

# A Grammar of Ayeri



# A Grammar of Ayeri

DOCUMENTING A FICTIONAL LANGUAGE

*by Carsten Becker*

*Benung. The Ayeri Language Resource*

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2018

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Last edited: April 30, 2018.

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Ayeri is a fictional language. As such, it is not related to any naturally existing languages, living or dead. No real-world languages have been used specifically as sources of vocabulary. Ayeri is also not derived from any specific real-world language family by means of sound changes. Due to Ayeri's sound and spelling aesthetic being inspired by Austronesian languages such as Malay, Indonesian, or Tagalog, however, occasional overlaps with words existing in these languages may happen, but only accidentally so.

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<https://ayeri.de>



<https://github.com/carbeck/ayerigrammar/>



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# List of Abbreviations

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## Glossing abbreviations

1	First person	ERG	Ergative
2	Second person	EVID	Evidential
3	Third person	F	Feminine
A	Agent	FOC	Focus
ABS	Absolutive	FUT	Future
ACC	Accusative	GEN	Genitive
AFF	Affirmative	GENT	Genitive topic
AGR	Agreement	HAB	Habitative
AGTZ	Agentizer	HORT	Hortative
AN	Animate	IMP	Imperative
AT	Agent topic	IMPF	Imperfective
AV	Active voice	INAN	Inanimate
CAUS	Causative	IND	Indicative
CAUT	Causative topic	INDF	Indefinite
COMP	Comparative	INS	Instrumental
COND	Conditional	INST	Instrumental topic
DAT	Dative	INT	Intensifier
DATT	Dative topic	IRR	Irrealis
DEF	Definite	ITER	Iterative
DET	Determiner	IV	Instrumental voice
DIM	Diminutive	LNK	Linker
DIR	Directional	LOC	Locative
DIST	Distal	LOCT	Locative topic
DV	Dative voice	M	Masculine

N	Neuter	PROX	Proximal
NEG	Negative	PRS	Present
NFUT	Near future	PRT	Preterite
NMLZ	Nominalizer	PST	Past
NOM	Nominative	PT	Patient topic
NPST	Near past	PTCP	Participle
NVOL	Non-volitive	Q	Question particle
OBL	Oblique	REFL	Reflexive
OV	Objective voice	REL	Relative
P	Patient	RFUT	Remote future
PASS	Passive	RPST	Remote past
PFV	Perfective	SG	Singular
PL	Plural	ST	Strong
POS	Positive	SUPL	Superlative
POSS	Possessive	TOP	Topic
PREP	Preposition	TR	Transitive
PRI	Primary	WK	Weak
PROG	Progressive		

## LFG-specific abbreviations

ADJ	Adjunct	OBJ	Object
AF	Argument function	OBJ <sub>θ</sub>	Secondary object
ANIM	Animacy	OBL <sub>θ</sub>	Oblique constituent
ASP	Aspect	PCASE	Prepositional case
CASE	Case	PERS	Person
COMP	Complement	POSS	Possessor
CONJ	Conjunction	PRED	Predicator
DEG	Degree	PREDLINK	Predicative complement
DEG-DIM	Degree polarity	PRONTYPE	Pronoun type
DEIX	Deixis	PSEM	Prepositional semantics
DF	Discourse function	QUANT	Quantifier
GEND	Gender	SIMP	Simple aspect
GF	Grammatical function	SPECIF	Specificity
INDEX	Index	SUBJ	Subject
MOD	Modality	TEL	Telic
MOOD	Mood	TENSE	Tense
NUM	Number	XCOMP	Open complement

## Grammaticality judgments

- \* ungrammatical or undocumented
- ? questionable
- ! running counter to expectation
- # marked



## Preface

---

This book constitutes my latest attempt at writing a grammar of Ayeri, a fictional language (or “conlang”) which I have been developing since December 2003. Getting to work on grammar writing again was triggered in the summer of 2016 by a growing dissatisfaction with not having a central place of documentation when the first thing people were looking for on my website was often the previous iteration of the *Ayeri Grammar*, incomplete as well as partially inaccurate and outdated as it may have been at that point. In addition to that, there was a class on fictional languages taught at the University of Tübingen, Germany, that summer (Buch 2016). Ayeri was one of the languages chosen for students to explore and evaluate.

The student group who worked on Ayeri came to the conclusion that its documentation was severely lacking in the description of basic elements and assumptions, seeing as whole chapters of the grammar had been missing to that date (Boga et al. 2016: 12). While the formal documentation of Ayeri’s grammar was lying dormant between 2011 and 2016, I wrote a whole number of blog articles detailing various grammatical issues in the meantime (Becker 2016a: Blog).<sup>1</sup> These articles have finally been taken into consideration here.

This book is, however, not just a filling-in of blanks in previous documentation, but for the most part has been rewritten completely. This goes especially for the syntax chapter, which finally gave me an opportunity to begin acquainting myself with this field. With this book, you are holding the result of two years of hard work in your hands. I hope you will have as much joy reading it as I had researching it.

*Carsten Becker, April 2018*

<sup>1</sup>  *Kutānas-ikan* ‘thanks a lot’ to Bella Boga, Madita Breuninger, Thora Daneyko, and Martina Stama-Kirr for their hard work on making sense of my published materials in spite of information being scattered all over the place, as well as their providing me with the presentation concluding their group work.



# o Introduction

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ကဝိဥပဇ္ဈိတဉာဏ်တရားဇနာသိဝိသုဉာဏ် မိမိကံ နာ နိစ္စိဉာဏ်။  
*Paronaya adanyāng si ming tabanoyyāng, edareng voy kotanas.*  
'He who cannot write believes it not to be toil.'  
— Anonymous<sup>1</sup>

In December 2003, the idea for a new fictional language was born, an idea that turned out to stick with me for over 10 years now.<sup>2</sup> At that time, my seventeen years old self was still fairly new to this whole making-up languages business, read things about linguistics here and there, and was not shy to ask questions about terminology (and, looking at old mails, a little impertinently teenager-like so), for example on the Conlang mailing list and the Zompist BBoard. One thing seemed to catch my interest especially: syntactic alignments other than the NOM/ACC of the few languages I was familiar with, that is, German, English, and French. Apparently, this curiosity was big enough for me to grow bored with my second language invention, Daléian (declared ‘quite complete’ after maybe half a year of work or so), and to start something new from scratch in order to put newly acquired knowledge to test.

I had read about “trigger languages” on Conlang-L and wanted to try my hands on making my own. I cannot remember how long it took me to come up

<sup>1</sup> In the original Latin, *Quia qui nescit scribere putat hoc esse nullum laborem*. Scribe’s note in Berlin, State Library, Cod. Lat. fol. 270 (see Bluhme 1858: 589).

<sup>2</sup> Most of the text here is taken from the blog article “Happy 10th anniversary, Ayeri!” (Becker 2013) with some slight rephrasings and extensions. When I am calling Ayeri ‘fictional’ here, I am referring to the fact that Ayeri is the result of creative action and does not lead an existence independent of the confines of my writing about it or composing texts in it, as an author. Like a story, thus, it finds its realization only in the act of telling or writing. Like a story as well, it takes its premises from reality as a basis for imagining what could be. Invented languages are often referred to as ‘constructed languages’, or ‘conlangs’ for short, in the hobbyist communities revolving around them.

## 2 Chapter 0. Introduction

with a first draft of an Ayeri grammar, however, I do remember having been told that a good language cannot be made in a summer. Of course, I still did not really know what I was doing then, even though I thought I had understood things and authoritatively declared “this is how it works” in my first grammar draft when things sometimes really do not work that way. But at least an interest had been whetted.

In order to illustrate the various stages from the beginnings to current Ayeri, I went through some old backups contemporary with the very early days. Here is a sentence from the oldest existing document related to it, titled “Draft of & Ideas for my 3rd Conlang”—the file’s last-changed date is December 14, 2003, though I remember having started work on Ayeri in early December. I added glossing for convenience and according to what I could reconstruct from the notes. This uses vocabulary and grammatical markers just made up on the spot and for illustrative purposes; little of it actually managed to make it into actual work on Ayeri:

- (1) *Ayevhoi      agiaemaesim      coyaielieðamavir      vbaieloyanaiye.*  
 ay-evhoi      agia-ema-esim      coyai-el-i-eðam-avir      vhai-el-o-yaŋa-iyē  
 3SG.AN-SUBJ    read-VERB-SUBJ.AN    book-NOUN-AN-INDF-P    bed-NOUN-INAN-on-LOC

‘He reads a book on the bed.’

According to the grammar draft of September 5, 2004, this would have already changed to:

- (2) *Ang      layaiyain      mecoyalei      ling      \*pinamea.*  
 ang=    laya-iy-a-in      me-coya-lei      ling      \*pinam-ea  
 A.SUBJ=read-3SG.AN<sub>1</sub>-a<sub>1</sub>-SUBJ    INDF.INAN-book-P.INAN    top.of    bed-LOC

‘He reads a book on the bed.’

A word for ‘bed’—*pinam*—was only (re-)introduced on October 24, 2008, however. In the current state of Ayeri, I would translate the sentence as follows:

- (3) *Ang    layaya      koyaley      ling    pinamya.*  
 ang=laya=ya.Ø      koya-ley      ling    pinam-ya  
 AT=    read=3SG.M.TOP    book-P.INAN    top.of    bed-LOC

‘He reads a book on a/the bed.’

As you can see, quite a bit of morphology got lost already early on, especially the overt part-of-speech marking (!) and animacy marking on nouns. Also, prepositions were just incorporated into a noun complex as suffixes apparently. Gender was originally only divided into animate and inanimate, but I changed that at some

point because only being really familiar with European languages, it felt awkward to me at some point not to be able to explicitly distinguish ‘he’, ‘she’, and ‘it’. These days, I would find it potentially more interesting if I had not taken this step, but the double split in grammatical gender is codified now.

A feature that also got lost is the assignment of thematic vowels in personal pronouns to third-person referents: originally, every third-person referent newly introduced into discourse would be assigned one of /a e i o u/ to disambiguate, and there was even a morpheme to mark that the speaker wanted to dissolve the association. Constituent order was theoretically variable at first, but I preferred SVO due to familiarity with that. Later on, however, I settled on VSO. Also, I had no idea about what was called “trigger morphology” on Conlang-L for the longest time—essentially, this referred to the Austronesian, or Philippine, alignment. I am not claiming that I know all about it now, just that due to reading up on the topic, I have a slightly more informed understanding now. Orthography changed as well over the years, so ⟨c⟩ in the early examples encodes the /k/ sound, not /tʃ/ as it does today; diphthongs were spelled ⟨Vi⟩ instead of modern ⟨Vy⟩.

What was definitely beneficial for the development of Ayeri was the ever increasing amount of linguistics materials available online and my entering university (to study literature) in 2009, where I learned how to do research and also had a lot of interesting books available at the library.

One of the things people regularly compliment me on is Ayeri’s script—note, however, that Tahano Hikamu was not the first one I came up with for Ayeri. Apparently, I had already been fascinated with the look of Javanese/Balinese writing early on;<sup>3</sup> Figure 0.1 shows a draft dated February 9, 2004. However, the letter shapes in this draft looked so confusingly alike that I could never memorize them. About a year later, I came up with the draft in Figure 0.2. What is titled “Another Experimental Script” there is what would later turn into Tahano Hikamu, Ayeri’s ‘native’ script. According to the notes in my binder, the script looked much the same as today about a year from then, but things have only been mostly stable since about 2008.

An important date in the history of Ayeri was when I decided to set up an improved website for Ayeri that would include a blog. The idea was that this way, I could more freely write on whatever detail currently interested me in Ayeri, outside of the constraints of the *Grammar*. Thus, *Benung. The Ayeri Language Resource* launched on March 1, 2011. Being able to write short articles, however, probably

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for instance, the charts in Kuipers and McDermott (1996). The Wikipedia articles on either script contain a number of images depicting the scripts in use, both current and historic.



Figure 0.1: First design for an Ayeri script (February 9, 2004)

also led to neglecting work on the actual formal reference grammar, which had been lying dormant from January 2011 on. This was always on the premise that I would eventually include the information from blog articles in the grammar. However, juggling a complex, forty-page document in a word processor had felt too daunting, so I let laziness take the better part of me eventually as enthusiasm gradually subsided. The present, renewed attempt at documentation has been started with the intention to right those wrongs.

I hope that by now it should be clear which kind of language Ayeri is: a personal, artistic language—or *artlang* in community parlance. Thus, my goal in creating Ayeri is not to propose yet another international auxiliary language, like Esperanto. It is also not my goal to make it as logical as possible, like Lojban. Neither is it my goal to engineer it towards certain underlying premises, for example, to reach a maximum amount of information density, like Ithkuil, or to get by on as few different words as possible, like Toki Pona. It is also not a ‘what-if’ language in the sense of “What could the modern language of Old Irish speakers transplanted to Australia look like?” or “Latin piped through Athabascan sound changes.”

Ayeri is rather an attempt to create an artificial language for personal enjoy-



methods of linguistics to what has grown over the course of more than a decade on the one hand, and discovering and developing new aspects of the language on the other is what makes Ayeri an interesting piece of “informed nonsense,” as a colleague of mine once put it.<sup>4</sup>

If in the following text my (non-native) English is not always fully idiomatic, you find that I got facts, theories or analyses wrong, or not all aspects of the language or its description are equally thoroughly worked-out—which are all very likely events—I ask you to remember that this work is a one-person effort, so mistakes and errors are unavoidable. You are kindly invited to share any constructive criticism you have with me, however, to correct or improve any issues that might need correction or elaboration.

This book is structured in a way to go from the building blocks of the language to increasingly larger structures. Thus, chapter 1 deals with aspects of Ayeri’s phonology, and chapter 2 with its alphabet. Chapter 3 contains a discussion of the various morphological means in a general, typological way, while the subsequent chapter 4 discusses the morphology of the individual parts of speech. Before dealing with phrase types and their morphosyntactic makeup, chapter 5 provides a survey into Ayeri’s syntactic alignment and tries to answer the question whether Ayeri is a ‘configurational’ language in spite of VSO word order. Chapter 6 finally discusses how syntactic structures are built up from words, eventually leading to the formation of complete sentences.

<sup>4</sup> Servus, Oli!



# 1 Phonology

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This chapter will present charts depicting the phoneme inventory of Ayeri and describe the various commonly encountered allophones of both consonants and vowels. Following this, a detailed statistical analysis of the words found in a number of translated texts from 2008 to 2016 as well as dictionary entries up to July 2016 will produce insights into Ayeri’s phonotactics. Some notes on stress patterns and intonation will close the chapter.

## 1.1 Phoneme inventory

### 1.1.1 Consonants

At 17 consonants, Ayeri has a “moderately small” inventory, according to Maddieson (2013a). Table 1.1 shows the full chart of consonant phonemes.

Regarding allophony, /tj kj/ and /dj gj/ are usually realized as [tʃ] and [dʒ], respectively, except if a homorganic nasal /n/ or /ŋ/ is preceding: for instance, ႁႏႱ *ankyū* /'aŋkju/ ‘really’ is realized as ['aŋkju], not as \*['aŋtʃu] or \*['antʃu]. It is important to note, however, that besides this synchronic palatalization process leading to [tʃ] and [dʒ] as *allophones*, there is also a diachronic one in parallel here—or the diachronic process is still ongoing. For example, there is no way to predict whether ႁႏႱ *cuna* ‘original, initial’, ႁႏႱ *panca* ‘finally, eventually’, and ႁႏႱ *vac-* ‘like’, or ႁႏႱ *jaran* ‘pilgrimage’, ႁႏႱ *aja-* ‘play’, and ႁႏႱ *nuj-* ‘pour’ have /tj/ or /kj/, /dj/ or /gj/, respectively, unless we consider the clues given by the conservative native spellings of the respective words.<sup>1</sup> We can rather assume two sound changes, (1) tj, kj → tʃ, and (2) dj, gj → dʒ, leading to the *phonemes* /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in the present-day language.

<sup>1</sup> Actual scribes would typically err in cases where the merger is complete, so this strategy would, in fact, be of limited use in the real world.

Table 1.1: Consonant inventory (divergent orthography in brackets)

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b			t	d			k	g		
Affricate					tʃ <c>	dʒ <j>						
Nasal		m				n				ŋ <ng>		
Fricative				v	s							h
Tap/Flap						r						
Approximant						l		j <y>				

The plural marker ၵ -*ye* is commonly contracted to [dʒ] when a case suffix beginning with a vowel follows:<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. ၵၵ်းၵ်း *nyānyang* → *nyānjang* [ˈnjaːndʒaŋ] ‘persons’ (person-PL-A)  
 b. ၵိၵိၵိ *netuyas* → *netujas* [neˈtudʒas] ‘brothers’ (brother-PL-P)

The plural marker also contracts before the locative marker ၵ -*ya* and the dative marker ၵး -*yam*, as well as those case markers beginning with a vowel that is not /e/:

- (2) a. ၵ်းၵ်း *nivayeya* → *nivajya* [niˈvadʒja] ‘at the eyes’ (eye-PL-LOC)  
 b. ၵိၵိၵိ *maviyeang* → *mavijang* [maviˈdʒjaŋ] ‘the sheep’ (sheep-PL-A)

Dissimilation of the sequence ၵ -*yaya* is attested in the translation of Kafka’s short story “Eine kaiserliche Botschaft,” where the relative pronoun ၵိၵိ *siyaya* appears transcribed as *sijya*:

As far as morphophonology is concerned, the relative pronoun complex *sijya* ‘in/at/on which.LOC’ is interesting in so far as it is a contraction of \**siyaya* ‘REL-LOC-LOC’ that I introduced here [...] Since this feature does not occur in previous texts, let’s assume it’s an acceptable variant. (Becker 2012: 12)

The contraction of -*yaya* to -*jya* happens “only if both parts are grammatical suffixes” (12), however, so the environments this contraction may appear in are effectively limited to relative pronouns combining locative and locative, or locative and dative marking.

The word ၵၵ်း *lajāy* ‘student’ is special in that it is the only word with ၵ [dʒa] so far. Presumably it is derived from the verb ၵၵ်း *laya-* ‘read’ with the agentive suffix ၵး -*maya*, except the shortening of the suffix—with or without compensatory lengthening of the final vowel of the modified word stem—was applied irregularly, possibly via \**ၵၵ်း* \**layāya*. The regular form ၵၵ်း *layamaya* means ‘reader’.

Lastly, /h/ may assimilate to its phonemic environment and is realized as [ç] before front vowels, and as [x] before back vowels in this case:

- (3) a. ၵိၵိ *tabi* [ˈtaçi] ‘favorable’  
 b. ၵိၵိ *babo* [ˈbaxo] ‘loud’

While vowels become long when two identical vowels come into succession, consonants do not geminate but are treated like a single consonant, see (4). Furthermore, with diphthongs, the sequence /V<sub>1</sub>.j/ is treated as though it were /Vj.j/,

<sup>2</sup> The customary romanization uses ⟨c⟩ and ⟨j⟩ for allophonic cases of [tʃ] and [dʒ] as well.

Table 1.2: Vowel inventory (divergent orthography in brackets)

	Front	Center	Back
<b>High</b>	i, i: ⟨ī⟩		u, u: ⟨ū⟩
<b>Mid</b>	e, e: ⟨ē⟩	ə ⟨ə, e⟩	o, o: ⟨ō⟩
<b>Low</b>		a, a: ⟨ā⟩	

so the double /j/ simplifies to just a single /j/; however, the vowel remains lax in spite of being phonetically in an open position now; an example of this is given in (5). Here, even though the -yy- sequence collapses to /j/, the /u/ of ၵိပူယ *tipuy* remains [ʊ]; the [ɪ~j] of the diphthong is basically ambisyllabic.

- (4) a. တာဝံဂ် *tavvāng* [ta'va:ŋ] 'you get' (get=2SG.A)  
 b. သိယျာ *disyyang* [di'sjaŋ] 'I fasten' (fasten=1SG.A)

- (5) ၵိပူယ *tipuyya* [ti'pu.ja] 'on the grass' (grass-LOC)

### 1.1.2 Vowels

Ayeri's vowel system distinguishes five qualities, as shown in Table 1.2; Maddieson (2013c) classifies this as "average." Length, however, is also a factor, and there are five diphthongs as well, as we will see below. At 17 to 5, the consonant–vowel ratio is 4.25, which Maddieson (2013b) again classifies as "average," although Ayeri finds itself at the upper end of the tier.

The lax vowels [ɪ ɛ ʊ] occur as allophones of their tense counterparts /i e o u/ in closed syllables, for example:

- (6) a. မိာ် *ming* [miŋ] 'can, be able'  
 b. ၵိယှ *enya* [ʔen.ja] 'everyone'  
 c. ၵိယှ *agon* [a.gɔŋ] 'outer, foreign'  
 d. ပာကုာ် *pakur* [pa.kʊr] 'ill, sick'

[ə] occurs marginally in the tense prefixes ၵ: *kə-* 'NPST', ၵ: *mə-* 'PST', ၵ: *və-* 'RPST', as well as in the prefix ၵ: *mə-* 'some, whichever'. Otherwise, [ə] acts as an allophone of /e/ in final unstressed position, for instance, in the word ၵိး *mine* [miŋə] 'affair, matter, issue'.

Ayeri also possesses a number of diphthongs, these are: /ai ei ɔi ui au/, spelled ⟨ay⟩, ⟨ey⟩, ⟨oy⟩, ⟨uy⟩, and ⟨au⟩. Furthermore, there are long equivalents of the short vowels: /i: e: a: o: u:/; in romanization, long vowels are marked with a macron ⟨̄⟩ over the letter. Long vowels are lexicalized in a few words, for example those shown in (7). Otherwise, long vowels result from two same vowels after another, for instance as in (8).

- (7) a. ဝံ့ဉ် *nīsa* ‘wanted’ ဂုၢ်ၣ် *pasīsa* ‘interesting’  
 b. ခံၣ် *arēn* ‘anyway, however’ ဂုၢ် *lēra* ‘whore’  
 c. ဂုၢ် *lā* ‘tongue’ ဃၢ် *yāng* ‘he’ (he.A)  
 d. ဝံၣ် *nōn* ‘will, intention’  
 e. ခံၣ် *babūan* ‘barbarian’<sup>3</sup>
- (8) ခံၣ် *aja-* ‘play’ + ခံၣ် *-an* ‘NMLZ’ → ခံၣ် *ajān* ‘game, play’.

As far as morphophonology is concerned, long vowels also occur in double-marked relative pronouns where the agreement marker for the relative clause’s head has been omitted, for instance, ခံၣ် *sinā* ‘of which, about which’, as in (9a). This is to disambiguate it from the plain genitive-marked relative pronoun ခံၣ် *sina* ‘which.GEN’, as in (9b).<sup>4</sup>

- (9) a. *Le turayāng taman sinā ang ningay tamala vās.*  
 le= tura-yāng taman<sub>i</sub>-Ø si-Ø<sub>i</sub>-na ang=ning=ay.Ø tamala vās  
 PT.INAN=send=3SG.M.A letter-TOP REL-PT.INAN-GEN AT= tell=1SG.TOP yesterday 2SG.P  
 ‘The letter which I told you about yesterday, he sent it.’
- b. *tamanreng ledanena nā sina koronvāng*  
 taman-reng ledan<sub>i</sub>-ena nā si-na<sub>i</sub> koron=vāng  
 letter-A.INAN friend-GEN 1SG.GEN REL-GEN know=2SG.A  
 ‘the letter of my friend which you know’

As shown in (7c), the word ဂုၢ် *lā* ‘tongue’ ends in a long vowel, so the question is what happens when a case suffix beginning with a vowel is appended. To avoid a hiat, a glide /j/ may be inserted, so both of the renditions in (10) are possible.

<sup>3</sup> I have gone years without dictionary entries for /u:/, but it has always seemed slightly odd to me to lack a vowel in that position when all other vowels can be long. Therefore, ခံၣ် *babūan* ‘barbarian’ and its adjective ခံၣ် *babū* ‘barbarian (adj.)’ were coined as ဂုၢ် *prankaye*—things ‘that you put in specifically to make things fit’, another new coining this decision resulted in.

<sup>4</sup> A variant which combines the allomorphs of the relativizer and the genitive case marker in the opposite way also exists: ခံၣ် *s-* + ခံၣ် *-ena* → ခံၣ် *sena*.

- (10) a. *Aku*            *lāas!*  
           aka-u        lā-as  
           swallow-IMP tongue-P  
           ‘Shut up!’
- b. *Aku lāyas!*  
           (idem)

With diphthongs—as described above—/ɪ/ coalesces with a following /j/ to /j/, but the initial vowel will not become tense, thus we receive ၵိပူယ *tipuyya* [ti'puja] ‘on the grass’ from ၵိပူ *tipuy* ‘grass’ + ယ *-ya* (LOC) instead of \*[ti'puja]. Moreover, /u/ is commonly realized as [w] when followed by a vowel, for example in ယူကယ *buākaya* ['wa:kaja] ‘frog’ or ရှာ *rua-* [rwa] ‘have to, must’. [w] may also be an allophone of /uj/, as in ၵိပူ *adauyi* [a'dawi] ‘then’, ၵိပူ *edaui* [e'dawi] ‘now’, or နေကွယ် *nekuyi* ['nekwi] ‘eyebrows’. The negative suffix ယ *-oy* is also commonly contracted to [w] before a diphthong:

- (11) မိန့်ဝှာယ *mingoyay* → *minguay* [miŋ'wai] ‘I cannot’ (can-NEG=ISG.TOP)

## 1.2 Phonotactics

For the purpose of this statistical analysis, most of the available translations into Ayeri from late 2008 to July 2016 have been used as a text corpus;<sup>5</sup> example sentences from various blog articles have also been added, as well as dictionary entries for all nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, adpositions, conjunctions, and numerals if they were not prefixes or suffixes.<sup>6</sup> Borrowings have been deleted if they

<sup>5</sup> These texts are: Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2011), The Beginning of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (2014), Conlang Christmas Card Exchange 2008/09 (2009), Conlang Holiday Card Exchange 2010/11 (2011), Conlang Relay 15 (2008), Conlang Relay 17 (2010), Conlang Relay 18 (2011), The First Two Chapters from Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (2013), The Four Candles (2010), Honey Everlasting (2014), LCC4 Relay (2011), The Lord's Prayer (2015), A Medieval Neighborhood Dispute (2015), A Message from the Emperor (2012), The North Wind and the Sun (2016), The Origin of the Wind (2009), Ozymandias (2011), Please Call Stella ... (2008), Psalm 23 (2013), The Scientific Method (2014), The Sheep and the Horses (2012), Sugar Fairies (2011), The Upside-Down Ice Skater (2009). The texts can be accessed from Becker (2016a: Examples).

<sup>6</sup> This section updates and extends a previous analysis of the phonological makeup of dictionary entries (Becker 2010). The previous survey had its focus on gathering frequency statistics for word generation, however, we want to know about words generally here.

Table 1.3: Syllabification of inflected verbs

Suffix	<i>ca-</i> ‘love’	<i>gum-</i> ‘work’	<i>babr-</i> ‘mumble’
- <i>ay</i> (1SG)	<i>cá.y</i>	<i>gu.máy</i>	<i>ba.bráy</i>
- <i>va</i> (2SG)	<i>cá.va</i>	<i>gúm.va</i>	<i>ba.brá.va</i>
- <i>yam</i> (PTCP)	<i>cá.yam</i>	<i>gúm.yam</i>	<i>bá.bryam</i>

Table 1.4: Frequency of words by number of syllables (n = 5500)

Segments	Count	Percentage
2 syllables	2277	41.40 %
3 syllables	1393	25.33 %
1 syllable	1201	21.84 %
4 syllables	547	9.95 %
5 syllables	74	1.35 %
6 syllables	8	0.15 %

could not reasonably be words in Ayeri. Altogether, the corpus comprises 5,500 words, which is a very small figure for such a survey, but there is only a limited number of texts available unfortunately. Words may occur more than once.

Among the dictionary entries, verbs have notably been ignored, since verb stems alone do not constitute independent words—they are always inflected in some way, so that they may end in consonants or consonant clusters that independent words cannot end in. This also has repercussions on syllabification and stress, which depend on the inflection of the verb stem, compare Table 1.3.

For the purpose of gathering statistics on phonemes, the words from translated texts were converted to IPA first. Fortunately, this is rather easy as Ayeri’s romanization is very straightforward. Syllable breaks have also been inserted semi-automatically.

### 1.2.1 Number of syllables per word

First, let us see how many syllables words commonly have (see Table 1.4). The higher the syllable count, the more likely it is for them to be compounds or inflected words.

Two-syllable words make up the bulk of the sample, which is not surprising

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- (12) a. ၼာ *ang* (AT), ၵ *nay* ‘and’, ၵ *rua* ‘must’  
 b. ၼ *datau* ‘normal’, ၵ *nasay* ‘near to’  
 c. ၼ *avanyāng* ‘he sinks’ (sink=3SG.M.A), ၼ *tovaley* ‘a cloak’ (cloak-P.INAN)  
 d. ၼ *binyanveno* (corner.beautiful, a place name),  
 ၼ *mitanena* ‘of the palace’ (palace-GEN)  
 e. ၼ *baruyamanas* ‘a beating’ (beat-PTCP-NMLZ-P),  
 ၼ *sungkorankibas* ‘geography’ (science.map)  
 f. ၼ *kaytomayanena* ‘of righteousness’ (right.do-NMLZ-GEN),  
 ၼ *nasimayajang-ben* ‘all followers’ (follow-AGTZ-PL-A=all)

since 1,072 entries (55.43%) in the dictionary subsample are disyllabic: most of Ayeri’s roots are disyllabic. Unsurprisingly, most monosyllabic words are function words like the ones cited below. Example (12) lists a few examples for each number of syllables per word.

Table 1.5 shows the frequencies of syllable types by position in a word. It is important to note here that phonemes which consist of more than one segment—affricates, diphthongs, and long vowels—have been counted as only one of C (consonant) or V (vowel), respectively. The following subsections will elaborate on which sounds the Cs and Vs correspond to. Moreover, it is important to note that medial syllables have not been further distinguished by position in the word for the sake of this analysis, so anything between the second and the fifth medial syllable is treated the same. It would furthermore be possible to calculate the frequencies of one syllable type following the other, however, no such calculations have been carried out here.

In all positions, CV is the most common syllable type, followed by CVC. With a very big margin, V is the next most common syllable type, which is also most common in initial syllables and least common in monosyllabic words. The cases with only a few attestations are listed in (13).

- (13) a. Initial CVCC:  
 ၼ *linktang* /lin̥k.ˈtaŋ/ ‘they try’ (try=3PL.M.A)<sup>7</sup>  
 ၼ *silvnang* /silv.ˈnaŋ/ ‘we see’ (see=IPL.A)  
 b. Final CCCV:  
 ၼ *migryo* /ˈmi.grjo/ ‘flourishes’ (flourish-3SG.N)  
 ၼ *subryo* /ˈsu.brjo/ ‘ceases’ (cease-3SG.N)  
 c. Single V:  
 ၼ *ay* /aɪ/ ‘I’ (1SG.TOP)



Table 1.5: Frequency of syllable types per word (n = 5500)

Type	Initial		Medial		Final		Single		Total	
CV	2896	67.36%	1974	72.02%	2109	49.06%	578	48.13%	7557	60.26%
CCV	55	1.28%	24	0.88%	46	1.07%	32	2.66%	157	1.25%
CCCV	—		—		2	0.05%	—		2	0.02%
CVC	761	17.70%	610	22.25%	1902	44.24%	298	24.81%	3571	28.48%
CCVC	29	0.67%	10	0.36%	85	1.98%	9	0.75%	133	1.06%
CVCC	2	0.05%	—		—		—		2	0.02%
V	488	11.35%	95	3.47%	67	1.56%	2	0.17%	652	5.20%
VC	68	1.58%	28	1.02%	88	2.05%	282	23.48%	466	3.72%
Total	4299	100.00%	2741	100.00%	4299	100.00%	1201	100.00%	12540	100.00%

The medial and final VC cases may seem like an oddity, but they are mostly due to the previous syllable ending in /ŋ/, with that syllable also containing a lax vowel, which means that this syllable must be closed. An alternative explanation would be to assume that /ŋ/ is ambisyllabic, or actually /n.g~ŋ.g/, but realized as [ŋ]. The high number of single-syllable VC is due to *ṣṛ ang* 'AT', which alone appears 255 times in the sample (4.63% of all words, 21.23% of monosyllabic words, 90.43% of monosyllabic VC words).

### 1.2.2 Phonemic makeup of initial syllables

The statistics in the following sections have been gathered from the IPA conversions of translated texts and dictionary entries mentioned above. The transcribed words have been split into syllables and then the collected contents of each position group were written into separate plain text files, one each for:

- all initial syllables of polysyllabic words,
- all medial syllables of polysyllabic words,
- all final syllables of polysyllabic words, and
- all monosyllabic words.

Monosyllabic words are both initial and final syllables at the same time; they have been counted separately for the purpose of this analysis. Onsets, nuclei, and codas have been matched by regular expressions; the command line tools *grep*, *sort*, and *uniq* were used to aggregate all occurring variants for each syllable segment as well as their absolute frequencies:<sup>8</sup>

```
(14) C = (? : t f | d ʒ | [ptkbgdmnŋvshrɭjw])
      V = (? : [æ] : ? ɪ | ə ʊ | [ieaou] : ? | [ɪɛɔʊə])
```

As we have seen above (Table 1.5), CCV syllables only make up 1.28% of initial syllables, insofar it is no surprise that consonant clusters all appear at the bottom of Table 1.6. There also seem to be combination patterns in that initial clusters exist for all plosives plus /r/, and almost all bilabials plus /j/, with the exception of /bj/, however, /nj/ is added to the group instead. Combinations with /w/ only occur for /b/, /r/, and /s/, which do not share an obvious connection. Syllables

<sup>7</sup> The verb stem is found in the dictionary as *ṛṣṇ linka-*, with a final *-a*, and thus is possibly an entry changed at a later point, or the example from the text (*Sugar Fairies*) chosen here contains an error.

<sup>8</sup> However, *sort* was unable to handle all IPA characters, so *sed 'γ/ɛɪɔʊə:ʃʒŋ/EI0U@:SZN/'* had to be used to compensate by transcribing everything into X-SAMPA.

Table 1.6: Frequency of onset consonants in initial syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	556	12.93 %
s	488	11.35 %
t	432	10.05 %
m	418	9.72 %
k	380	8.84 %
n	375	8.72 %
p	334	7.77 %
b	231	5.37 %
d	172	4.00 %
v	164	3.81 %
l	159	3.70 %
r	134	3.12 %
j	126	2.93 %
g	111	2.58 %
h	99	2.30 %
tʃ	30	0.70 %
pr	27	0.63 %
nj	27	0.63 %
kr	8	0.19 %
br	8	0.19 %
tr	6	0.14 %
dʒ	4	0.09 %
gr	3	0.07 %
w	2	0.05 %
sw	1	0.02 %
rw	1	0.02 %
pj	1	0.02 %
mj	1	0.02 %
bw	1	0.02 %

Table 1.7: Frequency of nuclei in initial syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
a	1847	42.96 %
i	1011	23.52 %
<i>i</i>	802	18.66 %
<i>ɪ</i>	209	4.86 %
e	705	16.40 %
<i>e</i>	523	12.17 %
<i>ɛ</i>	164	3.81 %
<i>ə</i>	18	0.42 %
u	260	6.05 %
<i>u</i>	228	5.30 %
<i>ʊ</i>	32	0.74 %
o	227	5.28 %
<i>o</i>	188	4.37 %
<i>ɔ</i>	39	0.91 %
a:	109	2.54 %
aɪ	88	2.05 %
eɪ	40	0.93 %
e:	4	0.09 %
ɔɪ	3	0.07 %
ʊɪ	1	0.02 %
o:	1	0.02 %
i:	1	0.02 %
e:I	1	0.02 %
aʊ	1	0.02 %






without a consonant filling the onset position are marked with ‘Ø’; these numbers correspond to the VC and VCC rows in Table 1.5.



Perhaps most striking about the nuclei of initial syllables presented in Table 1.7 is that plain vowels occur most frequently. As mentioned above, lax vowels are counted here as allophones of tense ones since their distribution is complementary. They are listed here for the sake of completeness. This is the reason why the plain vowels are presented as grouped with their allophones in this table as well as in

Table 1.8: Frequency of codas in initial syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	3441	80.04 %
n	298	6.93 %
ŋ	243	5.65 %
r	129	3.00 %
l	88	2.05 %
m	74	1.72 %
s	20	0.47 %
t	2	0.05 %
h	2	0.05 %
tʃ	1	0.02 %
ŋk	1	0.02 %
lv	1	0.02 %
k	1	0.02 %

subsequent ones. Long vowels and diphthongs find themselves below the 5% threshold, and the words with single occurrences are listed in (15).

- (15) a.  *kuysān* ‘comparison’  
 b.  *nōn* ‘will, intention’  
 c.  *nīsa* ‘wanted’<sup>9</sup>  
 d.  *sēyaya* ‘will overcome’ (FUT-overcome-3SG.M)  
 e.  *sautan* ‘cork’

Since the diphthong [e:i] only occurs due to allophony, it should not be counted as a phoneme for the purposes of this analysis. On the other hand, the same could be said for a lot of cases of [a:] included here—this caveat applies to all nouns derived from verbs ending in *-a* with the very common nominalizing suffix  *-an*, as exemplified in (8) above. Similarly, the 18 instances of [ə] reported here are mostly from tense prefixes also mentioned above, for instance,  *mākronay* ‘I knew’ (PST-know=1SG.TOP).

Initial-syllable codas (Table 1.8) are far less diverse than consonant onsets: there are only 10 attested segments in comparison to 28 for onsets (not counting

<sup>9</sup>  *nīsa* and  *nōn* are both related to  *no*- ‘want, plan’.

empty codas of C(C)V syllables, which constitute the majority by a large margin). The only two clusters attested are /ŋk/ in the word လိင်္တန် *linktang* ‘they try’ (try=3PL.M.A), and /lv/ in the word လိပ်သင်္က *silvnang* ‘I see’ (see=IPL.A). It is probably an effect of the small sample size that there are only two incidences of a CC cluster in the sample set. Moreover, the only unvoiced single coda consonants attested are /s/, /h/, /t/, /tʃ/ and /k/, the latter two only once, /h/ twice, see (16).

- (16) a. မေ့သတိကပ် *mehvāng* ‘you are supposed to’ (be.supposed.to=2SG.A)<sup>10</sup>  
 လိပ်သင်္က *rohtang* ‘they bite’ (bite=3SG.M.A)  
 b. မိလ္လာ *mutva* ‘you rub’ (rub=2SG.TOP)  
 ကညာက *patlay* ‘cousin’  
 c. လိပ်လိပ် *sik-sik* ‘tits’  
 d. လိပ်သင်္က *vacvāng* ‘you like’ (like=2SG.A)

### 1.2.3 Phonemic makeup of medial syllables

The onsets of medial syllables (Table 1.9) show properties very similar to those of initial syllables. The order of most common consonants may differ here—for example, the most common onset is /r/, not Ø or /s/—but there are no restrictions on consonants to appear in this position, with the exception of /ŋ/ for reasons stated above (see section 1.2.1). Regarding initial clusters, there are further attestations for plosive plus /r/ (except for /kr/). As for clusters with /j/, the only one with a bilabial here is /bj/, but, compared to initial syllables, the set is extended to /sj/ and /kj/. For clusters with /w/, only /sw/ and /kw/ occur here, while attestations for /bw/ and /rw/ as in initial-syllable onsets are lacking. This does not mean that those combinations are not possible in principle in this position, however.

As with onset consonants, vowel nuclei of medial syllables (Table 1.10) do not show significant differences compared to those of initial syllables either. /a/ is more common here, and /o/ and /u/ switch places. Instead of /e:i/, there is an attestation of /u:/ (see footnote 3), for which there is more reason to be counted as a phoneme than for /e:i/. The sequences /i:/ and /u/ also only occur once and twice, respectively, namely in the words in (17).

- (17) a. ကလိပ် *pasisa* ‘interesting’;  
 b. ကိပ်သင်္က *puluyley* ‘a mirror’ (mirror-P.INAN)  
 လိပ်ပု *tipuyya* ‘on the grass’ (grass-LOC)

<sup>10</sup> The dictionary entry for the verb is မေ့ *mya-*, so this may be an instance of my changing a word in the dictionary with the old one staying in the text (The Four Candles).

Table 1.9: Frequency of onsets in medial syllables (n = 2741)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	123	4.49 %
r	343	12.51 %
n	260	9.49 %
j	233	8.50 %
t	222	8.10 %
d	213	7.77 %
k	189	6.90 %
s	170	6.20 %
m	169	6.17 %
l	149	5.44 %
v	148	5.40 %
h	147	5.36 %
p	119	4.34 %
g	92	3.36 %
b	89	3.25 %
tʃ	20	0.73 %
dʒ	15	0.55 %
tr	11	0.40 %
dr	8	0.29 %
pr	7	0.26 %
w	6	0.22 %
sj	2	0.07 %
br	2	0.07 %
sw	1	0.04 %
kw	1	0.04 %
kj	1	0.04 %
bj	1	0.04 %

Table 1.10: Frequency of nuclei in medial syllables (n = 2741)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
a	1480	53.99%
i	480	17.51%
i	387	14.12%
ɪ	93	3.39%
e	254	9.26%
e	206	7.52%
ɛ	48	1.75%
o	194	7.08%
o	119	4.34%
ɔ	75	2.74%
u	120	4.38%
u	101	3.68%
ʊ	19	0.69%
a:	110	4.01%
aɪ	51	1.86%
ɔɪ	33	1.20%
eɪ	5	0.18%
e:	5	0.18%
aʊ	5	0.18%
ʊɪ	2	0.07%
u:	1	0.04%
i:	1	0.04%



Table 1.11: Frequency of codas in medial syllables (n = 2741)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	2093	76.36 %
n	313	11.42 %
ŋ	193	7.04 %
r	48	1.75 %
m	39	1.42 %
s	32	1.17 %
l	21	0.77 %
t	1	0.04 %
g	1	0.04 %

The word in (17a), *pasisa* ‘interesting’, rather transparently constitutes a causative derivation of the verb *pas-* ‘wonder, be curious, be interested’, essentially meaning ‘making one wonder/curious’—the causative suffix *-isa* can as well be used to derive adjectives with a causative or resultative meaning. Nonetheless it should count as a lexeme in its own right, since it possesses an idiomatic meaning.

With medial-syllable codas (Table 1.11) again, sonorants and /s/ make up the largest number of consonants in this position; /t/ and /g/ only occur once each in the words in (18).<sup>11</sup> As documented in Table 1.5 above, Ayeri very strongly favors CV syllables in medial positions, hence the high count of zero segments here.

- (18) a. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ pangitlan* ‘money change’  
 b. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ telugtong* ‘they survive’ (survive=3PL.N)

#### 1.2.4 Phonemic makeup of final syllables

The onsets of final syllables of polysyllabic words (Table 1.12) show the greatest amount of variety, which is due to Ayeri mostly using suffixes for grammatical

<sup>11</sup> The word for ‘money’ is *pangis*. *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ pangitlan* is probably a compound, albeit not fully transparent. The word for ‘change’ is *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ tila-*; there is possibly also a nominalizing *-an*. Ayeri exceptionally permits nominalized verbs as second members of verb–noun compounds, even though the verb is the head there. What possibly happened at the morpheme boundary is that *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ tilān* underwent metathesis to *\*ṁṁṁṁṁṁ \*itlān* to match the rhyme of *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ pangis*. *\*ṁṁṁṁṁṁṁ \*pangisitlān* then irregularly haplogitized to *ṁṁṁṁṁṁ pangitlan*.

Table 1.12: Frequency of onsets in final syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage	Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	155	3.61%	pr	7	0.16%
j	1101	25.61%	kj	6	0.14%
n	528	12.28%	hj	5	0.12%
r	398	9.26%	bj	5	0.12%
t	268	6.23%	tw	4	0.09%
s	244	5.68%	sw	4	0.09%
l	238	5.54%	sj	4	0.09%
k	199	4.63%	kw	3	0.07%
d	184	4.28%	kr	3	0.07%
m	154	3.58%	br	3	0.07%
v	144	3.35%	vr	2	0.05%
h	128	2.98%	rw	2	0.05%
p	115	2.68%	nw	2	0.05%
g	103	2.40%	tʃj	1	0.02%
dʒ	73	1.70%	rj	1	0.02%
b	73	1.70%	nj	1	0.02%
tʃ	52	1.21%	mw	1	0.02%
vj	26	0.60%	grj	1	0.02%
pj	22	0.51%	dv	1	0.02%
dʒj	17	0.40%	dr	1	0.02%
tr	10	0.23%	brj	1	0.02%
w	9	0.21%			

purposes. Hence, it is no surprise that combinations with /j/ and, indeed, /j/ itself as an onset, are especially common, since /j/ is also what a number of very common suffixes start with, for example the plural marker  $\text{ᑭ}$  -*ye* or the third-person animate pronoun agreement suffixes, as well as the various first-person and third-person animate pronominal clitics. Table 1.3 shows exemplarily how verbs resyllabify when suffixes are attached. Even though single-segment onsets are strongly preferred, Cr, Cw, and especially C(C)j seem to be generally permissible.<sup>12</sup>

Nuclei of final syllables (Table 1.13) do not bear striking differences to nuclei in other positions. /a:/ comes out second here due to the common nominalizer  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  -*an*, which lengthens the vowel of verb stems ending in /a/, as demonstrated in (8). /aɪ/ is also fairly common here as it is the topic-marked first-person pronoun/pronominal clitic; for the same reason, /a:ɪ/ occurs a number of times—the vowel-lengthening rule applies here as well, so its status as a phoneme is marginal. All instances of /e:/ in the sample are from the word  $\text{ᑭᑭᑭ}$  *arēn* ‘anyway, however’; all evidence for /i:/ is from  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  *siri* ‘due to which’ (see section 1.1.2). The only evidence for /u:/ in the sample is from  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  *babū* ‘barbarian (adj.)’.

The list of coda consonants in final syllables (Table 1.14) is slightly more restrictive than even that of coda consonants in medial syllables (see Table 1.11): the only non-sonorant attested is /k/, which only occurs in  $\text{ᑭᑭ.ᑭᑭ}$  *sik-sik* ‘tits’ again, which—besides being a vulgar term, thus maybe slightly more dispositioned to deviating phonotactics—looks reasonably like onomatopoeia for the sound of sucking.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.2.5 Phonemic makeup of single syllables

Onsets of single syllables (Table 1.15) appear to be the least varied category. Still, none of the basic set of consonant morphemes (see Table 1.1) is missing—the frequency order is just completely different from the other onsets surveyed, not merely a mixture of initial and final syllables. Consonant clusters with /j/, /w/ and /r/ exist here as well. Combinations with /j/ are only present for /m/ and /n/, while

<sup>12</sup> The sequence /sj/ poses difficulty here as there are examples for /Vs.jV/ as well as for /V.sjV/. Whether a strict rule is in operation is unclear. It seems that /V.sjV/ is more likely to occur when the second syllable is stressed, whereas /Vs.jV/ is more likely to occur when the first syllable is stressed. Ayeri’s own Tahano Hikamu orthography conceals the difference, since /sja/ is spelled  $\text{ᑭ}$  either way, and morpheme breaks have no impact on the placement the diacritic. /CsjV/ will be /C.sjV/ in any case, since Ayeri avoids final consonant clusters if possible, see Table 1.5.

<sup>13</sup> Kroonen (2013: 489–490) identifies PGmc *\*sūgan-*, *\*sūkan-* ‘to suck’ as an iterative of PGmc *\*sukkōn-*, *\*sugōn-* ‘to suck’ and gives PIE *\*souk-neh₂-* as its source. However, he does not say anything about the word being particularly onomatopoeic.

Table 1.13: Frequency of nuclei in final syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
a	2408	56.01%
a:	316	7.35%
o	411	9.56%
o	298	6.93%
ɔ	113	2.63%
i	289	6.42%
ɪ	147	3.42%
i	142	3.30%
aɪ	254	5.91%
u	207	4.82%
u	155	3.61%
ʊ	52	1.21%
ɛ	209	4.85%
ɛ	127	2.95%
ə	81	1.88%
e	1	0.02%
eɪ	103	2.40%
ɔɪ	42	0.98%
a:ɪ	23	0.54%
ʊɪ	14	0.33%
aʊ	14	0.33%
e:	5	0.12%
i:	3	0.07%
u:	1	0.02%

Table 1.14: Frequency of codas in final syllables (n = 4299)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	2224	51.73%
n	899	20.91%
ŋ	651	15.14%
s	244	5.68%
m	225	5.23%
l	34	0.79%
r	21	0.49%
k	1	0.02%

/r/ again combines with plosives; /w/ combines with /n/ and /r/ at least, which we have already seen in final-syllable onsets (see Table 1.12). Whereas /mj/ has only occurred once in initial-syllable onsets so far (see Table 1.6), it occurs a few more times here, all in the word မှာ *mya* ‘be supposed to’, which is very commonly used as an unconjugatable modal particle.

A consonant onset which can only be found in monosyllables is /ŋ/,<sup>14</sup> in ကုန် *-ngas* ‘almost’, a quantifier suffix that has managed to sneak in due to being marked as an adverb in the dictionary, since it can modify a verb in (19a). In contrast, ကုန် *-ngas* modifies the verb complex like any other adverb in (19b).

- (19) a. *Apayeng-ngas.*  
 apa=yeng=ngas  
 laugh=3SG.F.A=almost  
 ‘She almost laughed.’
- b. *Apayeng babo.*  
 apa=yeng babo  
 laugh=3SG.F.A loudly  
 ‘She laughs loudly.’

However, whereas လေး *babo* ‘loud’ is treated as a separate unit in terms of intonation, ကုန် *-ngas* is unstressed and binds to whatever it follows as an enclitic:

- (20) a. လေးကုန်ကုန် *Apayeng-ngas*. [apa’jeŋas]  
 b. လေးကုန်လေး *Apayeng babo*. [apa’jeŋ ‘baxo]

<sup>14</sup> At least according to the analysis chosen here, see section 1.2.1 for an explanation.

Table 1.15: Frequency of onsets in single syllables (n = 1201)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	284	23.65 %
n	231	19.23 %
s	147	12.24 %
j	144	11.99 %
k	51	4.25 %
v	48	4.00 %
m	46	3.83 %
l	44	3.66 %
t	41	3.41 %
d	33	2.75 %
r	26	2.16 %
h	23	1.92 %
mj	16	1.33 %
p	13	1.08 %
tʃ	9	0.75 %
g	9	0.75 %
nj	8	0.67 %
rw	7	0.58 %
b	7	0.58 %
pr	5	0.42 %
dʒ	3	0.25 %
tr	2	0.17 %
nw	1	0.08 %
ŋ	1	0.08 %
kr	1	0.08 %
br	1	0.08 %

Table 1.16: Frequency of nuclei in single syllables (n = 1201)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
a	568	47.29%
aɪ	171	14.24%
a:	140	11.66%
i	113	9.41%
i	65	5.41%
ɪ	48	4.00%
e	104	8.66%
ɛ	65	5.41%
e	34	2.83%
ə	5	0.42%
o	45	3.75%
ɔ	30	2.50%
o	15	1.25%
u	20	1.67%
a:ɪ	14	1.17%
ɔɪ	10	0.83%
i:	6	0.50%
eɪ	5	0.42%
ʊɪ	3	0.25%
o:	2	0.17%

As with onset consonants of monosyllabic words, nuclei of this syllable type are the least diverse group again (Table 1.16). One segment which is notably absent is /aʊ/, and the marginally phonemic /e:/ is not present either. By having /a/, /aɪ/, /a:/ at the top, monosyllabic words behave similar to final syllables of polysyllabic words (see Table 1.13), however, the order of the most common vowels bears more similarities to that of initial and medial syllables (see Tables 1.7 and 1.10). The very uncommon /o:/ features twice in this group, namely in two instances of the word 𑜋𑜃𑜫 *nōn* ‘will, intention’.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ayeri used to have 𑜋𑜃𑜫 *-on* as a nominalizer beside 𑜋𑜃𑜫 *-an*, however, it was not very productive and has long fallen out of use. 𑜋𑜃𑜫 *nōn* is thus, in fact, originally a nominalization of 𑜋𑜃 *no-* ‘want, plan’.

Table 1.17: Frequency of codas in single syllables (n = 1201)

Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage
Ø	612	50.96 %
ŋ	377	31.39 %
n	105	8.74 %
s	58	4.83 %
m	36	3.00 %
l	6	0.50 %
h	4	0.33 %
r	3	0.25 %

Like the other syllable segments of monosyllabic words, coda consonants (Table 1.17) as well show the lowest degree of variety among all coda consonants of the various syllable types discussed so far. The order is basically the same as that of final-syllable codas (see Table 1.14), though /ŋ/ supersedes /n/ and there is some attestation of final /h/. As noted above, the prevalence of /ŋ/ is due to the agent-topic marker *ang* (see section 1.2.1). /h/ only occurs in the interjections *ah!* and *āh!*, so its status as an actual phoneme in this position is marginal at best.

### 1.2.6 Cross-syllable consonant clusters

Since a table detailing every combination with its absolute and relative frequency would be too large here, Table 1.18 gives the attested combinations ordered by brackets. As can be expected, bilabials cluster mostly with bilabials (83/112 purely bilabial CC combinations = 74.11%), alveolars with alveolars (317/948 = 33.44%), and velars with velars (59/207 = 28.51%). However, at least for alveolars and velars, the score is even higher with /j/: 52.64% and 44.93%, respectively. /j/ is also the most common second consonant overall, at 47.8% of all consonant clusters; /n.j/ is the most common cluster at a total of 25.35%. Alveolars provide the highest variety of both first and second consonants, with 6 different phonemes making up 74.65% of C<sub>1</sub>, and 8 different phonemes making up 28.74% of C<sub>2</sub>.

Labiodentals and glottals occur least frequently, on the other hand: There is only one cluster with /v/ as a first consonant, namely, /lv.n/ (0.08%). For /h/, there are two, which are /h.v/ and /h.t/ (0.16%). Altogether, however, there are 97 combinations ending in /v/ (7.64%)—most commonly /l.v/ (3.15%) and /n.v/ (2.28%)—while there are only 4 in /h/ (0.31%): /n.h/, /s.h/, and twice /ŋ.h/.



Table 1.18: Frequency of cross-syllable consonant clusters (n = 1270)

Interval [%]	Consonant cluster
0.00 ... 0.09	g.t, h.t, h.v, k.s, l.n, lv.n, m.bj, m.d, m.dʒ, m.l, m.n, m.pr, m.r, n.dv, n.g, <sup>16</sup> n.h, n.w, ŋ.dʒj, ŋ.kw, ŋ.m, ŋ.n, ŋ.rj, ŋ.t, ŋ.k.t, r.b, r.dʒ, r.g, r.l, r.m, r.sj, r.tʃ, r.v, s.dʒ, s.h, s.l, s.n, s.p, s.v, t.v, tʃ.v (0.08%).
0.10 ... 0.24	l.bj, m.br, m.t, n.s, ŋ.b, ŋ.h, ŋ.p, ŋ.w, r.dʒj, r.pj, s.dʒj, s.m, t.l (0.16%); l.dʒ, l.p, m.k, n.sj, ŋ.dʒ, ŋ.g, ŋ.s, r.pr (0.24%).
0.25 ... 0.49	m.v, r.s, s.r (0.31%); n.r, s.t (0.39%); m.pj, n.dʒj, r.d (0.47%).
0.50 ... 0.74	ŋ.kj, ŋ.v, r.k, r.n (0.55%); l.b, l.t, ŋ.r (0.71%).
0.75 ... 1.00	r.p, r.t (0.87%); l.vj (0.94%).
1.0 ... 2.4	m.j (1.18%); ŋ.l (1.34%); n.tʃ (1.50%); n.dʒ (2.13%); n.v (2.28%); l.j (2.36%).
2.5 ... 4.9	m.p (2.52%); s.j (2.60%); n.l (2.91%); l.v (3.15%); m.b (3.23%); ŋ.k (3.78%).
5 ... 9	n.t (5.28%); n.d (6.85%); ŋ.j (7.32%); r.j (8.98%).
10+	n.j (25.35%).

At 924 attestations as a first consonant (72.76%), the nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ make up the largest group by manner of articulation, followed by the tap /r/, which appears 175 times (13.78%) as the first consonant. For second consonants, approximants constitute the largest group at 669 combinations (52.68%), followed by 387 pairs with secondary plosives (30.47%).

### 1.3 Notes on prosody

#### 1.3.1 Stress

Ayeri uses dynamic accent, that is, stress is based on differences in the loudness of syllables, among others.<sup>17</sup> Which syllable is stressed depends on a mixture of

<sup>16</sup> This is from 𑌕𑌕𑌕 *gan-gan* ‘grandchild’ being given as /gan.gan/ in the dictionary, which is the intended pronunciation, however. Assimilation to [ŋ] does not operate in this case.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of terms, see Kager (2007), for instance.

Table 1.19: Declension paradigm for Ayeri 𐏃𐏂 *niva* ‘eye’

	Singular		Plural	
TOP	<i>ní.va</i>	‘the eye’	<i>ni.vá.ye</i>	‘the eyes’
A	<i>ni.vǎng</i>	‘eye’	<i>ni.va.jǎng</i>	‘eyes’
P	<i>ni.vás</i>	‘eye’	<i>ni.vá.jas</i>	‘eyes’
DAT	<i>ni.vá.yam</i> <sup>19</sup>	‘to the eye’	<i>ni.vá.jyam</i>	‘to the eyes’
GEN	<i>ni.vá.na</i>	‘of the eye’	<i>ni.va.yé.na</i>	‘of the eyes’
LOC	<i>ni.vá.ya</i>	‘at the eye’	<i>ni.vá.jya</i>	‘at the eyes’
CAUS	<i>ni.va.í.sa</i>	‘due to the eye’	<i>ni.va.jí.sa</i>	‘due to the eyes’
INS	<i>ni.vá.ri</i>	‘with the eye’	<i>ni.va.yé.ri</i>	‘with the eyes’

which position in a word a syllable occupies and the phonemic shape of it. In fact, English, which also has phonemic stress in pairs such as *record* /ˈrɛkərd/ (noun) and /rɪˈkɔrd/ (verb) that Ayeri lacks, does a similar thing, as (21) shows.

(21) English (adapted from Halle 1998: 552):

*admire* /ædˈmaɪər/ — *admirable* /ˈædmərəbl/  
*carnivore* /ˈkarnɪvɔr/ — *carnivorous* /kərˈnɪvərəs/  
*ignore* /ɪgˈnɔr/ — *ignorant* /ˈɪgnərənt/

Stress does not stay at fixed intervals in these words and they even change their sound structure a little, but there are a number of variables which can nonetheless be formally described and applied here (Halle 1998: 564–565).<sup>18</sup> To demonstrate how word stress moves around in Ayeri, the complete declension paradigm for 𐏃𐏂 *niva* ‘eye’ is presented in Table 1.19.

It may appear that in the table above, stress is always on the penultimate syllable, which is indeed the case for most forms quoted there, but compare the superficially unmarked form 𐏃𐏂 *niva*, which is disyllabic with stress on the first

<sup>18</sup> Halle (1998) takes a generativist approach rather than a more modern Optimality-Theory based one like Kager (2007) does, who only deals with fixed-stress systems in this introductory article. Halle’s article is still informative, though. Simplifying a lot, English essentially tries to construct trochaic feet from the right edge of the word. If the last syllable’s vowel is not light, it is skipped and stress moves to the antepenultimate syllable; this process is recursive for words with multiple feet, although some suffixes introduce irregularities in rule application.

<sup>19</sup> Irregular final-syllable stress is possible as well here, also in the plural.

- (22) a.     $\acute{x}$     x  
           *ba - ri* ‘pithy, striking’
- b.     $\acute{x}$     x  
           *sa - yan* ‘hole, cave’  
           *sem - ba* ‘comb’
- c.     $\acute{x}$     x  
           *bri - ba* ‘grace’  
           *ba - brya* ‘(he) mumbles’  
           *a - gu* ‘chicken’

- (23) a.    x |  $\acute{x}$     x  
           *ba - ba - lan* ‘target, goal’  
           *jar - ma - ya* ‘pilgrim’
- b.     $\grave{x}$     x |  $\acute{x}$     x  
           *bo - ra - ma - ya* ‘sinner’  
           *ya - ma - na - ti* ‘causer’

(= penultimate) syllable, to the agent and patient singular forms,  $\text{ႬႬႬ}$  *nivāng* and  $\text{ႬႬႬ}$  *nivās*, respectively. These are also disyllabic, however, they are stressed on the second (= ultimate) syllable. Similarly, compare the agent and patient plural forms to each other: the agent plural form  $\text{ႬႬႬႬ}$  *nivajang* is trisyllabic and likewise has its main stress on the third (= ultimate) syllable, while the equally trisyllabic patient plural form  $\text{ႬႬႬႬ}$  *nivajas* is stressed on the second (= penultimate) syllable again.

It should have become clear that even though the basic form  $\text{Ⴌ}$  *niva* has first-syllable stress, *ni* will not necessarily carry stress across the whole paradigm. It should also have become clear that the basic algorithm to determine stressed syllables in Ayeri has something to do with counting syllables from the right edge of a word, although some complications need to be factored in. The following sections will try to describe these formally.

#### *Analysis of stress patterns in disyllabic words*

The basic foot in Ayeri is a trochee, and for the most part it does not matter whether the syllable is open or closed, or whether there are complex onsets or codas, or no onsets or codas at all, as (22) shows.<sup>20</sup> From words with more than two syllables we can deduce that stress assignment is trochaic. Stress assignment furthermore moves from right to left, so that in a word with more than two syllables, the last two syllables form a full foot, compare (23).

In the case of (23b), the stressed syllables of the first foot bear secondary stress while those of the second foot bear primary stress. Complications, then, come in the form of syllables ending in /ŋ/, containing a long vowel, or containing a diphthong, or a combination of those features. Ayeri does not possess syllables that contain a diphthong and also end in /ŋ/, though, since consonant codas after

<sup>20</sup> In the following, a syllable will be marked by ⟨x⟩ and receives an acute accent (´) when carrying primary stress, a grave accent (˘) when carrying secondary stress, and no accent when unstressed. Feet are marked by horizontal lines ⟨|⟩.

a diphthong are largely avoided.<sup>21</sup> Since the presence or the absence of a certain element that is suspected to have an effect on stress assignment is a yes–no decision, we can make a matrix of binary features:

Table 1.20: Types of heavy syllables

	[+ DIPH, – ɪ]	[– DIPH, + ɪ]	[– DIPH, – ɪ]
[+ LONG]	++	++	++
[– LONG]	+	+	–

The feature matrix above (Table 1.20) shows the various kinds of syllable types which we will now see have a manipulative effect on trochaic stress assignment. The syllable types marked with a plus sign can be considered ‘heavy’ in that they attract stress and thus modify the regular assignment of stress to every other syllable from the right edge of a word. For the time being, we will only test their effects on disyllabic words as the most common type. As shown in (24), heavy syllables in ultimate positions attract stress while quasi-regular results are produced when they are in penultimate position and the ultimate syllable is not heavy. Unfortunately, there are no disyllabic examples for the feature sets [+ LONG, – DIPH, + ɪ] and [+ LONG, + DIPH, – ɪ] in the first syllable (syllables of the type /C(C(j))V:ɪ/ or /C(C(j))Vɪɪ/). If there were, they would group with (24b).

- (24) a.    x        ˘  
           *ma* – *tay*    ‘summer, wet season’  
           *pɑ* – *dang*   ‘mind; heart, mood’  
           *ka* – *nāy*    ‘I marry’ (marry=1SG.TOP)  
           *bra* – *syāng*   ‘he bathes’ (bathe=3SG.M.A)  
           *na* – *rān*    ‘word; speech’
- b.    ˘        x  
           *kār* – *yo*    ‘strong’  
           *key* – *nam*   ‘humans, people’  
           *kan* – *ka*    ‘mind; heart, mood’

So far, we have only looked at heavy syllables combined with regular/light ones. In the following case, however, another property of heavy syllables will become apparent: long syllables outweigh those containing a diphthong or ending in /ɪ/. They are essentially superheavy, which is why some of the fields in Table 1.20 are marked with two plus signs. The following examples show what happens

<sup>21</sup> It may thus be possible to alternatively analyze diphthongs in /t/ as /Vj/ sequences.

when heavy syllables are combined with other heavy syllables. Let us start by examining the various combinations possible between  $[-\text{LONG}, +\text{DIPH}, -\eta]$  and the elements from the  $[+\text{LONG}]$  row, as in (25a), and the possible combinations between  $[-\text{LONG}, -\text{DIPH}, +\eta]$  and the  $[+\text{LONG}]$  row, as in (25b).

