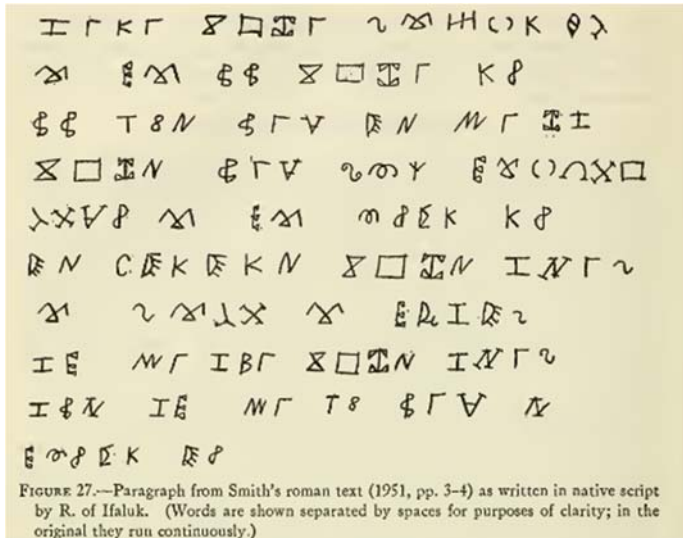


Assignment #3: process application in WoleaianData from Sohn 1972; Sohn 1975¹

Due Friday, Nov. 20

Language background

- Another Micronesian language! Spoken in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia
- About 1700 speakers
- Now uses Roman alphabet, but previously used a Roman-inspired syllabary:



Ilhagil kapetal sibaef fatogi, shog bae yaebe wae-wae kapetal. Gish wae-waelh
 All words written in this way are written just as they sound. We spell Woleai
 gozvlhi Weleeya, raelh maelae tai kapetal Weleeya. Simiilh yaebe toulap gvla
 sounds, not Woleai words. Therefore Woleai has a
 yash, bae yaebe masharag gish, raelh geragiroegilhi kapetal Ingeliis bae sibaegvla.
 much better and easier way of spelling than English has.
 Bae yaewavriis ihy maelhae ishilh kapetal Ingeliis, iwoengoe ihy maelhae gozvlh
 It is difficult to spell the words of English but it is easy to spell the sounds
 Weleeya, nge yae masharag rochsh.
 of Woleai.

(Riesenberg & Kaneshiro 1960, pp. 310-311)

Instructions for write-up

- First, discuss the **issues for rule application** that arise in the data, given Sohn's three rules. You should consider iterativity, directionality, and anything else that strikes you.

Sohn's three rules

- *a-a* dissimilation: $V \rightarrow [-\text{low}] / __ C_0 \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$
- final-*a* raising, $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{low}] / __ \{=, \#\}$. The = boundary occurs in reduplication.
- harmony: $V \rightarrow [-\text{low}] / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{hi} \end{bmatrix} C_0 __ C_0 \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{hi} \end{bmatrix}$. Note that this rule contains no (=).
- Then, **develop an OT analysis** of the [a]~[e] alternations.
- Finally, there are some problematic forms at the end of the data. If your analysis can accommodate them, great! But if not (mine can't without getting very ugly), just **discuss** the issues that they raise, for both the rule analysis and your OT analysis.

¹Where the two sources disagreed on a transcription or underlying form, I went with Sohn 1975, particularly with respect to final vowels.

General notes and tips [see also below in the data]

- I've given Sohn's underlying forms, but you should feel free to challenge them.
- I'm giving you the real surface form, where final vowels undergo all kinds of reduction, in case it provides some inspiration for a better solution than what I came up with. But you only need to analyze the "intermediate" form, which suppresses various word-final vowel erosions.
- Sohn says: "[ü] and [wü] are in free variation. The motivation for setting up w [that is, treating /wü/ as the underlying form] will not be elaborated here." You can ignore the /w/→Ø changes.

