## Assignment \#4: Malayalam

Due Friday, Nov. 12
The data below illustrate some alternations in Malayalam. Your job is to use the tools of lexical phonology to account for why some of the alternations don't apply in certain morphological contexts.

- You can use rules or OT; your choice.
- Either way, you'll have to make a proposal about how many levels there are in the lexical component of Malayalam phonology, decide which morphological operations belong to which level, and decide which rules apply at which level(s) of the lexical phonology, or in the postlexical phonology.


## Etymology:

- Malayalam is a Dravidian language but has been heavily influenced by Sanskrit.
- I've marked words as D (Dravidian origin) or S (Sanskrit origin) whenever the source gave that information, and otherwise as X (sometimes that information is phonologically relevant, sometimes not). In some cases D could mean that the word is treated by the language as Dravidian even if it actually came from Sanskrit, and vice versa.
- In the cases where the etymology is not given, you may assume that D and S words behave the same, expect where I made notes like "('pig' must be D)".
- You may assume that lexical entries can be marked $[+D,-S]$ or $[-D,+S]$, and that, at least until the postlexical level (where such features are thought to be erased), rules or constraints refer to those features.

Be sure to discuss...

- At what stage in the derivation can or must morphological bracketing and/or abstract features like [D] and [S] be erased? (Remember that once information is gone, it's gone-it can't come back later in the derivation.)
- Do the lexical rules show any non-derived-environment blocking (NDEB)?
- If so, in a rule analysis you can just stipulate that the strict cycle condition is correct (see Nov. 4 handout for definition).
- If so, in an OT analysis you can similarly stipulate that (some? all? all at the lexical level?) markedness constraints don't apply if they are already violated in the input (this follows a proposal of McCarthy for "comparative markedness").

A lot of the rules will look kind of similar. Avoid having very similar rules when you can, but don't worry if your solution still includes some.
Data are from Mohanan (bibliographic info available later if you want). Some consonant allophony is not indicated. As always, the order in which you present your solution doesn't have to reflect the order in which the data are presented.

Please don't be alarmed by the large number of words! They're there to show each pattern repeatedly, not because every word requires its own analysis.

## Data

1. In order for some of the data to make sense, you will first need an analysis of the following schwa/zero alternations. Analyze the glide/zero alternations also, for contrast. I am writing spaces or hyphens on either side of the glides so as to avoid committing to any morphological affiliation, but the glides do not represent a distinct morpheme-they are inserted in a phonologically predictable environment.

Note: Even though they don't form a natural class, $[\mathrm{m}]$ and $[\mathrm{n}]$ are the only consonants that are allowed to be word-final (on the surface) in this language.

| word |  |  | phrase |  | modifier-head |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. ewite | where |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. waalo | sword |  | 3. waal ewite | Where is the sword? |  |  |
| 4. muurttakuutti | sharpened |  | 5. waalo muurttakuutti | sharpened the sword |  |  |
| 6. wala | bangle |  | 7. wala j ewite | Where is the bangle? |  |  |
| 8. uranji | slept |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. maaş | teacher |  | 10. maas urayŋi | The teacher slept. |  |  |
| 11. Wañnu | came |  | 12. maaş waññ | teacher came |  |  |
| 13. daasi | servant |  | 14. daasi j urayŋi | The servant slept. |  |  |
| 15. aana | elephant |  |  |  |  |  |
| 16. kuzi | hole |  |  |  | 17. kuzil-j-aana | insect sp. (lit. hole-elephant) |
| 18. tookkə | gun |  |  |  |  |  |
| 19. tikku | Tickoo |  |  |  |  |  |

2. Some differences between $D$ and $S$ stems.

| word |  |  | modifier-head compound |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20. $\mathrm{r}^{\mathrm{j}}$ ati | Rati (name) |  |  |  |  |
| 21. jaksi | yakshi (demoness) |  |  |  |  |
| 22. $b^{\text {fa }} \mathrm{arar}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{ja}$ | wife |  |  |  |  |
| 23. wad $^{\text {f }} \mathbf{u}$ | bride |  |  |  |  |
| 24. manusjan | man |  |  |  |  |
| 25. pustakam | book |  |  |  |  |
| 26. puspam | flower |  |  |  |  |
| 27. $\operatorname{mar}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{am}$ | tree, wood |  |  |  |  |
| 28. jaksan | yaksha (demon) |  |  |  |  |
| 29. kutti | child | D | 30. $\mathrm{r}^{\mathrm{j}}$ ati-kkutti | X-D | Ratikutti (name); ignore the [ț]/[t] difference-probably a mistake |
| 31. paala | pala tree | D | 32. jaksi-ppaala | X-D | the pala tree in which yakshi lives |
| 33. wiito | house | D | 34. $\mathrm{b}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{aar}^{\mathrm{j}}$ ja-wiito | X-D | wife's house |


