Individual problems in IOL 2023: An individual analysis of mine

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- 1. piriy' /piri-y' / :: imbir'i /in-piri-' / see
- 2. im'ay/im'a-y'/ :: inim'a/in-im'a-'/ say, tell
- 3. aplay' /apla-y'/ :: inapal'a /in-apla-'/ open (it)
- 4. k'aniy' /k'ani-y'/ :: iŋk'an'i /in-k'ani-'/ trap
- 5. łikniy' /łikni-y'/ :: inłikin'i /in-likni-'/ obey, believe
- 6. tundiy' /tunti-y' / :: indunat'i /in-tunti-' / (!) play (an instrument)
- 7. şakşay' /şakşa-y'/ :: inşakats'a /in-şakşa-'/ steal
- 8. kişiy' /kişi-y' / :: iŋgits'i /in-kişi-' / roast
- 9. hɨk'ay /hɨk'a-y'/ :: ɨnhɨk'a /ɨn-hɨk'a-'/ sew, weave
- 10. hɨnɨy' /hɨnɨ-y'/ :: ɨnhɨn'ɨ /ɨn-hɨnɨ-'/ learn, know
- 11. yułmuy' /yułmu-y'/ :: inyułum'u /in-yułmu-'/ suck candy
- 12. iplay' /ipla-y'/ :: inipal'a /in-ipla-'/ bathe (it)
- 13. p'ahniy' /p'ahni-y'/ :: imp'ahan'i /in-p'ahni-'/ (!) dig
- 14. ter'oy /ter'o-y'/ :: inder'o /in-tero-'/ kill

- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19. $\frac{1}{1}$ imbiiri? $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ was seen
- 20. hik'aŋ /hik'a-ŋ/ I sewed, wove (it)
- 21. iŋk'ata? /in-k'ata-?/ I lie down
- 22. kɨrɨn' /kɨrɨ-n'/ I pulled (it)
- 23. insiiru? /in-<V>-siru-?/ I hurried
- 24. ɨniṣapa? /ɨn-iṣpa-?/ I leave (!)
- 25. $\frac{1}{1}$ inima? $\frac{1}{1}$ in-im'a-?/ I am being told / (it) is being said to me
- 26. şawşan' /şawşa-n'/ I planted (it)
- 27. $\sup' u_{j} / \sup' u_{j} I \text{ chose (it)}$
- 28. indeero? /in-<V>-ter'o-?/ I was killed; I died
- 29. $\frac{1}{1}$ mbiri? $\frac{1}{1}$ n-piri-?/ I am being seen

- 30. heero? $\langle V \rangle$ -hero-?/ it was smoothed out (!)
- 31. p'ihna?/p'ihna-?/ it leaped
- 32. şawşa? /şawşa-?/ it was planted (!)
- 33. ak'okama? /a-k'okama-?/ it kneels
- 34. atero? $\frac{1}{a}$ -ter'o-?/ it is being killed; it dies
- 35. k'aata? <V>-k'ata-?/ it lay down
- 36. asiru? /a-siru-?/ it hurries
- 37. ispa? /<V>-ispa-?/ it left (!)
- 38. aşakaşa? /a-şakşa-?/ it is being stolen (!)
- /in- <V> -?/ 1sg past passive or 1sg past intransitive
- /-ŋ/ 1sg past transitive
- /in- -?/ 1sg present passive or 1sg present intransitive
- /-n'/ 1sg present transitive
- /<V> -?/3sg past passive or 3sg past intransitive
- /a- -?/ 3sg present intransitive or 3sg present passive

- 1. nuta **syka-ru** ny-kanawa-te uwa-mukary − I gave my canoe to her.
- 2. ny-kanawa-te **ny-syka-ru** uwa-mukary I gave my canoe to her.
- 3. pita **ãta-ry** ĩpurãã You (sg) drank the water.
- 4. kyky **myna-ru** ny-herẽka sytu-mukary The man brought my blood to the woman.
- 5. herēka-txi **u-āta-ry** sytu The woman drank the blood.
- 6. nhi-ximaky-te **pi-xinhika-ry** You (sg) remembered my fish (sg).
- 7. pi-txipary-te **u-myna-ry** kyky-mukary She brought your (sg) banana to the man.
- 8. hãtakuru **xinhika-ry** n-aiku-te The girl remembered my house.
- 9. sytu apy **y-syka-nu** nuta-mukary kyky The man gave the woman's bone to me.
- 10. nh-ĩpurãã-te **n-ãta-ry** − I drank my water.
- 11. kywĩ-txi **a-puka-ry** He found the head.
- 12. ywa **myna-nu** kyky uky nuta-mukary He brought the man's eye to me.
- 13. ximaky **nhika-ry** ap \tilde{i} -txi The fish (sg) ate the bone.
- 14. hãtakuru txipary-te **na-puka-ry** I found the girl's banana.

