1st International Workshop on Franconian Tone Accents
"The tone accents: How and Why"

Leiden, June 13-14, 2003

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Koninklijke
Nederlandse
Akademie van
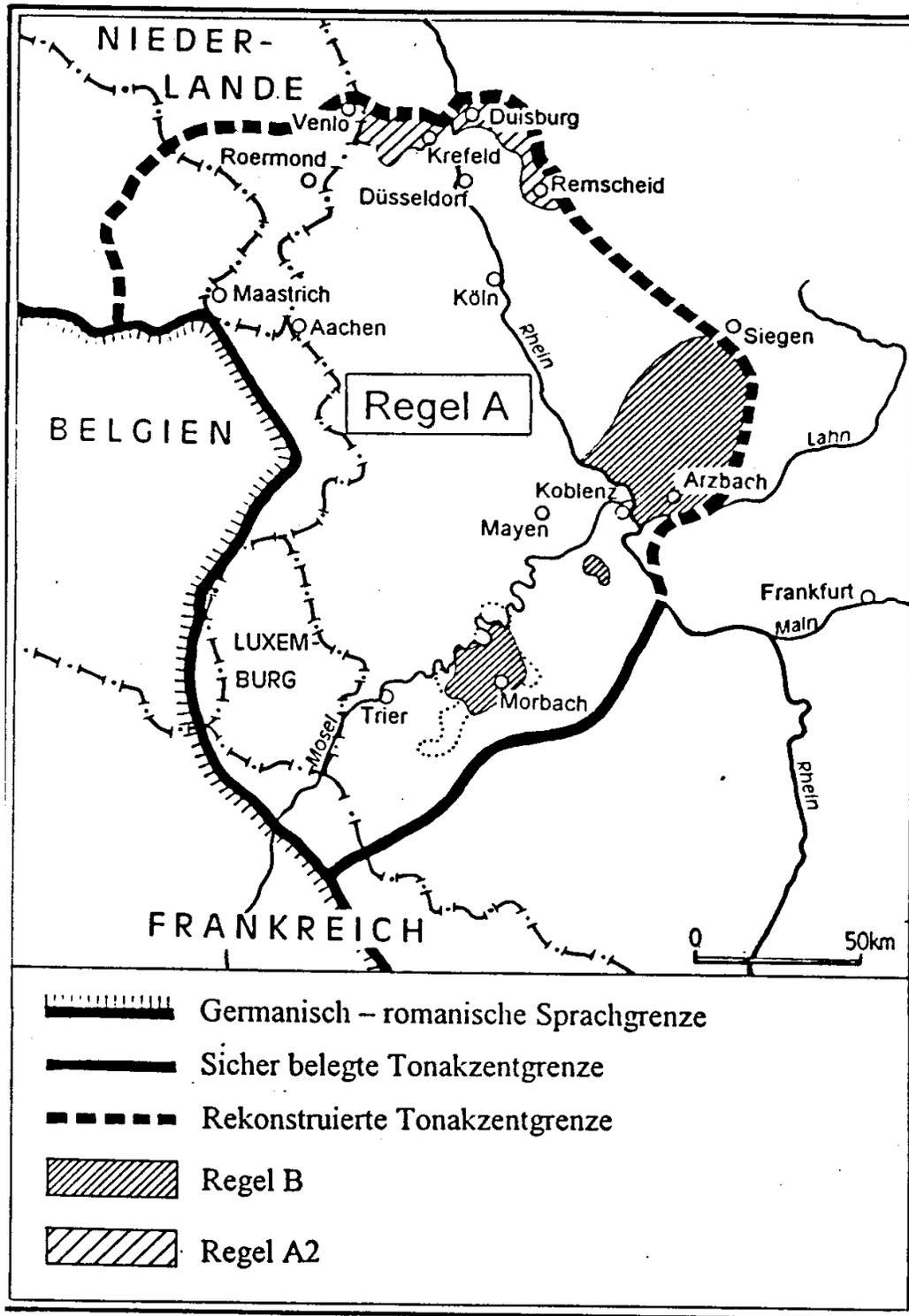Wetenschappen

ULCL

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LEIDS UNIVERSITEITS FONDS

NWO

Universiteit Leiden

Research School of Asian, African and
Amerindian Studies (CNWS)

A map of the Franconian Tone Accent Area.

Taken from: J.E. Schmidt, 'Die sprachhistorische Genese der mittelfränkischen Tonakzente', in: Auer, Peter u.a. (ed.), *Silbenschnitt und Tonakzente*, Tübingen (*Linguistische Arbeiten*) 2002, S. 201-233.

