

Problem #1: Ilokano

due in class Mon. 1/12

You can hand it in two days later if you're at the LSA.

Part I: Readings. Prepare a summary (you might try bullet points) of the main points of the first reading by McCarthy.

Part II: Ilokano. Ilokano is an Austronesian language spoken in the Northern Philippines and in many emigrant communities. The data in this problem were elicited by me in the 1980's from May Abad, a UCLA undergraduate, and by May from her mother and her aunt. Published version: *Lingua*, 1989.

Ilokano has only two suffixes, *-an* and *-en*, which combine in some cases with prefixes to form circumfixes. For simplicity I have shamelessly altered the data to include only the suffix part of a circumfix.

1.	[tulad]	'to mimic'	[tuladen]	'mimic-goal focus' ¹
	[gataŋ]	'to buy'	[gataŋen]	'buy-goal focus'
	[taraj]	'to run'	[tarajan]	'place to run to'
	[saŋit]	'to cry'	[saŋiten]	'to cause to cry'
2.	[basa]	'to read'	[basa?en]	'read-goal focus'
	[saka]	'foot, leg'	[saka?an]	'place where one walks barefoot'
	[pja]	'health'	[pja?en]	'to make healthy'
	[tʃjenda]	'store'	[tʃjenda?an]	'marketplace'
3.	[babawi]	'to regret'	[babawjen]	'regret-goal focus'
	[masahe]	'massage'	[masahjen]	'massage-goal focus'
	[komadre]	'godmother of one's child'	[pagkomadrjan]	'the reason why there are <i>komadres</i> '
	[maneho]	'driver'	[manehwan]	'drive-goal focus'
	[saŋo]	'front'	[pagsaŋwen]	'to cause to face forwards'
	[santo]	'saint'	[pagsantwan]	'to make into a saint'

Assume the following about feature theory: the glide /j/ differs from the vowel /i/ **solely** in the feature [syllabic]. /j/ differs from /e/ in the features [syllabic] and [high]. The glide differs from

¹ Goal focus is a syntactic category roughly analogous to English passive.

the vowel /o/ in the features [syllabic] and [high]. Thus in an “SPE”-type approach, a simple analysis would be:

Glide Formation

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ____ } [+syllabic]$$

Epenthesis (ordered after Glide Formation)

$$\emptyset \rightarrow ? / [+syllabic] \text{ ____ } [+syllabic]$$

It’s also useful to remember that in the great majority of languages, there is no glide that phonologically matches up with /a/, in the way that /j/ matches up with /i/ and /e/ and /w/ matches up with /o/ and /u/.

I suggest that before you begin your write-up, you read the accompanying handout giving my preferences (which aren’t that unusual) on phonology problem writeups.

a. Develop an Optimality-theoretic analysis of these forms, stating your constraints (with prose explication) and giving tableaux for all forms. Put prose explanations for what is going on immediately after each candidate table. Explain crucial constraint rankings.

The appropriate strategy here is to characterize Ilokano phonotactics in a coherent set of constraints, then specify how recalcitrant underlying forms (created by suffixation) are rendered compatible with the phonotactics, by ranking specific Faithfulness constraints low enough.

Be sure to include your grammar all Faithfulness constraints that get violated.

I have given a set of representative forms below which you may use as the basis of your analysis. Be sure to cover at least these. I also included a number of crucial ill-formed rival candidates for each output form; be sure to include enough constraints to rule out the ill-formed candidates given here. You might also like to be creative and think of other plausible candidates.

Phonetic symbols: [a̠], [e̠], and [o̠] are *glides* that are homorganic with the vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/, respectively. They differ only in the feature [syllabic].

b. Draw a “Hasse diagram” of the rankings you found (i.e. a diagram in which an arrow links the members of each necessarily-ranked pair).

c. At least one of the candidates I provide below is *harmonically bounded*; i.e. can never win because it has a superset of the violations of another candidate (which is said to bound it). List a harmonically bounded candidate and a rival candidate that bounds it.

d. In your analysis, what underlying representations are compatible with surface [ʔabut]? Explain your answer.

e. Occasionally May Abad would produce forms like [ma.sah.əan] instead of [ma.sah.jan], and similarly with other mid-vowel stems like [manehəan] (but forms like /basa-en/ always came out

with a glottal stop; never *[basæn].) Sketch out a way that your grammar might be modified to generate this free variation.

Inputs:	/tulad/	/abut/	/basa-en/
Outputs:	[tu.lad]	[ʔa.but]	[ba.sa.ʔen]
Rivals:	*[tul.ʔad], *[tul.ad]	*[a.but]	*[bas.æn], *[ba.sa.en], *[ba.sen], *[ba.san], *[ba.sa.ten]

Inputs:	/babawi-en/	/masahe-an/
Outputs:	[ba.baw.jen]	[ma.sah.jan]
Rivals:	*[ba.ba.wi.ʔen], *[ba.ba.wi.en], *[ba.ba.win], *[ba.ba.wen]	*[ma.sa.he.ʔan], *[ma.sah.æn], *[ma.sa.he.an], *[ma.sa.han], *[ma.sa.hen]