- (25) a.     $\text{x}$          $\acute{\text{x}}$   
           *bay* - *bāy*    ‘I govern’ (govern=1SG.TOP)  
           *say* - *lyāng* ‘he sails’ (sail=3SG.M.A)  
           *kay* - *vān*    ‘container’
- b.     $\text{x}$          $\acute{\text{x}}$   
           *kong* - *āyn*    ‘we enter’ (enter=1PL.TOP)  
           *keng* - *vāng*    ‘you notice’ (notice=2SG.A)  
           *lin*    - *kān*    ‘try, attempt’

We can see here that these words have primary stress invariably on the last/long syllable in spite of a heavy syllable preceding in the examples in (25b). The question then is, however, what happens if we invert this order. This is more problematic than it sounds, however, since initial  $[+\text{LONG}, +\text{DIPH}, -\eta]$  and  $[+\text{LONG}, -\text{DIPH}, +\eta]$ , as well as final  $[-\text{LONG}, +\text{DIPH}, +\eta]$  do not occur, thus, there will only be one possible combination here—the reverse pattern of  $\text{linkān}$  ‘try, attempt’ from (25b) above; also compare with (24):

- (26)     $\acute{\text{x}}$          $\text{x}$   
           *cā* - *nang*    ‘love’ (love-A)

There is only one pattern possible here, which is very little to make a point, however, other words following this syllable pattern, like  $\text{nāreng}$  ‘rather’, for example, behave in the same way. A long syllable has precedence over other kinds of heavy syllables, so  $\text{-nang}$  does not take away stress from  $\text{cā-}$  as one might expect from the examples in (24a). Another question is what happens if we pit elements from the  $[\pm\text{LONG}]$  rows against another feature combination of the same row. As above, we will start with the  $[-\text{LONG}]$  row, see (27).

- (27) a.     $\text{x}$          $\acute{\text{x}}$   
           *bay* - *tang*    ‘blood’
- b.     $\text{x}$          $\acute{\text{x}}$   
           *pang* - *lay*    ‘goddess’

In the case of examples for  $[+\text{LONG}]$  pattern combinations, we need to keep in mind again that initial  $[+\text{LONG}, +\text{DIPH}, -\eta]$  and  $[+\text{LONG}, -\text{DIPH}, +\eta]$  are not attested, so again, there will only be one possible combination of two syllables with a long vowel:

- (28)     $\acute{m}\bar{a}$      $\acute{s}\bar{a}y$  ‘I traveled’ (PST-travel=ISG.TOP)

Combining two long syllables with each other will result in both being stressed, which is otherwise avoided in Ayeri, as we will see later. Moreover, the following patterns emerge if we combine each pattern with itself; the combinatorial restrictions mentioned above apply again in (29).

- (29) a.     $x$              $\acute{x}$   
           *kay*    -    *vay* ‘without’  
           *dang*    -    *reng* ‘bell’ (bell-A.INAN)
- b.     $\acute{b}\bar{a}$              $\acute{m}\bar{a}$   
           *bā*    -    *mā* ‘parents, mom-and-dad’

As demonstrated in (25), the last heavy syllable will receive primary stress, except if two long syllables collide, in which case the first long syllable will receive secondary stress.

To summarize the above findings:

1. Ayeri assigns trochaic stress from the right edge of a word. A foot thus consists of two syllables, of which the first one is stressed.
2. Syllables ending in /ŋ/ or ones containing a diphthong are considered heavy. They attract stress and take it away from a preceding stressed syllable if the following syllable is not stressed already.
3. Syllables containing a long vowel are considered superheavy and override both light and heavy syllables in attracting stress, since long vowels cannot be unstressed.
4. Primary stress is assigned to the last stressable syllable, or otherwise the last heavy syllable. In the rare case of two long/superheavy syllables after another, the first syllable receives secondary stress and reduces in duration.

As we will see in the in the next section, however, another rule needs to be added to this set:

5. Secondary stress is assigned to syllables that are eligible for word stress but which are not in the final foot.

Table 1.21: Stress patterns for [+ HEAVY, – LONG] in trisyllabic words

–H –H +H	<i>prantanley</i>	x   x ́	‘question’ (question-P.INAN)
–H +H –H	<i>sarayya</i>	x   ́ x	‘(he) bows’ (bow-3SG.M)
+H –H –H	<i>taykondam</i>	x   ́ x	‘break (n.)’
–H +H +H	<i>ralangbay</i>	x   x ́	‘thumbnail’
+H –H +H	<i>kaybunay</i>	́   x ́	‘by the way’
+H +H –H	<i>maykongas</i>	x   ́ x	‘harbor’ (harbor-P)
+H +H +H	<i>saylingyang</i>	́   x ́	‘I progress’ (progress=ISG.A)

#### Analysis of stress patterns in trisyllabic words

So far, we have only considered all the possible combinations of two heavy and light syllables. Doing the same for all combinations of three and more syllables would be possible, though the list of examples were to become even longer. Since the feature pair  $[\pm \text{DIPH}, \pm \eta]$  behaves the same way throughout and both features are in complementary distribution, we need not test iterations of them separately, but can subsume them under the label  $[\pm \text{HEAVY}]$ . The parameters that need testing, then, are  $[\pm \text{HEAVY}]$  in combination with  $[\pm \text{LONG}]$ . There are 4 possible outcomes for these two features, which in the case of three syllables leads us to  $(2 \times 2)^3 = 64$  theoretically possible combinations. For this reason, I want to point out just a few cases, since the general rules sketched out above still apply.

First, let us look at  $[+ \text{HEAVY}, - \text{LONG}]$  combined with  $[- \text{HEAVY}, - \text{LONG}]$  in all positions (Table 1.21). Finding words that fit the respective permutations is not too much of a problem, especially in cases where there is only one heavy syllable. It becomes clear from Table 1.21 that the rules stated at the end of the previous section (p. 36) also hold in the case of trisyllabic words whose syllables alternate short syllables based on the  $[\pm \text{HEAVY}]$  feature: ကုတုဒ်ၤ *prantanley*, ရၢလံၤကွၢ် *ralangbay*, ကုၤနီၤ *kaybunay*, and ရၢလံၤကွၢ် *saylingyang* both receive stress on the final syllable, since this is their last heavy syllable. The first syllables of ကုၤတုၤ *taykondam* and ကုၤနီၤ *maykongas*, on the other hand, lose the secondary stress they would normally be assigned since two stressed syllables after another are normally avoided; the requirement of long syllables to not be unstressed does not come into effect here. ကုၤတုၤ *taykondam* is also an example of the rule that even if a syllable is not heavy, the last syllable which can be assigned stress will receive primary stress.

Carrying out the same analysis as above and moving the feature  $[+ \text{LONG}]$

Table 1.22: Stress patterns for [ $\pm$  HEAVY, + LONG] in trisyllabic words

-L -L +L	<i>peraysān</i>	x   x ǰ	‘paste’
-L +L -L	<i>raypānya</i>	x   ǰ x	‘at the stop’ (stop-LOC)
+L -L -L	<i>nōneri</i>	ǰ   ǰ x	‘deliberate, intentional’
-L +L +L	—	—	—
+L -L +L	<i>sānisān</i>	ǰ   x ǰ	‘copula; clutch (n.)’
+L +L -L	<i>lēāyon</i>	ǰ   ǰ x	‘manwhore’
+L +L +L	—	—	—

through the various positions, we receive the results depicted in Table 1.22.<sup>22</sup> Since long syllables override stress assignment to both light and heavy syllables as pointed out above (p. 36), the example words in this chart contain both of these syllable types. It was not too hard finding examples for all the slots in this case either, except that trisyllabic words with two long syllables in succession are rather rare. Thus, the case of a short syllable followed by two long ones, and that of three long syllables in a row remains unattested.<sup>23</sup>

Again, we can see that long syllables attract stress, in that the final syllables of ပုရယ် *peraysān* and ရှိခင်း *sānisān* are stressed. For ပုရယ် *peraysān*, this is in spite of the penultimate syllable being heavy on the virtue of containing a diphthong. Moreover, the first syllable of ရယ် *raypānya* loses stress adjacent to the stressed long penultimate syllable since it is in an unstressed position and there is no requirement for the syllable to be stressed. ဝိုင်း *nōneri* and လှေပိုင် *lēāyon* display a secondary-stressed and a primary-stressed syllable next to each other. In the former case, this is due to the rule that long syllables must not be unstressed, while ဝိုင်း -*eri* forms a valid disyllabic foot which receives regular trochaic stress. In the latter case, the stress hiat is due to two long syllables next to each other, of which the first—again—must not be unstressed.

<sup>22</sup> For more precision, modifications will be made to the symbols given in footnote 20: let a double acute (ˆˆ) denote superheavy syllables with primary stress, and a double grave (˘˘) denote superheavy syllables with secondary stress.

<sup>23</sup> It would be possible to construct a word with three long syllables if the habitative suffix -*asa* did not delete the vowel at the end of the verb stem if there is one. မှီ *māsāy* ‘I traveled’ (PST-travel=ISG.TOP) would then become \*မှီ *\*māsāsāy* ‘I used to travel’ (PST-travel-HAB=ISG.TOP) instead of the actual form မှီ *māsasāy*; the verb stem is *asa-* ‘travel’.



(30) a. *Ang bengay kardangirayya ya Litareng.*  
 ang=beng=ay.Ø kardang.iray-ya ya= Litareng  
 AT= attend=ISG.TOP school.high-LOC LOC=Litareng

b. *Ang pasyye* *Pila sungkoranyam* *kihas*.  
 ang=pasy-ye Ø= Pila sungkoran-yam *kihas*  
 AT= be.intersted.in-3SG.F TOP=Pila science-DAT map

In the case of *uncalok* *malingkaron* again the rule operates that prohibits two

Table 1.23: Examples of stress patterns in compounds

Word	Pattern	Translation	Constituents					
			Word	Pattern	Translation	Word	Pattern	Translation
<i>apan-apan</i>	ˈx x   ˈx x	‘extensive’	<i>apan</i>	ˈx x	‘wide’	<i>apan</i>	ˈx x	‘wide’
<i>depangcāti</i>	ˈx x   ˈx̌ x	‘cuckold’	<i>depang</i>	x ˈx̌	‘fool’	<i>cāti</i>	ˈx̌ x	‘lover’
<i>kusang-kusang</i>	x ˈx̌   x ˈx̌	‘model’	<i>kusang</i>	x ˈx̌	‘double’	<i>kusang</i>	x ˈx̌	‘double’
<i>latunkema</i>	ˈx x   ˈx x	‘tiger’	<i>latun</i>	ˈx x	‘lion’	<i>kema</i>	ˈx x	‘stripe’
<i>malingkaron</i>	ˈx x   ˈx x	‘coast, seashore’	<i>maling</i>	x ˈx̌	‘shore’	<i>karon</i>	ˈx x	‘water’
<i>māvaganeng</i>	ˈx̌ x   x ˈx̌	‘mother’s siblings’	<i>māva</i>	ˈx̌ x	‘mother’	<i>ganengan</i>	x   ˈx̌ x	‘siblings’
<i>pikunanding</i>	ˈx̌ x   x ˈx̌	‘mustache’	<i>piku</i>	ˈx̌ x	‘beard’	<i>nanding</i>	x ˈx̌	‘lip’
<i>sapayyila</i>	ˈx̌ x   ˈx̌ x	‘limbs’	<i>sapay</i>	x ˈx̌	‘hand’	<i>yila</i>	ˈx̌ x	‘foot’

stressed non-long syllables after another. Thus, even if the first component ၵၢၢၢ *maling* contains a heavy syllable, stress will not move there. In ၵၢၢၢ *latunkema*, the syllable /tun/ is assimilated to [tʊŋ] before the /k/ onset of the next syllable. For one, however, this does not make it heavy, and second, even if it did, stress would stay on the first syllable of the word for the same reason as in ၵၢၢၢ *malingkaron*. The same rule of stress hiatus avoidance operates in ၵၢၢၢ *sapayyila*.

Besides the shortening of the second component of the compound, ၵၢၢၢ *māvaganeng* retains the stress pattern of its constituents. Since /ma:/ is not in a final foot, it receives secondary stress. Moreover, ၵၢၢၢ *māvaganeng* and ၵၢၢၢ *pikunanding* both show that it is acceptable for two light syllables to follow each other.

### 1.3.2 Intonation

Peterson (2015) writes that if “you’re creating a language on your own and you’re the only speaker, intonation is usually not high on the list of features to focus on, but intonational flavoring is well worth it (read: crucial) when it comes to making an authentic language” (66). Indeed, this has so far been a rather neglected topic in my work on Ayeri. Even though I made a handful of recordings in the past, I have never considered intonation much. Yet, of course, the spoken words in those recordings do not sound like robot speech either, so there must be intonational patterns that I have been subconsciously applying.

Since intonation contours are notoriously difficult to display in print, I will give very approximate graphs of pitch in the respective examples for each surveyed pattern. Certainly there will be other patterns as well which would require more detailed gradations, but for the time being, I will only try to briefly describe those that are most prominent.

#### *Declarative statements*

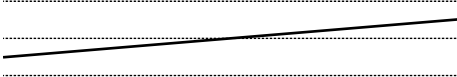
Declarative statements have a gradually falling pitch contour based around an average pitch height, not deviating considerably on both ends:



‘The North Wind blew with all of his might.’

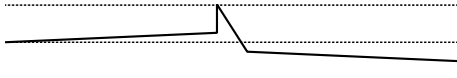
Yes-no questions

Since Ayeri does not use a particle or word order to mark closed questions as such, intonation is used to mark the difference from a declarative statement. To achieve a strong contrast, questions exhibit gradually rising intonation:

- (33)
- 
- |                   |                 |                      |              |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ang gihayo</i> | <i>Pintemis</i> | <i>minganeri-hen</i> | <i>yona?</i> |
| ang=giha-yo       | Ø= Pintemis     | mingan-eri=hen       | yona         |
| AT= blow-3SG.N    | TOP=North Wind  | ability-INS=all      | 3SG.N.GEN.   |
- ‘Did the North Wind blow with all of his might?’

‘Wh-’ questions

Unlike English, Ayeri marks open questions with an in-situ question word. Open questions are thus marked by the question word causing a sharp rise and fall in the overall contour of the question. The first half of the clause has the rising contour of a question, the second half has gradually falling pitch.

- (34)
- 
- |                   |             |              |             |             |             |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Ang engyo</i>  | <i>mico</i> | <i>sinya</i> | <i>luga</i> | <i>toya</i> | <i>sam?</i> |
| ang=eng-yo        | mico        | sinya-Ø      | luga        | toya        | sam         |
| AT= be.more-3SG.N | strong      | who-TOP      | among       | 3PL.N.LOC   | two         |
- ‘Who was the stronger of the two?’

Lists

List statements have the general gradual downward slope of declarative statements, but the individual items can nonetheless be marked by a pitch rise on the primary accent of each item.

- (35)
- 
- |                      |                |               |              |              |                   |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>Le</i>            | <i>vacyeng</i> | <i>seygo,</i> | <i>disu,</i> | <i>betay</i> | <i>nay vasra.</i> |
| le=                  | vac=yeng       | seygo-Ø       | disu-Ø       | betay-Ø      | nay vasra-Ø       |
| PT.INAN=like=3SG.F.A | apple-TOP      | banana-Ø      | berry-Ø      | and          | nut-Ø             |
- ‘She likes apples, bananas, berries and nuts.’

### Complement and relative clauses

Complement clauses are characterized by the short spike at the end of the preceding main clause followed by a short break. Together, these auditory clues signal the beginning of a new syntactic unit within the context of the current sentence. This is broadly similar to list statements. Otherwise, statements with complement clauses as well bear the overall downward-sloping contour of declarative statements if included in such.

- (36) 
- |                           |               |             |                 |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ang manga rantong,</i> | <i>engyo</i>  | <i>mico</i> | <i>sinyāng.</i> |
| ang=manga=ran=tong        | eng-yo        | mico        | sinya-ang       |
| AT= PROG= argue=3PL.N.A   | be.more=3SG.N | strong      | who-A           |
- ‘They were arguing who is stronger.’

Relative clauses, on the other hand, do not receive special prosodic marking, but are treated the same as other basic sentence types. They display a continuous downward slope if part of a declarative statement, or a continuous upward slope if part of a question:

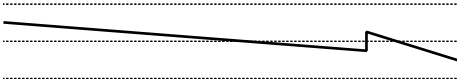
- (37) a. 
- |               |                |           |                          |             |                |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Lugaya</i> | <i>asāyāng</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>sitang-naykonyāng</i> | <i>kong</i> | <i>tovaya.</i> |
| luga-ya       | asāya-ang      | si        | sitang=naykon=yāng       | kong        | tova-ya        |
| pass=3SG.M    | traveler-A     | REL       | self=wrap=3SG.M.A        | inside      | cloak-LOC      |
- ‘A traveler passed who had wrapped himself into a cloak.’
- b. 
- |                |               |           |                      |                |              |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Adareng</i> | <i>asāyās</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>le</i>            | <i>ninyāng</i> | <i>tova?</i> |
| ada-reng       | asāya-as      | si        | le=                  | nin=yāng       | tova-Ø       |
| that-A.INAN    | traveler-P    | REL       | PT.INAN=wear=3SG.M.A | coat-TOP       |              |
- ‘Is that the traveler who wore the coat?’

### Contrast

Ayeri uses a kind of topic system for highlighting constituents in a clause by morphosyntactic means, but this is still different from emphasis on semantic grounds,

for example when the speaker wants to highlight a semantic difference in the same syntactic position, as in the following example, which presents a possible answer to the question posed in (37b):

(38)



Adareng      asāyās      si      le      nin-yāng      kegan.

ada-reng    asāya-as   si    le=    nin=yāng    kegan-Ø

that-A.INAN   traveler-P   REL   PT.INAN=wear=3SG.M.A   hat-TOP

‘It is the traveler who wore the *hat*.’

We can see here a spike towards the end of the utterance where the word ᑭᑭᑎᑦ *kegan* ‘hat’ is placed. This word receives extra stress for contrast with ᑭᑭᑎᑦ *tova* ‘coat’, which is what the other person had asked about.

## 2 Writing system

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In the previous chapter, example words were given in Ayeri's script, ၵၵၵၵၵၵ *Tahano Hikamu*, wherever possible. Thus, it seems advisable to include a description of Ayeri's native writing system here as well. Literally, ၵၵၵၵၵၵ *Tahano Hikamu* means 'Round Script' (script round), which is an old formation based on the word ၵၵၵၵ *tahan-* 'write' that stuck. The current word for 'script' is ၵၵၵၵၵၵ *tahanan* 'writing'. *Tahano Hikamu* was originally named thus because of an earlier draft for a script that never made it very far beyond the drawing board and which was a lot more angular and boxy, see Figure 2.1—*Tahano Hikamu* was a lot more bubbly in comparison, especially early on (Figure 0.2).<sup>1</sup>

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Ayeri's prosody strongly emphasizes the syllable as a unit. Thus, it is not a surprise that Ayeri's native script, *Tahano Hikamu*, is an alphasyllabary similar to the Brāhmī alphabets of India and South-east Asia (Salomon 1996; Court 1996). Scripts like these are

based on the unit of the graphic "syllalbe" [...], which by definition always ends with a vowel (type V, CV, CCV, etc.). Syllables consisting of a vowel only (usually at the beginning of a word or sentence) are written with the *full* or *initial vowel signs* [...]. But when, as is much more frequently the case, the syllable consists of a consonant followed by a vowel, the vowel is indicated by a diacritic sign attached to the basic sign for the consonant [...]. (Salomon 1996: 376)

For *Tahano Hikamu* the definition that a syllable consisting only of a vowel is written with an initial vowel sign is only true under certain circumstances, as we will see below. Moreover, Brāhmī scripts are often characterized by conjuncts of clustered consonants which may become quite large and sometimes behave in an idiosyncratic way. Consonant conjuncts like Devanāgarī त्व <tva> from त <ta> + व <va> or idiosyncratic conjuncts like क्ष <kṣa> for क <ka> + ष <ṣa> are not known in *Tahano Hikamu*, however, at least as far as Ayeri's spelling is concerned. Subscript

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, there is no documentation of the Box script surviving that I know of.



(a) Old and aborted draft: Box script



(b) Ayeri's native script: Tahano Hikamu

Figure 2.1: Box script and Hikamu

notation for consonant clusters and special diacritics marking coda consonants like in Javanese (Kuipers and McDermott 1996: 478–479) are equally unknown to Tahano Hikamu. This does not mean, however, that final consonants are simply omitted in writing, since closed syllables are reasonably common enough in Ayeri to warrant indicating them. Thus, there is “a special mark to eliminate the vowel of the previous syllable, thereby leaving a consonant in a syllable-final position” (476). That is, a diacritic exists which marks the absence of an inherent vowel, rendering the syllable consonant-only.

Another difference from Brāhmī-family scripts is that vowel length and diphthongs in [i] are indicated by dedicated diacritics, so the long vowels are not doubled versions of their short counterparts. Like in Kharoṣṭhī—another historically important ancient script of India—initial vowels are not represented by unique graphemes, but they are all written like post-consonantal vowel diacritics (Salomon 1996: 377). In Tahano Hikamu, a character without an inherent sound value serves as the base. For this reason, the character is indicated in the table below as  $\emptyset$  /Ø/; its native name is  $\text{ᦺᦑᦺᦑ}$  *ranyan* ‘nothing’.<sup>2</sup> Similar to a number of Brāhmī scripts, Tahano Hikamu puts diacritics not only below or above consonant bases, but also before them. This, however, is not limited to vowel graphemes as in Devanāgarī  $\text{ि}$  ⟨i⟩ or Javanese  $\text{ᦺ}$  ⟨e, é/è⟩ (Kuipers and McDermott 1996: 478).

<sup>2</sup> I will give the native names of graphemes here, but will refer to them by their English names for clarity in the running text.



Table 2.1: The consonant graphemes

/pa/	/ta/	/ka/	/ba/	/da/	/ga/
ᠠ	ᠲ	ᠬ	ᠪ	ᠳ	ᠭ
/ma/	/na/	/ŋa/	/va/	/sa/	/ha/
ᠮ	ᠨ	ᠩ	ᠪ	ᠰ	ᠬ
/ra/	/la/	/ja/	/Ø/		
ᠷ	ᠯ	ᠵ	ᠯ		

## 2.1 Consonants

Tahano Hikamu is mainly based on consonant bases that are modified by diacritics. Since the vowel /a/ is so highly frequent in Ayeri, it is also the vowel that is *inherent* to every consonant grapheme if not further modified by vowel diacritics. Consonant letters are simply referred to as *pa*, *ta*, *ka*, etc. Table 2.1 displays all the main consonants. The customary collation is—similar to the IPA table—roughly grouping the letters according to their sound value by anteriority (front → back) and sonority (low → high). The script is monocameral, that is, there is no distinction between capital letters and minuscule letters as in the Latin, Greek, Cyrillic, Georgian, and Armenian alphabet. It is also written in lines from left to right.

ᠠ, which in Ayeri has no sound value but is used as a base for initial vowels, may also serve as the character for /ʔa/. What is, moreover, interesting about ᠨ <nga> is that even though before, /ŋ/ was treated strictly as a coda consonant in the previous chapter, it is in fact treated as an onset consonant in writing if a vowel is following:

- (1) ᠠ + ᠨᠢᠰ  
       /pa/     /ŋis/  
       ᠠᠨᠢᠰ *pangis* /paŋ.is/ ‘money’

Tahano Hikamu contains a few ligatures. First of all, when two ᠨ <na> are in succession within a word, they will form a ligature ᠨᠠ <nana>:

- (2) ᠨ + ᠨ → ᠨᠠ  
       /na/     /na/     /nana/

Table 2.2: Additional consonant graphemes

/fa/	/wa/	/tsa/	/za/	/ʃa/	/ʒa/
ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	ṃ
/ɕa/	/ksa/	/kwa/	/xa/	/ɣa/	
ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	ṃ	

This is distinct from conjuncts like in Devanāgarī et al., though, since the unmodified sound value will still be /nana/, not \*/nna/, so the inherent vowel of each ṃ <na> is not deleted, and each ṃ <na> retains the ability to be modified by diacritics. Tahano Hikamu also has a few ligatures of the kind you would find in Brāhmī scripts. The difference is that they are not productive, but fossilized.

- (3) a. ṃ <kwa> ← ṃ <ka> + ṃ <va>  
b. ṃ <tsa> ← ṃ <ta> + ṃ <sa>  
c. ṃ <ksa> ← ṃ <ka> + ṃ <sa>

These conjunct letters are, however, not normally employed by Ayeri. Table 2.2 shows all additional consonants, added to write other languages. Individual languages may adapt the sound values slightly to fit their own purposes.

2.2 Vowels

As mentioned above, vowels are written as diacritics that are added to consonants. In principle, every consonant has two slots for vowels, a primary one atop it, and a secondary one below it. Vowels added to consonants in the primary slot delete their inherent /a/:

- (4) ṃ → ṃ  
/pa/      /pe/

Table 2.3 gives the primary vowel signs. Of the vowel signs given there, only ǝ <ə> is not used in Ayeri. ǝ <au> is the only diphthong for which a dedicated grapheme exists, even though its occurrence is rather limited. The independent vowel graphemes are used at the beginning of words or inside words when there is no other way to spell the vowel, which is occasionally the case for secondary vowels. Secondary vowels are vowels that are not parts of diphthongs (even though another

Table 2.3: Primary vowel graphemes

	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ɔ/	/au/
Diaritics	ိ	ိ	(ိ)	ိ	ိ	ိ	ိ
Independent	ိ	ိ	ိ	ိ	ိ	ိ	ိ

language might use them to spell diphthongs that are not covered by default), but follow the vowel of a syllable directly. They are attached underneath a consonant base, for example:

- (5) ဟ → ဟိ → ဟိ  
 /ja/      /je/      /jea/

In fact, the principle that every consonant base with its diacritics represents one syllable is slightly violated here, which is also the reason why secondary vowels very occasionally need to be spelled as independent vowels, for example when the secondary vowel is long, as in the word ရွာ *ruān* ‘duty’:

- (6) ဂိ → ဂိ (ဂိ)  
 /ru/      /rwa:/      <sup>!</sup>/ru:a/

Example (6) uses a diacritic, ဂ, to indicate length. If ဂ is put directly under ဂိ *ru* (the ဂ diacritic moves down where it is not in the way), the syllable will incorrectly spell /ru:a/ instead of the intended /rwa:/. This is because diacritics modify consonants and primary vowels, but there is no way to modify a secondary vowel directly. Table 2.4 gives a list of secondary vowels corresponding to that of primary vowels above. The vowels as well are just referred to by their sound value; ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’, ‘superscript’ and ‘subscript’ or ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ may be chosen to disambiguate their positions; the native names may use ခိ *iray* ‘high’ and ခိ *eyra* ‘low’ to disambiguate, so ခိ *e iray* denotes the superscript ⟨e⟩ diacritic while ခိ *e eyra* denotes its subscript counterpart.

As a further exception, those consonant bases with an ascender (ခ ⟨ka⟩, ပ ⟨da⟩, ဃ ⟨ca⟩) move the primary vowel to the secondary slot below the consonant by default while indicating the vacancy of the primary slot at the top with a dot. This is done to avoid crossing the ascender of the consonant with a vowel diacritic:

Table 2.4: Secondary vowel graphemes

/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ɔ/	/au/

(7)  $\begin{matrix} \text{ka} & \rightarrow & \text{ka.i} & \rightarrow & \text{ki} \\ \text{/ka/} & & \text{/ka.i/} & & \text{/ki/} \end{matrix}$

If the primary vowel slot were not silenced by the  $\circ$  diacritic, it could reasonably be assumed that the consonant is not losing its inherent /a/ and the vowel below the consonant indicates a secondary vowel, spelling /CaV/. If, however, a secondary vowel is *actually* added, primary and secondary vowels will be assigned the regular primary and secondary slots, respectively, again (8a). This condition also holds true for subscript diacritics (8b).

(8) a.  $\begin{matrix} \text{ki} & \rightarrow & \text{ki.e} \\ \text{/ki/} & & \text{/ki.e/} \end{matrix}$   
b.  $\begin{matrix} \text{ki} & \rightarrow & \text{ki:} \\ \text{/ki/} & & \text{/ki:/} \end{matrix}$

The order of secondary vowels and subscript diacritics is iconic insofar as it follows the order of sounds in the syllable. Thus, secondary vowels appear below the consonant-doubling diacritic,  $\text{𐌶}$ , while they appear above the syllable-final homorganic nasal diacritic,  $\text{𐌵}$ :

(9) a.  $\begin{matrix} \text{ppa} & \rightarrow & \text{ppea} \\ \text{/ppa/} & & \text{/ppea/} \end{matrix}$   
b.  $\begin{matrix} \text{peN} & \rightarrow & \text{peaN} \\ \text{/peN/} & & \text{/peaN/} \end{matrix}$

### 2.3 Diacritics

We have already encountered a few diacritics, though Tahano Hikamu comes with a lot more. Some of these diacritics even undergo non-trivial positioning and repositioning. As vowels are primarily expressed as superscripts, diacritics are primarily realized as subscripts, so in the following, I will first describe subscript diacritics;

then prepended diacritics, which Ayeri also has a number of, both as graphemes in their own right and as allographs of other subscript diacritics; and lastly, superscript diacritics.

### 2.3.1 Subscript diacritics

Table 2.7 shows the bottom-attaching diacritics. The ‘large diacritics’ (၂ through ၃) cause the secondary slot of consonants to move down below the diacritic. ‘Small diacritics’ (၄ through ၆) can attach in this place as well as secondary vowels, as does the homorganic nasal diacritic ၇ in this diacritic-fraught example:

- (10)  $\text{၁၉၃} + \text{၂်၃်၃်} \rightarrow \text{၁၉၂်၃်၃်}$   
 /'tʃa:n/    /pu'lu:/    /,tʃa:mpu'lu:/  
 ၁၉၂်၃်၃် *cāmpuluy* ‘heterosexual’

It also needs to be noted that diacritics like ၃ are applied progressively to words as a whole, not stopping at morpheme and syllable boundaries, so even though *toryeng* ‘she sleeps’ may be composed of ၂်: *tor*- ‘sleep’ + ၃်း *-yeng* (=3SG.F.A) and syllabifies as /tor.'jen/, the spelling is not \*၂်း၃်း as one might expect, but ၂်း၃်း.

Even though the primary position for small diacritics is underneath consonants, the diacritic deleting the inherent vowel, ၇, very commonly also appears after a consonant letter at the end of words:

- (11)  $\text{၁} \quad \text{၃်း၂်း၃်း} \quad \text{၂်း၃်း} \quad \text{၃်း၃်း၃်း}$   
*Ya nimreng pangan narānyena.*  
*ya= nim-reng pangan-Ø narān-ye-na*  
 LOCT=appear=3SG.INAN.A end-TOP word-PL-GEN

‘It appears at the end of words.’

This strategy is advantageous in that Tahano Hikamu leaves very little space between individual words:  $\text{၁၃်း၂်း၃်း၂်း၃်း၃်း၃်း}$ . With the dot after the final consonant, word boundaries are more visible.

### 2.3.2 Prepended diacritics

Example (10) leads us directly to the next class of diacritics—those that are prepended to the consonant letter, either because they are simply placed there or because of allography. Let us first list those diacritics that appear in front of consonants obligatorily (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Obligatorily prepended diacritics

Native name	Function	Example
၃၀ ၵုၵ်းလၵ်း <i>lentankusang</i> 'double-sound'	Makes a diphthong with /ɪ/	ၵ် <i>pe</i> → ၵ်း <i>pey</i>
၃၁ တီၵ်း <i>tilamaya</i> 'changer'	Marks raised vowels (i.e. umlaut; not used in Ayeri)	ၵ် <i>po</i> → ၵ်း <i>/pø/</i>
၃၂ ခံၵ်း <i>hiyamaya</i> 'roller'	Marks retroflex consonants (not used in Ayeri)	တံ <i>ta</i> → တံး <i>/tʰa/</i>

Table 2.6: Allographically prepended diacritics

Native name	Function	Example
၁၀ တီၵ်းလၵ်း <i>tupasati marin</i> 'anterior long-maker'	Lengthens the primary vowel of the syllable	ၵ် <i>sya</i> → ၵ်း <i>syā</i> , ၵ် <i>na</i> → ၵ်း <i>nā</i>
၁၁ ခံၵ်း <i>ya marin</i> 'anterior ya'	⟨ya⟩ following another consonant, also across syllables.	ၵ် <i>na</i> → ၵ်း <i>nya</i>
၁၂ တီၵ်းလၵ်း <i>ringaya marin</i> 'anterior raiser'	Also used as an allograph for the palatalization proper diacritic.	ၵ် <i>/sʰa/</i> → ၵ်း <i>/sʰj/</i>
၁၃ တီၵ်းလၵ်း <i>ulangaya marin</i> 'anterior breather'	(Pre-)Aspiration or frication of a consonant (not used in Ayeri)	ၵ် <i>nga</i> → ၵ်း <i>/ŋʰa/</i> ; တံ <i>ta</i> → တံး <i>/tʰa/</i>

Table 2.7: Bottom-attaching diacritics

	Native name	Function	Example
◌̄	တုပာသီ <i>tupasati</i> 'long-maker'	Lengthens the primary vowel of the syllable	၎ <i>pa</i> → ပျံ <i>pā</i>
◌့	ယာယာ <i>ya eyra</i> 'low ya'	⟨ya⟩ following another consonant, also across syllables. Marks palatalization of တ (⟨ta⟩), သ (⟨da⟩), န (⟨ka⟩), ဂ (⟨ga⟩) and ယ (⟨ya⟩) in Ayeri.	အာ <i>ara</i> → အျာ <i>arya</i> ; တာ <i>ta</i> → တျာ <i>ca</i>
◌့	ရိယာ <i>ringaya</i> 'raiser'	Palatalizes a consonant (not used in Ayeri)	တာ <i>ta</i> → တျာ <i>/tʃa/</i> , <i>/tʃa/</i>
◌့	အလွင်ယာ <i>ulangaya</i> 'breather'	Aspiration or frication of a consonant (not used in Ayeri)	တာ <i>ta</i> → တျာ <i>/tʰa/</i> , <i>/θa/</i>
◌့	ယာယာယာ <i>raypāya eyra</i> 'low stopper'	Glottal stop coda or glottalization of a consonant (consonant letters with ascenders; not used in Ayeri)	နာ <i>ka</i> → နာ <i>/kaʔ/</i> ; သာ <i>da</i> → သာ <i>/dʰa/</i>
◌့	ဂွဉ်ယာ <i>gondaya</i> 'extinguisher'	Deletes the inherent /a/ of a consonant, e.g. in consonant clusters or closed syllables	၎ာ <i>para</i> → ဘာ <i>pra</i> , ဘာ <i>par</i>
◌့	ဝိဉာသီ <i>vināti</i> 'nasalizer'	Indicates a homorganic nasal or nasalizes the vowel, depending on the language	၎ာ <i>pada</i> → ဘာ <i>panda</i> /panda/ or /pāda/
◌့	အလွင်အလွင် <i>kusangisāti</i> 'duplicator'	Indicates a geminated or otherwise double consonant	၎ာ <i>pala</i> → ဘာ <i>palla</i>

As Table 2.5 shows, the only obligatorily prepended diacritic that Ayeri uses is the one that marks diphthongs, ꞑ. However, ꞑ changes into ꞑ (ya) proper when a vowel follows, but stays ꞑ when a ꞑ (ya) follows:

- (12) a. ꞑꞑꞑ *baday* ‘hero’ → ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ (\*ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ) *badayang* ‘the hero’ (hero-A)  
 b. ꞑꞑꞑꞑ *tipuy* ‘grass’ → ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ (\*ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ) *tipuyya* ‘in the grass’ (grass-LOC)

Besides ꞑ, there are also a number of diacritics that are prepended to consonants, but as context-sensitive allographs (Table 2.6). The selection of the variant diacritics is not random or up to the aesthetic eye of the writer (even though the device itself is certainly a matter of aesthetics), but it is governed by rules. The prepended forms listed in Table 2.6 are thus triggered

1. when there is no stem or bowl for the regular subscript diacritic to attach to, which is the case for ꞑ (na), ꞑ (nga), ꞑ (va), and ꞑ (wa):

- (13) a. ꞑ → ꞑꞑ  
           /na/       /na:/  
 b. ꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑ  
           /ŋa/       /ŋa:/  
 c. ꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑ  
           /va/       /va:/  
 d. ꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑꞑ  
           /wa/       /wa:/

2. when a large subscript diacritic would be added after another large subscript diacritic—this position can only be occupied once, so further large subscripts take their prepended form:

- (14)       + ꞑ       + ꞑ       + ꞑ       + ꞑ  
           ꞑ → ꞑꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑꞑ → ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ  
           /ta/       /ta/       /tja/       /tji/       /tji:/

The order of diacritics follows the logic of the respective language’s phoneme inventory, so if there are, for example, retroflex consonants and both dental and retroflex consonants can be aspirated, retroflexion would be marked first, then aspiration. If there is a palatalization contrast on top of this, the diacritic would be added after aspiration.

When adding large diacritics to stemless consonants, they are prepended from the beginning, as we saw in (13), and just like in (14), this principle continues:



$$(15) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} & + \text{ḡ} & & + \text{ḡ} & & + \text{ḡ} & \\ \text{Ṛ} & \rightarrow & 2\text{Ṛ} & \rightarrow & 32\text{Ṛ} & \rightarrow & 32\text{Ṛ} \\ /na/ & & /nja/ & & /nja:/ & & /nja:1/ \end{array}$$

3. with consonants directly following Ṛ ⟨na⟩, to avoid a clash with its swash:

$$(16) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} \text{Ṛ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{Ṛṇ} & (*\text{Ṛṇ}) \\ /na/ & & /pa:/ & & /napa:/ \end{array}$$

An exception to this exception occurs, however, when the consonant is not directly following. In this case, no reordering happens, only Ṛ ⟨na⟩ *may* reduce its swash in size to accommodate the following prepended diacritic:

$$(17) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} \text{Ṛ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{Ṛṇ} & (?Ṛṇ) \\ /na/ & & /pa:/ & & /napa:/ \end{array}$$

4. in other cases where a clash of subscript diacritics needs to be avoided:

$$(18) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} \text{ḍ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{ḍṇ} & (*\text{ḍṇ}) \\ /di/ & & /pa:/ & & /dipa:/ \end{array}$$

Alternatively, the following solution is permissible:

$$(19) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} \text{ḍ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{ḍṇ} \\ /di/ & & /pa:/ & & /dipa:/ \end{array}$$

When two long syllables follow each other, as in *bāmā* ‘mom-and-dad’, one of the length diacritics should definitely be pulled to the front, as in (20).

$$(20) \quad \begin{array}{ccccc} \text{ḍ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{ḍṇ} & (?ḍṇ) \\ \text{or:} & & & & & \\ \text{ḍ} & + & \text{ṇ} & \rightarrow & \text{ḍṇ} \\ /ba:/ & & /ma:/ & & /ba:ma:/ \end{array}$$

Generally, prepended diacritics apply only to a single consonant grapheme, not a whole consonant cluster as such. Thus, for instance, in words like *pray* ‘smooth’ 𑌒 appears before 𑌎 ⟨ra⟩, not before 𑌏 ⟨pa⟩, since 𑌎 ⟨ra⟩ is the closest consonant before the syllable nucleus which we are modifying by adding the 𑌒. Since in the case of *pray* the inherent vowel of 𑌎 ⟨pa⟩ is silent, it receives a diacritic 𑌐 to mark this fact:

- (21) 𑌒𑌎      (\*𑌒𑌎)  
/prai/

What (21) shows is that essentially, /prai/ is split into /p/ + /rai/ for purposes of spelling, rather than /pr/ + /ai/. If necessary, it is also possible this way to distinguish, for instance, 𑌒𑌎 /ʈsa/ from 𑌒𑌎 /tʂa/. It would be up to the respective language’s orthography to decide whether either combination spells /ʈsa/ or whether the 𑌐 diacritic is needed on both consonants—that is, 𑌒𑌎𑌐—to spell the retroflex affricate.

### 2.3.3 Superscript diacritics

Ayeri’s standard position for diacritics is below consonants, but sometimes it is nicer to put them on top, especially for the letter 𑌒 ⟨na⟩ due to its swash, as well as for 𑌏 ⟨va⟩ since the space below its flag is empty otherwise, thus not providing much of a visual connection. The only diacritic that is normally attaching to the top of consonants is that for the glottal stop—we have already encountered its subscript allograph earlier. Since Ayeri’s phoneme inventory does not possess a phonemic glottal stop or glottalization, this diacritic is not used in Ayeri. The list of superscript diacritics is given in Table 2.8.

At times, it may be necessary to attach both a superscript diacritic and a vowel sign above a consonant, compare (22). In this case, the consonant-modifying diacritic is placed first and the vowel diacritic on top of it—this is exactly equivalent to the rule exemplified for subscript diacritics in (9).

- (22) a. 𑌒 → 𑌒̣  
/vva/ → /vve/  
b. 𑌒 → 𑌒̣̣  
/vva/ → /vvaN/

Table 2.8: Superscript diacritics

	Native name	Function	Example
◌ံ	ခွပ်းလိက်္လံာ် <i>gondaya ling</i> 'upper extinguisher'	Deletes inherent /a/ of consonant, e.g. in consonant clusters or closed syllables	ၚာ် <i>vara</i> → ဖာ် <i>vra</i>
◌ံ့	ၚာ်လိက်္လံာ် <i>vināti</i> <i>ling</i> 'upper nasalizer'	Indicates a homorganic nasal or nasalizes the vowel, depending on language/context	နာ် <i>naka</i> → နံာ် <i>nanka</i> /naŋka/ or /nāka/
◌ံး	ခွပ်းလံာ်လွမ်ကိက်္လံာ် <i>kusangisāti ling</i> 'upper duplicator'	Indicates a geminated or otherwise double consonant	ပာ် <i>pana</i> → ပံာ် <i>panna</i>
◌ါ	ရာပ်ပာ် <i>raypāya</i> 'stopper'	Glottal stop coda or glottalization of a consonant (not used in Ayerī)	တါ <i>ta</i> → တါ် /taʔ/; ဃါ <i>sa</i> → ဃါ် /s'a/

Table 2.9: The numerals

1	2	3	4	5	6
12	13	14	15	16	17
7	8	9	A	B	10
18	19	20	21	22	23

## 2.4 Numerals

Ayeri uses a duodecimal number system, that is, a system based on the powers of 12, which is a typological rarity.<sup>3</sup> There is a digit for zero, so the system is positional, like the Hindu–Arabic digits used by the Latin alphabet. The numerals for the numbers from 1 to 12 are shown in Table 2.9.

<sup>3</sup> And one possibly overrepresented by invented languages due to its rarity in natural languages.

Table 2.10: Common punctuation marks

	Native name	Function	Example
⋈	ᄂᆞᆫ <i>dan</i> ‘dot’	Full stop	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ Sarayāng. ‘He left.’
:	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>dan-dan</i> ‘little dot’	A separator for small things, like clitics and abbreviations; divides the constituents of reduplication	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>ada-nanga</i> ‘this house’; ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ ᄂᆞᆫ <i>5:pd</i> ‘5 hrs’; ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>dan-dan</i> ‘dot-dot, little dot’
—	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>puntān</i> ‘dash’	General sign for a longer pause, equivalent to a dash, colon, semicolon, brackets	ᄂᆞᆫ—ᄂᆞᆫ <i>Yan – saru!</i> ‘Yan – go!’
ᄂᆞᆫ	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>damprantan</i> ‘question point’	Marks questions	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>Manisu?</i> ‘Hello?’
ᄂᆞᆫ	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>dambahān</i> ‘shouting point’	Marks exclamations; strong exclamations may be marked by the ᄂᆞᆫ variant.	ᄂᆞᆫᄂᆞᆫ <i>Manisu!</i> ‘Hello!’; ᄂᆞᆫ <i>Yi!</i> ‘Urgh!’

2.5 Punctuation and abbreviations

Tahano Hikamu’s system of manipulating the sound of syllables is very sophisticated, so it comes as no surprise that it is also host of a large number of punctuation marks. Table 2.10 lists the ones commonly encountered, Table 2.11 the ones not so commonly encountered.

⋈ ⟨.⟩ does not look very much like a dot or a point, but it is derived from a sign that looks like two circles stacked on top of each other, similar to : ⟨-⟩ (see Figure 0.2). There is no mark for a comma as such, so : ⟨-⟩ or — ⟨-⟩ cannot be used in this way. Instead of a comma, a wide word space is used to separate syntactic units. A long dash — ⟨—⟩ is also sometimes found at the end of paragraphs or texts to mark their end. The strong exclamation mark ᄂᆞᆫ may appear in its exclamatory function at the end of a line, but does not necessarily indicate strong emphatic force in this case, but just an emphatic statement.

Regarding the less common marks, some of these seem like all to bland copies of modern punctuation in the Latin alphabet, especially the brackets and the decimal point. Still, they may serve their purpose sometimes, and the brackets ᄂᆞᆫ

Table 2.11: Less common punctuation marks

Native name	Function	Example
◌ <sup>◌</sup> ◌ <sup>◌</sup> <i>danarān</i> 'speaking point'	Quotation marks	နာရယံ 'မာနိ' <i>Narayāng</i> "Manisu!" 'He says, "Hello!"'
◌◌◌◌ <i>dankayvo</i> 'beside-point'	Bracketing of text	လယ်လှူကလိ <i>bahis (larau)</i> 'a (nice) day'
◌◌◌◌ <i>dangaran</i> 'name-point'	Explicitly marks a name as such. The closing bracket can be found as ◌◌ as well.	အိဉ္ဇာနိ <i>Ajān Savati</i> ; ပိလာယ မာရ <i>Pila Lay Maran</i>
' <i>dansinday</i> 'number-point'	Marks (duo-)decimal fractions	၁၇.၇၅၈၁၀ <i>17.4582</i> '19.37482'
◌ <sup>◌</sup> <i>adrumaya</i> 'breaker'	Marks line breaks within a phrase	

visually push off the text around the inclusion rather than encapsulating it within them. The name brackets ◌◌ are useful in that many names in Ayeri are derived from common nouns. For example, အိဉ္ဇာ *Ajān* is literally 'play, game', relating to a playful character; မိဂိုရ *Migoray* literally means 'flower'. The name brackets, make it unmistakably clear that a proper noun is intended rather than a common noun. The line-breaker ' serves the purpose of marking the continuation of a clause at the end of a line either generally or where there would be ambiguity with the equivalent of a comma, which would otherwise be invisible at the end of a line.

Two very common abbreviations are symbolic in nature, like the ampersand (&) in the Latin alphabet. Incidentally, they correspond to it in that the very common small word နှ *nay* 'and' may be abbreviated as ◌. Based on this, its reduplicated form နှနှ *naynay* 'furthermore, also' may be abbreviated as ◌◌.

## 2.6 Styles

Over the course of the years since Tahano Hikamu's inception, I have liked to experiment by applying a number of different writing styles to the script to change its look and feel while still staying true to the overall character shapes and the system behind the script. The example text I will be using to illustrate the different

styles in the following is an Ayeri translation of the first article of the United Nations *Universal declaration of human rights* (Becker 2011a):

*Sa vesayon keynam-ikan tiganeri nay kaytanyeri sino nay kamo.*  
*Ri toraytos tenuban nay iprang, nay ang mya rankyon sitanyās ku-netu.*  
 [All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.  
 They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards each other in  
 a spirit of brotherhood.] (United Nations 1948: Article 1)

The examples above are all using a style I call ‘book’ style since it comes close to printed letters, or also what might be conceivable as being written with quills or nibs on parchment or paper—of course, pen and paper is also what I used to make up the letters in the first place, without second thought about the limitations of the supposed original writing utensils. The ‘book’ style letters are what I consider the canonical form. Figure 2.2 shows the above article in this letter style.

Figure 2.2: Tahano Hikamu, ‘book style’

As described above, I have long found the look of the Javanese script<sup>4</sup> rather interesting and thus I tried applying the general aesthetics of what I had seen of it to Tahano Hikamu at some point. As mentioned above as well, there are no subscript letters in Ayeri, and the number of large swirling diacritics is also rather low, so there is still definitely a difference in appearance. The ‘angular’ style is also the one that is comparable in function to our bold face or italic style. This letter style (ဆ၃၃ *hinya* ‘angular’) is displayed in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Tahano Hikamu, ‘angular style’

The greatest difference to the ‘book’ style is that many of the main strokes double to become a thick and a parallel thin line. The shape of ခ (na) also changes into a simple descending line. The vowel carrier ခ changes to a flattened O-like circle, and the bottom curl in ခ (ta) changes to a wedge. While the right side of the

<sup>4</sup> For examples, see Everson (2008), or *Wikipedia*.

ᳵ ⟨sa⟩ character in the ‘book style’ consists of two strokes—a flag and a downwards bow, both independently attached to the main stem—they connect here to form an *R*-like shape.

Reproducing the shapes of either the ‘book’ style or the ‘angular’ style by hand accurately is slow, so I wondered what daily handwriting could look like. This presupposes pen and paper again; Salomon (1996: 377) mentions that inscriptions of Brāhmī and related scripts have been found on copper plates and plates made of other metals, besides stone, however.<sup>5</sup> Metal plates can be inscribed with metal styluses and should allow similar shapes as modern pens. Wax tablets should as well allow for relative freedom of stroke direction, so character shapes are probably not implausible even without assuming that pen and paper are (widely) available. Figure 2.4 shows what Tahano Hikamu might look like quickly jotted down by hand.



Figure 2.4: Tahano Hikamu, ‘hand style’

Many letter shapes become simplified, specifically ᳵ ⟨ba⟩, ᳶ ⟨ga⟩, ᳷ ⟨ka⟩, ᳸ ⟨na⟩, ᳹ ⟨nga⟩, the vowel carrier ᳺ, and the vowel ᳻ ⟨i⟩. Not shown here is the vowel length diacritic, ᳼, which is simplified to a reverse *C* shape. The abbreviation ᳽ *nay* ‘and’ is used throughout, though in a shape that is more similar to its ‘angular’ form ᳾. ᳸ ⟨na⟩ is also taken from the ‘angular’ style ᳹, which means that it is possibly the acutal basic shape, rather than the ‘book’ style’s ᳸, or both are different developments from a shared ancestor.

Most recently, I also wondered what Tahano Hikamu might look like if it were adapted to European blackletter style. This, of course, constitutes a sharp contrast to Ayeri’s usual look and feel, which made the experiment all the more interesting, though decidedly non-‘canonic’. Figure 2.5 shows what our example passage might have looked like at a time when Gothic book hands flourished.

The letter shapes from the ‘book’ style stay largely intact, though all curves are broken up into at least two strokes, and strokes from the bottom right to the top left are avoided completely. The characters that differ most are ᳶ ⟨ga⟩, ᳹ ⟨ra⟩,

<sup>5</sup> Salomon (1996) also writes that “very few such documents survive in South Asia, though we do have early non-epigraphic specimens on wood, leather, palm leaf, and birch bark from Inner Asia” (378).

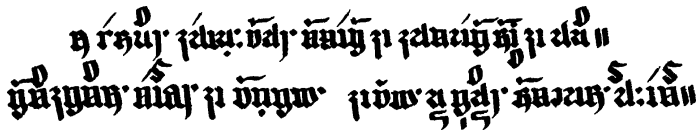


Figure 2.5: Tahano Hikamu, 'blackletter style'

ᳵ ⟨nga⟩, and the vowel carrier ᳴. ᳶ ⟨na⟩ again appears in the ‘angular’ shape, though without its descender word-internally and in the abbreviation ᳵ *nay*. ᳴ ⟨ta⟩ comes with a horizontal stroke instead of a curl at the bottom; ᳵ ⟨sa⟩ gains a descender, as does ᳶ ⟨ra⟩. Not shown here either are changes to the ‘large’ diacritics.



## 3 Morphological typology

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The first chapter dealt with the smallest constituent parts of words—speech sounds, which ones there are, and how they assemble into valid words. Consequently, the following two chapters will be about the next step up from this: morphemes, the atoms of meaning. First, we will have a more general look at which kinds of morphemes there are, and then look at them more closely by part of speech: what is their distribution, and how are morphemes put together to form inflected words? This chapter on morphological typology will first deal with general questions about Ayerí's degree of synthesis, and then will try to answer questions about the functions various kinds of inflection carry out in the language. In a prelude to both the morphology and syntax chapters, special attention is given to discussing why certain affixes and 'small words' should be treated as clitics.

### 3.1 Typology

For the largest part, Ayerí is an *agglutinative* language. Comrie (1989) says of agglutinating languages that in these, typically,

a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear-cut; moreover, a given morpheme has at least a reasonably invariant shape, so that the identification of morphemes in terms of their phonetic shape is also straightforward. [...] As is suggested by the term agglutinating (cf. Latin *gluten* 'glue'), it is as if the various affixes were just glued on one after the other (or one before the other, with prefixes). (43–44)

In Ayerí, root morphemes are modified by affixes for the purposes of inflection and derivation, and these affixes, in the form of suffixes more specifically, can be stacked, especially on verbs. Indeed, they vary little, so that they are always easily recognizable. Suffixation in Ayerí is especially prominent with verbs, as (1) shows.

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- (1) *Le kondasayāng hemaye pruyya nay napayya kayvay.*  
 le= kond-asa=yāng hema-ye-Ø pruy-ya nay napay-ya kayvay  
 PT.INAN=eat-HAB=3SG.M.A egg-PL-TOP salt-LOC and pepper-LOC without

‘He always eats his eggs without salt and pepper.’

The verb root 𐄧𐄫𐄭𐄮 *kond-* ‘eat’ is inflected here for a habitual action with the suffix 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *-asa*, and also carries a pronominal clitic, 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *-yāng*, marking a third person singular masculine agent. With the notable exception of pronouns and related pronominal clitics, affixes tend to encode a single grammatical function. The examples in (2) illustrate that verbs are not the only part of speech which can inflect; nouns, adjectives, and the relativizing conjunction can do so as well.

- (2) a. *Ang matabanay tamanyeley yeyam.*  
 ang=mə-tahan=ay.Ø taman-ye-ley yeyam.  
 AT= PST-Write=1SG.TOP letter-PL-P.INAN 3SG.F.DAT  
 ‘I wrote letters to her.’
- b. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng.*  
 ang=koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng  
 AT= know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP  
 ‘Kaman knows a funnier joke.’
- c. *Le turayāng taman sinā ang ningay tamala vās.*  
 le= tura=yāng taman-Ø si-Ø-na ang=ning=ay.Ø tamala vās  
 PT.INAN=send=3SG.M.A letter-TOP REL-PT.INAN-GEN AT= tell=1SG.TOP yesterday 2SG.P  
 ‘The letter which I told you about yesterday, he sent it.’

The principle of not conflating several grammatical functions into a single suffix can be observed in (2a) regarding the word 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *tamanyeley* ‘letters’, in which the plural marker 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *-ye* is distinct from the inanimate-patient case marker 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *-ley* (the latter, however, conflates animacy and case). Strictly speaking, the pronoun 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *yeyam* ‘to her’ is also composed, namely of the third person feminine base form 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *ye* and the dative case marker 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *yam*. Example (2c) is one we have already encountered before (section 1.1.2, p. 11). Here, the relative pronoun, 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *sinā* ‘of/about which’ is inflected for genitive case, and stress on the usually unstressed last syllable suprasegmentally marks that this form is contracted from 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *sileyena* (*si-ley-ena*, REL-P.INAN-GEN).

So far, we have concentrated on suffixes, but there are a number of prefixes as well; (2a) exhibits the past prefix 𐄭𐄮𐄭𐄮 *mə-* (which is actually redundant in this case). There are also demonstrative prefixes on nouns, however. In the following

example, the prefix 𐌵𐌳: *eda-* ‘this-’ in (3) joins the noun 𐌱𐌴𐌹𐌸 *peham* ‘carpet’ to indicate a specific carpet.

- (3) *Le no intoyyang eda-peham.*  
 le= no int-oy=yang eda=peham-Ø  
 PT.INAN=want buy-NEG=ISG.A this=carpet-TOP

‘I do not want to buy this carpet.’

Besides prefixes and suffixes, Ayeri also possesses at least one element in both the verb cluster and cooccurring with adpositions which straddles the border between inflection and a function word. This is the case with the clitic marker 𐌵𐌳𐌹 *manga*, which is treated as an independent word in orthography, but can modify verbs and adpositions—heads of verb phrases (VPs) and prepositional phrases (PPs), respectively. It is unstressed and appears at the margin of its modification target.

- (4) a. *Ang manga yavaya ayon bariley.*  
 ang=manga=yava-ya ayon-Ø bari-ley  
 AT= PROG= roast-3SG.M man-TOP meat-P.INAN  
 ‘The man is roasting meat.’  
 b. *Ya matapyyāng maritay misley manga luga bari.*  
 ya= mā-tapy=yāng maritay mis-ley manga=luga bari-Ø  
 LOCT=PST-put=3SG.M.A before spit-P.INAN DIR= between meat-TOP

‘The meat, he had put a spit through it before.’

In (4a), 𐌵𐌳 *manga* modifies the verb 𐌵𐌳: *yava-* ‘roast’ and indicates that this is a temporarily ongoing action, like the English progressive, except not as strongly grammaticalized.<sup>1</sup> In (4b), 𐌵𐌳 *manga* modifies the preposition, on the other hand, to indicate that it is directional: 𐌱𐌴𐌹𐌸 *luga* by itself means ‘among, between’, while its directional form 𐌵𐌳𐌹𐌱𐌴𐌹𐌸 *manga luga* means ‘through; during, for’.

As we have seen in the examples above, person suffixes on verbs are single morphemes that encode more than one property, for example 𐌵𐌳𐌹 -*yeng* encodes the person features third person, feminine, singular, and agent. Personal pronouns, of which the person clitics on verbs are an instance, are the main case of fusion

<sup>1</sup> I suppose, a better parallel is the so-called *rheinische verlaufsform* ‘Riparian progressive’ (*sein* ‘be’ + *am/beim* ‘at the’ + infinitive) in German, a construction common in the colloquial language which parallels the English progressive construction and is not yet fully grammaticalized (Eisenberg et al. 2016: 435). Speakers will thus accept both *Er lernt gerade*, literally ‘He studies right now’, and *Er ist am lernen* ‘He is studying’.

among agglutination in Ayeri, although some of the forms, like ၵယံ *yeyam* ‘to her’ above, can be decomposed into root and suffix without problem.<sup>2</sup>

Perpendicular to the axis isolation–agglutination runs the axis analytic–synthetic. On the latter axis, Ayeri scores mostly as *synthetic*, since it prefers compactness over spreading a construction over several words, though it does not incorporate object noun phrases (NPs) and it is not possible to form ‘sentence-words’ either, so it is not going so far as to be polysynthetic (Comrie 1989: 45–46). It is nonetheless theoretically possible, due to suffixation being a prominent pattern, to form foot-long words like the one in (5).

- (5) *da-matabasongoyyang-ikan*  
 da=mə-taha-asa-ong-oy=yang=ikan  
 such=PST-have-HAB-IRR-NEG=ISG.A=much  
 ‘I would not much used to have had such’

One case of analytic morphology is compound prepositions like မာဂါ *manga* *luga* ‘through’ in (4b), but verbs as well show analytic structures not only with the progressive marker, but also with modals, as (6) shows.

- (6) *Ming saboyyang dabas.*  
 ming=saha-oy=yang dabas  
 can= come-NEG=ISG.A today  
 ‘I can’t come today.’

Most of the information the inflectional phrase (IP) contains in this example is marked on the content verb, မာ: *saba-* ‘come’, except for ability, which is expressed by the particle မိာ် *ming* ‘can’. မိာ် *ming* is an uninflected form of the verb expressing ability and we might count it as an auxiliary verb in that the full semantic content of the IP is spread out over two verb forms, one major, one minor—this probably should not be understood as a serial verb construction, however (Aikhenvald 2006).<sup>3</sup> As we will see later (section 3.2.5), though, these modal particles behave more like clitics than function words. Consider, on the other hand, example (7), in which မိာ် *ming* is inflected like a regular verb.

<sup>2</sup> Originally, Ayeri’s personal pronouns were indeed agglutinative as well, so ၵယံ *yeng* ‘she’ used to be မိယံ *iyang* (*iy-e-ang*, 3SG-F-A). This also gives an explanation to Boga et al. (2016)’s observation that Ayeri’s plural pronouns are formed “[v]ielleicht sogar zu regelmäßig” ([15]; ‘possibly in an even too regular way’).

<sup>3</sup> မာ *manga* has, in fact, a verbal counterpart မာဂ် *manga-* ‘move; remove’ as well, which presumably served as the origin of both the progressive and the directional marker.

- (7) *Da-mingya ang Diyan.*  
 da=ming-ya ang=Diyan.  
 so=can-3SG.M A= Diyan  
 ‘Diyan can (do it).’

## 3.2 Morphological processes

### 3.2.1 Prefixation

Prefixes in Ayeri apply mainly to verbs, but nouns, pronouns, adjectives and conjunctions as well can appear with them. Some of these are likely clitics; reasons for their being clitics will be discussed below in section 3.2.5. With verbs, prefixes that are most certainly ‘true’ prefixes—that is, bound morphemes which have been semantically bleached by grammaticalization to the point where they only express grammatical functions (Lehmann 2015: 157 ff.), and which subcategorize for words rather than phrases (Klavans 1985: 117), with a rather high obligation to be marked on every conjunct in coordination (Spencer and Luís 2012: 139)—are the tense prefixes marking both three degrees of past and future tense, for example 𐌸: *sə-* in (8).

- (8) *Ang səsarāyn ya Makapetang.*  
 ang=sə-sara=ayn.Ø ya= Makapetang  
 AT= FUT-go=IPL.TOP LOC=Makapetang  
 ‘We will go to Makapetang.’

Here, the prefix 𐌸: *sə-* marks future tense on the verb, 𐌸: *sara-* ‘go’. The other tense prefixes are 𐌸: *kə-* (NPST), 𐌸: *mə-* (PST), 𐌸: *və-* (RPST), as well as 𐌸: *pa-* (NFUT) and 𐌸: *ni-* (RFUT). Besides this set of prefixes, there are also a number of proclitics that can appear with verbs, though not exclusively. These are the anaphora 𐌸: *da-* ‘thus, so, such’ and the reflexive marker 𐌸: *sitang-* ‘self’, compare (9) and (10). Furthermore, (11) shows that 𐌸: *sitang-* can also be used as a preverbal particle in situations where the agent is also the instrument, so both of the following two sentences are equivalent in meaning.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(9) <i>Da-mingya ang Diyan.</i><br/>         da=ming-ya ang=Diyan.<br/>         so=can-3SG.M A= Diyan<br/>         ‘Diyan can (do it).’</p> | <p>(10) <i>Sitang-kecāng.</i><br/>         sitang=kə=yāng<br/>         self=wash=3SG.M.A<br/>         ‘He washes <i>himself</i>.’</p> |
|--|---|

- (11) a. *Sa apicāṅ nanga ikan sitang-yari.*  
 sa= apit=yāṅ nanga ikan sitang=yari  
 PT=clean=3SG.A house complete self=3SG.M.INS

‘He cleaned the whole house by himself.’

- b. *Sa sitang-apicāṅ nanga ikan.*  
 sa= sitang=apit=yāṅ nanga ikan  
 PT=self-clean=3SG.A house complete

(*idem*)

Example (11a) shows the more common application of *sitang-*, that is, as a reflexive modifier of pronouns. Moreover, the prefix *da-* can as well be used with noun phrases and is part of the demonstrative set of prefixes (which behave, in fact, like proclitics), *da-* ‘such’, *eda-* ‘this’, and *ada-* ‘that’ as shown in (12).

