THREE TYPES OF PROSODIC CORRELATIONS IN SOUTH GERMAN DIALECTS

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ABSTRACTS

The paper deals with three types of prosodic correlations in South German dialects: correlation of gemination in High Alemannic, opposition of syllables with different place of quantitative syllable peak in North and Central Bavarian, correlation of syllable cut in Low Alemannic and High Franconian. This prosodic systems are considered as different stages of the evolution of Germanic quantity.

There are three major types of prosodic systems in South German dialects. High (South) Alemannic dialects - a group which most of Swiss German dialects belong to - are known to preserve a rather archaic quantitative order and syllabic structure. In the consonant system of these dialects two phoneme types are opposed to each other: the weak consonants - lenis - and the strong - fortis-, this opposition concerning all the consonants - but not fricatives [§a]:§a-ba] 'schei-
thening of short vowel before lenis, short vowels in the open syllable of di- and polysyllabic words are quite usual, [§abs]:[§ab-] 'schei- 
ben', [red]-:red-] 're-
d笪ti', while the syllabic di-
inention and shape are inde-
pendent on the vowel length, the type of consonant plays here a decisive role. In the intervocalic position the syllabic boundary always occurs within fortis which is phonetically geminated whereas the lenis starts the next syllable, sit-te 'Sel-
te'-zi-de 'Seide'. Thus a specific prosodic order in these dialects is present which could be called correlation of gemination.

A similar prosodic system is observed in South Bavarian dialects, whereas in Central and North Bavarian the syllable structure obeys the rule, long vowel-lenis (short) consonant-short vowel-fortis (long) consonant (Pfalz's law), these two syllable types often alternating in morphological paradigms, e.g. the opposition of singular and plural forms of substantives, [grift]:[griff] 'Griff', [fis]:[fisch] 'Fisch', [euk]:[euk] 'Stock'. This correlation yields some peculiarities differing it from similar prosodic quantitative oppositions in other Germanic languages. The alternation of fortes and lenes depending on the length of the preceding vowel takes place in consonant clusters as well: [gesst]:[gesst] 'Gast' - 'Gäste'; long as opposed to short can be diphthongs and affricates too, [hünd]:[hunt] 'Hund' - 'Runde'.

In Low Alemannic and High Franconian a third prosodic order is represented - the syllable cut correlation or the opposition of close and loose contact between a stressed vowel and the following consonant, typical of many West Germanic languages and dialects, e.g. modern standard English, German and Dutch. The prosodic character of this correlation becomes apparent in syllabication depending on the vowel length which in turn is the phonetic sign of contact: [idda] (it-da) -[idda] 'leideren' - 'lau-
ten' (Low Alemannic - Alsatian dialect).

Modern dialects reflect different stages of prosodic developments. They show general trends of syllabic structure evolution common to all Germanic languages, but also some specific High German features.

An important consequence of the Second Sound shift was the elimination of the opposition voiceless-voiced in the consonant system of South German dialects. The reduction of the opposition of three consonant rows: lenes-fortes-eminates to that of only two: lenes-fortes with geminates as positional variants took place as many scholars believe -
already in the Old High German [6]. Thus the consonant system here was based on the opposition of lenes derived from Germanic voiced and fortes derived from Germanic voiceless stops which were shifted according to the Second Sound Shift, Germanic geminates and long consonants resulted from the West Germanic consonant lengthening. The shifted fricatives were long, strong and in the intervocalic position geminated. Germanic *pf* merged with Germanic *ff, k* merged with Germanic *x, t* merged with Germanic *s,* thus the opposition of fortes-lenes became universal for the whole system, only in the dental row the triple opposition *d-t-tt* and also *s-ss-ś* was preserved for a longer time. After the coincidence of *s, ś* and *t (*<dd, bb) the consonant system was simplified, the opposition of fortes-lenes intimately connected with syllabification and syllable shape became strengthened. This consonant system is preserved to-day in Swiss German dialects. 

Further evolution of syllabic structure was directed toward the interrelation of vowel and consonant quantity inside the word. According to the assumption of E.Kranzmay a tendency to an equal quantity of all the words got developed [4]. As the Swiss German dialects indicate, the first step of this development could be the vowel lengthening in monosyllabics before lenes — first of all of open vowels before resonants. This statement contradicts the widespread concept according to which the lengthening in monosyllabics occurred by analogy with that in open syllables. Many new monosyllabic words ending in fortes resulted from the apocope which took place in Central and North Bavarian dialects: *[blif]<*[blifes]. They contrast with old monosyllabics built according to the pattern, long vowel-lenes. As a result of all these processes a quantitative-prosodic order referred to above as the correlation of the syllable peak place was formed. There are reasons to suppose that a prosodic correlation like this (sometimes called isochrony) always preceded the syllable cut correlation in the history of West Germanic languages [5]. The next step was the elimination of geminates which became phonologically redundant. In Central German dialect area including also some South German dialects — High Frisian, Low Alemannic — these processes were connected with the merger of fortes and lenes — consonant weakening[7]. Because of very few oppositions in the consonant system of these dialects the syllable cut (contact) correlation became an important means of differentiatıon: *lüt* < *lit-ten* (with deanalysis in [y] > [i] and vowel shortening) > modern Alsation *lät* with close contact *lüt* < *lid* > modern Alsation *lät* with loose contact *leiden* [1].

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