

**Assignment #5: Process interaction in Kalinga**  
Due Friday, Feb. 20

**Data notes**

- Inspired by Kenstowicz & Kisseberth (1979)'s problem on the related language Keley-i (ch. 8).
- Unfortunately, the data here are from two dialects: the Guinaan dialect of Lubuagan Kalinga (Gieser 1970) and Limos Kalinga (Ferreirinho 1993 & Wiens 1995). Data not from Gieser are **bold**, just for your information, but pretend that all the data could come from the same speaker (I have no reason to think they couldn't).
- A bit of consonant allophony is suppressed.

**Instructions**

- First, develop an OT account of the data in parts A-D.
- Then—this is the hard part, and should take up a couple of pages—discuss what issues you run into in extending your accounts to the data in part E (see additional notes there).
  - Discuss the problems that your OT account faces—you don't have to solve the problems, but make it clear what they are.
  - Discuss the problems that an SPE-style rule account faces, and discuss whether any of the ideas you've seen about intrinsic rule ordering or non-ordering can help.

**Tips**

- I've indicated stress wherever Gieser indicated it (for some data, I just don't know because it wasn't transcribed). Don't try to account for stress alternations—you can just assume, for SPE analysis, a rule "assign stress" (you only need to order it correctly) and, for OT analysis, a constraint "don't have incorrect stress".

**A. Account for *o*-deletion**

		<i>X+an</i>	
1. taliŋód	'not exposed (e.g., to view)'	taliŋdán	'to screen (something) (e.g., from view)'
2. domdomóg	'kind of ceremony'	domdomgán	'to have <i>domdomog</i> for (something)'
		<i>ʔi+X</i>	
3. boʔá	'?'	ʔibʔá	'to break up (e.g. a large stone so that it can be removed)'
4. sonód	'obstruction'	ʔisnod	'to use as <i>sonod</i> '
		<i>ma+X</i>	
5. ʔosít	'?'	maʔsít	'to dry up (as a source of water)'
6. ʔopíʔ	'shell'	maʔpiʔán	'to be husked, skinned, shelled'
7. sogób	'burning'	masgób	'to be burned, burnable'
		<i>X+on</i>	
8. posót	'bundle'	postón	'to bundle (something, e.g. kindling)'
9. pásoʔ	'wedge'	pasʔón	'to use a <i>paso</i> on (something)'

		<i>X+an</i>	
10.ʔodón	‘valuable property’	ʔodnán	‘to hold (something)’
11.lawós	‘hiring of carabao’	lawsán	‘to hire (someone’s carabao)’
		<i>ma+X+an</i>	
12.ʔotóp	‘roof’	maʔotpán	‘to be roofed’
13.sújop	‘sleep’	masujpán	‘place/time to sleep’
		<i>i+X+an</i>	
14.típoj	‘soup that accompanies rice in a typical meal’	itipján	‘to use as <i>tipoy</i> for (someone)’

**B.** Account for the various forms of the “linking” suffix.

15.dowá	‘two’		
16.púlu	‘(tens unit)’	dowám púlu	‘twenty’
17.bolóʔ	‘pig’	dowám bolóʔ	‘two pigs’
18.manúʔ	‘chicken’	dowám manúʔ	‘two chickens’
19.káju	‘tree’	dowán káju	‘two trees’
20.ʔáju	‘tree’ (variant pron.)	dowán ʔáju	‘two trees’
21.gasút	‘hundred’	dowán gasút	‘two hundred’
22.ɲípon	‘tooth’	dowán ɲípon	‘two teeth’

Here are four more affixes that display a similar alternation. In explaining what happens next to /w/, keep in mind that /w/ is both [+DORSAL] and [+LABIAL].

23.pajáw	‘rice terrace’	simpajáw	‘owner of a <i>payaw</i> ’
24.banónɟ	‘retaining ridge around a <i>payaw</i> ’	simbanónɟ	‘one rice terrace’
25.maltabá	‘large cast iron cooking vessel’	simmaltabá	‘one <i>maltaba</i> -full’
26.tawón	‘year’	sintawón	‘one year’
27.dáŋan	‘span (8 inches)’	sindáŋan	‘one <i>dangan</i> ’
28.salóp	‘ganta’	sinsalóp	‘one <i>salop</i> ’
29.ʔapisʔíl	‘piece (e.g. of rattan)’	sinʔapisʔíl	‘one <i>ʔapisʔil</i> ’
30.kabáju	‘horse’	siŋkabáju	‘owner of a horse’
31.gasút	‘hundred’	siŋgasút	‘one hundred’
32.ɲádan	‘name’	siŋɲádan	‘one who has a (certain) name’
33.líbu	‘thousand’	sillíbu	‘one thousand’
34.walág	‘tobacco, matches distributed at a gathering’	siwwalág	‘one giving <i>walag</i> ’

