Ben Hermans en Marc van Oostendorp

Synchrone beperkingen op de Sittardse diftongering

Summary

This article deals with the interaction between diphtongisation and tone structure in Sittard Dutch. Sittard, like other Limburg Dutch dialects, distinguishes between a so-called dragging (HLH) tone and a falling (HL) tone contour on the syllable that carries primary stress in a word. In Sittard Dutch certain mid vowels get diphthongized in a stressed position. This only involves vowels with a dragging tone however. These facts are quite well-known within the traditional dialectological literature. In this article we examine the question to what extent modern phonological theory can shed light on them. We argue that diphthongisation is the result of Prokosch' Law: stressed syllables tend to be bimoraic; and furthermore, the dependent mora needs to have a different (higher) quality than the head mora. Diphtongisation is blocked in the case of a dragging tone, because this would cause a high tone to be linked to feature material in a dependent position. There is a universal tendency to only connect high tones to head moras, however.