Вопрос **Инфо**

Уважаемые участники!

Олимпиадное задание по направлению «Лингвистика: теория языка» состоит только из инвариантной части. Это означает, что вам нужно постараться решить все задачи и ответить на все вопросы, чтобы претендовать на призовые места.

Все задания выполняются в этой системе: решения вносите в специальное поле для ответов.

Использование сторонних ресурсов и справочных материалов строго запрещено. Ответы можно давать на русском или английском языках на выбор.

Верим в ваш успех!

Вопрос 1

Балл: 40,00

The problem of the Reading Gaol

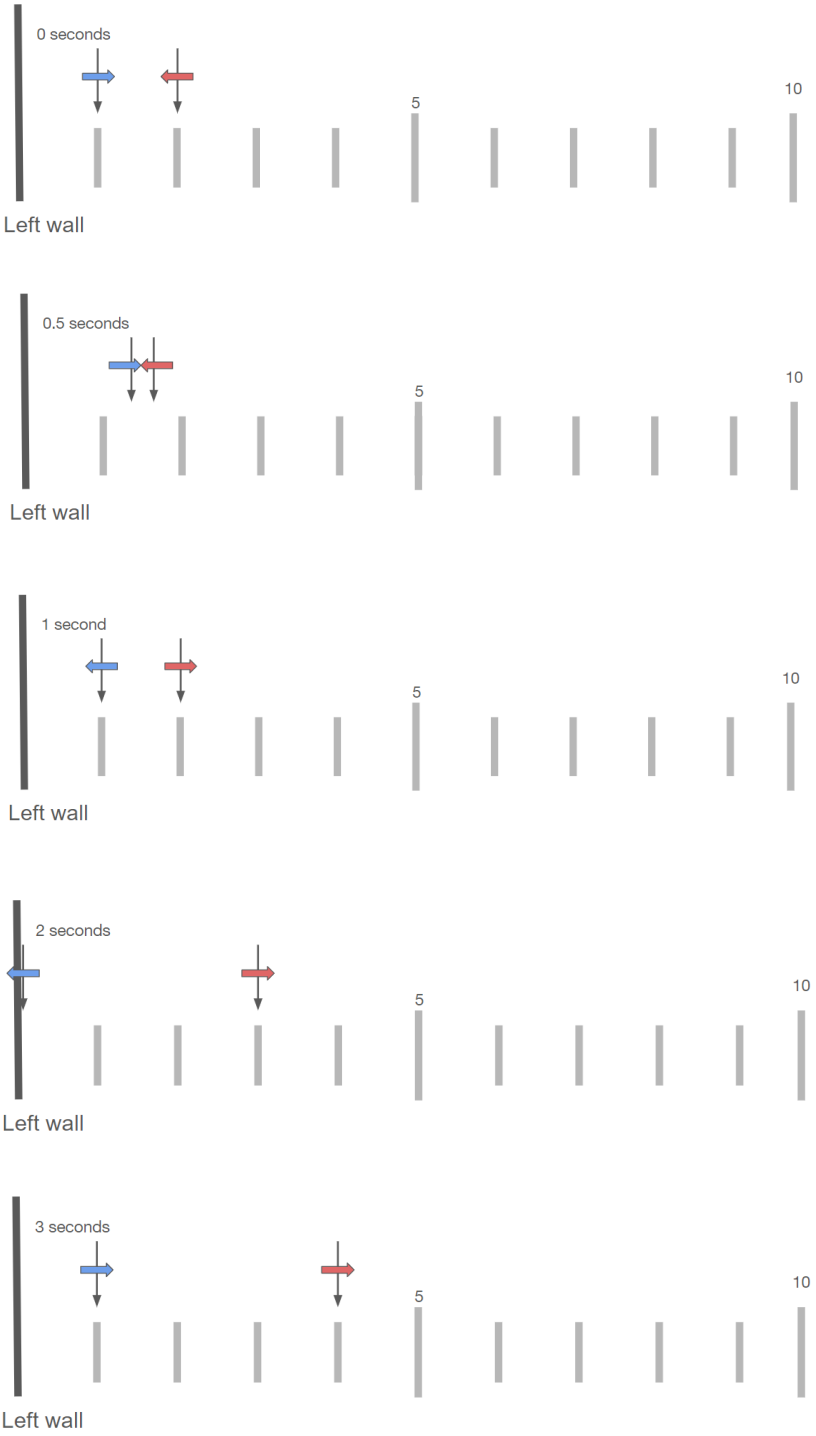
(illustration by Abram Krol, 1962)