Transcription notes (I copied Sohn's transcriptions, which are non-IPA)

- capital letters (I, E, etc.) are voiceless vowels.
- ü is a high central vowel. Judging from Sohn 1975, I think it's [+round]
- è is a mid central vowel. Judging from Sohn 1975, I think it's [+round].
- j is a glide (i.e., IPA [j])
- g seems to be IPA [ɣ]

Phoneme inventory? Sorry, I can't get Sohn 1972 online, and Sohn 1975 uses a practical orthography—I'd just be guessing at the correspondences



*no photo of
Anthony
Tawerilmang,
though he
was governor
of Yap*

Possessed forms of nouns

- Ignore the /c/ → [š] change, here and throughout.

	<i>underlying</i> 'eye'	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	<i>underlying</i> 'drinking object'	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>
<i>X</i>	1. /mata/	mate	matE			
<i>my X</i>	2. /mata+i/	metai	metaj	3. /wülüma+i/	ülümei	ülümej
<i>your (sg) X</i>	4. /mata+mu/	metamu	metamU	5. /wülüma+mu/	ülümemu	ülümemU
<i>his/her/its X</i>	6. /mata+la/	metale	metalE	7. /wülüma+la/	ülümale	ülümalE
<i>our (incl) X</i>	8. /mata+ca/	metaše	metašE	9. /wülüma+ca/	ülümaše	ülümašE
<i>our (excl) X</i>	10. /mata+mami/	matemami	matemamI	11. /wülüma+mami/	ülümemami	ülümemamI
<i>your (pl) X</i>	12. /mata+mii/	metami:	metami	13. /wülüma+mii/	ülümemi:	ülümemi

'2' things

- "“?” after the UR means Sohn didn't explicitly give the UR, but this is what I think he'd say.
- I assume there's a voiceless vowel at the end of '2 flat pieces', but I don't know which one.
- /x/ becomes [g] between two voiced vowels.² You can ignore that, here and throughout.

<i>underlying</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	
14. /ruwa+xofeti/ ?	ruwagofeti	ruwagofetI	'2 pieces'
15. /ruwa+m ^w ëü/ ?	ruwam ^w ëü	ruwam ^w ëü	'2 groups'
16. /ruwa+ali/ ?	ruwa:li	ruwa:II	'2 skinny things'

you don't have to account for /aa/ → [a:]

² Although actually, Sohn transcribes this one as [x].

presumably [aa] and [a:] sound the same

17. /ruwa+tabo/	ruwetabo	ruwetabO	‘2 halves’	
18. /ruwa+ɲafa/	ruweɲafe	ruweɲafE	‘2 arm-lengths’	
19. /ruwa+fawü/	ruwefäü	ruwefäü	‘2 round things’	
20. /ruwa+fija/	ruwefije	ruwefijE	‘2 handfuls’	
21. /ruwa+tipV/ ?	ruwetipV	ruwetipV	‘2 flat pieces’	the quality of the final V is unknown
22. /ruwa+wülü/	ruweülü	ruweülÜ	‘2 handfuls of leaves’	

Reduplicated words

<i>underlying</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	
23. /parasa/	perase	perasE	‘switch’
24. /parasa=rasa/	peraserase	peraserasE	‘splash-intransitive’
25. /ka=kaɲi+i/	kekaɲi:	kekaɲi	‘to be eating it’
26. /m ^w ara=m ^w ara/	m ^w arem ^w are	m ^w arem ^w arE	‘lei’
27. /m ^w ara=m ^w ara+li/	m ^w arem ^w erali	m ^w arem ^w eralI	‘lei of’
28. /xa+m ^w ara=m ^w ara/	xem ^w arem ^w are	xem ^w arem ^w arE	‘to put leis on’
29. /xa+m ^w ara=m ^w ara+a/	xem ^w arem ^w era:	xem ^w arem ^w era	‘to put the lei on him’
30. /lawü=lawü/	laülaü	laülaü	‘to deliver babies’
31. /fitija=tija/	fitijetije	fitijetijE	‘to marry each other’
32. /tapaɲi+a/	tapaɲie	tapaɲi	‘to help it’
33. /ta=tapaɲi+a/	tetepaɲie	tetepaɲi	‘to be helping’