| 35. kur ${ }^{\text {j }}$ aŋŋə | monkey | D | 36. manusja-kkur ${ }^{\text {j}}$ aŋjə | X-D | human monkey/ape |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 37. taajam | paint | D | 38. pustaka-ttaajam | X-D | paint for books |
| 39. kutam | pitcher | D | 40. puspa-kkutam | X-D | pitcher of/for flowers |
|  |  |  | 41. mar ${ }^{\text {jababatam}}$ | X-D | wooden pitcher |
| 42. kutir $^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{a}$ | horse | D | 43. mar ${ }^{\text {ja }}$-kkutir ${ }^{\text {j }} \mathrm{a}$ | X-D | wooden horse |
| 44. paatto | song | D | 45. jakşa-ppaatto | X-D | yaksha's song |
| 46. deewi | goddess | S | 47. $\mathrm{r}^{\mathrm{j}}$ atii-deewi | X-S | goddess Rati |
| 48. paadam | foot | S | 49. jakșii-paadam | X-S | yakshi's foot |
| 50. $\mathrm{gr}^{\mathrm{j}}$ วham | house | S |  | X-S | wife's house |
|  |  |  | 52. wad $^{\text {fi }}$ uu-gr ${ }^{\text {j}}$ วham | X-S | bride's house |
| 53. kant ${ }^{\text {h }} \mathrm{am}$ | neck | S | 54. manusja-kant ${ }^{\text {h }}$ am | X-S | human neck |
| 55. tar ${ }^{\text {ititam }}$ | story | S | 56. pustaka-tar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ tam | X-S | history of books |
| 57. $\mathrm{kumb}^{\text {fiam }}$ | pitcher | S | 58. puspa-kumb ${ }^{\text {fam }}$ | X-S | pitcher of/for flowers |
|  |  |  | 59. mar $^{\text {j }} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{kumb}^{\text {fiam }}$ | X-S | wooden pitcher |
| 60. $\operatorname{taar}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{a}$ | Tara (name) |  |  |  |  |
| 61. kaantan | husband | S | 62. taar $^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{aa}-\mathrm{kaantan}$ | X-S | Tara's husband |
| 63. tii | fire |  |  |  |  |
| 64. katta | lump | D | 65. tiii-kkatta | X-D | lump of fire |
| 66. naalam | flame | D | 67. tiii-ñalam | X-D | flame of fire |
| 68. swarñam | gold |  |  |  |  |
| 69. pazam | fruit | D | 70. swarņa-ppazam | X-D | fruit of gold |
| 71. maza | rain | D | 72. swarnna-maza | X-D | rain of gold |
| 73. $\operatorname{kar}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}$ | charcoal |  |  |  |  |
| 74. kuuttaan | dish | D | 75. $\mathrm{kar}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}$-kkuuttaan | X-D | coal dish |
| 76. laddu | sweet | D | 77. kari-laddu | X-D | charcoal sweet (don't worry about the [r]/[ri]-maybe it's a typo) |
| 78. muutram | urine |  |  |  |  |
| 79. s ${ }^{\text {jayka }}$ | suspicion | D | 80. muutra-s ${ }^{\text {j }}$, ${ }^{\text {a ka }}$ | X-D | desire to urinate |
| 81. suuti | needle | D | 82. swarnna-suuti | X-D | golden needle |
| 83. poti | powder |  |  |  |  |


| 84. malar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ \% | popped rice |  | 85. malar-ppoti | X-D | powdered popped rice (don't worry about the [r]/[rij ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 86. pakalə | day |  |  |  |  |
| 87. kinaawə | dream | D | 88. pakal-kkinaawə | X-D | day dream |
| 89. aalo | man |  |  |  |  |
| 90. kuuttam | group | D | 91. aal-kkuuttam | X-D | crowd |
| 92. wirakə | firewood |  |  |  |  |
| 93. kolli | twig | D | 94. wirakə-kolli | X-D | $\log$ for firewood |
| 95. katukə | mustard |  |  |  |  |
| 96. paatram | vessel | D | 97. katukə-paatram | X-D | vessel for mustard |
| 98. kaatro | ear |  |  |  |  |
| 99. kutto | piercing | D | 100. kaatro-kuttro | X-D | piercing of the ear |
| 101. tayŋala | chain | D | 102. mar ${ }^{\text {ja-ttayŋala }}$ | X-D | wooden chain; cf. 27 |

3. Malayalam also has multiply headed compounds that have a coordinative meaning. Carefully compare the coordinative compounds below to the modifier-head compounds below and those already seen above; some of the differences are subtle.

