

Word-Level Prosodic Typology

Day 3: Some more Franconian tonal accent

Björn Köhnlein

The Ohio State University

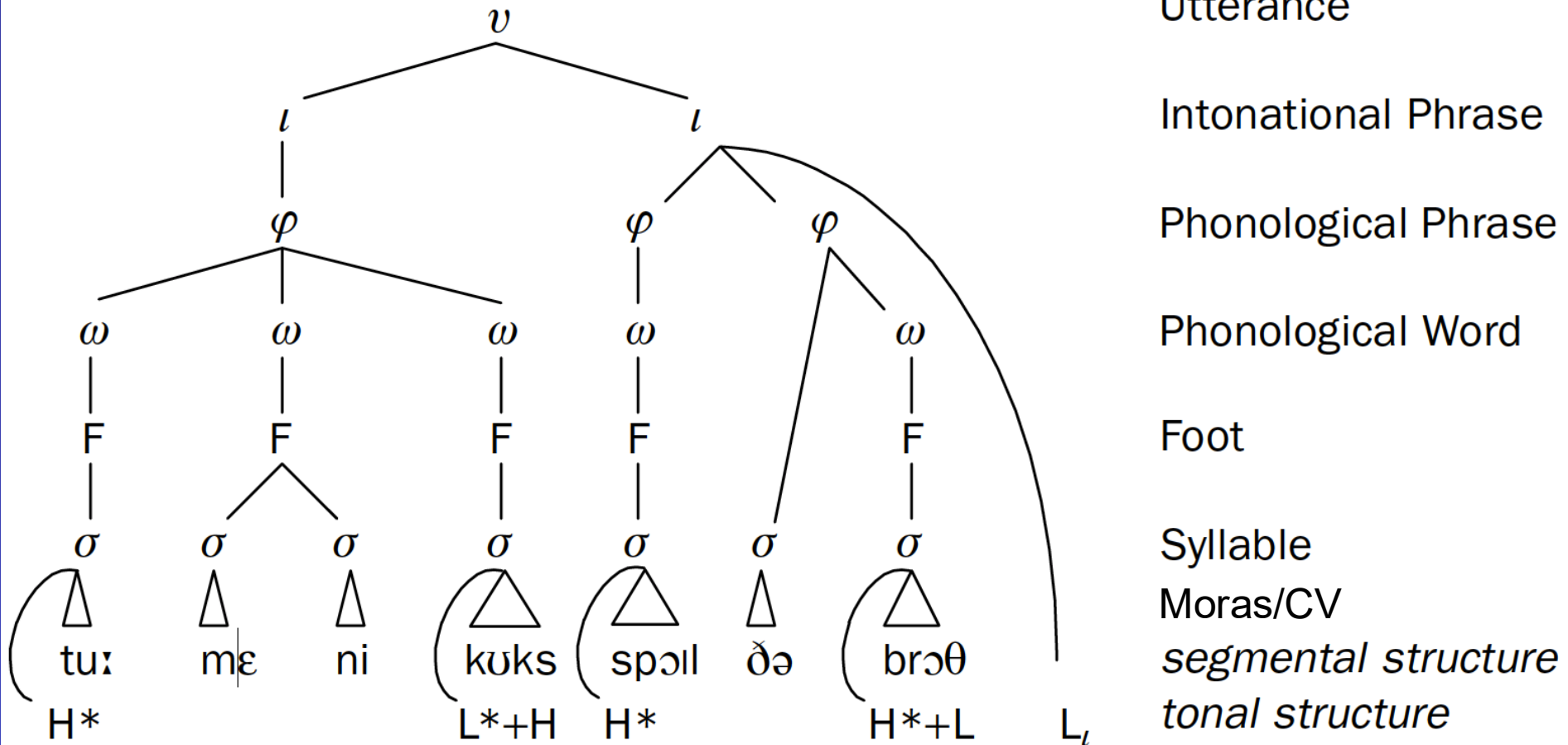
EGG School 2026, Brno

What we will do today

- Some repetition
- Discuss more Franconian tonal accent

Prosodic hierarchy

(Pierrehumbert 1980, taken from Gussenhoven 2004)



A debate on the nature of 'tonal accent' (TA)

- Tone accent systems seem to be located 'somewhere between stress and tone'
- Sometimes regarded as a subgroup of 'pitch accent systems' (restricted tone systems)
- TA = oppositions between two (and never more) word accents
- **Tone**: Accented syllables are primarily distinguished via their tonal melodies
- **Stress**: the tonal contrast is restricted to stressed syllables – no tone without stress

The crucial question

- Do such 'intermediate systems' have both word stress *and* lexical tone?

or...

- Do the metrical representations of the accents differ, which influences the distribution of intonational tone?

Two traditional positions in the debate

- “Mainstream”: Hyman (2006, 2009, 2011)
 - Stress is a property of syllables
 - No effects of stress below the syllable level
 - Tone accent contrasts must involve lexical tone
- Traditional analysis of tonal accent
 - For Franconian, e.g. Gussenhoven (2000, 2004, 2013), Peters (2006)

Two traditional positions in the debate

- Alternative view: Van der Hulst (2011, 2012, 2014)
 - Units below the syllable (moras) can carry accentual prominence
 - Moras can be marked with diacritic accents / grid marks that indicate the location of prominence
 - This prominence is usually realized as tone / pitch

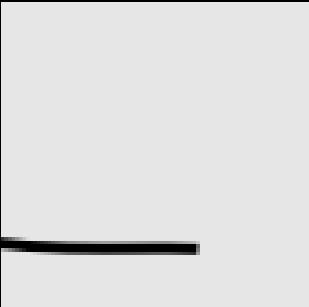
A third view: foot-based opposition (for around 15-20 years)

- Both traditional approaches focus on the tonal correlates of accent but have trouble capturing other correlates (e.g. durational, segmental, distributional factors)
- My work: we need a model that incorporates prosodic boundaries (foot boundaries), unlike van der Hulst's accent marks
- Main claim: Tonal accent and related phenomena can emerge from different types of metrical feet
- Main challenge: violates widely held beliefs about the nature of stress systems

What typological labels could correspond to

- Stress = realized on syllables = foot
- Tone = H or L (or M) tones
- Pitch/tonal accent = ???
 - Maybe a moraic accent = * (e.g., van der Hulst 2012)
 - Moraic accent can do things tone can do and stress can do

Timing works the same way for rises
(here: stressed plus unstressed syllable)

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position				
Interrogative, non-final position				

Early

Late

Do we want to analyze this as a timing difference, e.g.,
via stress/accent on moras?

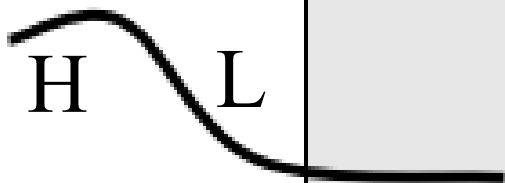
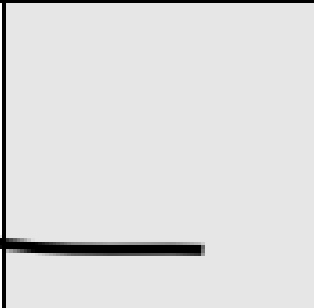
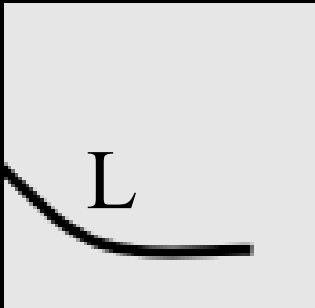
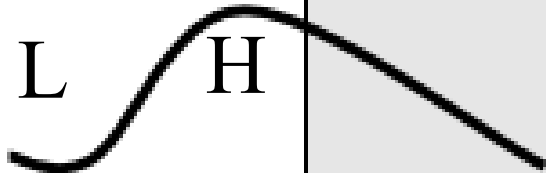
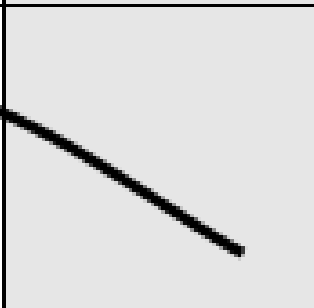
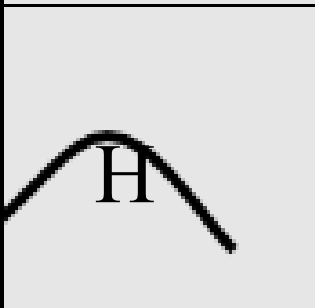
Accent 1 = $\mu^*\mu$; Accent 2 = $\mu\mu^*$

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position	μ^* μ		μ μ^*	
Interrogative, non-final position	μ^* μ		μ μ^*	

Early

Late

If so, how might this work?
 Accent 1 = $\mu^*\mu$; Accent 2 = $\mu\mu^*$

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position H*L	μ^* μ H L 		μ μ^* H L 	
Interrogative, non-final position L*H	μ^* μ L H 		μ μ^* L H 	

Early

Late

But...

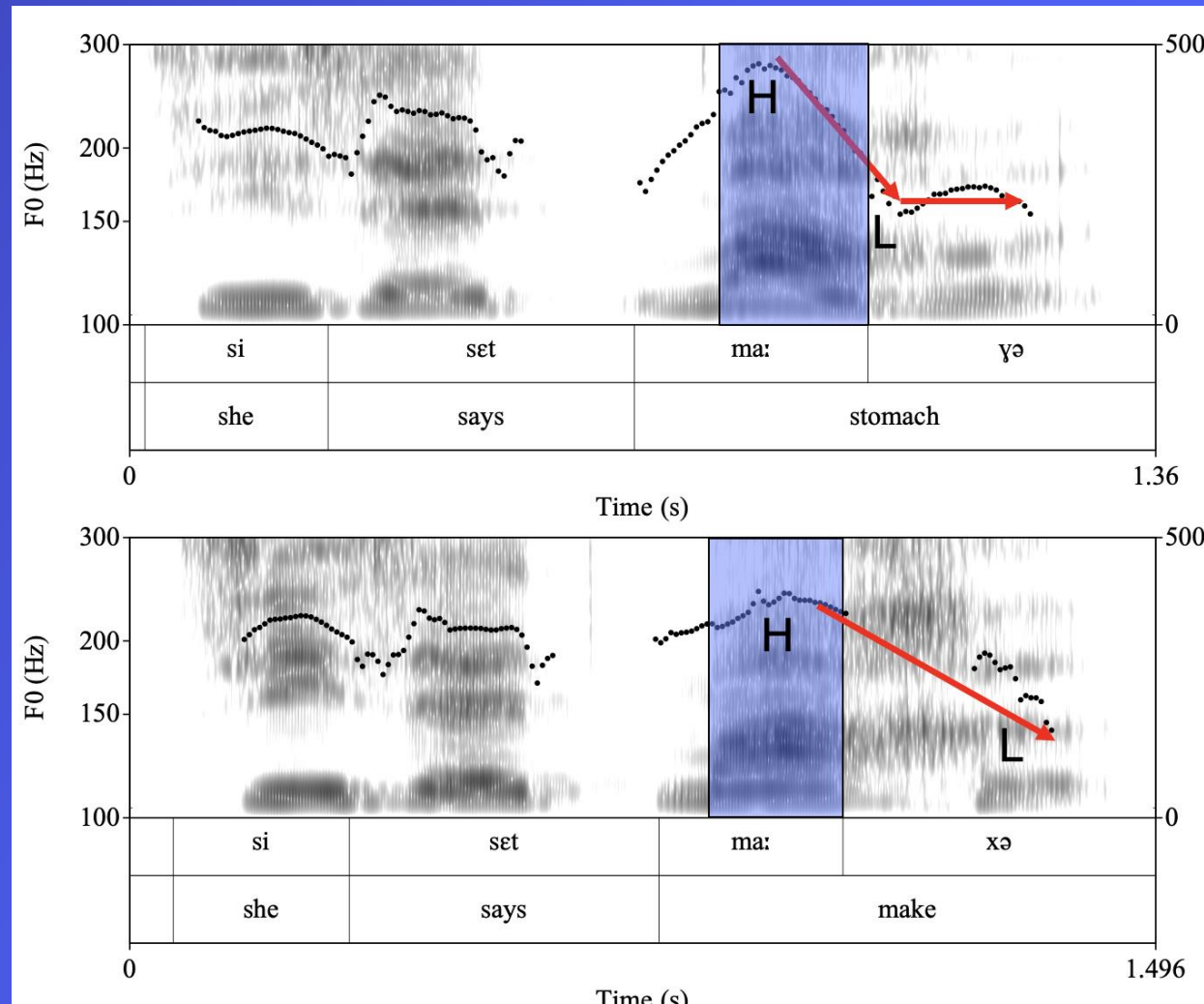
- Prosodic typology has assumed for the past few decades that stress = foot = a property of syllables (e.g., Hyman's work)
- Then alignment contrasts within syllables could not be analyzed with moraic stress
- Could we use feet?

