

Assignment 6: Allomorphy in Timugon Murut. Data from Prentice 1971

due Mon., May 31

Here is information about the of allomorphs of some Timugon Murut prefixes. The data are messy (and sometimes gappy—I've given you everything I have), but you will notice that there are some clear markedness effects. Your goal is to come up with an account of all these prefixes and their allomorphs, in whatever framework you want, that captures the (sometimes idiosyncratic) differences among the prefixes (in terms of allomorph distribution) while still somehow capturing the behaviors that they have in common. There are also some ineffability-like issues surrounding *mag*₁-, *mag*₂-, and *may*- which have partly overlapping syntactic distributions (all three can attach to intransitive verbs).

Notes on notation

- I follow Prentice in using N to mean a nasal that assimilates in place to a following C (and turns a following /l/ into [d]) and Ñ (seen only in *may*-) to mean an abstract segment that nasalizes a following C (see data for examples).
- ...NC... means a stem that contains a nasal-consonant cluster.
- R is CV prefixing reduplication.
- RX is copying of the first V in a V-initial word but with a C added, too, ([l] in the case below) as in *onom* → *lo-lonom*.
- The glosses use Prentice's terms S for subject, O for object, R for referent (e.g., beneficiary).
- I've used Prentice's broad transcriptions. It's basically IPA except that <y> is IPA [j], and <j> is a 'voiced alveolopalatal grooved affricate'.

Notes on other phonology

- There is some lenition of voiced stops that is not represented. Subtleties of vowel allophones also not represented.
- Vowel harmony (don't analyze it, but it's kind of cool so I'm giving you the whole story according to Prentice):
 - [o] is restricted to the final syllable (*tanom*) or a contiguous stretch of syllables including the final syllable (*sikodondo?*).
 - If the last two syllables of a word both have [o], then [a]s can precede only if another V intervenes. I'd like to know more about this—the examples Prentice gives are of two types:
 - The last two vowels of the stem are *a*, *o*, and then a suffix with *o* is added (so that now there are two *os*): /panakod+on/ → [ponokodon], /tanom+on/ → [tonomon]. Some kind of NDEB?
 - A prefix with /a/ is added to a stem whose first V is [o] (since stems must be at least 2 syllables and *o* can be nonfinal only if followed by *o*, there must be another [o] in the next syllable and therefore two *os*), the /a/ becomes [o]: /maN+bolon/ → [mombolon] vs. /maN+bin/ → [mambilin].
 - When a suffix with /o/ is added to a stem ending in /a?/, the /o/ becomes [a]: /asa?+on/ → [asaan] (? deletes when not word-final) vs. /baal+on/ → [baalon]. If the stem ends in /aa?/, [n] is inserted in place of the /?/ and the rule doesn't apply: /ilalaa?+on/ → [ilalaanon].
 - All /o/s in the root (which must be at the end) become [a] when the suffixes *-an* and *-in* are added: /soṇodow+an/ → [saṇadawan], /tanom+in/ → [tanamin], /sikodondo?+in/ → [sikadandain].
- The only possible CC clusters are medial NC, and **only one one per word is permitted.**

<i>prefix</i>	<i>meaning(s)</i>	<i>allo-morphs</i>	<i>environment</i>	<i>examples</i>			
aN-	forms animal, plant names alone or with reduplication	aN-	everywhere	daat	‘omen, evil’	andaatan	‘monitor-lizard’
				tukad	‘ladder’	antutukad	‘striped civet-cat sp.’
iN-	‘X times’, ‘S does something [to O] X times’, ‘S obtains O’, ‘S removes X [from R]’	ing-	__V	onom	‘six’	ingonom	‘six times’
		i-	__[+nas] __...NC... some __l	lampuan	‘nightmare’	ilampuan	‘S has a nightmare’
				malayu	‘Malay’	imalayu	‘S speaks Malay’
		iN-	elsewhere	limo	‘five’	indimo	‘five times’
				tali?	‘testes’	intali?	‘S castrates R’
				dalaki	‘husband’	indalaki	‘S takes a husband’
liN-	forms animal, plant names alone or with reduplication	li-	__V __[+nas] __...NC... occasionally elsewhere	?	cf. <u>kait</u> ‘hook’	lijaŋait	‘scorpion’
		liN-	elsewhere	pata?	‘river-bed’	limpata?	‘water-leech’
				?	cf. <u>kukuo</u> ‘snake’	liŋkuo	‘intestinal worm’
				sabu	‘S urinates’	linsasabu	‘ <i>Costus speciosus</i> ’
ŋaN-	plurals of metrical nouns	ŋa-	__V __[+nas] __...NC...	odow	‘day’	ŋoodow	‘days’
				gonggom	‘fist’	ŋogonggom	‘fistfuls’
				taun	‘year’	ŋataun	‘years’
		ŋaN-		?	cf. <u>tataun</u> ‘tree, wood, stick’, <u>taunan</u> ‘stem, stalk’	ŋantaun	‘long, cylindrical things’
				lopo	‘S stretches out his arms’	ŋondopo	‘fathoms’

