(M) Tongue Tied in Chukchi (1/1) [Solution]

M1.
   a. You (sg.) tie them up.
   b. We tie you (sg.) up.
   c. You (pl.) are tying me up.
   d. You (pl.) are seeing us; She is seeing you (pl.); They are seeing you (pl.)

M2. Note that, for purposes of the problem, some of these forms have been simplified from the true forms in Chukchi.
   a. tăkalway?en
   b. nel?urkanimak
   c. jăŋotak
   d. nekalwarkənet
   e. inejŋoy?i

Explanation of the grammar:

The data presented give a very simple overview of the transitive verb agreement patterns in southern Chukchi.

Chukchi cares about the agency hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3. Unless the subject is higher in the hierarchy than the object, the verb takes an inverse alignment prefix.

Verbs have the following form. If multiple affixes from the same slot are applicable, the highest is chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLOT -1</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>SLOT 1</th>
<th>SLOT 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-= 1s subject</td>
<td>-klw- = give</td>
<td>-rka- = progressive, before n.</td>
<td>-tak = 2p subject/object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat-= = 1p subject</td>
<td>-jño- = sniff</td>
<td></td>
<td>-γ?i = 1s object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ine- = inverse alignment, 1s object</td>
<td>-lʔu- = see</td>
<td>-rkəni- = progressive</td>
<td>-mak = 1p object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne- = inverse alignment</td>
<td></td>
<td>-γʔe- = 3s object</td>
<td>-yat = 2s object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The epithentic vowel a is inserted to break up consonant clusters. Working right-to-left, ...CCC>...CaCC, and #CC> #CaC.

Note that alternative analyses are possible. For instance:
In particular, one can analyse 5 prefixes: t(a)/mat(a) as above, ine- as marking 1s object, ne- as marking 1p object, and ne- as marking 3s | p subject. One can also analyse the suffixes as being fusional in the 3rd person: γ?en / rkan // net / rkanet.