

Homework 7

Due on 21 November 2012

In this homework you will analyze several different languages. You may write this homework up like a problem set, so long as your answers are complete and detailed enough to answer all the questions.

Malayalam

Consider the data in (1–5) from Malayalam (Dravidian; India) which only has lexical morphemes glossed (all other morphemes are glossed as -X-). Use them to answer the questions which follow:

- (1) Kut̪ti-∅ aana-ye ɳuɻi.
child-X elephant-X pinched-X
“The child pinched the elephant.”
- (2) Kut̪ti-yaal aana-∅ ɳuɻi-appeɻt̪t̪-u.
child-X elephant-X pinched-X-X
“The elephant was pinched by the child.”
- (3) Amma-∅ kut̪ti-ye-kon̪ɻə anna-ye ɳuɻi-icc-uccu.
mother-X child-X-with elephant-X pinch-X-X
“Mother made the child pinch the elephant”
- (4) Amma-yaal aana-∅ ɳuɻi-ikk-appeɻt̪t̪-u.
mother-X elephant-X pinch-X-X-X
“The elephant was caused to be pinched by mother.”
- (5) *Amma-yaal kut̪ti-∅ anna-ye ɳuɻi-ikk-appeɻt̪t̪-u.
mother-X child-X elephant-X pinch-X-X-X
“The child was caused to pinch the elephant by mother.”

Note: there are no definite or indefinite determiners in these Malayalam data.

Questions

1. What grammatical function-changing operations are at play in these Malayalam data?
2. What is the syntactic and morphological manifestation of that operation?
3. What are the principles on their interaction?
4. What bearing do these data have on the MIRROR PRINCIPLE?

Additionally: provide a table or list of each morpheme glossed -X- and what label you would give it. Note that some of these labels will be under-determined and may have more than one correct answer — in that case choose whichever label you prefer. You do not have to provide an analysis of any allomorphy you might find — simply list each allomorph with the same label.

Kinyarwanda

Use the data in (6–7) below from Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda) to answer the questions which follow.

- (6)a. Umugabo y-a-boon-ye amáaso y'-úmugóre.
 man AGR-PAST-see-ASP eyes of-woman
 “The man saw the eyes of the woman.”
- b. Umugabo y-a-boon-ye umugóre amáaso.
 man AGR-PAST-see-ASP woman eyes
 “The man saw the woman’s eyes.”
- c. Umuhuúngu y-a-twaa-ye igitabo ey'-úmukoôbwa.
 boy AGR-PAST-take-ASP book of-girl
 “The boy took the book of the girl.”
- d. Umuhuúngu y-a-twaa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo.
 boy AGR-PAST-take-ASP girl book
 “The boy took the girl’s book.”
- (7)a. Abáana ba-rá-kubit-a ímbwa y'-úmugabo.
 children AGR-PRES-beat-ASP dog of-man
 “The children are beating the dog of the man.”
- b. Abáana ba-rá-kubit-ir-a umugabo ímbwa.
 children AGR-PRES-beat-X-ASP man dog
 “The children are beating the man’s dog..”
- c. Umuhuúngu a-ra-som-a igitabo ey'-umukoôbwa.
 boy AGR-PRES-beat-ASP book of-girl
 “The boy is reading the book of the girl.”
- d. Umuhuúngu a-ra-som-er-a umukoôbwa igitabo.
 boy AGR-PRES-beat-X-ASP girl book
 “The boy is reading the girl’s book.”

Questions

1. What grammatical function-changing process is at play in these two sets of examples?
2. Why is there a difference between the data in (6) and (7)?
3. What is a good gloss for the morphemes glossed -X-?
4. How do you think you’d say ‘*The boy is reading the girl the book.*’ in Kinyarwanda? Why do I think this is enough data for you to know?

CiBemba

Finally, use the data in Table 1 to answer the questions below. This data is from the Bantu language CiBemba, spoken in Zambia.

ROOT	CAUSATIVE	APPLICATIVE	CAUS + APPL
-leep- <i>be long</i>	-leefi- <i>lengthen</i>	-leepel- <i>be long for/at</i>	-leefesi- <i>lengthen for/at</i>
-up- <i>marry</i>	-ufi- <i>marry off</i>	-upil- <i>marry for/at</i>	-ufisi- <i>marry off for/at</i>
-lub- <i>be lost</i>	-lufi- <i>lose</i>	-lubil- <i>be lost for/at</i>	-lufisi- <i>lose for/at</i>
-lob- <i>be extinct</i>	-lofi- <i>exterminate</i>	-lobel- <i>be extinct for/at</i>	-lofesi- <i>exterminate for/at</i>
-fiit- <i>be dark</i>	-fiisi- <i>darken</i>	-fiitil- <i>be dark for/at</i>	-fiisisi- <i>darken for/at</i>
-ónd- <i>be slim</i>	-ónsi- <i>make slim</i>	-óndel- <i>be slim for/at</i>	-ónsesi- <i>make slim for/at</i>
-lil- <i>cry</i>	-lisi- <i>make cry</i>	-lilil- <i>cry for/at</i>	-lisisi- <i>make cry for/at</i>
-buuk- <i>get up (intr.)</i>	-buusi- <i>get up (tr.)</i>	-buukil- <i>get up (intr.) for/at</i>	-buusisi- <i>get up (tr.) for/at</i>
-lúŋg- <i>hunt</i>	-lúnsi- <i>make hunt</i>	-lúŋgil- <i>hunt for/at</i>	-lúnsisi- <i>make hunt for/at</i>

Table 1: Causatives and Applicatives in CiBemba

The forms listed in the table are not full words, or even full stems; omitted affixes include the ‘final vowel’ common among Bantu languages and the verbal prefixes. In addition, many phonological alternations that are irrelevant to this assignment have been suppressed.

Analyze the causative and applicative suffixes in CiBemba and how they interact; write your results up in 4–5 paragraphs. In particular, your write-up should address two issues. First, what morphophonological processes, if any, are triggered by each affix? Second, what happens when both affixes appear on the same verb? In the forms with both affixes, what order do the semantics suggest the two affixes are attached in? What order is suggested by the phonology?