WSCLA poster supplementary material

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1 Agreement

The full agreement paradigm

In (1), Class I = unergative and direct transitives, Class II = unaccusative and inverse.[1]

(1) **Agreement markers for person and number in Guarani:**

Class I agreement marker		**Class II agreement marker**	
a	1SG subject	*che*	1SG object
re	2SG subject	*nde*	2SG object
o	3 subject	*i*	3 object
ro	1EXCL subject	*ore*	1EXCL object
ja	1INCL subject	*ñande*	1INCL object
pe	2PL subject	*pende*	2PL object
ro	1>2SG port		
poro	1>2PL port		

The morphology only ever references one argument (either subject, if direct, or object, if inverse). The exceptional forms are the portmanteaux for local direct scenarios (1>2) where both arguments are referenced.[2]

More intransitives and exceptional roots

(2) contains a list of many (but not all) intransitive verbs in Guarani. The boxed ones are the ones which exceptionally take the other class's morphology so these are "statives" that take active morphology and vice versa.

[1] The *i-* only appears with 3rd person Class II (unaccusative) verbs. Otherwise, all the other morphemes appear in transitives.

[2] An upshot of my analysis is that the *only* member of the paradigm in which there is double Agree is in the portmanteau—this is *not* the case for alternative analyses without probe relaxation.

(2) **More examples of intransitives (boxed = surprising):**

Class I (unergative) (subj. agreement)		**Class II (unaccusative) (obj. agreement)**	
guata	'to walk'	*mandu'a*	'to remember'
karu	'to eat'	*japu*	'to lie'
monda	'to steal'	*hasẽ*	'to cry'
kuaa	'to know'	*atĩa*	'to sneeze'
ñani	'to run'	*porã*	'to be pretty'
puka	'laugh'	*pochy*	'to be angry'
ke	'sleep'	*hesarái*	'to forget'
mba'apo	'work'	*vare'a*	'to be hungry'
sapukai	'shout'	*katupyry*	'to be skillfull'
g̃uahẽ	'arrive'	*ambu'e*	'to change'
kakuaa	'to grow'	*poty*	'blossom/flower'
vu	'inflate/swell'	*pyaguapy*	'to calm down'
tĩ	'to be embarrassed'	*vare'a*	'to be hungry'
kirirĩ	'to be quiet'	*yvate*	'to be tall'

2 More data for diagnostics

2.1 Diagnostic 1: passivization

Here are some more verbs with the passivization diagnostic. Especially compelling people might find the fact that *g̃uahẽ* 'to arrive' may be passivized.

(3) a. o-**je**-karu
3-**PASS**-eat
'There was a lot of eating.' (context = wedding)

b. o-**je**-g̃uahẽ
3-**PASS**-arrive
'There was a lot of arriving.' (context = morning school)

c. o-**je**-guata
3-**PASS**-walk
'There was a lot of walking.' (context = parade/marathon)

d. o-**je**-kuaa
3-**PASS**-know
'There was a lot of knowing/meeting.' (context = conference/meeting)

(4) a. *heta i-**ñe**-h-asẽ
lots 3.STAT-**PASS**-DIR-cry
Int: 'There was lots of crying.' (context = funeral)

b. *(heta) i-**ñe**-mandu'a
(lots) 3.STAT-**PASS**-remember
Int: 'There was (lots of) remembering.' (context = funeral/wake)

c. *i-**je**-japu
3.STAT-**PASS**-lie
Int: 'There was lying.' (context = political speech)

d. *i-**ñe**-porã
3.STAT-**PASS**-pretty
Int: 'There were pretty things/people/etc..' (context = wedding/ceremony)

2.2 Diagnostic 2: controlling agreement

(5) a. o-ho che-roga-pe
3-go my-house-LOC
'He went to my house.'

b. *che-ho che-roga-pe
1OBJ-go my-house-LOC
Int: 'He went to my house.'

c. (ha'e) o-h-ekýi nde-hegui ne-ñe'ẽ
(s/he) 3-DIR-take you-OBL your-language
'S/he is taking away your language.' (adapted from Estigarribia (2020))

d. *(ha'e) nde-r-ekýi nde-hegui ne-ñe'ẽ
(s/he) 2-INV-take you-OBL your-language
'S/he is taking away your language.'

(6) a. (ha'e) i-mandu'a (**cherehe**)
(s/he) 3.STAT-remember (**me.OBL**)
'S/he remembers (me).'

