

1 Agreement morphology

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

| Class I agreement marker | | Class II agreement marker | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>a</i> | 1SG subject | <i>che</i> | 1SG object |
| <i>re</i> | 2SG subject | <i>nde</i> | 2SG object |
| <i>o</i> | 3 subject | <i>i</i> | 3 object |
| <i>ro</i> | 1EXCL subject | <i>ore</i> | 1EXCL object |
| <i>ja</i> | 1INCL subject | <i>ñande</i> | 1INCL object |
| <i>pe</i> | 2PL subject | <i>pende</i> | 2PL object |

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

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

2 More diagnostics

- (3) a. o-**je**-karu
3-**PASS**-eat
'There was a lot of eating.' (context = wedding)
- b. o-**je**-ġuahĕ
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-**ñe**-kirirĭ
3-**PASS**-quiet
'There was a lot of silence/a lot people shut up.' (context = football match)
- e. o-**je**-kuaa
3-**PASS**-know
'There was a lot of knowing/meeting.' (context = conference/meeting)
- (4) a. *i-**ñe**-h-asĕ
3.STAT-**PASS**-DIR-cry
Int: 'There was crying.' (context = funeral)
- b. *heta i-**ñe**-h-asĕ
lots 3.STAT-**PASS**-DIR-cry
Int: 'There was lots of crying.' (context = funeral)
- c. *i-**ñe**-mandu'a
3.STAT-**PASS**-remember
Int: 'There was remembering.' (context = funeral/wake)
- d. *(heta) i-**ñe**-mandu'a
(lots) 3.STAT-**PASS**-remember
Int: 'There was (lots of) remembering.' (context = funeral/wake)
- e. *i-**je**-japu
3.STAT-**PASS**-lie
Int: 'There was lying.' (context = political speech)
- f. *i-**ñe**-porã
3.STAT-**PASS**-pretty
Int: 'There were pretty things/people/etc..' (context = wedding/ceremony)
- (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'ĕ
(s/he) 3-DIR-take you-OBL your-language
'S/he is taking away your language.' (adapted from ?)
- d. *(ha'e) nde-r-ekýi nde-hegui ne-ñe'ĕ
(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).'
- b. *(ha'e) che-mandu'a (cherehe)
 (s/he) 1SG.OBJ-remember (me.OBL)
 Int: 'S/he remembers me.'
- c. (ha'e) i-japu (chéve)
 (s/he) 3.STAT-lie (me)
 'S/he lies (to me).'
- d. *(ha'e) che-japu (chéve)
 (s/he) 1SG.OBJ-lie (me)
 Int: 'S/he lies to me.'

3 More derivations

4 Transitives

$\lambda x. \text{wug}(x)$