

Curl as a link between tonal accents and stød

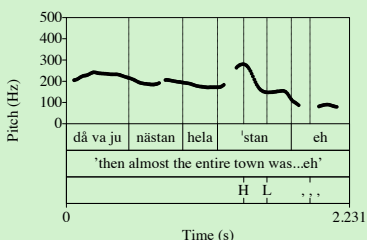
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Background. Danish stød largely correlates with Swedish (unmarked) accent 1 in the lexicon. This correlation strongly implies a historical link. The hypothesis defended here is that a so-called double peak tonal dialect – now lost – is the forebear of the Danish stød system (Riad 1998). This study documents the properties needed for reconstructing a transition from a double peak tonal accent system to a stød system in an area around the Central Swedish (CSw) city of Eskilstuna.

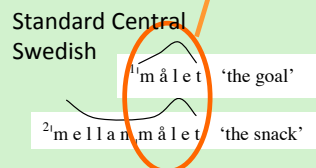
- Phonetic stød
- Generalized accent 2
- Neighbouring single peak dialects

A. Phonetic stød arises as the result of **tonal compression**, where the L tone of a HL sequence pushes leftward and is realized as extra low, instantiating tonal curl, creak or stød. Stød in Danish is also HL (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989).

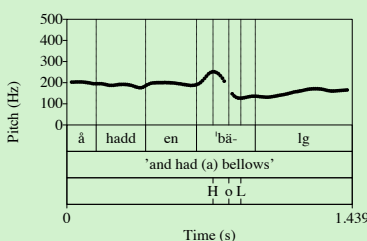
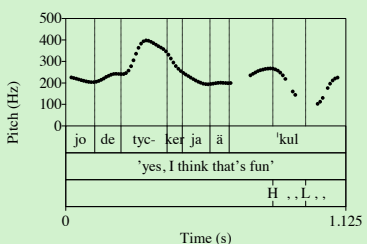
Eskilstuna curl/creak/stød typically occurs in phrase final position, hence HL%.



Eskilstuna CSw: Early timing of HL% **curl** on ¹stan 'the city', where CSw normally has **LHL%**.



Standard Central Swedish
Eskilstuna: HL% fall interrupted by **creak** on ¹kul 'fun'.

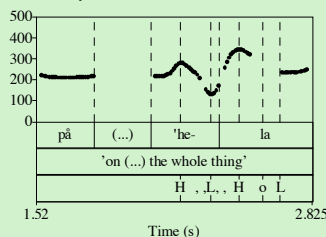


Eskilstuna: HL% fall interrupted by **stød** on ¹bäl 'bellows'.

Responses to compression

B. Generalized accent 2 occurs in eastward neighbouring dialects. In these dialects accent 2 occurs in any word that has a poststress syllable. Accent is thereby predictable from syllable and stress and the distinction is effectively lost (but the accent 2 melody isn't).

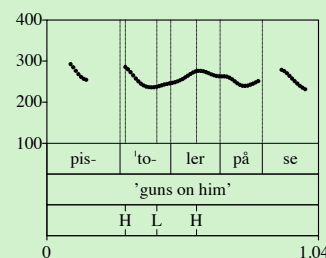
Reanalysis happens under the condition that both syllables are each aligned with a H tone, which is reanalyzed as metrical information, viz. stress.



Eskilstuna: HLHL% interrupted by creak and stød on ²hela 'the whole'. Stød in an unstressed syllable and potentially the locus for reanalysis.

This alignment is due to the compression that is typical of Eskilstuna. The geographic boundary for this phenomenon is sharp, indicating a relationship.

Generalized accent 2 from the dialect of Nysätra.

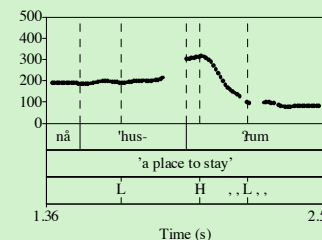


Nysätra: Generalized HLH accent 2 contour on ²pis-toler 'guns' a word that has accent 1 in Standard CSw.

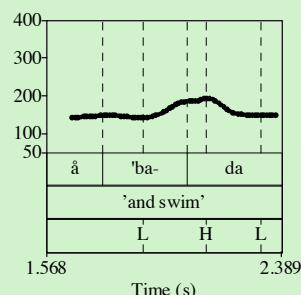
D. The Danish development involves the combination – in one and the same dialect – of

1. Generalized accent 2, that is, loss of tonal distinction, and
2. Phonologization of stød in contexts where L% occurs in a stressed syllable, that is accent 1 in simplex (cf. *målet* 'the goal'), and the latter part of accent 2 in compounds (cf. *mellanmålet* 'the snack'), and the latter part of accent 2 in simplex in certain inflected forms ("slumbering" stød *sofa~sofa'en*). For details, cf. Riad (2000).

C. Tonal shift. Northward neighbouring single peak dialects arise by the shifting of the tonal sequence, to the left. This is a response to compression. Some speakers of the Eskilstuna variety exhibit the beginnings of this shift.

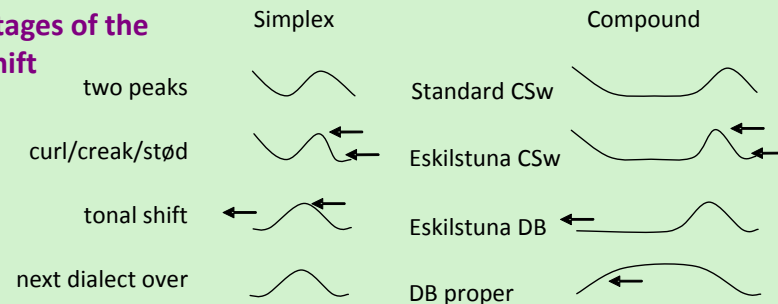


Eskilstuna DB: Single peak accent 2 as a response to compression. Compound ²hus-rum, simplex ²bada



The fully shifted dialect is known as Dala-Bergslagen (DB), cf. map.

Stages of the shift



Fully shifted dialects show up as neighbours to Central Swedish, as well as to Danish. South Swedish, South Norwegian and West Norwegian are all areas that exhibit clear Danish influence in other respects, too. Similar development may be assumed.

