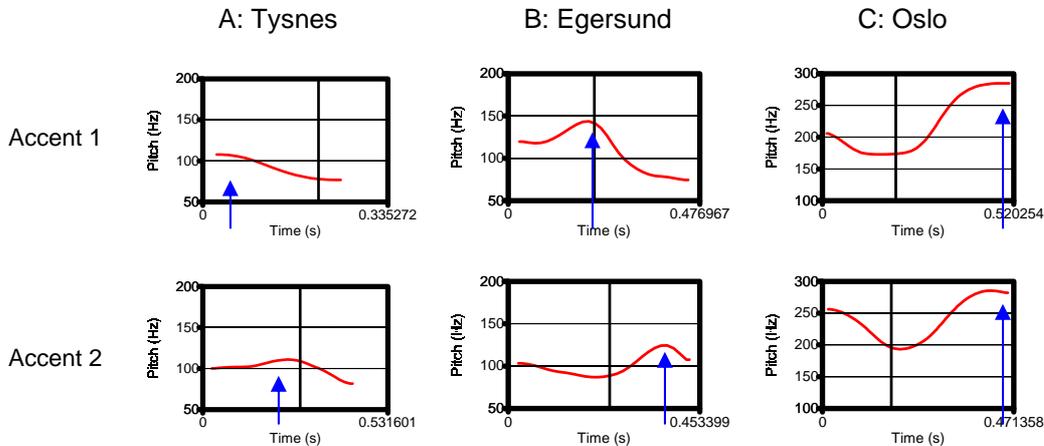


FLEKKEFJORD REVISITED

Accent realization and the occurrence of stød-like phenomena in the far South of Norway

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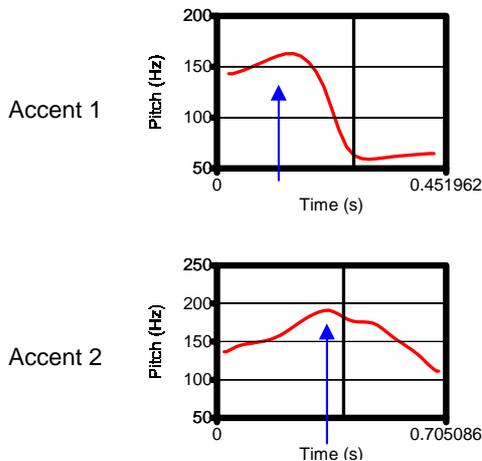
1. Introduction: Degrees of peak delay in three Norwegian dialect prosodies:



The position of prominence \underline{H} is the essential factor determining the structure of accent melodies. A general tendency towards rightwards movement of \underline{H} in longer domains a) may have created the very basis for two differing accentual melodies in Norwegian and b) seems to be the driving force in creating prosodic dialect differences. Also, peak delay eventually triggers formation of new tones domain initially. Under this hypothesis, therefore, \underline{HL} -melodies are considered to be older than $L\underline{HL}$ - and double-peaked $HL\underline{HL}$ -melodies (contrary to the view held by Riad (2000 etc.) and others). See Hognestad 2006 [2004] for further reference.

2. Accent realization in Flekkefjord

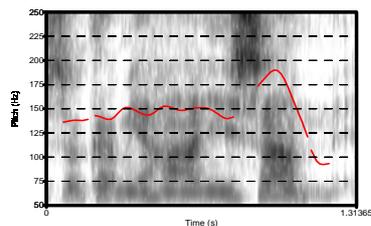
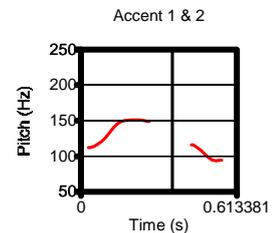
According to Larsen (1970), the Flekkefjord dialect blocks accent 1 in low-sonority domains. This claim is controversial, but has attracted considerable attention because of the resemblance with Danish stød. In Danish, stød does not occur in the environment where accent 1 is allegedly blocked in Flekkefjord and, according to Larsen, accent 2 occurs instead. His observations also figure prominently in the discussion of the relationship between stød and accent in Liberman (1982). Recent fieldwork has provided data so far not available, essential to the investigation of this and related phenomena in Flekkefjord:



Accent 1 characteristics: Early association of \underline{H} (= no peak delay). The Flekkefjord area, therefore, represents archaic Norwegian prosody. What is more peculiar to Flekkefjord, however, is a \underline{HL} compression in accent 1. Instead of tonal interpolation between \underline{H} and \underline{L} , boundary \underline{L} spreads leftwards. Given the non-delayed \underline{H} in this dialect, the second mora position in the bimoraic main stress syllable is vacant. Consequently, \underline{L} can spread even across the syllable boundary and occupy this position in the main stress syllable. Perceptually, this creates a very distinctive abruptly falling accent 1 melody.

Accent 2 characteristics: Also in accent 2, \underline{H} associates within the main stress syllable, docking on the second mora of the bimoraic structure (= minimal peak delay). Thus, the accent contrast in this dialect is constituted by \underline{H} association either to the first or the second mora in the main stress syllable. This is unusual. The Flekkefjord accent system is *non-privative*, in the sense that there is no extra *lexical tone* on the main stress syllable in accent 2. Both accents have a \underline{H}^*L structure.

Both melodies are affected by low sonority. In accent 1, the \underline{HL} compression can not take place. In accent 2, \underline{H} must associate to the only available sonorant element in the main stress syllable. The result is accent neutralization in this environment, and, mainly because of the missing \underline{HL} compression, the audible result may seem closer to accent 2 than accent 1. In other words, Larsen's analysis was inaccurate, but his observations were quite correct.



[s o k a n m i h a : n i ' s a m : ə n]
("Så kan vi ha den i sammen.")

Stød in Southern Norway? Several authors have mentioned that a stød-like phenomenon can sometimes be heard in certain dialects in Southern Norway. As an alternative to the attempts at explaining these observations offered in the literature, I would point to the \underline{HL} compression in accent 1 illustrated above. This accent realization frequently leads to glottalization / creaky voice finally in the main stress syllable. Perceptually, this could resemble Danish stød, and descriptively, it resembles the *Eskilstura Curl*, a phenomenon from Swedish reported on in Riad (2000).

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