Monophthongization before the retroflex flap in Norwegian Sverre Stausland Johnsen & Luca Lukas

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Introduction

- Diphthongs in Old Norwegian: ei, au, øy.
- Modern Norwegian:
 - retained: /stein/ 'stone', /laus/ 'loose', /røyk/ 'smoke'
 - monophthongized: /ste:n/ 'stone' /lø:s/ 'loose', /rø:k/ 'smoke'
 - variably retained or monophthongized

The regular development of some strings is still unknown, one being $-\phi y/-$.

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Retroflex flap $/ {\rm c} /$

Old Norwegian /I/ > /t/ in many pre- and postvocalic contexts.

/t/ in Modern Norwegian:

- Found in almost all East Norwegian dialects.
- Following most long vowels.
- Not found following /ir, ei/.
- Rarely found following /eː, yː, øy/.

(Skjekkeland 1997: 91)



All previous remarks are based on the word *søyla* 'mud'.

- Larsen 1907: The word søyla usually has a monophthong in eastern Norway, there seems to be a monophthongization of øy in front of the retroflex flap (p. 63).
- Kolsrud 1932: øy is apparently not found preceding the retroflex flap in the dialect of Romerike (p. 37).
- Hoff 1946: suggests that øy might be monophthongized in front of the retroflex flap in Indre Østfold (p. 161).

No survey on the regular development of $-\phi yl$ - has been done yet.

What is the regular development of -øyl- in the Norwegian dialects?

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The original -øyl- is mainly found in three words:

- Søyla 'mud'
- Pøyla 'puddle'
- Bøyla 'growl, glower'

Søyla, pøyla and bøyla in Norwegian dialects:

- /søyla/, /pøyla/ and /bøyla/ are found in West Norwegian dialects.
- /sø:re/, /pø:re/ and /bø:re/ are found in East Norwegian dialects.
- /søyte/ and /bøyte/ are found in some dialects in the south along the /t/-isogloss, on the border between East and West Norwegian dialects.

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Øy before a retroflex flap is monophthongized regardless of whether the dialects have generally monophthongized Øy or not.

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East Norwegian dialects with monophthongization of *øy*:

East Norwegian dialects with retained øy:

Findings

There seems to be a strong correlation between the retroflex flap isogloss and the monophthongization of ϕy .



Regular development of - ϕyl - in dialects with /t/:

Step 1: $/øyl/ \rightarrow /øyt/$

This stage is still preserved in the dialects where we find the forms /søy<code>re/</code> and /bøy<code>re/</code>.

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- There is an articulatory difficulty in combining a high front vowel with a retroflex flap.
- This sequence is generally banned in Norwegian dialects, i.e. */it/, */yt/.
- Most East Norwegian dialects have therefore had a lowering of /y/ before the retroflex flap.

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Step 2: $/øyc/ \rightarrow [øgc] \rightarrow /ø:c/$

Skjekkeland 1997: /t/ is usually not found after /øy/

 Not because /t/ did not develop following øy, but because øy was later monophthongized.

Summary

- Dialects that lack the retroflex flap /t/ have retained the original diphthong øy.
- Dialects with a retroflex flap have developed a retroflex flap following the diphthong *øy*.
 - Øy has then undergone a monophthongization in most dialects.

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