NIEDER-
LANDE

Venlo
Duisburg
Roermond
Krefeld
Düsseldorf
Remscheid

Maastrich
Köln
Aachen
Siegen

Regel A

BELGIEN
Lahn
Koblenz
Arzbach
Mayen

Frankfurt
Main

LUXEM-
BURG

Morbach
Trier
Mosel

Rhein

Rhein

FRANKREICH

0   50km

Germanisch – romanische Sprachgrenze

Sicher belegte Tonakzentgrenze

Rekonstruierte Tonakzentgrenze

Regel B

Regel A2

Programme

Thursday 12 June

From 17:00-20:00   Registration and Getting Acquainted
                    Place: *PomPom Restaurant* (Plexus Building),
                    Kaiserstraat 25, Leiden

Friday 13 June

Venue: Academiegebouw, room 8
       Rapenburg 73, Leiden

8:45   Registration, coffee, tea

9:15   Official opening of the workshop

Session 1: Dialect descriptions
Chair: Michiel de Vaan
9:30   Jan Goossens (Leuven, Belgium): *Historische und geographische Randbedingungen des Genker Tonakzentsystems*
10:00 Peter Gilles (Freiburg, Germany): *The Franconian Tone Accents in Luxembourgish*
10:30 Anna Peetz (Karlsruhe, Germany): *Die beiden Tonakzente in der Mundart von Beuren/Hochwald*

11:00 Coffee break

Chair: Jan Goossens
11:30 José Cajot (Hasselt, Belgium): *Phonologisch bedingter Polytonieverlust. Eine tonlose Enklave südlich von Maastricht*
12:00 Ronny Keulen (Leuven, Belgium): *Eine vergleichende diachronische Untersuchung zum Tonverlust südwestlich der Stadt Maastricht.*

12:30 Lunch break.

Afternoon session
Venue: Academiegebouw, room 9

Session 2: The phonetic and phonological analysis
Chair: Vincent van Heuven
14:00 Georg Heike (Cologne, Germany): *Experiments in modeling Franconian Tone Accents and some implications to speech to music conversion*
14:30 Ben Hermans (Tilburg, Netherlands): *An Interpretation of Rule A within the Limits of the Visibility Hypothesis*

15:00 Coffee break

Chair: Carlos Gussenhoven

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15:30 Jörg Peters (Nijmegen, Netherlands): *Tone and Intonation in Cologne and Düren*
       + informant Paul Meyer
16:15 Jürgen Erich Schmidt and Hermann J. Künzel (Marburg, Germany): *Die Regelumkehrung. Phonetischer Vergleich der Tonakzente im Regel B–Gebiet mit dem mittelfränkischen Kerngebiet*
17:00 End of Day 1

Saturday 14 June

Venue: Building 1162 WSD, room 2
        Van Wijkplaats 2, Leiden

Session 3: Comparison with Scandinavian and Baltic tone accents
Chair: Anatoly Liberman
9:00   Gjert Kristoffersen (Bergen, Norway): *Is 1 always less than 2 in Scandinavian tonal accents?*
9:30   Tomas Riad (Stockholm, Sweden): *Distribution of tonal accent in Scandinavian morphology*
10:00 Harry Perridon (Amsterdam, Netherlands): *Some remarks on the origin of the Scandinavian word accents*

10:30 Coffee break

Chair: Frederik Kortlandt
11:00 Inger Ejskjaer (Copenhagen, Denmark): *Glottal stop (stød / parasitic plosive) and distinctive tonal accents in the Danish dialects*
11:30 Rick Derksen (Leiden, Netherlands): *Metatony and the rise of the East Baltic tones*

12:00 Lunch break.

Session 4: The genesis of tone accents
Chair: Michiel de Vaan
14:00 Carlos Gussenhoven (Nijmegen, Netherlands): *On tonogenesis and change in Central Franconian tonal systems*
14:30 Anatoly Liberman (Minneapolis, USA): *Epenthetic consonants and the accentuation of words with old closed vowels in Low German and Dutch dialects*

15:00 Coffee break

15:30 Elmar Ternes (Hamburg, Germany): *Tone reversal in Franconian*
16:00 Concluding remarks by the organizers

17:00 Canal boat tour
        Boarding: Arsenaalplein
19:00 Farewell Dinner
        Woo Ping Restaurant, Diefsteeg 15, Leiden

Phonologisch bedingter Polytonieverlust. Eine tonlose Enklave südlich von Maastricht

José Cajot

In der niederländischen und deutschen Dialektologie geht man davon aus, dass die *Rheinische Akzentuierung* oder *Polytonie* charakteristisch für sämtliche Mundarten innerhalb eines weiten limburgisch-mittelfränkischen Bogens ist, der der Sprachgrenze westlich der Stadt Tongern angeheftet ist, sich nördlich von Duisburg über den Rhein spannt und im Saarland seinen südlichen Berührungspunkt mit der Sprachgrenze hat.

Südlich von Maastricht umriss der Referent aber im Jahre 2000 ein beiderseits der Maas (und der belgisch-niederländischen Staatsgrenze) gelegenes etwa 50 qkm großes Areal, in dem die Polytonie *kein* phonologisch relevantes Merkmal ist.

Auf Grund diachronischer und synchronisch-diatopischer Vokalanalysen muss diese Polytonieabsenz in erster Linie als strukturbedingter Polytonieschwund erklärt und nicht etwa sprachexternen Prozessen (sprich: Dialektizitätsverlust) zugeschrieben werden.