35.pádas	‘experience’	ʔimpádasna	‘he tried (it)’
36.bagá	‘telling’	ʔimbagána	‘he told (it)’
37.múla	‘plant’	ʔimmúlana	‘he planted (it)’
38.táʔbu	‘pouring, spilling (e.g. a li□uid)’	ʔintáʔbuna	‘she poured (it) out’
39.dagás	‘that sent with someone’	ʔindagásna	‘he sent (it) with someone’
40.saʔad	‘place, position’	ʔinsáʔadna	‘he set (it) in place’
41.kilaw	‘process of partially cooking certain parts of an animal’	ʔiŋkilawna	‘he <i>kilaw</i> -ed (it)’
42.gaga	‘killing of something to feed workers’	ʔiŋgagana	‘he used (it) for <i>gaga</i> ’
43.ŋina	‘monetary transaction’	ʔiŋŋinana	‘he sold (it)’
44.laga	‘weaving’	ʔillagana	‘she used (it) for weaving’
45.walit	‘gift to certain ones at death observance’	ʔiwwalitna	‘he gave (it) as a <i>walit</i> ’

46.páda	‘?’	mampáda	‘the same’
47.baʔál	‘loincloth’	mambaʔál	‘to wear a loincloth’
48.mumá	‘chew of areca nut and betel leaf’	mammumá	‘to chew <i>muma</i> ’
49.tadúm	‘sharpness’	mantadúm	‘to be sharp’
50.dagsún	‘heaviness’	mandagsún	‘to be heavy’
51.sagána	‘preparation’	mansagána	‘to prepare’
52.niʔʔót	‘stickiness’	manniʔʔót	‘to be sticky’
53.ʔomós	‘bath’	manʔomós	‘to bathe’
54.kapí	‘coffee’	maŋkapí	‘to prepare or drink coffee’
55.gidú	‘movement (of body)’	maŋgidú	‘to move’
56.ŋína	‘monetary transaction’	maŋŋína	‘to buy’
57.libbát	‘rising from sitting’	mallibbát	‘to start out (as on a trip)’
58.wátwat	‘something distributed to those attending a gathering’	mawwátwat	‘to distribute <i>watwat</i> ’
59.jápit	‘thinness’	majjápít	‘to be thin (e.g. cloth)’

60.ponʔad	‘base’	maŋimponʔad	‘bottommost’
61.boloj	‘house’	maŋimboloj	‘one using a house’
62.tuʔud	‘supporting post’	maŋintuʔud	‘provider (for a family)’
63.dola	‘below’	maŋindola	‘lowest’
64.saʔud	‘below’	maŋinsaʔud	‘lowest’

65.ʔapon	‘direction toward’	maŋinʔapon	‘furthest toward’
66.gasat	‘luck, fortune’	maŋiŋgasat	‘one who has <i>gasat</i> ’
67.ŋatu	‘high’	maŋiŋŋatu	‘topmost’
68.lapʔat	‘top’	maŋillapʔat	‘outer (layer), topmost’

C. Account for the interaction between *o*-deletion and assimilation. Don’t account for the extra C that sometimes comes between the stem and *-ana*. (The data here are lopsided because of the point Gieser happened to be making: there are few examples illustrating the infixes without *o*-deletion. That’s not a property of the language, though; the infixes occur with all kinds of stems.)

You don’t need to account for where the infix is inserted. You can assume it’s already in the right spot underlyingly, e.g. /d-um-akol/.

