

## ***Conflicting vowel and consonant length in Copenhagen Speech***

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How we conceive of phonological length is fundamental for the representation of linguistic sound. The Danish tradition has made this clear, ever since Jens Høysgaard in the XVIIIth century. Høysgaard's four basic *Aandelav* were soon decomposed in ways that resemble today's cross-classification of stressed syllables as [±long vowel] and [±stød], such that *pen* [-long V, +stød] and *penne* [-long V, -stød], while *pæn* [+long V, +stød] and *pæne* [+long vowel, -stød], see Basbøll (2005: 18).

Unfortunately, determining length in real speech is not easy. I quote Diderichsen (1957: 73): *«man får det indtryk at den same lydgruppe (...) passerer gennem en lang serie af skiftevis forlængelser og forkortelser, og får en stærk mistanke om, at et eller andet i beskrivelsesmetoden må være galt»*.

We will try to comfort Diderichsen with Heger (1981: 44–48), who identifies two conflicting sociophonetic trends. Shortening in front of approximants is part of young rigsmål (see II d below). Lengthening in many contexts is part of substandard, popular Copenhagen speech (see III e,f below). Conservative rigsmål is the reference against which to measure both trends, see I below.

My proposal is that all these apparently contradictory trends also inhabit a common structural space. My specific claim is that all stressed syllables in Danish (standard, regional or dialect) are heavy, respecting complementary length (*pace* Basbøll 2005, Iosad 2016), as in any other Scandinavian language. Thus, stressed short vowels can only be found in closed syllables, necessarily followed by a moraic consonant (see b and c below). The representation of length is standard: a long vowel has two moras (see a), a short vowel has one mora while coda consonants and geminates are also moraic (see e and f). As for weight, all stressed syllables are bimoraic (a,b,c,d,e,f).

The representation of shortening (mainstream progressive rigsmål) is consistent with stød as a “floating” property of a second mora, that is, a prosody of a heavy syllable, independent of the segment occupying the second mora. Vowels and consonants may lengthen or shorten, stay put or disappear, but stød always remains on the same place, the second mora, the second phase of the heavy syllable. If the vowel is long, stød is in the second half, if the vowel is short, stød is part of the coda consonant (see d).

Lengthening of vowels in basilectal Copenhagen is the opposite phenomenon. If stressed syllables are always heavy, a vowel will lengthen whenever a consonant loses its mora.

Therefore, systematic vowel lengthening in Copenhagen happens when word medial moraic consonants become non-moraic singletons. The rest will follow: the short vowel lengthens and, if the context so requires, it will also receive *stød*, as it does in Central Zealandic dialects (see e and f).

Our proposal is consistent with the idea that one of the main sources for the popular accents of Copenhagen is Central Zealand. Our proposal is reinforced by using the same mechanisms to analyze two of the most salient characteristics of the traditional dialects of Central Zealand: A) Short-vowel *stød* (pace Iosad 2016). B) Old long vowel diphthongs in Zealandic and Malmö.

	a. long V	b. short V	c. Heavy $\sigma$	d. Copenhagen rule	e. Lengthening	f. Short-V <i>stød</i>
	[V: <sup>?</sup> ]	[VC <sup>?</sup> ]	[VK]	[V: <sup>?</sup> D] -> [VD <sup>?</sup> ]	[VK] -> [V:K]	[VK] -> [V: <sup>?</sup> K]
	<i>pæ̃n</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>båd</i>	<i>katte</i>	<i>katten</i>
I	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛ: <sup>?</sup> n]	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛn <sup>?</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖ]	[bɔ: <sup>?</sup> ð]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖə]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖŋ]
II	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛ: <sup>?</sup> n]	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛn <sup>?</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖ]	[bɔð <sup>?</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖə]	[k <sup>h</sup> aɖŋ]
III	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛ: <sup>?</sup> n]	[p <sup>h</sup> ɛn <sup>?</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> æɖ]	[bɔ: <sup>?</sup> ð]	[k <sup>h</sup> æ: <sup>?</sup> də]	[k <sup>h</sup> æ: <sup>?</sup> dŋ]

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