Metatony and the rise of the East Baltic tones

Rick Derksen

The Lithuanian and Latvian prosodic systems point to a Proto-East Baltic system with two accent paradigms and a contrast between acute and circumflex syllables that existed both under and outside the stress. The nature and the origin of the acute and circumflex tones are still a matter of dispute. According to the traditional theory, the Baltic tones continue a Balto-Slavic rising acute and a falling circumflex, which among other things implies a reversal of tones in Lithuanian, i.e. Aukštaitian. According to Kortlandt, the Balto-Slavic distinction between acute and circumflex syllables is a distinction between syllables that contain a glottal stop and syllables that do not. In this view, the Baltic and Slavic tonal systems are assumed to have arisen independently. Here we shall attempt to describe the rise of the East Baltic tonal systems within the framework of the latter theory. It is argued that the rise of theEast Baltic tones is inextricably intertwined with the problem of metatony, i.e. the phenomenon that we find a circumflex where we would expect an acute or vice versa.

Glottal stop (stød / parasitic plosive) and distinctive tonal acents in the Danish dialects

Inger Ejskjær

First I shall try to make clear that neither the distribution, the phonetic conditions, the function nor the articulation of the Standard stød and of the Vestjysk stød make believe that either of them can be directly connected with the Schärfung. I shall concentrate on some phenomena linked as geographic variants to the Standard stød. – First the parasitic plosive which has its center in the western part of Jutland. I shall argue that Henning Andersen's description of the phenomenon in Danish dialects is not quite satisfying. – Antother stød variant is the Funen so-called rising pitch. A relic of its counterpart, the falling-rising old acc. 2, still exists. Tonal accents (1 and 2) are fully alive in the island-dialects south of Funen and in East Sleswig. – Some attention will be given to less known stød-phenomena in Zealand dialects. Roughly speaking both the Zeland Short Vowel stød and the stød in disyllabic second components of fortis-semifortis compounds can be regarded as an extension of the typolocigal area of the Standard stød. – Finally some words about a most peculiar stød belonging to final syllables which are totally unstressed in all other dialects. This stød thus requires a special explanation.

The Franconian Tone Accents in Luxembourgish

Peter Gilles

Matthias Hardt (1843) from Luxembourg was probably the first to notice a tonal contrast within the Central Franconian and Limburg area. His distinction of 'correption' and 'zirkumflexion' resembles what today is analysed as accent 1 and accent 2, resp. This tonal distinction is documented in various dialect descriptions available for the Luxembourg area and the distribution of the tone accents is in accordance with the remaining Franconian area. Newertheless, there have been some doubts about the existence and the relevance of the tone accents in Luxembourgish (e.g. Bruch 1954: 68ff.).

In my talk I will concentrate on two aspects of tone in Luxembourgish: (1) In a acoustic-phonetic analysis I will focus on the phonetic form of the accents by analysing (near) minimal pairs. The results show that there are hardly any phonetic differences between accent 1 and accent 2. While in the heart of the Central Franconian area (e.g. in Cologne) the tone contrast is still an integral part of the phonological system, it seems to be gradually lost in the Luxembourg area.

(2) On the other hand, the former tone contrast has not vanished without a trace. I will present evidence for the claim that the former prosodic system has led to modifications on the segmental level of Luxembourgish. In particular, words with a former accent 1 now have short instead of long vowels, indicating that the prosodic exponents of accent 1 had influence on the segmental level. (Gilles 2002).

References

Bruch, Robert (1954): *Das Luxemburgische im westfränkischen Kreis.* Luxembourg.

Gilles, Peter (2002): 'Einflüsse der Rheinischen Akzentuierung auf die segmentelle Ebene.' In: Peter Auer/Peter Gilles/Helmut Spiekermann (Hgg.): *Silbenschnitt und Tonakzente*. Tübingen.

Hardt, Matthias (1843): Vokalismus der Sauer-mundart. In: *Königlich-Großherzogliches Progymnasium zu Echternach*, 1-29.

Historische und geographische Randbedingungen des Genker Tonakzentsystems

Jan Goossens

Die Mundart von Genk wird im südniederfränkischen Gebiet gesprochen, in dem die Tonakzente nach Regel A2 (Wiesinger/Schmidt/de Vaan) verteilt sind. Es kommen in der unmittelbaren Umgebung Erscheinungen vor, die Bestandteil des Genker Systems gewesen sein können: eine Akzentopposition bei Kurzvokalen vor synchron stimmlosen Okklusiven, Stimmhaftigkeit auslautender Obstruenten nach Apokope eines auslautenden Schwa (sicher auch Bestandteil der Genker Mundart noch am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts), mit Tonakzent 2 verknüpfte Vokaldehnung vor stimmlosen Frikativen. Sie führen zur Frage, ob im Tonakzentgebiet früher die Kurzvokale vor stimmhafter Silbengrenze nicht generell Tonakzent 1 gehabt haben. Es wird schliesslich argumentiert, dass der klassische mhd. Vokalismus für eine historische Beschreibung der Akzentverteilungsregeln in den Dialekten unmittelbar westlich von Genk nicht geeignet ist. Hier ist vielmehr von einem idealen mnl.-mnd. System auszugehen.

