

## Culminativity in Swedish

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Basque, Japanese, Greek, English and Swedish could all be said to be languages with *culminativity* in the sense that a prosodic word has at most one prosodic maximum. These languages vary in how they hold themselves with respect to culminativity, in at least three respects: 1) How culminativity is realized (stress, tone), 2) Degree of obligatoriness (all words, some words), 3) Stability of locus (same syllable, different syllables (within some domain)).

Unlike most Germanic languages, Swedish has both stress *and* tone, where the latter exhibits a partly lexically defined distinction (known as accents 1 and 2), and in this presentation I look at this rich prosodic system from the point of view of culminativity. Swedish realizes culminativity via stress (like all Germanic languages and Greek) as well as tone (like Japanese and Basque, but unlike English). Culminativity is obligatory in that every prosodic word must contain a primary stress. Tone, too, is near-obligatory, but at a higher prosodic level than stress. Furthermore, stress is morphologically very stable for one (large) portion of the lexicon, and variable for another (smaller) portion of the lexicon. On this point, Swedish differs from at least English within the Germanic group.

I argue that stress should largely be considered a lexical property of morphemes, where many morphemes are either tonic, posttonic or pretonic. Lexically tonally marked morphemes are drawn from these classes. The remaining morphemes are prosodically unspecified which means they can only get stress or tone via the phonological system (e.g. by rule or algorithm).

This 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 (stress algorithms) that previous research has favoured (e.g. Kristoffersen 2000, for Norwegian). Specifically, morphological specification of stress predicts a higher degree of stability regarding the location of stress, a fact that can be studied both diachronically and synchronically. It also, to some extent, determines the shape of lexical forms.

Lexical tone, too, is tied to specific morphemes, roots and mostly suffixes. But there is also post-lexical applications of tone, notably in compounding. But tone is also integral to the instantiation of culminativity, in the prominence-lending function identified by Bruce (1977) and further explored by Myrberg (2010).

### References

- Bruce, Gösta. 1977. *Swedish word accents in sentence perspective*. (Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de Lund 12). Liber/Gleerup.
- Kristoffersen, Gjert. 2000. *The Phonology of Norwegian*. (The phonology of the world's languages.) Oxford University Press, Oxford.
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