

LING 222
REVIEW FOR FINAL EXAM

I. Case and Agreement

A. KAMBERA AGREEMENT

Construct a paradigm for the verb agreement affixes in Kambera, based on the data below. Be sure to label each row and column accurately and completely, using appropriate technical terminology, including the names of cases that these agreement markers cross-reference. Fill in the paradigm completely, even though examples of each combination are not specified in the examples below.

1. nyungga ku-palu-kau nyumu ‘I hit you.’
2. nyumu mu-palu-ka nyungga ‘You hit me.’
3. nyumu mu-palu-ya nyuna ‘You hit him/her/it.’
4. nyuna na-palu-ya nyuna ‘He/she/it hit him/her/it’
5. nyuna na-palu-kau nyumu ‘He/she/it hit you.’
6. nyuta ta-palu-ha nyuda ‘We (including you) hit them.’
7. nyuma ma-palu-kami nyimi ‘We (not including you) hit you guys.’
8. nyimi mi-palu-kama nyuma ‘You guys hit us (not including you).’
9. nyuda da-palu-ta nyuta ‘They hit us (including you).’
10. nyumu mu-ludu ‘You sing.’
11. nyungga ku-ludu ‘I sing.’
12. nyuta ta-ludu ‘We (including you) sing.’

Function	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL(INC.)	1PL(EX.)	2PL	3PL
S	ku-	mu-	na-	ta-	ma-	<u>mi-</u>	<u>da-</u>
A	ku-	mu-	<u>na-</u>	ta-	<u>ma-</u>	mi-	da-
O	-ka	-kau	-ya	-ta	-kama	-kami	-ha

This paradigm illustrates agreement affixes which occur in examples (1-12) in Kambera according to their functions: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), and O (transitive object). The gaps in the chart were filled in based on the evidence shown in the

examples (i.e. those ones in *italics/underlined*). That is, an accusative agreement system is at work in Kambera in which the verb takes identical agreement prefixes when it agrees with transitive subjects and intransitive subjects (S/A). S subV_{obj} O

B. QUICHE AGREEMENT (Guatemala; Larsen 1987, Trechsel 1993)

Describe the verb agreement system of Quiche as revealed in the following examples, and provide a paradigm showing the structure of the verb. *Note:* the prefix *r-* is realized as *u:-* before vowels. You should ignore the vowel length in affixes, and the verbal suffixes which are glossed as SUFF. (It will be helpful to make a paradigm of the agreement markers similar to that provided on the assignment 4 q.1.)

1. a. x-at-b'iin-ik.
PFV-2SG-walk-SUFF
'You (SG) walked.'
- b. x-oj-b'iin-ik.
PFV-1PL-walk-SUFF
'We walked.'
- c. ka-ø-b'iin-ik.
IMPERF-3SG-walk-SUFF
'He walks.'
- d. k(a)-e'-war-ik.
IMPERF-3PL-sleep-SUFF
'They sleep.'
- e. x-in-war-ik.
PFV-1SG-sleep-SUFF
'I slept.'
- f. laa ix x-ix-tzaaq-ik?
Q 2PL PFV-2PL-hit-SUFF
'Were you (PL) the ones who fell?'
2. a. x-at-qa-ch'ay-o.
PFV-2SG-1PL-hit-SUFF
'We hit you.'
- b. x-oj-a-ch'ay-o.
PVF-1PL-2SG-hit-SUFF
'You (SG) hit us.'
- c. jachin x-at-u-ch'ay-o?
who PFV-2SG-3SG-hit-SUFF

‘Who hit you (SG)?

- d. aree ri at x-in-a-ch’ay-o.
FOC the 2SG PFV-1SG-2SG-hit-SUFF
‘You (SG) were the one who hit me.’

- e. x-∅-ii-to’-o.
PFV-3SG-2PL-help-SUFF
‘You (PL) helped him.’

- f. k(a)-ix-r-il-o.
IMPERF-2PL-3SG-see-SUFF
‘He/she sees you (PL).’

3. a. x-∅-inw-il ri aaq.
PFV-3SG-1SG-see the pig
‘I saw the pig.’
- b. ka-∅-q’ab’ar ri ixoq.
IMPERF-3SG-get.drunk the woman
‘The woman gets drunk.’
- c. k(a)-e’-q’ab’ar ri ixoq-iib’.
IMPERF-3PL-get.drunk the woman-PL
‘The women get drunk.’
- d. x-∅-u:-paq’ ri sii’ ri achii
PFV-3SG-3SG-split the firewood the man
‘The man split the firewood.’
- e. jas x-∅-u:-paq’ ri achii?
what PFV-3SG-3SG-split the man
‘What did the man split?’
- f. ee jachiin x-∅-ki-tzaq ki-jastaaq?
PL who PFV-3SG-3PL-lost 3PL-thing
‘Who are the ones who lost their thing(s)?’

Sample Solution:

Function	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
S	in	at	∅	oj	ix	e’
A	inw	a	u:	qa	to’	ki
O	in	at	∅	oj	ix	e’

Intransitive verb agrees with the intransitive subject (S) in (1a-f). Transitive verb agrees with both the transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O). Quiche is an ergative-

absolutive language in that the verb agrees with the S and O the same way (identical agreement markers) whereas the agreement marker on the verb is different for the A argument. (Note that Quiche is a sister language to Kaqchikel—they are very closely related.)