saN-	singulars of metrical nouns	saŋ-	__ V	odow	‘day’	soŋodow	‘one day’
		sa-	__[+nas] __...NC... __loanword elsewhere when morphologically conditioned	gonggom	‘fist’	sogonggom	‘one fistful’
				taun	‘year’	sataun	‘one year’
saN-	elsewhere	?	cf. <u>tataun</u> ‘tree, wood, stick’, <u>taunan</u> ‘stem, stalk’	santaun	‘one long cylindrical thing’		
		lopo	‘S stretches out his arms’	sondopo	‘one fathom’		
siN-	‘pretence’, ‘similarity’ often in plant and animal names with or without reduplication	siN-	as morphologically conditioned, but never __...NC...	baal	‘S makes O [for R]’	simbaal	‘S makes up O (false tale) [about R]’
		si-	as morphologically conditioned, including __...NC...	buu	‘box-turtle’	sibubuu	‘ladybird’
buni	‘S conceals O’			sibuni	‘S hides’		
taN-	‘S produces X’ ‘S uses/wears/carries X’ ‘S acts like X/treats O like X’	taŋ-	__ V	ama?	‘father’	taŋama?	‘S treats O like a father’
		ta-	__[+nas] __...NC... some __l	pumpu	‘bud’	tapumpu	‘S comes into bud’
				lalaŋ	‘child’	talalaŋ	‘S behaves childishly’
taN-	elsewhere	puta?	‘foam’	tamputa?	‘S foams at the mouth’		
		basikol	‘bicycle’	tambasikol	‘S rides a bicycle’		
		sapuk	‘blowpipe’	tansapuk	‘S carries a blowpipe’		

R-ta-	'S does something X at a time' 'S is X-shaped'	RX-ta-	__V (X is always [l])	onom	'six'	tolonom	'S does something six at a time'
		R-ta-	__C as morphologically conditioned, including all __...NC...	dondo?	'one'	tododondo?	'S does something one at a time'
				pila?	'breadth'	tapipila?	'S is round/circular/flat'
				linsuk	'corner'	talilinsuk	'S is angular'
		R-taN-	__C as morphologically conditioned, but never __...NC...	kilon	'bend/twist'	taŋkikilon	'S is tortuous/meandering'
mag1-	Subject-focus, Future-temporal. Attaches to Reciprocals, Intransitives	mag-	__V	andu?	'S and S marry each other'	magandu?	'S and S will marry each other'
		ma-	__...NC... __[+nas] and other __C as morphologically conditioned (some of these other __C verbs vary between ma- and maN-) /l/ always changes to [d] after this allomorph	tumbuk	'S and S thump each other'	matumbuk	'S and S will thump each other'
				ŋuŋul	'S buzzes'	maŋuŋul	'S will buzz'
				diu?	'S bathes'	madiu?	'S will bathe'
				baya?	'S and S go with each other'	mabaya?	'S and S will go with each other'
				limpod	'S dresses up'	madimpod	'S will dress up'
				latok	'S and S mix with each other'	madatok	'S and S will mix with each other'
				dulug	'S and S sleep with each other'	mandulug ~ madulug	'S and S will sleep with each other'
		maN-	elsewhere	gayo	'S (river) rises'	maŋgayo	'S (river) will rise'
				tobok	'S and S stab each other'	montobok	'S and S will stab each other'
				luoy	'S (buffalo) wallows'	manduoy	'S (buffalo) will wallow'

mag2-	Subject focus, Future-temporal. Attaches to Transitive Statives, Intransitives, and Transitive Dynamic Note: mag2- never occurs with ___...NC... stems. Prentice suspects that stems of that shape “are absorbed into” mag1- if intransitive and maŋ- if transitive.	mag-	__ V	asa?	‘S sharpens O’	magasa?	‘S will sharpen O’
		mampa-	__ {d,g,j,l, [+nas]} but not ...NC...	diu?	‘S bathes O’	mampadiu?	‘S will bathe O’
				ŋaa?	‘S (buffalo) bleats’	mampaŋaa?	‘S(buffalo) will bleat’
				latok	‘S mixes O [with R]’	mampalatok	‘S will mix O [with R]’
maN-	elsewhere unless ...NC...	tutu	‘S pounds [O]’	mantutu	‘S will pound [O]’		
maŋ-	Subject focus, Future-temporal. Attaches to Transitive Dynamic and some Intransitives	maŋ-	__ V	andu?	‘S(man) marries O’	maŋandu?	‘S(man) will marry O’
		mama-	__ {d,g,j,l,[+nas]}	lopot	‘S wraps up O’	momolopot	‘S will wrap up O’
		maŇ-	elsewhere	baya?	‘S follows O’	mamaya?	‘S will follow O’
				tutu	‘S pounds O’	manutu	‘S will pound O’
				buli	‘S keeps R’	mamuli	‘S will keep R’
kabul	‘S fans R(rice)’			maŋabul	‘S will fan (rice)’		
tumbuk	‘S thumps O’			manumbuk	‘S will thump O’		