

## On the origin and development of the Central Franconian tone

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The Central Franconian tonogenesis was the resolution of a 13<sup>th</sup>-century conflict between (a) the analogical lengthening of singular noun forms whose plurals had undergone Open Syllable Lengthening (cf. German /dax - daa<sup>o</sup>/ to /daax - daa<sup>o</sup>/) and (b) the avoidance of homophony between singulars and plurals after a final schwa had been lost from the plurals (from /dax - daax/ to [da:x] - daax). The phonetically lengthened vowel failed to merge with long [aa] and was interpreted as tonally distinct. This ‘Accent 2’ was thus distinct from the original long vowels by having a privative lexical **H** in addition to the intonational tones.

Evidence in favour of this scenario is found in Garza (1992), in which a pitch contour that was inferred in 2000 is attested for present-day Cologne. That form was hypothesized to be **HH\*L%**. In phrase-final syllables with declarative intonation, there was a preceding L-tone from a boundary or earlier pitch accent. The phrase-final syllable was a two-peak contour, owing to a shallow dip between the two H-tones. One of the driving forces in the phonological development of the tone system is the phonetic truncation of this double-peaked Accent 2 contour. Starting out as a (rise)-fall-rise-fall, due to a deepening of the dip between the H-tones, it developed into a fall-rise in Roermond and Mayen (Schmidt 1986) and to a fall-level in Venlo, leading to various phonological reinterpretations. The original Cologne form (L)**HH\*** L% became (L)H\*L%**H** in Roermond and H\***LL%** in Venlo, with H\*L associating to the two moras. Remarkably, new data have recently been presented by Köhnlein (2012) that show yet a further stage in this truncation process. Its Accent-2 final declarative is an early, steep fall, which contrasts with an Accent-1 contour that falls to mid pitch. The newly truncated Accent 2 is H\***LL%**, whereby **L** is associated to the syllable and H\* precedes it, contrasting with the H\*L% of Accent 1, where the H\* is associated to the syllable.

This central developmental trend is discernible by comparing the present-day dialects, despite the great structural variation that exists. Broadly, the TBU appears to be the mora in the northern part and the syllable in the southern part of the tonal area; the number of intonation contours varies from one in Belgium to four in the north-east of the tonal area; the identity of the privative tone varies from unspecified in Cologne, via **L(H)** in the south to **H** in the north. Finally, neutralization of the contrast in weak prosodic positions is a feature of north-eastern dialects.

At least three puzzling aspects remain. First, the present-day Cologne dialect looks very similar to the reconstructed tone system immediately after the tonogenesis, while dialects further away present drastically different systems. Typically, however, language change is faster in metropolitan centres, like Cologne, than in the surrounding, more rural areas. Second, the scenario for the tonogenesis would appear to require a situation in which language contact between the Cologne dialect and southern or eastern German dialects was sustained for a longer period of time. Third, in the north-western dialects, long vowels coming from Open Syllable Lengthening are distinct from original long vowels: they have Accent 2 instead of Accent 1. The three puzzles will be discussed and a solution be proposed.

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