Tone and intonation in Europe (TIE) 4, September 9-11, 2010, Stockholm, Sweden



Revisiting intonational pitch accents in Swedish: Evidence from lexical accent neutralisation

Gilbert Ambrazaitis Linguistics and Phonetics, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden

Background

Standard Swedish is often assumed to have "essentially only one intonation contour",

while most other European languages exhibit "a large number of pitch accents to signal various shades of information status" (Gussenhoven 2004).

Standard Swedish (Central, Sveamål) pitch accents in the Lund model (Bruce 1977, 2005; Bruce and Granström 1993)

Research question

Is the standard model adequate?

This study: Word accents and intonation in new information vs. given information statements (confirmations).

But: Hardly any "shades of information status" have been treated for Swedish yet.

Lexical : (accent I) H+L* (word level) H*+L (accent II) Intonational : H-(phrase level)

Conclusion

"**H**+L-"

Swedish has at least one additional **intonational** pitch accent:

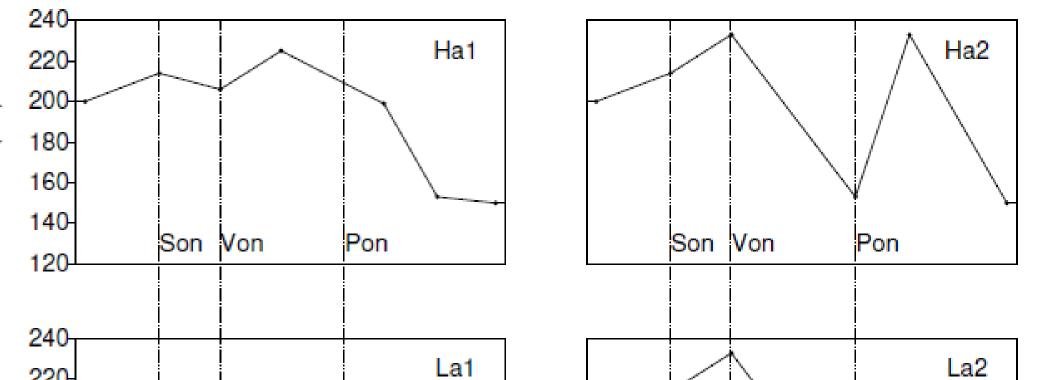
("early peak")

Study 1: Confirmations vs new information Production data

- Prepared dialogues, read by pairs of speakers, containing test sentences like Ja, det var med bilen "Yes, (it was) by car"
- Test word either accent I (bilen "the car") or accent II (bilar "cars")
- Sentence placed in different contexts, where test word either represents given information (confirmation) or new information
- 9 speakers, 5 pairs of test words \rightarrow 180 utterances in total

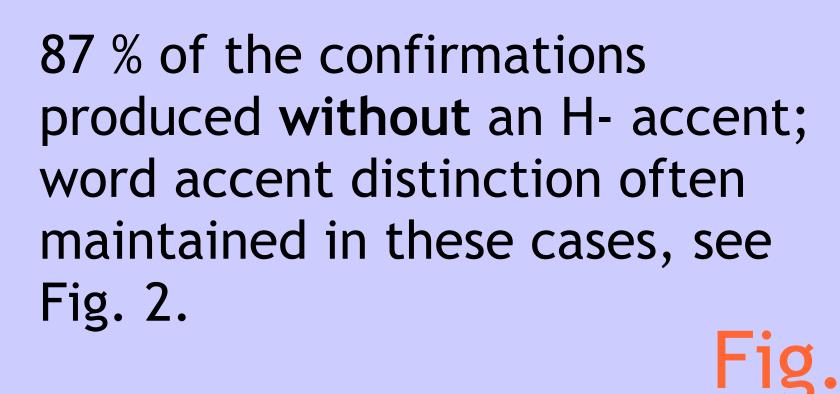
Study 2: Confirmations vs new information Perception (reaction time) data

