

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF LOCALITIES	xi
LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS	xii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION	1
---------------------------	---

II. THE SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS

A. Introduction	12
---------------------------	----

B. Oral vowels

1. Short vowels

a. Inventory	16
b. Lexical representation	24
c. Distribution	28

2. Long vowels

a. Inventory	35
b. Lexical representation	37
c. Distribution	41

3. Upgliding diphthongs

a. Inventory	50
b. Lexical representation	56
c. Distribution	58

4. Ingliding diphthongs	
a. Inventory	65
b. Lexical representation	79
c. Distribution	84

C. Nasalized vowels

1. Introduction	86
2. Nasalized monophthongs	
a. Inventory	88
b. Lexical representation	90
c. Distribution	93
3. Nasalized diphthongs	
a. Inventory	96
b. Lexical representation	98
c. Distribution	99

III. THE DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

A. Introduction	101
B. History of the Upper Hessian vocalism	
1. The earliest developments: Pre-Old High German to Early Old High German	105
2. Early Old High German developments: umlaut	113
3. Late Old High German developments: reduction of diphthongs	118
4. Early Middle High German developments: lowering and diphthongization of short vowels; raising of long low vowels	123
5. Monophthongization of /iə üə uə/ _{7,10,13}	134

6.	Shortening of /ī ū ū/ _{7,10,13} ; raising of /q̄/ ₈	138
7.	The Upper Hessian vowel shift	
	a. General description	142
	b. Raising of /ē ö ö/ _{8,11,14}	149
	c. Diphthongization of /ī ū ū/ _{6,9,12} and /ī ū ū/ _{7,10,13}	150
	d. Raising of /ē ö ö/ ₈	155
	e. Monophthongization of /ei öü ou/ _{11,14}	156
8.	Further development of the reflexes of /ei öü ou/ _{11,14}	159
9.	Unrounding of front rounded vowels	167
10.	Lengthening of short vowels	172
11.	Merger of short vowels before /r/	181
12.	Early modern developments: diphthongization of Middle High German /ī ū ū/ _{6,9,12}	185
13.	Reduction of /ai qi au/ _{6,9,12} ; lengthening of /a/ ₁₋₇ before /ld/	192
14.	Raising of short vowels before /r/; development of ingliding diphthongs	196
15.	Recent developments: emergence of vowel nasality	203
16.	Restoration of long oral vowels and upgliding diphthongs to prenasal occurrence; changes before /r/ in the southern area	211
17.	Development of border enclaves	215

IV. CONCLUSION	219
APPENDIX I. NOTES	222
APPENDIX II. TABLES	235
APPENDIX III. MAPS	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY	253
INDEX	262