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## **Culminativity in Swedish in comparison with Japanese, Basque and Greek**

Basque, Japanese, Greek and Swedish could all be said to be languages with *culminativity* in the sense that a prosodic word has at most one culmination. For (the relevant dialects of) Basque and Japanese, culmination is tonal, while for Greek and Swedish it is metrical (stress). The degree of *obligatoriness* varies. In Swedish it is absolute, in Basque, Greek and Tokyo Japanese it is relative. The *locus* of tone/stress varies. Within Basque, varieties may place accent either according to a morphological generalization (Gernika) or a phonological one (Lekeitio) (Hualde 2003). In Japanese varieties, the placement of lexical accent may vary between syllables in different dialects (e.g. Tokyo vs. Kagoshima; Haraguchi 1977, Kubozono 2007). In Swedish, where stress placement is entirely stable across dialects, the positions in which it occurs are largely morphologically defined. The latter is true for Greek, too, where there is morphological interaction.

The Swedish stress system can be described from a lexical/morphological point of view, which opens for comparisons with other lexical culminative systems like those of Japanese, Greek and Basque. Previous analyses of stress in Germanic languages have tended to be algorithmic, i.e. consider stress (in the NGmc case, also tone accent) as assigned by a general phonological algorithm, whose application may be modified by diacritic marking (e.g. extrametricality). In my approach, much of stress and accent is either directly lexical or controlled by lexical specifications. Morphemes are *tonic*, *pretonic* or *posttonic*, which amounts to metrical specification, either directly (many roots, suffixes and prefixes are tonic), or as subcategorizations (pretonic prefixes, posttonic suffixes). In addition, there are prosodically *unspecified* morphemes (all kinds), which get stress by a phonological routine (rightmost).

The analysis ties the stress system to morphological information and opens for a number of generalizations in the domain of word formation that are not predicted or captured by the purely phonological approach. It also, to some extent, determines the shape of lexical forms.

- (i) Diachronic stability: a) No change of stress locus in Romance borrowings, b) No interference of stress system in learning other languages with different stress placement.
- (ii) Synchronic stability: a) Posttonic suffixes do not allow further challenging derivational suffixing, b) Tonic roots allow challenging suffixing only under duress (e.g. high semantic productivity of suffix), and then leave traces of stress behind, c) Extant vs. absent word formation indicates the presence of prosodic information in morphemes.

Unlike Greek, Japanese and Basque, Swedish has a tonal accent distinction which is superimposed on stress. Tonal accent is two-faced in that it contributes to the culminative function in being prominence-lending (Bruce 1977, Myrberg 2010), beside instantiating a lexical distinction. Only so-called tone accent 2 is phonologically active. For realization, tone accent is restricted to the culminative stress. Distributionally, lexical tone accent correlates the strongest with posttonic suffixes. In the inflectional system, most suffixes are posttonic and tone accent-inducing, just as in the derivational system, but here the demands of syntax dominate the posttonicity of the inflections, giving rise to interesting interaction.

In the domain of compounding, too, tonal marking is important and varies between dialects in whether the first element alone determines tonal accent (cf. several Japanese dialects, Haraguchi 1977; Kagoshima J., Uwano 2007; Gernika Basque, Hualde 2003), or if a general compound pattern occurs, with a characteristic association pattern of tone accent 2. The latter may be compared with the all-unaccented compounds of both Japanese and Basque.

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