

TRANSITIONAL FORMS AND THEIR POSITION IN A PROSODIC TYPOLOGY
FOR SWEDISH DIALECTS

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We shall now report on how the model is used to describe tonal dialects that lie in between the four dialectal types which represent the main categories in the original typology (cf. Gårding 1975, Bruce & Gårding 1978). To collect a representative sample of such dialects two journeys were made, one in Skåne and Småland to record dialects between 1A and 2A, the other in Skåne and Halland to record dialects between 1A and 2B.

The test sentences were similar in principle to the ones that had been used in earlier work (Bruce 1977), i.e. sentences consisting of sonorant segments and three accented syllables. Words with Accent 1 and Accent 2 were represented in the material and Accent 2 occurred both in simple words and in compounds. Test sentences were elicited in such a way that the informant was forced to place the sentence accent in one of three possible positions.

A typical test sentence is "Man vill lämna nåra långa nunnor" where the numbers indicate sentence accent locations.

The speakers were high school students and the recordings were made at some of the schools that serve as educational centers for the neighbouring countryside (for procedure see Willstedt 1980).

Småland

Figure 1 shows some examples of pitch curves derived from our Småland material, surrounded by the prototype for the 2A area, Stockholm, above and by the 1A area prototype, Malmö, below. The speakers are from Växjö, Väckelsång and Möckeln (see map, Fig. 5). The superimposed curves in each cell are derived from sentences with two accented words, the solid line representing a test sentence with the last word in focus, the dotted line a comparable sentence with the first accented word in focus. The column to the left contains the Accent 1 words. In the middle