On tonogenesis and change in Central Franconian tonal systems

Carlos Gussenhoven

The tonal systems in the Central Franconian tonal area vary a great deal. One research challenge is to reconstruct the changes that have taken place since the tonogenesis. A number of such changes can be identified that among them illustrate the various types of change that have been postulated in work by Labov and Kiparsky. Three changes separate the tonogenesis from the present-day dialect of Roermond. Dialects that lack the last of these can be found in Germany, while a dialect that lacks all three is Maastricht, the most conservative dialect among those that figure in my talk. In the case of the Venlo dialect, we must be dealing with a relatively late exposure to the fully developed Roermond tonal system. The Tongeren dialect is characterized by extreme delay and truncation of pitch movements. The types of phonological change exemplified by these dialects can be summarized as follows:

1. Neogrammarian change. As a result of poor ergonomics of speech production or speech perception, speakers adjust their phonetics, resulting in new phonological representations in the next generation. Such changes are typically regular.

2. Analogy. In order to eliminate various exceptions, speakers may create paradigm uniformity, or produce novel phonetic forms with the help of grammars whose structure is independently motivated. These changes are thus due to cognitive economy (cognitive ergonomics).

3. Second-hand changes. These are motivated by the behaviour of speakers of a different variety. They are noteworthy when the change amounts to a different phonological interpretation of some phonetic form than exists in the grammar of the speakers from whom the form was adopted.

I will exemplify these types on the basis of the dialect data.

Experiments in modeling Franconian Tone Accents and some implications to speech to music conversion

Georg Heike

A simple model will be described that should be able to generate pitch inflections similar to those of accentuation in the dialect of Cologne city. In addition to the common superposition of sentence intonation and word accentuation in German the dialect of Cologne is characterized by normally complementary distributed types of pitch inflections we prefer to speak of as "Schärfung" (TA 1) and "Zirkumflex"(TA 2, also called "Schleifton", 'sleep ton' or "Trägheitsakzent"). As mentioned in some of my earlier publications with reference to very old descriptions in the literature two observations concerning the Franconian Tone Accents should be considered as important : physiological features of accent production on the one hand and functional characteristics on the other. In my opinion "Schärfung" (TA 1) cannot be explained and simulated successfully in a computer model without the implementation of a glottalization component in contrast to TA 2. Functionally TA 1 is correlated with some sort of emphatic expressivity. There for it could be applicated spontaneously to nearly every syllable, if the inner or outer situation of the speaker demands for it. In contrast TA 2 ("Schleifton", "zweigipfliger Akzent") is correlated with more or less non specific features of expressivity (at least non emphatic accentuation). Sentence intonations which predominantly are characterized by this type of pitch inflections could perhaps be associated with expressive connotations of 'friendlyness' or at least non agressivity. Descriptions and explanations of these correlations can be received from native speakers who were motivated to discuss the global phonetic characteristics of their dialect.

Consequently we have to take into consideration that besides the normal linguistic function of the tone contrasts on a paradigmatic or lexical level in communicative situations the expressive connotations of the accents may play a dominant role. We know that in daily situations the danger of misunderstanding as a consequence of neutralisation is normally neglectible because of redundancy of context, syntax, situation etc.. Therefore it is quite understandable that linguistic questions concerning the paradigmatic structure cannot be answered sufficiently only by inspection of real speech. On the other hand by investigating daily speech only and without the linguistic

knowledge behind I suppose that no borderlines between dialect phenomena could be drawn. But who then should do the work of describing the real audible characteristics of spoken dialects? The experimental part of this contribution aims to show how the prosodic characteristics of a sample of Cologne dialect speech can be extracted for isolated perception in a rather abstract manner by using an ad hoc method of speech-to-music conversion. Some results as a contribution to experimental aesthetic phonetics will be given.

An Interpretation of Rule A within the Limits of the Visibility Hypothesis

Ben Hermans

Specialists of 'real' tone languages have observed that there are no clear examples of Phonological rules that relate Vowel Quality and Tone Quality to each other. One will thus not find a *Phonological* constraint requiring that high vowels have a high tone, or that low vowels have a low tone, etc. From the *Phonetic* point of view this is highly amazing. Phoneticians have observed that high vowels have an intrinsic higher pitch than low vowels. The question, of course, is why this universal phonetic tendency is not reflected in the phonologies of tone languages. How to explain this *Phonetics-Phonology Breach*?

This question becomes particularly interesting from the perspective of Franconian Tonal Accents. In the Franconian polytonic area numerous cases have been uncovered where vowels and tones do influence each other. Processes like diphthongization and monophthongization seem to be triggered/inhibited by tones. A particular convincing case of this interdependency is the Franconian Tonogenesis. Several regularities have been uncovered (cf. Schmidt 1986 and de Vaan 1999 for particularly clear overviews of the literature):

Rule A:

1) *Spontaneous Accent 1:*
   historically non-high long vowels have Accent 1;

2) *Combinatory Tone Accent 1:*
   a) long high vowels, falling diphthongs and short vowels followed by a tautosyllabic sonorant have Accent 1if they are followed by an intervocalic voiced consonant;
   b) (in most dialects) long vowels derived from short vowels by Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL) pattern with 2a);

3) *Accent 2:*
   Stressed syllables that do not undergo 1) and 2) receive Accent 2.

