341 Final Exam

EXERCISE 3:4 Pali

Listed below are examples of consonant deletion and cluster simplification in Pali which occurred in the course of its historical evolution from its parent language Sanskrit.

	Sanskrit	*Pali*	
a.	tatas	tato	'therefrom'
	punar	puno, puna	'again'
	pra:patat	papata	'hurled down'
b.	danta	danta	'tamed'
	sambudd^{h}a	sambudd^{h}a	'enlightened'
	sakt^{h}i	satt^{h}i	'thigh'
	mudga	mugga	'bean'
	śabda	sadda	'words'
	b^{h}akta	b^{h}atta	'rice'
	sapta	satta	'seven'
	karka	kakka	'a precious stone'
	sarpa	sappa	'snake'
	valka	vakka	'the bark of a tree'
	d^{h}arma	d^{h}amma	'righteousness'
	karṇa	kaṇṇa	'ear'
	kalmaṣa	kammasa	'spotted'
	kaṭsaka	kassaka	'farmer'
c.	traana	taana	'protection'
	kramati	kamati	'walks'
	prati	paṭi	'against'
	śvaśru	sassu	'mother-in-law'

(i) What do the data above tell you about the constraints on the possible syllable in Pali?

(ii) What is the difference between the simplification of intervocalic clusters in (b) and that of word-initial clusters in (c).

(iii) Can this difference be traced back to syllable structure?

EXERCISE 3:5 English Vowel Deletion

In fast speech in English (at least in our estimation) in unstressed word-i syllables vowels may be deleted, sometimes creating what would normal unacceptable onsets. In spite of this, there seem to be some restrictions on w vowel may be deleted in seemingly similar situations. In (a) we list what we cor to be acceptable deletions and in (b) apparently similar words where deletion i possible. Suggest what prevents deletion in the (b) cases. The relevant vowel emboldened:

a. *Deletion possible*	b. *No deletion possible*
potato	reduction
syringe	retire
career	mature
commotion	promotion
phonetic	laconic
pathetic	platonic

EXERCISE 3:6 Icelandic

Consider the following alternations from Icelandic, given in conventional Icela orthography (the orthographic symbol *Þ* is phonetically [θ]):

a.	*Nominative sg.*	*Accusative sg.*	
	dag-ur	dag	'day'
	stað-ur	stað	'place'
	hest-ur	hest	'horse'
	bæ-r	bæ	'farmhouse'
	lækni-r	lækni	'physician'

b.		*Dative sg.*	
	lifur	lifri	'liver'
	akur	agri	'field'
	aldur	aldri	'age'

(i) What are the variants of the nominative singular suffix?

(ii) Do the data in (b) give you a clue as to the lexical form of this suffix?

Now consider the folbwing data:

c.

Nom. sg.	*Acc. sg.*	*Gen. sg.*	*Dat. pl.*	*Gen. pl.*	
lyf-ur	lyf	lyf-s	lyfj-um	lyfj-a	'medicine'
byl-ur	byl	byl-s	bylj-um	bylj-a	'snowstorm'
söng-ur	söng	söng-s	söngv-um	söngv-a	'song'

(iii) What in these examples helps to confirm your hypothesis as to the lexical form of the nominative singular suffix?

(iv) What are the lexical forms of the genitive singular, genitive plural and dative plural suffixes?

(v) Give a reason for the stem alternations observed in (c).

Consider the further data in (d):

d.

Nom. sg.		*Dat. pl.*		
barn		börn-um		'child'
baggi	'pack'		bögg-ull	'package'
jak-i	'piece of ice'		jök-ul-l	'glacier'
Þagg-a	'to silence'		Þög-ul-l	'taciturn'
kalla	'call' (1st sg.)		köll-um	'call' (1st pl.)

(vi) Give a reason for the stem alternations in (d).

(vii) In what way do the data in (e) below provide further evidence about the lexical form of the nominative suffix?

e.

akur	ökrum	'field'
aldur	öldum	'age'
staður	stöðum	'place'

(viii) Provide a formal account of all the alternations observed.