- (12) *eda- / ada- / da-ganang*  
*eda= / ada= / da=gan-ang*  
*this= / that= / such.a=child-A*

‘this/that/such a child’

The demonstrative prefixes are also used to form the demonstrative pronouns *edanya* ‘this one’, *adanya* ‘that one’ and *danya* ‘(such) one’. A special case in this regard is the postposition *da-nārya* ‘in spite of, despite’ where *da-* combines with the conjunction *nārya* ‘but, although, except’. Originally, *dikapisa* ‘respective’ is derived from *da-* + *ikapisa* ‘bound, dependent’, which is an example of a combination with an adjective. There is also a fixed adverbial expression using one of these prefixes, *eda-tadayyam* ‘for the time being, for now’ (this=time-DAT). Last but not least, the prefix *ku-* ‘like, as though’ (also a proclitic) can be used with both adjectives and nouns, as well as complement clauses, as shown in (13).

An example of a set-phrase adverbial consisting of *ku-* and a verb is *ku-nasya* ‘as follows’, *nasya-* meaning ‘follow’. What is curious here is that this fossilized form is lacking person marking and is just extended with an epenthetic *-a* since *-sy* is not a permissible coda. The expected form would be *\*ku-nasyareng* (like-follow=3SG.INAN.A).

Following Klavans (1985), who suggests that clitics best be defined as “affixation at the phrasal level” (117), a very common kind of prefix to the inflectional phrase are the topic markers. They are counted as parts of the IP but do not interact with it regarding stress assignment (topic particles are always unstressed) while they

- (13) a. *ku-koyaya*  
           ku=koya-ya  
           like=book-LOC  
           ‘like in a book’
- b. *ku-prasi*  
           ku=prasi  
           like=sour  
           ‘as though (it were) sour’
- c. *ku-adareng            turavangas*  
           ku=ada-reng        turavang-as  
           like=that-A.INAN    problem-P  
           ‘as though that were a problem’
- (14) a. *Ang tabanya            tamanley.*  
           ang=tahan-ya        taman-ley  
           AT= write-3SG.M    letter-P.INAN  
           ‘He writes a letter.’
- b. *Ang mətabanya tamanley.* ‘He wrote a letter.’
- c. *Ang manga mətabanya tamanley.* ‘He was writing a letter.’
- d. *Ang manga no mətabanya tamanley.* ‘He was wanting to write a letter.’

are consistently placed in clause-initial position, preceding any other preverbal elements. The placement of topic particles is illustrated in (14).

The word 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲 *kudapalung* ‘other than that, apart from that’ is an interesting case in that it is a fossilized form of multiple proclitics being stacked on an adjective. 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲 *kudapalung* is transparently made up of the root 𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲 *palung* ‘other, different’ to which are added 𑀓𑀲 *da-* ‘so, such’ and 𑀓𑀲 *ku-* ‘like, as though’.

### 3.2.2 Suffixation

As a largely agglutinative language, most grammatical marking in Ayeri happens to be done by means of suffixes. These occur mainly with nouns and verbs, however, some basic quantifiers take the shape of suffixes as well, but behave more like enclitics. Quantifiers may modify content words almost regardless of their part of speech—noun, verb, adjective or adverb. The most pervasive examples of suffixation are certainly those of case marking on nouns and of person marking on verbs, as exemplified in (15).

- (15) *Sa pəharuyang va manga miday tangya vana suyareri, vimyon!*  
 sa=pə-haru=yang va.Ø manga=miday tang-ya vana suyar-eri vimyon  
 PT=NFUT-beat=1SG.A 2SG.TOP DIR= around ears-LOC 2SG.GEN ladle-INS monkey

'I'll beat you around your ears with a ladle, you monkey!'

This example shows marking of *ᄒᆞᆫ tang* 'ears' with the locative case suffix *-ya* and the marking of *ᄒᆞᆫ suyar* 'ladle' with the instrumental case suffix *-eri*; the previous examples already provide instances of the exceedingly common markers for agent and patient case, *-ang* and *-as*, respectively. Besides case, nouns can also be marked for plural with the suffix *-ye*, and verb roots may be extended by the mood and aspect markers *-ong* (IRR), *-asa* (HAB) and *-oy* (NEG), the last of which is the most frequently occurring one. The mood suffixes can also be stacked, leading to the long word in (5) above. Person marking on verbs is realized as agreement suffixes or of clitic personal pronouns depending on whether an agent NP proper is present or not for the verb to agree with. In (15), a cliticized agent pronoun *-yang* 'I' (1SG.A) appears.

As mentioned above, quantifiers appear as enclitics on almost any type of content word, like on the adverb *ᄒᆞᆫ para* 'fast' in (16), for instance.

- (16) *Tigalyeng para-ma.*  
 tigal=yeng para=ma  
 swim=3SG.F.A fast=enough















'She swims fast enough.'

### 3.2.3 Reduplication

There are two patterns of reduplication for verbs, one with complete reduplication of the imperative form to create a hortative statement (17a), and one with partial reduplication as a way to express that an action takes place again, that is, partial reduplication expresses an iterative, compare (17b). The imperative iterative, then, has a hortative function as well in (17c).

With nouns, full reduplication is used to create a diminutive form in (18a), though some reduplications are also lexicalized and may use roots from other parts of speech as well to form nouns, for instance, the words in (18b–d). There are also a number of adjectives for which there exists a lexical reduplication with an intensifying meaning; (19) lists a few examples. This, however, is not a productive derivation strategy.



- (17) a. *naru-naru*  
 naru~nara-u  
 HORT~speak-IMP  
 'let's speak'
- b. *na-narayeng*  
 na~nara=yeng  
 ITER~speak=3SG.F.A  
 'she speaks again'
- c. *na-naru*  
 na~nara-u  
 ITER~speak-IMP  
 'let's speak again'
- (18) a.  *veney* 'dog' →  *veney-veney* 'little dog, doggie'
- b.  *gan* 'child' →  *gan-gan* 'grandchild'
- c.  *kusang* 'double (adj.)' →  *kusang-kusang* 'model'
- d.  *veb-* 'build' →  *veba-veba* 'tinkering'
- (19) a.  *apan* 'wide' →  *apan-apan* 'extensive'
- b.  *kebay* 'alone' →  *kebay-kebay* 'all alone'
- c.  *pisu* 'tired' →  *pisu-pisu* 'exhausting'

### 3.2.4 Suprasegmental modification

As written above (section 1.1.2), case agreement on a complex-marked relative pronoun can drop out under certain circumstances and is replaced by compensatory stress on the secondary case marker, which lengthens the syllable's nucleus vowel, compare (20).

- (20) ... *tamanley*    *sinā*                      (\**sina*)    *ang ningay*    *tamala*    *vās*  
 ... *taman<sub>i</sub>-ley*    *si-Ø<sub>i</sub>-na*                      (\**si-na<sub>i</sub>*)    *ang=ning=ay.Ø*    *tamala*    *vās*  
 ... letter-P.INAN    REL-PT.INAN-GEN    (\*REL-GEN)    AT= tell=1SG.TOP    yesterday    2SG.P
- '... the letter which (\*whose) I told you about yesterday'

This can be reinterpreted so that vowel length/stress itself is what signifies the agreement of the relativizer with the preceding NP. Which grammatical role the relativizer's head represents an agreement controller is essentially underspecified, hence I will gloss it as -AGR in the following example instead of as full -P.INAN. This is illustrated in (21). Since *na* as a light syllable cannot be stressed in word-final

position under normal circumstances, it has to lengthen to  $\approx n\bar{a}$ .

(21)	/si.lei.'ena/	→ /si.'na(:)/
	/si-lei-ena/	→ /si-'-na-:/
	REL-P.INAN-GEN	REL-AGR-GEN-AGR

### 3.2.5 Clitics

I have been using the term ‘clitic’ above and claimed that the one or the other morpheme in Ayeri is a clitic. Clitics, however, cannot be easily defined in a formal way, as it appears (Spencer and Luís 2012: 126). Based on Spencer and Luís (2012), with recourse to Zwicky and Pullum (1983), some important, typical characteristics are:

- Clitics behave in part like function words and in part like affixes, but in any case they are not free morphemes (Spencer and Luís 2012: 38, 42).
- Clitics tend to be phonologically weak items (39).
- Clitics prominently—and importantly—tend to attach ‘promiscuously’ to surrounding words. That is, unlike inflection, they are not limited to connect to a certain part of speech or to align with their host in semantics (40, 108–109).
- Clitics tend to be templatic and to cluster, especially if they encode inflection-like information (41, 47–48).
- Clitics have none of the freedom of ordering found in independent words and phrases (43).
- Positions of ‘special’ clitics tend to not be available to free words (44).
- There are no paradigmatic gaps (108–109).
- There tends to be no morphophonemic alteration like vowel harmony, stress shift or sandhi between a clitic and its host (108–109).
- Similar to affixes, clitics and their host tend to be treated as a syntactic unit, that is, lexical integrity prevents that word material can be put in between a clitic and its host (108, 110).

However, Spencer and Luís (2012) point out many counterexamples to the points on this list in order to highlight that the border between clitics and affixes is often fuzzy. Given this fuzziness, it comes as no surprise that according to their assessment, there is a lot of miscategorization in individual grammars as a result (107). Another consequence of this lack of a clear delineation between clitics and affixes is that, since not all of the traits described above are always present, making



within its scope. Repeating the marker as well before the latter verb could either be considered ungrammatical because there is only one topic there— $\text{ḡ} māva$  ‘mother’—or the sentence could be interpreted as having two conjoined clauses with different subjects: ‘[She washes] and [mother dresses] her boys.’ The latter outcome has  $\text{ḡ} māva$  as the topic only of  $\text{ḡ} dayungisaye$ , while  $\text{ḡ} kece$ ’s topic is the person marking on the verb—a pro-drop subject, essentially.<sup>6</sup>

In (22b), then, the progressive marker  $\text{ḡ} manga$  equally has scope over both verb conjuncts,  $\text{ḡ} sabaya$  ‘(he) comes’ and  $\text{ḡ} nedraya$  ‘(he) sits’ in what is presumably a case of extended/distributed exponence. This is to say that functionally contiguous information can sometimes be split over several words, so that the functional annotation of each verb in (22b) can be represented in the fashion of the (incomplete) f-structure matrix (see Bresnan et al. 2016; Butt and King 2015) shown in (23), which is an attempt to represent the phrase  $\text{ḡ} ang manga saba-$  ‘is coming’ formally.  $\text{ḡ} manga$  is treated there as being part of things the verb inflects for, that is, progressive aspect, in spite of appearing superficially as a function word. The topic marker  $\text{ḡ} ang$  does not reflect a morphological property of the verb in the way the progressive marker does, but announces the case and—for agents and patients—the animacy value of the topicalized noun phrase (NP), so the f-structure in (23) lists this information under the TOP function.<sup>7</sup>

(23)

PRED	‘come <(<↑ SUBJ>), (<↑ OBL <sub>loc</sub> >)>’						
ASP	PROG						
TOP	<table> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>A</td></tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td><td>+</td></tr> <tr> <td>...</td><td>...</td></tr> </table>	CASE	A	ANIM	+	...	...
CASE	A						
ANIM	+						
...	...						
...	...						

Modal particles, exemplified in (22c), are probably slightly less typical as clitics since it seems feasible for them to be stressed for contrast. What is not possible, however, is to front either  $\text{ḡ} mya$  ‘be supposed to’ or  $\text{ḡ} ming$  ‘can’, and the verb itself also cannot precede the particles, which is demonstrated in (24). It is also not possible to coordinate any of the elements in the preverbal particle cluster with  $\text{ḡ} nay$  ‘and’, as shown in (25).

<sup>6</sup> This claim is further investigated below, p. 89 ff.; also compare section 4.5.1.

<sup>7</sup> In the chart, angular brackets group grammatical functions. Since the verb is the head of the clause, the first PRED (predicator) lists the verb with its argument structure (a-structure). In the case of (23), SUBJ and OBL<sub>loc</sub> indicate that ‘come’, governs two arguments: a subject and an oblique argument in the form of a locative adverbial. These have been omitted for brevity.

- (24) a. \**mya ang ming sidegongya*  
 b. \**ming ang mya sidegongya*  
 c. \**sidegongya ang mya ming*
- (25) a. \**ang nay mya ming sidegongya*  
 b. \**ang mya nay ming sidegongya*  
 c. \**ang mya ming nay sidegongya*

It needs to be pointed out that unlike verbs, modal particles in Ayeri resist inflection, so in (22c) the irrealis suffix 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 -*ong* is realized on the verb 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *sidegongya* ‘(he) would repair’ instead of on one or both of the modal particles as \*𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *\*mingong* and \*𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *myong*, respectively. The combination of 𑜋𑜨 *mya* ‘be supposed to’ with an irrealis-marked verb together indicates that the speaker thinks the action denoted by the verb *should* be carried out. The marking on the verb may then be interpreted as being functionally shared by the constituent parts of the whole verb complex. The same goes for negation: only the verb can be negated, but not the modal particle. Possibly, it would be useful in this case to abstract the modal particles as a feature MODALITY as listed by ParGram (2009–2016: Feature Table) for purposes of functional representation. At least superficially, it looks as though Ayeri acts differently from English here in that the content verb is not a complement of the modal element. This assumption is supported by the fact that in Ayeri, the verb inflects, but not the modal particle. Furthermore, modal particles cannot be modified by adverbs in the way regular verbs can, see (26).

- (26) a. *Ming tigalye ban nilay ang Diya.*  
 ming=tigal-ye ban nilay ang=Diya  
 can= swim-3SG.F good probably A= Diya  
 ‘Diya can probably swim well.’
- b. \**Ming nilay tigalye ban ang Diya.*  
 ming=nilay tigal-ye ban ang=Diya  
 can= probably swim-3SG.F well A= Diya

Combinations of topic particle and modal particle, as well as modal particle and verb, can likewise not be interrupted by parenthetical material like 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *naratang* ‘they say’, which we can see in the pattern emerging in (27).

Besides verbs, nouns as well have preposed modifiers. This is the case with proper nouns specifically, where the name is preceded by a case particle instead of receiving a case-marking suffix like generic nouns do. This case marker is phonologically weak in that its phonological make-up is similar to that of affixes, and unstressed, with the exception of the causative case marker 𑜋𑜨 *sā*, which bears at least secondary stress since it contains a long vowel. We already saw case particles preceding names in (22b) and (26) above: 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *ang Tikim* and 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *ang Diya*; 𑜋𑜨 *ang* marks the proper-noun NPs as agents in both cases. The case marker

- (27) a. *Naratang, ang ming tigalye ban Diya kodanya.*  
 nara=tang ang ming tical-ye ban Ø Diya kodan-ya  
 say=3PL.M.A AT can swim-3SG.F well TOP Diya lake-LOC  
 ‘They say Diya can swim well in a lake.’
- b. \**Ang, naratang, ming tigalye ban Diya kodanya.*
- c. \**Ang ming, naratang, tigalye ban Diya kodanya.*
- d. <sup>2</sup>*Ang ming tigalye, naratang, ban Diya kodanya.*
- e. *Ang ming tigalye ban, naratang, Diya kodanya.*
- f. *Ang ming tigalye ban Diya, naratang, kodanya.*
- g. *Ang ming tigalye ban Diya kodanya, naratang.*

is missing when the NP is topicalized, as indicated in (27), where the agent NP appears as just *Diya*, not *ang Diya*. While case suffixes have narrow scope as shown in (28a) and thus need to be repeated on every NP in a conjunct, preposed case markers as that in (28c) may be used with wide scope if both conjuncts are proper nouns. Narrow scope with proper nouns may add an individuating connotation, exemplified by (28d).

- (28) a. *Toryon veneyang nay badanang.*  
 tor-yon veney-ang nay badan-ang  
 sleep-3PL.N dog-A and father-A  
 ‘The dog and father are (both) sleeping.’
- b. \**Toryon veney nay badanang.*  
 tor-yon veney\_ nay badan-ang  
 sleep-3PL.N dog\_ and father-A
- c. *Sa sobisayan ang Niva nay Mico narānye.*  
 sa=sobisa-yan ang=Niva nay \_ Mico narān-ye-Ø  
 PT=study-3PL.M A Niva and \_ Mico language-PL-TOP  
 ‘Languages is what Niva and Mico study.’
- d. *Sa sobisayan ang Niva nay ang Mico narānye.*  
 sa=sobisa-yan ang=Niva nay ang=Mico narān-ye-Ø  
 PT=study-3PL.M A= Niva and A= Mico language-PL-TOP  
 ‘Languages is what Niva and Mico (each) study.’

Taking the above characteristics into account—inability to insert word material, special positioning, and wide scope—one may argue that the preposed case markers are clitics. It should be noted furthermore that a single NP cannot be marked for two grammatical functions at the same time, so that case markers

cannot be coordinated, as is attempted in (29a) below with \* $\text{᥇ᥑᥑᥑᥑᥑᥑ}$  \**sa nay sã* *Sopan*.

- (29) a. \**Ang delacan*                      *sa nay sã*      *Sopan*.  
           ang=delak=yan.Ø                sa nay sã      Sopan  
           AT= suffer.from=3PL.M.TOP P and CAUS Sopan  
           *Intended: 'They suffer from and due to Sopan.'*
- b. *Ang delacan*                      *sa Sopan, nay yasa*.  
           ang=delak=yan.Ø                sa=Sopan nay yasa  
           AT= suffer.from=3PL.M.TOP P= Sopan and 3SG.M.CAUS  
           *'They suffer from Sopan, and due to him.'*

The case markers of proper nouns are necessarily proclitics rather than enclitics to preceding word material, since it is possible for them to begin utterances, where it is not possible to lean to the left, but only to the right. This is the case in equative sentences such as the one in (30a). In these cases as well, it is not possible for parenthetical material to be placed between the case marker and its target of modification, as in (30b); the particle and its head cohere closely and behave essentially like a unit.

- (30) a. *Ang Misan lajāyas*      *puti*.  
           ang=Misan lajāy-as      puti  
           A= Misan student-P zealous  
           *'Misan is a zealous student.'*
- b. \**Ang, paronyang, Misan lajāyas*      *puti*.  
           ang paron=yang Misan lajāy-as      puti  
           A believe=1SG.A Misan student-P zealous

The fact that case particles attach always to a proper noun very specifically makes them unlike 'typical' clitics, since according to Spencer and Luís (2012), a typical and important feature of clitics is their 'promiscuous' attachment, as described initially. This puts case particles closer to affixes—just like the suffixed case markers. On the other hand, as previously pointed out, clitics do not have to exhibit all traits often associated with them in order to be counted as such. Yet more typical of function words, on the other hand, is the fact that there is no morphophonemic interaction between a case particle and the word it modifies. Thus, for instance, there is no form /sa:dʒa:n/ resulting from the combination of  $\text{᥇}$  *sa* (P) with  $\text{᥇ᥑᥑᥑᥑᥑᥑ}$  *Ajān*. This overlap in form between affix and function word is typical of clitics, according to the traits excerpted from Spencer and Luís (2012) above.

As discussed previously, ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* may not only modify verbs, but also adpositions—which in the case of prepositions are often very transparently derived from nouns. ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* in combination with an adposition indicates that there is motion into the specified direction. The directional marker ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* is thus a functional morpheme and it always appears before the adposition itself. Adpositions do not otherwise inflect, but ᐱᓂᓂ *manga*, due to its functional nature, could reasonably be construed as inflection, in spite of appearing as a function word, just as its (related) verbal counterpart. This double nature makes it a good candidate for a clitic. Applying a shuffling or coordination test here to figure out whether ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* is an adjunct is moot, since there is nothing else which can appear in this position—the position ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* appears in is thus syntactically privileged; ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* can be said to exhibit special syntax, which is further evidence for it being a clitic. With regards to the distinction between special and simple clitics (Zwicky 1977), it ought to be classified as the former, since even though it may be derived from the verb ᐱᓂᓂ: *manga* ‘move’, this verb does not constitute the particle’s associated full form:

- (31) a. *Ang saraya Ajān manga kong nangaya.*  
 ang=sara-ya Ajān manga=kong nanga-ya  
 AT go-3SG.M Ajān DIR= inside house-LOC  
 ‘Ajān goes into the house.’
- b. <sup>1</sup>*Ang saraya mangayam Ajān kong nangaya.*  
 ang=sara-ya manga-yam Ajān kong nanga-ya  
 AT= go-3SG.M move-PTCP Ajān inside house-LOC  
 ‘Ajān goes to move inside the house.’

Example (31b) assumes that the hypothetical correct place of the verb ᐱᓂᓂ: *manga*- ‘move’ to appear in is as a non-finite complement to the main verb in the sentence, ᐱᓂᓂ: *sara*- ‘go’. While not ungrammatical *per se*, the sentence would imply that ᐱᓂᓂᓂ *Ajān* walks away in order to move around in the house, which is not what (31a) posits. There is thus no direct semantic relationship between what we assumed to be the historical full form and the grammatical marker, that is, the full verb and the directional particle cannot be used interchangeably. When testing with parenthetical word material, it becomes clear that ᐱᓂᓂᓂ *manga kong* ‘into’ forms a syntactic unit, which is demonstrated in (32). ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* is a bound morpheme, and thus not a function word proper.

Also, when testing ᐱᓂᓂ *manga*’s behavior in terms of distribution over coordinated NPs, we can see in (33b) that there is no problem in condensing the sentence given in (33a) to the extent that ᐱᓂᓂ *manga* governs two adpositions in



- (32) a. *Ang saraya Ajān, narayāng, manga kong nangaya.*  
 ang=sara-ya Ajān nara=yāng manga=kong nanga-ya  
 AT= go-3SG.M Ajān say=3SG.M.A DIR= inside house-LOC  
 ‘Ajān goes, he says, into the house.’  
 b. \**Ang saraya Ajān manga, narayāng, kong nangaya.*  
 c. *Ang saraya Ajān manga kong, narayāng, nangaya.*
- (33) a. *Ang saraya Ajān manga miday nangaya nay manga kong nangaya.*  
 ang=sara-ya Ø= Ajān manga=miday nanga-ya nay manga=kong nanga-ya  
 AT= go-3SG.M TOP=Ajān DIR= around house-LOC and DIR= inside house-LOC  
 ‘Ajān goes around the house and into the house.’  
 b. *Ang saraya Ajān manga miday nay kong nangaya.*  
 ang=sara-ya Ø= Ajān manga=miday nay kong nanga-ya  
 AT= go-3SG.M TOP=Ajān DIR= around and inside house-LOC  
 ‘Ajān goes around and into the house.’
- (34) *Ang da-pinyaya nay hisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 ang=da=pinya-ya nay hisa-ya Ø= Yan sa=Pila  
 AT= so=ask-3SG.M and beg-3SG.M TOP=Yan P= Pila  
 ‘Yan asks and begs Pila to (do so).’

coordination— $\text{miday}$  ‘around’ and  $\text{kong}$  ‘inside’—sharing the same adpositional object,  $\text{nanga}$  ‘house’.

For all intents and purposes, thus,  $\text{manga}$  behaves syntactically like a typical clitic in that it has wide scope over conjuncts, coheres tightly with its target of modification, is located in a syntactically privileged position, and unites properties of both function words and inflection.

From this discussion of prenominal (and one pre-adpositional) particles, let us return to verbs again for a moment. Besides the preverbal particles discussed above, there is also what is spelled as a prefix on the verb which appears to be a little odd as such in that it can have wide scope over conjoined verbs. This is the prefix  $\text{da-}$  often meaning ‘so, thus’, displayed in (34).

$\text{da-}$ , where it is not used for presentative purposes,<sup>8</sup> is a functional morpheme in that it basically acts as an anaphora for a complementizer phrase (CP) the speaker chooses to drop. Thus, it does not mark any of the intrinsic morphological categories of the verb (tense, aspect, mood, modality, finiteness), just as the topic marker marks for none of the verb’s own categories of inflection, but

<sup>8</sup> Although this use is probably related to the anaphoric use.

instead refers to a syntactic relation the verb subcategorizes for. As an anaphora, 𐌲𐌳 *da-* cannot stand alone, though it is possible to use a full demonstrative form 𐌲𐌳𐌲𐌴 *danya* ‘such one’ in its place, compare (35).

- (35) *Ang pinyaya nay hisaya Yan sa Pila danyaley.*  
 ang=pinya-ya nay hisa-ya Ø= Yan sa=Pila danya-ley  
 AT= ask-3SG.M and beg-3SG.M TOP=Yan P= Pila such.one-P.INAN  
 ‘Yan asks and begs Pila such.’

Unlike the preverbal particles, 𐌲𐌳 *da-* can be associated with a full form, though it still displays special syntax. Unlike English *-n’t* or *’ll*, for instance, it does not occur in the same place as the full form. Note also how 𐌲𐌳 *da-* is appended to the right of tense prefixes, which *do* express a property of the verb, as shown in (36).

- (36) a. *Ang da-məpinyaya sa Pila.*  
 ang=da=mə-pinya=ya.Ø sa=Pila  
 AT= SO=PST=ask=3SG.M.TOP P= Pila  
 ‘He asked Pila to.’  
 b. *Ang da-məpinyaya nay məhisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 ang=da=mə-pinya-ya nay mə-hisa-ya Ø= Yan sa=Pila  
 AT= SO=PST=ask-3SG.M and PST-beg-3SG.M TOP=Yan P= Pila  
 ‘Yan asked and begged Pila to.’

The verb form in (36) becomes ungrammatical with the order of its prefixes reversed, so 𐌲𐌳𐌲𐌴𐌲𐌴 *məda-pinyaya* is not acceptable. Note, though, that pre- and suffixes proper also have a fixed order in Ayeri, so this alone is probably not enough evidence to claim that 𐌲𐌳 *da-* is not possibly a prefix. Furthermore, while the tense prefixes undergo crasis, this is not the case with 𐌲𐌳 *da-*, as (38) shows.

- (37) a. *Māmangreng.*  
 mə-amang=reng  
 PST-happen=3SG.INAN.A  
 ‘It happened.’  
 b. \**Məamangreng.*
- (38) a. *Da-amangreng.*  
 da=amang=reng  
 thus=happen=3SG.INAN.A  
 ‘It happens thus.’  
 b. \**Dāmangreng.*

Besides the characteristic of not seeking out certain parts of speech, the 𐌲𐌳 *da-* prefix satisfies the criteria of being a phonologically reduced form of an otherwise free functional morpheme, and of occurring in a place where normal syntax would not put the full form. It has wide scope over conjuncts, is attached outside of inflection for proper categories of the verb, and doesn’t interact with its host with

regards to morphophonemics. In addition to these more typical traits of clitics, there is also no way in (39) to place words between 𑌕: *da-* and the verb stem.

- (39) *Da, naratang, amangreng.*  
       da nara=tang amang=reng  
       thus say=3PL.M.A happen=3SG.INAN.A

The prefix 𑌕: *sitang-* ‘self’ behaves in the same way as 𑌕: *da-*, since it also abbreviates a reflexive NP, for instance, 𑌕:𑌕:𑌕: *sitang-yes* ‘herself’ where ‘herself’ as a patient is coreferential with the agent of the clause. One might assume that reflexivity is a verbal category of inflection in Ayeri, although, on the other hand, Ayeri also does not have any verbs which appear as grammatically reflexive to indicate unaccusativity like in Romance languages. The reflexive marking in Ayeri is thus semantically motivated, not functionally.

- (40) a. *Aduara biratayreng.*  
       adru-ara biratay-reng  
       break-3SG.INAN pot-A.INAN  
       ‘The pot broke.’  
       b. \**Sitang-adruara biratayreng.*  
           sitang=adru-ara biratay-reng  
           self=break-3SG.INAN pot-A.INAN  
       *Intended:* ‘The pot broke.’ (an unspecified force broke it)

- (41) French:  
       a. *Le pot s’est cassé.*  
           le pot se=est cassé  
           the pot self=be.3SG.PRS broken  
           ‘The pot broke.’ (an unspecified force broke it)  
       b. *Le pot est cassé.*  
           le pot est cassé  
           the pot be.3SG.PRS broken  
           ‘The pot is broken.’

Ayeri has a tendency to reuse prefixes with different parts of speech, and thus 𑌕: *da-* is also used with nouns, forming part of the series of deictic prefixes, 𑌕: *da-* ‘such (a)’, 𑌕: *eda-* ‘this’, 𑌕: *ada-* ‘that’. The prefix in all these cases represents a grammatical function, is unstressed, and may have wide scope over conjoined NPs, unless an individuating interpretation is intended, as in (42b). These traits are

typical of clitics, as we have seen, though (43) shows that unlike with verbs, the deictic prefixes do undergo crasis, which is a trait more typically associated with affixes.

- (42) a. *Sinyāng eda-ledanas nay viretāyās tondayena-ben?*  
 sinyā-ang eda=ledan-as nay viretāya-as tonday-ena=hen  
 who-A this=friend-P and supporter-P art-GEN=all  
 ‘Who is this friend and supporter of all arts?’
- b. *Sinyāng eda-ledanas nay eda-viretāyās tondayena-ben?*  
 sinyā-ang eda=ledan-as nay eda=viretāya-as tonday-ena=hen  
 sinyā-A eda=ledan-P nay eda=viretāya-P tonday-GEN=hen  
 ‘Who is/are this friend and this supporter of all arts?’

- (43) *Sa ming nelnang edāyon.*  
 sa=ming=nel=nang eda=ayon-Ø  
 P= can= help=IPL..A this=man-TOP  
 ‘This man, we can help him.’

The deictic prefixes also cannot be used with all types of NPs, only with those headed by common and proper nouns; the picky nature of the deictic prefixes also makes them more typical of affixes than of clitics. The preverbal particles, on the other hand, also only occur with verbs, and it was nonetheless argued for them to be classified as clitics above due to the presence of other traits which make the particle under scrutiny clitic-like.

As mentioned initially, Spencer and Luís (2012) give numerous counterexamples to the catalog of traits typically associated with clitics. One of these counterexamples is what they call ‘suspended affixation’. This phenomenon occurs in Turkish, for instance, where the plural suffix *-lEr* and subsequent suffixes can be left out in coordination (44a), as well as case markers (44b), and adverbials with case-like functions (44c).

Spencer and Luís (2012) note that, in “the nominal domain especially, wide scope inflection is widespread in the languages of Eurasia, becoming more prominent from west to east”, and that wide scope affixation “can be found with inflectional and derivational morphology in a number of languages, and it is often a symptom of recent and not quite complete morphologization” (200). They report further that Wälchli (2005) finds that suspended affixation is especially common with ‘natural coordination’, that is, the combination of items very frequently occurring in pairs like *knife and fork* or *mother and father*, as opposed to cases of occasional coordination (Spencer and Luís 2012: 200). Whether this is also true

(44) Turkish (Spencer and Luís 2012: 199):

- a. *bütün k̂ıtap(...) ve defter-ler-imiz*  
all book and notebook-PL-IPL.POSS  
'all our books and notebooks'
- b. *Vapur hem Napoli(...) hem Venedik'-e uğruyormuş*  
boat and Naples and Venice-LOC stops.EVID  
'Apparently the boat stops at both Naples and Venice'
- c. *öğretmen-ler(...) ve öğrenci-ler-le*  
teacher-PL and student-PL-WITH  
'with (the) students and (the) teachers'

for Ayeri as of now would require a separate survey.<sup>9</sup> Ayeri is not (intended to be) of Eurasian stock, though since there is evidence for this phenomenon, it should at least be considered.

Given the evidence from Turkish, the categorization of deictic prefixes as *either* affixes *or* clitics is unclear, especially since the diagnostic of scope is devalued by the Turkish examples. On the other hand, suffixes on nouns do not behave this way in Ayeri, as demonstrated in (45)—they rather behave like typical affixes in that they mandatorily occur on each conjunct. The question is, thus, whether an exception should be made for prefixes on nouns. We may as well assume that they are clitics.

- (45)
- a. *sobayajang nay lajāyjang*  
sobaya-ye-ang nay lajāy-ye-ang  
teacher-PL-A and student-PL-A  
'(the) teachers and (the) students'
  - b. \**sobayaye nay lajāyjang*  
sobaya-ye nay lajāy-ye-ang  
teacher-PL and student-PL-A
  - c. \**sobaya nay lajāyjang*  
sobaya nay lajāy-ye-ang  
teacher and student-PL-A

From a functional point of view, the exact nature of the deictic prefixes should not matter either way—ParGram (2009–2016: Feature Table) also cites a DEIXIS feature with PROXIMAL and DISTAL as its values, which fits *ᑭᑦ eda-* 'this' and *ᑭᑦᑭᑦ*

<sup>9</sup> Or rather, devising supplemental rules.

*ada-* ‘that’ just fine. At present it is unclear, however, how to represent ‘such (a)’ in this respect, since it is clearly deictic, but neither proximal nor distal. In this case, it should be possible to use [DEIX *this/that/such*] as well, hence:

- (46) a. *edāyon*  
           eda=ayon  
           this=man  
           ‘this man’
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{‘man’} \\ \text{DEIX} & \text{this} \end{array} \right]$

As described above, proper nouns are case marked by clitic case markers preceding the noun. In fact, these markers must be located somewhere at the left periphery of the NP, so the deictic prefixes stand in between the case marker and the proper noun itself, which is unproblematic for lexical integrity, since the deictic prefixes are not free morphemes. And even if they were part of inflection, the case markers, as clitics, would be on the outside—the order DEICTIC PREFIX – CASE MARKER – NOUN is ungrammatical. An example of this is given in (47).

- (47) a. *Ang koronay*            *sa eda-Kagan.*  
           ang=koron=ay.Ø    sa=eda=Kagan  
           AT= know=ISG.TOP   P= this=Kagan  
           ‘I know this Kagan.’
- b. \**Ang koronay*            *eda-Kaganas.*  
           ang=koron=ay.Ø    eda=Kagan-as  
           AT= know=ISG.TOP   this=Kagan-P
- c. \**Ang koronay*            *eda-sa Kagan.*  
           ang=koron=ay.Ø    eda=sa=Kagan  
           AT= know=ISG.TOP   this=P=Kagan

The question now is, what happens to coordinated proper nouns? Since the suffixed case markers on common nouns have the distributional properties of affixes, they occur on every conjunct, the deictic prefixes, however, only occur on the first unless an individuating reading is intended, as shown in (41). For proper nouns it ought to be possible for both a case marker and a deictic prefix to have scope over coordinated proper nouns, as in (48a). Yet, however, this seems slightly odd-sounding, so the strategy in (48b) is preferable, which avoids the problem altogether by making the names an apposition to the demonstrative *ada* *edanya*

‘this/these one(s)’.<sup>10</sup> The example in (48c) is unproblematic and here as well indicates that the two persons are referred to individually and not as a group.

- (48) a. *Ang koronay sa eda-Kagan nay Ijān.*  
 ang=koron=ay.Ø sa=eda=Kagan nay Ijān  
 AT= know=ISG.TOP P= this=Kagan and Ijān  
 ‘I know these Kagan and Ijān.’
- b. *Ang koronay edanyās, Kagan nay Ijān.*  
 ang=koron=ay.Ø edanya-as Kagan nay Ijān  
 AT= know=ISG.TOP this.one-P Kagan and Ijān  
 ‘I know these, Kagan and Ijān.’
- c. *Ang koronay sa eda-Kagan nay eda-Ijān.*  
 ang=koron=ay.Ø sa=eda=Kagan nay eda=Ijān  
 AT= know=ISG.TOP P= this=Kagan and this=Ijān  
 ‘I know this Kagan and this Ijān.’

Of the deictic prefixes, 𐌆 *da-* is not only available to verbs and nouns, but also to adjectives. Like with verbs, it is short for 𐌆𐌔𐌕 *danya* ‘(such) one’ in this case, as demonstrated in (49a). The resulting meaning is ‘the ADJECTIVE one’; 𐌆 *da-* essentially acts as a nominalizer, at least to the extent that the compound of 𐌆 *da-* and an adjective inherits the distributional properties of 𐌆𐌔𐌕 *danya* as a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, it can be case- and topic-marked, as shown by (49bc). It can also be modified by another adjective, as in (49c). On the other hand, it cannot be reduplicated for diminution, and can also not be pluralized. Since adjectives follow their heads, the original order of DEMONSTRATIVE-ADJECTIVE remains intact. 𐌆 *da-* is thus similar in distribution to English simple clitics such as *’ll*, which occurs in the same place as its full form, the future tense auxiliary *will*.

The prefix, again, coheres tightly in that no additional material can be inserted. Like with nouns above, inflecting each form in a group of coordinated adjectives results in an individuating reading in (50a). It should be possible for the prefix to take wide scope as in (50b). However, it seems better to me to instead rephrase the coordinated adjective as a relative clause like in (49c), for instance, besides using the full form 𐌆𐌔𐌕 *danya* + adjectives. Since case is obligatorily marked on every conjunct, (50d) is not grammatical.

Possessive pronouns like 𐌔𐌕 *nā* ‘my’, 𐌔𐌕𐌕 *vana* ‘your’, etc. behave the same way when derived from their usual role as modifiers to free-standing anaphoras (𐌆𐌔𐌕

<sup>10</sup> It is cases like this where you wish it were possible to ask the judgment of a speaker of your conlang instead of relying on your own intuition.

- (49) a. *Le noyang danyaley tuvo.*  
 le= no=yang danya-Ø tuvo  
 PT.INAN=want=ISG.A such.one-TOP red  
 ‘The red one I want.’
- b. *Ang noay da-tuwoley.*  
 ang=no=ay.Ø da-tuvo-ley  
 AT= want=ISG.TOP one-red-P.INAN  
 ‘I want the red one.’
- c. *Le noyang da-tuvo kivo.*  
 le= no=yang da-tuvo-Ø kivo  
 PT.INAN=want=ISG.A one=red-TOP small  
 ‘The little red one I want.’
- (50) a. *Ang noay da-tuwoley nay da-lenoley.*  
 ang=no=ay.Ø da=tuvo-ley nay da=leno-ley  
 AT= want=ISG.TOP one=red-P.INAN and one=blue-P.INAN  
 ‘I want the blue one and the red one.’
- b. <sup>2</sup>*Ang noay da-tuwoley nay lenoley.*  
 ang=no=ay.Ø da=tuvo-ley nay leno-ley  
 AT= want=ISG.TOP one=red-P.INAN and blue-P.INAN  
 ‘I want the red and blue one.’
- c. *Ang noay adaley si tuvo nay leno.*  
 ang=no=ay.Ø ada-ley si tuvo nay leno  
 AT= want=ISG.TOP that-P.INAN REL red and blue  
 ‘I want that which is red and blue.’
- d. <sup>\*</sup>*Ang noay da-tuvo nay lenoley.*  
 ang=no=ay.Ø da=tuvo nay leno-ley  
 AT= want=ISG.TOP one=red and blue-P.INAN

*da-nā* ‘mine’, 𐌲𐌳𐌰 *da-vana* ‘yours’, etc.), except they cannot themselves be modified by adjectives in the way 𐌲𐌳𐌰 *da- tuvo* ‘the red one’ is in (49c). Taking all of the examples above into account, 𐌲𐌳𐌰 *da-* with adjectives and possessive pronouns seems to be most like a simple clitic according to Zwicky (1977)’s definition, compared to the other contexts it can appear in:

Cases where a free morpheme, when unaccented, may be phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word. Cliticization of this sort is usually associated with stylistic conditions, as in the casual speech cliticization of object pronouns in English; there are both formal *full* pronouns and casual *reduced* pronouns. (5)

Typical of a simple clitic as well, the distribution of 𐌲𐌳𐌰 *da-* is restricted by gram-



matical context, as pointed out regarding example (48b). Unlike in English, which Zwicky (1977) gives examples of, the condition in Ayeri is likely not merely phonological in this case. The nature of the condition, however, is not predetermined in Spencer and Luís (2012), when they elaborate on Zwicky (1977)'s definition that

we may therefore need to define simple clitics along the lines of Halpern (1998), namely, as clitics that may be positioned in a subset of the positions within which the full forms are found, rather than as clitics that have the same distribution as their full-form counterparts as in Zwicky (1977). Under this broader definition, we capture the fact that simple clitics differ from special clitics in that they can appear in some of the positions that are occupied by their corresponding full forms, while special clitics never can. (Spencer and Luís 2012: 44)

Besides deictic prefixes, nouns may also receive a prefix expressing likeness,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$ . This prefix is also applicable to adjectives, and is maybe more adverbial in terms of semantics than purely functional morphemes like  $\text{ḥ} \text{ da-}$ . In contrast to  $\text{ḥ} \text{ da-}$ ,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  has no full-form equivalent. Some examples of it leaning on nouns are given in (51). Like the deictic prefixes,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  appears in a position which is restricted to functional morphemes. Any other modifiers which appear as free words or phrases (adjectives, relative clauses, nominal adjuncts) follow nouns and cannot appear in the position of  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$ . Slightly untypical of a clitic, again, it is not fully 'promiscuous' regarding its phonological host in that it requires a nominal, adjectival or phrasal host.

Generally,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  fulfills the function of the preposition *like* in English in (51). However, if it were a preposition in Ayeri, it should trigger the locative on its dependent. In the examples above, however, the NP which  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  modifies takes the patient case, like predicative NPs are otherwise wont to do. Moreover, while prepositions like  $\text{ḥ} \text{ kong}$  'inside' in (52) are free morphemes in Ayeri,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  is bound, which becomes apparent by introducing a parenthetical remark in (53).

Examples (51ab) show that similar to the deictic prefixes,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  precedes its target of modification and can have wide scope over coordinated NPs. As (51c) shows, narrow scope is possible as well, and in this case, again, each conjunct is to be interpreted separately instead of  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  modifying both conjuncts collectively. As illustrated in (51d),  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  even precedes  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ada-}$  as a deictic prefix, for instance, if they appear together. Reversing the order of the prefixes is not possible, as is shown in (51f). As (51e) shows,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  may also have scope over two individuated noun phrase conjuncts. Besides nouns,  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  is also applicable to pronouns, which makes (54) possible, for example.

With proper nouns, the same distributional properties as with generic nouns apply, except that  $\text{ḥ} \text{ ku-}$  appears, rather idiosyncratically, as a suffix at the right edge of an NP—or at the right edge of the first NP conjunct—if the NP is preceded by a case marker, as shown in (55). With adjectives, however, there are no

- (51) a. *Ang misya Amān ku-depangas.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ku=depang-as  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān like=fool-P  
 ‘Amān acts like a fool.’
- b. *Ang misya Amān ku-depangas nay karayās.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ku=depang-as nay karaya-as  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān like=fool-P and coward-P  
 ‘Amān acts like a fool and a coward.’
- c. *Ang misya Amān ku-depangas nay ku-karayās.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ku=depang-as nay ku-karaya-as  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān like=fool-P and like=coward-P  
 ‘Amān acts like a fool and like a coward.’
- d. *Ang misya Amān ku-ada-depangas.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ku=ada=depang-as  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān like=that=fool-P  
 ‘Amān acts like that fool.’
- e. *Ang misya Amān ku-ada-depangas nay ada-karayās.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ku=ada=depang-as nay ada-karayās  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān like=that=fool-P and that=coward-P  
 ‘Amān acts like that fool and that coward.’
- f. \**Ang misya Amān ada=ku=depangas.*  
 ang=mis-ya Ø= Amān ada=ku=depang-as  
 AT= act-3SG.M TOP=Amān that=like=fool-P
- (52) a. *Ang yomāy, surpareng, kong sayanya.*  
 ang yoma=ay.Ø surpa=reng kong sayan-ya  
 AT be=1SG.TOP seem=3SG.INAN.A inside cave-LOC  
 ‘I am, it seems, inside a cave.’
- b. *Ang yomāy kong, suprareng, sayanya.*

idiosyncrasies to this degree. ꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ- appears only as a prefix here, as with generic nouns, compare (56).

As (56b) shows, ꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ- again can have wide scope over conjuncts. What further distinguishes ꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ- from a prefix here is that it does not undergo crasis if the adjective begins with an /u/, hence ꠘꠐꠘꠐꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ-ubo /ku'ubo/ ‘like bitter’, not \*ꠘꠐꠘꠐꠘꠐ \*kūbo /'ku:bo/. Again, the position ꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ- appears in is special in that whatever modifies adjectives usually trails after them.

Besides attaching to words, ꠘꠐ ꠘꠐ- is furthermore able to subordinate non-finite



- (56) a. *Surpya ku-suta ang Maran.*  
 surp-ya ku=suta ang Maran  
 seem-3SG.M like=busy A Maran  
 ‘Maran seems like he’s busy.’
- b. *Surpya ku-suta nay baras ang Maran.*  
 surp-ya ku=suta nay baras ang Maran  
 seem-3SG.M like=busy and gruff A Maran  
 ‘Maran seems like he’s busy and gruff.’
- (57) *Silvyeng ku-tabayam misungas.*  
 silv=yeng ku=taha-yam misung-as  
 look=3SG.F.A like=have-PTCP secret-P  
 ‘She looks as though having a secret.’
- (58) Breton (Spencer and Luís 2012: 145; from Borsley et al. 2007):
- a. *Bremañ e lennont al levrioù*  
 now PRT read.PRS.3PL the books  
 ‘Now they are reading the books’
- b. *Bremañ e lenn ar vugale al levrioù*  
 now PRT read.PRS.3SG the children the books  
 ‘Now the children are reading the books’
- c. \**Bremañ e lennont ar vugale al levrioù*  
 now PRT read.PRS.3PL the children the books

suffixes which do not seem quite like typical inflection. These are, for one, part of the person suffixes on the verb. Especially tricky in this regard is maybe that “a pronominal affix or incorporated pronominal is effectively a clitic masquerading as an affix. Therefore, if there are pronominal affixes then they should behave exactly like clitics with respect to crucial aspects of morphosyntax” (Spencer and Luís 2012: 144; also compare Corbett 2006: 101). Spencer and Luís (2012) then proceed to give examples from Breton and Irish where the person marking on the verb is in complementary distribution with full NPs, as illustrated in (58) and (59).

What we can see in (58) is that, according to Spencer and Luís (2012), the verb shows no number marking, defaulting to the singular form, in non-negative clauses if the subject of the verb is overt as either a full noun or a pronoun: plural marking on the verb and a full subject cannot coincide in this case, which is why (58c) is marked ungrammatical. In (59a) we can see that there is no need for an explicit first-person pronoun, since that function is already expressed by person

(59) Irish (Spencer and Luís 2012: 145; from McCloskey and Hale 1984):

- a. *Chuirfinn (\*mé) isteach ar an phost sin*  
 put.COND.1SG (I) in on the job that  
 ‘I would apply for that job’
- b. *Chuirfeadh sibh isteach ar an phost sin*  
 put.COND.3SG you in on the job that  
 ‘You would apply for that job’
- c. *Chuirfeadh Eoghan isteach ar an phost sin*  
 put.COND.3SG Owen in on the job that  
 ‘Owen would apply for that job’

- (60) a. *Suta ang Niyas.*  
 suta ang=Niyas  
 busy A= Niyas  
 ‘Niyas is busy.’
- b. *Yāng suta.*  
 yāng suta  
 3SG.M.A busy  
 ‘He is busy.’

- (61) a. *Lampya ang Niyas.*  
 lamp-ya ang=Niyas  
 walk-3SG.M A= Niyas  
 ‘Niyas walks.’
- b. *Lampyāng.*  
 lamp=yāng  
 walk=3SG.M.A  
 ‘He walks.’

- (62) a. *\*Lapyāng ang Niyas.*  
 lamp=yāng ang=Niyas  
 walk=3SG.M.A A= Niyas
- b. *\*Lampya yāng.*  
 lamp-ya yāng  
 walk-3SG.M 3SG.M.A

marking on the verb—person inflection on the verb seems to be in complementary distribution with full subject pronouns at least for some parts of the paradigm. In (59b) we have an overt second-person subject pronoun, but in this case, the verb does not agree with it and instead defaults to the third-person form, a clear case of which is given in (59c).

While in Ayeri, there is no defaulting to a certain person in the presence of an overt subject NP as such, there is still the effect of complementary distribution between a pronominal suffix in the absence of an overt subject NP, and a functionally impoverished as well as phonologically reduced form in its presence, compare (60) to (62).

Example (60b) shows the free form of the third singular masculine agent pronoun, *yāng* ‘he’. This is in complementary distribution with a full NP, which in (60a) is *ang Niyas*. In (61a) we can see that the verb agrees with

the subject NP in person, gender and number in that it exhibits the suffix  $\text{ya}$ . If, like in (61b), the overt subject NP is missing, the verb is marked with the same form as the free pronoun,  $\text{yāng}$ , which feeds the verb as a syntactic argument. That is, the person suffix itself realizes the SUBJ function of the verb's argument structure; no other exponent of person features is required, as (62) illustrates. The definitions in (63) list the constituent parts of  $\text{lampyāng}$  'he walks' and their associated grammatical features.<sup>11</sup>

(63)	$\text{lamp-}$ ('walk')	$V_{\text{stem}}$	$(\uparrow \text{PRED})$	=	'walk $\langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) \rangle$ '
	$\text{yāng}$ ('he')	$V_{\text{infl}}$	$(\uparrow \text{SUBJ})$	=	$\downarrow$
			$(\downarrow \text{PRED})$	=	'pro'
			$(\downarrow \text{PERS})$	=	3
			$(\downarrow \text{NUM})$	=	SG
			$(\downarrow \text{GEND})$	=	M
			$(\downarrow \text{ANIM})$	=	+
			$(\downarrow \text{CASE})$	=	A

Example (64) is an attempt to conceptualize in a formal way that functionally, the inflection takes the role of the subject relation. Thus, (62a) is ungrammatical in that the pronominal suffix  $\text{yāng}$  on the verb is redundant in the presence of a full NP which expresses the same features except that the subject NP's PRED value is  $\text{Niyas}$ , not 'pro'. In effect, what is attempted in (62), is to fill a grammatical relation with essentially the same content in two places, which is redundant. Assuming a 'pro' value for the PRED feature of  $\text{yāng}$  'he' is LFG's way to model the fact that this pronominal suffix functions as a pro-form available for predication, like a pronoun. Pronouns and full NPs necessarily exclude each other, however.

Example (65) shows, then, the annotations for  $\text{lampya}$  'walks' as agreeing with an overt NP. Here, the suffix does not have a PRED feature—it is not available

(64)	$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \\ \text{SUBJ} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{'walk } \langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) \rangle \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \text{'pro'} \\ \text{PERS} \text{3} \\ \text{NUM} \text{SG} \\ \text{GEND} \text{M} \\ \text{ANIM} \text{+} \\ \text{CASE} \text{A} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
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<sup>11</sup> Normally, due to the lexical integrity principle,  $\text{lampyāng}$  should be listed as one, but Ayer's very regular agglutinating nature makes splitting composed words very convenient for illustration as in this case.

for predication, so that a full NP is permissible as a controller of agreement in the clause, with the person suffix as its person-inflection agreement target. The agreement suffix :u -ya thus reflects that the subject NP needs to have a certain set of person features. The NP which controls verb agreement (in canonical cases the agent NP) needs to match these features in order to establish an agreement relationship. By constraining (=c) the subject's predicator to not be a pro-form in (65), it should also be possible to rule out cases like in (62), where person agreement is triggered by a pronominal NP. This is ungrammatical, since Ayeri basically supplants person agreement with a pronominal suffix in those cases, as we have seen. If  $\text{Ayeri}$  -yāng were a simple inflectional affix, one of the two examples in (62) should be grammatical.

(65)	:u -ya <sub>I</sub>	V <sub>infl</sub>	(↑ SUBJ)	=	↓
			(↓ PRED)	= <sub>c</sub>	¬'pro'
			(↓ PERS)	=	3
			(↓ NUM)	=	SG
			(↓ GEND)	=	M
			(↓ ANIM)	=	+

The behavior of the pronominal person marking on the verb is thus rather complex, and decidedly unlike inflection in that what looks like an affix on the verb is also an argument of it, like a pronoun, as displayed in (63). Another layer of complexity is added by the fact that such an incorporated pronoun is also eligible for topicalization. As we have seen above, topic marking on nouns is realized by suppressing the realization of the overt case marker, whether it is a proclitic or a suffix. The topic-marked forms of pronouns are also underspecified for case, and they happen to be the same as those of the person-agreement suffixes, as exemplified by :u -ya in (61). Thus, a topic-marked pronominal suffix on the verb will look exactly like ordinary agreement with a full NP, except that there is no full NP to agree with—hence the subscript numbers in (65) and (66) to distinguish between both kinds of :u -ya.<sup>12</sup>

Comparing the feature list in (66) with that in (63) and (65), we see that (66) is basically the same as (63), except that either the CASE feature is absent, or that the suffix is underspecified for case. In absence of an NP to agree with, it follows from this definitional lack that the person marking on the verb itself is to be identified

<sup>12</sup> Assuming that the person suffix on the verb always co-indexes the topic and that it is therefore unnecessary to distinguish a person-agreement suffix from a homophonous topicalized pronominal suffix is a premature conclusion. In fact, the verb always agrees with its subject, which is most often the agent NP. The topic may consist of any NP, also oblique ones. The verb generally does not agree with non-agent or non-patient NPs, however.

(66)	ሕ ጎሃ <sub>2</sub>	V <sub>infl</sub>	(↑ SUBJ)	=	↓
			(↓ PRED)	=	'pro'
			(↓ PERS)	=	3
			(↓ NUM)	=	SG
			(↓ GEND)	=	M
			(↓ ANIM)	=	+
			(↓ CASE)	=	∅ ⇒ (↑ TOP) = ↓

as constituting the topic, and the correspondent of the preverbal topic marker. In the following case, the preverbal topic marker defines that the topic is an animate agent; this information is united with the functional annotations in (66).

(67)	እን ang	Cl	(↑ TOP)	=	↓
			(↓ CASE)	=	A
			(↓ ANIM)	=	+

Instances of other case-unmarked nouns can be ruled out as being also part of the topic relation on the grounds of cohesion and functional uniqueness: if the topic is defined as an agent and it cannot be assumed from context that the case-unmarked noun in question is also part of the agent NP, discard it as a candidate.<sup>13</sup> Besides, every core thematic role (agent, patient, recipient) can only be assigned once, so if the role specified by the topic marker is already assigned, another NP in the same clause cannot also be assigned the same role. This gets more difficult with non-core roles, though it may be assumed that oblique arguments are less likely to be topicalized.

Possibly confusing with regards to the status of the pronominal suffixes as clitics is that “a pronominal affix or incorporated pronominal is effectively a clitic masquerading as an affix” (Spencer and Luís 2012: 144). While the pronominal suffixes in Ayeri behave in a special way regarding syntax, they lack wide scope, which is typical of affixes (apart from the examples from Turkish in (44)). Unlike Breton in (58) or Irish in (59), Ayeri’s pronominal affixes do not default to some form, and verbs cannot be unmarked either, that is, verbs always have to be inflected in some way, mostly for phonotactic reasons. Thus, in coordination, every conjunct has to be inflected for person features, as (68) shows.

In the case of ንደራ *nedra*- ‘sit’ and ገረሐ *laya*- ‘read’ in (68), leaving off the person marking would theoretically generate valid words, since \*ንደራ *\*nedra* and \*ገረሐ *\*laya* satisfy phonotactic constraints (see section 1.2). However, Ayeri also has a great number of verb stems which end in a consonant cluster, such as እንገር *anl*- ‘bring’

<sup>13</sup> As described in section 6.5.2, there may be multiple topics under very limited circumstances.



- (68) a. *Nedrayāng nay layayāng.*  
 nedra=yāng nay laya-yāng  
 sit=3SG.M.A and read=3SG.M.A  
 ‘He is sits and reads.’
- b. \**Nedrayāng nay laya.*  
 nedra=yāng nay laya  
 sit=3SG.M.A and read
- c. \**Nedra nay layayāng.*  
 nedra nay laya=yāng  
 sit and read=3SG.M.A

or 𐏃𐏂: *tapy-* ‘set’, which do not form valid words as bare stems since words cannot end in CC. What would be possible instead is that one conjunct might carry the full pronominal suffix as a ‘strong’ form and the other one might only partially co-index the required features by using the less specific corresponding agreement marker as a ‘weak’ form. Differential marking of this kind, though, is simply not established.

After briefly delving into the realm of syntax, let us return to morphology for the second group of suffixes which need clarification. While Ayeri has quantifiers which are independent words, there are also a number of very common ‘little’ quantifiers and intensifiers which are customarily spelled as suffixes, for instance, 𐏃𐏂𐏃𐏂 *-ikan* ‘much, many; very’, 𐏃𐏂 *kay* ‘few; a little’, 𐏃𐏂 *nama* ‘just, only’, and 𐏃𐏂𐏂 *-nyama* ‘even’. All of these are determining in meaning and while they are comparatively light in their semantics compared to regular content words, they do not particularly resemble functional morphemes either.

A natural language which also contains suffixed quantifiers is West Greenlandic (Bittner 1995). According to Bittner (1995)’s terminology, 𐏃𐏂𐏂 *-ikan* in Ayeri as modifying a noun would be a D-quantifier, since it forms “a constituent [with] a projection of N” (59). This is in contrast to A-quantifiers, which are defined as forming “a constituent with some projection of V” (59). That is, A-quantifiers are quantifiers like *almost* (𐏃𐏂𐏂 *-ngas* in Ayeri), *mostly*, or *never*, which modify verbs, while D-quantifiers are words like *most*, *some*, or *every*, which modify nouns. Ayeri makes no distinction between A- and D-quantifiers with regards to their being treated as suffixes, however, so that one may find suffixed quantifiers in both groups, sometimes even to the extent that the same quantifier may modify both nouns or verbs. Example (69) gives two instances of suffixed quantifiers from West Greenlandic for comparison with Ayeri in (70).

As we can see in (69a), West Greenlandic incorporates the quantifier suffixes into the verb, while Ayeri—not a polysynthetic language—proceeds more freely

(69) West Greenlandic (Bittner 1995: 60, 63):

- a. *qaatuur-tuaanna-ngajap-p-a-a*  
break-always-almost-IND-TR-3SG<sub>1</sub>.3SG<sub>2</sub>

‘he almost always breaks it’

- b. *qaqutigu-rujussuaq*  
rarely-very

‘very rarely’

- (70) a. *Ang adruya                      tadayen-ngas      adaley*  
ang=adru=ya.Ø              tadayen=ngas      ada-ley  
AT= break=3SG.M.TOP      always=almost      that-P.INAN

‘he almost always breaks it’

- b. *kora-ikan*  
kora=ikan  
rarely=very

‘very rarely’

in (70a), in that *tadayen* ‘always, every time’ is an adverb and as such a free morpheme which is, however, in turn modified by a suffixed quantifier. Since orthography may be treacherous, let us first try to establish whether *-ngas* ‘almost’ and *-ikan* ‘many, much, very’ and their like are free morphemes or not. As discussed initially regarding the preverbal particles, it is possible to reorder free morphemes, while clitics—as bound morphemes—cannot move around. Adverbs and adjectives are, if they optionally add additional information to a lexical head, adjuncts, and according to Carnie (2013) it is possible for adjuncts to switch places within the same syntactic domain. Adjuncts can also be coordinated with other adjuncts in the same syntactic domain. Furthermore, it is possible to replace X’ nodes with pro-forms, like *one* in English.

As (71cd) shows, moving *-ikan* ‘many, much, very’ into different positions results not necessarily in ungrammatical expressions, but in expressions with meanings different from what was intended, since *-ikan*’s scope changes from the noun to the adjective it is appended to. On the other hand, comparing (71a) and (b), it is possible for *kāryo* ‘big’ and *bino* ‘colorful’ to switch places with no ill effects. Example (72b) demonstrates that placing a coordinating conjunction between *-ikan* and *bino* does not work. The coordination in (72c), on the other hand, is not a problem—not because it is possible to coordinate *-ikan* and *kāryo*, but because *bino-ikan* ‘very colorful’ is considered one syntactic unit which is coordinated with *kāryo*. Thus, in (71b), we have actually

- (71) a. *kipisānye-ikan bino kāryo*  
 kipisān-ye=ikan bino kāryo  
 painting-PL=many colorful big  
 ‘many big colorful paintings’
- b. *kipisānye-ikan kāryo bino*  
 ‘many colorful big paintings’
- c. <sup>1</sup>*kipisānye bino-ikan kāryo*  
 ‘very colorful big paintings’
- d. <sup>1</sup>*kipisānye bino kāryo-ikan*  
 ‘very big colorful paintings’
- (72) a. *kipisānye-ikan bino nay kāryo*  
 kipisān-ye=ikan bino nay kāryo  
 painting-PL=many colorful and big  
 ‘many big and colorful paintings’
- b. \**kipisānye-ikan nay bino kāryo*  
 ‘many and colorful big paintings’
- c. <sup>1</sup>*kipisānye bino-ikan nay kāryo*  
 ‘big and very colorful paintings’

been trying to coordinate 𐌕𐌿𐌱𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌽𐌾𐌰𐌽 *kipisānye-ikan* ‘many paintings’ with 𐌕𐌰𐌽𐌾𐌰 *bino* ‘colorful’, which does not work, since it is not possible to coordinate a lexical head with an adjunct supposed to modify it, because they are of different syntactic categories. In this regard it is worth mentioning that Ayer’s quantifier suffixes are rather not complements either, since they are not required to satisfy their head’s argument structure.

One might argue that (71) and (72) is like comparing apples to oranges in that 𐌕𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌽𐌾𐌰𐌽 *-ikan* ‘many, much, very’ and 𐌕𐌰𐌽𐌾𐌰 *bino* ‘colorful’ are of different categories, since they do not appear to operate on the same levels. So instead, let us investigate possibilities of word order change and coordination between different quantifiers to ensure keeping the syntactic level constant. With this comes the problem, however, that it seems strange to modify the same lexical head with multiple different quantifiers, so this test does not really seem suitable to produce grammatical results. Also, with regards to coordination of quantifiers, it is maybe more natural to oppose them with 𐌶𐌰𐌽𐌰𐌶 *soyang* ‘or’ than to coordinate them; the grammatical structure of two categorically identical elements connected by a grammatical conjunction (even if the meaning is disjunctive) remains the same in either case.

In example (73a) we see that it is indeed not possible to combine multiple quantifiers to jointly modify a head in the way it is possible for multiple adjec-

- (73) a. \**keynam-ikan-kay*  
           keynam=ikan-kay  
           people=many-few  
           ‘few many people’
- b. ?*keynam-ikan soyang kay*  
       keynam=ikan soyang kay  
       people=many or       few  
       ‘few or many people’

tives to modify the same head as in (71a), for instance. The example of quantifier disjunction in (73b) is also odd unless we permit a reading where ꠕꠕꠕꠕ *keynam* ‘people’ has been suppressed in the second disjunct to avoid repetition, although in the corresponding case of (74b) below, ꠕꠕꠕꠕ *da-kay* ‘few ones’ would be preferable.

- (74) a. ??*keynam[-ikan soyang -kay]*  
           ‘[few or many] people’
- b. ?*[keynam<sub>i</sub>-ikan] soyang [—-kay]*  
           ‘[few —<sub>i</sub>] or [many people<sub>i</sub>]

Both tests, moving ꠕꠕꠕꠕ *-ikan* ‘many, much, very’ into other positions and coordination, have failed so far, and we have evidence that ꠕꠕꠕꠕ *-ikan* forms a syntactic unit with its head, which points to it being a bound morpheme similar to an affix. As with free words, it is also possible to replace a quantifier’s head with a pro-form, as mentioned above in the comment on (74b), and shown in more detail in (75). With quantifier suffixes there seems to be an overlap between word-like and affix-like properties, which is typical of clitics.

- (75) a. *Ang vacyan keynam-ikan seygoley.*  
           ang=vac-yan keynam-Ø=ikan seygo-ley.  
           AT= like-3PL.M people-TOP=many apple-P.INAN  
           ‘Many people like apples.’
- b. *Ang vacyan danya-ikan seygoley.*  
           ang=vac-yan danya-Ø=ikan seygo-ley.  
           AT= like-3PL.M such.one-TOP=many apple-P.INAN  
           ‘Many of them like apples.’
- c. *Ang vacyan da-ikan seygoley.*  
           ang=vac-yan da=ikan-Ø seygo-ley.  
           AT= like-3PL.M one=many-TOP apple-P.INAN  
           ‘Many (of them) like apples.’

Somewhat untypical of affixes, it seems to be possible to modify suffixed quantifiers with intensifiers like *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ* *ekeng* 'too' and *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ* *kagan* 'far too', as (76) shows. This suggests that at least in this context, *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ* *-ikan* 'many, much, very' may actually be the lexical head of a determiner phrase, which creates the need for some additional morpholexic rules in its definition.