| word |  |  | coordinative compound |  |  | modifier-head compound |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 103. att ${ }^{\text {b }}$ an | father |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 104. amma | mother |  | 105. att $^{\text {h }}$ an-amma-maar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ \% | X-X-sf | parents <br> (maar ${ }^{\mathrm{j}}$ 。: plural) |  |  |  |
| 106. kinnar $^{\text {j }}$ an | kinnara | S |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 107. gand ${ }^{\text {f }}$ arwwan | gandharwa | S | 108. jakşa-kinnar ${ }^{j}$ agañd ${ }^{\text {fi }}$ arww-aadi-kalə | S-S-S-sf-sf | yakshas (cf. 28), kinnaras, gandharwas, etc. (demons) (aadi = 'etc.', kal=plural) ignore what happens at end of 'gandharwa'-requires rules not illustrated elsewhere |  |  |  |
| 109. ulacca | pounding stick |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 110. par $^{\text {j }}$ ita | shield |  | 111. waal-ulacca-par ${ }^{\text {jita-kalo }}$ | X-X-X-sf | sword (cf. 2), pounding stick \& shield |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 112. ulacca-waalə-parita-kalə | X-X-X-sf | pounding stick, sword \& shield ('sword' must be D) |  |  |  |
| 113. tala | head | D |  |  |  | 114. waal-ttala | X-D | sword point (lit. sword-head) |
| 115. wjatjaasam | difference |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| 116. peño | woman |  |  |  |  | 117. pey-kutti | X-D | girl (cf. 29) ${ }^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 118. aano | man |  | 119. aanə-peñŋ-wjatjaasam | X-X-X | difference between men \& women | 120. aay-kutti | X-D | boy (cf. 29) |
| 121. tajir ${ }^{\text {j }}$ ว | yogurt |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 122. wenna | butter |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 123. warggam | group |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 124. paalo | milk |  | 125. paalə-tajiri $\partial$-weñawarggam | X-X-X-X | the class of milk, yogurt \& butter ('group' must be D) | 126. paal-ppaatram | X-D | vessel for milk (cf. 96) |
| 127. tempə | copper |  |  |  |  | 128. tempə-paatram | X-D | copper vessel |
| 129. kaatte | breeze |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 130. $\mathrm{ku} \mathrm{ir}^{\mathrm{j}}$ 2 | cold |  |  |  |  | 131. kulir-kaattə | X-X | cool breeze ('breeze' must be $S$ ) |
| 132. meeni | body |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 133. $\operatorname{talir}^{\mathrm{j}}{ }^{\text {2 }}$ | tender leaf |  | 134. talir $^{\mathrm{j}}$ ว-meeni-kalə | X-X-sf | tender leaves \& bodies | 135. talir-meeni-kalo | X-X-sf | tender body |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 136. wirakə-kolli | X-X | twig for firewood, cf. $93,92$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 137. kaato-kutto | X-X | piercing of the ear cf.98, 99 |
| 138. petti | box |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 139. pattaajam | grain bin | D | 140. petti-pattaajay-yalo | X-D-sf | boxes and grain bins | 141. petti-ppattaajay-yalo | X-D-sf | grain bins used as boxes |
|  |  | D | 142. aana-kutirija-kalo | X-D-sf | elephants and horses, cf. 15, 42 | 143. aana-kkutir ${ }^{\text {j }} \mathrm{a}$ | X-D | horse that is like an elephant, cf. 15, 42 |
| 144. eli | rat |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 145. pañni | pig |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 146. per ${ }^{\text {j }}$ ittaazi | bandicoot | D | 147. eli-panni-per ${ }^{\text {j }}$ ittaazi | X-X-D | rat, pig and bandicoot ('pig' must be D) |  |  |  |
| 148. suk $^{\text {ham }}$ | pleasure |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 149. dukk $^{\text {h }}$ am | sorrow |  | 150. unk $^{\text {h }}$ a-dukk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aŋ-ŋalə | X-X-sf | pleasure and pain ('sorrow' must be D) |  |  |  |
| 151. mrəgam | animal |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^0]
4. Some more phrasal data. Check that your analysis generates them correctly.

| word |  | phrase |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 161. manusjan | man |  |  |
| 162. marijitu | died | 163. manusjan mar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ ittu | The man died. |
| 164. katam | debt |  |  |
| 165. konta | with |  |  |
| 166. mutin ${ }^{\text {j }} \mathrm{n}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{u}$ | destroyed | 167. katam konto mutin ${ }^{\text {j }} \mathrm{n}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{u}$ | We are destroyed with debt. |
| 168. gamittu | went | 169. taar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ g gamittu | Tara went |
| 170. kaar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ anam | reason | 171. $\mathrm{b}^{\text {faar }}{ }^{\text {j }}$ ja kaar ${ }^{\text {j }}$ anam | because of the wife |
| 172. nati | actress |  |  |
| 173. praartrı ${ }^{\text {tittu }}$ | prayed | 174. nati praartrti ${ }^{\text {h }}$ Ittu | actress prayed |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ You have limited data on what happens to nasal-obstruent clusters where the nasal doesn't delete (\#123, 126, 148, 149, 158, 163, 228, 232, maybe a couple of others). So feel free to formulate fairly arbitrary-seeming rules ( $\eta k$ does this, $m k$ does that...), and focus on capturing the differences between different types of morpheme boundary.