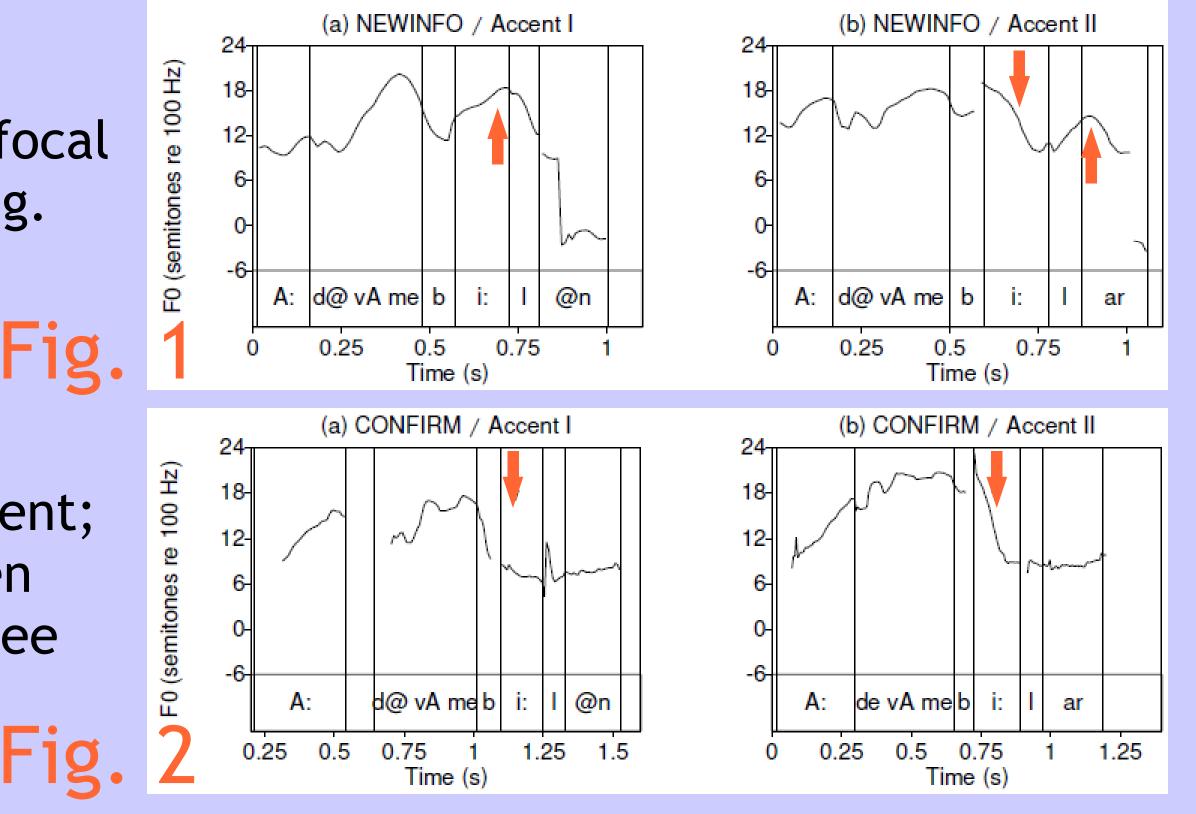
• Stimuli: 12 phrases containing accent I, e.g. han ljuger "he's 🔒 200lying", 12 phrases containing accent II, e.g. *det regnar* "it's raining"; all stimulus phrases spoken both by a female and a male speaker; 4 pitch patterns (Fig. 4), combined with each stimulus phrase



Results and Discussion

96 % of the new-information cases produced with an H- (focal accent) on the test word, e.g. Fig. 1.





Are the accents found on the test words in confirmations simply the "pure", non-focal word accents? - This "lack of H-" is better analysed as a falling sentence accent, i.e. "H+L-". Why?

23 % of accent II cases lacking H-00 Hz) produced with an "accent I like" pattern, e.g. Fig. 3.