Causatives

<i>underlying</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	
34. /xa+b ^w u:toxo+a/ ?	xab ^w u:togoe	xab ^w u:togo	‘to make him go’
35. /xa+tem ^w a:üwê+a/	xatem ^w a:üwêe	xatem ^w a:üwê	‘to make him sick’
36. /xa+laxo+a/	xelagoe	xelago	‘to make him come’
37. /xa+mm ^w acü+a/	xe+mm ^w ašüe	xe+mm ^w ašü	‘to hold him’
38. /raɲa=raɲa/	raɲeraɲe	raɲeraɲE	‘yellow’
39. /xa+raɲa=raɲa/	xeraɲeraɲe	xeraɲeraɲE	‘make yellow’
40. /xa+raɲa=raɲa+a/	xeraɲereɲa:	xeraɲereɲa	‘make it yellow’
41. /xa+pala=pala/ ?	xepalepale	xepalepalE	‘sarong’
42. /tapaɲi+a/	tapaɲie	tapaɲi	‘to help it’
43. /ta=tapaɲi+a/	tetepaɲie	tetepaɲi	‘to be helping’
44. /xa+tapa=tapa/	xetapetape	xetapetapE	‘to support’
45. /xa+tapa=tapa+a/	xetapetepa:	xetapetepa	‘to support it’

Miscellaneous—check that your analysis so far can handle all of these

- In (54) and (55), Sohn says the = might not be there synchronically—i.e., these may actually be monomorphemic roots that just happen to look reduplicated. Your choice; it might not matter to your analysis.

<i>underlying</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	
46. /marama/	merame	meramE	‘moon’
47. /marama+li/	maremali	maremaII	‘moon of’
48. /wera=wera/	werewere	werewerE	‘thunder’
49. /wera=wera+li/	werewerali	werewerall	‘thunder of’
50. /paab ^w ija/	pa:b ^w ije	pa:b ^w ijE	‘pig’
51. /b ^w uxuwa/	b ^w uguwe	b ^w uguwE	‘knee’
52. /waxa/	waxe	waxE	‘vein’
53. /jalüsa/	jalüse	jalüsE	‘sideburns’
54. /jaremata/ or /jara=mata/	jaremate	jarematE	‘person’
55. /jaremeta+li/ or /jara=mata+li/	jaremetali	jaremetall	‘person of’
56. /jafara/	jefare	jefarE	‘shoulder’
57. /jafara+i/	jaferai	jaferaj	‘my shoulder’
58. /jafara+mami/	jefaremami	jefaremamI	‘our shoulders’
59. /jala/	jale	jalE	‘road’
60. /matawa/	metawe	metawE	‘sea’
61. /metaxo/	metaxo	metaxO	‘to be afraid’
62. /weri+xamami/	werixemami	werixemamI	‘see us (excl)’
63. /teraa/	tera:	tera	‘adze’
64. /maŋaaxo/	meŋa:xo	meŋa:xO	‘clothes’
65. /xaraŋapa/	xareŋape	xareŋapE	‘bonito’
66. /le+ssaxa+li#laŋi/	lessegalileni	lessegannenI ³	‘in the middle of the sky’

Problematic cases—if your analysis doesn’t capture them, discuss why

<i>underlying</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>surface</i>	
67. /raxi=raxi/	ragirexi	ragirexI	‘to line up’
68. /jala=lapa/	jelalape	jennapE ⁴	‘road’
69. /xa+raŋa=raŋa+li/	xeraŋereŋali ~ xareŋereŋali	xeraŋereŋall ~ xareŋereŋall	‘making yellow of’
70. /xa+pala=pala+li/ ?	xapelepelali	xapelepelall	‘sarong of’
71. /xa+tapa=tapa+li/	xatepetepali	xatepetepall	‘supporting of’

References

- Riesenberg, Saul H & Shigeru Kaneshiro. 1960. A Caroline Islands script. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* (Anthropological Papers) 173(60). 269–333.
- Sohn, Ho-min. 1972. a-raising in Woleaian. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 3. 15–36.
- Sohn, Ho-min. 1975. *Woleaian Reference Grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- With the assistance of Anthony F. Tawerilmang

³ The /i/ deletes by a rule that deletes a vowel between identical laterals, nasals, or fricatives. Then there’s also a prohibition against [ll], so you get [nn] instead.

⁴ The second /a/ deletes by a rule that deletes a vowel between identical laterals, nasals, or fricatives. Then there’s also a prohibition against [ll], so you get [nn] instead.