

There's no tone in Cologne:
synchronic and diachronic aspects of tonal accent in Franconian

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This paper gives an overview of phonetic and phonological properties of tonal accent in different Franconian dialects; and it presents the major historical changes (open syllable lengthening, analogical lengthening, schwa drop etc.) that led to the contemporary systems.

I argue that neither one nor the other supports a tonal analysis. I propose a moraic accent approach instead in which accent 1 and 2 differ to the location of stress within a *single heavy syllable* (´µ µ vs. µ ´µ). If true, the 'combinatory accent 1 rule' that would assign accent 1 to words like [tu:g(ə)] but accent 2 to [tu:k(ə)] cannot be explained as a (typologically rare) case of regressive tone lowering by voiced consonants (I assume 'consonantal strength' to play the major role; but see Boersma, this workshop, for an alternative account). Furthermore, Franconian would contradict a standard assumption of modern generative phonology that views syllables as the minimal contrastive domain of stress (e.g. Hayes 1995; but see Kiparsky 1973, Halle & Vergnaud 1987 for earlier views).

I discuss potential implications of my proposal for other tonal accent languages as well as for those Germanic languages that - even though they share most historical changes with Franconian - might not have developed moraic accents.

References:

Halle, Moris & Jean-Roger Vergnaud (1987): *An Essay on Stress*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hayes, Bruce (1995): *Metrical Stress Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kiparsky, Paul (1973): The inflectional accent in Indo-European. *Language* 49. 794-849.