(a) CONFIRM / Accent I

→ 96 stimuli represent a match of word type and pitch pattern

(a) Identification Rates

ි ¹⁰⁰⁻

80-

60-

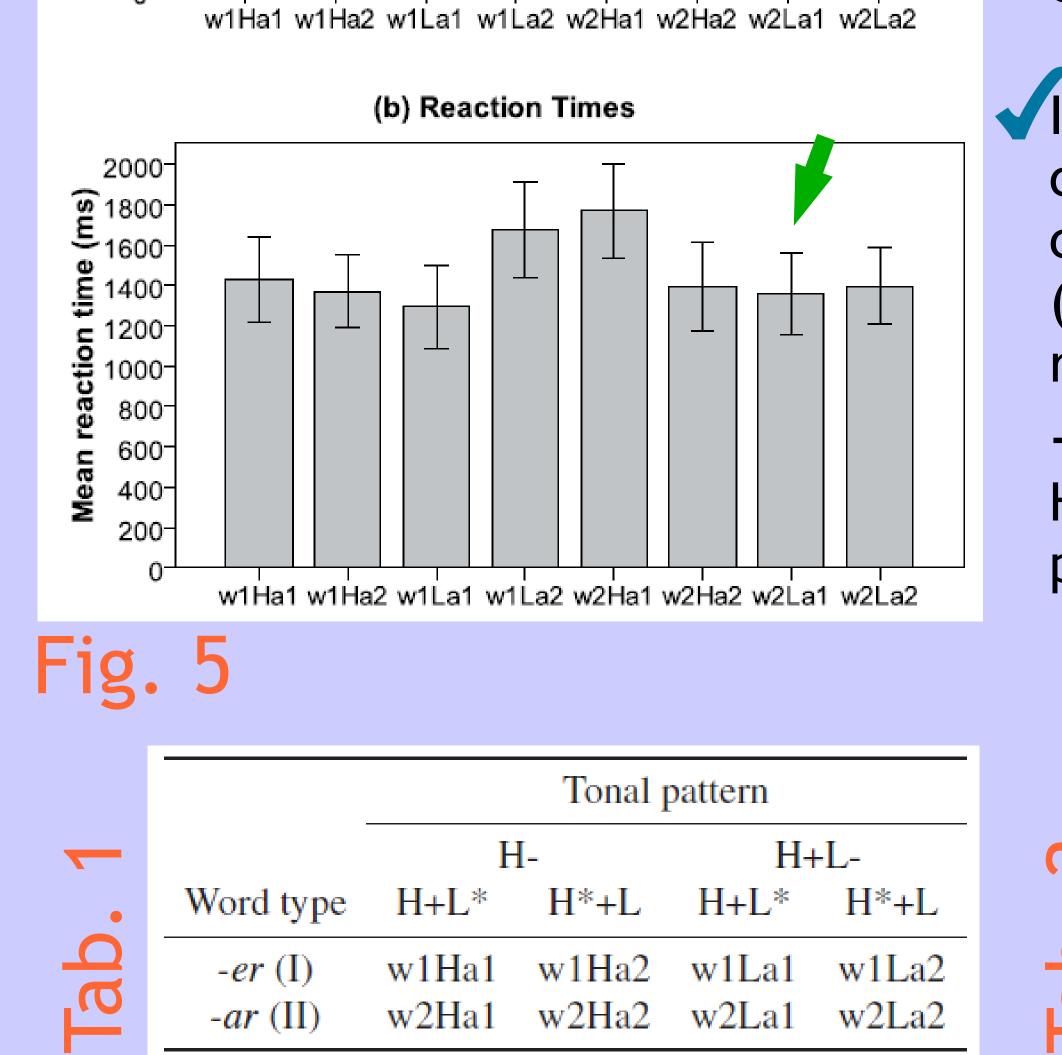
40-

20-

ate

atio

ident



- 220-200 F0 (Hz) 180 160 0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 0.6 0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 0.6 Time (s) Fig. 4
- → 96 stimuli represent **mismatch** conditions

• 20 subjects; task: identify a stimulus as a *bekräftelse* ("confirmation") or a *nyhet* ("new information statement")

> Stimuli with an accent II verb and an accent I pattern, when combined with H+L- ("confirmation intonation") **not** perceived as a mismatch (cf. the short reaction time for w2La1, Fig. 5).

→ Word accent neutralisation (in confirmations) acceptable

 \checkmark In a mismatch condition, H+L- in connection with H*+L (accent II) is confused with H-, and H- with H+L* (accent I) is confused with H+L-(cf. results for w1La2 and w2Ha1).

