

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 _{ii} 'bee' | b _{ii} 'at' |
| b _{uu} 'to build' | b _{uu} 'construction' |
| d __ 'voila' | d __ 'yonder' |
|
 |
 |
| m _n 'minus' | m _n 'vile' |
| kl _{Am} 'trap' | kl _{Am} 'hardly' |
| m _{Fr} exclamation | m _{Fr} 'but' |
| v _{El} 'to fell' | v _{El} 'skin' |
- (2) *dragging tone in the environment: sonorant + vcless obstruent*
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| k _{Elp} « place name | p _{Imp} «l 'to booze' |
| b _{AlkAn} 'the Balkans' | r _{Ent} « 'interest' |
| h _{Elp} « 'to help' | w _{INk} «l 'shop' |
| sp _{Et} «l 'to sprawl' | l _{omp} 'ungainly' |
| h _{Er} s«n« 'brains' | l _{Antj} 'land' |
| w _{Erk} 'work' | l _{ANk} 'long' |
- (3) *contrast in the environment:*
- a. *sonorant+ vcd obstruent*
- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| E _r ~«r 'worse' | E _r ~«r 'to annoy' |
| h _{Ed} «r 'clear' | k _{Ed} «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_n+tj 'know [3S]', k_n+s 'know [2S]', ~«+w_{on}+tj 'hurt [perfect part.]', m_{En}+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<	*!		

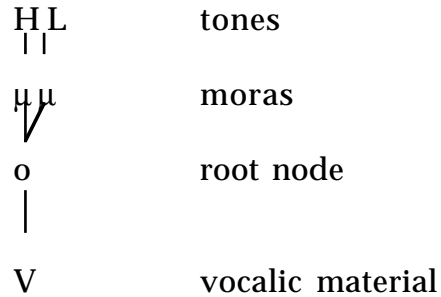
(18) No-VC-LINK » SONVOI » No-LC-LINK » No-NC-LINK

4. A few remaining problems

(19) HEADIDENT(F)

Segments in head position are faithful to their input.

(20)



(21)

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

(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] *[mAn~] (cf. [dA~s])

(23)

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

(24) [wEr◀k◀]

[kIns]