Stress and the syllable: an alleged universal

- Part of the widely established research paradigm in theoretical phonology: stress is a property of syllables, not of units below the syllable (Hyman 2006, 2009 for overview)
 - Across syllable difference possible: *MOmo* vs. *moMO*
 - Within syllable difference impossible: *mOu* vs. *moU*
- However... units below the syllable (e.g., moras) are not irrelevant for stress; they can be seen in certain rhythmic patterns in language

Tonal accent in mainstream phonological theory

- If stress-/foot-based contrasts within syllables are not permitted, the apparent timing difference we have seen cannot be related to feet/stress
- So... no moraic accents and no feet
- Solution: lexical tone (as found in, say, many African or Asian languages)



Franconian tone accent with lexical tone: Cologne

- Data and analysis
 - Gussenhoven & Peters (2004)
 - Peters (2006)
- The two analyses are largely similar
- We mainly focus on Peters (2006)

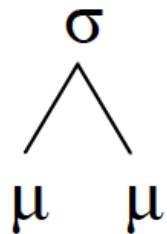
Phonetic features: summary

- In the Cologne dialect, it seems to be context-dependent what is the primary phonetic correlate of the accent distinction
- Prominent positions → tone (plus duration)
- Non-prominent positions → duration

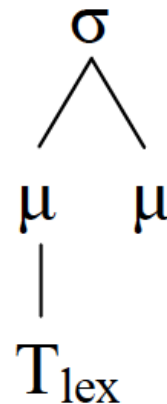
A tonal analysis

- Accent 2 has an unspecified lexical tone on its first mora, Accent 1 is lexically toneless
- T_{lex} takes on the value of the following intonational tone

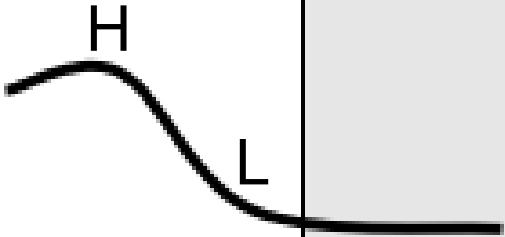
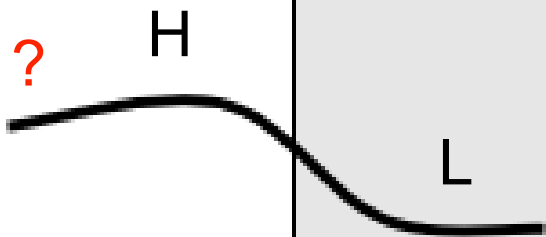
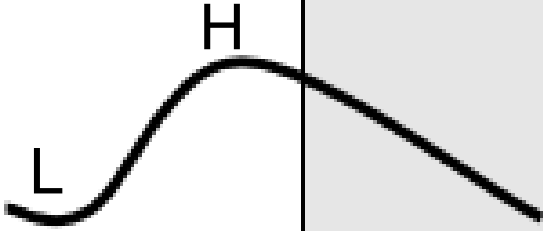
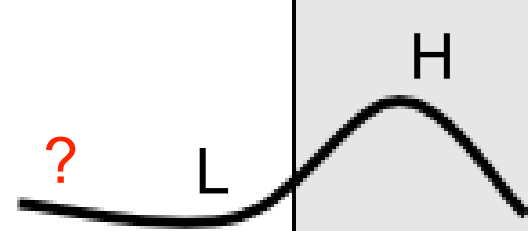
Accent 1:



Accent 2:



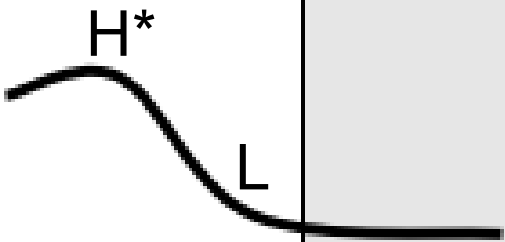
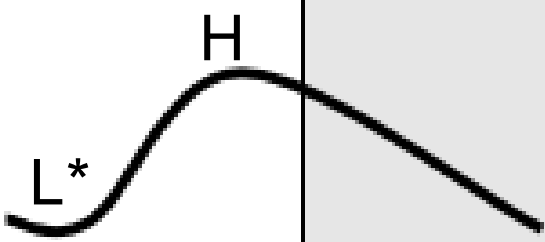
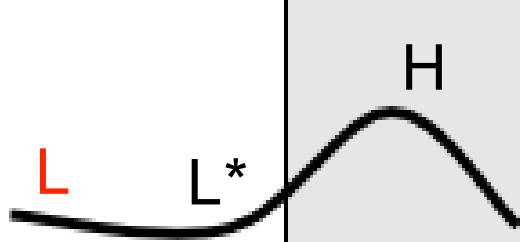
How do lexical tones get their values?

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position				
Interrogative, non-final position				

Early

Late

'Invisible' lexical tone delays timing of fall/rise

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position H^*L				
Interrogative, non-final position L^*H				

Early

Late

A tonal analysis: summary (durational effects)

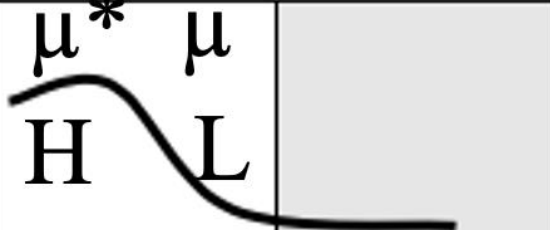
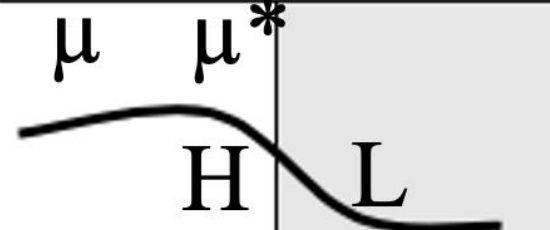
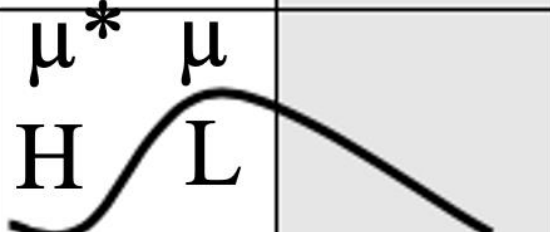
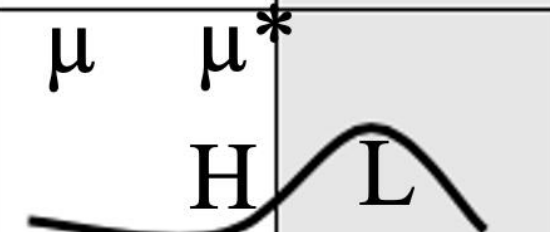
- The lexical tones leads to lengthening of the syllable carrying that tone
- In syllables without a pitch accent, the difference between Accent 1 and Accent 2 is durational
 - Accent 2 undergoes tonal lengthening but remains tonally invisible as no intonational tone is in the same syllable

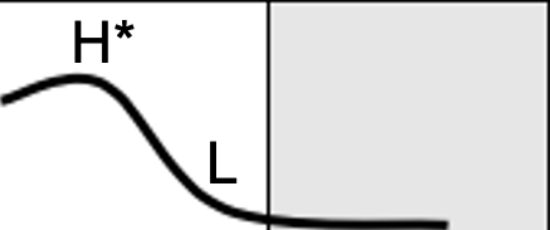
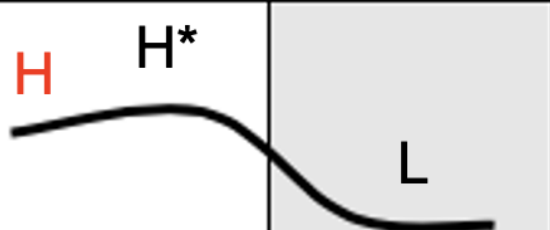
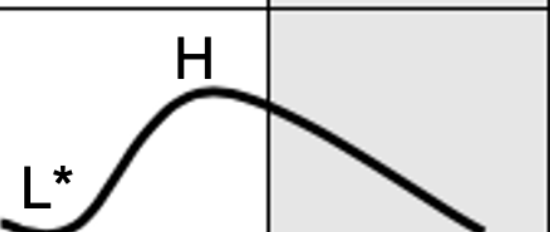
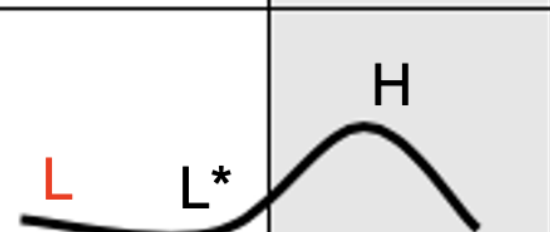
The tonal approach

- How would you evaluate the analysis?
- How does it compare to the mora stress analysis?