- (76) *Ang vacyan keynam-ikan kagan disuley.*  
 ang=vac-yan keynam-Ø=ikan kagan disu-ley  
 AT= like-3PL.M people-TOP=many far.too disu-P.INAN

‘Far too many people like bananas.’

Inserting parenthetical word material in between morphemes as a test for coherence may be especially interesting in the face of (76), since here it is not entirely clear whether *ꠘꠞꠣꠤꠊꠎꠕꠟ ꠕꠁꠗꠦ* *keynam-ikan kagan* ‘too many people’ forms a single unit, or whether *ꠕꠁꠗꠦ* *kagan* ‘far too’ is a modifier of *ꠘꠞꠣꠤꠊꠎꠕꠟ* *keynam-ikan* ‘many people’. Since signs point to the status of suffixed quantifiers as clitics, there is the possibility that *ꠕꠁꠗꠦꠕꠁꠗꠦ -ikan kagan* ‘far too many’ constitutes a clitic cluster similar to the preverbal one. Example (77), therefore, lists examples which try to split up the expression at every relevant point. According to this test, it looks indeed as though *ꠘꠞꠣꠤꠊꠎꠕꠟ ꠕꠁꠗꠦ* *keynam-ikan kagan* forms a syntactic unit, in that *ꠕꠁꠗꠦꠕꠁꠗꠦ -ikan kagan* cannot be split up internally and also cannot be divided from *ꠕꠁꠗꠦ -ikan*’s head, *ꠘꠞꠣꠤꠊꠎꠕꠟ* *keynam* ‘people’. On the other hand, it is also possible to use other adverbs like *ꠏꠝ ꠔꠤ* *patu* ‘surprisingly’ with quantifiers, as in (78).

- (77) a. *Ang vacyan, narayang, keynam-ikan kagan disuley.*  
 ang=vac-yan nara=yang keynam-Ø=ikan kagan disu-ley  
 AT= like-3PL.M say=ISG.A people-TOP=many far.too disu-P.INAN

‘Far too many people, I say, like bananas.’

- \*Ang vacyan keynam, **narayang**, ikan kagan disuley.
- \*Ang vacyan keynam-ikan, **narayang**, kagan disuley.
- Ang vacyan keynam-ikan kagan, **narayang**, disuley.

- (78) *keynam-ikan patu*  
keynam=ikan patu  
people=many surprisingly

‘surprisingly many people’

The question here as well is whether ᐃᐱᐅ *patu* refers to just ᐃᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ *-ikan* or to ᐃᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ *keynam-ikan*. Replacing ᐃᐱᐅ *keynam* with a pronoun produces a grammatical outcome (79a); doing so with ᐃᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ *keynam-ikan*, however, does not

(79b). Replacing just 𐀓𐀗𐀚 -*ikan* at good last produces a very questionable expression as well, however (79c).

- (79) a. *keynam-ikan patu*  
           keynam=ikan patu  
           people=many surprisingly  
           ‘surprisingly many people’
- b. \**danyāng patu*  
       danya-ang patu  
       such.one-A surprisingly  
       ‘surprisingly ones’
- c. <sup>??</sup>*keynam da-patu*  
       keynam da=patu  
       people so=surprisingly  
       ‘surprisingly so people’

Another interesting distributional property of suffixed quantifiers in Ayeri is that in spite of their being suffixed (for instance, to verbs) they can form arguments of the verb, similar to pronominal suffixes. Thus, with verbs like 𐀓𐀗𐀚 *kond-* ‘eat’, 𐀓𐀗𐀚 -*ma* ‘enough’ appears suffixed to the verb instead of as a predicative DP. Incidentally, the examples in (80) also show that a quantifier attaches after pronominal suffixes, which we have already established as being clitics. An inflectional affix would not normally appear in post-clitic position, which is further evidence to the hypothesis that quantifier suffixes in Ayeri are clitics.

Since Ayeri possesses a zero copula, equative phrases which treat quantifier suffixes as predicative adverbs pose a difficulty in that quantifier suffixes cannot stand alone like predicatives normally would. Thus, similar to the behavior of 𐀓𐀗𐀚 -*ma* ‘enough’ in (80a), the predicative 𐀓𐀗𐀚 -*ma* in (81b) cliticizes to the only available word: the subject, 𐀓𐀗𐀚 *adareng* ‘that’.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(80) a. <i>Kondanang=ma.</i><br/>                 kond=nang=ma<br/>                 eat=IPL.A=enough<br/>                 ‘We ate enough.’</p> <p>b. <i>Ang tangay-ikan vana.</i><br/>          ang tang=ay.Ø=ikan vana<br/>          AT hear=ISG.TOP=much 2.GEN<br/>          ‘I’ve heard much about you.’</p> | <p>(81) a. <i>Adareng edaya.</i><br/>                 ada-reng edaya<br/>                 that-A.INAN here<br/>                 ‘It is here.’</p> <p>b. <i>Adareng-ma.</i><br/>          ada-reng=ma<br/>          that-A.INAN=enough<br/>          ‘That/It is enough.’</p> |
|--|--|

- (82) a. *Ang tabisayan koyās nay kīhasley-ikan.*  
 ang=tahisa=yan.Ø koya-as nay kīhas-ley=ikan  
 AT= own=3PL.M.TOP book-P and map-P.INAN=many  
 ‘They own many books and maps.’
- b. *Veneyang alingo nay para-ven.*  
 veney-ang alingo nay para=ven  
 dog.A clever and quick=pretty  
 ‘The dog is pretty clever and quick.’

If quantifier suffixes are clitics, they should also have wide scope over conjuncts. Here as well, quantifier suffixes behave like typical clitics, though, in that they can have scope over a conjunct as a whole, although not totally unambiguously so. Thus, in (82a), while མཉམས་རྒྱུད་ལྔ་བཅའ་ཆེན་པོ་མཉམས་པ་ཀི་ཐལ་སྟེ་ཁྲི་ནག་པོ་མཉམས་པ་ *koyās nay kibasley-ikan* is translated as ‘many books and maps’ (nouns do not mark plural if modified by a quantifier which indicates plurality), another possible reading is ‘a book and many maps’. Ways to force the latter reading explicitly are, for one, to use མཉམས་པ་ཀི་ཐལ་སྟེ་ཁྲི་ནག་པོ་མཉམས་པ་ *koyās men* ‘one/a single book’, or alternatively, to reduplicate the coordinator དྲ་ *nay* ‘and’ to དྲ་དྲ་ *naynay* ‘and also’. Context should be sufficient to indicate the correct reading of (82a) under normal circumstances, however. The same applies to (82b), where the non-distributive reading can be made explicit by using དྲ་དྲ་ *naynay* instead of simple དྲ་ *nay*. In both (82a) and (b), if the first conjunct is modified by an adjective, the distribution of the quantifier over both conjuncts is also blocked. Thus, in (83a), there is ‘a big book and many maps’, and in (83b) ‘the dog’ is ‘surprisingly clever and pretty quick’.

- (83) a. *Ang tabisayan koyās kāryo nay kīhasley-ikan.*  
 ang=tahisa=yan.Ø koya-as kāryo nay kīhas-ley=ikan  
 AT= own=3PL.M.TOP book-P big and map-P.INAN=many  
 ‘They own a big book and many maps.’  
*Not:* ‘They own many big books and maps.’
- b. *Veneyang alingo patu nay para-ven.*  
 veney-ang alingo patu nay para=ven  
 dog-A clever surprisingly and quick=pretty  
 ‘The dog is surprisingly clever and pretty quick.’  
*Not:* ‘The dog is surprisingly pretty clever and quick.’

The interpretations marked as erroneous in (83) can be correctly achieved by ordinarily placing the adjective after the coordinated constituent so that the adjective itself has scope over both conjuncts. This is demonstrated in (84) and

- (84) a. *Ang tabisayan koyajas nay kibasyeley k̄āryo.*  
 ang=tahisa=yan.Ø koya-ye-as nay kihalas-ye-ley k̄āryo  
 AT= own=3PL.M.TOP book-PL-P and map-PL-P.INAN big

‘They own big books and maps.’

- b. *Ang tabisayan koyās nay kibasley-ikan k̄āryo.*  
 ang=tahisa=yan.Ø koya-as nay kihalas-ley=ikan k̄āryo  
 AT= own=3PL.M.TOP book-P and map-P.INAN=many big

‘They own many big books and maps.’

(85). Again, an unambiguous and individuating interpretation can be achieved by placing the quantifier suffix on each conjunct.

- (85) a. *Veneyang alingo nay para patu.*  
 veney-ang alingo nay para patu  
 dog-A clever and quick surprisingly

‘The dog is surprisingly clever and quick.’

- b. *Veneyang alingo nay para-ven patu.*  
 veney-ang alingo nay para=ven patu  
 dog-A clever and quick=pretty surprisingly

‘The dog is surprisingly pretty clever and quick.’

The comparative suffixes on adjectives, *-eng* (COMP) and *-vā* (SUPL) are obviously derived from their quantifier counterparts meaning ‘rather’ and ‘most’, which poses a slight problem. This is, whether they act as clitics as well, or whether grammaticalization has stripped them of some of the clitic-like properties of quantifier suffixes. Consider, for instance, example (86).

What all of the above examples in (86) show is that in principle, both an interpretation of *-eng* as a quantifier suffix and as a comparative suffix are possible, so that it is not easy to clearly distinguish between an inflectional affix and a clitic here. A clear distinction also cannot be made on phonological grounds in that even in the reading as a quantifier clitic, *-eng* (COMP) and *-vā* (SUPL) are stressed (compare Spencer and Luis 2012: 90–92). With *-eng* it is possible at least to test whether it undergoes crasis if appended to an adjective stem ending in *-e*. As we have seen, however, this is not a fully reliable metric either in that deictic prefixes show clitic-like behavior but may still phonologically meld with the stem they attach to. The only adjective ending in *-e* currently listed in the dictionary is *nake* ‘large, tall’. The combination of *nake* with both kinds of *-eng* is tested in (87).

As illustrated by (87b), the purely comparative variant of *-eng* should be



- (86) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ban-eng.*  
 ang=koron-ya Ø= Kaman apyan-as palay nay ban-eng  
 AT= know-3SG.M TOP=Kaman joke-P funny and good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a rather funny and good joke.'  
 or: 'Kaman knows a funnier and better joke.'
- b. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ban-eng.*  
 ang=koron-ya Ø= Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ban-eng  
 AT= know-3SG.M TOP=Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier and better joke.'  
 or: 'Kaman knows a rather funny and rather good joke.'
- c. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay(nay) da-ban-eng.*  
 ang=koron-ya Ø= Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay(nay) da-ban-eng  
 AT= know-3SG.M TOP=Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and(~also) one-good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier joke and (also a) better one.'  
 or: 'Kaman knows a rather funny joke and (also a) rather good one.'
- (87) a. *Ang tabayan enonley naked-eng.*  
 ang=taha=yan.Ø enon-ley naked=eng  
 A= have=3PL.M.TOP tower-P.INAN tall=rather  
 'They have a rather tall tower.'
- b. *Ang tabayan enonley si nakēng da-nana.*  
 ang=taha=yan.Ø enon-ley si naked-eng da=nana-na  
 A= have=3PL.M.TOP tower-P.INAN REL tall-COMP one=1PL.GEN-GEN  
 'They have a tower taller than ours.'

able to be affected by crasis of two alike vowels. Since adjectives in *-e* are exceedingly rare, though, this observation should not matter much in effect.

### 3.3 Marking strategies

With regards to the dichotomy head-dependent marking, Ayeri is rather thoroughly dependent marking, albeit with the exception of agreement morphology on the verb. Dependent marking is exhibited, for instance, in the expression of possessive relationships, where the dependent is marked for genitive case:

- (88) a. *dema na Tuvo*  
 dema **na**= Tuvo  
 aunt GEN=Tuvo  
 ‘Tuvo’s aunt’

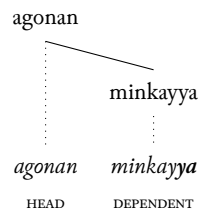


- b. *kasu bariri nā*  
 kasu bari-ri **nā**  
 basket meat-INS 1SG.GEN  
 ‘my basket of meat’



In (88a), *Tuvo* is grammatically in possession of her *dema* ‘aunt’; the possessee forms the head of the phrase while it is modified by the possessor, which receives the marking. In (88b), *kasu* ‘basket’ forms the head and thus also the possessee while *nā* ‘my’ serves as the dependent possessor; the genitive case is, then again, marked on the dependent. A further example of dependent marking is the locative case, which is marked on the prepositional object while the preposition itself, as the head of the PP, does not receive marking:

- (89) *agonan minkayya*  
 agonan minkay-**ya**  
 outside village-LOC  
 ‘outside of the village’



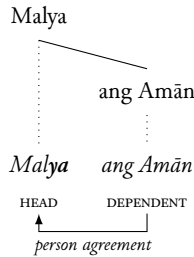
The relativizer, likewise, may agree in case with the NP in the matrix clause to which it links the relative clause. This typically happens mainly in formal language and—in terms of linear succession of words at the surface level of the clause—if the relativizer cannot be immediately adjacent to the NP which the relative clause modifies, for example, when an adjective or a possessive pronoun is following the noun:

- (90) *sangalas kivo sas ...*  
 sangal-as kivo s-as ...  
 room-P small REL-P ...  
 ‘the small room which ...’



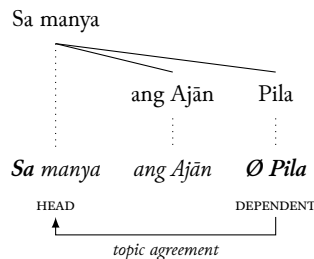
The only instance of head-marking there is in Ayeri is person-marking on the verb, which manifests when the NP following the verb (agent or patient) is not pronominal and thus there is no pronoun to cliticize to the verb stem, but the verb still receives a suffix that indicates a relation with, usually, the agent NP:

- (91) *Malya ang Amān.*  
 mal-ya ang=Amān  
 sing-3SG.M A= Amān  
 ‘Amān sings.’



Sentences containing more than one NP also have topic marking on the verb, so that morphologically the verb may be analyzed as agreeing with one of the NPs in topicality, since topic and case are no categories the verb normally inflects for. Syntactically, however, the topicalized NP depends on the verb, so the relationship is mutual, though on different levels—morphology and syntax.

- (92) *Sa manya ang Ajān Pila.*  
 Sa=man-ya ang=Amān Ø= Pila  
 PT=greet-3SG.M A= Ajān TOP=Pila  
 ‘Pila, Ajān greets her.’



In this example, the verb exhibits canonic agreement with the agent,  $\text{ᠠᠵᠠᠨ}$  *Ajān*, in person, gender, and number. It is additionally marked for a patient topic,  $\text{ᠫᠢᠯᠠ}$  *Pila*, and thus serves as an agreement target for two different controller NPs. As far as morphology is concerned, topic marking on the verb is an instance of head marking.

## 4 Grammatical categories

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While the previous chapter was about general mechanisms of morphological marking in Ayeri, this chapter will dive into the various parts of speech in order to describe their morphology with a closer look. I will begin with nouns as the main carriers of meaning, then deal with other parts of speech that regularly feature in the noun phrase or in combination with it—pronouns, adjectives, and adpositions. Following this, there will be a discussion of verbs and adverbs before moving on to numerals and conjunctions.

### 4.1 Nouns

Nouns in Ayeri have *gender* and *number* as their inherent grammatical properties. Besides common nouns, there are, of course, also proper nouns (that is, names) and nominalizations. Nouns, as the heads of NPs, are also assigned *case* by the verb, which is a third grammatical property they display. For an illustration of the declension paradigms, compare Tables 4.1 to 4.4.

#### 4.1.1 Gender

Grammatical gender in Ayeri consists of two tiers which are subdivided into four classes based on a mixture of semantic and ontological properties, see (1).



Table 4.1: Declension paradigm for  $\text{𑂔𑂩𑂰}$  *badan* ‘father’ (animate; consonantal root)

	Singular		Plural	
TOP	<i>badan</i>	‘the father’	<i>badanye</i>	‘the fathers’
A	<i>badanang</i>	‘father’	<i>badanjang</i>	‘fathers’
P	<i>badanas</i>	‘father’ (obj.)	<i>badanjas</i>	‘fathers’ (obj.)
DAT	<i>badanyam</i>	‘to the father’	<i>badanjyam</i>	‘to the fathers’
GEN	<i>badanena</i>	‘of the father’	<i>badanyena</i>	‘of the fathers’
LOC	<i>badanya</i>	‘at/in the father’	<i>badanjya</i>	‘at/in the fathers’
CAUS	<i>badanisa</i>	‘due to the father’	<i>badanjisa</i>	‘due to the fathers’
INS	<i>badaneri</i>	‘with the father’	<i>badanyeri</i>	‘with the fathers’

Table 4.2: Declension paradigm for  $\text{𑂔𑂰}$  *māva* ‘mother’ (animate; vocalic root)

	Singular		Plural	
TOP	<i>māva</i>	‘the mother’	<i>māvaye</i>	‘the mothers’
A	<i>māvāng</i>	‘mother’	<i>māvajang</i>	‘mothers’
P	<i>māvās</i>	‘mother’ (obj.)	<i>māvajas</i>	‘mothers’ (obj.)
DAT	<i>māvayam</i>	‘to the mother’	<i>māvajyam</i>	‘to the mothers’
GEN	<i>māvana</i>	‘of the mother’	<i>māvayena</i>	‘of the mothers’
LOC	<i>māvaya</i>	‘at/in the mother’	<i>māvajya</i>	‘at/in the mothers’
CAUS	<i>māvaisa</i>	‘due to the mother’	<i>māvajisa</i>	‘due to the mothers’
INS	<i>māvāri</i>	‘with the mother’	<i>māvayeri</i>	‘with the mothers’

The animate gender refers, broadly speaking, to entities that are considered alive or are closely associated with living things, such as events, concepts, or activities executed or connected to them. The ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ subcategories are applied to humans, animals whose sex is known (for example on behalf of breeding them or keeping them as pets), and gods—basically anything that shows sexual dimorphism or is assumed to be an exponent of it, as well as nouns referring to such entities in a functional way, for instance,  $\text{𑂔𑂩𑂰}$  *badan* ‘father’ and  $\text{𑂔𑂰}$  *māva* ‘mother’. The remainder falls into the ‘neuter’ category—plants, for instance, body parts, or animals whose sex is unknown. The ‘inanimate’ category typically con-

Table 4.3: Declension paradigm for  $\text{ႤႬႬ}$  *kirin* ‘street’ (inanimate; consonantal root)

	Singular		Plural	
TOP	<i>kirin</i>	‘the street’	<i>kirinye</i>	‘the streets’
A	<i>kirinreng</i>	‘street’	<i>kirinyereng</i>	‘streets’
P	<i>kirinley</i>	‘street’ (obj.)	<i>kirinyeley</i>	‘streets’ (obj.)
DAT	<i>kirinyam</i>	‘to the street’	<i>kirinjyam</i>	‘to the streets’
GEN	<i>kirinena</i>	‘of the street’	<i>kirinyena</i>	‘of the streets’
LOC	<i>kirinya</i>	‘at/in the street’	<i>kirinjya</i>	‘at/in the streets’
CAUS	<i>kirinisa</i>	‘due to the street’	<i>kirinjisa</i>	‘due to the streets’
INS	<i>kirineri</i>	‘with the street’	<i>kirinyeri</i>	‘with the streets’

Table 4.4: Declension paradigm for  $\text{ႤႬ}$  *pera* ‘measure’ (inanimate; vocalic root)

	Singular		Plural	
TOP	<i>pera</i>	‘the measure’	<i>peraye</i>	‘the measures’
A	<i>perareng</i>	‘measure’	<i>perayereng</i>	‘measures’
P	<i>peraley</i>	‘measure’ (obj.)	<i>perayeley</i>	‘measures’ (obj.)
DAT	<i>perayam</i>	‘to the measure’	<i>perajyam</i>	‘to the measures’
GEN	<i>perana</i>	‘of the measure’	<i>perayena</i>	‘of the measures’
LOC	<i>peraya</i>	‘at/in the measure’	<i>perajya</i>	‘at/in the measures’
CAUS	<i>peraisa</i>	‘due to the measure’	<i>perajisa</i>	‘due to the measures’
INS	<i>perari</i>	‘with the measure’	<i>perayeri</i>	‘with the measures’

tains materials and things, such as tools. Furthermore, animals and plants change their category to inanimate as well if they serve as food. There are exceptions to either group, where elements appear in them for no obviously discernable reason. In order to illustrate, (2) gives a few examples of each category.

There are also a number of duplicates like French *le livre* ‘the book’ and *la livre* ‘the pound’, for instance,  $\text{ႤႬႬ}$  *banan* (an.) ‘kindness, charity’ or  $\text{ႤႬႬ}$  *bino* (an.) ‘color’ on the one hand, and  $\text{ႤႬႬ}$  *banan* (inan.) ‘quality’ or  $\text{ႤႬႬ}$  *bino* (inan.) ‘paint’ on the other. Gender is reified by case marking as well as verb agreement; it is not possible to read the gender of a noun from its phonological makeup. (3) illustrates

- (2) a. Animate masculine:

ဃာ် *badan* 'father', ခွဲ *netu* 'brother', ခွဲ *aguyan* 'rooster', ခွဲ *Ajān*, ခွဲ *Latun*

- b. Animate feminine:

မိမိ *māva* 'mother', နီနီ *kina* 'sister', အိမ် *aguway* 'hen', မာမာ *Maha*, တီတီ *Trānay*

- c. Animate neuter:

ခံာ် *adang* 'palm tree', ခီၣ် *bino* 'color', ခါမ် *ikam* 'deer', ကဉ် *kadān* 'harvest', ငါး *cān* 'love', ငှာ *nanga* 'house', တံၣ် *tampu* 'luck', ယံ *yila* 'foot'

- d. Inanimate:

နီယုၤ *abal* ‘sand’, ဃီမ *bema* ‘egg’, နီယုၤ *kaban* ‘spear’, မီၤလွၢ် *melung* ‘yogurt’, နီၤနီၤ *nusān* ‘damage’, နီၤပုၤ *payutān* ‘mathematics’

- (3) a. *Ang konja badan hemaley.*  
 ang= kond-ya badan-Ø hema-ley  
 [3SG.M.AN] [3SG.INAN]  
 AT.AN=eat-3SG.M.AN father-TOP egg-P.INAN  
 ‘Father eats an egg.’

- b. *Sa tombara kabanreng burang.*  
 sa= tomb-ara kahan-reng burang-Ø  
 [3SG.INAN] [3SG.N.AN]  
 PT.AN=kill-3SG.INAN spear-A.INAN animal-TOP  
 ‘The animal, the spear kills it.’

differences in case marking and agreement (inherent information on grammatical features underneath the NPs).

In example (3a), the noun in the agent NP,  $\text{ᐃᑦᑭᑦ}$  *badan* ‘father’, bears the features [GEND M, ANIM +], which triggers the animate agent topic agreement marker  $\text{ᐱᑦᑭ}$  *ang* on the verb, since the agent NP is also topicalized. The verb also agrees in person and number with the agent NP by way of the person marker  $\text{ᐱ}$  *-ya* for third person singular masculine. The object of the sentence,  $\text{ᐱᑦᑭᑦ}$  *hema* ‘egg’, on the other hand bears the feature [GEND INAN, ANIM –], so it receives the inanimate patient case marker  $\text{ᐱᑦᑭᑦ}$  *-ley* rather than its animate counterpart  $\text{ᐱᑦᑭᑦ}$  *-as*.

In (3b), on the other hand, we see an inanimate agent, *ḥaban* ‘spear’, so the verb receives the marker *-ara* for third person singular inanimate rather than its animate neuter counterpart *-yo*. The (non-topicalized) NP’s case marking shows that the agent of the clause is inanimate: *ḥaban* carries the marker *-reng*, which marks it as an inanimate agent. The object of the sentence, *burang* ‘animal’, is also the topic, hence topic agreement on the verb uses the marker *sa* according to the NP being animate, rather than its inanimate counterpart *le*.



## 4.1.2 Number

Ayeri only distinguishes singular and plural in nouns, which receive plural marking; verbs, then, agree with agent NPs in number in the canonical case. Ordinarily, nouns in Ayeri are countable, however, there is also a group of uncountable nouns as well as a (small) group of nouns which are always plural. As above, I will list a few words from each group for illustration:

## (4) a. Countable nouns:

- ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *ajam* ‘toy’ — ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *ajamye* ‘toys’,  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *devo* ‘head’ — ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *devoye* ‘heads’,  
 ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *inun* ‘fish’ — ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *inunye* ‘fish’ (pl.),  
 ᄃᄃᄃ *netu* ‘brother’ — ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *netuye* ‘brothers’;

## b. Uncountable nouns:

- ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *abal* ‘sand’, ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *bakay* ‘stuff’, ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *gabān* ‘hope’, ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *mingan* ‘ability’;

## c. Plurale tantum nouns:

- ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *burang* ‘lifestock, cattle’,<sup>1</sup> ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *ganengan* ‘siblings’, ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *keynam* ‘people’, ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *tang* ‘ears’.

Most concrete things that exist as discrete entities are countable, also, for instance, animals and lifestock. Fish, deer, sheep etc. are thus countable, unlike in English; pants, pliers, scissors, glasses, etc. are by default singular, also unlike in English. Uncountable, on the other hand, are materials in general or abstract concepts. There are also a number of nouns which are plural by default, most notably entities which often occur in groups, but there is as well the odd word for which there seems to be no reason to be included in this group, for instance, ᄃᄃᄃ *binō* ‘paint’, and ᄃᄃᄃ *gimbay* ‘sorrows’. A few body parts are also *plurale tantum* nouns, especially those which occur in pairs (ᄃᄃ *niva* ‘eye’ is a notable exception).

As demonstrated in (4a), the noun plural marker is ᄃᄃ -ye, which in native orthography also occurs in the variant ᄃᄃ or ᄃᄃ due to allography. As described above (section 1.1.1, p. 7), the plural marker may also be reduced to [dʒ] <-j> before case suffixes beginning with /j/ or with a vowel other than /e/, like ᄃᄃᄃᄃ -ang (A) or ᄃᄃᄃᄃ -yam (DAT), as demonstrated in (5). For *pluralia tantum*, to express a singular entity, it is always possible to use a genitive phrase like —ᄃᄃᄃᄃ... -ena *men* ‘one of ...’ (...-GEN one), like in (6).

<sup>1</sup> Specifically in this meaning; ᄃᄃᄃᄃ *burang* can also simply mean ‘animal’, in which case there is a plural form ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ *burangye* ‘animals’.

- (5) a.  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠠᠩ}$  *diranang* (uncle-A) +  $\text{᠋ᠶᠡ}$  -ye (PL) →  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠠᠵᠠᠩ}$  *diranjang* (uncle-PL-A),  
 b.  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠ}$  *diranena* (uncle-GEN) +  $\text{᠋ᠶᠡ}$  -ye (PL) →  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠᠵᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠ}$  *diranyena* (uncle-PL-GEN),  
 c.  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠᠵᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠ}$  *diranyam* (uncle-DAT) +  $\text{᠋ᠶᠡ}$  -ye (PL) →  $\text{᠋ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠᠵᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠᠵᠠᠨᠡᠨᠠ}$  *diranjyam* (uncle-PL-DAT).
- (6) a. *Nupayon tangang nā.*  
 nupa-yon tang-ang nā  
 hurt-3PL.N ears-A 1SG.GEN  
 ‘My ears hurt.’  
 b. *Na nupareng tang men nā.*  
 na= nupa=reng tang-Ø men nā  
 GENT=hurt=3SG.INAN.A ears-TOP one 1SG.GEN  
 ‘Of my ears, one is hurting.’

Number in nouns can also be manipulated by quantifiers which attach to declined nouns as suffixes—or rather, enclitics. In this case, when plurality is indicated by the quantifier, the noun is not additionally marked for number; the verb, however, keeps agreeing in number. This is illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *Ajayon ganjang kivo.*  
 aja-yon gan-ye-ang kivo  
 play-3PL.N child-PL-A small  
 ‘The small children are playing.’  
 b. *Ajayon ganang-ikan kivo.*  
 aja-yon gan-ang=ikan kivo.  
 play-3PL.N child-A=many small  
 ‘Many small children are playing.’

Likewise, when nouns are modified by numerals, plurality is not normally marked again on the noun. In example (8a), we see a plural noun,  $\text{᠋ᠨᠠᠩᠠ}$  *nanga* ‘house’, and in (8b) the same phrase is repeated with plurality implied by the use of a numeral,  $\text{᠋ᠰᠠᠮ}$  *sam* ‘two’. The plural noun itself appears unmarked in its singular form in this case. An exception to this is the use of numeral powers, like  $\text{᠋ᠨᠠᠨ}$  *lan* ‘dozen’,  $\text{᠋ᠮᠡᠨᠠᠩ}$  *menang* ‘gross’, etc. in an unspecified way, like ‘dozens of people’. To convey that the numeral is not to be understood as a precise value, the modified noun appears in the plural—even if it is a *plurale tantum* like  $\text{᠋ᠶᠡᠨᠠᠮ}$  *keynam* ‘people’ in (9).

As we have seen in various examples above, proper nouns in Ayeri do not receive inflection for case by suffixes as common nouns do, and for the purpose of number they are treated as uncountable in Ayeri—they resist inflection by suf-

- (8) a. *Ang no vehya sitang-yām nangajas veno nay biro.*  
 ang=no= veh=ya.Ø sitang=yām nanga-ye-as veno nay hiro  
 AT= want=build=3SG.M.TOP self=3SG.M.DAT house-PL-P pretty and new  
 ‘He wants to build himself pretty new houses.’
- b. *Ang no vehya sitang-yām nangās sam veno nay biro.*  
 ang=no= veh=ya.Ø sitang=yām nanga-as sam veno nay hiro  
 AT= want=build=3SG.M.TOP self=3SG.M.DAT house-P two pretty and new  
 ‘He wants to build himself two pretty new houses.’
- (9) *Bengyon keynamjang menang.*  
 beng-yon keynam-ye-ang menang  
 attend-3SG.N people-PL-A gross  
 ‘Hundreds of people attended.’

fixation, marking their special status.<sup>2</sup> However, they can still be modified by quantifiers and quantifying clitics; verb agreement as well can be used to indicate plurality, compare (10).

- (10) a. *Sabayan cabo ekeng ang Yan.*  
 saha-yan cabo ekeng ang=Yan  
 come-3PL.M late too A= Yan  
 ‘The Yans are coming too late.’
- b. *Ang apateng sa Yan-ikan.*  
 ang=apa=teng sa=Yan=ikan  
 AT= laugh=3PL.F.A P= Yan=all  
 ‘They laughed at (all) the Yans.’

#### 4.1.3 Case

As demonstrated in the declension tables at the beginning of this section (Tables 4.1–4.4), Ayeri’s NPs are marked for case, which is governed by the verb or assigned to adjuncts freely depending on their purpose or meaning. Since in Ayeri, case marking is at least partially based on semantics rather than purely on function or structure. This causes a few exceptions, so it is better, in my opinion, not to use the classic labels of nominative (S/A) and accusative (O), or of absolutive (S/P)

<sup>2</sup> Many common names in Ayeri are derived from regular words in the language, so the language needs to have a way to distinguish between regular use and use as a name. For instance, the name *uŋ Yan* also means ‘boy, son’ as a common noun.

- (11) a. *Ang tinkaya Yan kunangley.*  
 ang=tinka-ya Ø= Yan kunang-ley  
 AT= open-3SG.M TOP=Yan door-P.INAN  
 ‘Yan opens the door.’
- b. *Le tinkaya ayonang kunang.*  
 le= tinka-ya ayon-ang kunang-Ø  
 PT=open-3SG.M man-A door-TOP  
 ‘The door is opened by a/the man’,  
 or: ‘The door, a/the man opens it.’

and ergative (O) for the first two core roles. Instead, I will be using the terms ‘agent’ and ‘patient’, which I hope brings about some more clarity, especially when discussing the mentioned exceptions later on. For a discussion of how Ayeri deals with subjecthood, see section 5.5.

### Agent

What I call ‘agent’ here is, to quote Fillmore (2003 [1968]), “the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb” (46). Fillmore (2003 [1968]) himself qualifies this definition, however, in that the “escape qualification ‘typically’ expresses my awareness that contexts which I will say require agents are sometimes occupied by ‘inanimate’ nouns like *robot* or ‘human institution’ nouns like *nation*” (46, footnote 31). Payne (1997) summarizes on prototypical agents with regards to their topicality that a “less technical way of expressing this fact is to say that people identify with and like to talk about things that act, move, control events, and have power” (151).

Agents in Ayeri frequently embody the properties quoted by both Fillmore (2003 [1968]) and Payne (1997) in this regard, including Fillmore (2003 [1968])’s caveat. However, importantly, ‘agent’ in Ayeri is a macrorole that may be applied to, for instance, instruments, experiencers, and less typical actors as well, specifically, in absence of more prototypical candidates for agenthood in a sentence. It thus comes very close to a nominative, except that it does not need to be locus of the sentence’s topic—although agents very typically are topics, as Payne (1997: 151) goes on to note.

The agent is marked by the suffix ʔang -*ang* for animate referents and the suffix ʔreng -*reng* for inanimate referents; names and verbal topic agreement are marked by the clitic case markers ʔang *ang* and ʔeng *eng*, respectively. See (11) and (12) for examples of each marker.

- (12) a. *Eng tinkāra tinkay kunangley.*  
 eng= tinka-ara tinkay-Ø kunang-ley  
 AT.INAN=open-3SG.INAN key-TOP door-P.INAN  
 ‘The key opens the door.’
- b. *Tinkāra kunangreng.*  
 tinka-ara kunang-reng  
 open-3SG.INAN door-A.INAN  
 ‘The door opens.’

In predicative constructions, the constituent which a quality is assigned to or which a judgment is made about is also assigned the agent case, as (13) shows. With regards to constituents’ roles in ditransitive argument frames, donors are represented by agents in Ayeri as well, since they are the origin of whatever is conceptually passed on to the recipient party, compare (14). Moreover, as (15) shows, the causee is marked as an agent, not as a patient, since that would be semantically incongruous.

- (13) a. *Tado tinkayreng.*  
 tado tinkay-reng  
 old key-A.INAN  
 ‘The key is old.’
- b. *Ang Yan nimpayās ban.*  
 ang=Yan nimpaya-as ban  
 A= Yan runner-P good  
 ‘Yan is a good runner.’
- (14) *Le ilya ang Yan tinkay yam Cānlay.*  
 le= il-ya ang=Yan tinkay-Ø yam=Cānlay  
 PT=give-3SG.M A= Yan key-TOP DAT= Cānlay  
 ‘The key, Yan gives it to Cānlay.’
- (15) *Sā tinkaya ang Yan kunangley yan.*  
 sā= tinka-ya ang=Yan kunang-ley yan.Ø  
 CAUT=open-3SG.M A= Yan door-P.INAN 3SG.M.TOP  
 ‘They make Yan open a/the door’,  
 or: ‘Because of them, Yan opens the door.’

- (16) a. *Ang silvye Briha sa Taryan.*  
 ang=silv-ye Ø= Briha sa=Taryan  
 AT= see-3SG.F TOP=Briha P= Taryan  
 ‘Briha sees Taryan.’
- b. *Sa manye ang Briha Taryan.*  
 sa=man-ye ang=Briha Ø= Taryan  
 PT=greet-3SG.F A= Briha TOP=Taryan  
 ‘Taryan is greeted by Briha’,  
 or: ‘Taryan, Briha greets him.’
- (17) a. *Ang rimaye Briha kunangley.*  
 ang=rima-ye Ø= Briha kunang-ley  
 AT= close-3SG.F TOP=Briha door-P.INAN  
 ‘Briha closes a/the door.’
- b. *Le rimaye ang Briha kunang.*  
 le= rima-ye ang=Briha kunang-Ø  
 PT.INAN=close-3SG.F A= Briha door-TOP  
 ‘The door is closed by Briha’,  
 or: ‘The door, Briha closes it.’
- (18) *Ang ilya Taryan koyaley yam Kandan.*  
 ang=il-ya Ø Taryan= koya-ley yam=Kandan  
 AT= give-3SG.M TOP=Taryan book-P.INAN DAT= Kandan  
 ‘Taryan gives Kandan a book.’

### Patient

Patients are less of a definitional problem than agents, since in transitive sentences, they are very typically undergoers, that is, the constituent which is acted on, affected, or produced by the action expressed by the verb. The patient case is thus assigned to direct objects—but also to predicative nominals. Animate patients are marked by *sa* -as, inanimate ones by *le* -ley; for names and verbal topic agreement, the markers are *sa* and *le*, respectively, compare (16) and (17). In ditransitive sentences like the one in (18), the theme is represented by the patient.

As the translations of the examples above show, topicalizing the patient can be used to create an effect similar to English’s passive voice, except that the patient will not become marked by the agent case for logical reasons—this is a notable difference from the nominative. Even if the agent NP is omitted to form a passive in (19), the patient NP will not be changed to the agent case, since that would reverse the direction of action.

- (19) *Manya sa Taryan. Manya ang Taryan.*  
 man-ya sa=Taryan ≠ Man-ya ang=Taryan  
 greet-3SG.M P= Taryan greet-3SG.M A= Taryan

‘Taryan is greeted.’ ≠ ‘Taryan greets.’

(19) shows that the case of the NP will not change, however, the verb will: it now agrees with the next argument in line, the patient NP. It will not do so, however, if the order of arguments is simply scrambled, as in (20). This is to say that the verb does not simply agree with whichever NP follows it, even if it can be assumed that verb agreement in Ayeri developed along similar lines in-world, which will become especially apparent in the discussion of pronouns.<sup>3</sup>

- (20) a. *Sa manye Taryan ang Briha.*  
 sa= man-ye Ø= Taryan ang=Briha  
 PT=greet-3SG.F TOP=Taryan A= Briha  
 ↑—————|  
 person agreement  
 ‘Taryan is greeted by Briha’,  
 or: ‘Taryan, Briha greets him.’
- b. \**Sa manya Taryan ang= Briha.*  
 sa= man-ya Ø= Taryan ang= Briha  
 PT=greet-3SG.M TOP=Taryan A= Briha  
 ↑-----|  
 \*person agreement

Besides being the default case for direct objects, the patient case is also assigned to predicative nominals, by analogy with transitive sentences and in spite of the likening nature of the construction, compare (21).

- (21) *Ang Yan nimpayās ban.*  
 ang=Yan nimpaya-as ban  
 A= Yan runner-P good

‘Yan is a good runner.’

<sup>3</sup> Mismatches in agreement in connection to scrambling such as exemplified by (20b) are to be expected, however. Corbett (2006), notes that with regards to agreement in NP conjuncts, “distant agreement is rare, and that agreement with the nearest noun phrase or agreement with all (resolution) is much more common” (62). If there were an extensive corpus of texts written by Ayeri speakers, it might be interesting to gather statistics on the number of words between target and controller in relation to the prevalence of agreement mismatches.

## Dative

The most typical use of the dative is for the recipient NP in a ditransitive clause; as such, it may be a recipient proper or the entity to whose benefit the action is carried out. The dative can furthermore be used to mark movement toward a place. The case suffix for datives is  $\text{u}\text{e}$  -*yam* for both animate and inanimate entities. Names and verbal topic agreement are marked equally by  $\text{u}\text{e}$  *yam*. Verbs do not exhibit person agreement with dative NPs, since experiencers are treated as agents.

- (22) a. *Ang ilya                      Taryan koyaley                      ayonyam.*  
 ang=il-ya                      Ø= Taryan koya-ley                      ayon-yam  
 AT= give-3SG.M    TOP=Taryan book-P.INAN    man-DAT  
 ‘Taryan gives a book to the man.’
- b. *Ang ilya                      Taryan koyaley                      yam Kandan.*  
 ang=il-ya                      Ø= Taryan koya-ley                      yam=Kandan  
 AT= give-3SG.M    TOP=Taryan book-P.INAN    DAT= Kandan  
 ‘Taryan gives Kandan a book.’
- c. *Yam ilya                      ang Taryan koyaley                      ayon.*  
 yam= il-ya                      ang=Taryan koya-ley                      ayon-Ø  
 DATT=give-3SG.M    A= Taryan book-P.INAN    man-TOP  
 ‘The man is given a book by Taryan’,  
 or: ‘The man, Taryan gives him a book.’

The three examples in (22) show the regular use of the dative as the case the recipient of the theme appears in. It is also possible for dative NPs to appear as topics—person agreement is unaffected by this, though, since topicalization and subject marking are different processes in Ayeri.

As mentioned above, the dative can also take on an allative meaning insofar as it marks the target of a motion, as displayed in (23a). As an extension of this means, the adpositional object may as well appear in the dative, since Ayeri cannot distinguish, for instance, ‘up’ from ‘to the top of’ with just the preposition, in this case  $\text{r}\text{e}\text{r}$  *ling* ‘on top of’. With the adpositional object in the locative case (see below), the phrase in (23b) would imply that the man were literally going to the top of the temple, that is, possibly ending up on its roof.

Lastly, the dative case is also used to mark resultative NPs, that is, NPs which express the result of an action performed on the semantic patient of a clause. This not only includes syntactic objects, but also patient-subjects of agentless sentences and the subjects of unaccusative verbs (Perlmutter 1978), that is, verbs whose syntactic subject is not performing the action expressed by the verb, but undergoing



- (23) a. *Ang nimp̥ye lay māvayam yena.*  
 ang=nimp-ye lay-Ø māva-yam yena  
 AT= run-3SG.F girl-TOP mother-DAT 3SG.F.GEN  
 ‘The girl runs to her mother.’
- b. *Ang saraya ayon manga ling natrangyam.*  
 ang=sara-ya ayon-Ø manga=ling natrang-yam  
 AT= go-3SG.M man-TOP DIR= top temple-DAT  
 ‘The man goes up to the temple.’

it. The resultative dative NP is fronted to occur after the verb in contrast to regular recipients, beneficiaries, or goals. A clause may thus contain two dative NPs. These, however, are still required to be functionally unique. That is, one may not have two recipients or two resultatives in the same clause.

- (24) *Ang visya nernan̥jyam Niyas seygoley ganyam.*  
 ang=vis-ya nernan-ye-yam Ø= Niyas seygo-ley gan-yam  
 AT= cut-3SG.M piece-PL-DAT TOP=Niyas apple-P.INAN child-DAT  
 ‘Niyas cuts the apple into pieces for the child.’

Hence, the first dative NP in (24), *Კ᲏Მ᲏Მ᲏Მ᲏Მ nernan̥jyam* ‘(in)to pieces’, expresses the result of cutting the object of the clause, *Კ᲏Მ᲏Მ seygoley* ‘apple’. The second dative NP, *Კ᲏Მ᲏Მ ganyam* ‘for the child’, expresses the (optional) beneficiary of the action.

### Genitive

The genitive is used to mark possessors; attributive genitives follow the possessee. It can also be used for ablative meanings, that is, to mark the place from which a motion originates, in analogy to the dative’s allative use. The genitive is marked on common nouns with the suffix *-na*. If a noun stem ends in a consonant, the marker becomes *-ena*, compare Tables 4.1–4.4 above. Names and verbal topic agreement are marked by *na*. There is no animacy distinction in the genitive case. Examples of the genitive case markers are given in (25).

Futhermore, Ayeri does not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession at least in the formal language, so that typically inalienable things such as body parts, relatives and family members, or personal items and tools are all treated as described in (25). Consider (26) for an illustration of various inalienable things. However, inalienably possessed NPs may still appear without any

- (25) a. *Pakur ledanang netuna nā.*  
 pakur ledan-ang netu-na nā  
 sick friend-A brother-GEN 1SG.GEN

‘My brother’s friend is sick.’

- b. *Ang nakasyo tamō ibangya na Niyas.*  
 ang nakas-yo tamō-Ø ibang-ya na= Niyas  
 AT grow-3SG.N wheat-TOP field-LOC GEN=Niyas

‘There is wheat growing on Niyas’s field.’

- c. *Na nakasyo tamōang ibangya Niyas.*  
 na= nakas-yo tamō-ang ibang-ya Ø= Niyas  
 GENT=grow-3SG.N wheat-A field-LOC TOP=Niyas

‘Regarding Niyas, there is wheat growing on his field.’

- (26) *Ang puntaye māva nā mitrangas yena sembari yena.*  
 ang=punta-ye māva-Ø nā mitrang-as yena semba-ri yena  
 AT= brush-3SG.F mother-TOP 1SG.GEN hair-P 3SG.F.GEN comb-INS 3SG.F.GEN

‘My mother is brushing her hair with her comb.’

possessor marked in less formal language. Besides the mentioned items, this also extends to 𐄢𐄣𐄤 *rang* ‘home’.

The above examples show the regular use of the genitive as a marker of possession. Apart from possession, however, the genitive can also be used to mark origin, that is, it has a secondary function as an ablative. This is shown in (27).

- (27) *Ang sabaya Vetayan rīmanena.*  
 ang=saha-ya Ø= Vetayan rīman-ena  
 AT= come-3SG.M TOP=Vetayan city-GEN

‘Vetayan comes from the city.’

### Locative

The locative marks basic locations, often the default that is associated with a verb. It is also the case in which adpositional objects normally appear, besides the special cases using the dative and the genitive mentioned above. Common nouns are marked by 𐄣𐄤 *-ya*;<sup>4</sup> names and verbal topic agreement use the marker 𐄣 *ya*. There is no difference made between animate and inanimate referents in the locative.

<sup>4</sup> Older texts still exhibit an allomorph 𐄣𐄤 *-ea*, used especially in combination with the plural suffix 𐄣𐄤 *ye*, giving 𐄣𐄤 *-yēa*. The modern language uses 𐄣𐄤 *-jya*.

- (28) a. *Ang nedraya paray binya.*  
 ang=nedra-ya paray-Ø hin-ya  
 AT= sit-3SG.M cat-TOP box-LOC  
 ‘The cat sits in the box.’
- b. *Ang naraya Ajān ya Kaman.*  
 ang=nara-ya Ø= Ajān ya= Kaman  
 AT= speak-3SG.M TOP=Ajān LOC=Kaman  
 ‘Ajān speaks to Kaman.’
- c. *Ya mica ang Kaman Visamhinang.*  
 ya= mit-ya ang=Kaman Ø= Visamhinang  
 LOCT=live-3SG.M A= Kaman TOP=Visamhinang  
 ‘Kaman lives in Visamhinang’,  
 or: ‘Visamhinang is where Kaman lives.’

The example sentences in (28) show locative NPs that are not further specified by adpositions so that the correct interpretation may be dependent on context and the experience of the addressee. Example (28a) is an instance of this circumstance, in that experience tells that cats like to sit inside boxes, so further specifying the position with the preposition *kong* ‘inside’ would be emphasizing that the cat is not sitting just anywhere, but really *inside* the box as opposed to on top of it, for instance. The sentence in example (29) has the cat sitting on top of the box.

- (29) *Ang nedraya paray ling binya.*  
 ang=nedra-ya paray-Ø ling hin-ya  
 AT= sit-3SG.M cat-TOP on.top box-LOC  
 ‘The cat sits on the box.’

Ayeri also has a number of postpositions. This does not change the fact that the adpositional object is marked for locative case, however, as we see in (30), where the adpositional object, *tenyan* ‘death’ is marked for locative case governed by the postposition *pesan* ‘until’.

- (30) *Ang mican edaya tenyanya tan pesan.*  
 ang=mit-yan edaya tenyan-ya tan pesan  
 AT= live-3PL.M here death-LOC 3PL.M.GEN until  
 ‘They lived here until their death.’

*Causative*

The causative marks the cause or causer of an action, the instigator or the reason on behalf of which an agent is acting. It is thus similar to the agent case, though it does not replace it in Ayeri; verbs do not exhibit person agreement with causers even though their action logically supersedes or precedes that of the agent in the embedded event. Dixon (2000) writes that a “causer refers to someone or something (which can be an event or state) that initiates or controls the activity. This is the defining property of the syntactic–semantic function A (transitive subject)” (30). According to Comrie (1989: 176), the causee—the agent of the event controlled by the causer—normally takes the highest place in the hierarchy of syntactic constituents that is not already filled, in this case, by the causer. This observation, however, is complicated by Ayeri’s more or less semantics-based case marking as well as topicalization. In the following, I will give examples of nominal marking for cause as before; a discussion of the morphosyntax of Ayeri’s morphological causative constructions will be deferred to the section on valency-increasing operations, compare section 6.4.8.

Causers or causes are marked by  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  *-isa* for common nouns; names and verbal topic agreement use the marker  $\text{ᑭ}$  *sā*. As stated above, verbs do not agree with causers even though they have agent-like semantics. There is no animacy distinction in the marking of causers. Examples of the case marker in its various positions are provided by (31).

- (31) a. *Ang rua sarāyn seyaranisa.*  
 ang=rua= sara=ayn.Ø seyaran-isa  
 AT= must=leave=IPL.TOP rain-CAUS  
 ‘We had to leave due to the rain.’
- b. *Ang yomāy edaya sā Apican.*  
 ang=yoma=ay.Ø edaya sā= Apican  
 AT= be=ISG.TOP here CAUS=Apican  
 ‘I am here because of Apican.’
- c. *Sā nimpvāng hakasley yan.*  
 sā= nimp=vāng hakas-ley yan.Ø  
 CAUT=run=2.A mile-P.INAN 3PL.M.TOP  
 ‘You run a mile because of them’,  
 or: ‘They make you run a mile.’

Regarding the typological oddities mentioned above, example (31c) shows what happens in Ayeri with regards to the marking of causers. Essentially, the causer topic was grammaticalized to express a causative relationship.

- (32) a. *Ang liboyya-ma badan nibanyeri (nibanyēri).*  
 ang=liha-oy-ya=ma badan-Ø nihan-ye-ri (nihan-ye-eri)  
 AT= earn-NEG-3SG.M=enough father-TOP nihan-PL-INS (nihan-PL-INS)

‘Father did not earn enough with his fruits.’

- b. *Ang lingya Mindan mehiras ri Kadijān.*  
 ang=ling-ya Ø= Mindan mehir-as ri= Kadijān.  
 AT= climb.up-3SG.M TOP=Mindan tree-P INS=Kadijān

‘Mindan climbs a tree with Kadijān’s help.’

- c. *Ri tavya gino ang Kan nimpur.*  
 ri= tav-ya gino ang=Kan nimpur-Ø  
 INST=become-3SG.M drunk A= Kan wine-TOP

‘The wine, Kan becomes drunk on it.’

### Instrumental

The instrumental marks the means by which an action is carried out by an agent. This can be a tool as well as an animate being by whose help the action is brought about. The instrumental, thus, marks secondary agents in effect. Verbs, however, never show person agreement with instrumental NPs. Common nouns are marked by *-ri* when ending in a vowel and by *-eri* when ending in a consonant; names and verbal topic agreement are marked by *ri*. With nouns ending in *-e*, as well as the plural marker *-ye*, there is variation regarding whether *-ri* or *-eri* is used, so that both *-yeri* and *-yēri* may be found as plural forms. In passive-like constructions, it is not grammatical to reintroduce the agent as an instrumental; the agent simply remains in the clause in this case, though as a non-topic constituent. Examples for the case markers are given in (32).

The instrumental may also be used for cases where the instrumental NP acts as a nominal adjunct describing an attribute of its antecedent head, as in (33).

- (33) *Ang pegayo sinya kasuley bariri nā?*  
 ang=pega-yo sinya-Ø kasu-ley bari-ri nā  
 AT= steal-3SG.N who-TOP basket-P.INAN meat-INS ISG.GEN

‘Who stole my basket of meat?’

Here, *bari* ‘meat’ is marked as an instrumental since it serves as an attribute of *kasu* ‘basket’. The instrumental NP describes what its antecedent contains or entails more specifically: it is a basket *with* meat in it. Note, however, that this use of the instrumental is different from expressing accompaniment. Thus, it is not possible to use the sentence in (34) to express ‘Ajān comes (together) with Pila’.

- (34) \**Ang sabaya*                      *Ajān ri Pila.*  
 ang=saha-ya      Ø= Ajān ri= Pila  
 AT= come-3SG.M TOP=Ajān INS=Pila

The sentence in (34) would instead imply that Pila helps Ajān to come, for example, because he has a sprained ankle and thus needs support to get around. To express accompaniment, instead, the preposition  $\text{𑜉𑜂𑜫}$  *kayvo* ‘with, along, beside’ has to be used; the prepositional object appears in the locative case, as usual, then, compare (35).

- (35) *Ang sabaya*                      *Ajān kayvo ya Pila.*  
 ang=saha-ya      Ø= Ajān kayvo ya= Pila  
 AT= come-3SG.M TOP=Ajān with LOC=Pila  
 ‘Ajān comes (together) with Pila.’

Theoretically, it should be possible as well to use the instrumental together with prepositions for some kind of prolativ meaning. The adposition would indicate the place *by way of* a motion is happening, as in (36).

- (36) *Ang pukay*                      *manga luga labaneri.*  
 ang=puk=ay.Ø      manga=luga lahan-eri  
 AT= jump=1SG.TOP DIR= top fence-INS  
 ‘I jump over the fence.’

This use of the instrumental is unattested in previous translations into Ayeri, however, but could be considered a stylistic alternative—in the case of the example above, to the construction with the word for ‘over’,  $\text{𑜉𑜂𑜫}$  *eyrarya* in (37).

- (37) *Ang pukay*                      *manga eyrarya labanya.*  
 ang=puk=ay.Ø      manga=eyrarya lahan-ya  
 AT= jump=1SG.TOP DIR= over fence-LOC  
 ‘I jump over the fence.’

A more literal translation of  $\text{𑜉𑜂𑜫}$  *manga luga labaneri* is ‘by way of the top of the fence’, though without the verbosity of the English translation, since both ways to express the circumstance are about equally long in Ayeri.

#### Case-unmarked nouns

Case morphology is applied to nouns in Ayeri basically whenever nouns serve as complements or adjuncts, though there are a number of exceptions to this rule,

as we will see below. For one, the case-unmarked form is the citation form, not the one declined for agent. As a first exception, the unmarked form can be found when addressing people—one might speak of an unmarked vocative, as illustrated in (38).

- (38) a. *Raypu, petāya!*  
 raypa-u petāya  
 stop-IMP idiot  
 ‘Stop it, you idiot!’
- b. *Sahu edaya, Diras!*  
 saha-u edaya Diras  
 come-IMP here Diras  
 ‘Come here, Diras!’

Imperative forms have underlying second-person agents, so both the ‘idiot’ in (38a) and Diras in (38b) would be the implied agents of their sentences, yet neither the noun nor the name are marked by the agent markers *ṣar-* *-ang* and *ṣar-* *ang*, respectively, since the addressees occur as appositions. Another case where nouns are not necessarily marked for case is attested in translations for the prefix *ṣṣ-* *ku-* ‘like, as though’ when the phrase acts as a depictive secondary predicate, adn thus similar to an adverb (compare section 6.4.5, p. 393). This is exemplified by (39).

- (39) a. ... *nay ang mya rankyon sitanyās ku-netu.*  
 ... *nay ang=mya=rank=yon.Ø sitanya-as ku=netu*  
 ... and AT= shall=treat=3PL.N.TOP each.other-P like=brother  
 ‘... and they shall treat each other like brothers.’<sup>5</sup> (Becker 2011a)
- b. ... *ang nunaya ku-vipin ...*  
 ... *ang=nuna=ya.Ø ku=vipin ...*  
 ... AT= fly=3SG.M.TOP like=bird ...  
 ‘... he (would) fly like a bird ...’ (Becker 2012: 14)

Strikingly, in example (39a), *ṣṣ-netu* ‘brother’ in *ṣṣ-ku-netu* ‘like brothers’ is not even inflected for plural; likewise, *ṣṣ-ku-vipin* ‘like a bird’ in (39b) is not inflected for case. The depictive NP in (39a) is also a little unusual in that it does not occur after the verb in the position of an adverb as depictives usually would.

Nouns may also be unmarked if they act as modifiers in a compound and the head is marked for the NP’s case and number, for instance as in (40). Here, *ṣar-*

<sup>5</sup> The original English text this was translated from has “and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood” (United Nations 1948: Article 1).

*mapang* ‘finger’, the modifier in the compound, acts in the way of an adjective in that ‘fingernail’ is not used as a syntactic unit as far as case marking goes. Instead, the case marker appears on the compound’s head,  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *ralan* ‘nail’. Compounds will be described in more detail in section 4.1.5.

- (40) *ralanyeri mapang*  
 ralan-ye-ri mapang  
 nail-PL-INS finger  
 ‘with the fingernails’

Lastly, and probably most importantly, nouns appear superficially unmarked if topicalized, since the topic marker is a null-morpheme ( $-\emptyset$ ) if viewed systematically. We have already seen numerous examples of this above, but (41) gives an example again explicitly.

- (41) *Saru-nama, ang nupoyya veney aruno vās.*  
 sar-u=nama ang nupa-oy-ya veney- $\emptyset$  aruno vās  
 go-IMP=just AT hurt-NEG-3SG.M dog-TOP brown 2.P  
 ‘Just go, the brown dog won’t hurt you.’

#### 4.1.4 Prefixes on nouns

All of the nominal morphology we have so far dealt with in this section was suffixing. As mentioned in the previous section already (p. 67), there are also a number of prefixes which can be applied to nouns. I have just given two examples of the prefix  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *ku-* ‘like, as though’ above, but  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *ku-* applies not only to nouns, but can be combined with other parts of speech as well. As discussed in section 3.2.5 (p. 87 ff.), it behaves in the way of a special clitic in Zwicky (1977)’s terminology, since no corresponding full form exists in its place. (42) cites another example from the Ayeri translation of Kafka’s short story “Eine kaiserliche Botschaft” to illustrate.

- (42) ... *saylingyāng kovaro naynay, ku-ranyāng palung.*  
 ... sayling=yāng kovaro naynay ku=ranya-ang palung  
 ... progress=3SG.M.A easy also like=nobody-A else  
 ‘... he also got on easily, like nobody else.’

(Becker 2012: 12)

In this example, we can see  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *ku-* attaching to a properly inflected NP. The NP  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *ranyāng palung* ‘nobody else’ is case-marked for agent since it can be understood to refer to the verb  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫ}$  *sayling-* ‘progress’ in the main clause,



so ນັ້ນ ອື່ນ ກໍ່ ກໍ່ *ranyāṅ palung* ‘nobody else’ can replace ທຸກ *-yāṅ* ‘he’ in the main clause. While this section deals mainly with prefixes on nouns, it should be mentioned for completeness that ກູ່ *ku-* may also appear as a suffix under certain conditions. As discussed in section 3.2.5 (p. 87 ff.), ກູ່ *ku-* moves to the end of the noun phrase when a proper-noun is marked by a case-marker particle. Example (43) repeats (55) from the previous chapter for convenience.

- (43) a. *Ang lentava sa Tagāti diyan-ku.*  
 ang=lenta=va.Ø sa=Tagāti diyan=ku  
 AT= sound=2.TOP P= Tagāti worthy=like  
 ‘You sound like Mr. Tagāti.’
- b. *Ang lentava sa Tagāti diyan-ku nay diranas yana.*  
 ang=lenta=va.Ø sa=Tagāti diyan=ku nay diran-as yana  
 AT= sound=2.TOP P= Tagāti worthy=like and uncle-P 3SG.M.GEN  
 ‘You sound like Mr. Tagāti and his uncle.’
- c. *Sa lentavāṅ ku-Tagāti diyan.*  
 sa=lenta=vāṅ ku=Tagāti diyan  
 PT=sound=2.A like=Tagāti worthy  
 ‘Like Mr. Tagāti you sound.’

Besides ກູ່ *ku-*, there are also the demonstrative prefixes ດາ *da-* ‘such’, ມາ *eda-* ‘this’, and ພາ *ada-* ‘that’, which have already been mentioned in the previous section as well (see section 3.2.5, p. 81). The demonstrative prefixes undergo crasis with nouns beginning with *a-*, that is, they form phonological words with their hosts for all means and purposes. An example of this is given in (44), where ມາ *eda-* ‘this’ merges with ພຣີ *ayon* ‘man’ to become ມາຍີ *edāyon* ‘this man’. The demonstrative prefixes are special clitics since no contemporary free form exists.

Moreover, there is a proclitic ມາ *mā-* in complementary distribution with the demonstrative prefixes. This particle adds a meaning along the lines of ‘just any’, ‘whatsoever’, ‘some’ to the noun. Note that this clitic is distinct from the morpheme indicating an inspecific quantity, ພາ *-aril* ‘some’. Uncharacteristically of a clitic, but also like the deictic clitics, ມາ *mā-* forms a long vowel if the noun it leans on begins with an /e/. An example of this is given in (45).

#### 4.1.5 Compounding

With regards to the classification of compounds, Bauer (2001) gives some helpful typological guidelines. Besides the compound types recognized by Sanskrit grammarians—endocentric (*tatpuruṣa*), coordinative (*dvandva*), adjectival-endo-

- (44) a. *da-nanga kāryo*  
 da=nanga kāryo  
 such=house big

‘such a big house’

- b. *edāyon nake*  
 eda=ayon nake  
 this=man tall

‘this tall man’

- c. *ada-envan alingo*  
 ada=envan alingo  
 that=woman clever

‘that clever woman’

- (45) a. *Ang lampyo mǝ-veney kayvo kirinya.*  
 ang=lamp-yo mǝ=veney-Ø kayvo kirin-ya  
 AT= walk-3SG.N some=dog-TOP along street-LOC

‘Some dog is walking along the street.’

- b. *Ang noyan mēntānley pegamayayam.*  
 ang=no=yan mǝ=entān-ley pegamaya-yam  
 AT= want=3SG.M.TOP some=punishment-P.INAN thief-DAT

‘They demanded some kind of punishment for the thief.’

centric (*karmadbārāya*), and exocentric (*bahuvrīhi*)—he also adds synthetic compounds, which Sanskrit did not have (Bauer 2001: 697). Overall, he finds that determinative, or endocentric, compounds are the most common ones in the languages of the world (697), especially if the head refers to a location or source of sorts (702).

Gaeta (2008), then, adds to Bauer (2001)’s research, based on a larger sample of grammars surveyed, that compounds for the largest part correlate with the constituent order of the language, both regarding the order of verb and object and that of noun and genitive (Gaeta 2008: 129–133). Mismatches in headedness occur, but appear to constitute the minority of cases and may often be explained through historical changes in syntax; he discerns for one that “morphology is not autonomous from syntax” (135), and that secondly, “[s]yntax seems to be the motor of change, which may be then reflected in compounds” (135). Thirdly, he finds that lexical conservatism causes atavisms to linger on, reflecting the syntax of earlier stages of the language (138–139).

For the purpose of gaining at least a little insight into which types of com-

Table 4.5: Compounds in the Ayeri dictionary (Becker 2016a) and their classification (n = 130)

Type	Harmonic		Disharmonic		Total	
Endocentric (N + N)	67	51.54 %	2	1.54 %	69	53.08 %
Endocentric (N + Adj)	18	13.85 %	4	3.08 %	22	16.92 %
Synthetic (V + N)	16	12.31 %	4	3.08 %	20	15.38 %
Coordinative (N + N)	9	6.92 %	—	—	9	6.92 %
Exocentric (N + N)	1	0.77 %	3	2.31 %	4	3.08 %
Unclear	6	4.62 %	—	—	6	4.62 %
Total	117	90.00 %	13	10.00 %	130	100 %

pounds Ayeri allows—besides endocentric compounds—a small, non-exhaustive survey was conducted based on 130 compounds from the Ayeri dictionary (Becker 2016a: Dictionary); Table 4.5 shows the various compound classes and the number of words for each. ‘Harmonic’ and ‘disharmonic’, respectively, refer to the order of elements; the order is ‘harmonic’ if it is following the normal constituent order of the language and ‘disharmonic’ if it is at odds with it (Gaeta 2008).

