

# Voice and Tone in a Limburg Dutch Dialect: Evidence for Feature Licensing

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## 1. Tone contrast and voice specification in Maasbracht Dutch

- (1) *falling tone* *dragging tone*
- |                             |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| b <sub>ii</sub> ‘bee’       | b <sub>ii</sub> ‘at’           |
| b <sub>uu</sub> ‘to build’  | b <sub>uu</sub> ‘construction’ |
| d <sub>_</sub> ‘voila’      | d <sub>_</sub> ‘yonder’        |
| <br>                        | <br>                           |
| m <sub>n</sub> ‘minus’      | m <sub>n</sub> ‘vile’          |
| kl <sub>Am</sub> ‘trap’     | kl <sub>Am</sub> ‘hardly’      |
| m <sub>Fr</sub> exclamation | m <sub>Fr</sub> ‘but’          |
| v <sub>El</sub> ‘to fell’   | v <sub>El</sub> ‘skin’         |
- (2) *dragging tone in the environment: sonorant + vcless obstruent*
- |                                  |                                |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| k <sub>Elp</sub> « place name    | p <sub>Imp</sub> «l ‘to booze’ |
| b <sub>AlkAn</sub> ‘the Balkans’ | r <sub>Ent</sub> « ‘interest’  |
| h <sub>Elp</sub> « ‘to help’     | w <sub>INk</sub> «l ‘shop’     |
| sp <sub>Et</sub> «l ‘to sprawl’  | l <sub>omp</sub> ‘ungainly’    |
| h <sub>Er</sub> s«n« ‘brains’    | l <sub>Antj</sub> ‘land’       |
| w <sub>Erk</sub> ‘work’          | l <sub>ANk</sub> ‘long’        |
- (3) *contrast in the environment:*
- a. *sonorant+ vcd obstruent*
- |                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| E <sub>r</sub> ~«r ‘worse’ | E <sub>r</sub> ~«r ‘to annoy’ |
| h <sub>Ed</sub> «r ‘clear’ | k <sub>Ed</sub> «r ‘cellar’   |
- b. *long V + any consonant*
- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| paat«r ‘father’ | waat«r ‘water’  |
| eed«r ‘every’   | eed«r ‘earlier’ |
- (4) *falling tone not required in morphologically derived environment:*
- k<sub>n</sub>+tj ‘know [3S]’, k<sub>n</sub>+s ‘know [2S]’, ~«+w<sub>on</sub>+tj ‘hurt [perfect part.]’, m<sub>En</sub>+k« ‘man [DIM]’

## 2. Feature Licensing Theory

- (5) *Lyman’s Law*: \*[+vc][+vc] within the domain of a stem (*kita* ‘north’, \**gida*)

- (6) *Rendaku*  
*ori + kami* → *origami*  
*kami + kaze* → *kamikaze*
- (7) *tompo* → *tombo*
- (8) SONVOI: Sonorants should be voiced  
 Son ⊃ Voi
- (9) LICENSE(F): A phonological feature must be licensed  
 $\forall F \exists G : (G \times F)$
- (10) Licensing Cancellation:  
 If F implies G, then F does not license G  
 $F \supset G \Rightarrow \neg(F \times G)$

(11)

kami	LICENSE	SONVOI
kami   vc	*!	
> kami		*

(12)

tompo	LICENSE	SONVOI	IDENT
> to mb o   vc			*
> to mp o		*!	

(13) NO-VC-LINK » NO-LC-LINK » SONVOI » NO-NC-LINK

### 3. Licensing of voice and tonal contrast in Maasbracht

- (14) a. VOICETONE  
 [-vc] ⊃ H
- b. L ⊃ [+vc]

(15)

rEnt<	LICENSE	IDENT(VOI)- ONSET	SONVOI	IDENT(VOI)
> rEnt<			*	
rEnt<   [vc]	*!			
rEnd<   [vc]		*!		*

(16)

rotond<	LICENSE	IDENT(VOI)- ONSET	SONVOI	IDENT(VOI)
rotont<		*!	*	*
rotond<   [vc]			*!	
> rotond<   [vc]				(*)

(17)

HL rEnt<	IDENT(VOI)- ONSET	VOICETONE	IDENT(VOI)
>HH   rEnt<			*
HL   rEnt<		*!	
HL   rEnd<	*!		

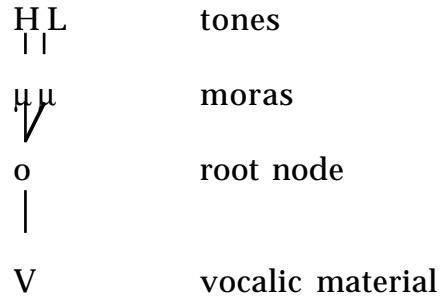
(18) No-VC-LINK » SONVOI » No-LC-LINK » No-NC-LINK

#### 4. A few remaining problems

(19) HEADIDENT(F)

Segments in head position are faithful to their input.

(20)



(21)

$\begin{array}{c} \text{HL} \\     \\ \text{paat} \llcorner \text{r} \end{array}$	HEADIDENT(T)	VOICETONE	IDENT(VOI)
$\begin{array}{c} \text{HH} \\     \\ \text{paat} \llcorner \text{r} \end{array}$	*!	█	█*
$\begin{array}{c} >\text{HL} \\     \\ \text{paat} \llcorner \text{r} \end{array}$		█*	█

(22) Virtual unchangeability of the righthand word edge in Dutch dialects

**Epenthesis:** /wErk/      [wEr◀k]      \*[wErk◀]

**Reduction:** /domine/      [domine]      \*[domin◀] (cf. [pl◀zir])

**Nasalisation:** /mAn/      [mAn]      \*[mA~] (cf. [dA~s])

(23)

$\begin{array}{c} \text{HL} \\     \\ \text{min} \end{array}$	ALIGN(T)	VOICETONE	IDENT(VOI)
$\begin{array}{c} \text{HH} \\     \\ \text{min} \end{array}$	*!	█	█*
$\begin{array}{c} >\text{HL} \\     \\ \text{min} \end{array}$		█*	█

(24) [wEr◀k◀]

[kIns]