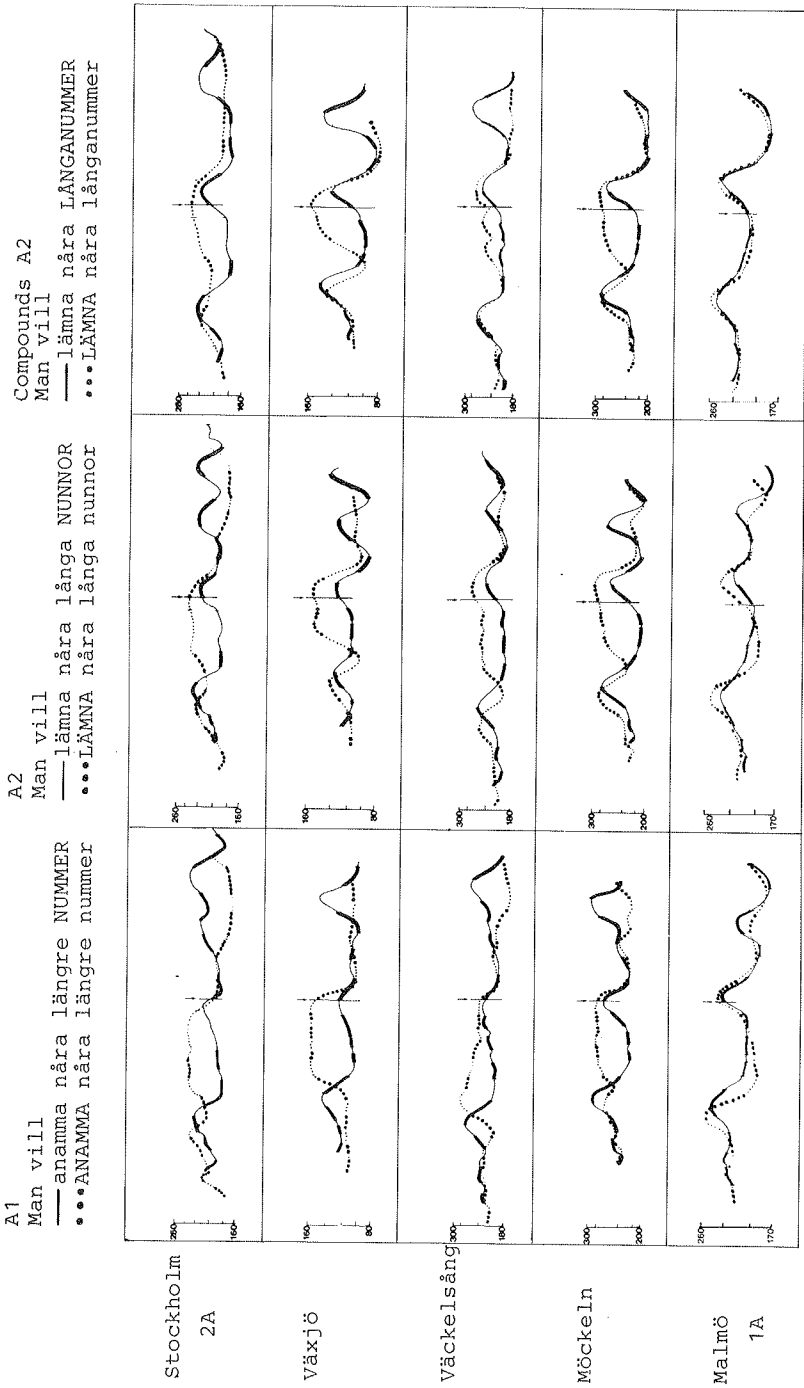


Figure 1. Intonation in Småland surrounded by prototypes 2A and 1A

we have sentences with simple Accent 2 words and in the column to the right the last word of the test sentence is a compound with Accent 2. As a rule the unusual test words called for some explanation and practice before the recording took place. The word anamma seemed to be obsolete in the sense of 'accept' for the great majority of the younger generation who only knew it as a curse jävlar anamma 'the devil take you'.

The figure shows even on casual examination that the Småland curves are more like the prototype from Stockholm than the one from Malmö. Or, expressed in the terms of the model:

The sentence accent, focus, is manifested as a HIGH which in an Accent 2 word comes after the accented syllable as in Stockholm. When this HIGH is connected to the postfocal HIGH, (cf. last rule of model) a plateau is formed which is characteristic also of the Stockholm contour. The Skåne contours, on the other hand, have only a large interval in connection with the sentence accent, which extends to the lowest pitch level. The postfocal accent peak has a lower peak value, which gives the characteristic slanting topline of a statement in this dialect.

Figure 2 expresses the relation between the Småland and Stockholm intonations in an interesting way. Schematic normalized pitch curves from both dialects have been superimposed on a common time axis where the segmental durations have been averaged over the dialects. Stockholm is the solid curve, Växjö the dotted one.

It is clear from the figure that the Småland contour is translated in time as compared to the Stockholm contour. Everything comes a little later in Småland, about 100 milliseconds. But this small translation in time may have a rather large perceptual effect. The Accent 2 word lämna in initial focus is a case in point. In Stockholm it is located in a falling - rising pitch but in Växjö in a rising - falling pitch movement which makes it similar to the Göteborg dialect (cf. Fig. 2). In the Småland material we have found a prosodic dialect which is different from our earlier prototypes. For the time being we call