EXERCISE 3:7 Anxiang Suffixation

The diminutive form in the Chinese language Anxiang is formed by the addition of the suffix *-ər* to a reduplicated form of the base. (Tones are omitted from the representations.)

tie	tie tiər	'small dish, plate'
mian	mian miər	'face'
tai	tai tər	'belt'
pau	pau pər	'bud'
ke	ke kər	'check, chequer'
fa	fa fər	'law, way'
o	o ər	'bird's nest
ti	ti tiər	'bamboo flute'
tin	tin tiər	'nail'
p^hu	p^hu $p^huər$	'spread'
tçy	tçy tçyər	'pearl'

Say which part of the base participates in the reduplicated forms, and why. (Hint: Anxiang is basically a monosyllabic language.)

EXERCISE 3:8 Diola Fogny

In Diola Fogny, a Niger-Congo language spoken in Guinea-Bissau and Gambia, simplification occurs in cases where the concatenation of morphemes creates an unsyllabifiable consonant cluster, as we show in (a) (we have followed the transcription from the source; the symbol *j* represents a palatal obstruent and *y* represents [j]).

a.

/let-ku-jaw/	lekujaw	'they won't go'
/ujuk-ja/	ujuja	'if you see'
/-kob-kob-en/	kokoben	'yearn, long for'
/-tey-tey-or/	teteyor	'disentangle'
/jaw-bu-ŋar/	jabuŋar	'voyager'
/na-laŋ-laŋ/	nalalaŋ	'he returned'
/na-yoken-yoken/	nayokeyoken	'he tires'
/na-wan-aam-wan/	nwanaawan	'he cultivated for me'

EXERCISE 9:6 Yawelmani Vowel System

The data below come from the Yawelmani dialect of Yokuts, an American Indian language of California. Yawelmani has the following sets of long and short vowels (short [e] is a predictable variant of underlying [e:]):

Short		*Long*	
i	u		
(e)	o	e:	o:
	a		a:

Each of the suffixes exemplified below has two variants:

a.	*future passive*	*passive aorist*	*precative gerundial*	*dubitative*	
	xil-nit	xil-it	xil-ʔas	xil-al	'tangle'
	hud-nut	hud-ut	hud-ʔas	hud-al	'recognize'
	gop-nit	gop-it	gop-ʔos	gop-ol	'take care of'
	max-nit	max-it	max-ʔas	max-al	'procure'

(i) What causes the choice of suffix variant?

In (b) we show verb stems with two suffixes:

b.	max-sit-hin	'procure' (indirect, nonfuture)
	koʔ-sit-hin	'throw' (indirect, nonfuture)
	tul-sut-hun	'burn' (indirect, nonfuture)
	bok-sit-ka	'find' (indirect, imperative)
(cf.	bok-ko	'find' (imperative))

(ii) Give a formal account of the suffix variants.

The data in (c) show a length alternation in the stem:

c.	*future passive*	*passive aorist*	*precative gerundial*	*dubitative*	
	mek-nit	me:k-it	mek-ʔas	me:k-al	'swallow'
	sog-nut	so:g-ut	sog-ʔas	so:g-al	'unwrap'
	dos-nit	do:s-it	dos-ʔos	do:s-ol	'report'
	tan-nit	ta:n-it	tan-ʔas	ta:n-al	'go'

(iii) What are the underlying forms of these verb stems?

(iv) Account formally for the alternating vowel length in the stems.

The verbs in (d) exhibit an alternation between epenthetic [i] and Ø:

d.	*future*	*dubitative*	*gerundive*	*nonfuture*	
	paʔt-en	paʔt-al	paʔit-mi	paʔit-hin	'fight'
	lihm-en	lihm-al	lihim-mi	lihim-hin	'run'
	logw-en	logw-ol	logiw-mi	logiw-hin	'pulverize'
	ʔugn-on	ʔugn-al	ʔugun-mu	ʔugun-hun	'drink'

(v) Give an explanation for the rule of epenthesis.

(vi) How does the epenthesis process interact with the first rule you proposed

Now consider the forms in (e):

e.	*dubitative*	*gerundive/ nonfuture*	
	sonl-ol	so:nil-mi	'put on the back'
	ʔaml-al	ʔa:mil-hin	'help'
	mojn-ol	mo:jin-mi	'get tired'
	salk-al	sa:lik-hin	'wake up'

(vii) From the evidence in (e) say what the ordering of the three rules is.

(viii) Give derivations for [so:nil-hin], [mojn-al] and [dos-ʔos].