Mora stress/accent

Lexical tone

Context		Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position	H*L				
	L*H				

Context		Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position	H*L				
	L*H				

Some of my conceptual concerns regarding lexical tone

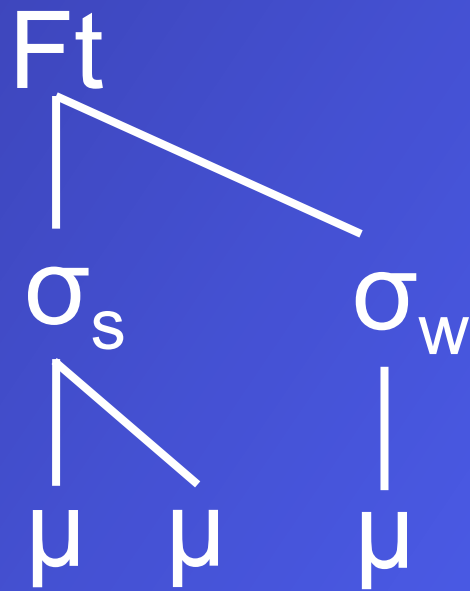
- Using lexical tone is fine, I guess, if there really *can't* be stress-related contrasts within syllables
- But...
 - the invisible lexical tone makes the timing difference look coincidental – is that all there is to say?
 - no other tone language has been described that changes a lexical tone because of an intonational tone – isn't that a bit strange?
 - contours not that different from what German/Dutch/English generally sound like (next slide)

My claims (to be defended)

- The similarities between Dutch/English/German and the Cologne-type 'Franconian' contours are not coincidental
- Franconian has a similar but more 'fine-grained' metrical system than Dutch/English/German
- Basic contrast: Accent 1 counts strong and weak syllables (syllabic trochee), Accent 2 counts strong and weak moras (moraic trochee)

Some abstract structures (slightly simplified)

Accent 1
counts syllables



Accent 2
counts moras



How stress/foot structure is expressed across languages

- A few prototypical correlates of feet
 - Realization of intonational contours (as we have seen)
 - Consonantal patterns
 - Durational patterns
 - Vocalic patterns
 - Each of these types exists in at least some Franconian dialects
- In line with a foot-based analysis, but less expected with tone

Some examples from Franconian

- Tonal patterns (as seen above, more later)
- Consonantal patterns
- Durational patterns
- Vocalic patterns (skipped for this week)

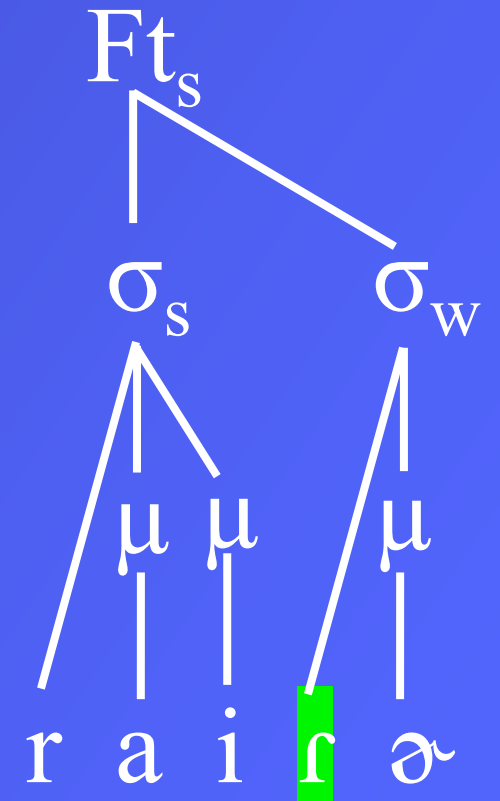
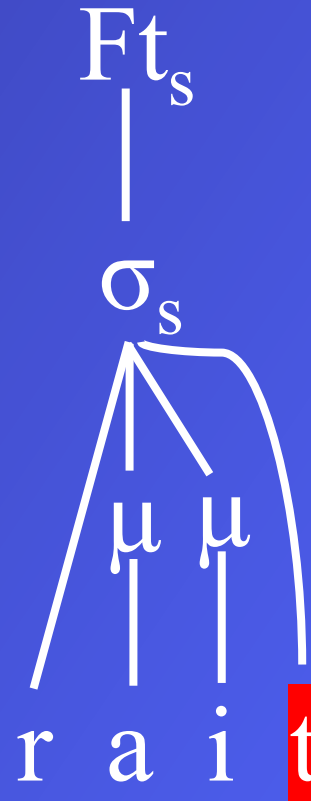
Some examples from Franconian

- Tonal patterns
- Consonantal patterns
- Durational patterns

A generalization on consonants and foot structure

(e.g. Honeybone 2008, 2012 for overview)

- **Stronger consonants** preferred at the edge of feet or outside of feet
- **Weaker consonants** preferred in the middle of feet
- English 'write' vs. 'writer'



Consonants and feet in Franconian dialects (Köhnlein & Cameron 2024)

Some Franconian dialects show synchronic interactions of accent and the voicing quality of word-medial consonants:

1. Disyllabic words with medial voiced (weaker) consonants always receive Accent 1

Examples: *Always* [i:¹zən] 'iron', [drø:¹mən] 'to dream'

2. Disyllabic words with medial voiceless (stronger) consonants typically receive Accent 2, though some words receive Accent 1 (ask if you want)

Examples: *Typically* [ri:²sən] 'to tear'

Data

- Disyllabic words from two grammars (longest basic words in the language)
- Müller (1900) – Aegidienberg ★
- Münch (1904) – Cologne ★
- *Consonant Voicing* → *Accent* stated explicitly by both Müller (1900: 3) and Münch (1904: § 20, 21)
- (Some morphologically conditioned exceptions)



Data – Cologne as an example

Voiced medial C: Accent 1

- [ma:¹yə] ‘stomach’
- [o:¹yə] ‘eye’
- [lɔ:¹yə] ‘sites’
- [lu:¹zə] ‘to delouse’
- [fre:¹zə] ‘to freeze’

Voiceless medial C: Accent 2

- [ma:²xə] ‘stomach’
- [stri²:fə] ‘stripes’
- [lo:²fə] ‘to run’
- [ri:²sə] ‘to tear’
- [ʃli:²sə] ‘to split’

Data – Aegidienberg as an example

Voiced medial C: Accent 1

- [i:¹zən] 'iron'
- [ʃu:¹vən] 'shove'
- [ja:¹yən] 'to hunt'
- [vɔ:¹dər] 'words'

Voiceless medial C: Accent 2

- [ri:²sən] 'to tear'
- [ʃu:²fəl] 'shovel'
- [kla:²fən] 'to gossip'
- [la:²xən] 'to laugh'

Data – Words with word-medial 'sonorants' always have Accent 1

Accent 1 Cologne

- [le:¹jə] 'to lie, tell a falsehood'
- [drø:¹mə] 'to dream'
- [me:¹nə] 'to mean'
- [kna:¹lə] 'to bang, crack'

Accent 1 Aegidienberg

- [le:¹jən] 'to lay'
- [drø:¹mən] 'to dream'
- [ly:¹nən] 'to pay'
- [fy:¹rən] 'to lead'

Generalizations – Restated

1. Disyllabic words with medial voiced (weak) consonants always receive Accent 1.

Always [i:¹zən] ‘iron’

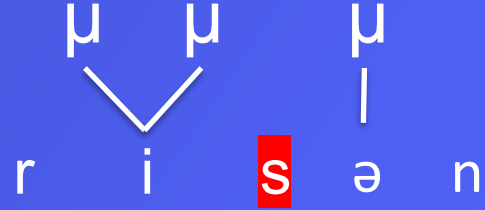
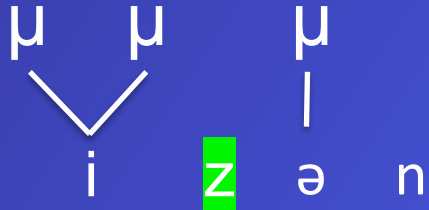
2. Disyllabic words with medial voiceless (strong) consonants typically receive Accent 2

Typically [ri:²sən] ‘to tear’

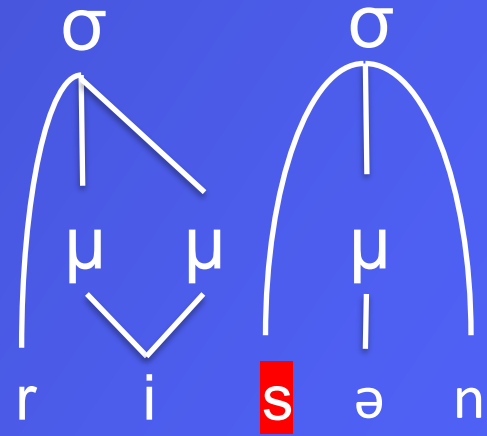
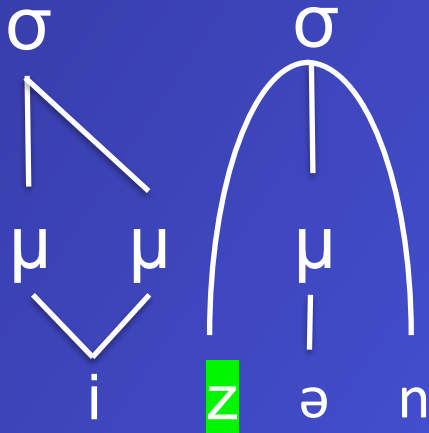
Analytical Claim by Köhnlein & Cameron – basic Ingredients

- Relevant dialects: Voicing/strength of word-medial C influences foot structure = ‘bottom-up process’
- Note: this goes counter to other traditional assumptions where only top-down lenition is recognized; e.g., Blumenfeld (2006), Rasin (2016)
- Places lenition alongside interactions of vowels/tones and stress/feet (I can talk more about this in a bit)