The first two members of Rule A establish a direct relation between Vowel Quality and Tonal Quality. From the perspective of the Phonetics-Phonology Breach we can interpret Rule A in two ways. One might say that the Franconian dialects prove that

there is no Phonetics-Phonology Breach, in the sense that phonological constraints relating tone and vowel quality do exist; they might not have been attested in 'real' tone languages, but they do exist in the Franconian tonal systems. According to this view the Franconian tone accents fill an accidental gap in the attested facts. At the heart of this strategy lies the assumption that phonological rules relating Tone Quality and Vowel Quality should exist *because* phonetic rules relating Tone Quality and Vowel Quality exist. I will not adopt this strategy.
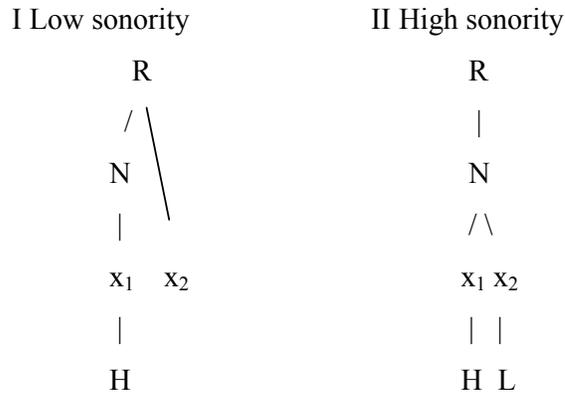
The alternative strategy can be characterized as follows. We fully accept the Phonetics-Phonology Breach and we try to explain why this breach exists. This strategy is based on the assumption that there is a world where phonetic laws are irrelevant, no matter how strong they are. This is the sovereign world of Phonology, where abstract concepts reign.

Working on the basis of this assumption I propose the following central hypothesis: the only objects that are relevant for tone (in the world of phonology) are Prosodic notions like Head Position (Prosodically dominant position), Dependent Position (Prosodically non-dominant position), Foot, Nucleus, Rhyme. I call this the *Visibility Hypothesis*. This hypothesis immediately explains the Phonetics-Phonology Breach; no matter how strong the relation is between Tone Quality and Vowel Quality *in the phonetic world*, there cannot be a relation between the two *in the phonological world*. From the perspective of this Visibility Hypothesis Franconian dialects are highly interesting, because they seem to falsify it.

I propose that this hypothesis can be maintained, even when confronted with Franconian. It follows from the following argumentation: it is fairly obvious that Segmental structure and Syllable structure can see each other; it is even more obvious that Tone and Syllable structure can see each other. Consequently, Tones and Vowels can see each other *indirectly, though the mediation of Syllable structure*. Thus, one might expect phenomena of the following type: given vowels of a certain quality, syllables of a certain structure must be built; given the presence of these syllables only tones of a particular type are allowed.

I discuss Rule A from the perspective of the Visibility Hypothesis. I conclude that Rule A does not contradict it at all. My talk is built on two central tenets.

1) Segments of relatively high sonority (mid and low vowels) occupy a Nuclear position, whereas segments of less sonority (high vowels and sonorant consonants) preferably occupy a Rhyme position. We thus get the following distinction:

```
        I Low sonority              II High sonority

             R                           R
            / \                          |
           N   \                         N
           |    \                       / \
          x₁    x₂                     x₁ x₂
           |                           |  |
           H                           H  L
```

I Low sonority, with R branching to N and to x_2, N dominating x_1, and x_1 bearing H.

II High sonority, with R dominating N, N branching to x_1 and x_2, bearing H and L.

Mid and Low vowels can only be parsed in the template II. High vowels, falling diphthongs, and short vowels followed by a tautosyllabic sonorant can only be parsed in template I. We thus get two distinct x_2-positions: x_2 under R (x_2R) and x_2 under N (x_2N).

2) Prosodically dominant positions have a natural affinity for H(igh Tone); prosodically dependent positions have a natural affinity for L(ow Tone). Accordingly, x_1 receives H, because it is dominant ($\approx$ Stressed). Crucially, x_2 is ambiguous; as a dependent position within N or R it is not a dominant position (hence it likes L and dislikes H); as a member of a prosodically dominant ($\approx$ Stressed) *syllable* it is prosodically dominant (hence it likes H and dislikes L). Individual grammars decide whether x_2 receives L or H, or neither L nor H. I propose that in Franconian x_2's status changed over time; from a position with great affinity for L it gradually changed into a position with great affinity for H. I furthermore propose that the speed with which x_2R and x_2N developed in this way differed. These are the two claims on which my interpretation of Rule A is built. The analysis takes the following form.

1) Initially x_2N is a *comfortable* Tone Bearing Unit (TBU), but only for L; it is an impossible TBU for H. Position x_2R is also an impossible TBU for H; x_2N and x_2R differ with respect to L: x_2N is a comfortable TBU for L, x_2R is a *reluctant* TBU for L. Furthermore, dialects differ to what extent x_2R is a reluctant TBU. Due to the fact that x_2R is only a reluctant TBU, it does not receive L. Position x_1, being a dominant position, receives H; x_2N, being a dependent position, and also a comfortable TBU, receives L. In this way two melodies developed: simple H under a branching Rhyme and complex HL under a branching Nucleus. This is my interpretation of Spontaneous Accent I, subregularity 1 of Rule A.