Unsurprisingly, the largest number of compound nouns in the sample were endocentric compounds of the regular kind, which means that, just as genitive attributes follow nouns, noun compounds are headed left. Especially compounds with adjectives are interesting insofar as this is also the normal order for free adjectives, so to illustrate, some tests will be necessary to show that these adjectives form a unit with the head noun and are unable to undergo comparison, for instance. Synthetic compounds exist in Ayeri and produce nouns. These are compounds in which “the modifying element in the compound is (usually) interpreted as an argument of the verb from which the head is derived” (Bauer 2001: 701). There are also a number of coordinative compounds. This group, however, is lexicalized and not productive. Exocentric compounds constitute the minority of the sample. In the following, I will give examples for each type. It needs to be noted as well that unlike Germanic languages, Ayeri does not allow compounds of arbitrary length to be strung together, like in the ridiculous but no less real example from (former) German legislation in (46) (see, for instance, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 2013).

In stark contrast, Ayeri allows only two elements in compounds. Furthermore, this section on compounds is located within the section on nouns because Ayeri almost only possesses compounds involving nouns, and the majority of these also results in a noun.

(46) German:

Rindfleischetikettierungsüberwachungsaufgabenübertragungsgesetz  
 rind-fleisch-etikettierung-s-überwachung-s-aufgabe-n-übertragung-s-gesetz  
 cow-meat-labeling-LNK-supervision-LNK-duty-PL-delegation-LNK-law  
 ‘law on the delegation of duties in the supervision of beef labeling’

*Endocentric compounds*

To start with the largest group, endocentric/*tatpuruṣa* compounds, the bulk of these compounds combines two nouns, one of which is the head which is modified by a dependent noun. Since Ayeri exhibits a rather strict head-initial word order, it comes as no surprise, following Gaeta (2008), that most of these compounds follow this order strictly: the second noun modifies the first, which is opposite of how English, for instance, typically operates. Examples from Ayeri are given in (47).

- (47) a.  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *betaynimpur* ‘grape’ ←  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *betay* ‘berry’ +  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *nimpur* ‘wine’  
 b.  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *karirayan* ‘vertigo’ ←  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *kar* ‘fear’ +  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *irayan* ‘height’<sup>6</sup>  
 c.  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *pikunanding* ‘mustache’ ←  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *piku* ‘beard’ +  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *nanding* ‘lips’  
 d.  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *tapayperin* ‘sunblind’ ←  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *tapay* ‘screen’ +  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *perin* ‘sun’

The example words in (47) show that the relationships between the modifier and the head are various: a grape is a berry *used* to make wine from (compare Bauer 2001: 702); vertigo is the fear *of* height; a mustache is a beard *located* over the lips (702); and a sunblind is a screen *against* the sun. Bauer (2001) mentions that “there may be special morphophonemic processes which apply between the elements of compounds”, such as “phonological merger[s] between the elements of the compound” (695). This also occasionally happens in Ayeri, as the example words in (48) show.

There is a modicum of alteration happening in all of the heads of the example words in (48), mostly nasals assimilating to the stop or nasal which the modifier begins with (/n/ + /p/ → /mp/, /n/ + /m/ → /m/), though  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *avararan* and  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *mehimitrang* even delete whole coda segments. Bauer (2001: 703) notes that very commonly, genitive and plural markers may form linking elements, though he also gives examples of languages which allow other case markers on the modifying element in languages with head-final order; individual languages may allow even more case inflection. However, this appears not to happen in Ayeri.

<sup>6</sup>  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *irayan*, however, is a transparent nominalization of  $\text{ṣṣ}^{\text{ṣṣ}}$  *iray* ‘high’.

- (48) a.  $\text{ṣāvararaṇ}$  *avararan* ‘wetland’  
 ←  $\text{ṣāva}$  *avan* ‘ground’ +  $\text{raṇi}$  *raro* ‘wet’ +  $\text{-ṣāṇ}$  *-an* (NMLZ)
- b.  $\text{mehimitraṅga}$  *mehimitrang* ‘fiber tree’  
 ←  $\text{mehira}$  *mehir* ‘tree’ +  $\text{mitraṅga}$  *mitrang* ‘hair, fiber’
- c.  $\text{ṅaṅgaṇṇa}$  *ningampinam* ‘bedtime story’  
 ←  $\text{ṅaṅga}$  *ningan* ‘story’ +  $\text{ṇṇa}$  *pinam* ‘bed’
- d.  $\text{padilamika}$  *padilamican* ‘gravitational force’  
 ←  $\text{padila}$  *padilan* ‘attraction’ +  $\text{mika}$  *mican* ‘force, power’

The only element that comes up time and again in between the two halves of compounds is the nominalizer  $\text{-ṣāṇ}$  *-an*, which signifies that the head is being formed by a nominalized root, such as in  $\text{padilamika}$  *padilamican*, where  $\text{padila}$  *padilan* ‘attraction’ is a nominalization of  $\text{padil}$  *padil-* ‘attract’, or in  $\text{ṅaṅgaṇṇa}$  *ningampinam*, where  $\text{ṅaṅga}$  *ningan* ‘story’ is derived from the verb  $\text{ṅaṅga}$  *ning-* ‘tell’. However, since Ayeri is head-initial and possessive phrases are dependent marking, genitive or other case marking would be expected on the second element, not the first. Case marking on a compound, however, does not inflect just the modifier, but the whole NP, as (49) shows.

- (49) *Ang ningya sipikanena koyababisena.*  
 ang=ning-ya sipik-an-ena koyabahis-ena  
 AT= talk-3SG.M.TOP keep-NMLZ-GEN book.day-GEN

‘He talks about keeping a journal.’

$\text{koyababisena}$  in this example is not to be interpreted as ‘book of day(s)’ but as ‘of a day-book’. Inflection between the parts of a compound can happen nonetheless, though. In compounds which are formed *ad hoc* or which are otherwise transparent in their composition (‘loose’ compounds), inflection often is deferred to the head noun instead of the edge of the compound as a whole; the modifier is treated as an adjunct in this case, and stays uninflected. An example of this is given in (50).

- (50) *Sa trayeng tipin ralanyeri mapang yena.*  
 sa=tra=yeng tipin-Ø ralan-ye-ri mapang yena  
 PT=scratch=3SG.F.A itch-TOP nail-PL-INS finger 3SG.F.GEN

‘The itch, she scratches it with her fingernails.’

Besides noun modifiers, there are also compounds where the modifier is an adjective. In classical Sanskrit terminology, this type is called *karmadhāraya* (Bauer

2001: 698–699).<sup>7</sup> Examples in Ayeri include those listed in (51). In all of these cases, the adjective forms a unified lexeme with the head noun, hence it is not comparable, as the examples in (52) show.

- (51) a.  $\text{နက္ခိယိယ}$  *kardangiray* ‘university’ ←  $\text{နက္ခိယ}$  *kardang* ‘school’ +  $\text{ိယ}$  *iray* ‘high’  
 b.  $\text{မာရသဟိ}$  *marashari* ‘witticism’ ←  $\text{မာရသ}$  *maras* ‘phrase’ +  $\text{ဟိ}$  *hari* ‘pithy’  
 c.  $\text{နိလၢၤနီၤ}$  *silvanikan* ‘overview’ ←  $\text{နိလၢၤ}$  *silvan* ‘view’ +  $\text{နီၤ}$  *ikan* ‘whole’  
 d.  $\text{ဝိပိမာနိယ}$  *vipimakārya* ‘crow’ ←  $\text{ဝိပိ}$  *vipin* ‘bird’ +  $\text{မာနိယ}$  *makārya* ‘black’

- (52)
- | COMPARATIVE   | SUPERLATIVE  |
|---|--|
| a. * <i>kardangiray-eng</i><br><i>kardang-iray=eng</i><br>school-[high=COMP]<br>‘higher-school’ | <i>kardangiray-vā</i><br><i>kardang-iray=vā</i><br>school-*[high=SUPL]<br>‘highest-school’ |
| b. * <i>marashari-eng</i><br><i>maras-hari=eng</i><br>phrase-[pithy=COMP]<br>‘pithier-phrase’   | <i>marashari-vā</i><br><i>maras-hari=vā</i><br>phrase-*[pithy=SUPL]<br>‘pithiest-phrase’   |

In fact, it is possible to form  $\text{နက္ခိယိယဝ}$  *kardangiray-vā* and  $\text{မာရသဟိဝ}$  *marasari-vā*, but they mean ‘most universities’ and ‘most witticisms’, that is,  $\text{ဝ}$  *-vā* here does not mark the adjectival part as a superlative form; the suffix modifies the noun–adjective compound as a whole: [*school-high*]=*most*, [*phrase-pithy*]=*most*.  $\text{ိယ-eng}$  ‘rather’ as a quantifier does not combine with nouns, which is why the first examples in (52ab) are both ungrammatical *per se*.

Since the meaning of noun–adjective compounds is often idiomatic, they also cannot be divided as shown above in (50), since a  $\text{နက္ခိယိယ}$  *kardangiray* ‘university’ is not a  $\text{နက္ခိယ}$  *kardang* ‘school’ which is  $\text{ိယ}$  *iray* ‘high’ in the literal sense, but a school of the highest tier.  $\text{နက္ခိယိယနီၤ}$  *kardangena iray* (school-GEN high), then, can only be interpreted in the literal sense, ‘of the high school’, but not as ‘of the university’, which thus can only be  $\text{နက္ခိယိယနီၤ}$  *kardangirayena*.

In the sample, there were also a few compounds which were categorized as noun–noun combinations and which look as though they violate head-initial order. All of these involve  $\text{နိၤ}$  *sitang* ‘self’ as a modifier, for instance, as in (53).

$\text{နိၤ}$  *sitang* does not exist as a noun by itself in Ayeri, the word for ‘self’ is its nominalization,  $\text{နိၤနီၤ}$  *sitangan*. Nonetheless, it looks as though it could have

<sup>7</sup> Bauer (2001) also mentions that appositional compounds like *maid-servant*, *woman doctor* and *fighter-bomber* are counted in this category (699). Ayeri, however, does not possess such formations in particular.

- (53) a. *ṣṭangṭang* *ṣṭanglentan* ‘vowel’ ← *ṣṭang* *ṣṭang* ‘self’ + *ṭanglentan* ‘sound’  
 b. *ṣṭangṭang* *ṣṭangparonān* ‘self-confidence’ ← *ṣṭang* *ṣṭang* ‘self’ + *ṭang* *paronān* ‘faith’  
 c. *ṣṭangṭang* *ṣṭangtenyan* ‘suicide’ ← *ṣṭang* *ṣṭang* ‘self’ + *ṭang* *tenyan* ‘death’

plausibly been a noun once. However, this noun may have been grammaticalized into a reflexive morpheme of a more general kind, which in turn gave rise to the form *ṣṭangan* as a renovation.<sup>8</sup> The reflexive *ṣṭang* is used—as we have seen in the previous chapter—as a prefix, so there are two ways to interpret these formations: first, *ṣṭang* *ṣṭang* may be the reflexive prefix here and thus the compound follows the normal syntactic order; or second, the order of elements is reversed and thus may reflect an earlier stage of Ayeri where *ṣṭang* *ṣṭang* was still a noun and modifiers could still appear in front of their heads, at least optionally so (Gaeta 2008: 133–137).

There are a number of genuinely reversed endocentric compounds as well, however, in which the modifier comes first and the head last. There are only a few of these in the sample; (54) lists all of them.

- (54) a. *baripata* ‘ground meat’ ← *bari* ‘meat’ + *pata* ‘mash’  
 b. *kayvolentan* ‘consonant’ ← *kayvo* ‘with’ + *ṭanglentan* ‘sound’  
 c. *māvaganeng* ‘mother’s siblings’ ← *māva* ‘mother’ + *ganeng* ‘siblings’  
 d. *matinanding* ‘labia’ ← *matikan* ‘hot’ + *nanding* ‘lips’  
 e. *muyavirang* ‘brass’ ← *muya* ‘false’ + *avirang* ‘gold’  
 f. *tonisaytang* ‘self-assured’ ← *tonisa* ‘assured’ + *ṣṭangan* ‘self’

All of the previously mentioned compounds involving nominal elements formed nouns, though there are also a few denominal compounds in the sample. This process is not productive, however, and interestingly, only noun–adjective combinations appear in this group. These are listed in (55).

As for the examples in (55), *mirampaluy* is an adverb whose modifier is probably a mangling of *palung*. *padabanya* is an adjective meaning

<sup>8</sup> A little bit of language history would certainly simplify things here and lend them credence. Let us simply assume that *ṣṭang* used to be a noun meaning something like ‘self’ at a previous stage of Ayeri and was repurposed as a reflexive prefix. Lehmann (2015) quotes a few examples of what he calls ‘autophoric’ nouns that came to be used as reflexive pronouns in their respective language: “Typical examples are Sanskrit *tan* ‘body, person’ and *ātmān* ‘breath, soul’, Buginese *elena* ‘body’, Okinawan *dūna* ‘body’, ‘Xu *l’esi* ‘body’, Basque *burua* ‘head’, Abkhaz *a-xə* ‘the head’. In their respective languages, all these nouns are translation equivalents of English *self*” (45–46). Thus, it would not be out of line at all to assume such a grammaticalization path for Ayeri as well.

- (55) a. မိရံပာလုင် *mirampaluy* ‘otherwise’ ← မိရံ *miran* ‘way’ + ပာလုင် *palung* ‘different’  
 b. ပာမာဃာ *padabanya* ‘insane’ ← ပာမာ *padang* ‘mind’ + ဃာ *banaya* ‘sick’  
 c. တင်ကာရိတ် *tenkarisa-* ‘be scared to death’ ← တင် *ten* ‘life’ + ကာရိတ် *karisa* ‘frightened’

‘insane’ rather than the expected ‘insanity’ (instead: ပာမာဃာ *padabanyān*). Lastly, တင်ကာရိတ် *tenkarisa-* acts as a verb, possibly from conversion or reinterpretation, since the suffix -*ka-isa* also forms morphological causatives of a number of verbs. Besides these irregularities, there is also at least one noun compound which uses a post-position as an adjectival modifier, given in (56). This compound must be derived from the phrase မိလ်ကုသုလ် *silvanya kayvay* ‘without sight’ (see-NMLZ-LOC without), though here as well, the word roots are simply juxtaposed, as is the common way to form compounds in Ayeri.

- (56) မိလ်ကုသုလ် *silvankayvay* ‘blindness’ ← မိလ်ကု *silvan* ‘sight’ + သုလ် *kayvay* ‘without’

#### Synthetic compounds

According to Bauer (2001), (semi-)synthetic compounds, or verbal(-nexus) compounds, are compounds that have “been variously defined as being based on word-groups or syntactic constructions (Botha 1984: 2), or as compounds whose head elements are derived from verbs (Lieber 1994: 3607)” (Bauer 2001: 701). Examples of this type in English would include *truck-driver*, *peace-keeping*, and *home-made*. He mentions also that synthetic compounds have been mainly discussed with regards to Germanic languages, but that according to Lieber (1994: 3608), the phenomenon is much more widespread.

Ayeri possesses compounds like this as well, and the regular case again follows the constituent order, here that of verbs and nouns: Ayeri is a VO language, and thus the verb as the head of the compound is usually found on the left side with its nominal modifier following it (compare Gaeta 2008: 129–133), compare (57).

- (57) a. အလ္လဂုနီ *anlagonan* ‘pronunciation’ ← အလ္လ *anl-* ‘bring’ + ဂုနီ *agonan* ‘outside’  
 b. ဂုနီ *napakaron* ‘acid’ ← ဂု *nap-* ‘burn’ + ဂုနီ *karon* ‘water’  
 c. ဂုနီပရီ *napaperin* ‘sunburn’ ← ဂု *nap-* ‘burn’ + ပရီ *perin* ‘sun’  
 d. တဲလ္လဗာဆီ *telbasasān* ‘waysign’ ← တဲလ္လ *telba-* ‘show’ + ဆီ *sasān* ‘way’

Here as well, the relations between verb and noun are various, that is, the nominal modifier is not simply the direct object of the verb: to pronounce something means to bring it *to* the outside; a sunburn is a burn *caused by* the sun; and



a waysign *shows* the way (ꨀꨱꨱꨱ *sasān* is the object here). Even though ꨀꨱꨱ *karon* may serve as an agent (or a causer) of the burning effect of acid (similar for ꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *na-paperin* ‘sunburn’), the verb-first order is justified here as well, since verbs always come first in Ayeri sentences, and any other NPs, whether actor or undergoer, are following.

Just as with endocentric compounds, there are a number of seeming exceptions to the verb-first order of synthetic compounds. These are just as far and few between, however, and whether they should all be counted as noun-verb combinations is also questionable, since they appear to all be formed with nominalized verbs. The verbal element may thus be only indirectly verbal for the purposes of compounding. If interpreted as noun-noun combinations, the nominal first element would reasonably form the head again for some of the words in (58).

- (58) a. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *maripuntayam* ‘spread’  
 ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱ *marin* ‘surface’ + ꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *punta-* ‘stroke’ + ꨱꨱꨱ *-yam* (DAT)
- b. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sasanlekān* ‘labyrinth’  
 ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sasān* ‘way’ + ꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *leka-* ‘guess’ + ꨀꨱꨱꨱ *-an* (NMLZ)
- c. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *selangnūnān* ‘plane’  
 ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *selang* ‘machine’ + ꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *nuna-* ‘fly’ + ꨀꨱꨱꨱ *-an* (NMLZ)
- d. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sinturān* ‘radio’  
 ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sinto* ‘wave’ + ꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *tura-* ‘send’ + ꨀꨱꨱꨱ *-an* (NMLZ)

ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *maripuntayam* is special in that it contains the dative suffix ꨱꨱꨱ *-yam* which is lexicalized as a part of the word: something made or intended for spreading on a surface. A few more such verbal derivations can be found, though not compounds, among others in those words listed in (59).

- (59) a. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *grenyam* ‘extremity’ ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *gren-* ‘reach out’
- b. ꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *lugayam* ‘password’ ← ꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *luga-* ‘go through’
- c. ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sabayam* ‘future’ ← ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *saba-* ‘come’

There is also ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ: *maripunta-* ‘spread over’ as the verb corresponding to ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *maripuntayam*, though its meaning is less specific. Here as well, however, the verbal part is last instead of first. For the other example words (58b–d), an interpretation of the second part as a deverbal noun is possible: a labyrinth as a way or path which requires guessing, a plane as a machine for flight, and radio as a transmission of waves. In the latter case, ꨀꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱꨱ *sinturān*, however, the head is still on the wrong side even if one interprets all of the above examples as noun-noun compounds with a deverbal element.

*Coordinative compounds*

Coordinative compounds are a very small group among the sample drawn from the dictionary, and not a very productive one. Bauer (2001) defines this class as having “two or more words in a coordinate relationship, such that the entity denoted is the totality of the entities denoted by each of the elements” (699). He cautions that they are very easily confused with appositional (also *karmadhāraya*) compounds in that both types of compound allow inserting an *and* between both elements. The nominal coordinative compounds included in the sample are listed in (60).

- (60) a.  $\text{bāmā}$  ‘mom-and-dad’ ←  $\text{bā(bā)}$  ‘dad’ +  $\text{mā(mā)}$  ‘mom’  
 b.  $\text{pruynapay}$  ‘seasoning’ ←  $\text{pruy}$  ‘salt’ +  $\text{napay}$  ‘pepper’  
 c.  $\text{sapayyila}$  ‘hands-and-feet’ ←  $\text{sapay}$  ‘hand’ +  $\text{yila}$  ‘foot’  
 d.  $\text{simileno}$  ‘horizon’ ←  $\text{simil}$  ‘country’ +  $\text{leno}$  ‘sky’  
 e.  $\text{sitemrugon}$  ‘thunderstorm’ ←  $\text{sitem}$  ‘lightning’ +  $\text{rugon}$  ‘thunder’  
 f.  $\text{vekamdekey}$  ‘dishes’ ←  $\text{vekam}$  ‘plate’ +  $\text{dekey}$  ‘fork’

None of the two elements recognizably forms the head in these examples, but both elements are typical components of the thing the compound signifies. Bauer (2001: 699) mentions that coordinative adjective compounds are rare, or at least rarely documented in the grammars he surveyed. In our sample, only the compound in (61) is included. This compound forms a noun from the combination of two adjectives, insofar it is relevant to this section even though the component parts are not nouns.

- (61)  $\text{makagisu}$  ‘twilight’ ←  $\text{maka}$  ‘light’ +  $\text{gisu}$  ‘dark’

The sample also includes the two words in (62), which are, however, neither made up from nouns, nor do they form a noun in combination. Instead, they are technically verbs combining to form directional adverbs and have been exceptionally included here for completeness.

- (62) a.  $\text{mangasaba}$  ‘towards’ ←  $\text{manga-}$  ‘move’ +  $\text{saba-}$  ‘come’  
 b.  $\text{mangasara}$  ‘away’ ←  $\text{manga-}$  ‘move’ +  $\text{sara-}$  ‘go’

*Exocentric compounds*

In exocentric compounds, the modifier is not a hyponym of its head (Bauer 2001: 700), which means that the modifier is not describing a property that more closely determines its head. So while a *dog house* is a type of house made for dogs, the

head of an *egghead* is neither for eggs, nor containing eggs, nor made of eggs; instead, it refers to an egg-shaped skull metaphorically. And while a *bluecollar* may wear a blue shirt professionally, the referent it signifies is not a type of collar, but the relationship is metonymical in that the blue collar is part of the guise of the signified entity as a whole. The sample from the Ayeri dictionary contains a few compounds of this kind as well, listed in (63). Again, however, it is not a very productive group.

- (63) a. ၼံၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *avanyonang* ‘artery’ ← ၼံၼ် *avan* ‘bottom, down’ + ၼ်ၼ် *yonang* ‘stream’  
 b. ဃုၼ်ၼ် *baytandevo* ‘headache’ ← ဃုၼ် *baytang* ‘blood’ + ၼ် *devo* ‘head’  
 c. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *linyongang* ‘vein’ ← ၼ် *ling* ‘top, up’ + ၼ်ၼ် *yonang* ‘steam’  
 d. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *sindaynanga* ‘address’ ← ၼ်ၼ် *sinday* ‘number’ + ၼ် *nanga* ‘house’

What is striking here is that only one out of four examples shows the expected head-initial order: ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *sindaynanga*. The other three examples all have the head component on the right side, preceded by a modifier. However, what all of these have in common, is that they are only metaphorically or metonymically describing the thing they signify: veins and arteries are not literally streams going up or down (they are a kind of stream flowing in different directions, however, so these are probably on the borderline between exocentric and endocentric); a headache is related to the head, but has not directly to do with being made of or containing blood (the rationale behind this being a superstition that you have too much blood in your head, which is said to cause the pain); and a house number may be part of an address, but is in a *pars pro toto* relationship to it.

#### A few mysterious cases

The following words from our sample were either undeterminable as to their composition due to parts of the word not being clear regarding one of their constituent parts, either because I tweaked the constituent so much as to not be readily recognizable anymore, or because I forgot to make an entry in the dictionary, or even deleted or changed it. The words in question are listed in (64).

- (64) a. ဃုၼ်ၼ် *batangiman* ‘mosquito’ ← ဃုၼ် *baytang* ‘blood’ + ?  
 b. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *kirinalang* ‘avenue’ ← ၼ်ၼ် *kirin* ‘street’ + ?  
 c. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *ningambakar* ‘telltale’ ← ၼ်ၼ် *ningan* ‘story’ + ?  
 d. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *ragayesuy* ‘grid’ ← ၼ်ၼ် *ragan* ‘line’ + ?  
 e. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *teraymino* ‘melancholic’ ← ? + ၼ် *mino* ‘happy’  
 f. ၼ်ၼ်ၼ် *vetaysano* ‘fare’ ← ? + ၼ်ၼ် *sasān* (earlier ၼ်ၼ် *sasano*) ‘way’

For all of the components represented by a question mark, there is no corresponding dictionary entry. At least in *baytangiman*, the \**iman* part looks as though it could be a noun due to the *-an* nominalizer suffix. \**teray* in *teraymino* might also be an adjective supposed to mean ‘sad’ (which would make it an adjectival coordinative compound), although the dictionary entry for that is *giday*. Even though parts of all these words are unclear, they all seem to follow the correct syntactic order, judging by those parts that are identifiable. And even in the case of *vetaysano*, which is missing the first part, it can be reasonably assumed that the identifiable part, \**sano*, is the modifier, and \**vetay* may have once been intended to mean ‘money’ or ‘fee’ or something along these lines.

With the exception of *ningambakar*, all of the mystery words were entered into the dictionary in 2006. Digging through old archives and translations, I could determine at least that \**bakar* was once intended to mean ‘lie’, and \**teray* was indeed intended to mean ‘sad’.

#### 4.1.6 Reduplication

Wiltshire and Marantz (2000) write that it has been suggested that reduplication serves an iconic function, “with the repetition of phonological material indicating a repetition or intensity in the semantics” (561), so with regards to nouns it mainly serves to indicate plurality of various kinds. However, they find that in fact, reduplication serves all kinds of functions, also ones without iconic meanings, and mention Agta, an Austronesian language of the Philippines, which uses reduplication to form diminutives (Healey 1960: 6–9). As we have seen in section 3.2.3 above, so does Ayeri, and it is justified in doing so since there is real-world evidence for this use of reduplication. A few examples of diminutive reduplication are given in (65).

- (65) a. *limu* ‘shirt’ → *limu-limu* ‘little shirt’  
 b. *nanga* ‘house’ → *nanga-nanga* ‘little house’  
 c. *sapay* ‘hand’ → *sapay-sapay* ‘little hand’  
 d. *veney* ‘dog’ → *veney-veney* ‘little dog’

Diminutive reduplication involves full-stem reduplication in Ayeri. Besides the productive use of reduplication for diminutive marking, there are a number of diminutive formations which have been lexicalized, such as in the examples given in (66). There are also at least two documented cases where the reduplicated root is not a noun, but the reduplication results in a noun; compare (67).

- (66) a. ၼ် ၼ် *agu* ‘chicken’ → ၼ်းၼ်း *agu-agu* ‘chick’  
 b. ၼ် *gan* ‘child’ → ၼ်းၼ် *gan-gan* ‘grandchild’  
 c. ၼ်း *pasing* ‘tube’ → ၼ်းၼ်း *pasing-pasing* ‘straw’  
 d. ၼ် *poyu* ‘cheek; bacon’ → ၼ်းၼ် *poyu-poyu* ‘butt’
- (67) a. ၼ်း *kusang* ‘double (adj.)’ → ၼ်းၼ်း *kusang-kusang* ‘model’  
 b. ၼ်း *veh-* ‘build’ → ၼ်းၼ်း *veha-veha* ‘tinkering’

Reduplicated nouns behave like regular nouns with regards to inflection, that is, they receive prefixes and suffixes just like the simplexes from which they are derived. This is illustrated in (68) for ၼ်းၼ် *veney-veney* ‘little dog’, from ၼ် *veney* ‘dog’.

- (68) *Puco mino veney-veneyang.*  
 puk-yo mino veney~veney-ang  
 jump-3SG.N happily DIM~dog-A

‘The little dog is jumping happily.’

In (68), the reduplicated noun ၼ်းၼ် *veney-veney* is marked as an agent in that the agent suffix ၼ်း *-ang* is appended to the noun as a unit *after* reduplicating the noun stem. In other words, the following formation in which the root is reduplicated along with its declension suffix is ungrammatical for the purpose of forming a diminutive: \*ၼ်းၼ်း *\*veneyang-veneyang*. Likewise, the reduplicated form is not treated in the way of an endocentric compound, so case and plural marking cannot be appended to the first element: \*ၼ်းၼ်း *\*veneyang veney*.

While ordinary nouns undergo full reduplication to form a diminutive, in compounds, only the head is reduplicated, unless the compound is strongly lexicalized or has an idiomatic meaning going beyond that of its components. (69) shows the simple case of a transparent endocentric compound.

- (69) *Ya yomayo mehir-mehirang seygo veno kay pang nanga nana.*  
 ya= yoma-yo mehir~mehir-ang seygo veno kay pang nanga-Ø nana  
 LOC=be-3SG.N DIM~tree-A apple pretty three back house-TOP IPL.GEN

‘There are three pretty little apple trees behind our house.’

In this example, being endearing or otherwise small is treated as a property of the head, ၼ်း *mehir* ‘tree’, not of the whole compound ၼ်းၼ်း *mehirseygo* ‘apple tree’, or the dependent, ၼ် *seygo* ‘apple’—after all, an apple tree which is small is rather a small tree with apples on it than a tree with small apples. The avoidance of

the fully reduplicated form မဲဃ်ပုၤမဲဃ်ပုၤ *mehirseygo-mehirseygo* is probably related to the notion of economy of expression.

#### 4.1.7 Nominalization

Some accidental ways of deriving nouns have been mentioned above, for instance, some reduplicated non-nominal roots like နွံကုၤ *kusang* ‘double’ or ဖဲဃ် *veha-* ‘build’ may form nouns. However, Ayeri also has some dedicated morphology to derive nouns from other parts of speech. The most common and highly productive way to derive a noun, is the suffix -an. The examples in (70) illustrate some derivations from verbs, and (71) shows derivations from adjectives to nouns. As ကုဃ် *kuban* ‘oar’ shows, the nominalization may have an idiomatic meaning.

- (70) a. ခာကုၤ *balang-* ‘search (v.)’ → ခာကုၤနွံ *balangan* ‘search (n.)’  
 b. နွံဃ် *kub-* ‘row’ → နွံဃ်နွံ *kuban* ‘oar’  
 c. ဂိၤ *rig-* ‘draw’ → ဂိၤနွံ *rigan* ‘drawing’  
 d. ဖဲဃ် *veb-* ‘build’ → ဖဲဃ်နွံ *veban* ‘building’

- (71) a. ခိၤနီၤ *apitu* ‘clean’ → ခိၤနီၤနွံ *apituan* ‘cleanliness’  
 b. ခိၤဂီၤ *gira* ‘urgent’ → ခိၤဂီၤနွံ *girān* ‘hurry’  
 c. ဂနီၤ *pakis* ‘serious’ → ဂနီၤနွံ *pakisan* ‘seriousness’  
 d. ဝါၤ *vapa* ‘skillful’ → ဝါၤနွံ *vapan* ‘skill’

Occasionally, it may even happen that a noun is derived from a noun with a related but sometimes more basic meaning using the nominalizer -an. This process, however, is not productive, so compared to deverbalization and deadjectivization, examples of this derivation strategy are few. (72) gives examples of double nominalizations.

- (72) a. ခိၤညး *ajam* ‘toy’ → ခိၤညးနွံ *ajaman* ‘game’  
 b. နွံကုၤ *kelang* ‘chain’ → နွံကုၤနွံ *kelangan* ‘connection’  
 c. ဂုၤ *nanga* ‘house’ → ဂုၤနွံ *nangān* ‘household’  
 d. တဲၤ *ten* ‘life’ → တဲၤနွံ *tenan* ‘soul’

There are also some apparent nominalizations in -am and -ang, although these are irregular and non-productive; compare (73) and (74). At least the -am derivations in (73) seem to have a connotation of being tools used for the action they derive from; the -ang derivations listed seem to derive a more

- (73) a. ၎်း: *aja*- ‘play’ → ၎်းဃ *ajam* ‘toy’  
 b. ၎်း: *gin*- ‘drink’ → ၎်းဃ *ginam* ‘glass’  
 c. ၎်း: *mik*- ‘poison (v.)’ → ၎်းဃ *mikam* ‘poison (n.), venom’  
 d. ၎်း: *nuna*- ‘fly’ → ၎်းဃ *nunam* ‘feather’
- (74) a. ၎်း: *bayba*- ‘rule’ → ၎်းဃ *bayhang* ‘government’  
 b. ၎်း: *bapa* ‘remaining’ → ၎်းဃ *hapang* ‘remainder’  
 c. ၎်း: *kada*- ‘collect’ → ၎်းဃ *kadang* ‘committee; alliance’  
 d. ၎်း: *mima* ‘possible’ → ၎်းဃ *mimang* ‘access’

abstract related term. As mentioned, however, these tendencies are not entirely regular.

Agentive nouns can be formed from regular nouns with the suffix ဃ *-maya*, compare the examples in (75). An epenthetic /a/ may be introduced to break up consonant clusters that would otherwise be either difficult to pronounce or violating phonotactics. When the stem of the word to which the agentive suffix is attached ends in a consonant or /Ca/, it is also often found fused with the root, sometimes with the first /a/ of *-Caya* lengthened, compare (76). Specifically feminine agentive nouns can be derived with the related suffix ဃ *-vaya*; two examples of this are given in (77).

- (75) a. ၎်း: *anl*- ‘bring’ → ၎်းဃ *anlamaya* ‘waiter’  
 b. ၎်း: *hora* ‘sin’ → ၎်းဃ *horamaya* ‘sinner’  
 c. ၎်း: *nasy*- ‘follow’ → ၎်းဃ *nasyamaya* ‘follower’  
 d. ၎်း: *teba*- ‘bake’ → ၎်းဃ *tebamaya* ‘baker’

- (76) a. ၎်း: *asa*- ‘travel’ → ၎်းဃ *asāya* ‘traveler’  
 b. ၎်း: *ibut*- ‘trade’ → ၎်းဃ *ibutaya* ‘trader, merchant’  
 c. ၎်း: *lant*- ‘lead’ → ၎်းဃ *lantaya* ‘leader; driver’  
 d. ၎်း: *tang*- ‘listen’ → ၎်းဃ *tangaya* ‘listener’

Besides the agentive suffixes, there is also a derivative suffix for makers of things, ၎်း *-ati* (contracting to ၎်း *-ac-* before a vowel), though this is not too productive, and sometimes irregular, as ၎်း *sirtangati* ‘youth’ in (78) shows. Moreover, there are instances of nominalization where a tool of sorts is derived with a suffix ၎်း *-(e)ryan*, which is related to the instrumental suffix ၎်း *-eri* in combination with the nominalizer ၎်း *-an*; compare (79).

- (77) a. ႁႱ *gan* ‘child’ → ႁႱႱႱ *ganvaya* ‘governess’  
 b. ႱႱႱ *lanya* ‘king’ → ႱႱႱႱ *lanvaya* ‘queen’
- (78) a. ႱႱႱ *gindi* ‘poem’ → ႱႱႱႱ *gindati* ‘poet’  
 b. ႱႱႱႱ *sirtang* ‘young’ → ႱႱႱႱႱ *sirtangati* ‘youth’  
 c. ႱႱႱ: *taban-* ‘write’ → ႱႱႱႱႱ *tabanati* ‘scribe’  
 d. ႱႱႱ *vehim* ‘piece of clothing’ → ႱႱႱႱႱ *vehimati* ‘tailor’
- (79) a. ႱႱ: *gur-* ‘turn’ → ႱႱႱႱ *guryan* ‘coil, cylinder’  
 b. ႱႱ: *mis-* ‘behave’ → ႱႱႱႱ *miseryan* ‘method, strategy’  
 c. ႱႱ: *nap-* ‘burn’ → ႱႱႱႱ *naperyan* ‘tinder’  
 d. ႱႱ: *pra-* ‘glitter, gleam’ → ႱႱႱႱ *praryan* ‘spark’

While ႱႱ *-an* derives nouns from verbs to produce nouns that act as such in every way, it may sometimes be preferable to refer to the action itself by a noun, compare (80) for an example from English. In (80a), *building* is simply a noun derived from the verb *build*. It acts as a noun in every way, for example, it can serve as a subject and object, it can be pluralized, it can take determiners, and can be modified by adjectives.

- (80) English:  
 a. *Manhattan is famous for its tall buildings.*  
 b. *Building a house is an expensive endeavor.*

The form of *building* in (80b), however, is a gerund, and as such underlies the restriction that it cannot be pluralized (Payne 1997: 35). As we have seen at the beginning of this section on nominalization, Ayeri can derive ႱႱႱ *vehan* ‘building, construction’ from the verb ႱႱ: *veh-* ‘build’, which acts like every other common noun, much like in the English example in (80a).

The examples in (81) condense several properties into one for illustration. For instance, (81a) shows that ႱႱႱ *vehān* can serve as the subject of a clause, and that it can as well be modified by an adjective—the choice of adjectives is not subject to any distributional restrictions other than those imposed by the semantic frame of HOUSE. In the next example, (81b), ႱႱႱ *vehān* serves as the object of the clause and is being determined by the demonstrative prefix ႱႱ: *eda-* ‘this’. The third example, (81c), shows ႱႱႱ *vehān* both pluralized and modified by a possessive pronoun, ႱႱ *yona* ‘of it’. And finally, in (81d) we see ႱႱႱ *vehān* quantified by the enclitic ႱႱ *-kay* ‘few’.



- (81) a. *Lesāra sirimang vebānreng tado.*  
 lesa=ara sirimang vehān-reng tado  
 collapse-3SG.INAN about.to building-A.INAN old  
 ‘The old building is about to collapse.’
- b. *Le vacyang eda-vebān.*  
 le= vac=yang eda=vehān-Ø  
 PT.INAN=like-1SG.A this=building-TOP  
 ‘This building, I like it.’
- c. *Ang latayo bayhang vebānyeley yona.*  
 ang=lata-yo bayhang-Ø vehān-ye-le yona  
 AT= sell-3SG.N government-TOP building-PL-P.INAN 3SG.N.GEN  
 ‘The government is selling its buildings.’
- d. *Le ming kuysāran vebān-kay dirasyam ran.*  
 le= ming=kuysa-aran vehān-Ø=kay diras-yam ran  
 PT.INAN=can= compare-3PL.INAN building-TOP=few splendor-DAT 3SG.INAN.GEN  
 ‘Few buildings can compare to its splendor.’
- (82) ... *nay ang pətangongva ankyu baruyamanas nanang ...*  
 ... *nay ang=pə-tang-ong=va.Ø ankyu haru-yam-an-as nanang ...*  
 ... *and AT= NFUT-hear-IRR=2.TOP truly beat-PTCP-NMLZ-P great ...*  
 ‘... and you would indeed hear the magnificent beating ...’

Similar to the English example in (80b), Ayeri can also derive nouns from the participle of a verb describing the action as such—a gerund. (82) again draws on the Ayeri translation of Kafka’s short story “Eine kaiserliche Botschaft” (Becker 2012: 2, 14) for an example. The annotations to this translation contain a comment on the grammatical rules which operate in this passage, more specifically also on the gerund derivation ʔᵛᵛᵛᵛ *haruyaman* ‘beating’:

Furthermore, I wrote *haruyaman* ‘beating’ instead of *haruan* ‘beat(ing)’ because I wanted to emphasize the process of beating as an incomplete action. This is possible here because the word is not topicalized and neither is it marked as a dative, which would also require *haruyamanyam* ‘beat-PTCP-NMLZ-DAT’ to become *haru-anyam* ‘beat-NMLZ-DAT’ (the participle marker *-yam* is derived from the dative case ending *-yam*). (14–15)

We can read from this description that the participle marker in Ayeri has possibly been grammaticalized from the dative case marker, or that it is at least synchronically homonymous. In order for case marking to operate, this formation has to be nominalized, which is done in the usual way by appending ʔᵛᵛᵛᵛ *-an*, thus yielding the suffix cluster ʔᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ *-yaman* for the derivation of verbs as gerunds. If the

'(If) finding out the truth is the goal of the man ...'

What all the passages on gerunds quoted before show is that gerunds in Ayeri do not behave like transitive verbs as in English. Thus, what would be the object of the former verb appears in the genitive case in Ayeri. As in English, however, gerunds in Ayeri cannot be pluralized; compare (86). It is possible, however, to quantify gerunds insofar as the quantifier does not imply countable quantities of the action. Moreover, it is possible for gerunds to be modified by possessors. The two sentences in (87) exemplify this use.

- (86) \**Noyo vebayamanjang nangayena.*  
 noyo veba-yam-an-ye-ang nanga-ye-na  
 expensive build-PTCP-NMLZ-PL-A house-PL-GEN

‘\*The buildings of houses are expensive.’

- (87) a. *Ang lugayan delacamanas-ikan kayanya pang.*  
 ang=luga=yan.Ø delak-yam-an-as=ikan kayan-ya pang  
 AT= go.through=3PL.M.TOP suffer-PTCP-NMLZ-P=much war-LOC after

‘They went through a lot of suffering after the war.’

- b. *Krico malyamanang muya tan.*  
 krit-yo maly-yam-an-ang muya tan  
 annoy-3SG.N sing-PTCP-NMLZ-A wrong 3PL.M.GEN

‘Their off singing is annoying.’

## 4.2 Pronouns

Ayeri possesses different kinds of pronouns in the sense that there is a closed class of words which contains anaphora of various types—personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, as well as reflexive and reciprocal expressions. Each class of pronouns will be discussed in the following.

### 4.2.1 Personal pronouns

As Table 4.6 shows, Ayeri possesses quite a large number of personal pronouns with (maybe unnaturally) little syncretism between the different paradigm slots overall (the second person is a notable exception); there are also no gaps in the paradigm. Ayeri’s personal pronouns reflect the grammatical features also found in nouns, that is, number, gender, and case, and person is added to that. The individual forms range from completely fused to fully transparent even within the same case

Table 4.6: Personal pronouns

Person	TOP	A	P	DAT	GEN	LOC	CAUS	INS
1SG	ay	yang	yas	yām	nā	yā	sā	rī
2SG	va	vāng	vās	vayam	vana	vaya	vasa	vari
3SG.M	ya	yāng	yās	yayam	yana	yāy	yasa	yari
3SG.F	ye	yeng	yes	yeyam	yena	yea	yesa	yeri
3SG.N	yo	yong	yos	yoyam	yona	yoa	yosa	yorī
3SG.INAN	ra	reng	rey	rayam	ran	raya	rasa	rari
1PL	ayn	nang	nas	nyam	nana	nyā	nisa	ni
2PL	va	vāng	vās	vayam	vana	vaya	vasa	vari
3PL.M	yan	tang	tas	cam	tan	ca	tis	ti
3PL.F	yen	teng	tes	teyam	ten	teya	tēs	teri
3PL.N	yon	tong	tos	toyam	ton	toya	tōs	tori
3PL.INAN	ran	teng	tey	racam	ten	raca	ratas	ray

paradigm, for instance, ມຸ ຍາມ ‘(to/for) me’ (1SG.DAT) on the one hand, and ມຸ ຍາມ ຍາມ ‘(to/for) him’ (transparently 3SG.M-DAT) on the other. Originally, all pronouns have been regular formations based on the respective unmarked pronominal element listed in the TOP column of Table 4.6 declined by adding a case suffix (see section 4.1.3). Use has caused many of these formations to contract and erode as grammaticalization progressed, for instance the first person agent and third person animate masculine plural pronouns; compare (88).

- (88) a. *ayang* → *yang*  
ay-ang yang  
1SG-A 1SG.A
- b. *iyatena* → *tan*  
iy-a-t-ena tan  
3SG-M-PL-GEN 3SG.M.GEN<sup>10</sup>

The plural series used to be derived by adding ັ -n or, in the third person, ັ -t- to the pronoun stem, which can still be easily observed in the unmarked pronouns

<sup>10</sup> Strictly speaking, this could as well be glossed as *t<a>n* (3SG.GEN<M>). I chose to gloss the pronoun in the above way, however, in order to not overly complicate things.

as well as in the alternation between  $\text{y-}$  and  $\text{t-}$  in the third person pronouns. The same goes for the gender-marking thematic vowel in the animate third person pronouns, which has been retained as a distinctive feature even in the non-core pronouns despite sometimes heavy modifications. A further interesting property of Ayeri is that synchronically, singular and plural are distinguished, except for the second person, where the forms are the same, basically like in English. Lehmann (2015) explains, however, that this is not an unusual route for languages to take:

New pronouns, especially for the second person singular, are often obtained by shifting pronouns around in the paradigm, especially by substituting marked forms for unmarked ones. This explains, for instance, the use of [...] English *you* for the second person singular [...] (42)

The second person singular subject pronoun of English used to be *thou*, cognate to German *du*, which can still be found in Shakespeare, for instance. Something along the lines of English *you* as a second person plural pronoun replacing second person singular *thou* by way of a deferential singular use of a plural pronoun (OED 2016: *you*, pron., adj., and n.) may have happened in Ayeri as well.

- (89) a. *Ang barya*                      *Paradan tandās kaleri.*  
 ang=har-ya      Ø= Paradan tanda-as kal-eri  
 AT= beat-3SG.M TOP=Paradan fly-P rag-INS  
 ‘Paradan, he beats the fly with a rag.’
- b. *Sa baryāng*                      *tanda kaleri.*  
 sa=har-yāng      tanda-Ø kal-eri  
 PT=beat=3SG.M.A fly-TOP rag-INS  
 ‘The fly, he beats it with a rag.’
- c. *Ang barya*                      *Paradan yos kaleri.*  
 ang=har-ya      Ø= Paradan yos kal-eri  
 AT= beat-3SG.M TOP=Paradan 3SG.N.P rag-INS  
 ‘Paradan, he beats it with a rag.’
- d. *Ang barya*                      *Paradan tandās rari.*  
 ang=har-ya      Ø= Paradan tanda-as rari  
 AT= beat-3SG.M TOP=Paradan fly-P 3SG.INAN.INS  
 ‘Paradan, he beats the fly with it.’

The personal pronouns are used in just the same way as their full-NP counterparts would be, also in the non-core cases. (89a) shows a sentence with full subject and object NPs; (89b) shows a variation of the sentence with the agent,  $\text{Paradan}$ , replaced by the third person singular masculine agent pronoun  $\text{yāng}$  ‘he’. In (89c), then, the patient,  $\text{tandās}$  ‘fly’, is replaced with the third

person singular neuter patient pronoun ཡོ་ *yos*. In (89d), lastly, the instrument, ཀལའི་ *kaleri* ‘with a rag’ is replaced with the third person singular inanimate instrumental pronoun རལི་ *rari* ‘with it’. Furthermore, complex NPs are in complementary distribution with pronouns, since pronouns are anaphora for NPs. Thus also, an NP which contains an adjective is wholly replaced by a personal-pronoun DP (determiner phrase), as in (90).

- (90) a. *Ang ninye vehimley veno.*  
 ang=nin=ye.Ø vehim-ley veno  
 AT= wear=3SG.F.TOP dress-P.INAN beautiful  
 ‘She wears a beautiful dress.’
- b. \**Ang ninye adaley veno.*  
 ang=nin=ye.Ø ada-ley veno  
 AT= wear=3SG.F.TOP that-P.INAN beautiful  
 ‘\*She wears a beautiful it.’
- c. *Ang ninye adaley.*  
 ang=nin=ye.Ø ada-ley  
 AT= wear=3SG.F.TOP that-P.INAN  
 ‘She wears it.’

Comparing the example sentences in (89) with the TOP column in Table 4.6 an important property of personal pronouns becomes apparent. That is, the ‘unmarked’ (or rather, zero-marked) pronoun forms are also the ones showing as verb agreement. An important difference in this respect, however, is that the third person singular inanimate verb agreement marker is not ར་ *-ra*, but རལ་ *-ara*. The following two examples illustrate the parallel more clearly—observe the person marking on the verb in (91) and the corresponding object pronouns in (92).

Another important property of both pronouns and verbs is that agent pronouns (and patient pronouns under certain circumstances) replace person agreement by

- (91) a. *Sa manya ang Ajān Pila.*  
 sa=man-ya ang=Ajān Ø= Pila  
 PT=greet-3SG.M A= Ajān TOP=Pila  
 ‘Pila, Ajān greets her.’
- b. *Sa manye ang Pila Ajān.*  
 sa=man-ye ang=Pila Ø= Ajān  
 PT=greet-3SG.F A= Pila TOP=Ajān  
 ‘Ajān, she greets him.’

- (92) a. *Sa manye ang Pila ya.*  
 sa= man-ye ang=Pila ya.Ø  
 PT=greet-3SG.F A= Pila 3SG.M.TOP  
 ‘Pila, she greets him.’
- b. *Sa manya ang Ajān ye.*  
 sa= man-ya ang=Ajān ye.Ø  
 PT=greet-3SG.M A= Ajān 3SG.F.TOP  
 ‘Ajān, he greets her.’

cliticizing to the verb stem. Since person agreement morphology is a domain of verbs, it will be dealt with in more detail in the chapter on verbs proper. Example (93a) again has full subject and object NPs; the verb displays  $\text{ɔ}$  -*ya* as the agreement suffix for the masculine agent NP. Example (93b), then, replaces the agent NP with a pronoun. This is not expressed by a free form like *he*, though, but as a pronominal clitic,  $\text{ɔ}$  -*yāng* ‘he’.

- (93) a. *Sa manya ang Ajān Pila.*  
 sa= man-ya ang=Ajān Ø= Pila  
 PT=greet-3SG.M A= Ajān TOP=Pila  
 ‘Pila, Ajān greets her.’
- b. *Sa manyāng Pila.*  
 sa= man=yāng Ø= Pila  
 PT=greet=3SG.M.A TOP=Pila  
 ‘Pila, he greets her.’

Possessive pronouns are special compared to regular personal pronouns in that, like adjectives, they need  $\text{da}$ - as a supporting particle in order to stand alone. The main use for the genitive pronouns in Table 4.6 is to show possession. This means that unlike personal pronouns, they are by themselves not in complementary distribution with nominal NPs, compare (90). Instead, they may be used as modifiers, as (94) shows.

- (94) *nangaya ledō nā*  
*nanga-ya ledō nā*  
 house-LOC blue 1SG.GEN  
 ‘in my blue house’

However, possessives do not share typical morphological properties of adjectives, namely, they cannot be compared ( $\text{na}$ -*eng* ‘\*myer’,  $\text{na}$ -*vā*

Table 4.7: Demonstrative pronouns

Case	Proximal	Distal	Indefinite
TOP	edanya	adanya	danya
A	edanyāng	adanyāng	<i>danyāng</i>
A.INAN	edareng, <i>edanyareng</i>	adareng, adanyareng	<i>danyareng</i>
P	edanyās	adanyās	danyās
P.INAN	edaley	<i>adaley</i>	danyaley
DAT	<i>edayam</i>	adayam	<i>danyayam</i>
GEN	edanyana	adanyana	danyana
LOC	<i>edanyaya</i>	adanyaya	<i>danyaya</i>
CAUS	<i>edanyasa</i>	<i>adanyasa</i>	<i>danyasa</i>
INS	<i>edanyari</i>	<i>adanyari</i>	<i>danyari</i>

‘\*myest’). Fronting them in predicative statements like the one in (95) is possible even without the supporting particle, though. Alternatively, a phrasal construction with  $\text{Ang}$ : *vilyang-* ‘belong’, as indicated in (96), may be used.

- (95) a. *Ada-nangāng da-nā.*  
 ada=nanga-ang da-nā  
 that=house-A one=ISG.GEN  
 ‘That house is mine.’
- b. *Nā ada-nangāng.*  
 nā ada=nanga-ang  
 ISG.GEN that=house-A  
 ‘Mine is that house.’
- (96) *Ang vilyangyo ada-nanga yas.*  
 ang=vilyang-yo ada=nanga-Ø yas  
 AT= belong-3SG.N that=house-TOP ISG.P  
 ‘That house belongs to me.’



#### 4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Ayeri are formed with the demonstrative prefixes: *ᑭᑦ* *eda-* ‘this’ (proximal), *ᑭᑦ* *ada-* ‘that’ (distal), and *ᑭᑦ* *da-* ‘such’ (indefinite). These are combined with a morpheme *ᑲᑲ* *nya*, which is related to the word for ‘person’, *ᑲᑲᑲ* *nyān*. Table 4.7 gives the declined forms for all of them. Those forms attested in the corpus gathered from dictionary entries and example texts also used for the syllable structure analyses in section 1.2 appear in upright type, those that should be grammatical as well otherwise are given in italic type. The corpus is very small, but the prevalence of some forms is possibly reflecting varying degrees of grammaticalization at least to some extent. Table 4.8 gives the token frequencies of the various attested forms.

Of all the cases, the agent demonstratives have the highest token frequency at a combined 52.5%, especially the distal pronouns are very frequent in the sample. Moreover, the distal inanimate agent demonstrative occurs twice as often as its animate counterpart, the shortened form *ᑭᑦᑲᑲ* *adareng* ‘that (one)’ being far more current than the full form *ᑭᑦᑲᑲᑲᑲ* *adanyareng*. Interestingly, the shortened form *ᑭᑦᑲᑲ* *edareng* ‘this one’ is also the only one attested for the inanimate proximate agent; similarly, the only dative demonstrative attested once is shortened as well: *ᑭᑦᑲᑲ* *adayam* ‘(to/for) that’. For non-core cases, only ‘long’ demonstratives are attested, albeit sparingly so.

Regarding the variation between ‘long’ and ‘short’ forms, it is not surprising that those demonstratives with a high frequency of use are eroded in some way: it seems that Ayeri prefers them to stay trisyllabic, which is achieved by dropping the *ᑲᑲ* *nya* part.<sup>11</sup> A further reason for dropping the *ᑲᑲ* *nya* part especially in the inanimate demonstratives may be that it is perceived as a marker of animacy—it has been noted above already that it is related to the word *ᑲᑲᑲ* *nyān* ‘person’. Both factors, high frequency and semantic mismatch, may thus encourage contraction. Still, the question of high frequency especially of *ᑭᑦᑲᑲ* *adareng* remains. It may be explained by looking at a few typical examples of this word in context, however; see (97).

In all of the example sentences in (97), *ᑭᑦᑲᑲ* *adareng* ‘that (one)’ serves as a dummy pronoun together with a predicative adjective or NP, which is the main reason why it occurs so frequently. This is to say, Ayeri prefers the demonstra-

<sup>11</sup> According to the so-called Zipf’s law, word length and token frequency correlate in that the most frequently used words in a language also tend to be the shortest (Zipf 1935: 25–27).

<sup>12</sup> More literal translations of this sentence are ‘That is the one of the closed boa snake’ or ‘That is one of a closed boa snake’.

Table 4.8: Token frequencies of attested demonstrative pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss	Absolute	Relative
<i>edanya</i>	this.TOP	1	1.69%
<i>adanya</i>	that.TOP	9	15.25%
<i>danya</i>	such.TOP	1	1.69%
<i>edanyāng</i>	this.A	4	6.78%
<i>adanyāng</i>	that.A	8	13.56%
<i>edareng</i>	this.A.INAN	3	5.08%
<i>adareng</i>	that.A.INAN	15	25.42%
<i>adanyareng</i>	that.A.INAN	1	1.69%
<i>edanyās</i>	this.P	1	1.69%
<i>adanyās</i>	that.P	2	3.39%
<i>danyās</i>	such.P	2	3.39%
<i>edaley</i>	this.P.INAN	2	3.39%
<i>danyaley</i>	such.P.INAN	2	3.39%
<i>adayam</i>	that.DAT	3	5.08%
<i>edanyana</i>	this.GEN	1	1.69%
<i>adanyana</i>	that.GEN	2	3.39%
<i>danyana</i>	such.GEN	1	1.69%
<i>adanyaya</i>	that.LOC	1	1.69%
Total		59	100%

- (97) a. *Nay ang nelyo-ikan sungkorankibas, adareng tono.*  
 nay ang=nel-yo=ikan sungkorankihas ada-reng tono  
 and AT= help-3SG.N=much geography that-A.INAN certain  
 ‘And geography, that’s for sure, helped me a lot.’ (Becker 2015 [2013]: 13)
- b. *Adareng merambay-ikan, le sundalvāng sasān vana ...*  
 ada-reng merambay=ikan le= sundal=vāng sasān-Ø vana ...  
 that-A.INAN useful=very PT.INAN=lose=2.A way-TOP 2.GEN ...  
 ‘It’s very useful if you get lost [...]’ (Becker 2015 [2013]: 14)
- c. *Adareng danyaley segasena boa tinka.*  
 ada-reng danya-ley segas-ena boa tinka  
 that-A.INAN such-P.INAN snake-GEN boa closed  
 ‘The one of the closed boa snake.’<sup>12</sup> (Becker 2015 [2013]: 22)

tive pronoun *adareng* as the dummy agent in predicative contexts over the personal pronoun *reng* ‘it’. Otherwise, however, demonstrative pronouns work regularly as deictic anaphora: ‘this’, ‘that’, and ‘such (a)’, except that as nominal elements they are declined for case—but not for number or animacy, which is a notable difference between demonstrative pronouns and personal pronouns. Example (98) illustrates the use of the indefinite demonstrative pronoun, *danya* ‘(such) one’ in reference to the singular NP *nangās* ‘house’; (99) gives an example of a demonstrative pronoun in an oblique case, *adanyari* ‘due to that’, with reference to the plural NP *eda-migorayyethese* flowers. In the latter example, the pronoun does not inflect for its antecedent’s NUMBER feature.

- (98) a. *Ang vebya Ajān nangās.*  
 ang=veh-ya Ø= Ajān nanga-as  
 AT= build-3SG.M TOP=Ajān house-P  
 ‘Ajān builds a house.’
- b. *Nangās? Sa vebiyāng may danya.*  
 nanga-as sa=veh=yāng may danya-Ø  
 house-P PT=build=3SG.M.A AFF such-TOP  
 ‘A house? He builds one indeed.’

As mentioned in the previous chapter (section 3.2.1, p. 67), the prefix *da-* ‘such, so’ can combine with a range of syntactic phrase types, but most notably NPs, to serve as an indefinite demonstrative meaning ‘such (a)’, as in (100).

*da-* can be used to express English ‘one’ in the sense of a deictic anaphora as well. Thus, in order to express ‘the ADJECTIVE one’, it may be necessary to use the full demonstrative pronoun, *danya*, since adjectives themselves do not decline,

- (99) a. *Sā hasuyeng eda-migorayye.*  
 sā= hasu=yeng eda=migoray-ye-Ø  
 CAUT=sneeze=3SG.F.A this=flower-PL-TOP  
 ‘These flowers make her sneeze.’
- b. *Ang tipinyon nivaye yena adanyari naynay.*  
 ang=tipin-yon niva-ye-Ø yena adanya-ri naynay  
 AT= itch-3PL.N eye-PL-TOP 3SG.F.GEN that-CAUS as.well  
 ‘Her eyes are itching due to that/them/those [the flowers] as well.’
- (100) *Adareng da-dipakanas.*  
 adareng da=dipakan-as  
 that-A.INAN such=pity-P  
 ‘That is such a pity.’
- (101) a. *Silvyo ku-mino-ing danyāng kivo.*  
 silv-yo ku=mino=ing danya-ang kivo  
 look-3SG.N like=happy=so such-A little  
 ‘The little one looks so happy.’
- b. *Sa noyang danya tuvo.*  
 sa=no=yang danya-Ø tuvo  
 PT=want=1SG.A such-TOP red  
 ‘I want the red one.’

and Ayeri largely avoids undeclined NPs. An example is given in (101). Also see section 4.1.3 above for examples of situations where nouns regularly do not exhibit case marking. It is also possible, however, to abbreviate  $\text{da-}$  to the prefixed form  $\text{da-}$ , which may be complemented by adjectives and possessive pronouns alike. The adjective or pronoun basically forms a complex anaphora, then, which in most circumstances can be marked for case and topic like any other nominal element, as demonstrated in (102).

- (102) *Sa noyang da-tuvo.*  
 sa=no=yang da=tuvo-Ø  
 PT=want=1SG.A such=red-TOP  
 ‘I want the red one.’

If incorporated in this way, the adjective cannot take comparison morphology: (103a) is not possible since inflections cannot be appended to clitics. Moreover, the meaning of (103b) differs from what was intended, since the  $\text{-vā}$  clitic is appended not to the adjective, but to the composite nominal as such.

- (103) a. \**da-tuvo-vāley*  
           da=tuvo=vā-ley  
           one=red=SUPL-P.INAN  
           Intended: ‘the reddest one’
- b. <sup>1</sup>*da-tuvo-ley-vā*  
           da=tuvo-ley=vā  
           one=red-P.INAN=most/\*SUPL  
           ‘most red ones’  
           Intended: ‘the reddest one’

Table 4.9: Interrogative pronouns

Pronoun	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
<i>sinya</i>	‘which one’ ( <i>nyān</i> ‘person’)	‘who’, ‘what’, ‘which’
<i>sikan</i>	‘how much’ ( <i>ikan</i> ‘much’)	‘how much’, ‘how many’
<i>sikay</i>	‘with what’ ( <i>kayvo</i> ‘with’)	‘how’ (tool, circumstance)
<i>simin</i>	‘which way’ ( <i>miran</i> ‘way’)	‘how’ (way, procedure)
<i>sitaday</i>	‘which time’ ( <i>taday</i> ‘time’)	‘when’
<i>siyan</i>	‘which place’ ( <i>yano</i> ‘place’)	‘where’

#### 4.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The intererrogative pronouns are all formed with ꠘ *si-*, combined with a lexical element or a case marker; ꠘ *si-* is also related to the relativizer ꠘ *si*. The interrogative pronouns are listed in Table 4.9. All interrogative pronouns share the property that they are placed *in situ*. That is, they appear in the same position as the phrase they stand in for, so there will not be movement of the question word to the front as in English. Additionally, impersonal interrogative pronouns cannot be topicalized since they also do not inflect for case, which preempts the difference between zero-marked topicalized and overtly case-marked untropicalized forms. This is illustrated in (104).

In the table on interrogative pronouns above, ꠘꠘ *sinya* ‘who, what, which’ is seperated from the other pronouns because it behaves differently. Namely, it can be declined for all cases according to the syntactic or semantic role of the NP it replaces, and it can also be topicalized, since the element asked about is likely high in discourse salience; compare (105).

- (104) a. *Sa petigavāng inun sikan?*  
 sa=petiga=vāng inun-Ø sikan  
 PT=catch=2.A fish-TOP how.much

‘How much fish did you catch?’

- b. *Sa-sahavāng sitaday?*  
 sa~saha=vāng sitaday  
 ITER~come=2.A when

‘When will you return?’

- (105) a. *Ang yomayo sinyā adaya?*<sup>14</sup>  
 ang=yoma-yo sinyā-Ø adaya  
 AT= exist-3SG.N who-TOP there

‘Who is there?’

- b. *Sa narayeng sinyā?*  
 sa=nara=yeng sinyā-Ø  
 PT=say=3SG.F.A what-TOP

‘What did she say?’

Ayeri does not strictly distinguish animate from inanimate referents in its interrogative pronouns, so there is no distinction between ‘who’ and ‘what’. *ṣṣṣ sinyā* and/or the verb will instead inflect according to context and to the speaker’s expectations or knowledge (compare Table 4.10). Thus, there is also no dedicated question word for ‘why’, since in Ayeri one can simply ask ‘due to what/whom’ by inflecting *ṣṣṣ sinyā*; *ṣṣṣṣ sinyisa* is *ṣṣṣ sinyā* marked for causative case by the suffix *-isa*. Declension of *ṣṣṣ sinyā* for different purposes is shown in (106).

- (106) a. *Le kayāng adanya sinyayam?*  
 le= ka=yāng adanya-Ø sinyā-yam  
 PT.INAN=throw.away=3SG.M.A that-TOP what-DAT

‘Why (= what for) did he throw that away?’

- b. *Ang prantoyva sinyisa?*  
 ang=prant-oy=va.Ø sinyā-isa  
 AT= ask-NEG=2.TOP what-CAUS

‘Why (= because of what) did you not ask?’

While there is no single, dedicated word for ‘why’, Ayeri distinguishes between two kinds of ‘how’: *ṣṣṣṣ simin*, on the one hand, asks about the way by which—or

<sup>14</sup> This may be shortened to just *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ sinyāng adaya?* ‘who (is) there?’ (who-A there).

Table 4.10: Declension paradigm for རྩོམ་ *sinya* ‘who, what’

Case	Pronoun	Translation
TOP	<i>sinya</i>	‘who’, ‘what’
A	<i>sinyāng</i>	‘who’, ‘what’
A.INAN	<i>sinyareng</i>	‘who’, ‘what’
P	<i>sinyās</i>	‘whom’, ‘what’
P.INAN	<i>sinyaley</i>	‘whom’, ‘what’
DAT	<i>sinyayam</i>	‘for/to whom’, ‘for/to what’
GEN	<i>sinyana</i>	‘whose’, ‘from whom’, ‘from what’
LOC	<i>sinyaya</i>	‘in/at/on whom’, ‘in/at/on what’
CAUS	<i>sinyisa</i>	‘due to/because of whom’, ‘due to/because of what’
INS	<i>sinyari</i>	‘by whose help’, ‘with what’

the circumstances under which—an action is carried out, see (107a). རྩོམ་ *sikay*, on the other hand, asks for the means or tools used to carry out an action, see (107b). Thus, the correct answer to the question in (107a) needs to treat the process of making bread, since རྩོམ་ *simin* asks about the way of doing something; a correct answer to the question in (107b), on the other hand, will likely mention grinding utensils, like a mill or a pestle.