II. Syntactic Constructions

KAQCHIKEL

Data Set 1

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|
| 1. | ri-achin x-Ø-pe?
the-man PAST-3SG-come | 'The man came.' |
| 2. | rioj x-oj-pe?
we PAST-1PL-come | 'We came.' |
| 3. | rie? x-e-pe?
they PAST-3PL-come | 'They came.' |
| 4. | rit x-at-pe?
you PAST-2SG-come | 'You came.' |
| 5. | ri-achin x-oj-ru-woyo-j rioj
the-man PAST-1PL-3SG-call-TR we | 'The man called us.' |
| 6. | rioj x-Ø-qa-woyo-j ri-achin
we PAST-3SG-1PL-call-TR the-man | 'We called the man'. |
| 7. | rie? x-at-ki-woyo-j rit
they PAST-2SG-3PL-call-TR you | 'They called you.' |
| 8. | rit x-e-a-woyo-j rie?
you PAST-3PL-2SG-call-TR they | 'You called them.' |
| A. | Based on the data in (1)-(8), describe the verb agreement system of Kaqchikel. Be sure to indicate what cases are co-referenced by the agreement affixes. TR stands for 'Transitive'. | |

Based on the data, it is obvious that Kaqchikel employs ergative-absolutive verb agreement system. The verb agrees with the intransitive subject (S) in an intransitive clause. The agreement marker appears between the tense marker and the verb itself. On the other hand, in a transitive clause, the verb agrees with both the transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O). Both markers occur between the

tense marker and the verb but the object agreement marker precedes the subject agreement marker. Moreover, the verb takes a TRANSITIVE marker, indicating that it is a transitive verb with two arguments.

Data Set 2

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|
| 9. | ri-achin ri x-Ø-pe?
the-man that PAST-3SG-come | 'the man that came' |
| 10. | rioj ri x-oj-pe?
we that PAST-1PL-come | 'we that came' |
| 11. | rie? ri x-e-pe?
they that PAST-3PL-come | 'they that came' |
| 12. | rit ri x-at-pe?
you that PAST-2SG-come | 'you that came' |
| 13. | ri-achin ri x-Ø-qa-woyo-j rioj
the-man that PAST-3SG-1PL-call-TR we | 'the man that we called' |
| 14. | rioj ri x-oj-ru-woyo-j ri-achin
we that PAST-1PL-3SG-call-TR the-man | 'we that the man called' |
| 15. | rit ri x-at-ki-woyo-j rie?
you that PAST-2SG-3PL-call-TR they | 'you that they called' |
| 16. | rie? ri x-e-a-woyo-j rit
they that PAST-3PL-call-TR you | 'they that you called' |

- B. What subordinate clause type is illustrated in (9)-(16)? State precisely how this subordinate clause is formed in this language. (Note: one of these has to do with word order, and the other with something present or absent in the subordinate clause.) Mention the morphological/syntactic marker that introduces this subordinate clause, and note any word order changes within the subordinate clause as compared to the main clauses in (1)-(8).

It's a relative clause, introduced by the relative marker 'ri'. In (13-16) the word order is different in that the subject appears at the end of the sentence in the object relative clause. The relative clause follows the head noun, and there appears to be gap in the relative clause (no resumptive pronoun). Notice that (9)-(12) illustrate S-argument relative clauses, and (13)-(14) illustrate O-argument relative clauses.

Data set 3

17. a. rioj ri x-oj-woyo-n ri-achin 'we that called the man'
we that PAST-1PL-call-AFFIX the-man
- b. *rioj ri x-Ø-qa-woyo-j ri-achin
we that PAST-3SG-1PL-call-TR the-man
18. a. ri-achin ri x-Ø-woyo-n rioj 'the man that called us'
the man that PAST-3SG-call-AFFIX we
- b. *ri-achin ri x-oj-ru-woyo-j rioj
the-man that PAST-1PL-3SG-call-TR we
19. a. rie? ri x-e-woyo-n rit 'they that called you'
they that PAST-3PL-call-AFFIX you
- b. *rie? ri x-at-ki-woyo-j rit
they that PAST-2SG-3PL-call-TR you
20. a. rit ri x-at-woyo-n rie? 'you that called them'
you that PAST-2SG-call-AFFIX they
- b. *rit ri x-e-a-woyo-j rie?
you that PAST-3PL-2SG-call-TR they

- C. What is the constraint on the formation of this subordinate clause that is illustrated with the data in (17)-(20)? What syntactic process must be applied to derive the grammatical sentences in the (a) examples, and therefore how would you gloss the affix glossed 'AFFIX' above?

The verb in the grammatical (a) examples only agrees with the intransitive subject. The (b) examples show that there is a constraint on relative clauses such that the relativized position cannot be the A-argument. The A-argument has to be promoted to S status before relativization can take place. At the same time the O-argument is demoted so as not to be marked on the verb. The AFFIX stands for INTRANSITIVE or ANTIPASSIVE, showing that the antipassive process has applied in order to feed relative clause formation.