2) At a certain point the L of an intervocalic consonant (roughly, the phonological analogue of phonetic voicing) developed the desire to occupy a nuclear position. This is a common phenomenon in tone languages. At this point the following representation becomes relevant:

III   R

/ \

N   N

| |

x_1 x_2 C x_3

| \ /

H   L
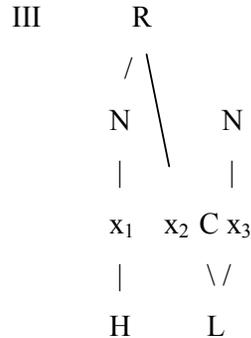
All dialects agree that the Voice feature of the intervocalic C spreads to the right, to x_3. Depending on the dialect the behavior of x_2R varies. In those dialects where its antipathy for L is strong, it can only receive tone if x_3 is removed by Schwa Apocope. In that case x_2R is forced to act as the savior of the L located in x_3. In dialects where x_2R's reluctance to L is relatively low the L under C also spreads to the left, thus occupying x_2R. This is my interpretation of the first part of Combinatory Accent 1, i.e. 2a of Rule A.

3) At a certain point dialects developed OSL. At this stage the following representation becomes relevant:

IV   N   N

/ \ |

x_1 x_2 C x_3

| \ /

H   L
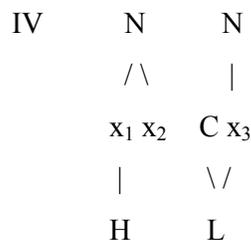
At this point x_2N had developed reluctance to L. In some dialects reluctance was strong; in other dialects reluctance was relatively weak. In the former group L under C did not spread to the left (i.e. vowels lengthened by OSL did not receive a falling tone); in the second group L under C did spread to the left (i.e. lengthened vowels did receive a falling tone, but only if followed by an intervocalic Voiced C). This is my interpretation of the second part of Combinatory Accent 1, i.e. 2b of Rule A.

4) At a certain point both x_2R and x_2N developed greater reluctance to L than to H. At this stage all toneless x_2R and x_2N-positions received H. Accent2 is born, the third part of Rule A.

My analysis is cast in Optimality Theory. I adopt two important claims of this theory:

1) There are two families of constraints. The family of Markedness constraints tries to generate unmarked phonological representations. The family of Faithfulness constraints, on the other hand, tries to maintain the configurations given by underlying representations.

2) Every constraint occupies a fixed position in a hierarchy. This hierarchy constitutes a system's grammar. A constraint's position in the hierarchy determines what its strength is.

OT's role in my analysis is crucial in one respect: in many Limburg dialects the Spontaneous Accent 1 was replaced by Accent 2 in polysyllabic forms. Usually this is seen as a kind of analogy. In my analysis this tonal switch is interpreted as an instance of 'the Emergence of the Unmarked' (a so called TETU-effect). This interpretation explains why the analogical change only takes place if the intervocalic consonant is voiced.

To summarize; in my talk I make the following proposals:

- Only long vowels of low sonority are located in a branching Nucleus; all other relevant sequences are located in a branching Rhyme. For theories that recognize the existence of Nucleus and Rhyme this is a natural assumption. In any case it can be motivated independently, as I will show in my talk.

- Head positions and H are natural partners; Dependent positions and L are natural partners.

- x_2R and x_2N are promiscuous; they like H and/or L (individual systems force them to make a choice). Here lies the hearth of the complex historical changes that ultimately lead to the rise of Franconian Accents. Essentially my claim is that the x_2-positions developed antipathy for L and sympathy for H, eventually patterning with their tautosyllabic neighbors on the left.

- Working with these basic notions it is possible to develop an interpretation of Rule A within the limits of the Visibility Hypothesis (Tones and Vowels are ignorant about each other's existence).

Eine vergleichende diachronische Untersuchung zum Tonverlust südwestlich der Stadt Maastricht

Ronny Keulen

Etwa vor einem Jahrhundert hat es Studien gegeben, in denen zum ersten Mal von einem Silbenakzent für Bilzen, Maastricht und Tongeren die Rede ist. Genau innerhalb eines Gebietes zwischen diesen Städten hat Stevens (1955) Intonationsschwierigkeiten festgestellt und im Jahre 2000 hat Cajot überzeugend einen Polytonieschwund innerhalb dieses Gebietes nachgewiesen.

Von alters her ist schon darauf hingewiesen, dass der Silbenakzent mit Lautänderungen (z.B. Diphthongierung) einhergeht bzw. sie verursacht. Können diese Lautänderungen nun so umfassend sein, dass sie einen Polytonieschwund zur Folge haben? Anhand konkreter Beispiele werden von einem diachronischen Blickwinkel aus die Lautentwicklungen innerhalb dieses Gebietes über die Mundartgrenzen hinein dargestellt. Es wird versucht, einen möglichst vollständigen Überblick dieser Entwicklungen darzubieten. Daraus geht hervor, dass die systematischen Lautdifferenzierungen Cajots These, die Opposition zwischen Schleif- und Stoßton sei redundant geworden, zu bestätigen vermögen und einen Polytonieschwund ermöglichen.

Is 1 always less than 2 in Scandinavian tonal accents?