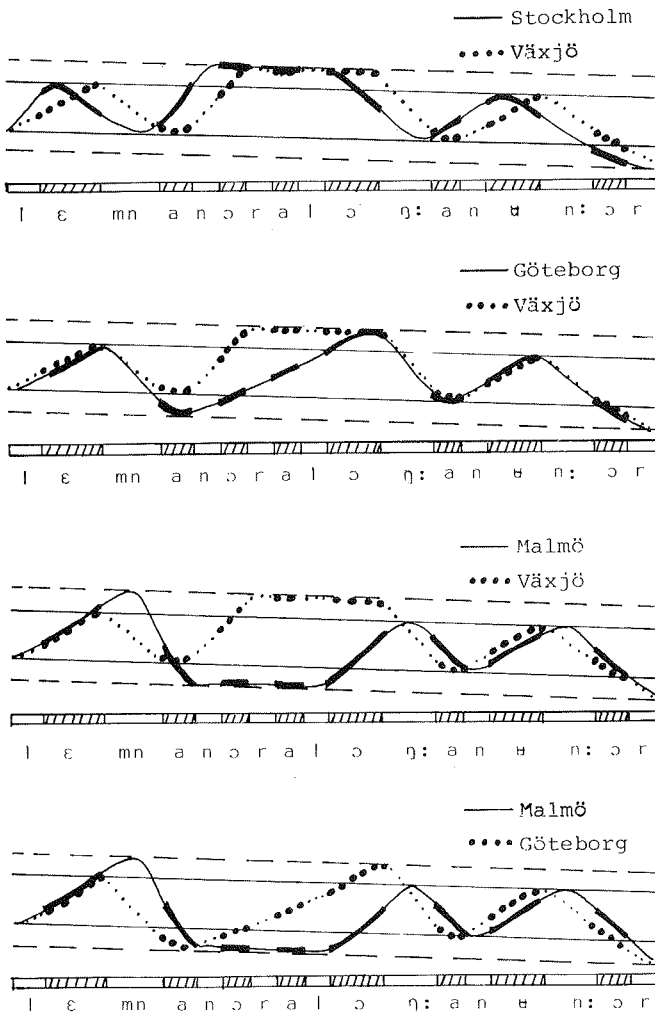


Figure 2. Dialectal comparison of test sentence LÄMNA nära långa nunnor normalized for pitch and duration

it 2AB. The number 2 is used because the dialect has sentence accent manifested as a HIGH after the accented syllable for Accent 2 and thereby gets two-peaked A2 words in focus. A is used because the sentence accent in non final position resembles Stockholm, 2A, B because sentence accent in final position and the word accents resemble Göteborg, 2B.

Halland

Figure 3 shows in the same way as the previous figure for Småland, the Halland intonation, surrounded by our 2B prototype at the top and our 1A dialect at the bottom. In these examples the Göteborg intonation seems to become more like Malmö as we go from north to south. In Göteborg and particularly in Varberg the broad sentence accent interval is manifested between an extra low point in the focal accent and an extra high point, which occurs in the postfocal accent if there is one, otherwise in the final upglide which is so characteristic of the Göteborg dialect. The solid curves in Figure 4, an enlargement of Figure 3, show an interesting phenomenon. If we draw a topline connecting the last accent peak in focus with the end point of the curve we get a local rise for Varberg, a level line for Göteborg, Falkenberg and Steninge and a fall for Holm (outside Halmstad) and Malmö.

There are two conclusions that can be drawn. This local rise, may be mainly responsible for perceived differences between the southern 1A dialects and the western 2B dialects. Further, these dialects do not change in the same direction from north to south: level in Göteborg, rising in Varberg, back to level in Falkenberg and Steninge. But once the southern intonation type with the falling topline has been established north of Halmstad there is no return to the non-falling intonation pattern.

Figure 3 gives a somewhat simplified view of the Halland dialects. The map in Figure 5 gives a more realistic dialectal picture. The three symbols used in the map show that we have found three different prosodic intonation types, 2B as in