- (107) a. *Le tiyavāng vadisān simin?*  
 le= tiya=vāng vadisān-Ø simin  
 PT.INAN=make=2.A bread-TOP how  
 ‘How do you make bread?’
- b. *Le peralvāng sagan sikay?*  
 le= peral=vāng sagan-Ø sikay  
 PT.INAN=grind=2.A flour-TOP how  
 ‘How do you grind flour?’

Comparing Tables 4.9 and 4.10, strikingly, there are two possibilities to express ‘where’—lexical རྩོམ་ *siyan* and synthetic རྩོམ་ *sinyaya*. These, however, are not strictly interchangeable, even though some variation is to be expected. While རྩོམ་ *siyan* refers to *places* in general, the རྩོམ་ *sinya* series refers to *discourse participants* both animate and inanimate more specifically, as shown in (108).

- (108) a. *Saravāṅ siyan?* — *Ya Sikatay.*  
           sara=vāṅ siyan — ya= Sikatay  
           gO=2.A where — LOC=Sikatay  
           ‘“Where are you going?”—“To Sikatay.”’
- b. *Ya divvāṅ sinyā?* — *Ya Haki.*  
           ya= div=vāṅ sinyā-Ø — ya= Haki  
           LOCT=stay=2.A who-TOP — LOC=Haki  
           ‘“Who are you staying with?”—“At Haki’s”’

#### 4.2.4 Indefinite pronouns

Haspelmath (1997: 56) notes how descriptions of languages often do not document indefinite pronouns—whether they simply do not exist in this language or whether they escaped the author’s attention remains unknown in these cases. It may thus be duly noted here that Ayeri does indeed possess indefinite pronouns.<sup>15</sup> In order to classify languages, Haspelmath (1997) generalizes the map displayed in Figure 4.1 based on a sample of 100 languages from all continents, although he notes that this sample has a European bias due to the availability of data (2). Languages typically form contiguous areas on the map, even though they may carve it up quite differently, and with overlaps between the different semantic groupings 1–9.

An interesting question that Haspelmath (1997) poses towards the end of his book is whether there are any correlations between word order typology and the preference for generic nouns (‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, ‘time’, ‘manner’) or, for instance, interrogative-based systems (239–241). From Haspelmath (1997)’s concluding statistics it looks as though there is a slight preference of languages with which Ayeri shares basic typological traits—such as verb-initial, verb-object, and noun-genitive word order, also having prepositions—for basing indefinite pronouns on generic nouns. Haspelmath (1997) concedes that these seeming correlations are skewed by areal effects, “because indefinite pronouns have a strongly areal distribution” (241).<sup>16</sup> He still presumes, however, that word-order typology

<sup>15</sup> Since it is an invented language, the value of this assertion to linguistic typology remains doubtful, however.

<sup>16</sup> The map in *WALS* (Haspelmath 2013) suggests areal clusters at least for generic-noun based systems in Africa and Southeast Asia. *WALS* classifies 60% of the sampled languages as possessing interrogative-based indefinite pronouns, with evidence for this type quoted for all continents except Africa. The next smaller group, generic-noun based, falls behind at 26%. The lack of evidence for the interrogative type in Africa despite being the most frequent one in the set may be due to the unavailability of data. Crossreferencing constituent-order and indefinite-pronoun systems did not yield a result which obviously suggested a correlation.



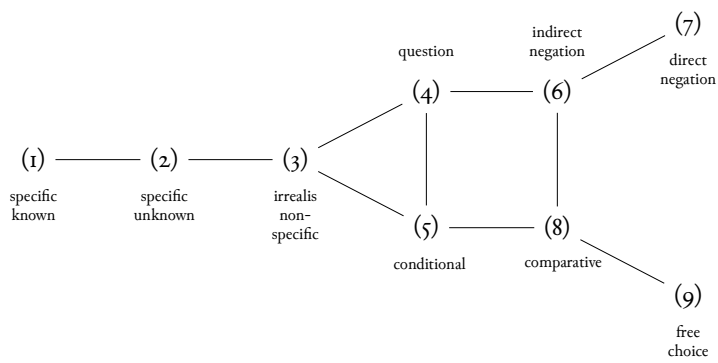


Figure 4.1: The implicational map for indefinite pronoun functions (Haspelmath 1997: 4)

Table 4.11: Indefinite pronouns

Property	every	some	none
PERSON	enya	arilinya	ranya
THING	enya	arilinya, arilya	ranya
PLACE	yanen	yāril	yanoy
TIME	tadayen	tajaril; metay	tadoy; jānyam
MANNER	arēn	miranaril	aremoym
REASON	—	yāril	—

may have an effect on the formation of indefinites insofar as it correlates with grammaticalization more generally (239).

Haspelmath (1997) mentions generic nouns, and these can be combined with the quantifying expressions ‘every’, ‘any’, ‘some’, and ‘none’ into an array like the one presented in Table 4.11. Ayeri does not distinguish ‘every’ from ‘any’ as English does; there is also no distinction in polarity (affirmative versus negative) the way English has it. See (109) for an example.

- (109) English:
- a. \*I don’t know something about this.
  - b. I don’t know anything about this.

Likewise, Ayeri does not distinguish between animate and inanimate indefinite

referents. The same pronouns are used for either, although the shortening of *arilinya*, *arilya*, can only be used for inanimates, similar to the distinction in the demonstrative pronouns between *adanyāng* ‘that one’ (that.one-A) and *adareng* ‘that one’ (that.one-A.INAN; see section 4.2.2). Two further features stand out, however.

Firstly, most of the pronouns in the chart have a lexical part—Ayeri’s indefinite pronouns are based on generic nouns. Thus, the pronouns referring to people and things all have the *-nya* element in common, which we also find in the interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, and which also appears in the word *nyān* ‘person’. In the same way, the pronouns related to the notion of place have a *ya-* or *yan-* part, which we also find in *yano* ‘place’.<sup>17</sup> In a regular continuation of this pattern, the indefinite pronouns of time all have an element related to *taday* ‘time’ in common, which is obscured somewhat by palatalization in *tajaril*. The exception to this series, then, is *jānyam*, which is the multiplicative numeral formed from *ja* ‘zero’, thus means ‘zero times’ or ‘not once’ rather than ‘never’, although it can also be used emphatically for the latter. The series of manner pronouns is an absolute exception in that it must be a residue from an older layer of grammaticalization since *are-* is not a recognizable morpheme in the modern language.<sup>18</sup> *miranaril* is a regular formation of *miran* ‘way, manner’ combined with the quantifier (!) for indefinite amounts, *-aril* ‘some’.

This observation leads to the second regular feature, that is, affixes as modifiers to generic nouns. The ‘every’ series regularly features the morpheme *en*, either prefixed or suffixed, which is related to the quantifier *-ben* ‘every, all, each’ and can presumably be found even on *arēn* in spite of its obscure lexical base. In the same manner, the series related to inspecific generic-noun referents is marked by the affix *aril* which, as we have just seen above, is otherwise used to refer to inspecific quantities, for instance, *vadisān-aril* ‘some bread’ (bread=some). In the case of *miranaril*, the suffix seems somewhat of an odd choice, since manner is not a quantifiable variable in the same way people, things, locations, or moments are. Possibly, it is chosen rather in analogy with the other pronouns in this series than on semantic grounds. In any event, *metay* has the semantically more ‘proper’ *me-* prefix, relating it to absolute inspecificity.<sup>19</sup> This alternation is employed to distinguish between the meaning

<sup>17</sup> *yano* itself is an old nominalization and very likely related as a morpheme to the locative suffix *-ya*.

<sup>18</sup> I probably made this up as I was going, many years ago, and without considering systematic implications, since I was unaware of them at the time.

<sup>19</sup> Compare German *irgendjemand* and French *n’importe qui* ‘no matter who’.

of ‘sometime’, that is, occurring once at an unspecified point in time, and *tajaril* ‘sometimes’, which refers to repeated occurrence at inspecific times. The alternation between *miranaril* and regularly derived *mə-miran* can be leveraged to express a specificity difference as well. While the former suggests that an action is carried out or an event is happening by means of a specific, though unknown procedure, the latter suggests just any possible procedure. Lastly, the negative series is regularly marked by the negative suffix *-oɣ*, which also occurs with adjectives and verbs (see sections 4.3.2 and 4.5.4). An outlier in this series is the person/thing-related indefinite pronoun, *ranya*. The etymologic connections of the *ra* part are not presently known, perhaps the postposition *ran* ‘against’ is related.

The chart in Table 4.11 only tells half the truth by not giving any information on use contexts for the individual forms, so how do they fit in with the chart from Haspelmath (1997) quoted at the beginning of this section? Regarding the functions of indefinite pronouns annotated to the numbers on the map, Haspelmath (1997) gives the example sentences in (110, which, however, mostly only give one example for either the ‘person’ or ‘thing’ category at a time. It is up to the reader to generalize from this (2–3).<sup>20</sup>

As we have seen in Table 4.11 above, Ayeri does not make a difference between ‘every’ and ‘any’, which is why the ‘some’ series can be applied to all of (1)–(5); it can also be used for indirect negation (6). The pronouns from the ‘none’ column, then, are used to express direct negation (7). Since double negation—that is, agreement in negation between verbs and indefinite pronouns for purposes of emphasis rather than double negation in the strictly logical sense—is possible, the ‘none’ series may also be employed for indirect negation (6). Moreover, Ayeri uses the ‘every’ series for both standard of comparison (8) and free choice (9). Besides this, absolute-indefinite *me-* can be used for (3)–(6) in combination with a (generic) noun to attach to. It needs to be noted that only the indefinite pronouns with person or thing reference (those including *nya*) decline; they can also be topicalized. The other indefinites, relating to place, time and manner, are indeclinable and also cannot be topics for this reason. For the ‘specific’ categories (1) and (2) it is furthermore possible to use the plain generic nouns, *nyān* ‘person’, *linya* ‘thing’, *yano* ‘place’, *taday* ‘time’, *miran* ‘way’, however. Figure 4.2 shows the groupings for Ayeri; (111) gives examples of all types.

<sup>20</sup> These appear here reordered according to numerical order. The book lists them according to their logical order as tracing the map, the enumeration somewhat confusingly tied in with the running enumeration of examples.

- (110)
1. specific, known to the speaker:  
*Somebody* called while you were away: guess who!
  2. specific, unknown to the speaker:  
*I heard something*, but I couldn't tell what kind of sound it was.
  3. non-specific, irrealis:  
Please try *somewhere* else.
  4. polar question:  
*Did anybody* tell you anything about it?
  5. conditional protasis:  
*If you see anything*, tell me immediately.
  6. indirect negation:  
*I don't think that anybody* knows the answer.
  7. direct negation:  
*Nobody* knows the answer.
  8. standard of comparison:  
*In Freiburg the weather is nicer than anywhere* in Germany.
  9. free choice:  
*Anybody* can solve this simple problem.



Figure 4.2: Map of indefinite pronoun functions in Ayeri

- (111)
1. specific, known to the speaker:
    - a. *Ang sabaya arilinya, leku, sinyāng adaley!*  
 ang=saha-ya arilinya-Ø lek-u sinyāng ada-ley  
 AT= come-3SG.M someone-TOP guess-IMP who-A that-P.INAN  
 'Someone came, guess who it is!'

- b. *Le ilta ningyang linya vayam.*  
 le= ilta ning=yang linya-Ø vayam  
 PT.INAN=need tell=ISG.A thing-TOP 2.DAT

‘I need to tell you something.’

2. specific, unknown to the speaker:

- a. *Ang pegaya arilinya pangisley nā.*  
 ang=pega-ya arilinya-Ø pangis-ley nā  
 AT= steal-3SG.M someone-TOP money-P.INAN ISG.GEN

‘Someone stole my money.’

- b. *Ang sarayan yano-ya agon.*  
 ang=sara=yan yano-ya agon  
 AT= go=3PL.M.TOP place-LOC foreign

‘They are going somewhere foreign.’

3. non-specific, irrealis:

- a. *Pinyan, prantu yāril palung.*  
 pinyan prant-u yāril palung  
 please ask-IMP somewhere different

‘Please ask somewhere else.’

- b. *Le ilta miranang adanya mǝ-miraneri palung.*  
 le= ilta= mira=nang adanya-Ø mǝ-miran-eri palung  
 PT.INAN=need=do=ISG.A that.one-TOP some-way-INS different

‘We need to do that in some other way.’

4. polar question:

- a. *Ang koronva arilinyaley edanyana?*  
 ang=koron=va.Ø arilinya-ley edanya-na  
 AT= know=2.TOP something-P.INAN this.one-GEN

‘Do you know anything about this?’

- b. *Yomaya mǝ-nyānang si ang vaca mirongya edanyaley?*  
 yoma-ya mǝ-nyān-ang si ang=vaca mira-ong=ya.Ø edanya-ley  
 exist-3SG.M some-person-A REL AT= like do-IRR=3SG.M.TOP this-P.INAN

‘Is there *anyone* who would like to do this?’

5. conditional protasis:

- a. *Ang ming pengalayn sitanyās yāril, adareng pray-ven.*  
 ang=ming pengal=ayn.Ø sitanya-as yāril ada-reng pray=ven  
 AT= can meet-IPL.TOP each.other-P somewhere that-A.INAN great=pretty

‘If we can meet somewhere that would be pretty great.’

- b. *Sa na-naravāṅ mǝ-lentan, ang haray vās!*  
 sa= na~nara=vāṅ mǝ-lentan-Ø ang=har=ay.Ø vās  
 PT=ITER~say=2.A some-sound-TOP AT= punch-1SG.TOP 2.P

'You make any more sound, I'm gonna punch you!'

6. indirect negation:

- a. *Paronoyyang, ang no tabaya arilinya adaley.*  
 paron-oy=yang ang=no= taha-ya arilinya-Ø ada-ley  
 believe-NEG=1SG.A AT= want=have-3SG.M anyone-TOP that-P.INAN

'I don't think anyone wants to have that.'

- b. *Paronoyyang, le ming sungvāṅ adanya yanoy.*  
 paron-oy=yang le= ming=sung=vāṅ adanya-Ø yanoy  
 believe-NEG=1SG.A PT.INAN=can= find=2.A that.one-TOP nowhere

'I don't think you can find that *anywhere*.'

7. direct negation:

- a. *Ang koronya ranya gurananley.*  
 ang=koron-ya ranya-Ø guranan-ley  
 AT= know-3SG.M nobody-TOP answer-P.INAN

'Nobody knows the answer.'

- b. *Le ming sungvāṅ adanya yanoy.*  
 le= ming=sung=vāṅ adanya-Ø yanoy  
 PT.INAN=can= find=2.A that.one-TOP nowhere

'You can't find that anywhere.'

8. standard of comparison:

- a. *Sa engyeng larau enya palung.*  
 sa= eng=yeng larau enya-Ø palung  
 PT=be.more=3SG.F.A nice anyone different

'She is nicer than anyone else.'

- b. *Ang engyo ban eda-riman yanen palung.*  
 ang=eng-yo ban eda-riman-Ø yanen palung  
 AT= be.more-3SG.N good this=city-TOP anywhere different

'This city is better than anywhere else.'

9. free choice:

- a. *Ang ming guraca enya eda-prantanley.*  
 ang=ming=gurat-ya enya-Ø eda=prantan-ley  
 AT= can= answer-3SG.M anyone-TOP this=question-P.INAN

'Anyone can answer this question.'

Table 4.12: Relative pronouns

Case	Pronoun	Pronoun with secondary inflection				
		DAT	GEN	LOC	CAUS	INS
Ø	si	siyām	sinā	siyā	sisā	sirī
A	sang	sangyam	sangena	sangya	sangisa	sangeri
A.INAN	sireng	sirengyam	sirengena	sirengya	sirengisa	sirengeri
P	sas	sasyam	sasena	sasya	sasisa	saseri
P.INAN	siley	sileyyam	sileyena	sileyya	sileyisa	sileyeri
DAT	siyam	siyamyam	siyamina	siyamyā	siyamisa	siyameri
GEN	sina/sena	sinayam	sinana	sinaya	sinaisa	sinari
LOC <sup>21</sup>	siya	siyayam	siyana	siyaya	siyaisa	siyari
CAUS	sisa	sisayam	sisana	sisaya	sisaisa	sisari
INS	seri	seriyam	serina	seriya	serīsa	seriri

- b. *Epayeng tadayen si sa pinyaya ye ang Tapan.*  
 epa=yeng tadayen si sa= pinya-ya ye ang=Tapan  
 refuse=3SG.F.A everytime REL PT=ask-3SG.M 3SG.F.TOP A= Tapan  
 ‘She refused everytime Tapan asked her.’

#### 4.2.5 Relative pronouns

As described before, Ayeri connects relative clauses to main clauses with the relativizer ꨀ *si*. This relativizer can be declined for case in accordance with the relative clause’s head in the matrix clause. The respective forms can be gathered from Table 4.12 (column ‘Pronoun’).

As explained in section 3.3, if the relativizer is immediately following its lexical head, only the base form ꨀ *si* is used, which is illustrated in (112a). Here, the head of the relative clause is ဘုရားကျောင်း *natrangās* ‘the temple’, which is immediately followed by the relative clause. If word material is intervening, however, as in (112b), the relative pronoun may be inflected to agree in case with its antecedent in more

<sup>21</sup> The contracted form *siya* for ꨀꨀꨀ *siyaya* is attested once, compare Becker (2012: 12). Likewise, it should be possible for ꨀꨀꨀꨀ *siyayam* to contract to *siyam*. The native spelling of both the long and the contracted forms would not differ, though, since contracted ꨀꨀ *-ye* is also still spelled that way in spite of the difference in pronunciation.

- (112) a. *Eryyo tarela natrangās si tado.*  
 ery-yo tarela natranga-as si tado  
 use-3SG.N still temple-P REL old  
 ‘The temple, which is old, is still being used.’
- b. *Edanyāng ayonas sirtang sas ang sibabaya mondoas nana.*  
 edanya-ang ayon-as sirtang si-as ang=sihaba=ya mondo-as nana  
 this-A man-P young REL-P AT= tend=3SG.M.TOP garden-P IPL.GEN  
 ‘This is the young man who tends our garden.’

Table 4.13: Token frequencies of attested complex relative pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss	Absolute
<i>siyā</i>	REL.Ø.LOC	7
<i>sirī</i>	REL.Ø.INS	3
<i>sinā</i>	REL.Ø.GEN	1
<i>siyām</i>	REL.Ø.DAT	1
Total		12

formal language for referential clarity: *sas* agrees in case with *ayonas* two words over to the left. Relative pronouns do not agree in number with their heads, though, and in gender only insofar as it is relevant to nominal case inflection, that is, agents and patients are distinguished for animacy.

A special property of the relative pronoun is that it can be declined for its role in the relative clause as well to express more complex relationships between the main clause and the relative clause. The respective forms can be found in the columns titled ‘pronoun with secondary inflection’ in Table 4.12. The token frequency of the actually occurring complex relative pronouns in the very small corpus gathered from example texts and dictionary entries (see section 1.2) is given in Table 4.13.

Compared to the unmarked relativizer *si*, which occurs 50 times in the sample (out of 80), the complex relative pronouns have a very low frequency. This is not surprising, since ‘for whom’, ‘by which’, etc. are quite specialized expressions. It also seems that those forms unmarked for their antecedent are preferred, since these are the only ones attested. The sample is really much too small to make actually meaningful judgments here, however. Complex relative pronouns are illustrated in (113). Importantly, a complex relative pronoun cannot form the topic of the relative clause even though it is marked for case according to the relative



- (113) a. *Le vacyang koya sileyya ang layāy adanyana.*  
 le= vac=yang koya-Ø si-ley-ya ang=laya=ay.Ø adanya-na  
 PT.INAN=like=ISG.A book-TOP REL-P.INAN-LOC AT= read=ISG.TOP that-GEN

‘I like the book in which I read about it.’

- b. *Ya saratang yano siyām sarasatang.*  
 ya= sara=tang yano-Ø si-Ø-yām sara-asa=tang  
 LOCT=go=3PL.M.A place-TOP REL-LOC-DAT go-HAB=3PL.M.A

‘They went to the place to which they always went.’

- (114) \**Mica edaya sobayāng si (ʔsī) na ibayang koyaley.*  
 mit-ya edaya sobaya-ang si-Ø-Ø na= iha=yang koya-ley  
 live-3SG.M here teacher-A REL-A-TOP GENT=borrow=ISG.A book-P.INAN

‘Here lives the teacher from whom I borrowed a book.’

- (115) \**Mica edaya sobayāng sāng le sobya payutān yām.*  
 mit-ya edaya sobaya-ang si-Ø-ang le= sob-ya payutān-Ø yām  
 live-3SG.M here teacher-A REL-A-A PT.INAN=teach-3SG.M math-TOP ISG.DAT

‘Here lives the teacher who taught me math.’

clause’s syntactic domain. Furthermore, the relative pronoun cannot receive inflection for an agent or a patient of the embedded clause. Compare (114) to (116) for examples.

Example (114) shows a sentence in which the relative pronoun, ungrammatically, forms the controller of topic agreement on the verb in the relative clause: *na* as a genitive topic is supposed to refer to *sobayāng* ‘teacher’ in the matrix clause by way of the relativizer *si*. This relativizer would then necessarily carry a zero-morpheme topic marker. There is no resumptive pronoun in the relative clause, however, so the relativizer itself forms the anaphora in the relative clause referring to the relativized argument in the matrix clause. This is not possible.

In (115), the relative pronoun \**sāng* carries no overt case agreement since it follows its antecedent (\**sangang* otherwise)—the long vowel identifies it as the agent of the relative clause; the verb agrees accordingly. There is no resumptive agent pronoun here either, so the relative pronoun stands in for the agent NP that would be necessary if the relative clause were an independent sentence. Using a relative pronoun as an agent-NP replacement in this sentence is likewise ungrammatical, though, and so is verb agreement with the declined relative pronoun. Similarly, in (116), the relative pronoun carries case marking for the patient of the relative clause, since the agent of the matrix clause serves as the patient NP of the embedded clause. This is not grammatical either.

- (116) \*Mica edaya sobayāng sās ya kradasayang kardang.  
 mit-ya edaya sobaya-ang si-Ø-as ya= krad-as-a=yang kardang-Ø  
 live-3SG.M here teacher-A REL-A-P LOCT=hate-HAB=1SG.A school-TOP

‘Here lives the teacher whom I used to hate in school.’

- (117) Ang siluye sitang=yes puluyya.  
 ang=silv=ye.Ø sitang=yes puluy-ya  
 AT= see=3SG.F.TOP self=3SG.F.P mirror-LOC

‘She sees herself in the mirror.’

Altogether, it seems that in Ayeri, core arguments of intransitive and transitive clauses—agents and patients—cannot precede the embedded verb of a relative clause; the verb firmly forms the head of the embedded clause in this regard. The relative pronoun also cannot receive secondary marking for agents or patients, and neither can it stand in directly as the agent and patient NP of the relative clause, respectively. It is interesting in this regard that Ayeri *does* allow this for recipients, however, maybe since by their nature as goals they carry something of a locative connotation (compare (113b)) and are thus less tightly integrated with verbs, occupying a middle ground between core arguments and adverbials like the locative proper.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.2.6 Reflexives and reciprocals

As mentioned previously, Ayeri forms its reflexives with the prefix ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ: *sitang-* in combination with a personal pronoun, compare (117). If the agent of the action is the same as the reflexive patient—that is, the agent acts on itself—the reflexive prefix can also migrate onto the verb instead, which is demonstrated in (118).

Doing the same with a non-patient pronoun does not work, however. Thus, the sentence in (118) with the reflexive ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ: *sitang-* marked on the verb is not equivalent to the one in (119). Here, ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ: *sitang-* appears together with a personal pronoun in the locative case, even though here as well, the agent and the locative pronoun refer to the same entity. It may be noted furthermore that the genitive/possessive pronoun series conveys the meaning of ‘one’s own’, which is completely regular in meaning (‘of X-self’), compare (120).

<sup>22</sup> This would be interesting to explore in terms of grammaticalization, since it is possible that this behavior reflects a stage of the language before ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ *-yam* had been grammaticalized as the dative marker. In this respect, it would as well be necessary to explore whether the similarity between the dative marker ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ *-yam* and the locative marker ᩈᩣ᩠ᩅ *-ya* is indeed etymological or merely incidental.



- (122) *Le koronyang sitang-nyama guratan.*  
 le= koron=yang sitang=nyama guratan-Ø  
 PT.INAN=know=1SG.A self=even answer-TOP

‘The answer, even I know it.’

- (123) *Nimpyāng para-ma sitang-nama.*  
 nimp=yāng para=ma sitang=nama  
 run=3SG.M.A quick=enough self=only

‘Only he is running quickly enough.’

- (124) a. *Ang narayan Ajān nay Pila sitanyaya.*  
 ang=nara-yan Ø= Ajān nay Pila sitanya-ya  
 AT= talk-3PL.M TOP=Ajān and Pila each.other-LOC

‘Ajān and Pila talk to each other.’

- b. *Sa ming tangtang sitanya.*  
 sa= ming=tang=tang sitanya-Ø  
 PT=can= hear=3PL.M.A each.other-TOP

‘They can hear each other.’

‘each other’. This pronoun acts the same as other pronouns and can be inflected according to its function in the clause, as (124) shows.

### 4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are one of the parts of speech in Ayeri which do not inflect for any of the grammatical properties of their heads, that is, there is no agreement relation between adjectives and nominal heads. They do inflect for comparison under certain circumstances, however, and can also take various affixes that modify the meaning of the adjective stem.

#### 4.3.1 Comparison

In cases where a comparee is left unexpressed or the patient forms the standard of comparison, Ayeri uses clitic suffixes on adjectives. The suffixes involved are *-eng* (COMP) and *-vā* (SUPL). Adjective comparison is exemplified in (125). In (125a) the comparee is missing, while in (125b), the quality under comparison, *tingracas ban-eng* ‘a better musician’, is a patient NP; the standard, *Maha*, is expressed by an adverbial genitive NP. The example in (125c) similarly expresses a quality without a group of referents to compare to. In all these cases, it

is also possible, however, to use a more complex analytic construction using verbs (compare section 6.4.4).

- (125) a. *Yeng ganyena men si alingo-eng.*  
 yeng gan-ye-na men si alingo=eng  
 3SG.F.A child-PL-GEN one REL clever=COMP  
 ‘She is one of the more clever children.’
- b. *Ang tavya Diyan tingracas ban-eng na Maha.*  
 ang=tav-ya Ø= Diyan tingrati-as ban=eng na= Maha  
 AT= become-3SG.M TOP=Diyan musician-P good=COMP GEN=Maha  
 ‘Diyan became a better musician than Maha.’
- c. *Naratang, yāng pokamayās para-vā.*  
 nara=tang yāng pokamaya-as para-vā  
 say=3PL.M.A 3SG.M.A shooter-P fast=SUPL  
 ‘They said he is the fastest shooter.’

#### 4.3.2 Negation

Adjectives in Ayeri can be negated in two ways: categorially with ၵၵၵ -*arya*, and pragmatically with ၵၵၵ -*oy*. These correspond to English *un-*, and *in-*, *il-*, *ir-*, etc. for categorial negation, and to *not* for pragmatic negation. ၵၵၵ -*oy* absorbs the vowel of the root it is attached to if said root ends in a vowel.

- (126) *Telbaya miseryanang ku-ardārya.*  
 telba-ya miseryan-ang ku=arda-arya  
 show-3SG.M method-A like=suitable-NEG  
 ‘The method proved unsuitable.’

- (127) *Pakoy eda-yanoreng.*  
 paka-oy eda=yano-reng  
 safe-NEG this=place-A.INAN  
 ‘This place is not safe.’

Example (126) displays an adjective which carries the categorial negation marker ၵၵၵ -*arya*; the adjective in (127) carries the simple, pragmatic negation marker ၵၵၵ -*oy*. Which one to use is up to the speaker, since both negate the described property. The categorial marker puts an emphasis more on expressing a general opposite, while the pragmatic marker simply negates, so that it is not necessarily

implied that the negative state persists. The place that is  $\text{pakoy}$  ‘not safe’ now is not necessarily  $\text{pakārya}$  ‘unsafe’ in general, but simply not safe in the context of the here and now of the utterance.

Besides *ad hoc* derivation of categorial negatives with  $\text{-arya}$ , there are also a few lexicalized instances. These have an idiomatic meaning and the negator or the word itself may be irregularly reduced. A few examples are listed in (128).

- (128) a.  $\text{ban}$  ‘good’ →  $\text{banaya}$  ‘ill, sick’  
 b.  $\text{kovaro}$  ‘easy’ →  $\text{kovarya}$  ‘awkward’  
 c.  $\text{sirimang}$  ‘straight’ →  $\text{sirimaya}$  ‘passive’

### 4.3.3 Adjectivization

Adjectives in Ayeri are very commonly zero derivations, that is, there is rather free conversion between nouns and adjectives,<sup>23</sup> compare (129).

- (129) a.  $\text{Ayeri}$  ‘Ayeri’ ~  $\text{Ayeri}$  ‘Ayeri’  
 b.  $\text{disa}$  ‘soap, lye’ ~  $\text{disa}$  ‘soapy, alkaline’  
 c.  $\text{gino}$  ‘drink’ ~  $\text{gino}$  ‘drunk’  
 d.  $\text{pabamay}$  ‘danger’ ~  $\text{pabamay}$  ‘dangerous’  
 e.  $\text{sempay}$  ‘peace’ ~  $\text{sempay}$  ‘peaceful’

Adjectives can also be derived from verbs with the causative suffix  $\text{-isa}$ , which often corresponds to adjectives derived from the past participle form in English—the meaning is often, but not necessarily, relating to an achieved state. The suffix may change the last vowel to  $\text{u}$  or drop it; a specific pattern to these changes is not recognizable. The derivations may be idiomatic occasionally, as some derivations in (130) show.

There are also at least two words where an  $\text{-isa}$  adjective is derived not from a verb, but from a word of a different part of speech—in this case, a noun, and another adjective. These are given in (131).

### 4.3.4 Other affixes

As with nouns, other affixes which can be attached to adjectives as clitic hosts, are the prefix  $\text{ku-}$ , expressing semblance as in (132), as well as quantifying and

<sup>23</sup> Adjectives and split-off modifiers in noun–noun compounds are thus similar at least superficially (compare section 4.1.5).

- (130) a.  $\text{ခံကပ်}$ : *kelang-* ‘connect’ →  $\text{ခံကပ်နီ}$  *kelangisu* ‘connected, related’  
 b.  $\text{ကပ်ကပ်}$ : *palung-* ‘distinguish’ →  $\text{ကပ်ကပ်နီ}$  *palungisa* ‘various’  
 c.  $\text{နီမကပ်}$ : *sundala-* ‘lose’ →  $\text{နီမကပ်နီ}$  *sundalisu* ‘lost’  
 d.  $\text{လေဘ်}$ : *taban-* ‘write’ →  $\text{လေဘ်နီ}$  *tabanis* ‘literary’  
 e.  $\text{ဝေ}$ : *vesa-* ‘give birth’ →  $\text{ဝေနီ}$  *vesisa* ‘native’
- (131) a.  $\text{ခပ်}$ : *apin* ‘luck’ →  $\text{ခပ်နီ}$  *apinisa* ‘lucky’  
 b.  $\text{ခပ်}$ : *iray* ‘high’ →  $\text{ခပ်နီ}$  *irayisu* ‘exalting’

grading suffixes, of which the suffixes used to express comparative and superlative are, essentially, a grammaticalized variety, since  $\text{နီ}$  *-eng* can also be used like ‘rather’ as in (133).

- (132) *Ku-pikisu paray-parayang.*  
 ku=pikisu paray~paray-ang  
 like=scared DIM~cat-A  
 ‘The kitten is like scared.’
- (133) *Napay-eng eda-prikanreng.*  
 napay=eng eda=prikan-reng  
 spicy=rather this=soup-A.INAN  
 ‘This soup is rather spicy.’

## 4.4 Adpositions

Adpositions are another part of speech in Ayeri whose stem itself does not inflect. Ayeri’s most basic adpositions are derived from relational nouns, which is likely the reason why Ayeri mostly employs prepositions, with postpositions and ambipositions being less important placement patterns (Hagège 2010: 110–111; Lehmann 2015: 81 ff.). Adpositions in their most basic use trigger locative marking on the governed NP, the adpositional object. For allative and ablative meanings, the adpositional object may also appear in the dative and the genitive case, respectively, as described in section 4.1.3.<sup>24</sup> The metaphor TIME EQUALS SPACE with the future conceptualized as lying ahead and the past behind also holds in Ayeri, so that some of the words describing locations also double to describe temporal relations.

<sup>24</sup> Even a prolative use together with the instrumental is thinkable.

Table 4.14: Prepositions (simple)

	Preposition	Etymology (or related to)
<i>agonan</i>	‘outside’	<i>agonan</i> ‘outside’
<i>avan</i>	‘bottom, ground’	<i>avan</i> ‘ground, bottom; soil’
<i>eyran</i>	‘under, below’	<i>eyran</i> ‘sole’
<i>eyrarya</i>	‘over’	<i>eyran</i> ‘sole’ + <i>-arya</i> (NEG)
<i>kayvo</i>	‘with, beside’ <sup>25</sup>	<i>kayv-</i> ‘accompany’
<i>kong</i>	‘inside, within’	<i>kong</i> ‘inside’
<i>ling</i>	‘on’	<i>ling</i> ‘top’
<i>luga</i>	‘among, between’	<i>luga-</i> ‘pass, penetrate’
<i>mangasaba</i>	‘towards, in + time’	<i>manga saba-</i> ‘coming’
<i>mangasara</i>	‘away’	<i>manga sara-</i> ‘going’
<i>marin</i>	‘front, on (walls etc.)’	<i>marin</i> ‘face, surface’
<i>miday</i>	‘around’	<i>miday-</i> ‘surround’
<i>nasay</i>	‘near, close’	<i>nasay</i> ‘proximity’
<i>nuveng</i>	‘left’	<i>nuho</i> ‘liver’
<i>pang</i>	‘behind, ago’	<i>pang</i> ‘back’
<i>patameng</i>	‘right’	<i>patam</i> ‘heart’

#### 4.4.1 Prepositions

Table 4.14 gives all the words in Ayeri which may be used as prepositions. As mentioned above, most of these are derived transparently from nouns, so they have probably been grammaticalized relatively recently—their non-preposition meaning is still transparent, they are still phonologically rather complex, and some of them are even polysyllabic in spite of not being composed and covering rather basic meanings.<sup>26</sup> Since these nouns have ceased to function as common nouns in this

<sup>25</sup> There is also a preposition 𐀓𐀕𐀗 *dayrin* ‘side’ listed in the dictionary, however, this has never been seen much use. Instead, 𐀓𐀕𐀗 *kayvo* has come to cover ‘beside, to the side of’ as well.

<sup>26</sup> Unsurprisingly, Hagège (2010: 129) references Zipf regarding speech economy and token frequency. According to Lehmann (2015: 134–141), the phonological integrity of morphemic units reduces as grammaticalization is progressing (with token frequency increasing due to increasing obligatoriness). Bybee and Hopper (2001) see the reason for phonological reduction of highly frequent phonological material “in the automatization of neuro-motor sequences [...]”. Such reductions are systematic across speakers; that is, they do not represent ‘sloppy’ or ‘lazy’





Here  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *pang* is used in both its meanings so that the preposition  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *pang* ‘behind’ governs the original noun  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *pang* ‘back’.

- (136) a. \**Le ranice ang Maha adanya pang pangya yena.*  
 le= ranit-ye ang=Maha adanya-Ø pang pang-ya yena  
 PT.INAN=hide-3SG.F A= Maha that-TOP back back-LOC 3SG.F.GEN

‘\*Maha hides it at the back of her back.’

- b. *Le ranice ang Maha adanya pangya yena.*  
 le= ranit-ye ang=Maha adanya-Ø pang-ya yena  
 PT.INAN=hide-3SG.F A= Maha that-TOP back-LOC 3SG.F.GEN

‘Maha hides it at her back’,

or: ‘Maha hides it behind herself.’

Examples like (134b), on the other hand, show that there is nonetheless a tendency in Ayeri towards grammaticalization of nouns which used to be relational. Grammaticalization is visible in that formerly relational nouns have become restricted in the way they can be used syntactically (Lehmann 2015: 174). This specialization is also apparent in morphology from the fact that prepositions in Ayeri, in spite of their nominal origin, cannot be modified by adjectives and relative clauses like regular nouns. Thus, for instance, while  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *avan* as a noun can mean ‘soil’ or ‘ground’ and can be modified by semantically coherent adjectives like  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *kabu* ‘fertile’, the preposition  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *avan* cannot. Again, in order to express (137b) in a grammatical way, one would have to use  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *avan* as a relational noun, that is,  $\text{᥄᥇}$   $\text{᥄᥇}$   $\text{᥄᥇}$  *avanya kabu similena* ‘at the fertile bottom of the country’ (bottom-LOC fertile country-GEN). The fact that topicalized heads lack case marking makes adpositions derived from nouns, like  $\text{᥄᥇}$  *avan* homophonous with the respective etymologically related preposition.

- (137) a. *Sa yomareng avan kabu ibangya yana.*  
 sa= yoma=reng avan-Ø kabu ibang-ya yana  
 PT=exist=3SG.INAN.A.INAN ground-TOP fertile field-LOC 3SG.M.GEN

‘Fertile ground is on his field.’

- b. \**Ang mican avan kabu similya*  
 ang=mit=yan.Ø avan kabu simil-ya  
 AT= live=3PL.M.TOP bottom fertile country-LOC

‘\*They live at the fertile bottom of the country.’

At the beginning of this section it was shown that prepositions in Ayeri cannot receive number and case marking, which are otherwise typical features of nouns. What is possible with regards to affixes, however, is adding quantifier suffixes to

Table 4.15: Prepositions (directional)

	Preposition	<i>manga</i> + PREP
<i>agonan</i>	‘outside’	‘out’
<i>avan</i>	‘at bottom’; + DAT: ‘down’	‘to the bottom’; + DAT: ‘down to’
<i>eyran</i>	‘under’	‘under’
<i>eyrarya</i>	‘over’	‘across, over’
<i>kayvo</i>	‘with, beside’	‘along’
<i>kong</i>	‘inside’	‘into’
<i>ling</i>	‘on top’; + DAT: ‘up’	‘onto, while’; + DAT: ‘up to’
<i>luga</i>	‘between’	‘through, during, for + <i>time</i> ’
<i>marin</i>	‘in front’	‘to the front’
<i>miday</i>	‘around’	‘circling around’
<i>nasay</i>	‘near’	‘into the near’
<i>nuveng</i>	‘left’	‘to the left’
<i>pang</i>	‘behind’	‘behind, to the back’
<i>patameng</i>	‘right’	‘to the right’

prepositions, since these suffixes are clitics rather than inflections, as shown in (138); also compare section 3.2.5, p. 95.

- (138) *Ang mitasaye pang-ikan mandayya tado.*  
ang=mit-as=ye.Ø pang=ikan manday-ya tado  
AT= live-HAB=3SG.F.TOP back=much forum-LOC old

‘She used to live way behind the old forum.’

As demonstrated before, another quasi-inflection adpositions in Ayeri can host the directional marker *manga* (see section 3.1). While most of the prepositions in Table 4.14 have a static meaning, *manga* indicates a motion in the direction of the respective location, thus *kong* ‘inside’ becomes *manga kong* ‘into’, for instance. Table 4.15 repeats the table of prepositions above for the most part and gives the respective directional meanings. The prepositions *mangasaba* and *mangasara* are missing from this list and appear in the previous table instead, even though they express motion rather than position, because they are only used in this base form and cannot be prefixed by *manga*, which they already contain. Note, however, that *mangasaba* and *mangasara* are not synonymous to an adjunct in the dative and the genitive case, respectively.

Rather, the prepositions add a more deliberate or literal meaning. This is illustrated by the difference between (139a) and (139b).

- (139) a. *Ang nimpay kardangyam.*  
 ang=nimp=ay.Ø kardang-yam  
 AT= run=ISG.TOP school-DAT  
 'I'm running to (a/the) school.'  
 (e.g. for class, or just up to the building)
- b. *Ang nimpay mangasaba kardangya.*  
 ang=nimp=ay.Ø mangasaba kardang-ya  
 AT= run=ISG.TOP towards school-LOC  
 'I'm running towards (a/the) school.'  
 (up to the building)

Also note that while Germanic languages like English make frequent use of set expressions which combine a verb with an intransitive preposition, such as *run away*, *go by*, *raise up*, *track down*, sometimes with rather idiomatic meanings, this pattern does not occur as frequently in Ayeri. Some exceptions are listed in (140).

- (140) a. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ il- mangasara 'surrender' (give away)  
 b. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ lant- mangasara 'distract' (lead away)  
 c. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ nimp- mangasara 'escape' (run away)  
 d. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ tapy- dayrin 'save (valuable assets)' (put aside)  
 e. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ tapy- miday 'put on' (put around)  
 f. ႁႏႱႱႱႱ tura- mangasaba 'forward' (send towards)

These verbs do not govern a prepositional object in the locative case in their idiomatic meaning, as displayed by (141), in which ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *batangiman* and ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *sa Ajān* do neither serve as arguments of ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *lanco* or ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *mangasara*, but of the phrasal verb ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *lant- mangasara*.<sup>28</sup>

- (141) *Ang lanco mangasara batangiman sa Ajān.*  
 ang=lant-yo mangasara batangiman-Ø sa=Ajān  
 AT= lead-3SG.N away mosquito-TOP P= Ajān  
 'The mosquito distracted Ajān.'

Very often, where the verbal expression in English contains a preposition, there is a separate verb in Ayeri, as in (142), or the same verb is used in Ayeri for both

<sup>28</sup> Colloquially, ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *mangasaba* and ႁႏႱႱႱႱ *mangasara* may be shortened to just ႁႏႱႱ *saba* and ႁႏႱႱ *sara*, respectively.

- (142) a. ႁႏႃ: *apand-* ‘descend, climb down’      (143) a. ၵ: *ka-* ‘throw (away)’  
 b. ႁႏႃ: *ling-* ‘ascend, mount, climb up’      b. ၵႃ: *mat-* ‘warm (up)’  
 c. ႁႏႃ: *pab-* ‘remove, take away’      c. ႁႏႃ: *sikl-* ‘rip (up)’
- (144) a. *Ang sabayan      manga pang nangaya.*  
 ang=saha=yan.Ø    manga=pang    nanga-ya  
 AT= go=3PL.TOP    DIR=    back    house-LOC  
 ‘They go behind the house.’
- b. *Ang sabayan      pangyam.*  
 ang=saha=yan.Ø    pangyam  
 AT= go=3PL.TOP    back-DAT  
 ‘They go behind (it),’  
 or: ‘They go to the back.’

the plain English verb and the one extended by a preposition, as in (143). In cases where the preposition does not have a prepositional object otherwise, its double nature as a noun comes to the fore in that the preposition word will be treated like a noun if it is denominal and carries the appropriate case marker itself, like ႁႏႃ *pangyam* ‘to the back’ does in (144b).

#### 4.4.2 Postpositions

While Ayeri mainly uses prepositions—which is by far the most common order for VO languages (Dryer 2013b)—it also uses a number of postpositions, which are given in Table 4.16. As can be read from the table, postpositions do not usually have a nominal origin but are derived either from other prepositions, from adverbial phrases, or even from an adjective in the case of ႁႏႃ *rayu*. The etymologies of ႁႏႃ *pesan* and ႁႏႃ *yamva* are unclear to date.

The postposition ႁႏႃ *pang* is special in that it also exist as a preposition meaning ‘behind, in the back of’, though as a postposition it acquires the related but slightly different meaning ‘beyond, after, past’. It might thus better be treated as a homonym of the preposition rather than as an ambiposition (Hagège 2010: 115). Example (145a) illustrates the use of ႁႏႃ *pang* as a preposition, (145b) the use of ႁႏႃ *pang* as a postposition. This is in contrast to typical ambipositions such as German *wegen* ‘because of, due to’, which has the same meaning in either position and the position variant is just a matter of style.

Besides the difference in placement, the morphological properties of postpositions are the same as those of prepositions. That is, where postpositions are derived from nouns at all, they do not receive case and number marking and cannot

- (145) a. *Sa lancāng pel manga pang penungya.*  
 sa= lant=yāng pel-Ø manga=pang penung-ya  
 PT=lead=3SG.M.A horse-TOP DIR= back barn-LOC  
 ‘The horse, he leads it behind the stable.’
- b. *Lesyo pelang si sã nimp Yong penungya pang yan.*  
 les-yo pel-ang si sã= nimp=yong penung-ya pang yan.Ø  
 fall-3SG.N horse-A REL CAUT=run=3SG.N.A stable-LOC back 3PL.TOP  
 ‘The horse they raced past the barn fell.’

themselves be modified by adjectives or relative clauses. Generally, it is possible for them to be hosts of quantifier clitics where semantics permit it.

#### 4.4.3 Adpositions and time

It has been mentioned above that location also serves as the conceptual metaphor for expressing temporal relationships. Notably the prepositions *ᄃᆞᆫ kong* ‘inside’, *ᄃᆞᆫ ling* ‘on’, *ᄃᆞᆫ marin* ‘in front of’, *ᄃᆞᆫ manga luga* ‘through’, *ᄃᆞᆫ mangasaba* ‘towards’, and *ᄃᆞᆫ pang* ‘behind’ come to mind as doubling for ‘within’, ‘while’, ‘before’, ‘during’, ‘in + time’, and ‘ago’, respectively (also see Table 4.17). Since postpositions are not primarily derived from nouns, there are dedicated forms for expressing temporal relationships, namely, *ᄃᆞᆫ masabatay* ‘since’, *ᄃᆞᆫ pesan* ‘until’, and, as the only form with a double function, *ᄃᆞᆫ pang* ‘after, past’.

- (146) a. *Miranang kong bihanya sam.*  
 mira=nang kong bihan-ya sam  
 do=IPL.A inside week-LOC two  
 ‘We will do it within two weeks.’
- b. *Girenjang mangasaba pidimya-kay.*  
 girend=yang mangasaha pidim-ya=kay  
 arrive=3SG.M.A towards hour-LOC=few  
 ‘He will arrive in a few hours.’
- c. *Layaye-ikan ang Pila ling yeng pakur.*  
 laya-ye=ikan ang=Pila ling yeng pakur  
 read-3SG.F=much A= Pila on 3SG.F.A sick  
 ‘Pila read a lot while she was sick.’

Of the examples above, the use of *ᄃᆞᆫ kong* in (146a) is probably still closest to a local preposition in that the time span is conceptualized as a container, or the distance between two points. The use of *ᄃᆞᆫ mangasaba* in (146b), on the other

Table 4.16: Postpositions

Postposition	Etymology (or related to)
<i>da-nārya</i>	‘despite, in spite of’ <i>da-</i> ‘such’ + <i>nārya</i> ‘but’
<i>kayvay</i>	‘without’ <i>kayvo</i> ‘with’ + <i>-oy</i> (NEG)
<i>masabatay</i>	‘since’ <i>mə-</i> (PST) + <i>saha-</i> ‘come’ + <i>taday</i> ‘time’
<i>nasyam</i>	‘according to’ <i>nasyyam</i> ‘following’
<i>pang</i>	‘beyond, after, past’ <i>pang</i> ‘back’
<i>pesan</i>	‘until’ —
<i>ran</i>	‘against’ <i>possibly ran</i> ‘from it’
<i>rayu</i>	‘diagonally across’ <i>rayu</i> ‘slanted, oblique, skewed’
<i>yamva</i>	‘instead of’ —

Table 4.17: Adpositions with temporal meaning

Adposition	Spatial meaning	Temporal meaning
Prepositions		
<i>kong</i>	inside	within
<i>ling</i>	on top of	while
<i>marin</i>	in front of	before
<i>manga luga</i>	through	during
<i>mangasaba</i>	towards	in + <i>time</i>
<i>pang</i>	behind	ago
Postpositions		
<i>masabatay</i>	—	since
<i>pesan</i>	—	until
<i>pang</i>	beyond, after	after, past

hand, is more idiomatic. While the prepositions in these two examples each take an NP complement, example (146c) shows that it is also possible for prepositions expressing a temporal relationship to govern a subclause. This ability is even more prominent with temporal postpositions in that all of the words listed in Table 4.17 can be complemented by either an NP or a clause. This is illustrated for *masabatay* in (147).

- (147) a. *Ang manga hangya lakayperinya masabatay.*  
 ang=manga=hang=ya.Ø lakayperin-ya masahatay  
 AT= PROG= stay=3SG.M.TOP solstice-LOC since

He has been staying since the solstice.

- b. *Yeng giday sarayāng masabatay.*  
 yeng giday sara=yāng masahatay  
 3SG.F.A sad leave=3SG.M.A since

‘She has been sad since he left.’

## 4.5 Verbs

Besides nouns, verbs constitute the other main part of speech in Ayeri which carries inflections. Verbs show person and number agreement, but may also inflect for tense, aspect, mood, and modality as grammatical categories of the verb itself. Personal pronouns may furthermore cliticize to the verb stem, and the verb phrase is often also marked with a clitic indicating the topic of the sentence and the topic NP’s role in Ayeri’s case system, which can be interpreted as a second agreement relation. Further clitics may indicate reflexive actions, progressive aspect, likeness, logical connection, as well as degree and measure. Verbs are thus probably the most versatile part of speech on the one hand, but also the one with the heaviest workload on the other. The following sections will dissect the morphology of verbs category by category.

### 4.5.1 Person marking

As described in section 3.3, Ayeri conjugates its main verbs canonically in agreement with the agent NP. Verb conjugation as such is extremely pervasive, to the point where verb roots cannot appear without inflection. The basic conjugation paradigms are given in Tables 4.18–4.20. Due to the agglutinating structure of Ayeri it makes little sense to list the whole paradigm of verb inflection for all possible



Table 4.18: Conjugation paradigm for ສົບ- *sob-* ‘learn, teach’ (monoconsonantal root)

Person	Topicalized	Clitic agent	Translation
1SG	<i>sobay</i>	<i>sobyang</i>	‘I learn’
2SG	<i>sobva</i>	<i>sobvāng</i>	‘you learn’
3SG.M	<i>sobyā</i>	<i>sobyāng</i>	‘he learns’
3SG.F	<i>sobyē</i>	<i>sobyeng</i>	‘she learns’
3SG.N	<i>sobyō</i>	<i>sobyong</i>	‘it learns’
3SG.INAN	<i>sobara</i>	<i>sobreng</i>	‘it learns’
IPL	<i>sobayn</i>	<i>sobnang</i>	‘we learn’
2PL	<i>sobva</i>	<i>sobvāng</i>	‘you learn’
3PL.M	<i>sobyān</i>	<i>sobtāng</i>	‘they learn’
3PL.F	<i>sobyēn</i>	<i>sobteng</i>	‘they learn’
3PL.N	<i>sobyōn</i>	<i>sobtong</i>	‘they learn’
3PL.INAN	<i>sobaran</i>	<i>sobteng</i>	‘they learn’
IMP	<i>sobu!</i>	‘learn!’	
HORT	<i>sobu-sobu!</i>	‘let’s learn!’	
ITER	<i>so-sob-</i>	‘learn again, relearn’	
PTCP	<i>sobyam</i>	‘learning’	

affix combinations here, as the table would become unreasonably large. Instead, the various sections below will contain examples of use for all affixes.

Agreement causes verbs to reflect grammatical categories of nominal entities, thus, verbs show agreement in person (1, 2, 3) and number (SG, PL); third persons are again differentiated by gender (M, F, N, INAN; compare section 4.1.1). Verbs only have agreement proper with third persons; their form, then, is the same as that of verbs with topicalized pronominal inflection (see section 4.2.1).

Regarding person–number inflection, verbs may be divided into three classes: monoconsonantal, biconsonantal, and vocalic stems. As discussed in section 1.2, Ayer restricts the number of successive non-glide consonants to two, which has repercussions in the second person, since the conjugation suffix there is *ɿ* *-va*. Monoconsonantal roots are unaffected by this restriction, however, hence the conjugation suffixes can simply be appended as they are; this is illustrated with the verb ສົບ- *sob-* ‘teach, learn’ in Table 4.18. Verb stems ending in dental and velar plosives will naturally undergo palatalization in the third person animate, so for

Table 4.19: Conjugation paradigm for ၼ်း: *anl-* ‘bring’ (biconsonantal root)

Person	Topicalized	Clitic agent	Translation
1SG	<i>anlay</i>	<i>anlyang</i>	‘I bring’
2SG	<i>anlava</i>	<i>anlavāng</i>	‘you bring’
3SG.M	<i>anlya</i>	<i>anlyāng</i>	‘he brings’
3SG.F	<i>anlye</i>	<i>anlyeng</i>	‘she brings’
3SG.N	<i>anlyo</i>	<i>anlyong</i>	‘it brings’
3SG.INAN	<i>anlara</i>	<i>anlareng</i>	‘it brings’
IPL	<i>anlayn</i>	<i>anlanang</i>	‘we bring’
2PL	<i>anlava</i>	<i>anlavāng</i>	‘you bring’
3PL.M	<i>anlyan</i>	<i>anlatang</i>	‘they bring’
3PL.F	<i>anlyen</i>	<i>anlateng</i>	‘they bring’
3PL.N	<i>anlyon</i>	<i>anlatong</i>	‘they bring’
3PL.INAN	<i>anlaran</i>	<i>anlateng</i>	‘they bring’
IMP	<i>anlu!</i>	‘bring!’	
HORT	<i>anlu-anlu!</i>	‘let’s bring!’	
ITER	<i>an-anl-</i>	‘bring again, bring back’	
PTCP	<i>anlyam</i>	‘bringing’	

instance, the third person singular masculine of the verb ၵုာ်: *gurat-* ‘answer’ is ၵုာ်: *guraca* ‘(he) answers’, and the third person feminine plural of ၼ်း: *abag-* ‘roam, wander’ is ၼ်း: *abajen* ‘(they) roam, (they) wander’. Verbs whose stem ends in an affricate are treated as monoconsonantal roots as well, since the affricate occupies one consonant phoneme segment. Thus, the second person of ၼ်း: *ic-* ‘glide, slide’ is not \*ၼ်း: *\*icava*, but ၼ်း: *icva* ‘you glide, you slide’.

Since /v/ is neither a vowel nor a glide, an epenthetic *-a-* is inserted between the stem and the second-person suffix *-va* for verbs whose stem ends in *-CC*.<sup>29</sup> This is illustrated in Table 4.19 for the verb ၼ်း: *anl-* ‘bring’. The second person conjugation of this verb is not \*ၼ်း: *\*anlva*, since the cluster *-nlv-* is illegal, but ၼ်း: *anlava*. Since Ayeri treats two successive instances of the same consonant as a

<sup>29</sup> A *root* is understood here as the uninflected verb morpheme, for instance, ၼ်း: *anl-*, ၼ်း: *ic-*, ၵုာ်: *no-*, or ၵုာ်: *sob-*. A *stem* may contain inflections and further inflectional affixes attach to it; it may also host clitics. Roots are thus counted as a subset of stems here.

Table 4.20: Conjugation paradigm for 𐌲𐌶: *no-* ‘want’ (vocalic root)

Person	Topicalized	Clitic agent	Translation
1SG	<i>noay</i>	<i>noyang</i>	‘I want’
2SG	<i>nova</i>	<i>novāng</i>	‘you want’
3SG.M	<i>noya</i>	<i>noyāng</i>	‘he wants’
3SG.F	<i>noye</i>	<i>noyeng</i>	‘she wants’
3SG.N	<i>noyo</i>	<i>noyong</i>	‘it wants’
3SG.INAN	<i>noara</i>	<i>noreng</i>	‘it wants’
IPL	<i>noayn</i>	<i>nonang</i>	‘we want’
2PL	<i>nova</i>	<i>novāng</i>	‘you want’
3PL.M	<i>noyan</i>	<i>notang</i>	‘they want’
3PL.F	<i>noyen</i>	<i>noteng</i>	‘they want’
3PL.N	<i>noyon</i>	<i>notong</i>	‘they want’
3PL.INAN	<i>noaran</i>	<i>noteng</i>	‘they want’
IMP	<i>nu!</i>	‘want!’	
HORT	<i>nu-nu!</i>	‘let’s want!’	
ITER	<i>no-no-</i>	‘want again’	
PTCP	<i>noyam</i>	‘wanting’	

single segment—there is no gemination—verbs like 𐌸𐌶𐌴: *silv-* ‘see’ conjugate like monoconsonantal roots with regards to consonant clusters. That is, the second person of 𐌸𐌶𐌴: *silv-* is not \*𐌸𐌶𐌴𐌴 \**silvava*, as one might expect, but 𐌸𐌶𐌴𐌴 *silvva*. A further exception to this are verbs ending in -Cs, since -Cs-C- is commonly resyllabified as -C-sC- (see chapter 1, footnote 12). Thus, the second-person form of 𐌴𐌶𐌴𐌴: *kars-* ‘freeze’ is not \*𐌴𐌶𐌴𐌴 \**karsava* as expected, but 𐌴𐌶𐌴𐌴 *karsva* ‘you freeze’.

Lastly, verb stems may end in a vowel, most commonly *-a*. In these cases as well, the conjugation suffixes may simply be appended to the stem. The conjugation of this class is illustrated in Table 4.20 with the verb 𐌲𐌶: *no* ‘want’. Verb stems ending in *-a* undergo crasis regularly for the first person suffixes, hence, the topicalized first-person singular form of 𐌴𐌶: *apa-* ‘laugh’ is 𐌴𐌶𐌴 *apāy* ‘I laugh’ (compare Table 4.21). Verb stems ending in a diphthong in /i/ are treated as a hybrid of monoconsonantal and vocalic stems, since the diphthong’s final /i/ is treated as /j/ before a vowel: 𐌶𐌴𐌶𐌴 *palayay* ‘I rejoice’, 𐌶𐌴𐌶𐌴 *palayva* ‘you rejoice’.

As mentioned above, the form of the third-person agreement suffixes on verbs

Table 4.21: Conjugation paradigm for 𐀓𐀮: *apa-* ‘laugh’ (vocalic root in -a)

Person	Topicalized	Clitic agent	Translation
1SG	<i>apāy</i>	<i>apayang</i>	‘I laugh’
2SG	<i>apava</i>	<i>apavāng</i>	‘you laugh’
3SG.M	<i>apaya</i>	<i>apayāng</i>	‘he laughs’
3SG.F	<i>apaye</i>	<i>apayeng</i>	‘she laughs’
3SG.N	<i>apayo</i>	<i>apayong</i>	‘it laughs’
3SG.INAN	<i>apāra</i>	<i>apareng</i>	‘it laughs’
IPL	<i>apāyn</i>	<i>apanang</i>	‘we laugh’
2PL	<i>apava</i>	<i>apavāng</i>	‘you laugh’
3PL.M	<i>apayan</i>	<i>apatang</i>	‘they laugh’
3PL.F	<i>apayen</i>	<i>apateng</i>	‘they laugh’
3PL.N	<i>apayon</i>	<i>apatong</i>	‘they laugh’
3PL.INAN	<i>apāran</i>	<i>apateng</i>	‘they laugh’
IMP	<i>apu!</i>	‘laugh!’	
HORT	<i>apu-apu!</i>	‘let’s laugh!’	
ITER	<i>ap-apa-</i>	‘laugh again’	
PTCP	<i>apayam</i>	‘laughing’	

is essentially the same as that of topic-marked third-person pronominal clitics. Any other person-marking on verbs except for third-person agreement is, in fact, a topicalized pronoun clitic, as we will see in the course of the following discussion. Unlike English, Ayeri does not use agent pronouns in addition to person agreement on verbs. Consider the two examples of English in (148).

(148) English:

- a. *John greets Mary.*  
       John greet-s Mary  
       John greet-3SG.PRS Mary
- b. *He greets Mary.*  
       he greet-s Mary  
       3SG.M greet-3SG.PRS Mary

In these examples, the verb has an agreement suffix -s which indicates third person singular, present tense, whether the subject of the sentence is a noun (*John*)

or a pronoun (*he*), which acts as a free morpheme in English. Now consider the Ayeri equivalents of these two examples in (149), on the other hand.<sup>30</sup>

- (149) a. *Ang manya*                      *Ajān*      *sa Pila.*  
           ang=man-ya      Ø= Ajān      sa=Pila  
           AT= greet-3SG.M    TOP=Ajān    P= Pila  
    [3SG.M]      [3SG.F]

‘Ajān greets Pila.’

- b. *Ang manya*                      *sa= Pila.*  
           ang=man=ya.Ø              sa= Pila  
           AT= greet=3SG.M.TOP    P= Pila  
    [3SG.F]

‘He greets Pila.’

It is probably uncontroversial to analyze *ya* in (149a) as person agreement: *ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱟᱹ* *Ajān* is a male name in Ayeri while *ᱯᱟᱨ* *Pila* is a female one; the verb inflects for a masculine third person, which tells us that it agrees with the one doing the greeting, *ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱟᱹ* *Ajān*. *ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱟᱹ* *Ajān* is also who this is about, which is shown on the verb by marking for an agent topic. In (150b), there is only anaphoric reference to *ᱠᱟᱹᱨᱟᱹ* *Ajān*; the full agent NP is not realized. Very broadly thus, the verb marking here seems to be like in Spanish, where you can drop the subject pronoun; see (150).

(150) Spanish:

- a. *Juan saluda a María.*  
     Juan salud-a a María  
     John greet-3SG ACC Mary

‘John greets Mary.’

- b. *Saluda a María.*  
     salud-a a María  
     greet-3SG ACC Mary

‘He greets Mary.’

Example (149b) probably does not seem conspicuous if we assume that Ayeri is pro-drop, except that there is also topic marking for an agent there, the controller of which I have so far assumed to be the person inflection on the verb, in analogy with examples like (151).

<sup>30</sup> Most of the following account is taken nearly verbatim from a previously published blog article, Becker (2016d). Some of the Ayeri examples used in the following come from a list of samples I provided for a bachelor’s thesis at the University of Kent in March 2016, in private conversation, on request.

- (151) *Lampyāng.*  
 lamp=yāng  
 walk=3SG.M.A  
 ‘He walks.’

This raises the question whether in Ayeri, there is dropping of an agent pronoun involved at all, which is why the person suffix in (149b) was glossed as =*ya.Ø* (=3SG.M.TOP) rather than just as *-ya* (3SG.M). In turn, this question leads us to another characteristic of Ayeri we need to consider, namely that the topic morpheme on noun phrases is zero. That is, the absence of overt case marking on a nominal element indicates that it is a topic; the verb in turn marks the case of the topicalized NP with a (case-indicating) particle preceding it. Pronouns as well show up in their unmarked form when topicalized, which is why I am hesitant to analyze the pronoun in (152b) as a clitic on the verb rather than as an independent morpheme.<sup>31</sup>

- (152) a. *Sa manya ang Ajān Pila.*  
 sa=man-ya ang=Ajān Ø= Pila  
 PT=greet-3SG.M A= Ajān TOP=Pila  
 ‘It’s Pila that Ajān greets.’  
 b. *Sa manyāng ye.*  
 sa=man-yāng ye.Ø  
 PT=greet=3SG.M.A 3SG.F.TOP  
 ‘It’s her that he greets.’

What is remarkable, then, is that *ye* (3SG.F.TOP) in (152b) is the very same form that appears as an agreement morpheme on the verb in (153), just like *-ya* (3SG.M) in various examples above (also compare the examples in section 4.2.1). This also holds for all other personal pronouns. Moreover, *yāng* as seen in examples (151) and (152b) may also be used as a free pronoun in equative statements with predicative nominals, as well as other such case-marked personal forms, as illustrated in (154). As for case-marked person suffixes on verbs, the assumption so far has been that they are essentially clitics, especially since the marking strategy

<sup>31</sup> Also, perhaps a little untypically, topic NPs in Ayeri are not usually pulled to the front of the phrase (at least not in the written language; see Lehmann 2015: 120–122), so topic-marked pronouns stay *in-situ*. Which NP constitutes the topic of the phrase is marked on the verb right at the head of the clause. How and whether this can be justified in terms of grammatical weight (see, for instance, Wasow 1997: 95–98) remains to be seen.

displayed in (155) is the grammatical one in absence of an agent NP (compare section 3.2.5, p. 89).