Gjert Kristoffersen

The most common analysis of the tonal contrast found in most varieties of Norwegian and Swedish is based on the assumption that accent 2 is more complex than accent 1. The accent 2 melody is usually decomposed into a melody consisting of three functionally different tones:

Lexical tone + prominence tone + boundary tone

The accent 1 melody lacks the lexical tone, and therefore consists of prominence tone + boundary tone only. The left edge of both melodies are aligned with the metrically strongest syllable in the relevant domain, and the presence of the lexical tone in accent 2 therefore causes the two other tones to be realized later than in corresponding domains with accent 1.

In my talk I shall question the validity of this very simple and elegant analysis by pointing to data that suggest that in some varieties the melodies are of equal complexity and the accentual contrast a result of different timing of the same melody or melodic element.

Epenthetic consonants and the accentuation of words with old closed vowels in Low German and Dutch dialects

Anatoly Liberman

In many Low German and Dutch dialects, words like /hu:s/ (house) and /i:s/ (ice) are pronounced with a guttural postvocalic sound, approximately [huks], [iks]. Since the times of Eduard Sievers this guttural epenthesis has been looked upon as a trace of correption (stoottoon), though other opinions also exist. Numerous problems arise in the attempt to reconstruct the origin of [huks], [iks]. Identical forms are known in neighboring Romance and Danish dialects, and it is far from clear where the change from /i: u:/ to /ik uk/ originated. Nor is the insertion of /k/ after /i: u:/ an isolated phenomenon in the phonological systems of the Rhein-Limburg area. It should be analyzed within the broad context of gutturalization and palatalization in the reflexes of words like /wi:n/ (wine) and /bru:n/ (brown). However, this paper will address only the accentological aspect of /ik uk/.

Regardless of whether dialects conform to the main Ripuarian rule (spontaneous correption [stoottoon] on open vowels and combinatory correption on /i: u:/) or to its opposite (open vowels have spontaneous extension [sleeptoon], while on the reflexes of /i: u:/ extension is combinatory), today old monosyllables never display correption. Therefore, it cannot be reconstructed in such words as /i:s hu:s/ without some provisos. Recourse to disyllabic forms (oblique cases) and analogy is not a good idea because even /u:s/ (out) is pronounced [uks].

Correption and extension are probably ancient in Northwest Germanic, but a clear-cut version of the number of syllables rule (as, for example, here: one type of monosyllables consistently lacks correption) always seems to be a product of apocope. In this case, old monosyllables lost correption and avoided a prosodic merger with apocopated forms. Prior to apocope, correption and extension must have alternated also in monosyllables, in which their choice depended on the basis. When diphthongization of long vowels began and the closed vowels, in order to escape it, underwent shortening, correption provided a model for epenthetic consonants. The pronunciation [ik uk] became the norm and spread even to words like /u:s/. In Danish, epentheses met with less resistance, for in that language open and closed

vowels were not accented according to the West Germanic rules. The question about Romance gutturalization remains open.

Die beiden Tonakzente in der Mundart von Beuren/Hochwald

Anna Peetz

Mein Heimatdorf liegt unweit der Mosel südöstlich von Trier fast am Südrand des Gebietes mit RhA und am Westrand eines Areals mit Regel AB. TA1 ist wenig markant, TA2 etwas mehr.

Neutral sind Wörter mit Kurzvokal plus Obstruent. TA1 oder TA2 haben Wörter mit langem Silbenkern (Kurzvokal plus Sonant, Langvokal oder Diphthong). Unter ihnen gibt es viele Akzentoppositionspaare bei Lexemen und Grammemen. Neutralisiert sind Wörter mit Kurzvokal plus Sonant plus Vokal (plus Konsonant), Wörter mit Hiatus sowie drei- oder mehrsilbige Proparoxytona.

Für Wörter mit Kurzvokal plus Sonant, mit Dehnungsvokalismus, für Entsprechungen von mhd î-iu-û, ei-öü-ou, alle mit ehemals sth. Silbengrenze, gibt es viele Beispiele mit TA2, für ê-oe-ô und æ-a viele mit TA1. Viele Entsprechungen von mhd. ie-ue-uo haben /ei/ oder /øu/ mit TA2 bei (ehemals) sth. Silbengrenze (oder Analogie) in allen möglichen Formen, z.B. /bei^{2}dən/ (bieten); /mei^{2}t/ (müde); /køu^2/ (Kuh). Weniger Wörter haben TA1, z.B. /li:^{1}ʃt/ (Licht *N/A*); /re:^{1}rs (rührst); /ʃø:^{1}l/ (Schule). Vor /ʃ, x/ haben Entsprechungen von mhd. ie-ue-uo meist i-o, z.B. /kriʃ/ (Krieg); /'diʃər/ (Tücher); /dox/ (Tuch).

Neue Wörter werden oft etwas angepasst und je nach Silbenstruktur mit TA1, TA2 oder neutral ausgesprochen.

Some remarks on the origin of the Scandinavian word accents

Harry Perridon

The geographical distribution of the Scandinavian word accent types (no opposition, opposition between two tone accents, opposition between stød and no-stød) suggests that (a) the tone accents are a Scandinavian innovation, and (b) that the stød is the result of either a more or less independent change, or, as is commonly assumed, of a further change within a system with word tones.

