

Contents

Acknowledgments — VII

Abbreviations — XIII

1	The Faroese language: a brief overview — 1
1.1	General background — 2
1.1.1	Historical background — 2
1.1.2	Geographical and typological remarks — 4
1.2	Written and spoken Faroese — 7
1.2.1	History of the written norm — 7
1.2.2	Faroese dialects — 9
1.3	Previous works on Faroese — 9
1.3.1	Transcription — 11
1.3.2	Research in Faroese phonology — 13
	Appendix — 14
2	Orthography and pronunciation — 19
2.1	Vowel graphemes and the historical hiatus — 20
2.2	Consonant graphemes and their pronunciation — 26
2.3	Alternations hidden by the orthography — 30
3	Element theory — 36
3.1	The internal structure of segments — 36
3.2	The syllabic structure — 41
4	Dialects and dialect variation — 51
4.1	Classification of the dialects — 53
4.1.1	Dialectal differences in vowels — 55
4.1.2	Dialectal differences in the consonants — 63
4.2	Additional differences in the morphology — 69
4.3	Dialect levelling, dialect mixing, and attitudes towards dialects — 75
5	Phonological changes — 78
5.1	Introduction — 78
5.2	The development of the vowels — 81
5.2.1	The quantity shift — 86
5.2.2	Conditional vowel changes — 90

5.2.3	The <i>u</i> -umlaut —	94
5.3	The development of the consonants —	95
5.3.1	Changes in initial position —	95
5.3.2	The development of the obstruents —	96
5.3.3	The development of the sonorants and approximants —	99
5.3.4	Palatalization —	102
5.3.5	Skerping or glide strengthening —	104
5.3.6	Other consonant changes —	108
5.3.7	The relation between unstressed vowels, diphthongization, segmentation, skerpig, and lenition —	110
5.3.8	Morphologization —	110
6	Stress patterns, syllable structure, and phonotactics —	114
6.1	Description of stress —	114
6.2	Sonority and syllabification —	121
6.3	Phonotactics —	123
6.3.1	Complex onsets —	124
6.3.2	Complex two-consonant codas —	128
6.3.3	Complex three and four-consonant codas —	134
6.3.4	Disyllabic roots —	135
6.4	Syllable structure —	141
6.4.1	Stressed open syllables —	142
6.4.2	Onsets —	149
6.4.3	Word/domain-final consonants —	159
7	Vowels —	167
7.1	Contexts and realizations —	167
7.1.1	Monophthongs —	167
7.1.2	Diphthongs —	177
7.1.2.1	/a/-diphthongs —	180
7.1.2.2	/i/-diphthongs —	183
7.1.2.3	/u/-diphthongs —	187
7.2	The phonetics of Faroese vowels —	192
	Appendix —	198
8	Formalization of the Faroese vocalic system —	203
8.1	The content of the Faroese vowels —	203
8.1.1	Organization of distinctive features —	204
8.1.2	Towards a unary hierarchy —	210
8.2	Grasping the behaviors of Faroese vowels —	213

8.2.1	Diphthongs and long vowels —	213
8.2.2	Dialectal variations —	224
8.2.3	Glide insertion —	238
8.3	Morphophonemic alternations rather than phonological regularities? —	242
9	Consonants —	247
9.1	Obstruents —	247
9.1.1	Stops —	248
9.1.2	Fricatives —	258
9.2	Sonorants —	269
9.2.1	Voicing —	269
9.2.2	Velarity and palatality —	270
9.2.3	Gemination and dissimilation —	272
9.3	Approximants —	273
9.3.1	Voicing —	273
9.3.2	Trill —	274
9.3.3	Retroflexion —	275
9.3.4	Glide —	275
9.3.5	Gemination —	276
10	Formalization of the consonantal mechanisms —	283
10.1	The content of the Faroese consonants —	283
10.1.1	Towards a feature hierarchy —	284
10.1.2	Towards an element hierarchy —	293
10.2	Mechanisms involving deletion and/or movement —	299
10.2.1	Cluster reduction —	299
10.2.2	Metathesis —	314
10.3	Mechanisms affecting melody and/or structure —	319
10.3.1	Preaspiration —	320
10.3.2	Palatalization —	324
10.3.3	Semi-vocalization —	327
10.3.4	Dissimilation —	328
11	Aspects of the morphology-phonology interface —	332
11.1	The phonology-morphology-lexicon interface —	335
11.1.1	Non-phonological vowel alternations —	335
11.1.2	Non-phonological consonant alternations —	337
11.2	Morphologically derived environment effects —	339

XII — Contents

11.2.1	MDEE affecting vowels —	340
11.2.2	MDEE affecting consonants —	343
11.3	The preference for a trochee —	348
11.4	Phonological interpretation of morphologically complex words: derivations and compounds —	350
11.4.1	Affixes and particles at the edge —	351
11.4.2	Compounds —	354
11.5	Strata —	355

Conclusion — 362

References — 363

Index — 375