I walked, with other souls in pain,
Within another ring
Oscar Wilde (The Ballad of the Reading Gaol)

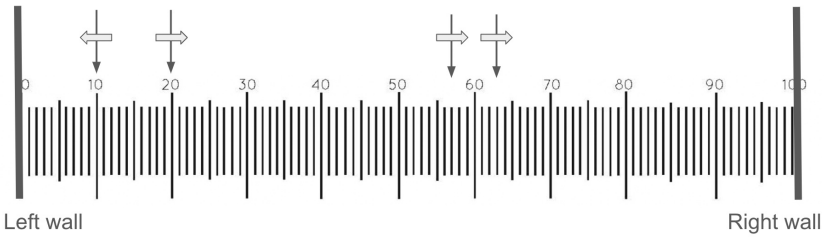
Идут зека
В глазах тоска
Алла Зимина

Prisoners in a special regime jail are only allowed to walk in a very narrow passage between the walls. There are four prisoners in the passage, the passage is 100 steps long. They all move with the same speed, one step per minute. The passage is so narrow that a prisoner who meets another prisoner cannot go forward; instead, both start moving in the directions opposite to where they were heading before they met. Similarly, when the prisoner hits the wall at the end of the passage, he starts moving in the opposite direction.

Imagine a scenario where two prisoners are positioned 1 and 2 steps away from the left wall, respectively, and they move towards each other. Initially, they meet in half a second, then promptly change directions and move away from each other. Subsequently, 1.5 seconds later, the first prisoner reaches the left wall, pivots, and begins moving in the opposite direction, to the right. This case is illustrated by the following set of pictures.



Let the four prisoners be 10, 20, 57 and 63 steps away from the left end; the first prisoner moves leftward, while the other prisoners move rightward.



What are their positions after 10 hours?

(The answer must be obtained by analytical rather than computational means)

NB: You are allowed to answer in English or Russian.

Вопрос 2

Балл: 60,00

Arch-agreement

…потягивая кислое винцо
я узнавал усатое лицо
в любом пятне на выцветших обоях
Александр Галич

Language A. has four genders, a masculine (Gender 1) which contains all and only nominals referring to men, a feminine (Gender 2) which contains all and only nominals referring to women, and two neuters (Gender 3 and Gender 4, where the distribution of the non-human nouns is by and large unpredictable; thus, most but not all animals belong to Gender 3). Gender interacts with number: in the plural, the distinction between Gender 1 (masculine) and Gender 2 (feminine) neutralizes into agreement which may be viewed as human plural category (glossed as HPl, for *human plural*); while the distinction between Gender 3 and Gender 4 neutralizes into agreement which may be viewed as non-human plural category (glossed as NPl, for *non-human plural*); see Table 1. Table 1 shows only the main allomorphs of gender markers that are observed as prefixes. The exponence of agreement across different positions is shown in Table 2, where the allomorphs vary depending on the locus of marking (prefix, infix or suffix; <> indicates infixes).

	Sg	Pl	
1 (masculine)	w-	b-	HPl
2 (feminine)	d-		
3	b-	Ø	NPl
4	Ø		

Table 1. Basic oppositions

	Series 1 (prefix)	Series 2 Infix/Suffix	Series 3 Suffix
1	w-	‹w›	-w
2	d-	‹r›	-r
3	b-	‹b›	-b
4	Ø	Ø/‹t'›	-t
HPl	b-	‹b›	-ib
NPl	Ø	Ø/‹t'›	

Table 2. Allomorphs across positions

A. is an ergative language, and gender agreement works on the ergative basis*. In other words, S (the sole argument of the intransitive verb, as Mary in *Mary died*) and the P (the patientive argument of the transitive verb, as Mary in *John killed Mary*) control gender agreement, while A (the agentive argument of the transitive verb, as John in *John killed Mary*) does not. In the domain of the noun phrase, all attributes agree with the head noun*.

The following examples show some occurrences of gender markers that are predicted by these rules (in parentheses [], the gender value of the nominal is shown):

(1) *to-w bošor cili i-w-di-li*

that-1 man[1] in.Azerbaijan be-1-Pst-Evid

'(The story goes,) that man was in Azerbaijan.'

