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 goda bullen med krämig fyllning kostar tio kronor. 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.