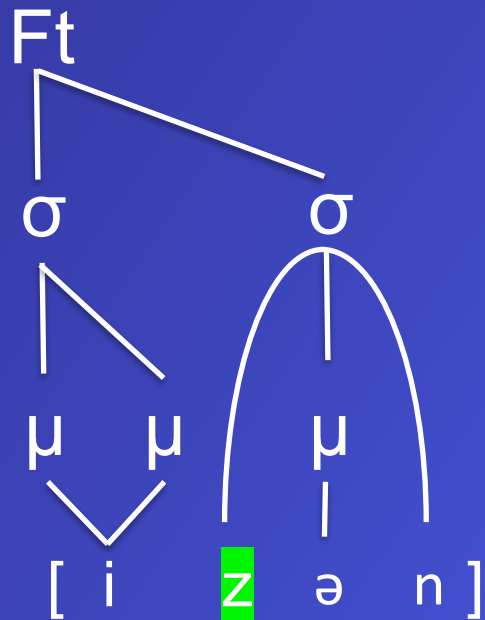
Analytical Claim : Consonant → Foot



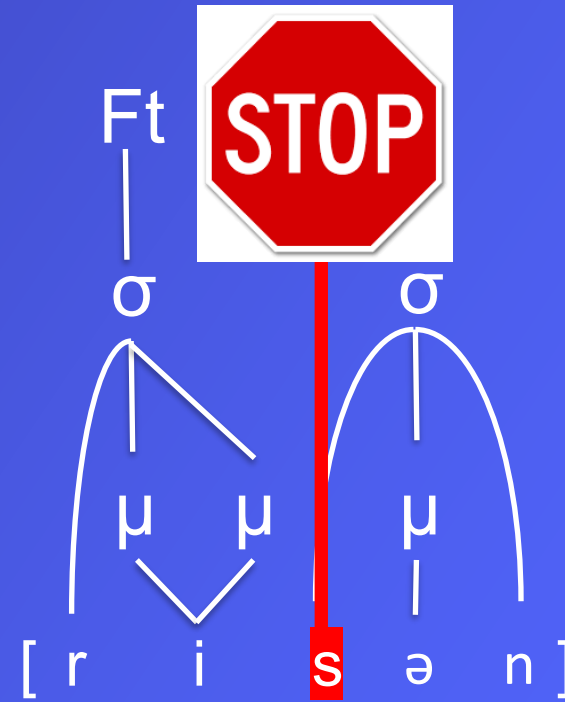
Analytical Claim : Consonant → Foot



Analytical Claim : Consonant → Foot

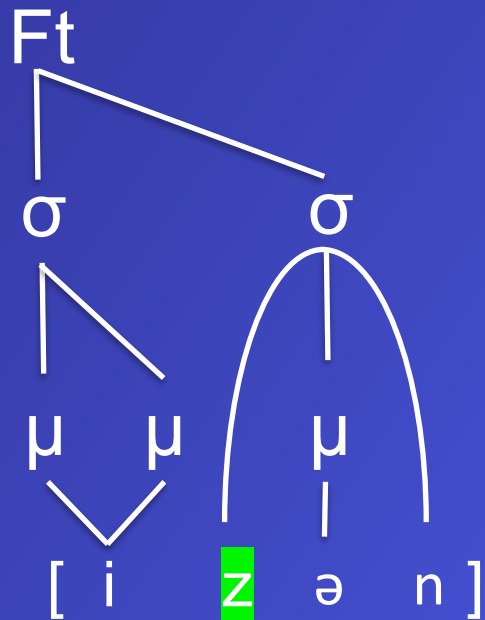


Accent 1

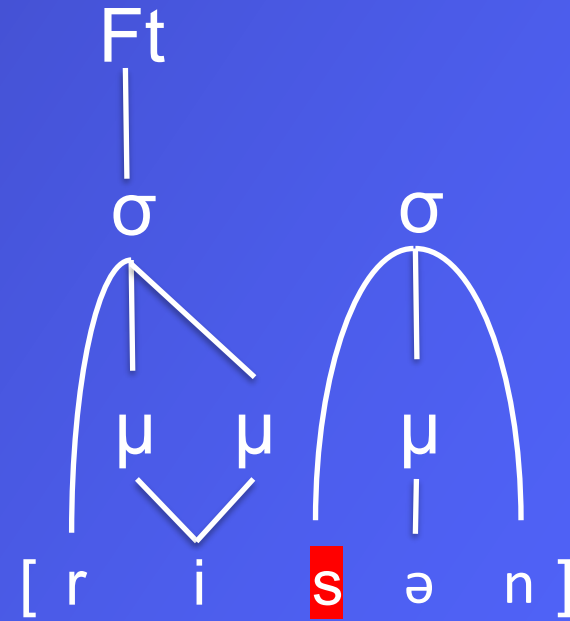


Accent 2

Analytical Claim : Consonant → Foot



Accent 1



Accent 2

Some examples from Franconian

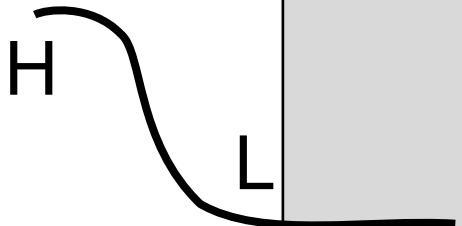
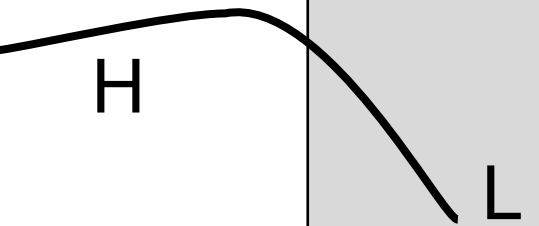
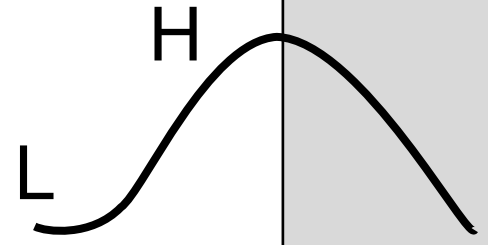
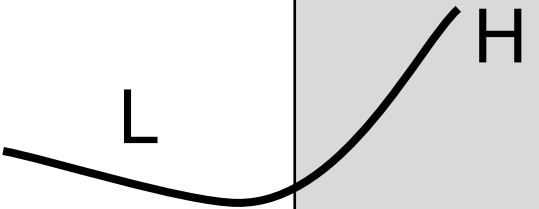
- Tonal patterns
- Consonantal patterns (check = analyzed with feet)
- Durational patterns

Tonal contrasts in a foot-based approach

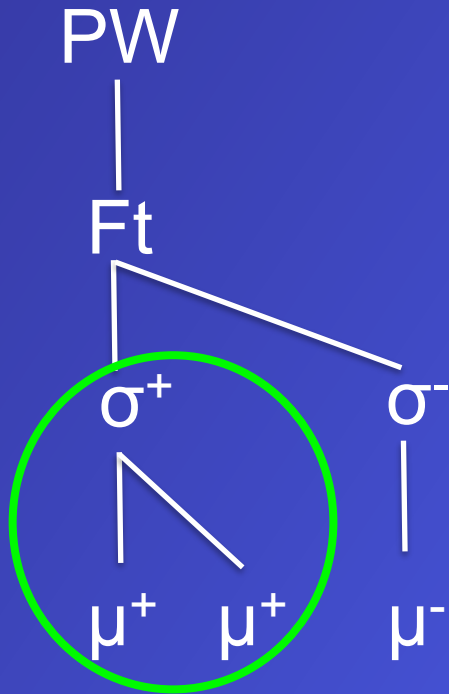
- Basic idea: Predictable intonational tones map differently onto the feet for Accent 1 and Accent 2

(Köhnlein 2011 et passim, Hermans 2012, Kehrein 2018, Van Oostendorp 2018, Köhnlein & Cameron 2024)

Tonal Contours Plus Tones

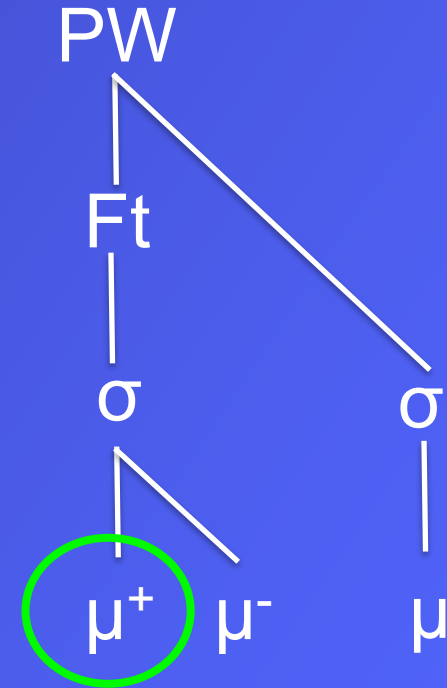
	Cologne (Peters 2006)			
	Accent 1		Accent 2	
	σ	σ	σ	σ
Declarative HL				
Interrogative LH				

Foot Structures and Head Domains



Accent 1

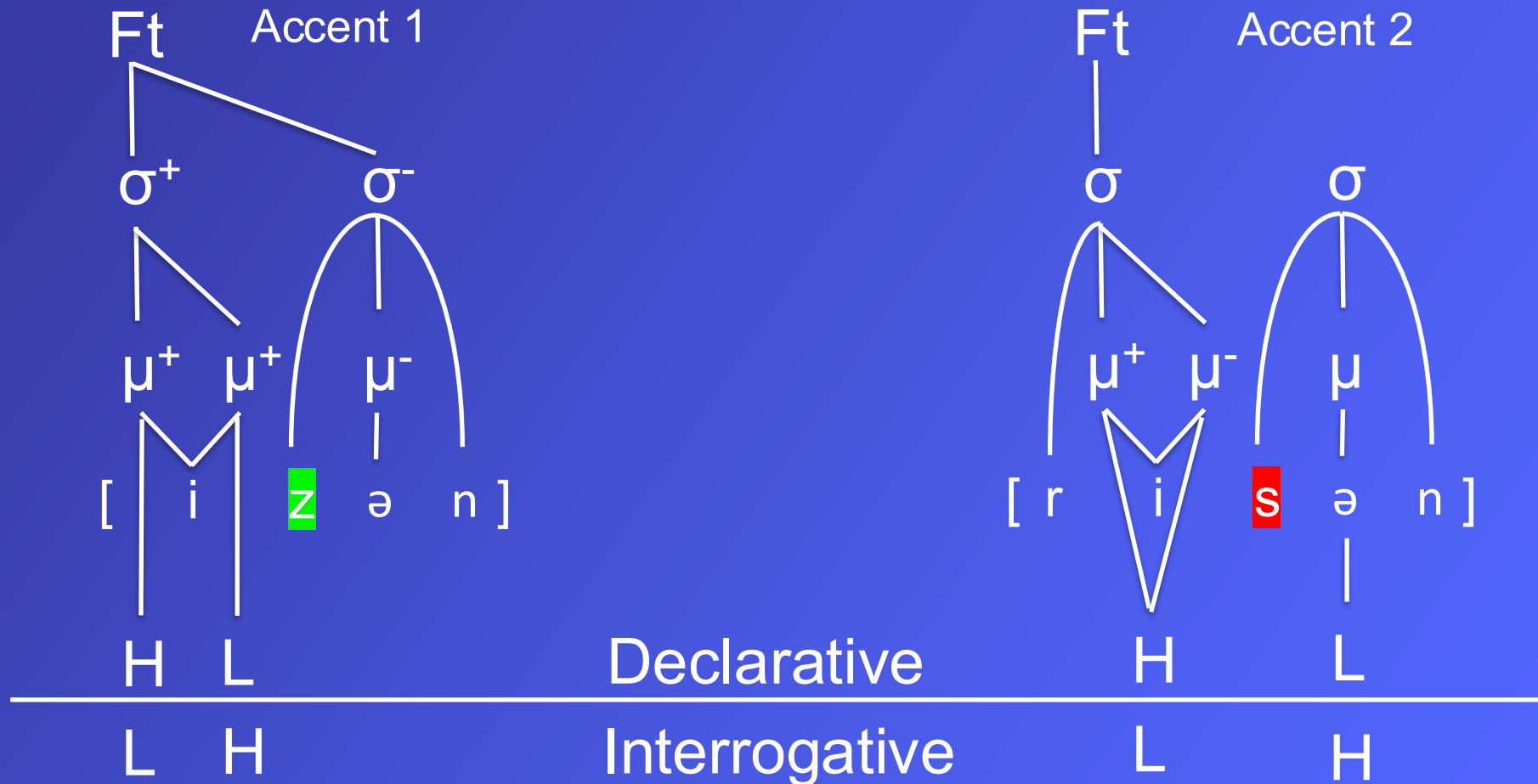
'Syllabic' Trochee



Accent 2

'Moraic' Trochee

Tones Licensed by 'Strong' Moras Only



Some examples from Franconian

- Tonal patterns (check = analyzed with feet)
- Consonantal patterns (check = analyzed with feet)
- **Durational patterns**
- Vocalic patterns (skipped for today)

Duration in Franconian

- In various dialects, durational contrasts enhance the tonal opposition between Accent 1 and Accent 2
- Accent 2 is significantly longer than Accent 1 (Peters 2006 for Cologne)
- Analysis in a foot-based approach
 - Duration as a correlate of foot structure is expected under a foot-based approach
 - A foot has a certain phonetic duration that is divided between its members (e.g., Prince 1980, Odden 1997 for Estonian)

Some relevant data from Aachen

(work with Phuong Dang and Tianyi Ni)

- **Participants:**

- 8 native speakers (5 male, 3 female, age range: 58 – 80, mean age: 72.5)

- **Materials:**

- 4 near-minimal pairs of disyllabic words
- (6 potential minimal pairs of monosyllabic words)

Methods

- **Carrier sentences**
 - 4 carrier sentences varying in sentence types (declarative vs. interrogative) and sentence positions (final vs. non-final)
- **Data collection**
 - Participants read the list of monosyllabic and disyllabic words embedded in four carrier sentences twice
- **Statistical analysis**
 - Mixed-effects linear regression (DV: vowel duration, IV: positions & following consonant voicing, random effects for subjects and items)