- 15. ximaky kywy **i-nhika-ry** He ate the fish's (sg) head.
- 16. hãtakuru **u-apuka-ru** − She found the girl.
- Word order: S V O P, O V P S, P-or P-ed
- $\tilde{i} \rightarrow y / \#$
- Nominal morphology:
 - /-mukary/ allative
 - /n(y)- -te/ my (canoe, house), /nh(i)- -te/ my (fish, water)
 - /pi- -te/ your (sg) (banana)
 - /-te/ NP's (girl's banana), /-Ø/ NP's (woman's bone, man's eye, fish's head)
 - otherwise /-txi/ (head, bone, blood), /-Ø/ (water, girl)
- Verbal morphology:
 - Subject (no preverbal subject NP): /n(a)-/ 1sg, /A-/ 3sg, /u-/ 3sg female, /pi-/ 2sg
 - (Indirect) object: /-ru/ 3sg female, /-ry/ 3sg non-female, /-nu/ 1sg

- 1. o+b-dahetok − You (sg) really returned.
- 2. nak+e-dahetok We returned.
- 3. nam+bat-ihwin Aw, I cried.
- 4. nam+b+e-otab We really chased you (pl) away.
- 5. um-kul<ay>awn − He laughed at you (sg) in vain.
- 6. e-keseh You (pl) spat on him.
- 7. u+bat+e-huy<an>ab Aw, you (sg) silenced us.
- 8. nak+um-hoyab I silenced you (pl) in vain.
- 9. nam+bam+e-yad<ay>awn Oh, we left you (sg) behind!
- 10. e+b+e-yad<an>awn − You (pl) really left us behind.
- 11. i+bat+um-yad < e>wn Aw, you (pl) left him behind in vain.
- 12. a-is<an>ab He cut me in half.
- 13. o+bam-es<e>b Oh, you (sg) cut him in half!

- Constituent 1
 - Subject:
 - [nam-, nak-] 1
 - [o-, u-] 2sg
 - [e-, i-, Ø-] 2pl
 - [a-, Ø-] 3sg
 - Note on procedure: introduce phonology to grammatical variants.
 - /^bat/ aw, /bam/ oh, /b/ really
 - /-um/ in vain
 - /-e/ plural subject that is not 'aw' or 'aw' plural object;
- Constituent 2
 - Object infixes: /^ay/ 2sg, /^an/ 1, /E/ 3sg, /Ø/ 2pl.

- 1. ni **mawinēskom** ik he challenges me
- 2. ki **wāpam** in āw āw you (pl) see me
- 3. ki **nakin** $in \bar{a}n you (sg)$ stop us, you (pl) stop us
- 4. ni **kakwēcim** $\bar{a}n$ ān ak we ask them
- 5. ki **wīcih** $\bar{a}w$ you (sg) help him
- 6. ni **kakwēcim** $\bar{a}n$ ān we ask him
- 7. ni **wāpam** $\bar{a}w$ I see him
- 8. ki **mawinēskom** *in* you (sg) challenge me
- 9. ni **mawinēskom** ik on $\bar{a}n$ ak they challenge us
- 10. ki **kakwēcim** *ik* − he asks you (sg)
- 11. ki **wāpam** itin ān we see you (sg), we see you (pl)
- 12. ni **nakin** $\bar{a}w$ ak I stop them
- 13. ki **wīcih** ik ow $\bar{a}w$ he helps you (pl)
- 14. ki **nakin** ik w ak they stop you (sg)

- 15. ki **wāpam** $\bar{a}w$ āw ak you (pl) see them
- 16. ki **wīcih** *itin* − I help you (sg)
- 17. ē- **nakin** āyēk − as you (pl) stop him
- 18. \bar{e} wich ak as I help him
- 19. **mawinēskom** *ik* oyāhkwāwi if they challenge us
- 20. **wāpam** aci if you (sg) see him
- 21. **wīcih** itako if I help you (pl)
- 22. ē- **wāpam** ikoyēk
- 23. ni **nakin** ikonān
- 24. ki **kakwēcim** āwāw
- 25. ki **wīcih** itināwāw
- Prefixes: $/\text{ki-}/ \exists 2, /\text{ni-}/ \neg \exists 2$.
- Suffixes, SLOT I:
 - $/-ik/3 \to 1 \text{ OR } 3 \to 2.$
 - he \rightarrow me, they \rightarrow us, he \rightarrow you (sg), he \rightarrow you (pl), they \rightarrow you (sg).

- $-in/2 \rightarrow 1$.
 - you (pl) \rightarrow me, you (sg) \rightarrow us, you (pl) \rightarrow us, you (sg) \rightarrow me.
- $/-itin/1 \rightarrow 2$
 - we \rightarrow you (sg), we \rightarrow you (pl), I \rightarrow you (sg)
- $/-an/1pl \rightarrow 3$.
 - we \rightarrow them, we \rightarrow him.
- /- \bar{a} w/ 1sg \rightarrow 3 OR 2 \rightarrow 3
 - $I \rightarrow him$, $I \rightarrow them$, you (sg) $\rightarrow him$, you (pl) $\rightarrow them$.
- Suffixes, SLOT II:
 - /-on/ they \rightarrow us
 - /-ow/ he \rightarrow you (pl)
 - $/\text{-w/they} \rightarrow \text{you (sg)}$
- Suffixes, SLOT III:
 - /-āw/ 2 subj > 2pl subj
 - $/-\bar{a}n/1 > 1pl$

- Suffixes, SLOT IV
 - $/-\emptyset/2 > 2sg/2pl / 1pl$
 - $-\bar{a}w/2 > 2pl/1sg, 2sg, 3$
 - /-ak/3 > 3pl
- Unless specified, X > Xsg.
- Avoidance of /-āw, -āw-āw, -āw-āw/ by syncretism.

- baashuunni
 - 7 = (5+2)
- [benjaaga] na [niŋkin]
 - 21 = (20) + (1)
- [ŋkwuu taanre] na [beeshuunni] na [kaŋkuro]
 - $285 = (80 \times 3) + (20 \times 2) + (5)$
- [kampwoo] na [ŋkwuu shuunni] na [beetaanre] na [baani]
 - $626 = (400) + (80 \times 2) + (20 \times 3) + (5 + 1)$
- [kampwɔhii sicyεεre] na [benjaaga] na [kε] na [baaricyεεre]
 - $1639 = (400 \times 4) + (20) + (10) + (5+4)$
- [kampwɔhii shuunni] na [kε]
- [ŋkuu] na [baataanre]