

**Solving the mystery of “Rule B”:  
On the typological relation between two Franconian dialect groups**

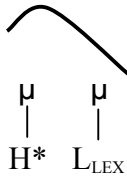
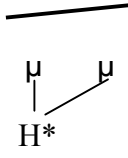
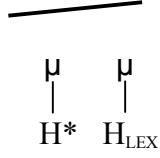
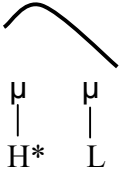
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Over the last years the Franconian tone accents have been extensively discussed from a theoretical perspective (s. e.g. Gussenhoven 2000 and 2004, Peters 2006). However only dialects following the so-called "Rule A" have been taken into account. In none of this work "Rule B" aka "Rule reversal" has been mentioned although it is descriptively well-known (e.g. Bach 1921), especially for its puzzling reversal of tonal contours: In declaration we find a falling tone where in Rule A a level high tone shows up and vice versa (non-final position). However in interrogation the contours are similar instead of reversed. Gaining a better understanding about the tonal system of the "Rule B"-dialects and their typological relation to the "Rule A"-dialects is a long-term desideratum in tone accent research (s. e.g. Bach 1921, de Vaan 1999, Schmidt 1986, 2002 and 2006) and presents a challenge for theoretical phonology. In our talk we will present an account that aims at solving this yet unsolved riddle. Instead of proposing a representational difference that leads to the partial reversals our analysis breaks the major synchronic differences down to the interaction of two constraints: OCP and IDENT-T.

In order to illustrate our proposal we present and compare tonal analyses of the dialects of Arzbach (Rule B) and Roermond (Rule A). Whereas Arzbach is as yet disregarded our analysis for Roermond will improve on a former account by Gussenhoven (2000). In our analyses both dialects have a lexical H on the second Mora of Accent 1 whereas Accent 2 is lexically toneless. A simple reranking of OCP and IDENT-T is the basis for the reversed tonal contours in declaration:

In Roermond declarative contours the underlying lexical H changes to L being preceded by H\*. In interrogation though where it is preceded by L\* it remains unchanged. We propose that this follows from the OCP which is well-attested for tonal languages (e.g. Leben 1973). However unlike in Roermond the lexical tone *always* shows up as H in Arzbach. Within OT, this follows from a constraint ranking OCP >> IDENT-T for Roermond whereas in Arzbach the ranking must be IDENT-T >> OCP, resulting in a stable lexical high tone. This explains why in interrogation the lexical tone comes out as H in both dialects. In declaration though the reversed rankings (in combination with slightly different focal melodies<sup>1</sup>) lead to the striking reversal of tonal contours:

<b>„Rule A“, declaration, non-final</b> (example from Roermond, Gussenhoven 2000)		<b>„Rule B“, declaration, non-final</b> (example from Arzbach/Westerwald)	
[bein <sup>1</sup> ] 'leg. pl.'	[bein <sup>2</sup> ] 'leg. sg.'	[bain <sup>1</sup> ] 'leg. pl.'	[bain <sup>2</sup> ] 'leg. sg.'
			

<sup>1</sup> H\* in Roermond, H\*L in Arzbach. Note though that if e.g. Roermond also had a H\*L focal melody, that would probably lead to a neutralization of the contrast (HL for both accents).