A1
 Man vill
 — anamma nära längre NUMMER
 ●●● ANAMMA nära längre nummer

A2
 Man vill
 — lämna nära långa NUNNOR
 ●●● LÄMNA nära långa nunnor

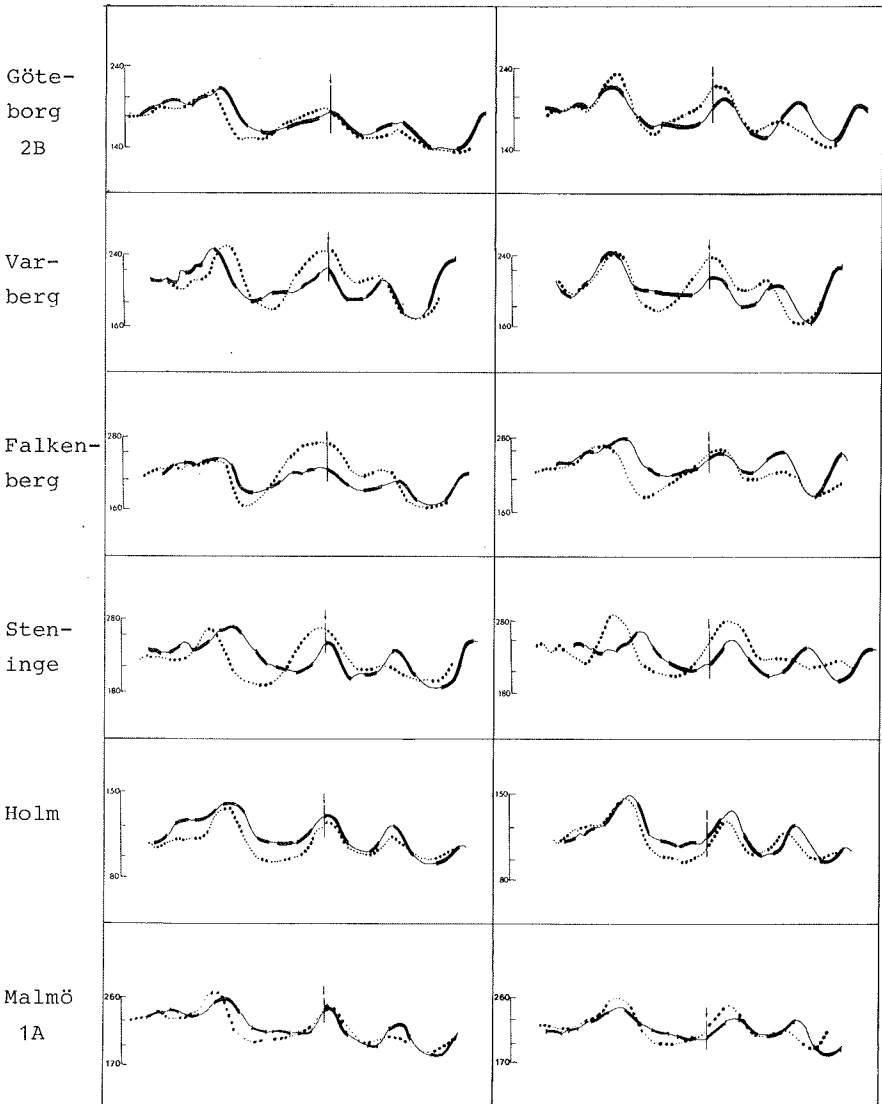


Figure 3. Intonation in Halland surrounded by prototypes 2B and 1A

..... Man vill LÄMNA nära långa nunnor
 — Man vill lämna nära långa NUNNOR
 ---- Topline (see 'Prescriptions and Conventions'
 in Bruce & Gårding, this volume)