(7) a. (ha'e) i-japu
(s/he) 3.STAT-lies
'S/he lies.'

b. *(ha'e) **che**-japu (**chéve**)
(s/he) **1SG.OBJ**-lie (**me**)
Int: 'S/he lies to me.'

c. (ha'e) i-japu (**chéve**)
(s/he) 3.STAT-lie (**me**)
'S/he lies (to me).'

(8) a. (nde) nde-r-esarái
(you) 2SG.OBJ-INV-forget
'You forget/forgot."

b. (nde) nde-r-esarái che-hegui
(you) 2SG.OBJ-INV-forget I-ABOUT
'You forget/forgot me/about me."

c. *(nde) che-r-esarái (che-hegui)
(you) 1SG.OBJ-INV-foregt (I-ABOUT)
Int: 'You forgot about me.'

3 More derivations

(9) *3rd person unergative:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (1st cycle failed Agree)

b. **Step 2:** *relaxation:* [INT: PART] $\rightsquigarrow$ [INT: ϕ]

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 3SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (EA introduced)

d. **Step 4:** [$_{vP}$ 3SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (probe copies [ϕ] from EA)
② ↑

e. **Step 5:** *o-* $\Leftrightarrow$ $[\phi]_{[INT:\ \phi]}$ / [___]$_v$

(10) *3rd person unaccusative:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (1st cycle failed Agree)

b. **Step 2:** *relaxation:* [INT: PART] $\rightsquigarrow$ [INT: ϕ]

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (*no* EA introduced)

d. **Step 4:** *i-* $\Leftrightarrow$ [___]$_{[INT:\ \phi]}$ / [___]$_v$

Transitives

(11) *3>3 transitive:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (1st cycle failed Agree)

b. **Step 2:** *relaxation:* [INT: PART] $\rightsquigarrow$ [INT: ϕ]

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 3SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (EA introduced)

d. **Step 4:** [$_{vP}$ 3SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V]] (probe copies [ϕ] from EA)
② ↑

e. **Step 5:** *o-* $\Leftrightarrow$ $[\phi]_{[INT:\ \phi]}$ / [___]$_v$

(12) *3>1 transitive:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 1SG]] (probe satisfied by [SPKR])
① ↑ ↑

b. **Step 2:** [$_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 1SG]] (EA introduced)

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 1SG]] (no Agree with EA)

d. **Step 4:** *che-* ⇔ [SPKR[PART[ϕ]]]$_{[INT: PART]}$ / [___]$_v$

(13) *1>3 transitive:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (failed Agree)

b. **Step 2:** *relaxation:* [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ]

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 1SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (EA introduced)

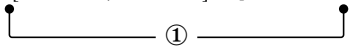
d. **Step 4:** [$_{vP}$ 1SG $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (probe satisfied by EA)

e. **Step 5:** *a-* ⇔ [SPKR[PART[ϕ]]]$_{[INT: \phi]}$ / [___]$_v$

Those familiar with *dynamic interaction* (Deal 2022) will recall that, in order to account for the distinction between 2>3 and 3>2, one must posit vacuous dynamic interaction of PART to avoid double Agree in 3>2. However, this is the only member of the paradigm for which the probe interacts dynamically. Under probe relaxation, this distinction comes about for free and probe relaxation applies more broadly across the paradigm not for a single cell.

(14) *3>2 transitive:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 2SG]] (probe Agrees with IA)



b. **Step 2:** [$_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 2SG]] (EA introduced)

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 3 $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 2SG]] (no Agree with EA)

d. **Step 4:** *nde-* ⇔ [ADDR[PART[ϕ]]]$_{[INT: PART]}$ / [___]$_v$

(15) *2>3 transitive:*

a. **Step 1:** [$_{vP}$ $v_{[INT:PART,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (failed first-cycle Agree)

b. **Step 2:** *relaxation:* [INT: PART] ⇝ [INT: ϕ]

c. **Step 3:** [$_{vP}$ 2 $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 3SG]] (EA introduced)

d. **Step 4:** [$_{vP}$ 2 $v_{[INT:\phi,SAT:SPKR]}$ [$_{VP}$ V 2SG]] (Agree with EA)

e. **Step 5:** *nde-* ⇔ [ADDR[PART[ϕ]]]$_{[INT: \phi]}$ / [___]$_v$

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