- (153) *Ang purivaye yāy.*  
 ang=puriva=ye.Ø yāy  
 AT= smile=3SG.F.TOP 3SG.M.LOC  
 ‘She smiles at him.’

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (154) a. <i>Yeng mino.</i><br>yeng mino<br>3SG.F.A happy<br>‘She is happy.’ | b. <i>Yāng naynay.</i><br>yāng naynay<br>3SG.M.A too<br>‘He is, too.’ |
|---|---|

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (155) a. <i>Manye sa Pila.</i><br>man-ye sa=Pila<br>greet-3SG.F P= Pila<br>‘Pila is being greeted.’ | b. <i>Manyes.</i><br>man=yes<br>greet=3SG.F.P<br>‘She is being greeted.’ |
|---|--|

The verb here agrees with the patient—or is it that person agreement suffixes on verbs are generally clitics in Ayeri, even where they do not involve case marking? There seems to be a gradient here between what looks like regular verb agreement with the agent on the one hand, and agent or patient pronouns just stacked onto the verb stem on the other hand. For an overview, compare Table 4.22. In this table, especially the middle, transitional category is interesting in that what looks like verb agreement superficially can still trigger topicalization marking, which is indicated in column II by an index ‘*i*’. Note that this behavior only occurs in transitive contexts; there is no topic marking on the verb if the verb only has a single NP dependent. Also consider that for example (b) in the type III transitive cell the question is, whether this should not better be analyzed as AT=...-3SG.M.TOP ...-TOP ...-P, with co-indexing of the topic on the person inflection of the verb, making it structurally closer to type II.

As for personal pronouns fused with the verb stem like in the first column, Corbett (2006) points out that

[i]n terms of syntax, pronominal affixes are arguments of the verb; a verb with its pronominal affixes constitutes a full sentence, and additional noun phrases are optional. If pronominal affixes are the primary arguments, then they agree in the way that anaphoric pronouns agree [...] In terms of morphology, pronominal affixes are bound to the verb; typically they are obligatory [...]. (99–100)

Table 4.22: Verb inflection types in Ayeri

	Type I: Clitic pronouns	Type II: Transitional	Type III: Verb agreement
<b>Inflectional categories</b>	Person Number Case	Person Number Case/Topic	Person Number
<b>Examples (intransitive)</b>	...= <i>yāng</i> ...=3SG.M.A	—	...- <i>ya<sub>i</sub></i> ...- <i>ang<sub>i</sub></i> ...-3SG.M ...-A
<b>Examples (transitive)</b>	<i>sa<sub>i</sub></i> ...= <i>yāng</i> ...- $\emptyset_i$ PT=...=3SG.M.A ...-TOP	<i>ang<sub>i</sub></i> ...= <i>ya.∅<sub>i</sub></i> ...- <i>as</i> AT=...=3SG.M.TOP ...-P	a. <i>ang<sub>i</sub></i> ...- <i>ya<sub>i</sub></i> ...- $\emptyset_i$ ...- <i>as</i> AT=...-3SG.M ...-TOP ...-P  b. <i>sa<sub>i</sub></i> ...- <i>ya<sub>j</sub></i> ...- <i>ang<sub>j</sub></i> ...- $\emptyset_i$ PT=...-3SG.M ...-A ...-TOP



This seems to be exactly what is going on, for instance, in (151) and (155), where the verb forms a complete sentence. It needs to be pointed out that Corbett includes an example from Tuscarora, a native American polysynthetic language, in relation to the above quotation. Ayeri should not be considered polysynthetic, however, since its verbs generally do not exhibit relations with multiple NPs, at least as far as person and number agreement is concerned (Comrie 1989: 45–46).<sup>32</sup>

Taking everything written above so far into account, it looks much as though Ayeri is in the process of grammaticalizing personal pronouns into person agreement (Lehmann 2015: 42–45; Gelderen 2011: 493–497). Corbett (2006) illustrates an early stage of such a process with the example in (156).

(156) Skou (Corbett 2006: 76–77):

- a. *Ke móe ke=fue.* (\**Ke móe fue.*)  
 3SG.M fish 3SG.M=see.3SG.M  
 ‘He saw a fish.’
- b. *Pe móe pe=fu.* (\**Pe móe fu.*)  
 3SG.F fish 3SG.F=see.3SG.F  
 ‘She saw a fish.’

What Gelderen (2011) calls the *subject cycle*, the “oft-noted cline expressing that pronouns can be reanalyzed as clitics and agreement markers” (493) applies here, and as well in Ayeri. However, while she continues to write that in “many languages, the agreement affix resembles the emphatic pronoun and derives from it” (494), Ayeri does at least in part the opposite and uses the case-unmarked form of personal pronouns for what resembles verb agreement most closely. This, however, should not be too controversial either, considering that, for instance, semantic bleaching and phonetic erosion go hand in hand with grammaticalization (Lehmann 2015: 136–137; Gelderen 2011: 497).

As pointed out above in (155), Ayeri usually exhibits verbs as agreeing with agents and occasionally patients (but only in absence of agent NPs)—not topics as such. Ayeri, thus, has subject agreement. Agreement with a patient NP may seem a little counterintuitive, but is licensed by Ayeri’s semantics-based case marking which marks patient-subjects of passive clauses as such; the agent case is not fully

<sup>32</sup> The topic NP marked on the verb may be different from the one with which the verb agrees in person and number, so technically, Ayeri verbs *may* agree with more than one NP in a very limited way (compare section 3.3). Still, I would not analyze this as polypersonal agreement, since there is only canonical verb agreement with one constituent, that is, the agent NP. Topic marking should, in my opinion, be viewed as a separate agreement relation, as pointed out in the quoted section above.

Table 4.23: The syntax and morphology of pronominal affixes (Corbett 2006: 101)

Syntax:	non-argument	argument	
Linguistic element:	‘pure’ agreement marker	pronominal affix	free pronoun
Morphology:	inflectional form		free form

equivalent to a nominative which marks the subject function. Formally, also, agent NPs usually follow the verb, and it does not seem too unnatural to have an agreement relation between the verb and the closest NP also when non-conjoined NPs are involved (Corbett 2006: 180). This may serve as another explanation for why verbs can agree with patients as well if the agent NP is absent. Taking into account that the grammaticalization process is still ongoing so that there is still some relative freedom in how morphemes may be used if a paradigm has not yet fully settled (Lehmann 2015: 148–150) also makes this seem less strange. Formally, thus, verbs simply become agreement targets of the closest semantically plausible nominal constituent which can serve as a subject.

From the previous discussion of Ayerí’s agreement and pronoun morphology, it may seem as though person agreement consists entirely of enclitic pronominal affixes. The question is, how to determine and describe what actually happens in terms of morphology. Corbett (2006) offers a typology along with test criteria; compare Table 4.23. According to this typology, a pronominal affix is syntactically an argument of the verb, but has the morphology of an inflectional form (compare section 3.2.5, p. 89). If we compare this to the gradient given in Table 4.22 above, it becomes evident that type I definitely fulfills these criteria, and type II does so as well, in fact, in that there is no agent NP that could serve as a controller if the verb inflection in type II were ‘merely’ an agreement target. The inflection in type III, on the other hand, appears to have all hallmarks of agreement in that there is a controller NP that triggers it, with the verb serving as an agreement target.

Moreover, the person marking on the verb is not a syntactic argument of the verb in this case. As example (155) shows, however, marking of type III permits the verb to mark more than one case role, which makes it slightly atypical, although verbs can only carry a single instance of person marking (103). Regarding referentiality, the person suffixes on the verb in Table 4.22, columns I and II are independent means of referring to discourse participants mentioned earlier, whereas the person suffix in III needs support from an NP in the same clause as a source of

semantic features to share. This becomes apparent when comparing the examples in (157) to each other.

- (157) a. *Ajān ... Ang manya sa Pila.*  
           *Ajān ... Ang=man=ya.Ø sa=Pila*  
           *Ajān ... AT= greet=3SG.M.TOP P= Pila*  
           ‘Ajān ... He greets Pila.’
- b. *Ajān ... Sa manyāng Pila.*  
           *Ajān ... Sa=man=yāng Ø= Pila*  
           *Ajān ... PT=greet=3SG.M.A TOP=Pila*  
           ‘Ajān ... It’s Pila that he greets.’
- c. \**Ajān ... Manya sa Pila.*  
           *Ajān ... Man-ya sa=Pila*  
           *Ajān ... greet-3SG.M P= Pila*

Since person marking of the type I and II is *referential*, as shown in (157a) and (157b), it is best counted as consisting of cliticized pronouns (Corbett 2006: 103). Since mere agreement as in type III needs support from an NP within the verb’s scope, though, it does not have *descriptive/lexical content* of its own. That is, it *only* serves a grammatical function (104), not strictly as an anaphora. This is why (157c) is marked as ungrammatical: the agreement suffix *-ya* itself does not define the semantic features of the clause’s subject; it requires a subject NP to exist concurrently.

As for Corbett (2006)’s *balance of information* criterion, Table 4.22 also highlights differences in what information is provided by the person marking. Nouns in Ayeri inherently bear information on person, number, and gender, and all three types of person inflection on verbs share these features. However, there are no additional grammatical features indicated by the first two inflection types that are not expressed by noun phrases, although under a very close understanding of Corbett (2006), example (158) may still qualify as person-marking on the verb realizing a grammatical feature shared with an NP that is not openly expressed by the NP. Corbett (2006) writes that in the world’s languages, this frequently is number (105). This, however, does not apply to Ayeri because the only time verbs display number not expressed overtly by inflection on a noun is in agreement like in type III (a), which is exemplified by (158). Here, redundant plural marking on the subject NP is omitted, but plural number still surfaces in the agreement suffix on the verb.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> From a Lexical-Functional Grammar point of view, the number feature of *ṛṛ kay* in (158)

- (158) *Ang sabayan ayon kay kong nangginoya.*  
 ang=saha-yan ayon-Ø kay kong nanggino-ya  
 AT= come-3PL.M man-TOP three into tavern-LOC

‘Three men come into a pub.’

As discussed previously, verb marking of the types I and II is independent as a reference, so there is *unirepresentation* of the marked NP. In contrast, verb marking of type III requires a controlling NP in the same clause to share grammatical features with, so that there is *multirepresentation* typical of canonical agreement (Corbett 2006: 106). A further property that hinges on types I and II being independent pronouns glued to verbs as clitics is that they are not coreferential with another NP of the same grammatical relation, but are in complementary distribution, as commonly assumed with pronominals (108). Hence, either of the two examples in (159) is ungrammatical.

- (159) a. \**Lampyāng ang Ajān.*  
 lamp=yāng ang=Ajān  
 walk=3SG.M.A A= Ajān  
 b. \**Ang lampyāng Ajān.*  
 ang=lamp=yāng Ø= Ajān  
 AT= walk=3SG.M.A TOP=Ajān

However, verb agreement with a free pronoun is also not possible even though it might be expected according to (Corbett 2006: 109)—also compare example (148b) above. Instead, the suffixed agent pronoun replaces any possible person agreement on the verb in (160).<sup>34</sup>

- (160) a. *Lampyāng.*  
 lamp=yāng  
 walk=3SG.M  
 ‘He walks.’  
 b. \**Lampya yāng.*  
 lamp-ya yāng  
 walk-3SG.M 3SG.M.A  
 Intended: ‘He walks.’

In conclusion, we may assert that Ayeri appears to be in the process of grammaticalizing pronouns as verb inflection, however, how far this grammaticalization process has progressed is dependent on syntactic context. Ayeri displays a full gamut from personal pronouns (usually agents) glued to verbs as clitics to

coalesces with the semantic features provided by *ayon* in the maximal projection; agreement is thus with the whole agent NP rather than just with *ayon* as the NP’s categorial head.

<sup>34</sup> Also see section 3.2.5, p. 89 ff. for an analysis from a syntactic point of view.

agreement with coreferential NPs that is transparently derived from these personal pronouns. With the latter, the complication arises that pronouns are not allowed as agreement controllers as one might expect, but only properly nominal NPs. Information on agreement with committee nouns and coordinated NPs with incongruent agreement features can be found in the section on VPs.

#### 4.5.2 Tense

Tense in Ayeri is often not explicitly marked, but has to be inferred from context. However, where marked, Ayeri distinguishes past and future as referring to past and future events, respectively. Both past and future tenses come with three degrees each: near, recent/impending, and remote. Ayeri's distinguishing three degrees of both past and future time is a little unusual with regards to typology according to the survey conducted by Dahl (1985: 127). The decision for which subtier of the past and the future to use is up to pragmatics, that is, there are no definitive and clear-cut lines. The near-time markers are most commonly used for immediate scope, that is, things which have just happened or will happen in a moment. The recent/impending-time markers may then be used for anything else which does not qualify as remote, that is, a long time into the past or the future from the point of view of the speaker.

Dahl (1985: 117) further notes that among the languages in the surveyed sample, past tenses are mostly marked by suffixes, the marking of this category being extremely common in addition. Ayeri may thus be a little unusual crosslinguistically again by exclusively using prefixes for tense marking. This makes sense, however, if we assume that historically, the tense prefixes once were auxiliary verbs. Ayeri applies head-initial word order to subordinating verbs, as we will see further below, so these prefixes may just have begun to *procliticize* instead of slipping into a position behind their head (that is, Wackernagel's position).

Of the triad tense–aspect–mood this section will only cover basic uses of the marked tense categories, followed by a discussion of complex tense combinations such as past-in-future. The subsequent section 4.5.3 will provide more insight into the morphological marking of aspectual categories; section 4.5.4 deals with the morphology of mood marking in Ayeri.

##### *Present tense*

Verbs in Ayeri are unmarked for present tense, since it is the normal mode of speaking. Besides being used to comment or report on current events, the present tense is also used to make statements of general truth:

- (161) *Sa arapyo tahanyamanang koyana nogalam-ikan.*  
 sa= arap-yo tahanyaman-ang koya-na nogalam-Ø=ikan  
 PT=require-3SG.N writing-A book-GEN patience-TOP=much

‘Writing a book requires much patience.’

- (162) a. *Ang kəsilyay yes motonya.*  
 ang=kə-silv=ay.Ø yes moton-ya  
 AT= NPST-see=ISG.TOP 3SG.F.P store-LOC  
 ‘I’ve just seen her at the store.’  
 b. *Le mādruyāng ikan biratay.*  
 le= mə-adru=yāng ikan biratay-Ø  
 PT.INAN=PST-break=3SG.M.A wholly pot-TOP

‘The pot, he completely broke it.’

- c. *Vəmittang edaya.*  
 və-mit=tang edaya  
 RPST-live=3PL.M.A here

‘They lived here (a long time ago).’

Moreover, Ayeri does not strictly mark its verbs for past tense in narrative discourses—verbs may thus appear as though with present-time reference in spite of recounting past events, whether historical or fictional. See the next subsection on the past tense.

### Past tense

The past tense indicates actions which happened in the past if not further modified. The three degrees of past tense are marked with 𑌑: *kə-* (near/immediate), 𑌒: *mə-* (recent), and 𑌓: *və-* (remote), which attach right in front of a verb root. In spite of the customary spelling of the past tense prefixes with ⟨ə⟩, which reflects pronunciation, they have an underlying /a/ vowel in this place. This means that the vowel of the tense prefixes coalesces with a following /a/ to form a long vowel (see section 1.1.2), which is demonstrated in example (162b).

Note that the recent and the remote past tense are not generally marked if the past context is clear, for instance, when a past context has already been established in discourse. This may also happen explicitly by using a time adverbial such as 𑌒𑌑𑌒𑌑𑌒 *tamala* ‘yesterday’ or 𑌒𑌑𑌒𑌑𑌒𑌑𑌒𑌑𑌒 *pericanya menang pang* ‘a hundred years ago’. In the presence of an explicit time adverbial, redundant tense marking is also dropped subsequently.

The reference to a past time frame is explicitly given in (163) by the adverbial

- (163) *Ang kondayn kadanya terpasānley bihanya sarisa.*  
 ang=kond=ayn.Ø kadanya terpasān-ley bihan-ya sarisa  
 AT= eat=IPL.TOP together lunch-P.INAN week-LOC previous  
 ‘We had lunch together last week.’

phrase ၵိယၢၣ်ကၢၢ် *bihanya sarisa* ‘last week’, hence the verb appears here simply as ၵိယၢၣ် *kondayn*, rather than with redundant past-tense marking as ၵိယၢၣ်မၢ *məkondayn*. Since past tense is often underspecified in Ayeri, the language also does not employ past forms in narrative contexts like English, among others, commonly does:

- (164) The sky above the port was the color of television, tuned to a dead channel.  
 (Gibson 1995: Ch. 1)

This quote is, of course, the famous opening line of Gibson’s 1984 novel *Neuromancer*, which never mentions any definite dates, but is clearly set in a future world, maybe somewhere in the latter half of the twenty-first century.<sup>35</sup> Yet, however, Gibson recounts events which are logically happening in an imagined future as having already happened in the past: he uses the past tense as a convention of storytelling. What Ayeri, then, does in contrast to English is to basically treat stories as though happening in the present; adverbials referring to past time may, again, set up the correct time frame if required. Ayeri is in good company here, since according to Dahl (1985) “[m]ore common than marking narrative contexts [...] is not marking them—quite a considerable number of languages use unmarked verb forms in narrative contexts” (113). The example in (165) from an Ayeri translation of the well-known Aesopian fable, ‘The North Wind and the Sun’ (compare International Phonetic Association 2007: 39, and section B.1), illustrates Ayeri’s non-marking of tense on verbs in narrative contexts.

#### *Future tense*

Future tense marks explicit references to future time in Ayeri, that is, “someone’s plans, intentions or obligations” (Dahl 1985: 103), as well as predictions. The future prefixes behave analogous to the ones indicating past tense: *n*: *pə-* indicates immediate/near future (NFUT), *ḥ*: *sə-* indicates impending future (FUT), and *ḥ*: *ni-*

<sup>35</sup> Christian (2017) reports that Gibson himself pictured his novel as set around 2035, though that he had since realized that this could not be right. One of the characters, the Finn, “makes an offhand reference to the ‘Act of ’53’ as a law [which] deals with the citizenship status of artificial intelligences” (Christian 2017; also compare Gibson 1995: Ch. 5)—this is very unlikely to refer to 1953.

- (165) *Ang manga ranyon adaui Pintemis nay Perin, engyo*  
 ang=manga=ran-yon adaui Ø= Pintemis nay Perin eng-yo  
 AT= PROG= argue-3PL.N then TOP=North Wind and Sun, be.more-3SG.N  
*mico sinyāng luga toya, lingya si lugaya asāyāng si*  
 mico sinyang-luga toya ling-ya si luga-ya asāya-ang si  
 strong who-A among 3PL.N.LOC, while-LOC REL pass-3SG.M traveler-A REL  
*sitang-naykonyāng kong tova ya mato.*  
 sitang-naykon=yāng kong tova-ya mato  
 self-wrap=3SG.M.A inside cloak-LOC warm.

‘The North Wind and the Sun were then arguing which among them is stronger, all the while a traveler passed by who had wrapped himself in a warm cloak.’

- (166) a. *Pəsahayang!*  
 pə-saha=yang  
 NFUT-COME=ISG.A  
 ‘I’m coming (in a moment)!’  
 b. *Ang səkarsayn kankaya.*  
 ang=sə-kars=ayn.Ø kanka-ya  
 AT= FUT-freeze=ISG.TOP snow-LOC  
 ‘We will freeze in the snow.’  
 c. *Paronatang, nisa-sahaya dibakayāng.*  
 parona=tang ni-sa~saha-ya dihakaya-ang  
 believe=3PL.M.A RFUT-ITER~come-3SG.M prophet-A  
 ‘They believe that the prophet will return (one day).’

- (167) *Ang raypāy vaya bihanya mararya.*  
 ang=raypa=ay.Ø vaya bihan-ya mararya  
 AT= stop=ISG.TOP 2.LOC week-LOC next

‘I’m stopping by you next week.’

indicates remote future (RFUT). Underlying the reduced vowels in *pə-* and *ni-* are /a/ and /e/, respectively, so that these prefixes cause adjacent vowels of the same type to lengthen as usual; the same, of course, applies to *ni-* regarding /i/. The examples in (166) show the future tense markers in context.

Like the past tense, the future is often not explicitly marked if the time frame is clear from context or has been clarified with such adverbials as *tasela* ‘tomorrow’, *mangasaba pericanya* ‘in a year’, *metay* ‘sometime’, or *bihanya mararya* ‘next week’, as in (167). It is possible as well to explicitly mark the verb for future tense, for example, to make a promise, or to otherwise emphasize that the future condition will come to pass, as illustrated in (168).



- (168) *Səsidejang tasela, diran.*  
 sə-sideg=yang tasela diran  
 FUT-repair=1SG.A tomorrow uncle  
 ‘I will repair it tomorrow, uncle.’

### Past in past

So far, we have only dealt with tense marking from the point of view of the present. However, it is also possible to refer to an event which precedes another event in the past. Ayeri does not use auxiliary verbs, so its morphological and pragmatic means of tense marking have to cover this relation as well. To indicate pre-past events, it is customary to explicitly mark the verb for past time in Ayeri, in difference to the common lack of morphological marking for plain past tense. However, since it is possible for the *ə: mə-* prefix to be used to refer to ‘regular’ past events from a present point of view as well, context again has to provide that the deictic origin is a point in the past rather than the speaker’s present.

- (169) CONTEXT: Ajān’s past travels
- Ya məsaraya iri maritay ang Ajān Tasankan*  
 ya= ma-sara-ya iri maritay ang=Ajān Ø= Tasankan  
 LOCT=PST-go-3SG.M already before A= Ajān TOP=Tasankan  
 ‘Tasankan, Ajān had already gone there before.’

The example in (169) is essentially ambiguous as to the reference point. The explicit tense marking draws attention to the fact that the event definitely lies in the past and the adverbs underline this fact. Instead of reading the sentence as referring to a pre-past event, it is equally possible to read it from a present-time point of view as ‘Ajān has already gone to Tasankan before’, although under these circumstances, it would be more common to leave the *ə: mə-* out, as described in section 4.5.2; compare (170).

- (170) CONTEXT: Ajān’s current traveling plans
- Ya saraya iri maritay ang Ajān Tasankan*  
 ya= sara-ya iri maritay ang=Ajān Ø= Tasankan  
 LOCT=go-3SG.M already before A= Ajān TOP=Tasankan  
 ‘Tasankan, Ajān has already gone there before.’

Likewise, it is possible to make plans in the past with the intention of them coming to fruition only later, possibly at a point before the current time or even further in the future. The English idiom to express this time relation is ‘was going

to'; in Ayeri, the relation cannot be expressed by morphological means, but only by lexical ones. Thus, 𐌲𐌺 *no-* 'want; plan to' must be used, together with explicit past marking. Since 𐌲𐌺 *no-* is a modal particle (see section 4.5.5), inflection is placed on the content verb. The time relation expressed in (171) is, thus, essentially that of a pre-past event again, since the planning of the action of buying took place before the time of going to 𐌲𐌺𐌵𐌹𐌸 *Tasankan*.

(171) CONTEXT: Ajān's having gone to Tasankan

<i>Ang no</i>	<i>māinca</i>	<i>tosantangeley</i>	<i>biro yam Pila.</i>
ang=no	ma-int=ya	tosantang-ye-ley	hiro yam=Pila
AT=	want=PST-buy=3SG.M.TOP	earring-PL-P.INAN	new DAT= Pila

'He had planned to buy new earrings for Pila.'

#### Past in future

It is also possible to refer to future actions or events which will already have happened before a point further in the future. From the point of view of the later event, the closer event will thus already lie in the past, forming its prerequisite. As with future-in-past, there is no way in Ayeri to mark this relation morphologically, but lexical means have to be used, that is, first and foremost the adverb 𐌲𐌺 *iri* 'already', which indicates that an action has been completed in the past. As with other future actions, the time frame must be inferred from context if it is not indicated explicitly by temporal adverbs or future-tense marking (compare section 4.5.2). Strictly speaking, (172) does not make it explicit whether Ajān *will arrive* before evening or *will have arrived*. In order to indicate that the action is complete, the cessative adverb 𐌲𐌺𐌵𐌹𐌸 *mayisa* 'be done; ready' may be added, as in (173).

(172) CONTEXT: Ajān's traveling to Tasankan

<i>Ang girenja</i>	<i>iri</i>	<i>nilay</i>	<i>sirutayya</i>	<i>tamala</i>	<i>pesan.</i>
ang=girend=ya.Ø	iri	nilay	sirutay-ya	tamala	pesan
AT=	arrive=3SG.M.TOP	already	probably	evening-LOC	tomorrow before

'He will probably already (have) arrive(d) before tomorrow evening.'

(173) *Girenjāng*      *mayisa iri.*  
 girend=yāng      mayisa iri  
 arrive=3SG.M.A      be.done already

'He already has arrived',  
 or: 'He will already have arrived.'

### 4.5.3 Aspect

Aspectually unmarked verb forms indicate general statements, which may be completed or ongoing, depending on the meaning of the verb itself. Ayeri seems not to make strict formal distinctions with regards to either, perfectivity or lexical aspect. It needs to be noted, however, that at least to date, it is not entirely clear how Ayeri treats perfectivity, which Dahl (1985: 76) in reference to Comrie (1976: 16) characterizes as being based on the conceptualization of actions or events as bounded or otherwise limited wholes, versus a lack of closure. Dahl (1985) also notes that “it seems rather to be a typical situation that even in individual languages, we cannot choose one member of the opposition [perfective–imperfective] as being clearly unmarked” (69). He further argues that

[t]he difficulty of deciding which member of the opposition is marked and which is unmarked is connected with the tendency for PFV:IPFV to be realized not by affixation or by periphrastic constructions but rather by less straightforward morphological processes. (73)

In other words: it is a difficult category to assess, in spite of being “often taken to be ‘the’ category of aspect” (69), mostly since languages often do not realize it by straightforward means. In Ayeri, the most tangible way of expressing completeness of an action is to use adverbs like *mayisa* ‘ready, done’, *iri* ‘already’, *ikan* ‘completely, wholly’ (also as an adjective); a quantifier like *-ben* ‘all’; verbs like *samir-* ‘finish’, *panga-* ‘end’, and *raypa-* ‘stop’; or an indefinite pronoun expressing entirety, like *enya* ‘everything, everybody’ in (174).

- (174) *Le kondjeng enya.*  
 le= kond=yeng enya-Ø  
 PT.INAN=eat=3SG.F.A everything

‘She ate everything’,  
 or: ‘She ate it all up.’

Apart from the more general dilemma of determining how perfectivity is expressed in detail, Ayeri marks verbs openly by morphological means to indicate progressive, habitual, and iterative actions—by their nature all conceptualizing actions as being composed of a series of two or more related actions of the same kind, though not necessarily implying a strong semantic connection to the past. The following sections will discuss each of these categories.

#### *Progressive*

In order to indicate an ongoing action explicitly, Ayeri employs the marker *manga*, which we already saw with directional prepositions above (section 4.4.1).

This clitic attaches to the immediate right of the verb, as displayed in (175).

- (175) *Ang manga ilye karonas nakajyam.*  
 ang=manga=il=ye.Ø karon-as naka-ye-yam  
 AT= PROG= give=3SG.F.TOP water-P plant-PL-DAT  
 ‘She is giving water to the plants.’

Going by the data presented by Dahl (1985: 91), Ayeri is typologically unremarkable in marking progressive aspect with a periphrastic construction, although it is remarkable in possessing morphological progressive marking at all—morphological progressive marking only occurs in 27% of the languages in Dahl (1985)’s sample. Typical of progressives, this form of the verb is not limited to present contexts in Ayeri as exemplified in (175) above. Instead, it is possible to also use the progressive in past (176a) and future (176b) contexts, the latter being probably less typical, though.

Ignoring the constructedness of the above examples, the time adverb is located in the relative clause in both sentences in this case. For illustrative purposes, let us assume that a narrative context with the respective time frames has already been established in (176). As noted above, Ayeri prefers not to mark every verb for tense explicitly when the context is clear already, insofar the argument that progressive aspect works independent of *tense* needs corroboration; the question being whether constructions like *ang manga mɔ-...* (PROG=PST-...) are possible. Strictly speaking, there is nothing to prevent this construction, however, we have to wonder if it is actually *natural* to phrase things this way. What can be said at least is that progressive marking is possible within a context referring to past or

- (176) a. *Ang manga gumya Ajān tadayya si ya kongaye ang Pila*  
 ang=manga=gum-ya Ø= Ajān taday-ya si ya= konga-ye ang=Pila  
 AT= PROG= work-3SG TOP=Ajān time-LOC REL LOCT=enter-3SG.F A= Pila  
*gumanga tamala.*  
*gumanga-Ø tamala*  
 workshop-TOP yesterday

‘Ajān was working when Pila entered the workshop yesterday.’

- b. *Ang manga nimpay rangya tadayya si cunyo bekalang*  
 ang=manga=nimp=ay.Ø rang-ya taday-ya si cun-yo bekal-ang  
 AT= PROG= run=1SG.TOP home-LOC time-LOC REL begin-3SG.N festival-A  
*tasela.*  
*tasela*  
 tomorrow

‘I will be running home when when the festival starts tomorrow.’

future actions and events irrespective of their explicit marking on the verb. Furthermore, the examples in (176) illustrate a very typical use of the progressive as a structuring means, that is, an ongoing background action may be expressed using a progressive form, while an interrupting action receives no special marking (compare the past progressive in English).

### Habitual

Unlike the few instances of habitual marking in Dahl (1985)'s survey (96), Ayeri possesses a suffix for marking habitual actions on the verb: *-asa*, where the first *-a* replaces the terminal vowel of a verb stem if present, compare example (177b) below. The habitual aspect in Ayeri stresses that an action is carried out as a habit, that is, not just a few times, but with regular frequency. Essentially, verbs marked with the habitual in Ayeri can be translated by adding the adverb *usually* in English (97). The habitual aspect is not restricted to present actions or absolute statements like the one in (177a), but can also be used in past contexts to express that something *used to* be done in the past, as in (177b). While the contexts are probably very few, there are no restrictions about using the habitual also in contexts relating to future actions which are predicted to be carried out habitually. Importantly, the verb root with habitual marking forms a new verb stem to which affixes may be attached. This is relevant for mood suffixes, which follow aspectual marking.

- (177) a. *Le kondasayāng hemaye pruyya nay napayya kayvay.*  
 le kond-asa=yāng hema-ye-Ø pruy-ya nay napay-ya kayvay  
 PT.INAN eat-HAB=3SG.M.A egg-PL-TOP salt-LOC and pepper-LOC without

'He always eats his eggs without salt and pepper.'

- b. *Ang ajasāyn ranisungas tadayya si yāng ganas.*  
 ang aja-asa=ayn.Ø ranisung-as taday-ya si yāng gan-as  
 AT play-HAB=1PL.TOP hide.and.seek-P time-LOC REL 1SG.A child-P

'We used to play hide-and-seek when I was a child.'

### Iterative

The iterative aspect marks actions that are repeated at least once by reduplication. The equivalent in English is to use the adverb *again* or the prefix *re-*. Iterative reduplication in Ayeri is only partial, in that only the initial CV- or VC- of a verb root is repeated—there are no verb roots which consist of only a single consonant or vowel. Complications begin, however, if the verb root starts with a consonant

cluster (not unusual), or a diphthong (rare). In the case of an initial consonant cluster, the cluster is simplified to only include the first consonant; for initial diphthongs, there is no necessity to include the first available consonant, since the secondary vowel of a diphthong can by itself act as a semivowel to make up for the vowel hiatus.

- (178) a.  $\text{နွဲ့ကွာ: } kuta-$  ‘thank’ →  $\text{နွဲ့နွဲ့ကွာ: } ku-kuta-$  ‘thank again’  
 b.  $\text{မံဃာ: } amang-$  ‘happen’ →  $\text{မံဃာမံဃာ: } am-amang-$  ‘happen again’  
 c.  $\text{ကုာ်ကုာ်: } prant-$  ‘ask’ →  $\text{ကုာ်ကုာ်ကုာ်: } pa-prant-$  ‘ask again’  
 d.  $\text{အိုင်ရိုင်: } ayrin-$  ‘set’ →  $\text{အိုင်အိုင်ရိုင်: } ay-ayrin-$  ‘set again’

The words listed in (178) are examples of verbs and their reduplicated form for the purpose of iterative marking. An example for each of the previously mentioned onset types is included:  $\text{နွဲ့ကွာ: } kuta-$  exemplifies a CV onset,  $\text{မံဃာ: } amang-$  a VC one;  $\text{ကုာ်ကုာ်: } prant-$  has a CCV onset which is simplified to CV in the reduplicated form, and  $\text{အိုင်ရိုင်: } ayrin-$  begins with a diphthong. The reduplicated stem in each case functions as a new stem for other prefixes, that is, no morphological material can go between the reduplicated part and the lexical stem proper. Besides giving an example of the correct and incorrect order of attachment of the past prefix  $\text{မံ: } mə-$  with a partially reduplicated verb, the example in (179) also shows that there is, again, no restriction on the iterative aspect with regards to tense.

- (179) a. *Məku-kutayāng.*  
 $mə\sim ku\sim kuta=yāng$   
 PST-ITER~thank=3SG.M.A  
 ‘He thanked again.’  
 b. \**Ku-məkutayāng.*

Iterative reduplication is lexicalized at least in one verb,  $\text{ဆာဆာ: } sa-saba-$  ‘return’. Besides the meaning ‘again’, iterative reduplication may also indicate the meaning ‘back’, as in (180).

- (180) *Ta-tapyu adaley!*  
 $ta\sim tapy-u$   $ada\sim ley$   
 ITER~put-IMP that-P.INAN  
 ‘Put that back!’

In addition to a simple iterative meaning, a frequentative meaning like ‘walk around’, ‘cry all the time’, or ‘keep asking’ can be achieved by combining the iterative and progressive aspects, that is, the verb is both modified by  $\text{မာ်: } manga$  for

progressive aspect and partial initial reduplication for iterative aspect. Examples of this combination of aspectual marking are given in (181).

- (181) a. *Ang manga la-lampay saba-sara manga luga babisya-ben.*  
 ang=manga=la~lamp=ay.Ø saha-sara manga=luga bahis-ya=hen  
 AT= PROG= ITER~walk=1SG.TOP back.and.forth DIR= while day-LOC=all  
 ‘I was walking around back and forth all day long.’
- b. *Ang manga si-sipye kimay sirutayya.*  
 ang=manga=si~sip-ye kimay-Ø sirutay-ya  
 AT= PROG= ITER~cry-3SG.F baby-TOP night-LOC  
 ‘The baby, she is crying all the time at night.’
- c. *Manga pa-prantu!*  
 manga=pa~prant-u  
 PROG= ITER~ask-IMP  
 ‘Keep asking!’

#### Lexically marked aspectual categories

Besides using morphological means, Ayeri expresses some aspectual categories by way of lexical items, that is, verbs and adverbs. The relevant words in this respect are the adverbs *sirimang* ‘about to’ (prospective) and *mayisa* ‘ready; be done’ (cessative), as well as the verb *cun-* ‘begin, start’ (inchoative).

- (182) a. *Saratang sirimang.*  
 sara=tang sirimang  
 leave=3PL.M.A about.to  
 ‘They are about to leave.’
- b. *Konjang mayisa.*  
 kond=yang mayisa  
 eat=1SG.A be.done  
 ‘I am done eating.’
- c. *Pəcunreng seyaryam.*  
 pə-cun=reng seyar-yam  
 NFUT-begin=3SG.INAN.A rain-PTCP  
 ‘It is going to start raining any moment.’

Prospective *sirimang* (182a) and cessative *mayisa* (182b) are expressed by adverbs which are regularly following verbs as their heads. They precede other adverbs due to a higher amount of semantic bondedness, by tendency, than other

descriptive adverbs. For this reason, as well as for expressing a grammatical function rather than lexical meaning with the original meaning still transparent, they appear to be on the verge of grammaticalization. In contrast, the inchoative verb  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *cun-* (182c) is part of a periphrastic verb construction, that is,  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *cun-* requires a content-verb VP as a complement rather than an NP. The content/main verb appears in a non-finite form marked by  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *-yam*, which will be described from a morphological perspective in section 4.5.6, and in section 6.4.3 from that of syntax.

#### 4.5.4 Mood

Besides various aspects, Ayeri also marks mood other than realis: irrealis, imperative, hortative, and negative. These are expressed by suffixes on the verb and typically follow aspectual marking where it is expressed by a suffix, that is, the habitative suffix  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *-asa*. The following subsections will discuss each of the modal categories expressed by suffixes; modal particles proper will be discussed in section 4.5.5.

##### *Irrealis*

Irrealis marking in Ayeri is indicated by the suffix  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *-ong* and marks that an action is thought of as hypothetical by the speaker, whether he or she expects it to be realized or not:

- (183) *Sabongvāng edaya, ming silvongvāng sitang-vāri.*  
 saha-ong=vāng edaya ming=silv-ong=vāng sitang=vāri  
 come-IRR=2.A here can= see-IRR=2.A REFL=2.INS

'If you came/had come here, you could see/have seen it yourself.'

As (183) shows, irrealis marking is especially prominent in conditional clauses which express a hypothetical cause and effect. Both condition/protasis and consequence/apodosis are marked with the irrealis suffix in this case. The example sentence also shows that, again, the initial vowel of the suffix replaces the last vowel of the verb stem, if there is one, so that  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *saha-* becomes  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *sabong-*, to which further mood suffixes may be added, and finally, person marking. The same suffix,  $\text{ᄃᆞᆫ}$  *-ong*, is also used in other contexts expressing inactual events, for instance, in reported speech such as in (184a), or in complement clauses expressing a wish about the actualization of a hypothetical event, as in (184b).

Irrealis marking does not, however, appear in contexts that express requirements on or wishes about a third person's actions, that is, typical subjunctive con-



- (184) a. *Narayeng, ang menongye demās yena.*  
 nara=yeng ang=menu-ong=ye.Ø dema-as yena  
 say=3SG.F.A AT= visit-IRR=3SG.F.TOP aunt-P 3SG.F.GEN

‘She said she were visiting her aunt.’

- b. *Hanuyang, koronongyang maritay.*  
 hanu=yang koron-ong=yang maritay  
 wish=1SG.A know-IRR=1SG.A before

‘I wish I had known this before.’

texts; the verb in the complement clause rather appears in the indicative in these contexts. To add a sense of expectation of compliance about the action, the modal  $\text{ၵ}$  *mya* ‘be supposed to, shall’ may be added, see section 4.5.5. Example (185) gives a sentence expressing requirement. As (185a) shows, a rendition with the wished-for action in the irrealis mood is ungrammatical, while the rendition with an optional  $\text{ၵ}$  *mya* and an otherwise plain verb in (185b) is acceptable.

- (185) a. \**Arapnang, sa garongyāng hatay.*  
 arap=nang sa=gara-ong=yāng hatay-Ø  
 require=IPL.A PT=call-IRR=3SG.M.A police-TOP
- b. *Arapnang, sa (mya) garayāng hatay.*  
 arap=nang sa=(mya=) gara=yāng hatay-Ø  
 require=IPL.A PT=(shall=)call=3SG.M.A police-TOP

‘We require that he call the police.’

### Negative

The negative mood is used to negate verbs, which is separate from irrealis marking: negation of verbs is marked by the suffix  $\text{ၵၵ}$  *-oy*, which has an allomorph *-u* before diphthongs in romanization and also in pronunciation. The Tahano Hikamu spelling is more conservative here and keeps the spelling  $\text{ၵၵ}$  *<-oyay>* for [waɪ] (*-NEG=1SG.TOP*). Like the irrealis suffix, the negative suffix deletes the last vowel of the verb stem if present, which is exemplified in (186b) besides this example showing the *-u* allomorph. Moreover, example (186c) shows that negative marking usually follows irrealis marking when suffixes are stacked:  $\text{ၵၵ}$  *-ong* +  $\text{ၵၵ}$  *-oy* →  $\text{ၵၵ}$  *-ongoy*.

If negated verbs appear together with negative indefinite pronouns (compare section 4.2.4), multiple negatives as displayed in (187) do not cancel each other out, but amplify the negation instead. This is to say that Ayerī allows for multiple negation as a means to emphasize the impossibility of something.

- (186) a. *Ang silvøyyan nasiyamanas tan.*  
 ang=silv-oy=yan.Ø nasi-yam-an-as tan  
 AT= see-NEG=3PL.M.TOP approach-PTCP-NMLZ-P 3PL.M.GEN

‘They did not see them approaching.’

- b. *Ang peguay kalam adaley!*  
 ang=pega-oy=ay.Ø kalam ada-ley  
 AT= steal-NEG=1SG.TOP honestly that-P.INAN

‘I didn’t steal it, honestly!’

- c. *Tendongoyvang sarayam adaya.*  
 tend-ong-oy=vang sara-yam adaya  
 dare-IRR-NEG=2.A go-PTCP there

‘You would not dare to go there.’

- (187) *Le gamaroyya tadoy ranyāng adanya.*  
 le= gamar-oy-ya tadoy ranyāng adanya-Ø  
 PT.INAN=manage-NEG-3SG.M never nobody-A that-TOP

‘Nobody ever managed that’,

*literally*: ‘Nobody never didn’t manage that.’

### Imperative

The imperative mood is used to mark orders to an unspecified second person, that is, imperative verbs do not require an overt second person agent; if an addressee is included, as in (188a), it is unmarked for case, see section 4.1.3. Moreover, no distinction is made between singular and plural second-person addressees, so that the marker is 𐌲𐌹 -*u* in either case. Like the other mood suffixes, the vowel of the imperative suffix replaces the vowel of the verb stem if there is one, as in (188b), where 𐌲𐌹𐌶𐌰: *gira-* is shortened to 𐌲𐌹𐌶: *gir-* before appending the imperative marker.

- (188) a. *Tangu yām, Yan!* b. *Giru māy!*  
 tang-u yām Yan gira-u māy  
 listen-IMP 1SG.DAT Yan hurry-IMP INT

‘Listen to me, Yan!’

‘Hurry up!’

It is important to note that imperative-marked verbs behave essentially as non-finite forms in that they do not exhibit any agreement in person, number, gender, and topic, and also cannot act as hosts for clitic personal pronouns. Imperative verbs may be marked for negative and hortative, however. Hence, for instance, (189) is grammatical, while the examples in (190) are not.

Example (189) simply expresses a negative command, which is unproblematic

- (189) *Saroyu yas!*  
 sara-oy-u yas  
 leave-NEG-IMP 1SG.P

'Don't leave me!'

- (190) a. \**Ya sa-sabu nanga!*  
 ya= sa~saha-u nanga-Ø  
 LOCT=ITER~go-IMP house-TOP

'Go back to the house!'

- b. \**Sa sutamuya kobanya tasela!*  
 sa= sutam-u=ya.Ø kohan-ya tasela  
 PT=hang-IMP=3SG.M.TOP sunrise-LOC tomorrow

'May he be hanged tomorrow at sunrise!'

in terms of logic, since commands may be issued to act in a certain way, or to refrain from this action. Example (190a) shows the imperative verb as preceded by a locative topic marker, which is not logically impossible, but unacceptable by convention.<sup>36</sup> Example (190b) takes this one step further by displaying a cliticized object pronoun in the fashion of morphological passives (compare section 4.5.1). This is likewise ungrammatical, however, since imperatives generally imply a direct order to a second-person addressee, not an indirect order to arrange for a third person to be acted on.

### Hortative

The hortative is a special kind of imperative which addresses a group including the speaker. Its implied referent is thus first-person plural. Again, it is not necessary to mark the verb for the addressee here. Since the hortative is related in meaning to the imperative, the verb also uses the imperative inflection with *-u*, but it is fully reduplicated in addition to mark the difference. As regards agreement morphology, the same restrictions as with imperatives apply.

- (191) a. *Sabu!*  
 saha-u  
 go-IMP  
 'Go!'
- b. *Sabu-sabu umangya!*  
 sahu~saha-u umang-ya  
 HORT~go-IMP beach-LOC  
 'Let's go to the beach!'

<sup>36</sup> The translation of 'Ozymandias' in section B.3 deviates from this rule in the line *sa silvu gumo nā* 'my works, behold them'. This is poetic license, however.

Table 4.24: Modal verbs and particles

Category	Verb	Particle	Translation
ABILITY	<i>ming-</i>	<i>ming</i>	‘be able to, can’
DESIRE, INTENTION	<i>vac-</i>	<i>vaca</i>	‘like to’
	<i>no-</i>	<i>no</i>	‘want to’
PERMISSION	<i>kila-</i>	<i>kila</i>	‘be allowed to, may’
REQUIREMENT	<i>ilta-</i>	<i>ilta</i>	‘need to’
OBLIGATION	<i>mya-</i>	<i>mya</i>	‘be supposed to, shall’
	<i>rua-</i>	<i>rua</i>	‘have to, must’
CONTINUATION	<i>div-</i>	<i>diva</i>	‘stay, remain’

(191a) again gives an example of an imperative, ສັບ *sahu*, addressing a second person singular or plural. (191b), on the other hand, shows the corresponding hortative form, ສັບສັບ *sahu-sahu*, in which a group including the speaker is addressed.

4.5.5 Modals

Modals in Ayeri express the notions of ability, desire, permission, requirement, obligation, and also of continuation, as indicated by Table 4.24. They can generally act as both fully inflectable intransitive verbs, as well as clitics which occur in combination with fully inflected content verbs.

- (192) a. *Rua bahavāng baho, ang bihanoyya mirampaluy nas.*  
rua= baha=vāng baho ang=bihan-oy=ya.Ø mirampaluy nas  
must=shout=2.A loudly AT= understand-NEG=3SG.M.TOP otherwise IPL.P  
‘You have to shout loudly, otherwise he does not understand us.’
- b. *Ruasanang.*  
rua-asā=nang  
must-HAB=IPL.A  
‘We usually have to.’

As (192a) shows, the modal does not inflect in combination with another verb; as a clitic it rather acts similar to a prefix, like the progressive marker ມາງ *manga*, which is also presumably deverbal (compare section 3.1, footnote 3). In difference to ມາງ *manga*, which as a preverbal element only serves a grammatical function,

the semantic component of the modals is still prevalent. This is illustrated by (192b), where  $\text{𑌕}$ : *rua-* appears in its function as an intransitive verb with the same meaning of strong obligation as in (192a), though it carries regular person and aspect inflection here. Inflecting the modal in the context of cooccurrence with a content verb is considered unacceptable, however, as (193) shows.

- (193) \**Ruavāng babayam babo.*  
            $\text{rua}=\text{vāng}$      $\text{baha-yam}$      $\text{baho}$   
           must=2.AT    shout-PTCP    loudly  
           ‘You have to shout loudly.’

Regarding example (192b) and the modal’s ability to inflect, Ayeri also has a verb that generally means ‘do’, namely,  $\text{𑌕}$ : *mira-*. However, it is not common to use this verb as a dummy to carry the inflection instead of the modal verb like in (194) either. While such a construction is not ungrammatical *per se*, it is simply not the preferred way to express intransitive modal verbs.

- (194) <sup>2</sup> *Rua mirasanang.*  
            $\text{rua}=\text{mira-asa}=\text{nang}$   
           must=do-HAB=IPL.A  
           ‘We usually have to.’

While most of the verbs listed in Table 4.24 should look reasonable to English speakers, Ayeri uses two verbs for modal particles which may seem odd:  $\text{𑌕}$  *vaca* ‘like to’, to express taking pleasure in doing something, and  $\text{𑌕}$  *diva* ‘stay, remain’, to express that the action is being prolonged. The latter verb thus also has an aspectual component to its meaning.

- (195) a. *Ang vacay betayley.*  
            $\text{ang}=\text{vac}=\text{ay.}\emptyset$      $\text{betay-ley}$   
           AT= like=ISG.TOP    berry-P.INAN  
           ‘I like berries.’  
       b. *Ang vaca konday betayley.*  
            $\text{ang}=\text{vaca}=\text{kond}=\text{ay.}\emptyset$      $\text{betay-ley}$   
           AT= like= eat=ISG.TOP    berry-P.INAN  
           ‘I like to eat berries.’

The fact that modal particles in Ayeri retain their verbal semantics in spite of shedding verb morphology is probably even more obvious from examples (195) and (196), which show the alternation between full-verb use in (a) and modal use in

- (196) a. *Ang divay rangya tasela.*  
 ang=div=ay.Ø rang-ya tasela  
 AT= stay=1SG.TOP home-LOC tomorrow  
 'I will stay home tomorrow.'
- b. *Ang diva bengya ku-danyās kebak.*  
 ang=diva=beng=ya.Ø ku=danya-as kebak  
 AT= stay=stand=3SG.M.TOP like=one-P alone  
 'He remained standing as the only one.'

(b) for both  $\text{r}_{\text{g}}$  *vac-* and  $\text{r}_{\text{g}}$  *div-*. In comparison to the other modals in Table 4.24, these two verbs in particular also stand out by virtue of their roots ending in a consonant instead of a vowel like in the other cases. This suggests that they may have been grammaticalized as modals only relatively recently, and there appears to be variation at least for  $\text{r}_{\text{g}}$  *vac-*, for instance, in (197).

- (197) ... *yam vacongyang ilisayam eda-koyās gan* ...  
 ... *yam= vac-ong-yang ilisa-yam eda=koya-as gan-Ø* ...  
 DATT=like-IRR-1SG.A dedicate-PTCP this=book-P child-TOP  
 '... I would like to dedicate this book to the child ...' (Becker 2015 [2013]: 1, 8)

Moreover, as illustrated previously in (185b),  $\text{g}$  *mya* 'be supposed to, shall' can be used to express indirect commands where English may use the subjunctive mood. Essentially, the function of this modal is that of the jussive mood in that the speaker issues an order or request to arrange for an action to happen instead of making a direct order to a second person. For convenience, (185b) is repeated here as (198). While the version without  $\text{g}$  *mya* is an indirect order, including the modal adds a modicum of politeness by phrasing the indirect order as an instruction. Essentially, thus, adding the modal has an effect comparable to the use of the subjunctive 'he call' instead of the indicative 'he calls' in the English translation.

- (198) *Arapnang, sa (mya) garayāng hatay.*  
 arap=nang sa=(mya=) gara=yāng hatay-Ø  
 require=1PL.A PT=(shall=)call=3SG.M.A police-TOP  
 'We require that he call the police.'

In addition to this use,  $\text{g}$  *mya* is also used in commands to third persons, whether direct or indirect. This use is displayed in (199). English may use *shall* here as an equivalent.

- (199) a. *Ningu cam, mya saratang.*  
 ning-u cam mya= sara=tang  
 tell-IMP 3PL.M.DAT shall=leave=3PL.M.A

‘Tell them to leave.’

- b. *Mya yomāra makangreng.*  
 mya= yoma-ara makang-reng  
 shall=exist-3SG.INAN light-A.INAN

‘Let there be light.’

#### 4.5.6 Participle

Besides the imperative—and, by extension, the hortative—Ayeri also possesses another non-finite form called the participle.<sup>37</sup> This form is marked by appending *-yam* to the verb root. The participle is generally the form of verbal complements of intransitive subordinating verbs. For instance, *ḡḡ: cun-* ‘begin’ or *ḡḡḡ: manang-* ‘avoid’ both allow complementation with another verb, as shown in (200).

- (200) a. *Cunyo pero perinang makayam.*  
 cun-yo pero perin-ang maka-yam  
 begin-3SG.N slowly sun-A shine-PTCP

‘The sun slowly began to shine.’

- b. *Manangye ang Nilan pengalyam badanas saha yena.*  
 manang-ye ang=Nilan pengal-yam badan-as saha yena  
 avoid-3SG.F A= Nilan meet-PTCP father-P in.law 3SG.F.GEN

‘Nilan avoids to meet her father-in-law.’

The subordinated verb may also be fronted into the position between the subordinating verb and the subject, as in (201), especially when the subordinate verb is intransitive, like *ḡḡḡ: makayam* ‘shining’ in (201a). As (201b) shows in comparison to (201b), by fronting the subordinated verb, the arguments of the subordinate verb become available for topicalization. Compare section 6.4.3 for details on the syntactic operations possible with subordinating verbs, that is, control verbs (p. 380) and raising verbs (p. 381).

#### 4.5.7 Other affixes

In the section on noun morphology we have already encountered a number of clitic prefixes that may attach to noun heads (see sections 3.2.5 and 4.1.4). Some of these

<sup>37</sup> It might as well be referred to as an infinitive, but ‘participle’ is now the established term.

- (201) a. *Cunyo pero makayam perinang.*  
 cun-yo pero maka-yam perin-ang  
 begin-3SG.N slowly shine-PTCP sun-A  
 ‘The sun slowly began to shine.’
- b. *Sa manangye pengalyam ang Nilan badan saba yena.*  
 sa=manang-ye pengal-yam ang=Nilan badan-Ø saha yena  
 PT=avoid-3SG.F meet-PTCP A= Nilan father-P in.law 3SG.F.GEN  
 ‘Her father-in-law, Nilan avoids to meet him.’

can also attach to verbs. Furthermore, verbs may be modified by certain quantifier clitics. The latter are dealt with in more detail in the section on adverbs; only a few relevant examples will be given here.

### Prefixes

We have already encountered the prefix 𑀩 *da-* ‘so, such’ in the previous section, as well as in the section on noun prefixes (see sections 3.2.5, p. 81; 4.1.4; and 4.5.6). With nouns, 𑀩 *da-* ‘such’ patterns as a demonstrative with the deictic prefixes 𑀭 *eda-* ‘this’ and 𑀮 *ada-* ‘that’. Distinguishing between near and far is not possible with verbs,<sup>38</sup> but pointing out that something is happening ‘in this way, so’ is still possible, hence 𑀩 *da-* is also applicable to verbs. 𑀩 *da-* can thus act essentially as a pro-verb. As a clitic, it leans on the verb, preceding all other inflectional prefixes, that is, any tense prefixes that may possibly precede the verb root.

- (202) a. *Da-mingya ang Diyan.*  
 da=ming-ya ang=Diyan.  
 so=can-3SG.M A= Diyan  
 ‘Diyan can (do it).’
- b. *Ang da-məpinyaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 ang=da=mə-pinya-ya Ø= Yan sa=Pila  
 AT= such=PST-ask-3SG.M TOP=Yan P= Pila  
 ‘Yan asked Pila to (do so).’

Another possible use of the prefix 𑀩 *da-* with verbs is related to the abbreviation of 𑀩𑀓 *danya* ‘such one’ as described in sections 3.2.5 (p. 79) and 4.2.2, where the

<sup>38</sup> Unless there were a distinction between actions performed in the speaker’s proximity and actions performed at a distance. Ayeri, however, does not make such a distinction. A cursory web search did not turn up evidence from natural languages either.



demonstrative part, 𐌆 *da-* may be split off the pronoun and attached to the adjective directly to express ‘the ADJECTIVE one’. This practice has possibly been extended to verbs as illustrated in (202). Example (102) from the mentioned section is repeated here as (203 for the reader’s convenience. When 𐌆 *da-* is used as an abbreviation for 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔 *danyās* (such.one-P) or 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔 *danyaley* (such.one-P.INAN), as in (204), it may also appear prefixed to the verb.

- (203) *Sa noyang da-tuvo.*  
 sa= no=yang da=tuvo-Ø  
 PT=want=ISG.A such=red-TOP  
 ‘I want the red one.’

- (204) *Mya da-vehoyāng.*  
 mya= da=veh-oy=yāng  
 shall=one=build-NEG=3SG.M  
 ‘He is not supposed to build one.’

As mentioned above, 𐌆 *da-* can also be used in an expletive way, to express ‘in this way’ or ‘like that’. It does not encode an anaphoric relation in this case, but merely serves as a discourse particle to highlight the action. 𐌆 *da-* in both examples in (205) has a presentative function rather than an anaphoric one.

- (205) a. *Da-sahāra seyaraneng.*  
 da=saha-ara seyaran-eng  
 thus=come-3SG.INAN rain-A.INAN  
 ‘Here comes the rain.’
- b. *Le no da-subroyya ang Hasanjan tiga kaytan yana.*  
 le= no= da=subr-oy-ya ang=Hasanjan tiga kaytan-Ø yana  
 PT=want=there=give.up-NEG-3SG.M A= Hasanjan honorable right-TOP 3SG.M.GEN  
 ‘Mr. Hasanjan did not want to cease his right just there.’

Besides 𐌆 *da-*, verbs may also host the 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔 *ku-* ‘like’ proclitic, which we have already seen with both nouns and adjectives (compare sections 3.2.5, 4.1.4, and 4.3.4). The English translation in context may rather be ‘as though’ than ‘like’ here, as indicated in (206), but the function is the same: expressing likeness and resemblance.

As previously described (sections 3.2.5, p. 81, and 4.2.6), 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌔 *sitang* ‘self’, the reflexive clitic, can appear as a prefix on verbs as well. This may be the case when the patient of a transitive sentence signifies the same entity as the actor. Example (118) is repeated here as (207) for convenience.

- (206) *Misyeng, ang ku-tangoyye yās.*  
 mis=yeng ang=ku=tang-oy=ye.Ø yās  
 act=3SG.F.A AT= like=hear-NEG=3SG.F.TOP 3SG.M.P

‘She acts as though she does not hear him.’

- (207) *Ang sitang-silvye puluyya.*  
 ang=sitang=silv=ye.Ø puluy-ya  
 AT= self=see=3SG.F.TOP mirror-LOC

‘She sees herself in the mirror.’

The image of the agent in the mirror is that of the agent herself, so she is seeing her own reflection. Both agent and patient thus refer to the same person. This means that instead of using the reflexive object pronoun *sitang-yes* ‘herself’ (self-3SG.F.P), it is possible to drop the pronoun and to place the reflexive prefix on the verb instead.

### Suffixes

Besides hosting clitic prefixes, verbs may also host clitic suffixes, namely, adverbial suffixes denoting degree, such as *-ani* ‘not at all’, *-ikan* ‘much’, *-kay* ‘a little’, or *-ngas* ‘almost’ (also see sections 3.2.5, p. 95, and 4.8). Some of these overlap with quantifiers applicable to nouns, and all of them are also applicable to adjectives. As enclitics, these suffixes lean on the inflected verb, as shown in (208).

- (208) a. *Ang rua apaya-kay Latun adanyaya.*  
 ang=rua= apa-ya=kay Ø= Latun adanya-ya  
 AT= must=laugh-3SG.M=a.little TOP=Latun that.one-LOC

‘Latun had to laugh a little at that.’

- b. *Ya no narayang-nama va.*  
 ya= no= nara=yang=nama va.Ø  
 LOCT=want=speak=1SG.A=just 2.TOP

‘It is you I just want to talk to.’

## 4.6 Adverbs

Adverbs in Ayeri are the counterparts of adjectives with regards to the modification of verbs and phrases. Like adjectives, they do not display agreement, though attributive adverbs may as well take suffixes for comparison (‘run *faster*’, ‘climb

*better*'). Adverbs may likewise be modified by the usual quantifying and grading suffixes, which have been analyzed here as being adverbial in nature themselves here. Generally, there is no rigid distinction between adverbs and adjectives, so the latter may easily be used as the former. The following subsections will discuss the different kinds of adverbs and their possible uses as modifiers.

#### 4.6.1 Attributive adverbs

Attributive adverbs are words expressing the manner in which an action is carried out, or the circumstances of an event. Like adjectives, adverbs follow their heads, that is, verbs. If near-grammaticalized adverbs are involved, namely, adverbs whose function predominates over their semantic content, attributive adverbs follow these. This case is illustrated in (209a), where the attributive adjective *an* *ban* 'good' follows the more functional adverb *an* *iri* 'already'. In (209b), on the other hand, the descriptive adjective *an* *cabo* 'late' can directly follow the verb. Further adverbs may follow in decreasing order of semantic relation to their head. With regards to grammaticalization, Lehmann (2015: 157 ff.) speaks of *bondedness* or *fugungsenge* ('tightness of construction'): the closer the bond between two juxtaposed terms is, the higher is its degree of grammaticalization. This explains why *an* *iri* must follow the verb in (209a) while descriptive adverbs less central to the verb's meaning typically follow with increasing optionality.

- (209) a. *Ri rija iri ban ang Tapan palān yena.*  
 ri= rig-ya iri ban ang=Tapan palān-Ø yena  
 INST=draw-3SG.M already well A= Tapan age-TOP 3SG.F.GEN  
 'For her age, Tapan already draws well.'
- b. *Sahasaya cabo ang Niyas.*  
 saha-asa-ya cabo ang=Niyas  
 come-HAB-3SG.M late A= Niyas  
 'Niyas is usually late.'

Adverbs do not show agreement, however, attributive adverbs can be negated. This makes them very similar to adjectives, except that they do not modify nouns. The negative suffix for attributive adverbs is *an* *-oy*, which is demonstrated in (210).

- (210) *Ersasayan napayoy ang Temisi.*  
 ers-asa-yan napay-oy ang=Temisi  
 cook-HAB-3PL.M spicy-NEG A= Northerner  
 'The Northerners cook in an uns spicy way.'

The adjective  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *napay* ‘spicy’ has been seamlessly converted into an adjective here and negated to  $\text{ᳵ᳚ᳵ᳚}$  *napayoy* ‘unspicy(ly)’. The semantic difference from the same sentence with the verb negated instead of the adverb in (211) is up to the choice of the speaker.

- (211) *Ersasoyyan napay ang Temisi.*  
 ers-asa-oy-yan napay ang=Temisi  
 cook-HAB-NEG-3PL.M spicy A= Northerner  
 ‘The Northerners don’t cook in a spicy way.’

### Comparison of adverbs

Since actions may be gradable in the way they are carried out, it is possible to compare adverbs in the same way as adjectives. Here, however, only the particle-based strategy described in section 4.3.1 can be used. In order to form the comparative, the enclitic  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *-eng* is appended to the adverb as shown in (212a). The superlative carries the enclitic  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *-vā* as a marker, as in (212b).

- (212) a. *Ang rije ban-eng Sipra na Tapan.*  
 ang=rig-ye ban=eng Ø= Sipra na= Tapan  
 AT= draw-3SG.F good=COMP TOP=Sipra GEN=Tapan  
 ‘Sipra draws better than Tapan.’  
 b. *Rije ban-vā ang Nava.*  
 rig-ye ban=vā ang=Nava  
 draw-3SG.F good=SUPL A= Nava  
 ‘Nava draws best.’

### Māy and voy

The discourse particles  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *māy* ‘yes’ and  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *voy* ‘no’ can also appear in the fashion of adverbs, though since they act mainly as functional morphemes here, it is not possible for them to undergo comparison in spite of their attributive use. While  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *māy* ‘yes’ and  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *voy* ‘no’ normally express affirmative and negative responses as answers to closed questions,  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *māy*, for one, can be used adverbially as an intensifier, as in (213). In a similar way,  $\text{ᳵ᳚}$  *voy* can be used for negative intensification, which is demonstrated in (214). The negative intensifier replaces negation on the verb in this case, though the verb may still be negated as well for very forceful negation.

- (213) a. *Nay le konja māy epang ang Kaji nernan barina sebu!*  
 nay le= kond-ya māy epang ang=Kaji nernan-Ø bari-na sebu  
 and PT.INAN=eat-3SG.M INT then A= Kaji piece-TOP meat-GEN rotten

‘And then Kaji totally ate the piece of rotten meat!’

- b. *Yāng māy karomayās nārya.*  
 yāng māy karomaya-as nārya  
 3SG.M.A INT doctor-P though

‘He *is* a doctor, though.’

- (214) a. *Le vacyo voy veneyang kondan.*  
 le= vac-yo voy veney-ang kondan-Ø  
 PT.INAN=like-3SG.N INT.NEG dog-A food-TOP

‘The food, the dog did not like it at all.’

- b. *Adareng voy babisley niru.*  
 ada-reng voy bahis-ley niru  
 that-A.INAN INT.NEG day-P.INAN bad

‘That is not a bad day at all.’

Besides this use, both  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  *māy* and  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *voy* can also be used in tag questions, to reflect the expectation of the person asking with regards to the answer. Example (215a) poses the question with the expectation of an affirmative answer. This is indicated by using the affirmative particle  $\text{ᑭᑭ}$  *māy* after the verb. Example (215a), on the other hand, indicates that the asker has doubts about the issue in question and expects their opposite to decline. The negative particle  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *voy* is placed in adverb position after the verb accordingly.