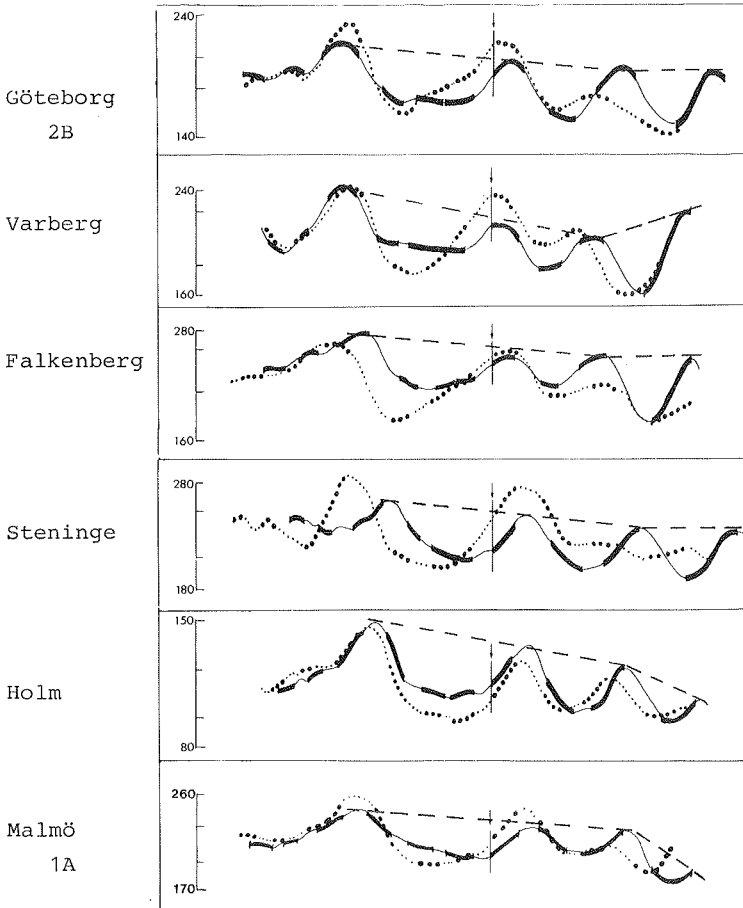


Figure 4. Toplines in comparable pitch curves
 from dialects between prototypes 2B
 and 1A

Göteborg, 2AB as in Småland and 1A as in Skåne. The distribution between these prosodic dialect types seems to agree with dialect borders based on the distribution of lexical and morphological criteria. According to Wessén (1970), for instance, there is a dialectal border at Falkenberg, a place where we have found both Göteborg intonation and Småland intonation.

Deviations from the prototypes

We shall now study deviations from the prototypes.

1. The whole contour has been translated in time in comparison with the prototype.

In the Småland 2AB dialects, the Lessebo pattern (Fig. 1) is translated in the direction of Stockholm and Väckelsång in the direction of Skåne.

2. Special rules are needed.

As can be seen in Figure 1 the Småland 2AB dialects treat compounds differently. In one group of Småland dialects represented by Växjö and Väckelsång in Figure 1, the compound has a rise in the first syllable of the last element, here nummer, a syllable which is traditionally ascribed secondary stress. Another group of dialects, here represented by Möckeln, have no rise in the corresponding syllable and are therefore much more like the Malmö or Göteborg compounds.

This means that the dialect specific rules need a special section for compounds (as for distribution, cf. Bruce 1973). It also means, which is perhaps more interesting, that the compounds may have played a special role in the development of the Swedish prosodic system (Gårding & Lindblad 1973).

3. Alternations.

In some of the Småland dialects (Möckeln, Växjö) there is a variation common to several speakers, namely in sentence accent in connection with Accent 1 in all positions. This brings to mind the old discussion of Accent 1 as being the unmarked case and hence more prone to variation. What happens is that a Stockholm pattern (early rise) varies with a Småland one (late rise). This indicates that the translation in time from the central Swedish pattern to the Småland one has perhaps not