(2) *to-r lo e‹r›t:-emč'iš…*

that-2 young.person[2] ‹2›become.Pfv-Cond…

'If that girl won't agree, …'

(3) *jamu-b doˤzu-b jaˤt'i e-b-di-li jem-im-me-qˤ-iš q'aˤna-š*

that.far-3 big-3 snake[3] be-3-Pst-Evid that.far-Pl-Obl.Pl-Inter-El amidst-El

'(The story goes,) this big snake was among them.'

(4) *ja-t ʕasa oqˤ et:i-qi*

this-4 wand[4] worn 4.become.Pfv-Fut

'This wand will wear away.'

(5) *jem-ib adam-til bu-kunni-li muši*

that.far-Pl person-Pl[HPl] HPl-eat.Pfv-Evid well

'These people ate well.'

(6) *gudu laha-s=t'aw zon as-mu-s χa‹r›t:i:-t'u*

that.down.1 young.person.Obl-Dat=except[1] I[2] husband-Obl-Dat ‹2›go.Pfv.Fut-Neg

'I won't marry anyone except that guy.'

(7) *ʁatːərˑχur t'al uw-qi šutːa un*

cows-Ad send 1.do.Pfv-Fut tomorrow you.sg[1]

'Tomorrow I will send you to (herd) the cows'

Now consider the following examples, problematic in terms of the rules above.

(8) *jamu-m-mi-n ɬib-u‹w›u lo i-w-di-li*

that.far-1-Obl-Gen three-‹1›Card young.person be-1-Pst-Evid

'He had three sons.'

(9) *učʼ wiːcʼ-a‹b›u ans=u be-šde-li*

-

nine ten-‹3›Card bull=Add 3-take.Pfv-Evid

'(They) bought nine-ten bulls, too.'

(10) *gudu laha nen-tʼu χʷi-s uw-qi*

that.below.1 lad.Obl(Erg) we-NPl.Incl NPl.die.Pl-Inf NPl.do.Pfv-Fut

'This guy will kill us!'

(11) *han kʷatʼ wež, is χːara-tː-ib χuzen-til*

what be.needed you.pl.Dat NPl.I.Gen dear-Attr-Pl master-Pl

'What do you need, my dear masters?'

(12) *ebqʼ-i‹r›u d-is došdur, došdur ɬːʷak qʼʰijqʼʰi-r*

four-‹2›Card 2-I.Gen sister sister near NPl.sit.Imp-Pl

'My four sisters, sit close to (your) sister!' (i.e. sit close to me)

(13) *nen ditː-a‹tʼ›u ati*

we early-‹NPl›Ptcl

NPl.let.Imp

'Let us free with no delay!'

(14) *akː-er lobur, žʷen akːe-r, žʷen*

NPl.go.Imp-Quot child.Pl you.pl NPl.go-Imp-Quot you.pl

atːaː-tʼu buwa-mu

NPl.let.Pfv.Fut-Neg mother-Obl(Erg)

'Go away, children, you go away, the mother will not let you come'

1. In examples (8) to (14), indicate the gender markers whose appearance is problematic from the point of view of the rules and examples (1) to (7)
2. Provide rules that account for these examples. Make explicit how your rules interact between themselves, so as to provide unambiguous predictions of the data above. Make sure your rules do not contradict the two main principles of agreement (marked by *) - ergative alignment of agreement in the clausal domain and agreement controlled by the NP domain.
3. Try to provide a feasible general morphosyntactic framework model that accounts for the interaction of the rules you posited, and their functional motivation.

The list of interlinear glosses used in the examples follows. Note that this data is not relevant for the analysis, as all important information has been provided above.

Ad - adessive, Add - additive clitic, Attr - attributivizer, Card - cardinal numeral suffix, Cond - conditional converb, Dat - dative, El - elative, Erg - ergative, Evid - indirect evidential, Excl - exclusive, Fut - future, Gen - genitive, Incl - inclusive, Inf - infinitive, Ipfv - imperfective stem of the verb, Neg - negative, Obl - oblique stem of the noun, Pfv - perfective stem of the verb, Pl - plural, Pst - past, Ptcl - particle.

NB: You are allowed to answer in English or Russian.