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Home > Articles > Published articles > Record#4805: Expressing Inflection Tonally

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Expressing Inflection Tonally

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Abstract: In Limburg Dutch, the difference between neuter and feminine agreement on adjectives is expressed by a difference in lexical tone. This paper argues that this distinction is due to a difference in underlying representations and not to a paradigmatic antifaithfulness effect. In particular, it argues for a specific version of REALIZE-MORPHEME, the constraint demanding every underlying morpheme to be present in phonological surface representations. The key argument is that a schwa suffix turns up whenever the tonal change from neuter to feminine is not possible.

Genre/form: Article

Keywords: Dialectology; Lexical tones; Morphology-phonology interface; Optimality Theory; Paradigm uniformity; Dutch

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