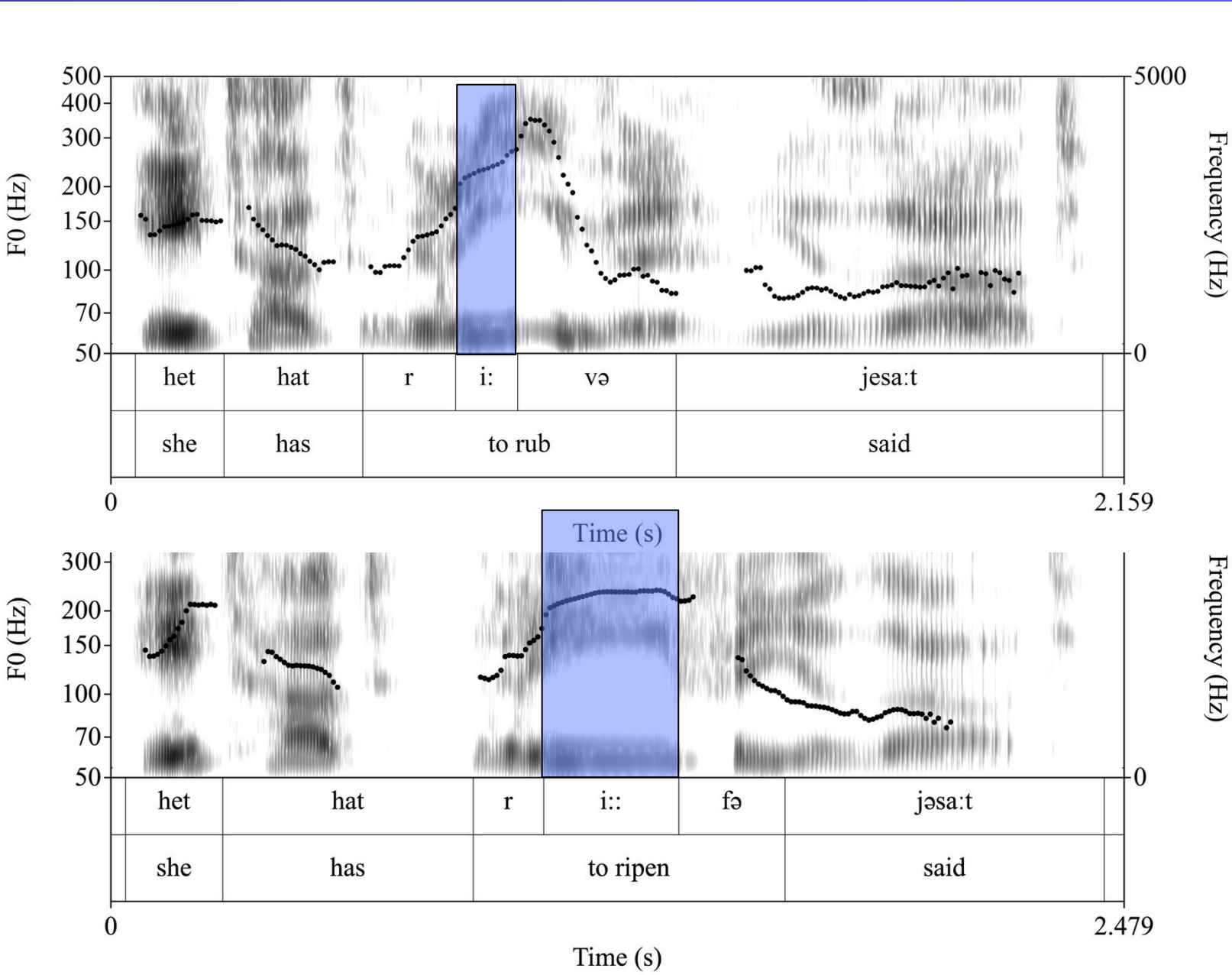
Example from Aachen
(tone correlate
not that clear)

[ri:¹və] ‘to rub’

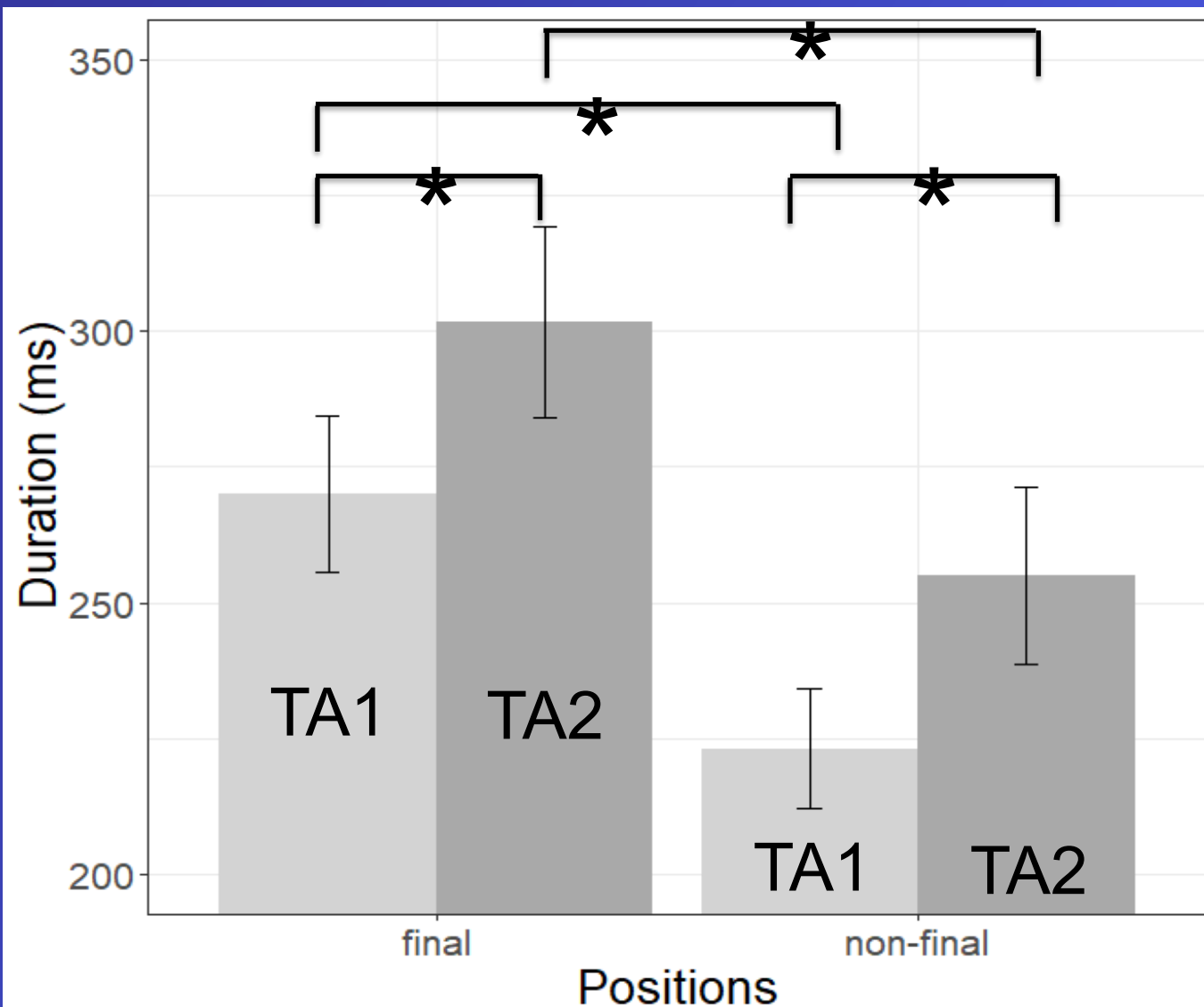


Speaker: m, 59,
recorded himself

[ri::²fə] ‘to ripen’



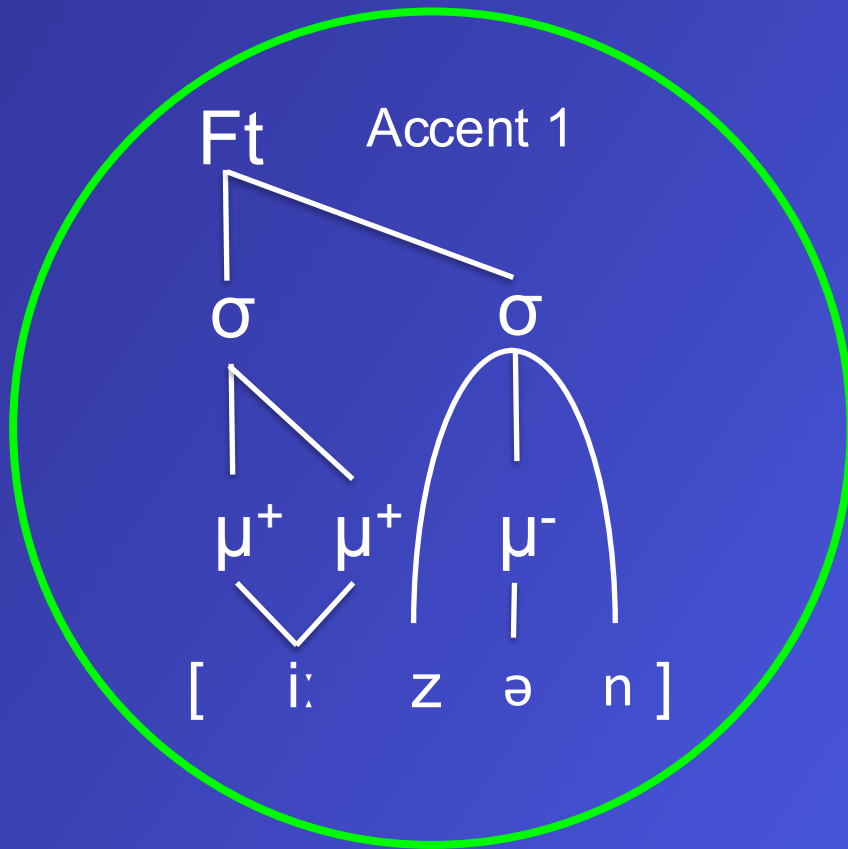
Stressed vowel duration in Aachen disyllabic words



