‘cricket’} & [kuːt] & \quad \text{kort ‘card’} \\
[veːt] & \quad \text{vätt ‘wet’} & [mœːt] & \quad \text{mött ‘met’} & [spt] & \quad \text{spott ‘spittle’} \\
[være] & \quad \text{värt ‘worth’} & [mœːt] & \quad \text{mört ‘roach’} & [sprœːt] & \quad \text{sport ‘sport’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Since the vowels \([a, θ] \) do not change by rhotacization, they can occur both before dental and alveolar consonants:
For this reason, [t s] must be regarded as phonemes distinct from [t s]. This implies that the short rhotacized vowels [i ɛ ɔ ʊ u ɔ], which occur only before [t s], stand in complementary distribution with plain [i ɛ y ʊ o], and can be regarded as allophones of them.

The rhotacized long vowel [œː] normally occurs only before deleted etymological r. As was noted by Colliander 1868:15 and Wigforss 1913/18:181ff. as well, this vowel is found in some words in non-rhotacizing environments, in my idiolect including [hœːna] höna ‘hen’; [grœːn] grön ‘green’; [lœːn] lön ‘salary’; [grœːt] gröt ‘porridge’; [roːv] röv ‘arse’. Other words in similar environments have [œː]: [bœːna] böna ‘bean’; [kœːː] röd ‘red’. The minimal pair [hœːna] höna ‘hen’ vs. [hœːːna] hörna ‘corner’ shows that there is a (marginal) contrast between dental [n] and alveolar [ŋ]. Alveolar [d l] do not seem to contrast with plain [d l] and can be regarded as allophones of them occurring after rhotacized vowels.

There are two rhotacized vowels [eː aː] corresponding to plain long [œː aː]. The vowel [eː] occurs only before alveolars, before [k] (in the next syllable) and word-finally: [bemːː] barn ‘child’; [keːːː a] karta ‘map’; [bemːː a] bara ‘only’; [skemːː] skar ‘cut’. The vowel [aː] does not usually occur before dentals or alveolars or word-finally, but only before other consonants: [havːː] harv ‘harrow’; [skapːːː] skarpa ‘sharp’. There are a few exceptions including [skarː] ska ‘shall’; [gaːːlːen] galen ‘crazy’; [faːːlːen] fan ‘damn!’. It contrasts regularly with [eː] (e.g. in [skapːːː] skapa ‘create’), and marginally with [eː] ([skapːːː] skar ‘cut’). The contrast between [œː] and [eː] can be illustrated with [hœːː] ha ‘to have’ vs. [heː] har ‘has’.

This leads to the following phoneme system. Those consonants which have not been mentioned above are more or less identical to those in Standard Swedish.

Conclusion
My idiolect, and most probably the dialect on which it is based, combines the southern Swedish feature of having uvular r with some Central Swedish features such as the occurrence of post-dental (in this case alveolar) consonants and the rule that only long vowels combine with a following voiced post-dental (Aurén 1874:68).

References