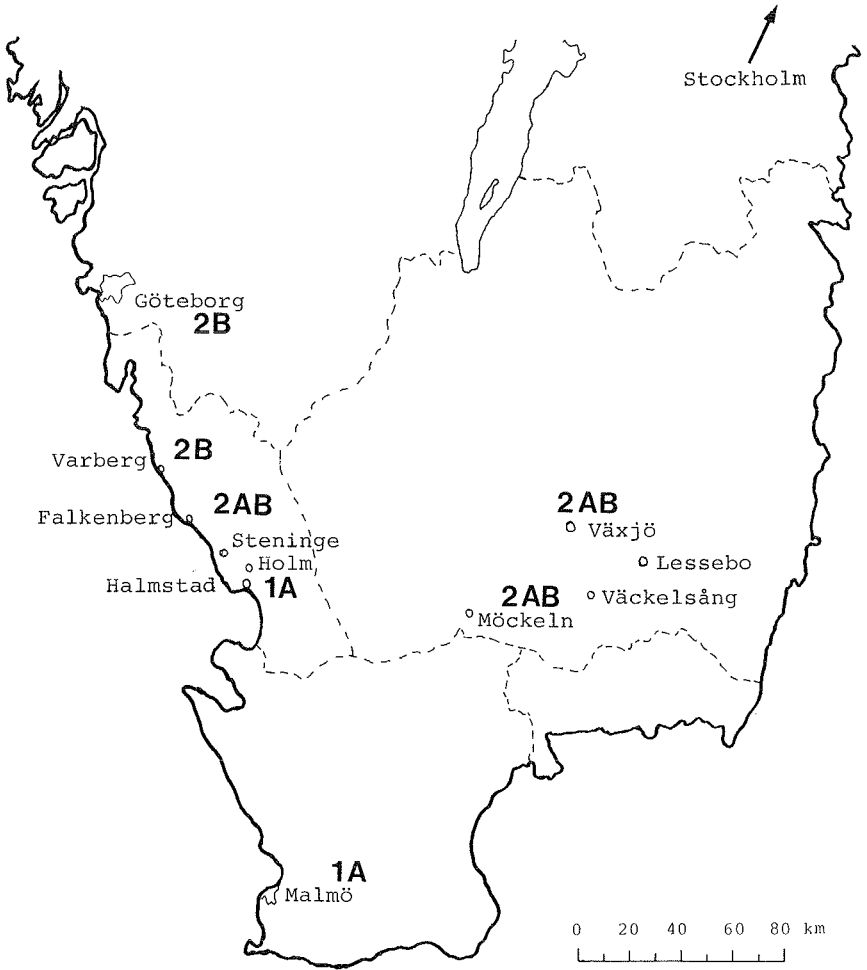


Figure 5. Distribution of prosodic dialect types in southern Sweden

necessarily been gradual, as the neat figure would suggest. Rather the translation may occur in the following way: Two patterns compete freely for a time, then one of them takes the upper hand. Or perhaps both of them remain but with different stylistic or pragmatic functions.

Conclusions

With all this new material, what happened to the model and its prototypes. Are they sufficient? Perhaps not. We have found dialects where the intonation pattern has been translated in time to such a degree that e.g. the perceptual tonal impression of an Accent 2 word in focus is drastically changed. A new type which we call 2AB seems to be motivated.

Are the rules and the generative scheme sufficient? Yes, largely. We knew from studying Kock (1878) and also because of Bruce's results that the distribution rules for compounds differed according to dialect, but we did not know that there were different manifestation rules for A2 compounds in otherwise similar Småland dialects.

Although the word accent timing may be more important than we thought earlier, the salient point of the old model, the sentence accent, remains. The kernel area of the intonation contour is the focal word plus the succeeding tone movement towards a following accent peak or the end of the sentence. We believe, but it remains to be tested, that the most important rules of the model are those that generate exactly this part of the contours.

And finally the classical question: Is the transition between two prosodic dialectal areas continuous? Or in other words: Does the transition occur in small steps or in some other way, perhaps by alternations in particularly vulnerable positions in the contour.

Figure 2 shows how difficult this question is. Schematic intonation contours of the prototype in the sentence lämna våra långa nunnor are inserted on a common time axis with the same

segmental durations in all the dialects. The figure shows that a continuous transition is phonetically and phonologically easier to imagine between some dialects than between others.

We shall just give one example here. The Skåne pattern (with higher focal than postfocal peak) can become a Steninge pattern by raising the postfocal peak. This pattern can become a Varberg or Göteborg pattern by lowering the focal peak. Such a transition, then, can occur in small steps, which suggests that there is a closer relation between the southern 1A and Western 2B dialects than we thought earlier. But other examples in our material, notably those from Småland, suggest that the transition may have been preceded by a stage with alternations and that the final focus position may be more exposed to change than other positions. And in Växjö we have found alternations which are quite independent of position.

The answer to the question of continuity will then be: Sometimes perhaps, but sometimes certainly not.

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