TA1 = Accent 1
before voiced C

TA2 = Accent 2
before voiceless C

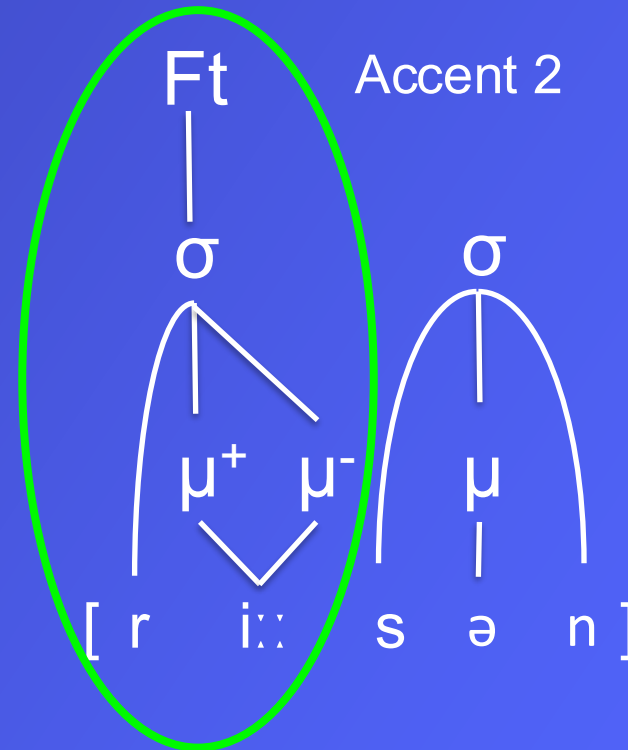
Durational correlates: Accent 1



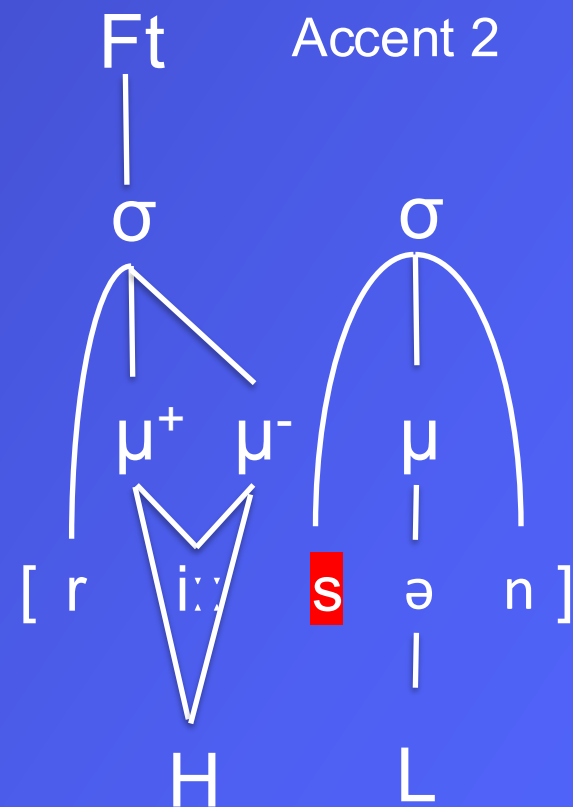
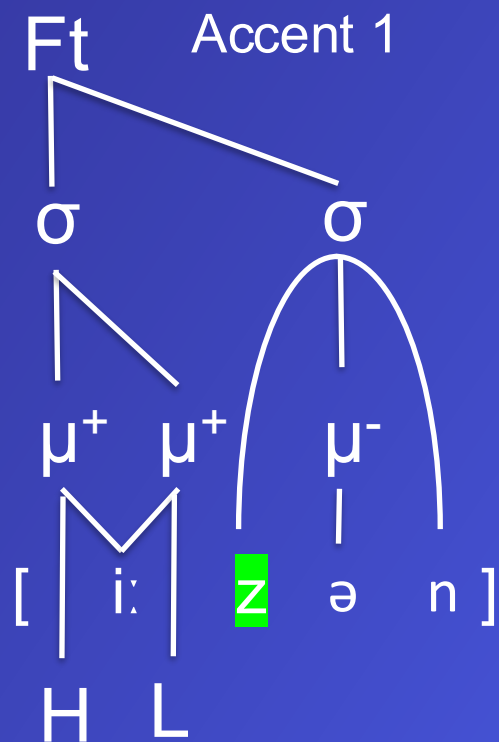
- Stressed syllable + unstressed syllable is the foot
- Duration of the foot only partially expressed in the stressed syllable: Syllable is long

Durational correlates: Accent 2

- Stressed syllable is the whole foot
- Duration of the whole foot expressed in the stressed syllable: Syllable is overlong
- Ni, Rucker & Köhnlein 2025 for a different mechanism in Low German to express similar structures



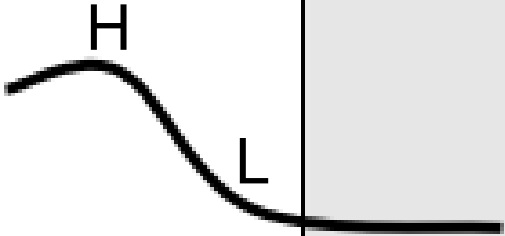
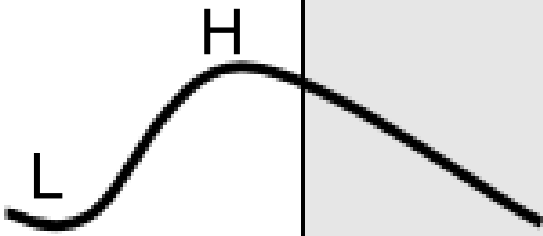
Everything put together



Foot-based approach =
unified analysis of various co-occurring phenomena

- Tonal patterns (check; analyzed with feet)
- Consonantal patterns (check; analyzed with feet)
- Durational patterns (check; analyzed with feet)

So why not lexical tone?

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position				
Interrogative, non-final position				

Early

Late

Some reasons, referencing my initial concerns

- The ‘invisible’ lexical tone makes the timing difference look coincidental – follows from foot approach
- No other tone language has been described that changes a lexical tone because of an intonational tone – not needed in foot approach
- Franconian contours not that different from what German/Dutch/English generally sound like – is that mere coincidence? No, at least not under the foot approach; they are closely related metrical systems

Some more reasons

- It doesn't need to assume an arbitrary lengthening rule
→ lengthening follows from invoking foot structure
- Interactions with word-medial consonant voicing not straightforward

So why not 'moraic stress'?

Context	Accent 1		Accent 2	
Declarative, non-final position H*L	μ^* μ 		μ μ^* 	
Interrogative, non-final position L*H	μ^* μ 		μ μ^* 	

Early

Late

Some reasons

- Can model the tonal patterns, but...
 - Doesn't have much to say about interactions with voicing in the following syllable or Accent-2 lengthening
- I'd say: advantage for the foot

So what does this all mean?

- If on the right track, this analysis suggests that the long prevalent assumption 'stress = feet = syllables' is too simplistic
 - There exist rhythmic/timing contrasts below the syllable level
 - Not necessarily two types of stress, but different domains are possible (in line with the assumption that feet can count syllables or moras)
- Approach emerges from a detailed study of an individual language via unifying several phenomena using the same machinery

However

Accent 2 = monosyllabic Ft

Accent 1 = disyllabic Ft

- But what about these words? How do they get Accent 1?

/luu¹s/

‘clever’

/luu²s/

‘louse’

/kan¹/

‘can, bottle’

/kan²/

‘be able’ (SG)

/daa¹x /

‘day-DAT’

/daa²x

‘day-NOM’

/huu¹s/

‘house-DAT’

/huu²s/

‘house-NOM’

/brau¹t/

‘(he/she) brews’

/brau²t/

‘bride’¹

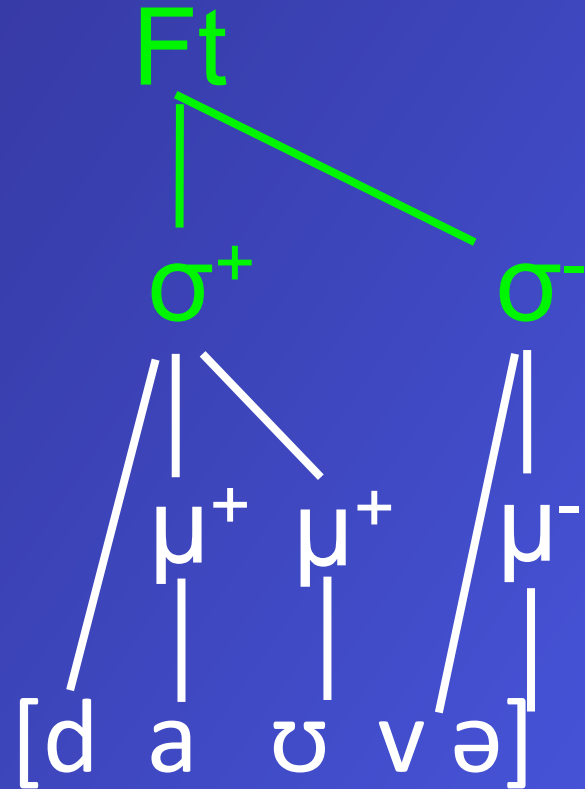
Four types of words

- ‘Disyllabic’ TA 1: [daʊ¹və] ‘pigeon-pl.’
- ‘Disyllabic’ TA 2: [daʊ²və] ‘baptism-pl.’
- ‘Monosyllabic’ TA 1: [dauf¹] ‘pigeon-sg.’
- ‘Monosyllabic’ TA 2: [dauf²] ‘baptism-sg.’

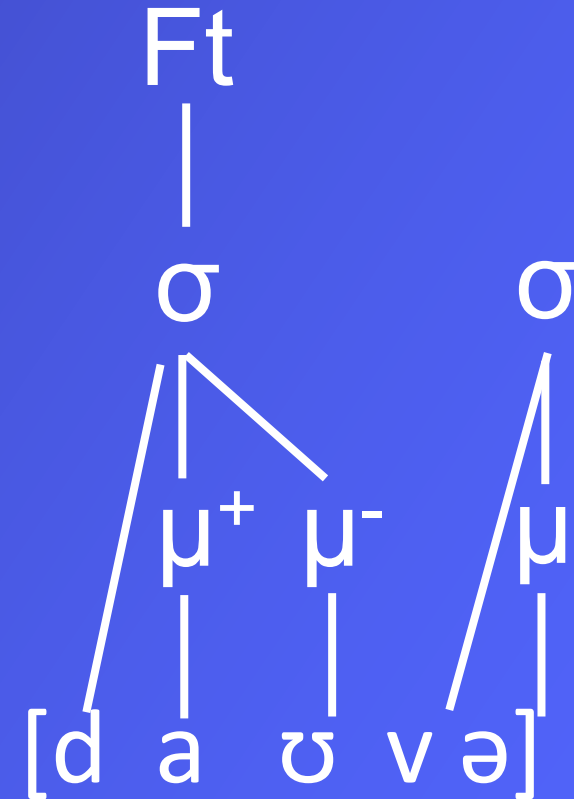
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Accent 1



Accent 2

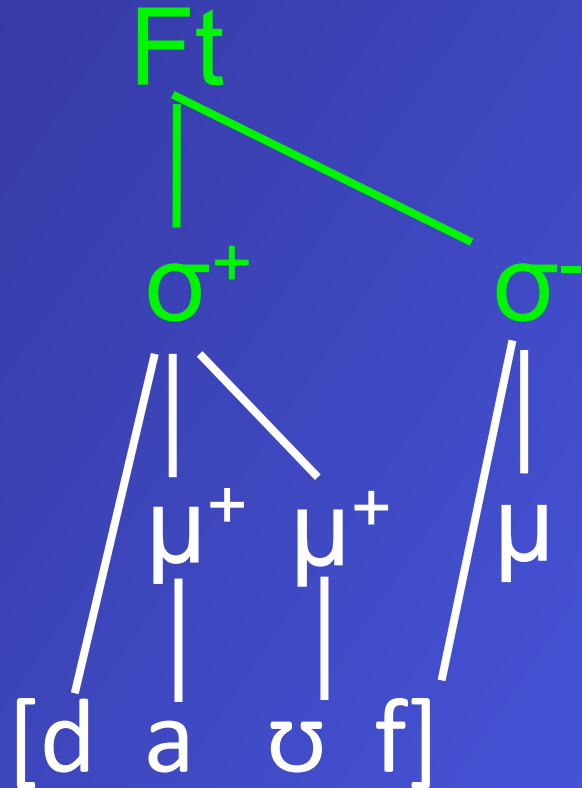


Faith (Ft-Hd) >> *UnevenTrochee

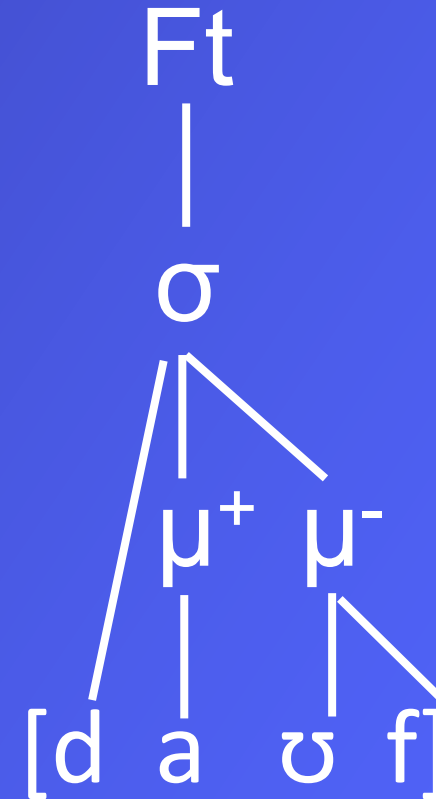
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- ‘Monosyllabic’ TA 2: [dauf²] ‘baptism-sg.’

