

## Assignment #5: Saipanese Chamorro<sup>1</sup>

Due Nov. 4

### Directions and notes

- Account for the vowel quality distribution and alternations below.
- Don't worry about consonant-length alternations or affix allomorphy.
- I suggest you start with the **distribution of vowel height** in the monomorphemic words. Treat the affricate [tʃ] as a single consonant.
- Develop a cyclic analysis of the data. You can use rules or stratal OT.
- You should be able to assume a single level, though in words with both a prefix and a suffix you'll have to decide which attaches first.
- Assume that stress in unsuffixed words is placed by a rule/constraint that you need not formulate (but should include in your derivations or tableaux—call it “basic stress rule” or BASICSTRESS). I haven't given you enough data to formulate this rule/constraint, so don't try.
- Do write rules accounting for the primary and secondary stress in suffixed words. Make sure that, in suffixed words, you deal not just with adding stresses but with deleting them where necessary. Don't, however, worry about why there's never secondary stress on the prefix /i/.
- You can use the feature values [1stress], [2stress], and [–stress] for primary stress (á), secondary stress (à), and no stress (a), respectively. You may also refer to [+stress], which would include [1stress] and [2stress].
- In an OT analysis, if stress changes it would therefore violate IDENT(stress).
- Treat [a] as [–front].
- I have fudged the stresses on some prefixed words to keep things simple, suppressed some low-level allophony, and suppressed optional variants—use caution when in Saipan.
- You may notice that some words are loans from Spanish. While it would be reasonable to conjecture that the loans behave differently, as far as I know they don't in this case and are meant to be representative of the general pattern, so please treat all the words the same way.

### Data—monomorphemic words

	Words like this exist:	Words like this don't exist:	
1)	métgut ‘strong’	*métgot	*mítgut    *mítgot
2)	manéŋŋiŋ ‘cold’	*manéŋŋeŋ	*maníŋŋiŋ    *maníŋŋeŋ
3)	písaw ‘fishing line’	*pésaw	
4)	impátt̄su ‘bored’	*empátt̄su	*impátt̄so    *empátt̄so
5)	dispásju ‘slow’	*dispásjo	*despásju    *despásjo
6)	pódduŋ ‘fall’	*póddoŋ	*púdduŋ    *púddoŋ
7)	t̄sóʔg <sup>w</sup> i ‘do’	*t̄sóʔg <sup>w</sup> e	*t̄sóʔg <sup>w</sup> i    *t̄sóʔg <sup>w</sup> e
8)	útsan ‘rain’	*ótsan	
9)	múmu ‘fight’	*múmo	*mómu    *mómo
10)	gubjétnu ‘governor’	*gobjétno	*gubjítnu    *gobjítno    *gobjétnu    *gubjétno, etc.
11)	g <sup>w</sup> ésg <sup>w</sup> is ‘to brush’	*g <sup>w</sup> ésg <sup>w</sup> es	*g <sup>w</sup> ísg <sup>w</sup> is    *g <sup>w</sup> ísg <sup>w</sup> es
12)	agáʔga ‘throat’		
13)	kamúti ‘sweet potato’	*kamúte	*kamóti    *kamóte

<sup>1</sup> Data taken from Chung and Crosswhite. I can give you the full bibliographic information later if you want.

**Data—alternations—note in particular 18-19 vs. 20-22!**

14)	láp̄is	‘pencil’	lapéssu	‘my pencil’
15)	dǣŋis	‘candle’	dǣŋéssu	‘my candle’
16)	hugá̄ndu	‘play’	hùgandón̄ŋa	‘his playing’
17)	malǣgu?	‘wanting’	màlǣgó?mu	‘your wanting’
18)	tintá̄gu?	‘messenger’	t̄intagó?ta	‘our (incl.) messenger’
19)	mundón̄gu	‘cow stomach’	mùnduŋgón̄ŋa	‘his cow stomach’
20)	éttigu	‘short’	èttigón̄ŋa	‘shorter’
21)	inè̄ŋulu?	‘peeping’	inè̄ŋuló?hu	‘my peeping’
22)	óttimu	‘end’	òttimón̄ŋa	‘his end’
23)	kwéntus	‘to speak’	kwintúsi	‘to speak to’
24)	lók̄luk	‘to boil’	luklók̄ŋa	‘its boiling’
25)	sénsin	‘flesh’	sinsén̄ŋa	‘his flesh’

note in particular **33-35 vs.36-37 and 38-40**

26)	nána	‘mother’	inána	‘the mother’		
27)	kát̄ta	‘letter’	nikæt̄ta	‘the letter (obl.)’		
28)	hú̄ŋuk	‘to hear’	inhí̄ŋuk	‘we (excl.) heard’		
29)	pú̄gas	‘uncooked rice’	mipí̄gas	‘abounding in uncooked rice’		
30)	há̄ga	‘daughter’	ihá̄ga	‘the daughter’		
31)	át̄tsu?	‘rock’	iæt̄tsu?	‘the rock’		
32)	dá̄ŋkulu	‘big one’	idá̄ŋkulu	‘the big one’		
33)	pulón̄nun	‘trigger fish’	ipulón̄nun	‘the trigger fish’	ipùlunón̄ŋa	‘his trigger fish’
34)	mundón̄gu	‘cow’s stomach’	imundón̄gu	‘the cow’s stomach’	imùnduŋgón̄ŋa	‘its stomach’
35)	lugát	‘place’			ilugát̄ŋa	‘his place’
36)	gú̄ma?	‘house’	igí̄ma?	‘the house’	igĩ̄ma?níha	‘their house’
37)	kób̄bli	‘cash’	ikéb̄bli	‘the cash’	ikè̄bb̄linmámi	‘our (excl.) cash’
38)	tsú̄pa	‘cigarettes’	íts̄ipa	‘the cigarettes’	íts̄ipá̄ŋa	‘his cigarettes’
39)	són̄suŋ	‘village’	isén̄suŋ	‘the village’	isiŋsón̄ŋa	‘his village’
40)	pú̄g <sup>w</sup> a?	‘betel nut’	ipí̄g <sup>w</sup> a?	‘the betel nut’	ipig <sup>w</sup> á?hu	‘my betel nut’