In my presentation I will first discuss Riad's convincing theory on the origin of the tone accents in Swedish and Norwegian, and then stress the need to keep origin and spread of the change apart. Finally I will look at the similarities and differences between the stød-system of Danish and the word tones of Swedish and Norwegian.

Tone and Intonation in Cologne and Düren

Jörg Peters

Central Franconian dialects are well known for having a lexical tone opposition that is comparable to the distinction between Accent I and Accent II in Limburgian and Scandinavian dialects. Despite a long history of research on lexical tones in Central Franconian, we know relatively little about the interaction between word tones and sentence intonation in this area. This paper reports an experimental study on tone and intonation in the dialects of Cologne and Düren. Four factors were examined for possible effects on the word tone patterns: intonation contour, focus condition, position of the target word, and syllable structure. The results suggest that the dialects of Cologne and Düren differ by the way word tones interact with sentence intonation rather than by the phonology of the lexical tone opposition itself. Additionally, the Düren dialect was found to be more similar to the Limburgian dialect of Roermond than to the dialect of Cologne.

The speaker who provided the Düren data will attend the workshop and is prepared to act as an informant for his native dialect after my talk.

Distribution of tonal accent in Scandinavian morphology

Tomas Riad

The grammatical typology of tonal accent among the Scandinavian dialects makes predictions regarding tone accent in compounds, flowing from the status of the focus tone as associated or unassociated to a secondary stress in compounds.

Central Swedish invariably gets accent 2 in words containing two stresses (compounds and some derivations) while southern Swedish and East Norwegian dialects may get either accent in such words in a struggle between lexical and prosodic factors (i).

(i) Compound elements   East Nw   Central Sw

	East Nw	Central Sw	
^{2x}sommar + ^{2x}bete	2	2	'summer grazing'
^{2x}sommar + ^{x}dans	2	2	'summer dance'
^{1x}taxi + ^{x}bil	1	2	'taxi car'
^{1x}taxi + ^{2x}säte	1	2	'taxi seat'

Among simplex forms, accent 2 is synchronically a property of many suffixes. Accent 2 is induced when such a suffix attaches to a stem (ii). However, accent 2 is inhibited if there is a polysyllabic form with accent 1 in the singular (iii).

(ii) ros + ^{2}or > ^{2}rosor 'roses'

(iii) ^{1}opera + ^{2}or > ^{1}operor 'operas'

Other times, accent 2 by virtue of two stresses is inhibited by intervening morphology (iv).

(iv) ^{x}part + sk > ^{1x}partisk; ^{1x}partisk + ^{x}het > ^{1x}partisk$_x$het 'partiality'

^{x}mild + ^{x}het > ^{2x}mild$_x$het 'leniency'

This is in contrast with the compound pattern.

In my paper I look at the reported distributions of accent in compounds in southern Sweden and East Norway and try to connect them to distributional patterns of accent within the inflectional and derivational morphology of Central Swedish.

Das Rätsel löst sich: Zur Phonetik und sprachhistorischen Genese der Tonakzente im Regelumkehrgebiet (Regel B)

Jürgen Erich Schmidt/ Hermann J. Künzel

Eines der großen Rätsel der Tonakzentforschung ist die Umkehrung der lexikalischen Distribution der mittelfränkischen Tonakzente. Im südlichen Moselfränkischen (Regel B-Gebiet) weisen genau die Lexeme Tonakzent 2 auf, die im übrigen Mittelfränkischen und Südniederfränkischen Tonakzent 1 aufweisen (Regel A-Gebiet) und umgekehrt. Obwohl dies seit 1921 bekannt ist, hat es noch nie eine eingehende phonetisch-phonologische Analyse dieses Phänomens gegeben. Für die in dem Beitrag vorgestellte Untersuchung wurde das Vorliegen einer Tonakzentopposition nach Regel B erstmals mit Hilfe eines Distinktivitätstests geprüft. In einem zweiten Schritt wurden Tonakzentdaten für das Kerngebiet und das Regelumkehrgebiet unter identischen Bedingungen erhoben und akustisch-phonetisch analysiert. Das Ergebnis ist extrem aufschlußreich: Es läßt die sprachhistorische Genese der Tonakzente in einem völlig veränderten Licht erscheinen und ist geeignet, ein weiteres ungeklärtes Faktum der Prosodieforschung sprachhistorisch-theoretisch einzuordnen: den „kleverländischen" bzw. „nichtdistinktiven" Akzent.

Tone reversal in Franconian

Elmar Ternes

By tone reversal, one understands a reversed lexical and/or morphological distribution of tones in genetically related languages or even dialects of the same language. Within the continuous Franconian tone area, there are two smaller districts displaying a reversed distribution of tones when contrasted to the larger area. This fact, which is undisputed, is still waiting for a satisfactory explanation. In the first part of our paper, we will demonstrate that tone reversal is not an uncommon phenomenon in the languages of the world: examples from inside and outside Germanic, from inside and outside Indo-European will be shown. Some of the explanations that have been given to account for tone reversal will also be discussed. In the second part, we will concentrate on Franconian. By going through the various phases of tonal development in Franconian, we will try to give an idea of how tone reversal may have come about in this area.