Accent 1



Accent 2



‘Monosyllabic’ Accent 1: Bisyllabic foot with an empty-headed second syllable

Empty-headed syllables

- Essentially syllables with an empty nucleus
- Have been proposed in various phonological frameworks (either obligatory or optional)
 - Kaye (1990), Kiparsky (1991), Harris (1994), Van Oostendorp (1995), Lowenstamm (1996), Harris & Gussmann (2002), Scheer (2004), among many others

How could we make an analysis like this stronger?

- Claims imply that one foot per language might be insufficient to understand the metrical structure across the world's languages
- Permits foot-related tonal contrasts within syllables
- Assumes that Franconian consonant-final words *can* end in an empty-head syllable

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Parallels in Estonian

(based on Köhnlein & Cameron 2024)

- Estonian is well known for its three-way durational opposition (Q1, Q2, Q3)

Quantity contrast in Estonian

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. [sada] ‘hundred’ | [sa:da] ‘send, imperative’ | [sa::da] ‘to receive’ |
| b. [lina] ‘flax’ | [lin:a] ‘town, gen-sg’ | [lin::a] ‘town, part-sg’ |

- Over time, the durational contrast between Q2 and Q3 has been accompanied by a pitch contrast (Lehiste 2003 for summary)
- Similar to Cologne, just that the longer accent has falling tone, and the shorter one level tone

Consonant Gradation

- Consonant Gradation: morphophonemic alternations
- Five paradigms, most comparable cases to Franconian shown below
- Q2 = weak grade; Q3 = strong grade

	'sad'	<i>Grade</i>
<i>Nom. Sg.</i>	kur:p (Q3)	<i>strong</i>
<i>Gen. Sg.</i>	kurva (Q2)	<i>weak</i>
<i>Part. Sg.</i>	kur:pa (Q3)	<i>strong</i>
<i>Nom. Pl.</i>	kurvat (Q2)	<i>weak</i>
<i>Gen. Pl.</i>	kur:pate (Q3)	<i>strong</i>
<i>Part. Pl.</i>	kur:pi (Q3)	<i>strong</i>

	'pole'	<i>Grade</i>
<i>Nom. Sg.</i>	teivas (Q2)	<i>weak</i>
<i>Gen. Sg.</i>	tei:pa (Q3)	<i>strong</i>
<i>Part. Sg.</i>	teivast (Q2)	<i>weak</i>
<i>Nom. Pl.</i>	tei:pat (Q3)	<i>strong</i>
<i>Gen. Pl.</i>	teivaste (Q2)	<i>weak</i>
<i>Part. Pl.</i>	tei:pait (Q3)	<i>strong</i>

Theoretical approaches

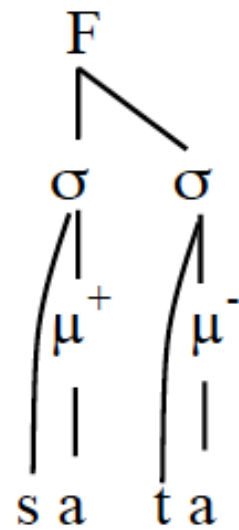
- Vast amount of theoretical literature
- **Ternary analysis**: three degrees of vowel length (e.g. Hayes 1995, Bye 1997, Pöchtrager 2006)
- **Binary analysis I**: one or two V-slots, one or two moras (e.g. Ehala 2003, Spahr 2013, 2014)
- **Binary analysis II**: one vs. two moras, monosyllabic vs. disyllabic trochees (e.g. Prince 1980, Odden 1997, Prilop 2020 – we follow this line of work)

Foot-based approach (duration): Prince (1980), moraic version Odden (1997)

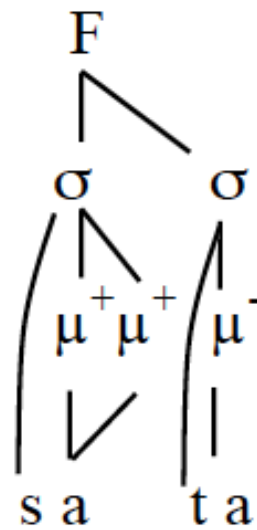
- Bimoraic syllables contrast in foot structure
- Durational differences express the difference in metrical structure on the surface
- Monosyllabic foot longer than first syllable of disyllabic foot (this is what we adopted for Cologne)

Surface representations for three degrees of overlength in Estonian

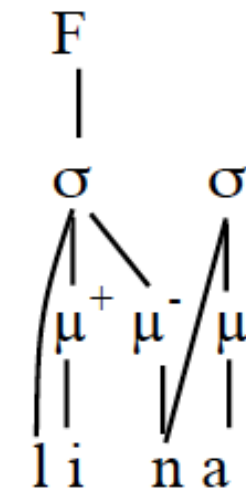
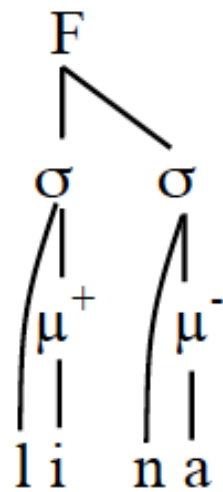
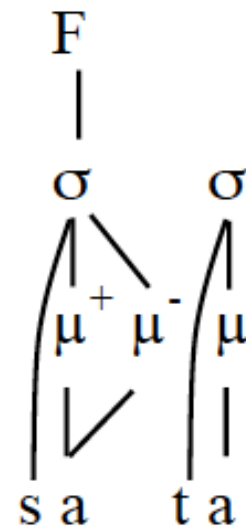
Q1



Q2



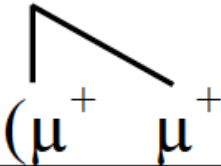
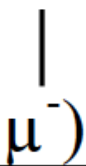
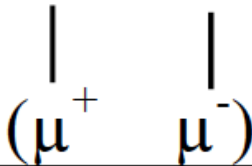
Q3



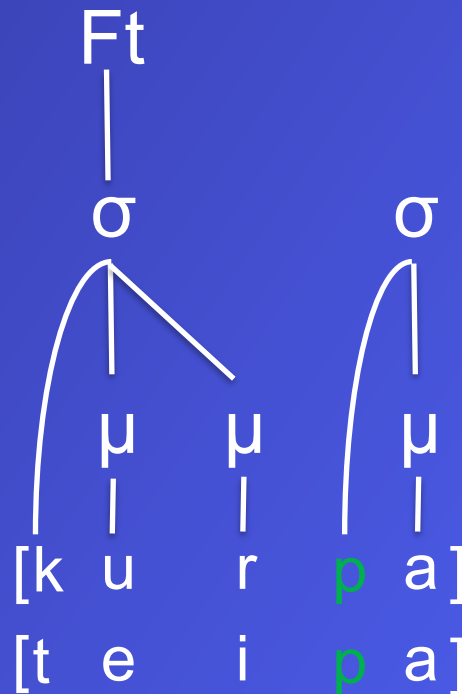
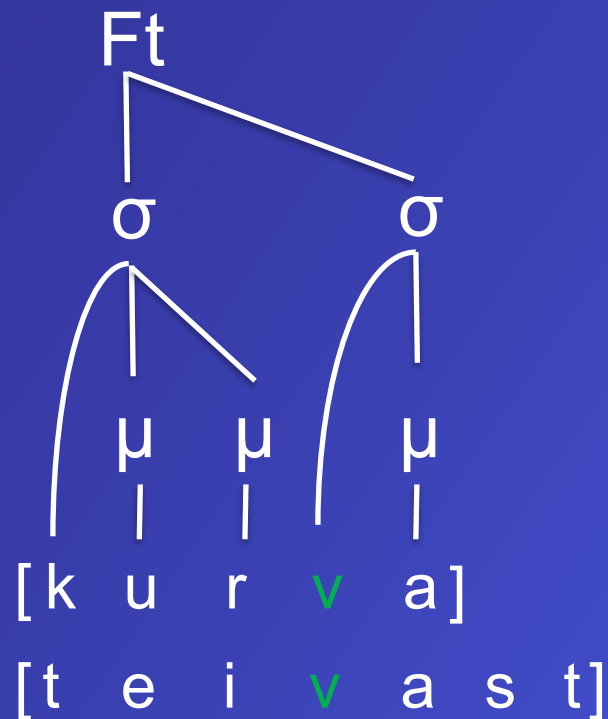
Foot-based approach (tone)

- Q3 = HL, Q2 = H
- Grammar: In Estonian, every mora can license tones, but strong moras avoid low tone (Constraint: *Hd/L, de Lacy 2002)
- Comparable to the analysis of Arzbach Franconian in Köhnlein (2011, 2016)

Effects of *Hd/L in Estonian (contours adapted from Lehiste 1997)

Q2		Q3	
σ	σ	σ	σ
			
H^*  $(\mu^+ \mu^+)$	L  (μ^-)	H^* L  $(\mu^+ \mu^-)$	μ

Foot-based Approach (Gradation)



	'sad'	'pole'
<i>Gen. Sg.</i>	kurva	tei:pa
<i>Part. Sg.</i>	kur:pa	teivast

Summary Estonian

- Word-medial C voicing correlates with Tonal Accent in certain Franconian dialects (as well as with Estonian quantity)
- Additional correlates
 - Tone
 - Duration
- Unified analysis possible if we assume that...
 - Accent 1 / Q2 is a disyllabic foot, and Accent 2 / Q3 a monosyllabic foot
 - Consonantal strength can influence footing (at least in Franconian)

The general ‘metrical approach’ to tonal accent is an emerging framework

- For other work on Franconian, see e.g. Hermans (2012), Kehrein (2017), Van Oostendorp (2017)
- For Norwegian and Swedish, see Móren-Duóllja (2013), Iosad (2015), Kaldhol & Köhnlein (2021)
- For Scottish-Gaelic, see Iosad (2013), Morrison (2019)
- For Uspanteko, see Köhnlein (2018), Köhnlein & Zhu (2019)

How could we make an analysis like this stronger?