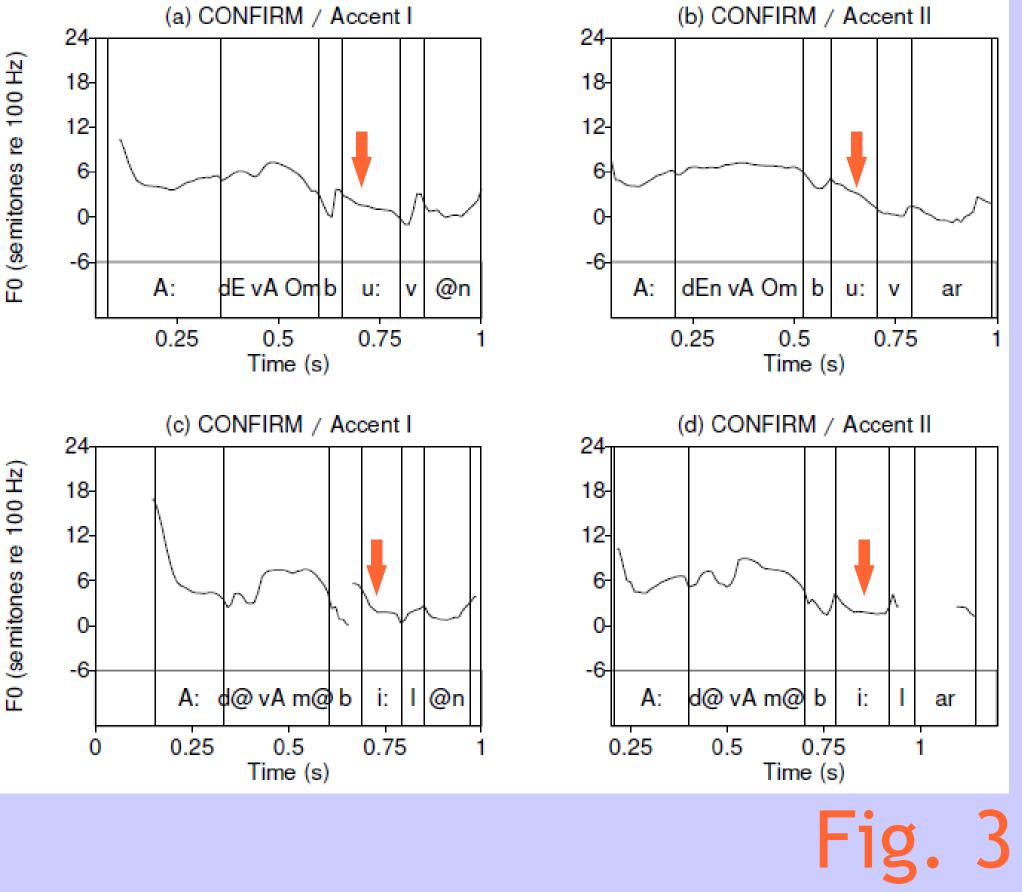
Why does this word accent **neutralisation** occur?

→ Low functional load of word accents and given information only part of the explanation!

\rightarrow Test words produced with a falling sentence accent (H+L-)

 \rightarrow H+L- in connection with accent II (perceptually) similar to H- with accent I; both have a high-pitch vowel onset

 \rightarrow Reduction of the word accent gesture implies perceptual enhancement of the contrast between H- and H+L-



\rightarrow Word accent neutralisation motivated by sentence intonation (H+L-)

Are the claims made here concerning perceptual aspects plausible?

 \rightarrow Contrast enhancement between a H- and a hypothetical H+L- is perceptually plausible.

| | | | Dependent Variable | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------|---|---|
| | Factor | ANOVA | Identification Rate | Reaction Time |
| | WORDTYPE | by subjects | F(1, 19) = 4.74 p = .042 * | F(1, 19) = 1.79 p = .197 |
| | | by items | F(1, 46) = 2.84 p = .099 | F(1, 46) = 1.12 p = .295 |
| J | PITCHPATTERN | by subjects | $\begin{array}{c} F(1.57,29.90) = 12.38 \\ p < .001 \ ^{***} \end{array}$ | F(3, 57) = 13.79 p < .001 *** |
| • | | by items | F(3, 138) = 33.87 p < .001 *** | F(2.53, 116.20) = 24.84 p < .001 *** |
| 5 | WordType × PitchPattern | by subjects | $\begin{array}{c} F(2.17,41.30) = 26.72 \\ p < .001 \ ^{***} \end{array}$ | F(3, 57) = 16.37 p < .001 *** |
| | | by items | F(3, 138) = 41.82 p < .001 *** | F(2.53, 116.20) = 24.13 p < .001 *** |

See Ambrazaitis (2009) for further details and discussions.

References

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