		<i>actor-focus infix</i>	
<b>69.dakol</b>	‘big’	<b>dumakol</b>	‘to become big’
<b>70.lamók</b>	‘soft’	<b>lumamók</b>	‘to become soft’
71.bosí	‘?’	bumsí	‘to open (as numerous boils)’
72.ʔopíl	‘wrapping of glutinous rice with a certain leaf’	ʔumpíl	‘to engage in <i>ʔopil</i> ’
<b>73.lotóp</b>	‘dive’	<b>lumtóp</b>	‘to dive’

		<i>object-focus infix</i>	
		<i>+na</i>	
<b>74.baju</b>	‘?’	<b>binajuna</b>	‘he pounded (it)’
<b>75.pokpok</b>	‘?’	<b>pinokpokna</b>	‘he chopped (it)’
<b>76.ʔimus</b>	‘?’	<b>ʔinimusna</b>	‘he asked (him)’
77.bosí	‘?’	binsína	‘he opened (it)’
78.solíg	‘crowding out, displacing’	sillígna	‘it displaced (it)’
79.ʔodáw	‘requesting’	ʔindáwna	‘he asked for (it)’
80.dopá	‘fathom’	dimpána	‘he measured (it) by <i>dopa</i> ’
81.gobá	‘firing of newly-made clay pots’	gimbána	‘she fired (them)’
82.ʔomós	‘bath’	ʔimmósna	‘she bathed (it)’
83.botáʔ	‘broken piece (e.g. of clay pot)’	bintáʔna	‘she broke (it)’
84.ʔodáw	‘requesting’	ʔindáwna	‘he requested (it)’
85.bosát	‘sudden break in, e.g. a tie’	binsátna	‘he snapped (it)’
86.ponú	‘filling (a container)’	pinnúna	‘she filled (it)’
87.toʔóp	‘satisfaction’	tinʔópna	‘he satisfied (someone)’

88. <i>sogób</i>	‘burning’	<i>siŋgóbna</i>	‘he burned (it)’
89. <i>doŋól</i>	‘report’	<i>diŋŋólna</i>	‘he heard (it)’
90. <i>ʔolót</i>	‘tightening’	<i>ʔillótna</i>	‘he made (it) tight’
		<i>+ana</i>	
91. <i>ʔosít</i>	‘?’	<i>ʔinsitána</i>	‘she drained (it) off’
92. <i>ponú</i>	‘?’	<i>pinnuwána</i>	‘she completed filling (it)’
93. <i>ʔitód</i>	‘giving’	<i>ʔinitdána</i>	‘he gave to (him)’

**D.** This next affix behaves a little differently. For convenience, assume that it’s separated from the stem by a different type of morpheme boundary, = (instead of + as for all the affixes above). Then you can formulate rules and constraints that refer to the = boundary.

94. <i>pajáw</i>	‘rice terrace’	<i>mamajáw</i>	‘one making, having a <i>payaw</i> ’
95. <i>báju</i>	‘pounding in a mortar’	<i>mamáju</i>	‘one pounding in a mortar’
96. <i>tampóʔ</i>	‘rice flour’	<i>manampóʔ</i>	‘one pounding rice into flour’
97. <i>díla</i>	‘tongue’	<i>maníla</i>	‘one who takes the tongue (of an animal butchered)’
98. <i>suŋbát</i>	‘answer’	<i>manuŋbát</i>	‘one who answers’
99. <i>káju</i>	‘wood’	<i>maŋáju</i>	‘to go after fire wood’
100. <i>gijáb</i>	‘notch’	<i>maŋijáb</i>	‘one doing notching’
101. <i>ʔáwat</i>	‘receiving’	<i>maŋáwat</i>	‘one receiving’

**E.** Here are the problematic data—be sure to look at them carefully.

102. <i>bosí</i>	‘?’	<i>mamsí</i>	‘one to open (e.g., a boil)’
103. <i>podít</i>	‘?’	<i>mamdít</i>	‘that which is crushed (e.g. insects)’
104. <i>topá</i>	‘winnowing’	<i>mampá</i>	‘one winnowing’
105. <i>tobód</i>	‘materials for construction’	<i>mambód</i>	‘one getting <i>tobod</i> ’
106. <i>sonód</i>	‘obstruction’	<i>mannód</i>	‘one obstructing’
107. <i>todóʔ</i>	‘pointing with forefinger’	<i>mandóʔ</i>	‘one pointing his finger’
108. <i>sogób</i>	‘a burning’	<i>maŋgób</i>	‘one doing burning’
109. <i>soŋá</i>	‘one kind of ceremony when sacrifice is made’	<i>maŋŋá</i>	‘that sacrificed in <i>songa</i> ’
110. <i>solíg</i>	‘crowding out, displacing’	<i>mallíg</i>	‘that which crowds out’
111. <i>gosáj</i>	‘collapse, disassembly’	<i>maŋsáj</i>	‘that which razes (e.g. a house)’
112. <i>ʔomós</i>	‘bath’	<i>maŋmós</i>	‘one who bathes (someone)’