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- Assumes that Franconian consonant-final words *can* end in an empty-head syllable → additional evidence from Franconian dialects

Top-down interactions with consonant quality I: exceptions to final devoicing

- Some dialects of Franconian did not apply final devoicing in apocopated Accent 1 words (at least) until the 20th century
- Two sources of evidence
 - Described in dialect grammars (Dupont 1910–11; Dupont et al. 2014; Leenen 1915)
 - Results from ‘Willems questionnaire’ (1885), as discussed in Goossens (1978)

Example: Bree dialect (Dupont et al. 2014)

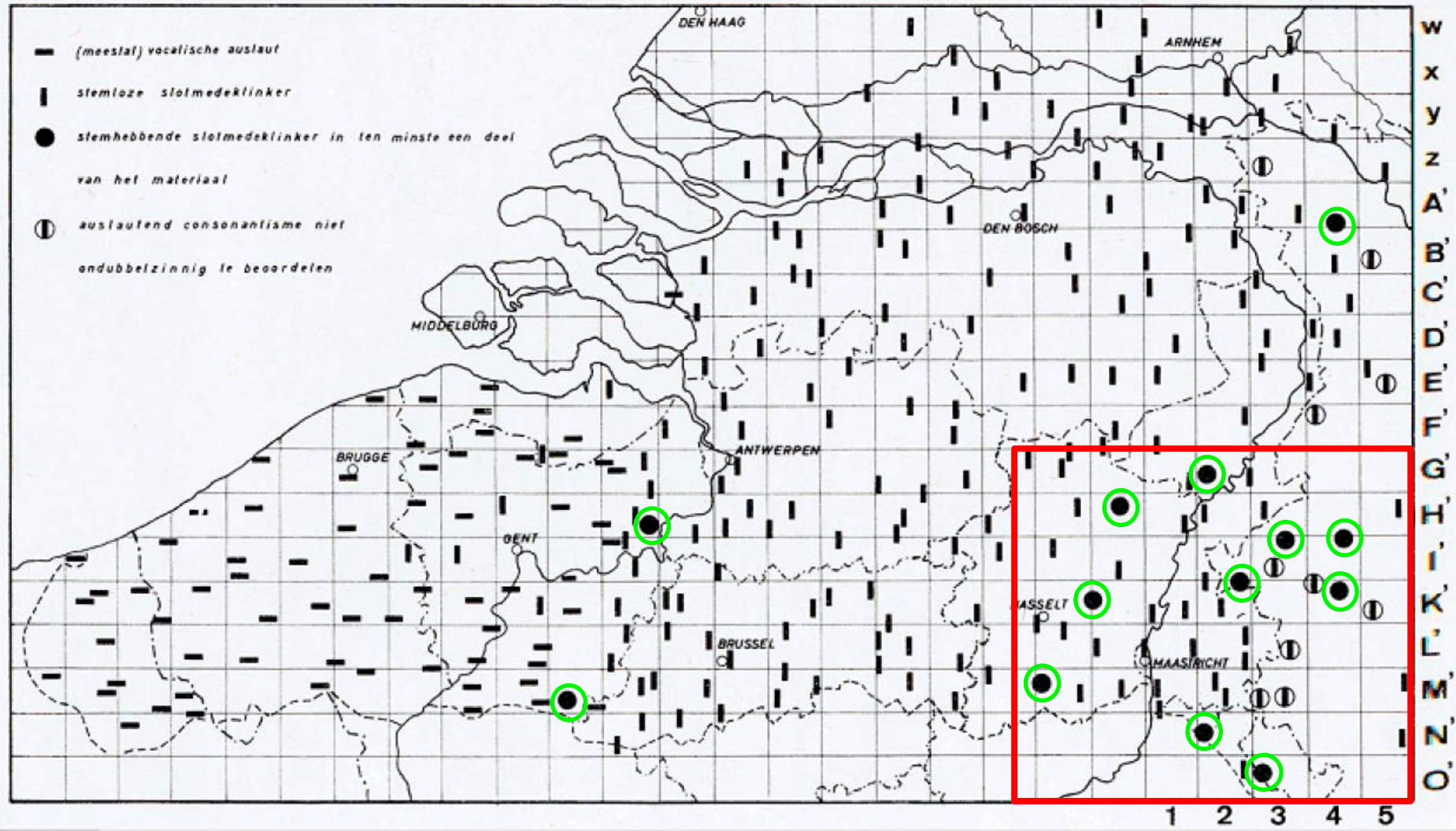
- /bliiv/ ‘stay (stem)’
→ [bliif²] ‘stay!’ vs. [bliiv¹] ‘(I) stay’
- /glaaz/ ‘glass’
→ [glaas²] ‘glass’ vs. [glaaz¹] ‘glasses’

Map from Goossens (1978)

Green = No FD in apocopated forms,

Red = Accent area (roughly)

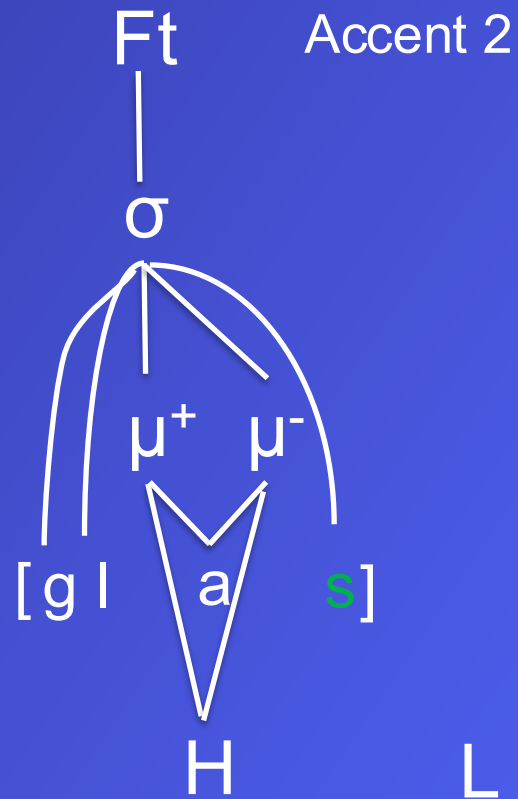
KAART 1



How to account for this?

- The non-application of final devoicing appears to indicate that the Accent-1-final consonant is not ‘really’ word-final
- One possible analysis: ‘empty-headed syllables’ = syllables without a nucleus

Bree: /gla_{μμ}z/ → [gla:s²]



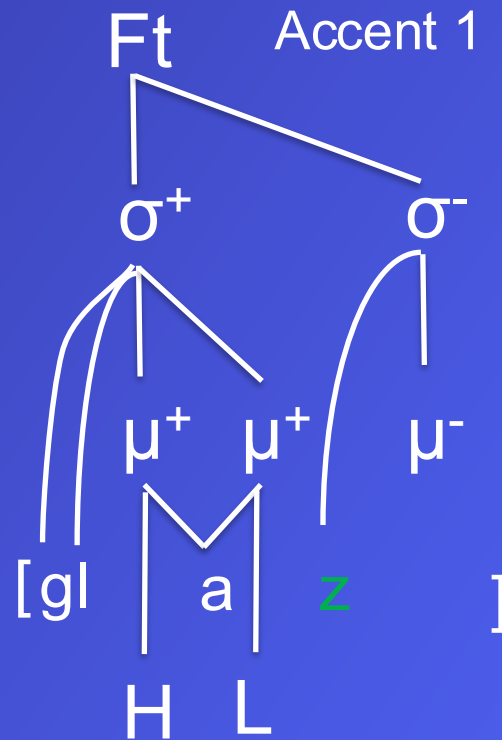
Plural morpheme = syllabic trochee: /gla_{μμ}z/ +
(σ_s.σ_w)

Generalised Non-linear Affixation (cf. Bermúdez-Otero 2012)

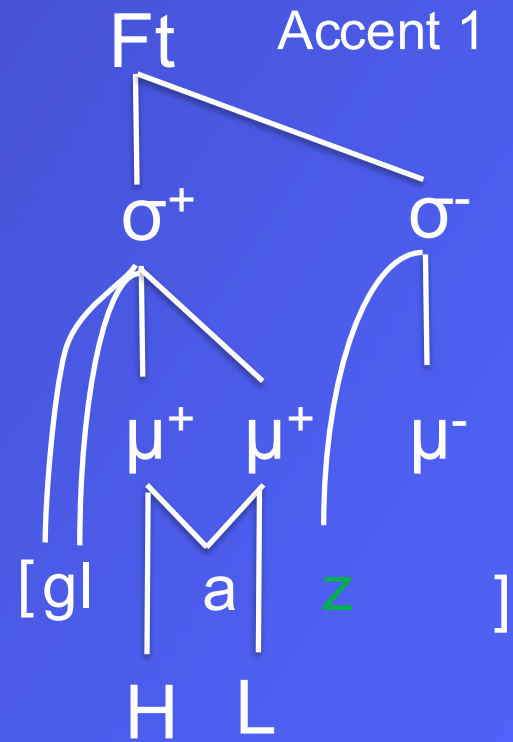
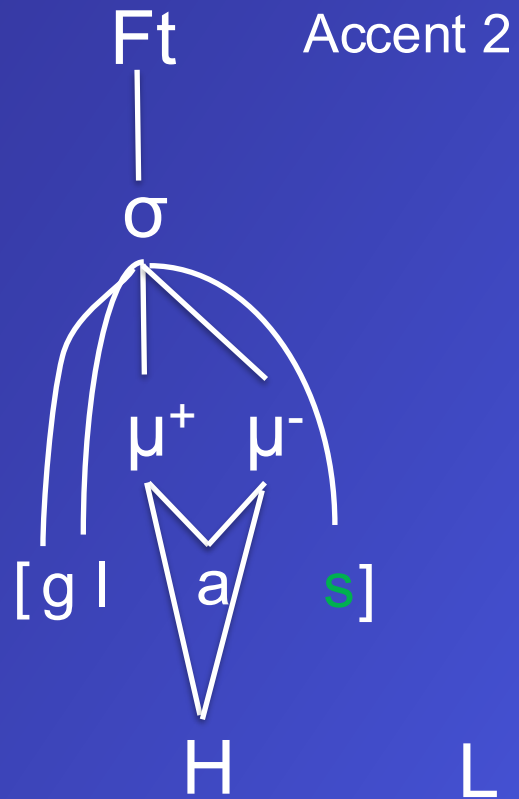


Plural morpheme = syllabic trochee

$/\text{gla}_{\mu\mu}\text{z}/ + (\sigma_s \cdot \sigma_w) \rightarrow [\text{gla}:\text{z}^1]$



[glaaz¹] 'glasses' vs. [glaas²] 'glass'



Top-down interactions with consonant quality II: word-final deletion (coalescence) under Accent 1

- Many German dialects delete word-final plosives in certain contexts (usually plurals, sometimes also datives)
- Phonotactic contexts differ across dialects, but always include /nd/ (obstruent has to be phonologically voiced / lenis)
- All dialects with word-final consonant deletion also delete word-medially (Schirmunski 2010 (1962): 479)
 - [hʊnt] 'dog' vs. [hʊn] 'dogs'
 - [kɪnt] 'child' vs. [kɪnɜ] 'children'

Example from tonal accent: Horath (Reuter 1989)

Nom. Sg.	Dat. Sg.	Nom. Pl	
hont ²	hon ¹	hɛn ¹	‘dog’
bant ²	ban ¹	bɛn ¹	‘ribbon’
kent ²	ken ¹	kenər ²	‘child’
lant ²	lan ¹	lɛnər ²	‘country’

More cases (taken from Kohlen 2016)

Word-final and word-medial consonant deletion in Horath Franconian

<i>nominative singular</i>	<i>dative singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
a. kamp ²	kam ¹	kɛm ¹	‘comb’
bant ²	ban ¹	bɛn ¹	‘ribbon’
hont ²	hon ¹	hen ¹	‘dog’
ʃaŋk ²	ʃaŋ ¹	ʃɛŋ ¹	‘cupboard’
gaŋk ²	gaŋ ¹	gɛŋ ¹	‘walk’
haŋk ²	haŋ ¹	hɛŋ ¹	‘slope’
b. kent ²	ken ¹	kenər ²	‘child’
rent ²	ren ¹	renər ²	‘cattle’
lant ²	lan ¹	lɛnər ²	‘country’
bilt ²	bil ¹	bilər ²	‘picture’
valt ²	val ¹	velər ²	‘forest’
rant ²	ran ¹	rɛnər ²	‘edge’
ʃilt ²	ʃil ¹	ʃilər ²	‘sign’
velt ²	vel ¹	velər ²	‘game (animal)’

Analysis: Deletion in onset of unstressed syllable (Köhnlein 2018)

UR	Nom. Sg.	Dat. Sg.	Nom. Pl
	Ø	($\sigma_s \cdot \sigma_w$)	($\sigma_s \cdot \sigma_w$) OR /ər/ (plus umlaut)
/hond/	hont ²	hon.n ¹	hɛn.n ¹
/band/	bant ²	ban.n ¹	bɛn.n ¹
/kend/	kent ²	ken.n ¹	ken.nər ²
/land/	lant ²	lan.n ¹	lɛn.nər ²

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