

Two-peakedness in Scandinavian – evidence from South Swedish

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Introduction: I present results from a production experiment on the dialect of Hässleholm, spoken in Scania, South Sweden. South Swedish dialects have been described as *one-peak* dialects (Gårding & Lindblad 1973, Bruce 2007). This means that there is a single f₀-peak on the stress of lexical accent 2-words. One-peak dialects contrast with *two-peak* dialects, where a second peak appears on accent 2-words, directly following the first peak (early) or close to the following stress (late). Two-peak dialects are found north west of Hässleholm, around Göteborg/Oslo, in eastern Sweden around Stockholm, and in northern parts of Sweden.

Based on the results, I propose a hierarchy of two-peakedness, where dialects may be more or less conservative. The hierarchy of two-peakedness offers new perspectives on the relation between accent systems in Scandinavia, contrasting with previous proposals where the distinction between one- and two-peaks has been described as binary.

Experiment: Five speakers read ten sentences as in (1a): five with accent 1 words and five with accent 2 words. The sentences were preceded by questions as in (1b) or (1c). There were two additional sets of target sentences where a) the subject was short (*den goda bullen kostar tio kronor*), and b) the target consisted of a noun phrase rather than a full clause (*den goda bullen med krämig fyllning*). Q-A pairs were repeated three times (in total 5*10*3*3=450 sentences).

- (1) a. Den ²goda ²bullen med ²krämig ²fyllning ²kostar ²tio ²kronor. target sentence
 the tasty bun with creamy filling costs ten crowns
 b. Vad kostar den goda bullen med krämig fyllning? all-new focus
 what costs the tasty bun with creamy filling
 c. Vad kostar tio kronor? narrow focus (subj.)
 what costs ten crowns

Results: The results show that the Hässleholm-dialect exhibits a second peak after the stressed syllable in phrase medial and initial positions, which is otherwise expected only in two-peak dialects. However, the second peak is absent phrase-finally, resulting in a contour typical of one-peaked dialects. I refer to the one-peaked Hässleholm-contours as *truncated*. When the second peak appears, it has a *late* alignment. Similar types of late two-peak contours have been reported from West Swedish (Göteborg) and East Norwegian (Oslo), although no truncation has been reported from these areas (e.g. Gårding & Lindblad 1973, Kristoffersen 2000). I propose that Stockholm Swedish represents the most conservative type of two-peakedness (early second peak, no truncation), followed by the systems in East Norway and West Sweden (late second peak, no truncation). Hässleholm represents the least conservative two-peak dialect discovered so far (late second peak, truncated under certain structural conditions).

Discussion, follow-up experiments: The results give rise to a number of questions. First, several questions arise in relation to the notion of truncation: What are the structural conditions that govern truncation? How is focus expressed when the second peak is truncated? In response to these questions, a second experiment was run in Hässleholm. Second, the question arises if any “true” one-peaked dialects exist, where a second peak never appears. To approach an answer to this question, a third experiment was run in Sjöbo (south of Hässleholm). The results of these follow-up experiments will be discussed in the talk.

References: Bruce, G. (2007). Components of a prosodic typology of Swedish intonation. In: Riad, T. & Gussenhoven, C. *Tones and Tunes, Vol 1*:113-146. Gårding, E. & Lindblad, P. (1973), Constancy and variation in Swedish Word accent patterns. *Phonetics Laboratory Lund University Working papers* 7:36-110. Kristoffersen, G. (2000). *The Phonology of Norwegian*. OUP.