- (215) a. *Sa konjon māy patasjang keynam?*  
 sa= kond-yon māy patas-ye-ang keynam-Ø  
 PT=eat-3PL.N AFF bear-PL-A people-TOP

‘People, bears eat them, don’t they?’

- b. *Sa ginyon voy patasjang nimpur?*  
 sa= gin-yon voy patas-ye-ang nimpur-Ø  
 PT=drink-3PL.N NEG bear-PL-A wine-TOP

‘Wine, bears don’t drink it, do they?’

## 4.6.2 Sentence adverbs

Ayeri allows adverbs to modify sentences, for instance, to express the stance of the speaker, to concede an argument, or simply to structure an argumentative chain.

*Stance adverbs*

Adverbs indicating the stance of the speaker towards an assertion or a statement are, for instance: *ṣṣṣṣ ankyu* ‘really’, *ṣṣṣṣ cuyam* ‘actually, indeed, in fact’, *ṣṣṣṣ kalam* ‘honestly’, *ṣṣṣṣ kuban* ‘fortunately’, *ṣṣṣṣ kuniru* ‘unfortunately’, *ṣṣṣṣ nilay* ‘probably’, *ṣṣṣṣ yoming* ‘maybe, perhaps’. These adverbs are usually placed after the verb like any other attributive adverb, even though their scope is over the whole clause. It is also possible to place them towards the end of the clause they are used in, however. Example (216) gives an example of either position.

- (216) a. *Ang ming bengya kuban Tipal vabamya bavesangena nā.*  
 ang=ming=beng-ya kuban Ø= Tipal vaham-ya bavesang-ena nā  
 AT= can= attend-3SG.M fortunately TOP=Tipal party-LOC birthday-GEN 1SG.GEN

‘Fortunately, Tipal can attend my birthday party.’

- b. *Sabayāng cabo-kay nilay nārya.*  
 saha=yāng cabo=kay nilay nārya  
 come=3SG.M late=a.little probably though

‘He will probably come a little late, though.’

*Discourse-structuring adverbs*

Ayeri does not have a great number of concessive adverbs, that is, *ṣṣṣṣ arēn* ‘however, anyway’ and *ṣṣṣṣ nārya* ‘although, though; nevertheless’ do most, if not all the work. Like adverbs expressing stance, they may follow the verb or be placed at the end of the clause. Example (216b) above already showed an example of *ṣṣṣṣ nārya* being used as a sentence adverb. With regards to this word, it is important to note that *ṣṣṣṣ nārya* may also be used as a general contrastive conjunction which can mostly be translated as ‘but’. In this sense, its placement in a clause creates a slight difference in meaning, as illustrated by example (217) below.

Besides the two adverbs mentioned above, there is also *ṣṣṣṣ da-nārya* ‘even though, in spite of, despite’ as a postposition with a contrastive meaning (see section 4.4.2). As an adposition it accepts either a noun phrase or a complementizer phrase (CP) as a complement. In the latter case, which is shown in (218b), there

- (217) a. *Garayang, nārya guraca ranyāng.*  
 gara=yang nārya gurat-ya ranya-ang  
 call=1SG.A but answer-3SG.M nobody-A  
 'I called, but nobody answered.'
- b. *Garayang, guraca nārya ranyāng.*  
 gara=yang gurat-ya nārya ranya-ang  
 call=1SG.A answer-3SG.M although nobody-A  
 'I called, although nobody answered.'
- (218) a. *Ya precang nanga yena* [PP [NP *sarānya yena*] *da-nārya*].  
 ya= pret=yang nanga-Ø yena sarān-ya yena da-nārya  
 LOCT=knock=1SG.A house-TOP 3SG.F.GEN absence-LOC 3SG.F.GEN in.spite  
 'I knocked at her house in spite of her absence.'
- b. *Precang* [PP [CP *ang yomoyye rangya yena*] *da-nārya*].  
 pret=yang ang=yoma-oy=ye.Ø rang-ya yena da-nārya  
 knock=1SG.A AT= exist-NEG=3SG.F.TOP home-LOC 3SG.F.GEN even.though  
 'I knocked, even though she wasn't at home.'

is no locative case agreement of the whole CP with the postposition, since there is no fitting agreement target to attach it to.

Further adverbs which are commonly used as adverbial expressions and which may appear in the presentation of arguments include: *deramyam* 'after all', *kaybunay* 'by the way', *ku-nasya* 'as follows', *menanya* 'on the one hand', *mirampaluy* 'otherwise', *nāreng* 'rather', *naynay* '(and) also, moreover, furthermore', *palunganya* 'on the other hand', *panca* 'finally, eventually, in the end', *pinyan* 'please', *subing* 'naturally, of course'. It should be apparent by the complexity and relative length of some of these words that they are fossilized expressions, for instance, *deramyam* 'after all' transparently derives from *deram* 'matter of fact' declined for dative case (*yam*, see section 4.1.3); *ku-nasya* is derived from a phrase literally meaning 'as (it) follows'; and *palunganya* 'on the other hand' literally means 'in difference', from *palungan* 'difference, distinction'. Of the list given above, it may be noted that *pinyan* 'please' (from *pinya-* 'ask') is often found at the beginning of polite requests, as illustrated by (219).

- (219) *Pinyan, sabu kongya!*  
 pinyan saha-u kong-ya  
 please come-IMP inside-LOC  
 'Please come inside!'

(2.20) a. *Le rimasayang kunang sirutayya, kadäre ming toryang ban-eng.*  
 le= rima=asa=yang kunang-Ø sirutay-ya kadäre ming=tor=yang ban=eng  
 PT.INAN=shut-HAB=ISG.A door-TOP night-LOC so.that can= sleep=ISG.A good=COMP  
 ‘I usually close the door at night so that I can sleep better.’  
 b. *Ilta toryeng, närya da-kilisoyyon nilanjang yena.*  
 ilta= tor=yeng närya da=kilis-oy-yon nilan-ye=ang yena  
 need=sleep=3SG.F.A but so=allow-NEG-3PL.N thought-PL-A 3SG.F.GEN  
 ‘She needed to sleep, but her thoughts did not allow her to.’  
 c. *Ang ming bangoyya Yan padangas, yanoyam yāng pisu.*  
 ang=ming=hang-oy-ya Ø= Yan pandang-as yanoyam yāng pisu  
 AT= can= keep-NEG-3SG.M TOP=Yan mind-P because 3SG.M.A tired  
 ‘Yan cannot concentrate because he is tired.’

<sup>40</sup> Conditional protasis and apodosis are often unmarked in Ayeri, however, it may still be desirable occasionally to use a particle to indicate them explicitly.



Table 4.25: Demonstratives relating to adverbial categories

Category	Proximal		Distal	
PLACE	<i>edaya</i>	‘here’	<i>adaya</i>	‘there’
TIME	<i>edauyi</i>	‘now’	<i>adauyi</i>	‘then’
MANNER	<i>edāre</i>	‘hereby’	<i>adāre</i>	‘thereby’
REASON	<i>edayam</i>	‘herefore’	<i>adayam</i>	‘therefore’

however, is not a productive grammatical process, but specific to  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *kada-kada* and  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *nāroy*, respectively. An example of each is given in (221).

- (221) a. *Rua nibaya ang Pulan, kada-kada yāng sapin tadayya kivo.*  
 rua= niba-ya ang=Pulan kada~kada yāng sapin taday-ya kivo  
 must=rest-3SG.M A= Pulan ITER~so.that 3SG.M.A healthy time-LOC little  
 ‘Pulan must rest so that he will be healthy again very soon.’
- b. *Yang temisena cuyam, nāroy yang petau.*  
 yang temis-ena cuyam nāroy yang petau  
 1SG.A north-GEN indeed but.not 1SG.A stupid  
 ‘I may be from the north, but I am not stupid.’

As described above (compare section 4.5.3), partial reduplication of the verb expresses iterative aspect, which in Ayeri is used to mean ‘VERB again’ and ‘VERB back’, depending on context. The reduplicated form  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *kada-kada* as displayed in (221a) is irregular in its formation if we assume that it is formed from  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *kadāre* ‘so that’; the regular outcome with iterative reduplication applied would be  $\text{*𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *\*ka-kadāre*. As a conjunction, however, it is relatively frequent, so it does not seem odd that it has assumed a phonologically more simple, yet distinct form (compare, for instance, Bybee and Hopper 2001: 11–12). The conjunctive adverb in (221b) exhibits likewise a slightly irregular formation if we consider that it is essentially the negated form of  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *nārya* ‘but’; the regular outcome would have been  $\text{*𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *\*nāryoy*, which underwent simplification to  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *nāroy*, presumably as well due to its relatively high token frequency.

#### 4.6.3 Demonstrative adverbs

Besides demonstrative pronouns like  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *adanya* ‘that (one)’ (see section 4.2.2), and indefinite pronouns like  $\text{𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕}$  *yāril* ‘for some reason; somewhere’ (see sec-

tion 4.2.4), Ayeri also possesses demonstrative pronouns for the adverbial categories place, time, manner, and reason. The full paradigm is given in Table 4.25. Compared to the paradigm for demonstrative pronouns relating to persons or things, the paradigm of adverbial demonstratives is incomplete in that forms with 𐌆𐌇 *da-* ‘such’ are unattested. Thus, instead of the hypothetical form with 𐌆𐌇 *da-*, a full-NP adverbial with a generic noun has to be used: \*𐌆𐌇𐌔𐌰 *\*daya* → 𐌆𐌇𐌔𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰 *da-yanoya* ‘in such a place’ (such-place-LOC). Adverbial demonstratives are, like pronouns, in complementary distribution with full NPs, since they are pro-forms. Thus, using them as modifiers to NPs as in (222a) is not possible, while using simple demonstrative 𐌆𐌇𐌔𐌰 *eda-* ‘this’ together with a noun as in (222b) or using 𐌆𐌇𐌔𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰 *edaya* ‘here’ as a pro-form fully replacing the NP 𐌆𐌇𐌔𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰 *eda-nangaya* ‘in this house’ as in (222c) is generally unproblematic.

- (222) a. \**Ang mice Pada nangaya edaya.*  
           ang=mit-ye    Ø= Pada nanga-ya edaya  
           AT= live-3SG.F TOP=Pada house-LOC here
- b. *Ang mice Pada eda-nangaya.*  
           ang=mit-ye    Ø= Pada eda=nanga-ya  
           AT= live-3SG.F TOP=Pada this=house-LOC
- ‘Pada lives in this house.’
- c. *Mice ang Pada edaya.*  
           mit-ye    ang=Pada edaya  
           live-3SG.F A= Pada here
- ‘Pada lives here.’

## 4.7 Numerals

The vast majority of the 196 sampled languages in Comrie (2013) either counts in tens or employs a mixed vigesimal-decimal system, while only five languages in the sample use a different base than 10. Ayeri uses a duodecimal system and is thus very untypical compared to real-world languages in using a number base other than 10—none of the languages in Comrie (2013)’s sample are listed as duodecimal. Even though duodecimal numeral systems only occur rarely in natural languages, they are not entirely unheard of. Thus, for instance, Cain and Gair (2000) report that in Maldivian, the “numeral *fas dolas* ‘60’ (lit., ‘five twelves’) comes from a duodecimal system that has all but disappeared in the Maldives. This number system was used for special purposes such as counting coconuts” (21).

Ayeri's number words are mostly semantic primes, that is, their meanings cannot be readily recognized as derived from body parts (Dixon 2012: 74) or from internal arithmetic like 9 as 'ten lacking one', for instance. The numerals 𐌂𐌌 *kay* 'three', 𐌃𐌃 *iri* 'five', and 𐌂𐌌𐌃 *ben* 'eight' may be an exception: as a quantifying adverb, 𐌂𐌌 *kay* means 'a little, few'; 𐌃𐌃 *iri* means 'already', which might refer to the fact that a full hand has been counted off; and 𐌂𐌌𐌃 *ben* also means 'all'. Ayeri moreover appears extremely sophisticated in possessing a way of forming large numerals by a theoretically open-ended, recursive process.

#### 4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

Since people and concrete things are usually present in a countable manner, I want to comment first on how countable entities are handled with regards to numerals. After this, a discussion of how to express fractional amounts will follow.

##### *Integers*

Cardinal numerals work much like adjectives in that they modify nouns. As modifiers, they are placed after nouns. The full table of cardinal numerals from  $0 \times 12^0$  (o) to  $11 \times 12^0$  (B) is given in Table 4.26.<sup>41</sup> An example of simple modification by a numeral is given in (223).

- (223) *Ang tenyaya pang bihanya yo soyang miye.*  
 ang=tenya=ya pang bihan-ya yo soyang miye  
 AT= die=3SG.M.TOP ago week-LOC four or six  
 'He died four or six weeks ago.'

In this example, the numeral 𐌃𐌃 *yo* 'four' modifies the noun 𐌂𐌌𐌃 *bihan* 'week'. Notably, however, plural marking is missing on the noun, since the notion of plurality is provided by the numeral itself; the numeral is thus normally sufficient to mark the whole NP as plural.

Multiples of  $12^1$  between 10 and 60 are formed by appending the suffix 𐌃𐌃𐌃 *-lan* to the numbers from 0 to B, which are given in Table 4.27. These numerals themselves act as heads for forming compounds with lower numerals to fill in the  $12^0$  numerals 11, 12, 13, ..., 21, 22, 23, etc. Thus, one counts on from 𐌂𐌌𐌃𐌃 *menlan* 'dozen' in the way illustrated by (224).

<sup>41</sup> For the sake of typographic simplicity, A and B will be used to mean  $10 \times 12^0$  and  $11 \times 12^0$ , respectively. An index '10' indicates base 10 explicitly, while an index '12' indicates base 12.

- (224) a.  $\text{မံၼ်လၢ်မံၼ်}$  *menlan-men* (11),  
            $\text{မံၼ်လၢ်မၤ}$  *menlan-sam* (12),  
            $\text{မံၼ်လၢ်နၢ်}$  *menlan-kay* (13),  
           etc.  
       b.  $\text{မၤမံၼ်လၢ်မံၼ်}$  *samlan-men* (21),  
            $\text{မၤမံၼ်လၢ်မၤ}$  *samlan-sam* (22),  
            $\text{မၤမံၼ်လၢ်နၢ်}$  *samlan-kay* (23),  
           etc.

In order to form yet higher numbers, the suffix  $\text{ၼ်}$  *-nang* is appended to numerals:  $\text{မံၼ်}$  *menang* ( $\leftarrow$   $\text{မံၼ်}$  *men* ‘1’ +  $\text{ၼ်}$  *-nang*),  $\text{မၤမံၼ်}$  *samang* ‘2’ ( $\leftarrow$   $\text{မၤ}$  *sam* +  $\text{ၼ်}$  *-nang*),  $\text{နၢ်မံၼ်}$  *kaynang* ( $\leftarrow$   $\text{နၢ်}$  *kay* ‘3’ +  $\text{ၼ်}$  *-nang*), etc. While  $\text{မံၼ်}$  *menang* is used for 100, higher forms in the *nang* series each multiply the numeral from which they are derived by the factor of a duodecimal myriad (= 20 736<sub>10</sub>). Thus the series in (225) emerges.

- (225)  $\text{မၤမံၼ်}$  *samang*     $12^{(2-1) \times 4} = 12^4$     myriad  
            $\text{နၢ်မံၼ်}$  *kaynang*     $12^{(3-1) \times 4} = 12^8$     myriad myriads  
            $\text{ပိၼ်}$  *yonang*     $12^{(4-1) \times 4} = 12^{12}$     myriad myriad myriads  
            $\text{မိၼ်မံၼ်}$  *irinang*     $12^{(5-1) \times 4} = 12^{16}$     myriad myriad myriad myriads  
           etc.

The numeral which the *nang* series word is based on essentially indicates the number of myriad groups, thus, 1-*nang* maximally contains BBBB; 2-*nang* maximally contains BBBB BBBB; 3-*nang* maximally contains BBBB BBBB BBBB, etc. Furthermore, the *nang* series words serve as unit words, and thus can be modified by numerals again, for instance, as in (226).

- (226) a. *menang sam veyalan-kay*  
           100    2    90    3  
            $293_{12} = 399_{10}$   
       b. *samang benlan-miye menang sam veyalan-kay*  
           1 0000    80    6    100    2    90    3  
            $86\ 0293_{12} = 2\ 115\ 471_{10}$

In (226a),  $\text{မၤ}$  *sam* modifies  $\text{မံၼ်}$  *menang* to indicate that there are two sets of 100<sub>12</sub>. Likewise, in (226b),  $\text{မၤမံၼ်}$  *samang* is modified by  $\text{မံၼ်လၢ်မိၤ}$  *benlan-miye* to mean 86<sub>12</sub> times 10 000<sub>12</sub>. Unit words like  $\text{မံၼ်}$  *menang*,  $\text{မၤမံၼ်}$  *samang*, etc. may also be used as (inanimate) nouns, so it is possible to speak of  $\text{မံၼ်မံၼ်}$  *menangye* ‘hundreds’. To express ‘hundreds of people’, however, the head of the genitive NP is pluralized exceptionally, even if it is a *plurale tantum*, like  $\text{နၢ်မံၼ်}$  *keynam* ‘people’ in (227). In (227),  $\text{နၢ်မံၼ်}$  *keynam* is morphologically a singular form referring semantically to a multitude. It is usually treated as a *plurale tantum* in that it triggers plural agreement in spite of being morphologically singular, which is illustrated in

(227a). In (227b), the word still receives otherwise redundant plural marking to express the difference in meaning from (227a).

- (227) a. *Ang bengyon keynam menang kanānya desay iray.*  
 ang=beng-yon keynam-Ø menang kanān-ya desay iray  
 AT= attend-3PL.N people-TOp hundred wedding-LOC royal  
 ‘A hundred people attended the royal wedding.’
- b. *Ang bengyon keynamye menang kanānya desay iray.*  
 ang=beng-yon keynam-ye-Ø menang kanān-ya desay iray  
 AT= attend-3PL.N people-PL-TOp hundred wedding-LOC royal  
 ‘Hundreds of people attended the royal wedding.’

In order to indicate that myriad groups have been skipped, the conjunction *ṛṇay* ‘and’ is used to avoid confusion, as shown in (228), or simply to avoid having two single-digit numerals following each other, as illustrated by (229).

- (228) a. *samang menang men benlan-miye*  
 1 0000 100 1 80 6  
 $186\ 0000_{12} = 5\ 101\ 056_{10}$
- b. *samang menang men ṛṇay benlan-miye*  
 1 0000 100 1 and 80 6  
 $100\ 0086_{12} = 2\ 986\ 086_{10}$
- (229) a. <sup>2</sup>*menang mal ito*  
 100 A 7
- b. *menang mal ṛṇay ito*  
 100 A and 7  
 $A07_{12} = 1\ 447_{10}$

### Fractions

So far, we have explored only whole numbers. Things can often be divided up into smaller parts as well, though. The main way to express common fractions like  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , etc. is to prepend *ṛṇmen* ‘one’ to the denominator. The full paradigm of fractional numerals from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{B}$  is given in Table 4.28. Note that a number of these fractions have slightly irregular forms due to assimilation in consonant clusters. In order to introduce a numerator, the fraction numeral is used as a unit word which is modified by a regular cardinal numeral, as (230) shows.

Table 4.26: Basic cardinal numerals

Numeral	Word	Numeral	Word
0	<i>ja</i>	6	<i>miye</i>
1	<i>men</i>	7	<i>ito</i>
2	<i>sam</i>	8	<i>ben</i>
3	<i>kay</i>	9	<i>veya</i>
4	<i>yo</i>	A	<i>mal</i>
5	<i>iri</i>	B	<i>tam</i>

Table 4.27: Numerals for factors of 12

Numeral	Word	Numeral	Word
		60	<i>miyelan</i>
10	<i>menlan</i>	70	<i>itolan</i>
20	<i>samlan</i>	80	<i>benlan</i>
30	<i>kaylan</i>	90	<i>veyalan</i>
40	<i>yolan</i>	A0	<i>mallan</i>
50	<i>irilan</i>	B0	<i>tamlan</i>

Table 4.28: Simple fractions from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$ 

Numeral	Word	Numeral	Word
$\frac{1}{2}$	<i>mesam</i>	$\frac{1}{7}$	<i>menito</i>
$\frac{1}{3}$	<i>menkay</i>	$\frac{1}{8}$	<i>menyen</i>
$\frac{1}{4}$	<i>menyo</i>	$\frac{1}{9}$	<i>menveya</i>
$\frac{1}{5}$	<i>meniri</i>	$\frac{1}{A}$	<i>memal</i>
$\frac{1}{6}$	<i>memiye</i>	$\frac{1}{B}$	<i>mentam</i>

- (230) a. *Ang ilca*                      *Yan vadisānley*      *mesam.*  
 ang=ilt-ya      Ø=    *Yan vadisān-ley*      *mesam*  
 AT= buy-3SG.M    TOP=Yan    bread-P.INAN    half  
 ‘Yan bought half a loaf of bread.’
- b. *Ang ilce*                      *Mali sikanley*              *menyo kay kipunena.*  
 ang=ilt-ye      Ø=    *Mali sikan-ley*              *menyo kay kipunena*  
 AT= buy-3SG.M    TOP=Mali    pound-P.INAN    fourth    three    cheese-GEN  
 ‘Mali bought a three-quarter pound of cheese.’

In order to express compound numerals, མེན་ *men-* is prefixed to the denominator head word, for instance as in (231a). However, this may become confusing if numerators are used, so (231b) would be expressed less ambiguously as (231c) using the ordinal form of the denominator.

- (231) a. *memallan-ben*  
 men-mallan-hen  
 $1/10 \times 12^1 + 8$   
 $\frac{1}{812} = \frac{1}{12810}$
- b. <sup>2</sup>*memenang*    *ito menlan-yo kay*  
 men-menang    ito    menlan-yo    kay  
 $1/12^2$               7     $1 \times 12^1 + 4$     3  
 $\frac{3}{71412} = \frac{3}{102410}$
- c. *menangan*    *ito menlan-yo nernanyena kay*  
 menang-an    ito    menlan-yo    nernan-ye-na    kay  
 $12^2$ -NMLZ    7     $1 \times 12^1 + 4$     part-PL-GEN    3  
 ‘three of the 1024th part’

#### 4.7.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by nominalization from cardinal numerals. This may be another slightly odd strategy, however, it is in fact attested in Classical Tibetan, according to Chung et al. (2014), in reference to Beyer (1992):

The suffix *-pa* forms a noun from another noun, meaning ‘associated with N’ (e.g. *rta* ‘horse,’ *rta-pa* ‘horseman,’ *yi-ge* ‘letter,’ *yi-ge-pa* ‘one who holds a letter of office,’ cf. Beyer 1992: 117). When suffixed to ordinal numbers this suffix forms ordinals (e.g. *gsum* ‘three,’ *gsum-pa* ‘third’; *bcu* ‘ten,’ *bcu-pa* ‘tenth’). (Chung et al. 2014: 626)

Unfortunately, neither Chung et al. (2014) nor Beyer (1992) say whether Classical Tibetan treats these derived forms as nouns or as numerals, or whether it

Table 4.29: Basic ordinal numerals

Numeral	Word	Numeral	Word
0th	<i>jān</i>	6th	<i>miyan</i>
1st	<i>menan</i>	7th	<i>itan</i>
2nd	<i>saman</i>	8th	<i>benan</i>
3rd	<i>kayan</i>	9th	<i>veyān</i>
4th	<i>yan</i>	10th	<i>malan</i>
5th	<i>iran</i>	11th	<i>taman</i>

makes that distinction at all.<sup>42</sup> In Ayeri, ordinals are firmly treated as noun-like nominal elements due to the derivational suffix *-an* (compare section 4.1.7). Since nominals are the heads of NPs, this also means that the ordinal numeral forms the head of the NP it occurs in, instead of modifying the entity being counted like an ordinal numeral does. This is illustrated in (232). The paradigm for the ordinal numerals from 0 to 11 can be found in Table 4.29.

As (232a) shows, the ordinal numeral may serve as an anaphora meaning ‘the *n*th (one)’. In these cases, animacy is determined by the word the ordinal references for purposes of case marking and agreement. Since ordinals are treated as nominals, they can also be modified by both a relative clause, as (232b) shows, and an adjective, as shown in (232c). In order to include an entity whose rank in a series is given, the counted entity appears as a genitive attribute; compare (232d).

So far, only single-digit ordinals have been described. In order to form higher ordinals, the head unit word receives the nominalizer with the rest of the term trailing as a modifier, otherwise the number word as such is nominalized. Essentially, an ordinal in the ‘teens’ behaves like a ‘tight’ noun compound, while ordinals involving unit words for powers of 12 higher than 1 behave as ‘loose’ compounds (compare section 4.1.5, p. 131). In order to illustrate, the whole numeral *kaylan-miye* in (233a) is nominalized and inflected for case, yielding *kaylan-miyanley*. This is analogous to such nouns as *betaynimpur* ‘grape’ (literally ‘wine-berry’), which inflects as a single unit—a ‘tight’ compound.

In (233b), on the other hand, only the first unit word, *menang* is nominalized and inflected, yielding *menanganley* with *kaylan-miye* fol-

<sup>42</sup> The collective wisdom of the internet’s conlanging community holds that one cannot truly innovate grammatical structures; there is always a natural language which has evolved the same construction, only with more complications. This is referred to as ‘ANADEW’: ‘a nat[ural] lang[uage] already dunnit except worse’ (Teoh 2003).



- (232) a. *Ang Mabān menanas.*  
 ang=Mahān menan-as  
 A= Mahān first-P  
 ‘Mahan is the first.’
- b. *Ang Mabān menanas si girenjāng.*  
 ang=Mahān menan-as si girend=yāng  
 A= Mahān first-P REL arrive=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Mahān is the first to arrive.’
- c. *Ang girenja ku-menan diyan Mabān bahalanya*  
 ang=girend-ya ku=menan diyan Ø= Mahān bahalan-ya  
 A= arrive-3SG.M like=first worthy TOP=Mahān finish-LOC  
 ‘Mahān arrives at the finish as a worthy first.’
- d. *Ang tavya Mabān menanas ganyena yana.*  
 ang=tav-ya Ø= Mahān menan-as gan-ye-na yana  
 AT= get-3SG.M TOP=Mahān first-P child-PL-GEN 3SG.M.GEN  
 ‘Mahān gets his first child’,  
*literally*: ‘Mahān gets the first of his children.’
- (233) a. *Adareng kaylan-miyanley babisyena pericanena.*  
 ada-reng kaylan-miye-an-ley bahis-ye-na perican-ena  
 that-A.INAN  $3 \times 12^1 + 6$ -NMLZ-P.INAN day-PL-GEN year-GEN  
 ‘It is the 36th (= 42nd) day of the year.’
- b. *Adareng menanganley kaylan-miye babisyena pericanena.*  
 ada-reng menang-an-ley kaylan-miye bahis-ye-na perican-ena  
 that-A.INAN  $12^2$ -NMLZ-P.INAN  $3 \times 12^1 + 6$  day-PL-GEN year-GEN  
 ‘It is the 136th (= 186th) day of the year.’

lowing it uninflected. This is analogous to  $\text{ႬႬႬႬႬႬ}$  *ralamapang* ‘fingernail’ which is transparently made up of  $\text{ႬႬႬႬ}$  *ralan* ‘nail’ and  $\text{ႬႬႬႬ}$  *mapang* ‘finger’ and for which only the first constituent inflects, for instance,  $\text{ႬႬႬႬႬႬႬႬႬႬ}$  *ralanyena mapang* ‘of the fingernails’ (nail-PL-GEN finger)—a ‘loose’ compound.

#### 4.7.3 Multiplicative numerals

Whereas ordinals are derived from cardinal numerals by nominalization, multiplicative numerals are derived from ordinals (compare Table 4.29) in turn by putting them in the dative case: the suffix  $\text{ႬႬႬ}$  *yam* is added to the ordinal form of the numeral. The resulting multiplicative numeral can thus be used as an adverbial meaning ‘for the *n*th time’, or as an adverb meaning ‘*n* times’. Context helps to

disambiguate between the two, as well as temporal adverbs like *ṣṣ* *iri* ‘already’. An example of both uses of a multiplicative numeral is given by (234).

- (234) a. *Linkaya iri ang Anang kayanyam.*  
 linka-ya iri ang=Anang kayanyam  
 try-3SG.M already A= Anang third-DAT  
 ‘Anang already tries it for the third time.’
- b. *Linkaya iri kayanyam ang Anang.*  
 linka-ya iri kayanyam ang=Anang  
 try-3SG.M already three.times A= Anang  
 ‘Anang already tried it three times.’

Compound multiplicative numerals are treated as analogous to ordinals, that is, for composite numerals smaller than  $12^2$ , the derivational marking is placed at the end of the composite numeral. Conversely, for composite numerals of orders of magnitude above  $12^1$ , the head of the phrase receives all the marking that makes it a multiplicative numeral while the rest trails uninflected as a modifier; see (235).

- (235) a. *kaylan-tamanyam*  
 kay-lan-tam-an-yam  
 $3 \times 12^1 + 11$ -NMLZ-DAT  
 ‘3B (= 47<sub>10</sub>) times’
- b. *menanganyam men samlan-kay*  
 menang-an-yam men sam-lan-kay  
 $12^2$ -NMLZ-DAT 1  $2 \times 12^1 + 3$   
 ‘123 (= 171<sub>10</sub>) times’

#### 4.7.4 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed similar to multiplicative numerals in that they are based on a derivation of the respective ordinal numeral, which itself has the form of a nominalized cardinal numeral (compare Table 4.29). The derivative affix in this case is the instrumental marker, *ṣṣ* *-eri* (compare section 4.1.3, p. 123). Distributive numerals refer to groups of *n*, as example (236) shows.

- (236) *Ang sarayon burangjang kong besonya samaneri.*  
 ang=sara-yon burang-ye-yang kong beson-ya sam-an-eri  
 AT= go-3PL.N animal-PL-A inside ship-LOC two-NMLZ-INS  
 ‘The animals went inside the ship two by two.’

The formation of composite numerals mirrors that of multiplicative numerals, in that composite numerals below  $12^1$  are treated as single units whereas composite numerals of orders of magnitude larger than  $12^1$  mark only the head word while the remainder of the phrase follows as an uninflected modifier. (237) provides an example of the inflected distributive numeral.

- (237) a. *benlan-yaneri*  
           *hen-lan-yo-an-eri*  
            $8 \times 12^1 + 4\text{-NMLZ-INS}$   
           ‘84 by 84 (=  $100_{10}$ )’
- b. *menanganeri miye tamlan-yo*  
     *menang-an-eri miye tam-lan-yo*  
      $12^2\text{-NMLZ-INS} \quad 6 \quad 11 \times 12^1 + 4$   
     ‘6B4 by 6B4 (=  $1000_{10}$ )’

#### 4.7.5 Number ranges

Ayeri treats cardinal numerals more like adjectives than nouns, so using means of case marking is not possible. On the other hand, adpositions take both NPs and CPs as complements, so that an adjective should be able to act as a complement to an adposition as well. Since the numeral in the PP is treated like an adjective, it is not marked for locative case, since adjectives do not inflect for nominal categories (compare section 4.3). Ranges of cardinal numbers may hence be expressed using the postposition *pesan* ‘(up) until’. When counting starts at *men* ‘one’, this numeral may be dropped, like in English ‘count to ten’ instead of ‘count from one to ten’; compare (238).

- (238) *Kurye ang Pila (men) tam pesan.*  
       *kur-ye ang=Pila (men) tam pesan*  
       count-3SG.F A= Pila (1) B until  
       ‘Pila counts from 1 to B (=  $1 \dots 11_{10}$ ).’

Since ordinal numerals are treated as nouns, they may receive case marking. This means that, in contrast to cardinal numerals, it is possible to express a range using a combination of the genitive and the dative case, or again *pesan* with its prepositional object in the locative case. Context is needed to disambiguate whether the dative form of the numeral is a multiplicative derivation or an actual ordinal numeral in the dative case. Examples of this are given in (239).

- (239) a. *Ang gumasaya samanena pidimyena da-malanyam.*  
 ang=gum-asa=ya saman-ena bahis-ye-na da=malan-yam  
 AT= work-HAB=3SG.M.TOP second-GEN hour-PL-GEN one=tenth-DAT  
 ‘He usually works from the second hour to the tenth.’
- b. *Ang yomaya Magay diyan edaya benanena babisyena*  
 ang=yoma-ya Ø= Magay diyan edaya henan-ena bahis-ye-na  
 AT= exist-3SG.M TOP=Magay worthy here eighth-GEN day-PL-GEN  
*da-menlananya pesan.*  
 da-menlanan-ya pesan  
 one=dozenth-LOC until  
 ‘Mr. Magay is here from the eighth to the dozenth day.’

ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *samanena* ‘from the first’ in (239a) and ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *benanena* ‘from the eighth’ in (239b) use the genitive case marker ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *-ena* (compare section 4.1.3) to indicate the starting point. ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑭᑭ *da-malanyam* ‘to the tenth one’ and ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *da-menlananya pesan* ‘up until the dozenth one’ indicate the end points. Since ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑭᑭ *menlan* in (239b) is embedded in a PP headed by the postposition ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *pesan*, it appears in the locative case instead of the dative case like ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *malan* in (239a).

## 4.8 Quantifiers and Intensifiers

The most common words expressing degree or quantity (both subsumed under the label ‘quantifier’ here) do not only follow verbs, nouns, adpositions, adjectives, or other adverbs, but they cliticize to them, that is, they are dependent morphemes (compare Figure 3.2.5, p. 95). The word stem—a lexical head which is usually inflected except in the case of adjectives—serves as the host for the clitic in all these cases. Examples of degree and quantifier suffixes and how they interact with different parts of speech were already given in all the relevant sections; an example from each section is repeated here in (240) for convenience. As we will see below, there are common quantifiers which behave like regular, free words as well. It is possible to combine both the suffixed and the free kinds with other quantifiers as long as those quantifiers permit modification with regards to degree.

A number of quantifiers can be used to express both quantity and degree. Especially prominent in this regard is ᑭᑭᑦᑭ *-ikan*, which encompasses all of ‘many’, ‘much’ and ‘very’, as displayed in examples (240a) and (240c): in the former case it appears as a quantifier of a countable entity (ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑭᑭ *ganang-ikan* ‘many children’) and in the latter case as a degree adverb (ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑭᑭ *pang-ikan* ‘way behind’). The complete set of degree and quantifier suffixes is listed in Table 4.30.

- (240) a. With a noun (7b):

<i>Ajayon</i>	<i>ganang-ikan</i>	<i>kivo.</i>
aja-yon	gan-ang=ikan	kivo.
play-3SG.N	child-A=many	small

'Many small children are playing.'

- b. With an adjective (I33):

<i>Eda-prikanreng</i>	<i>napay-eng</i>
eda=prikan-reng	napay eng
this=soup-A.INAN	spicy rather

‘This soup is rather spicy.’

- c. With an adposition (138):

<i>Ang mitasaye</i>	<i>pang-ikan</i>	<i>mandayya</i>	<i>tado.</i>
ang=mit-asa=ye.Ø	pang=ikan	manday-ya	tado
AT= live-HAB=3SG.F.TOP	back=much	forum-LOC	old

'She used to live way behind the old forum.'

- d. With a verb (208a):

*Ang rua apaya-kay*                      *Latun adanyaya.*  
ang=rua= apa-ya=kay                  Ø= Latun adanya-ya  
AT= must=laugh=3SG.M=a.little   TOP=Latun that.one-LOC

‘Latun had to laugh a little at that.’

Grading and quantifying expressions which deviate from the pattern of cliticization and instead are used as independent words are, most notably: ၵုၼ် *ankyū* ‘really’, သိုင် *diring* ‘several’, မွဲး *ekeng* ‘over-, overly, too’, ဟံး *hengas* ‘almost all’, ၵမ်ႈၵမ်ႈ *ikan-ikan* ‘altogether, totally’, ၵမ်ႈၵမ်ႈၵမ်ႈ *ikanvānya* ‘at most, by and large’, မွဲးမူ *kagan* ‘excessively, far too’, မိူဝ်ႈတၢ်မၵေၵ်ႇ *menikaneng* ‘another (one more)’, မိူဝ်ႈမိူဝ်ႈ *miday* ‘approximately’, ပဵၼ် *palung* ‘another (a different kind)’, တီႈတီႈ *regandey* ‘bit by bit, gradually’, ၵမ်ႈ *sano* ‘both’, တီႈတီႈ *varyānya* ‘at least’. Besides, adjectives denoting a degree, like ၵမ်ႈ *ipan* ‘drastic, extreme, radical’ can of course also be used as intensifiers by way of adverbial uses. The conversion is not explicitly marked. ၵမ်ႈ *ipan* in (241) can thus also be used to mean ‘extremely’ rather than ‘extreme’.

- (24I) Yang valuy ipan, sa silvyang va.  
yang valuy ipan sa= silv=yang va.Ø  
ISG.A glad extremely PT=see=ISG.A 2.TOP

'I'm extremely glad to see you.'

Table 4.30: Degree and quantity suffixes

Suffix	Degree	Quantity
-ani	not at all	none at all
-aril		some
-eng	rather, more	more
-hen	completely	all, every, each
-ikan	much, very	many, much
-ikoy	not very, less	not many, not much
-ing	so	
-kay	a bit, little	few
-ma	enough	enough
-mas	some kind of	
-nama	just, merely	just, only
-ngas	almost	
-nyama	even	
-vā	most	most
-ven	pretty, quite	

4.9 Conjunctions

Section 4.6.2 already dealt with conjunctive adverbs as sentence adverbs and their conjunction-like behavior. The present section is about the ‘purely logical’ conjunctions *ṣay* ‘and’ and *soyang* ‘or’, as well as their combination with *kamo* ‘equal(ly), likewise’ to form correlative conjunctions.

4.9.1 Simple conjunction and disjunction

Coordination is commonly achieved by the conjunction *ṣay* ‘and’. It is placed in between the conjuncts, and works on all syntactic levels. Namely, it may coordinate lexical heads, as well as phrases, and whole clauses. The example sentences in (242) are ordered by increasing level of coordination: (242a) combines two adjective-phrase (AP) heads, *taran* ‘quiet’ and *saco* ‘cool’, which together make up the predicative AP that is equated to *nangāng* ‘a/the house’. In (242b), then, two agent NPs, *yanang* ‘a/the boy’ and *layang* ‘a/the girl’, together form the subject of the verb *ajayan* ‘play’. Lastly, (242c) shows two main clauses

coordinated, that is,  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *nāng pisu* ‘we are tired’ on the one hand, and  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *tapannang* ‘we are thirsty’ on the other.

- (242) a. [AP [A *Taran*] *nay* [A *saco*]] *nangāng*.  
           *Taran*    *nay*    *saco*    *nanga-ang*  
           quiet    and    cool    house-A  
           ‘The house is quiet and cool.’
- b. *Ajayan*    NP [N *yanang*] *nay* [N *layang*]].  
    *aja-yan*                *yan-ang*    *nay*    *lay-ang*  
    play-3PL.M            boy-A    and    girl-A  
           ‘The boy and the girl are playing.’
- c. [S *nāng pisu*] *nay* [IP *tapannang* ].  
    *nāng*   *pisu*    *nay*    *tapan-nang*  
    IPL.A   tired   and   be.thirsty-IPL.A  
           ‘We are tired and are thirsty.’

Just as  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *nay* expresses *conjunction*,  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *soyang* ‘or’ expresses *disjunction*. It is likewise placed between two disjuncts and works at all levels as well—lexical heads, phrases, and clauses. Inclusive and exclusive ‘or’ are not formally distinguished in Ayeri by the disjunction  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *soyang* alone, so context is necessary to contrast between them. Alternatively, a construction akin to English ‘either ... or’ may be used to make the distinction explicit (see section 4.9.2).

- (243) a. *Pasyyang*    *yāng*    [AP [A *mino*] *soyang* [A *giday*]].  
    *pasy=yang*    *yāng*                *mino*    *soyang*    *giday*  
    wonder=1SG.A   3SG.M.A            happy   or            sad  
           ‘I wonder whether he is happy or sad.’
- b. *Le*    *no*    *ginvāng*    [NP [N *karon*] *soyang* [N *gali* ]]?  
    *le=*    *no=*    *gin=vāng*                *karon-Ø*    *soyang*    *gali-Ø*  
    PT.INAN=want=drink=2.A            water-TOP   or            juice-TOP  
           ‘Do you want to drink water or juice?’
- c. [IP *Beratu*    *edaui*] *soyang* [IP *sa-sabu*    *rangya* ]!  
    *berata-u*    *edaui*    *soyang*    *sa~saha-u*    *rang-ya*  
    decide-IMP   now   or            return-IMP   home-LOC  
           ‘Decide now or go home!’

As above, (243) shows different syntactic contexts for  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *soyang*. In (243a), two adjectives,  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *mino* ‘happy’ and  $\text{၁၃၇၁၀၆၆}$  *giday* ‘sad’ are put in opposition as phrasal heads making up a predicative AP. Then, in (243b), the choice is between two

nouns,  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *karon* ‘water’ and  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *gali* ‘juice’, which jointly form the object of  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *ginvāng* ‘you drink’. Lastly, in (243c), two main clauses are in opposition—either disjunct forms a complete sentence on its own.

#### 4.9.2 Complex conjunction and disjunction

English has a number of conjunctions made up of multiple parts which work together as one expression. Among these are, notably, *as ... as*, *both ... and*, *either ... or*, *neither ... nor*, *rather ... than*, and *the ... the*. Ayeri uses the adverb  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *kamo* ‘equally, same, likewise’ together with a conjunction for many of these.  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *kamo ... nay* ‘equally ... and’ is equivalent to ‘both ... and’: the correlative construction emphasizes that two options are equal to each other.  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *sano* ‘both’ may be used as a synonym to  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *kamo* as well here; compare (244a). Alternatively, it is possible to use a construction with  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *naynay* ‘(and) also’, as in (244b).

- (244) a. *Ang vacay kamo piyuley nay obanley.*  
 ang=vac=ay.Ø kamo piyu-ley nay oban-ley  
 AT= like=ISG.TOP equally grain-P.INAN and bean-P.INAN  
 ‘I like both grains and beans.’
- b. *Ang vacay piyuley, obanley naynay.*  
 ang=vac=ay.Ø piyu-ley oban-ley naynay  
 AT= like=ISG.TOP grain-P.INAN bean-P.INAN also  
 ‘I like grains and also beans.’

The example in (244a) may be translated more literally as ‘I like grains and beans equally’, with two NPs in alternation, both being objects of a transitive verb,  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *vac-* ‘like’. With predicative adjectives, the verb  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *kama-* ‘(be) equal’ may be used, which (245) shows, also compare section 6.4.1.

- (245) *Ang kamayan mabo nay giday.*  
 ang=kama=yan.Ø mabo nay giday  
 AT= be.equal=3PL.M.TOP hungry and thirsty  
 ‘They are both hungry and thirsty.’

$\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *kama-* is one of Ayeri’s copular verbs used to express equality between two properties of its subject. The literal meaning of (245) is thus, roughly, ‘They are as hungry as they are thirsty’. The construction slightly differs from that used to do comparison of NPs, however, in that the conjunction  $\text{ႋႃႉႀ}$  *nay* is placed between both predicative terms here. In order to express literal ‘be ... as ... as’, thus, the conjunction is dropped, as in (246).



- (246) *Kamareng matikan belanas agonanya.*  
 kama=reng matikan helan-as agonan-ya  
 be.equal=3SG.INAN.A hot oven-P outside-LOC

‘It’s as hot as an oven outside.’

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ *kamo ... nay* is used to express ‘the ... the’, that is, a proportional or antiproportional relationship between two amounts, sizes, or properties; using ᐱᐱᐱ *sano* ‘both’ here is judged less fitting. In order to express a relationship of equal increase/decrease in this way, conjuncts are additionally marked with the comparative suffix ᐱᐱᐱ *-eng* ‘more, rather’ or its opposite, ᐱᐱᐱ *-ikoy* ‘less’. See (247) for an example of the former.

- (247) *Ang tavyan kamo nakēng nay konjāng-eng.*  
 ang=tav=yan.Ø equal nake=eng nay kond=yāng=eng  
 AT= become=3SG.M.TOP equally tall=COMP and eat=3SG.M.A=more

‘The taller they get, the more they eat.’

The type of correlative conjunction which selects one of two alternatives but not both—that is, exclusive ‘or’ (XOR)—is expressed by the construction ᐱᐱᐱ *kamo ... soyang* ‘equally ... or’, as illustrated by (248). For its negative opposite, ‘neither ... nor’, the verb is negated. ᐱᐱᐱ *miraya* and ᐱᐱᐱ *kamayong* in (248) thus need to change to ᐱᐱᐱ *miroyya* and ᐱᐱᐱ *kamoyyong* to express the sentences’ negative counterpart.

- (248) a. *Ang miraya kamo Ajān adaley eda-konkyanya soyang da-mararya.*  
 ang=mira-ya kamo Ajān adaley eda=konkyan-ya soynag da=mararya  
 AT= do-3SG.M equally Ajān that-P.INAN this=month-LOC or such-next

‘Ajān does it either this month or next.’

- b. *Kamayong mabo soyang krito mirampaluy.*  
 kama=yong mabo soyang krito mirampaluy  
 be.equal=3SG.N.A hungry or angry otherwise

‘They are either hungry or otherwise angry.’



## 5 Syntactic typology

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While the previous chapter dealt largely with the various parts of speech and their inflectional properties, the present chapter and the next will elaborate on how these words combine into syntactic phrases.<sup>1</sup> Since Ayeri is a verb-initial language, it is probably rather comfortably analyzed in terms of Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982 ff.; more recently, Bresnan et al. 2016; Dalrymple 2001; Falk 2001), since LFG does not require complicated derivations behind the surface structure of sentences.<sup>2</sup> It will be assumed here that, even though Ayeri's unmarked word order is VSO with predicate and predication not adjacent to each other, it is configurational in that there is a VP which c-commands a number of other constituents as complements and adjuncts in transitive sentences.

### 5.1 Lexical-functional grammar

In principle, LFG assumes that grammar operates on different structural levels in parallel: mainly, these are a(rgument) structure, c(onstituent) structure, and f(unctional) structure; other layers have been proposed by different researchers for different purposes (Butt and King 2015: 862–865). Bresnan et al. (2016) define three core design principles for LFG:

- <sup>1</sup> Since trees and tableaux are large, many regularly numbered examples in the following will appear not in place, but floated. Furthermore, note that this is my first time learning more about formal syntax, and trying to apply it. Thus, I do not claim for the present analyses to be complete or flawless; they are merely first steps.
- <sup>2</sup> Passivization, for instance, is assumed to be a lexically motivated alternation in predicate structure (SUBJ is blocked, so the nominative is assigned to OBJ, and the original SUBJ is expressed by an OBL<sub>agr</sub>), rather than an internal derivational process (Bresnan et al. 2016: 23 ff.).

**Variability:** “The principle of variability states that *external structures vary across languages*. The formal model of external structure in LFG is the *c-structure*, which stands for ‘constituent structure’ or ‘categorical structure’” (Bresnan et al. 2016: 41). C-structures are commonly represented by context-free phrase-structure rules; constituency trees are based on an extended version of X-bar theory (42).<sup>3</sup>

**Universality:** “The principle of universality states that *internal structures are largely invariant across languages*. The formal model of internal structure in LFG is the *f-structure*, which stands for ‘functional structure’” (42). The f-structure is depicted as an argument-value matrix (AVM) which maps the relations between ‘subject’ (SUBJ), ‘object’ (OBJ), ‘predicator’ (PRED), etc. as functional abstractions of NP, VP, V<sup>0</sup>, etc. (42). Complement-taking predicators, such as verbs or adpositions, are also presented with their *a-structure* spelled out. That is, subcategorized-for arguments are formally stated (15). The f-structure collates semantic features associated with heads of grammatical functions (GFS), such as case (CASE), person (PERS), number (NUM), which are abstract features and need not have morphological realization (43).

**Monotonicity:** “Constituent structure form is simply not the same in all languages [...] In LFG the correspondence mapping between internal and external structures does not preserve sameness of form. Instead, *it is designed to preserve inclusion relations between the information expressed by the external structure and the content of the internal structure*” (43). Due to the monorepresentation principle, information distributed over different morphemes which logically belongs to a single grammatical function is unified in f-structure.

To illustrate the different parallel structures in operation, Bresnan et al. (2016: 15) give the schema in Figure 5.1 to demonstrate which part of the a- and c-structure respectively corresponds (‘links’, ‘maps’) to which part of the f-structure.

<sup>3</sup> The basic recursive rules of X-bar theory are observed:

1.  $XP \rightarrow YP, X'$  (specifier rule)
2.  $X' \rightarrow X', ZP$  (adjunct rule)
3.  $X' \rightarrow X^0, WP$  (complement rule)

The principle of economy of expression furthermore dictates that essentially, trees be pruned of empty terminal nodes and non-branching preterminal nodes, since these do not provide structurally or semantically relevant information (Bresnan et al. 2016: 119–128). Thus, for instance, in a rule like  $XP \rightarrow X^0 YP$ ,  $YP$  does not necessarily appear as  $XP$ ’s complement in the tree if one were to follow plain X-bar theory rules. Rather, nodes are defined in their status by functional annotations than by their position in the tree alone.

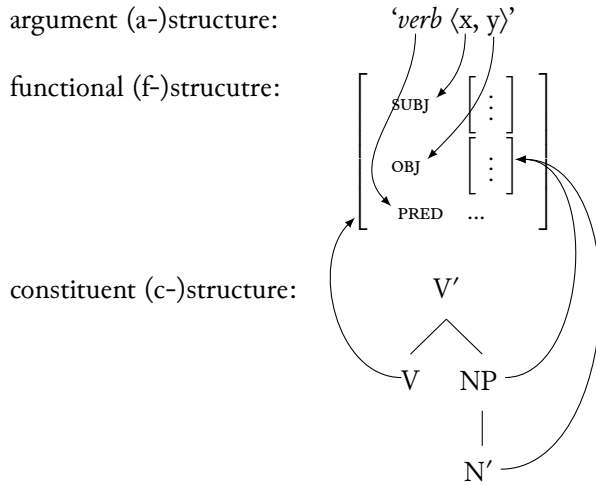


Figure 5.1: F-structure mappings (Bresnan et al. 2016: 15)

Regarding the different functions distinguished, LFG assumes the functional hierarchies given in (1) of chapter 5, following Bresnan et al. (2016: 97, 100).

- (1) a. Grammatical functions (GFs):
- $$\overbrace{\text{SUBJ} > \text{OBJ} > \text{OBJ}_\theta}^{\text{core}} > \overbrace{\text{OBL}_\theta > \text{XCOMP}, \text{COMP} > \text{ADJ}}^{\text{noncore}}$$
- b. (Non-)argument functions (AFs/ $\overline{\text{AFs}}$ ):
- $$\underbrace{\text{TOP FOC}}_{\text{non-a-fns}} \overbrace{\text{SUBJ OBJ OBJ}_\theta \text{ OBL}_\theta \text{ XCOMP COMP}}^{\text{a-fns}} \underbrace{\text{ADJ}}_{\text{non-a-fns}}$$
- c. Discourse functions (DFs):
- $$\underbrace{\text{TOP FOC SUBJ}}_{\text{d-fns}} \underbrace{\text{OBJ OBJ}_\theta \text{ OBL}_\theta \text{ XCOMP COMP ADJ}}_{\text{non-d-fns}}$$

The functions listed in (1) will also appear in phrase-structure rules and c-structure trees together with arrows. These arrows symbolize inheritance of feature information from the current level ( $\downarrow$ ) of the tree to the next ( $\uparrow$ ), so for instance, ' $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow$ ' means that the information subsumed by the current node ('down') is passed on as part of the subject function of the next higher level ('up') in the tree. Concise information on notational formalisms of LFG can be found, for instance, in Butt and King (2015).

## 5.2 Typological considerations

Verbs govern the relations of the various phrase types to each other and they are thus central to the formation of clauses. Just from looking at the numerous examples in the previous section, it should have become clear that Ayeri's preferred word order is verb-first, which opens up a few typological questions—first and foremost, whether Ayeri actually has a verb phrase, or in terms of generative grammar: whether it is configurational. As we have seen, Ayeri definitely has a constituent structure as far as NPs, APs, PPs, etc. are concerned. However, due to VSO word order, it is not obvious whether verb and object actually form a VP constituent together, since V and O are not adjacent to each other. Since Ayeri marks topics in terms of morphology, it will also be necessary to discuss how this mechanism works and how it relates to the notion of the subject.

A discussion of subject, topic, and configurationality is interesting also in that Ayeri's syntactic alignment was originally *inspired* by the Austronesian, or Philippine, alignment system. Tagalog, an Austronesian language of the Malayo-Polynesian branch, spoken mainly in the Philippines (Hammarström et al. 2017; Schachter and Otanes 1972), usually serves as the academic poster child in descriptions of this system. Ayeri departs from Tagalog's system in a number of ways, though, and very probably towards the more conventional. Austronesian alignment is thus not necessarily the best model to liken Ayeri's syntax to. It will nonetheless be informative to compare both systems based on the work of Kroeger (1991, 1993a), who provides an analysis of Tagalog's syntactic alignment at least roughly in terms of the LFG framework and describes some heuristics which may be helpful in establishing what is actually going on in Ayeri.<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned above, Ayeri's unmarked word order gives the verb first, and then, in decreasing order of bondedness to the verb, the phrases which make up the

<sup>4</sup> As mentioned in the introductory chapter, I started Ayeri in late 2003—then still in high school and not knowing much about linguistics. Of course, I had to go and pick as a model the one alignment system which has long been “a notorious problem for both descriptive grammarians and theoretical syntacticians” to the point where it “sometimes seems as if Austronesian specialists can talk (and write) of nothing else” (Kroeger 2007: 41). In the following comparison between Ayeri and Tagalog, I will be quoting Kroeger (1991) (thesis manuscript) instead of Kroeger (1993b) (published book) since the former should be more easy to access for conlang hobbyists than the latter. Unfortunately, however, the pagination of the manuscript differs from that of the published version and it contains some obvious mistakes in a couple of interlinear glosses. Since there is a lot of contradictory and plainly misleading information on Tagalog's syntactic alignment floating around conlang-related groups on the internet, it is important to me to point people to sources containing information which is up to academic standards here especially.

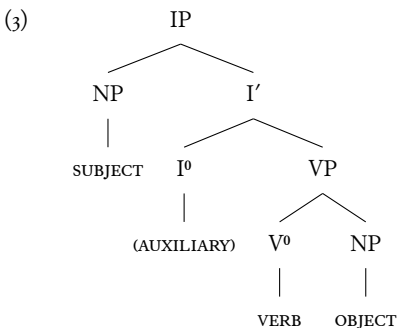
verb's arguments: subject (agent), direct object (patient), indirect object (dative), followed by adverbials in the genitive, locative, instrumental, and causative case. Ayeri's basic word order is thus VSO, a trait it has in common with about 7% of the world's natural languages according to Dryer (2013a). Following the format of previous statements on word order typology, we can declare the generalization in (2), which is consistent also with previous observations on word order typology, where the head preceded the modifier. The head is here represented by the verb, the modifier by the object—like English, thus, Ayeri is a VO language. In addition to this, however, Ayeri regularly puts the verb as the head of the clause itself first.

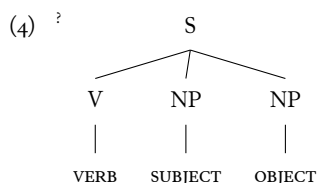
- (2) a. Order of subject, object, and verb: VSO  
b. Order of verb and object: VO

It is commonly assumed that languages have a subject which occupies a certain position in the constituent structure, and which commands a constituent jointly formed by the verb and its dependents—the predicate. An SVO sentence in English thus very generally looks like in (3) (compare the examples in Bresnan et al. 2016: 101–III).

However, Ayeri is a VSO language, so the question arises how the basic constituent structure should be represented as a tree diagram, since V and O are not adjacent. As an initial hypothesis one might assume that they cannot form a unit together, since S somehow stands in between the constituents it is supposed to command. A very first stab at diagramming would probably be to come up with a flat, non-configurational structure, all but lacking a VP, as shown in (4).

Such a structure, though, does not do Ayeri justice in that, if S, O, and V were all at the same level structurally, it should not be possible, for instance, to replace V and O together by an anaphora like 'do so'. Ayeri, however, allows precisely this. V and O, in spite of not being adjacent, must form a unit of some kind.





The verb canonically agrees with S by default; situations where it agrees with O are very restricted. Moreover, Ayeri has NP–XP constructions where XP is not a maximal projection of a verb, so NP and XP are probably contained in a small-clause constituent S separate from the verb at least for the purpose of copula clauses. Furthermore, the verb in the initial position shows inflection, so we might rather construe it as an  $I^0$  than a  $V^0$ , projecting an IP, which frees up VP and  $V^0$  for other purposes. The conclusion Chung and McCloskey (1987) come to for Irish, which is also a VSO language, is shown in (5a). Bresnan et al. (2016) give the chart in (5b) for Welsh, likewise a VSO language (also compare Dalrymple 2001: 66, sourcing Sadler 1997). Kroeger (1991) suggests the two structures depicted in (5c) for Tagalog, based on the suggested constituent structure for Celtic languages.

What all of these c-structures have in common is that the inflected verb appears in  $I^0$ , which is a sister of S. S, in turn, is a small clause containing the arguments of the verb. In the cases of Irish and Welsh, however, there is a VP sister of the subject NP which itself does not have a head, but contains the object NP as a complement. In the case of Tagalog, S is non-configurational, that is, while XP may contain a non-finite verb, the subject and object NPs are on equal footing regarding certain functional and structural traits usually associated with subjects, as we will see further on.

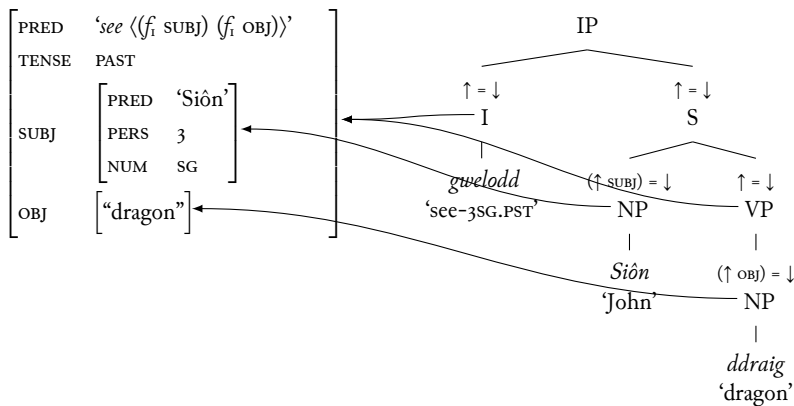
Bresnan et al. (2016: 129–138) inform that the phenomenon of the verb ending up in a different head position in (5b) is commonly known as ‘head movement’. Since LFG is based on the assumption that all nodes in a syntactic structure are base-generated, that is, that there are no transformational rules generating the surface structure from a deeper layer of representation underneath it, there cannot be a trace of  $V^0$  left behind in VP. LFG thus avoids empty categories on the assumption that there is no information contained in an empty node. The functional information provided by the verb is not lost; however, it is merely now provided by the verb in  $I^0$ . Essentially, the Welsh example does not violate endocentricity, since the finite verb in  $I^0$  still forms the verbal head in the functional structure representation of the clause. With regards to constituent structure,  $V^0$ , if present, c-commands its NP sister; both  $V^0$  and the object NP are dominated by VP—compare the definitions in (6).



- (5) a. Irish (Chung and McCloskey 1987: 235):



- b. Welsh (adapted from Bresnan et al. 2016: 134):



- c. Tagalog (Kroeger 1991: 131):



- (6) a. Exhaustive domination (Carnie 2013: 121):  
 “Node A exhaustively dominates a set of terminal nodes {B, C, ..., D}, provided it dominates all the members of the set so that there is no member of the set that is not dominated by A and there is no terminal node G dominated by A that is not a member of the set.”
- b. C-command (Carnie 2013: 127):  
 “Node A c-commands node B if every node dominating A also dominates B, and neither A nor B dominates the other.”

The AVM in (5b) shows that the contents normally found in  $V^0$  are provided by the head of its equivalent functional category,  $I^0$ .  $I^0$  and VP are said to map into the same f-structure (Bresnan et al. 2016: 136). Endocentricity still holds in that IP dominates all nodes below it, thus also  $I^0$  and the object NP. In addition,  $I^0$  c-commands its sister node and all of its children, hence also the object NP. As Bresnan et al. (2016) put it: “X is an extended head of Y if X is the  $X'$  categorial head of Y [...], or if Y lacks a categorial head but X is the closest element higher up in the tree that functions like the f-structure head of Y” (136). For our example, replace X with  $I^0$  and Y with VP in the second half of the quote:  $I^0$  is the closest element higher up in the tree that functions like the f-structure head of VP, which itself lacks a categorial head.

The analysis of the sentence structure of Celtic languages shows that VSO languages do not automatically need to be considered ‘non-configurational’ and lacking a VP if the notion of extended heads is accepted. In any case, tests need to be performed to see whether one of the analyses presented in (5) holds true for Ayeri as well.

### 5.3 ‘Trigger languages’

The notorious term ‘trigger language’ comes up in discussions on Conlang-L as early as 1995, where it may well have originated as an established term in the conlang community for what will be described below in brief. That is, I have not been able to find any earlier mentions of the term ‘trigger’ as referring to an alignment system in the archives; other mainstays of the conlang community, such as the ZBB, were established only about a decade later. In a message dated December 16, 1995, John Cowan writes that he wants “to propose a reform of Radilu, to make it use the Tagalog concept of a ‘trigger’” (Cowan 1995). By his definition, this entails that

each clause contains one noun phrase which is not marked for case, but rather has a distinct marking called the “trigger marker”. [...] The verb carries a marking (which

of course looks nothing like the noun case markers) that tells the true case of the trigger. [...] This involves changing the name of “nominative” and “accusative” to “actor” and “patent” [*sic*], since there is no longer a “subject” or “object” as such. Of course, word order is free [...]. (Cowan 1995)

He also notes that “Usually the trigger is definite (Tagalog doesn’t have articles)” (Cowan 1995). Essentially, it seems that the motivation for Cowan’s system is that the ‘trigger’ indicates that a certain NP is definite. As we will see below, this is similar to how Tagalog marks one of its relations on the verb, with that relation being definite. Things are more complicated in reality, though. Especially the claim that Tagalog lacks subjects and objects is problematic. However, the term ‘trigger’ seems to have currency in that, for instance, Schachter (2015) chooses it explicitly to refer to the “non-case-marked argument” (1659)—apparently, he regards the *ang* marker as not a case marker. In a parenthetical remark he adds that some

previous treatments have referred to the argument in question as the *topic* and some as the *subject*. However, as will become clear below, each of these labels appears to carry some inappropriate connotation, making a neutral term like *Trigger* seem preferable [...] There also seems to be good reason to reject the term *focus*. (1659)

It may be noted that term ‘focus’ is used in Schachter and Otanes (1972), the main reference grammar of Tagalog. What is interesting in comparing Schachter (2015)’s and Kroeger (1991)’s respective analyses of Tagalog’s syntactic alignment is that both make the same observation in spite of coming to opposite conclusions: Tagalog is ambiguous as to whether the subject notion is vested in the NP whose role is marked on the verb or the actor NP, since certain syntactic constructions typically associated with subjects apply to either or both. While this ambiguity leads Schachter (1976, 2015) to ultimately conclude that Tagalog lacks a single unified relation which can be analyzed as a syntactic subject,<sup>5</sup> Kroeger (1991) reaches the opposite conclusion by performing further tests and taking a functionalist rather than purely structuralist perspective. Thus, he reasons:

- “Tagalog has a well-defined grammatical subject” (225). What Schachter (1976) lists as evidence against are special cases which can be explained by the high semantic and pragmatic prominence of actors more generally (Kroeger 1991: 225). Tagalog basically applies the notion of a logical subject distinct

<sup>5</sup> Cowan (1995)’s sketch may be based on Schachter (1976). Curiously, Schachter (2015) does not acknowledge Kroeger (1991) at all, nor does he refer to any other research more recent than 1985. The reason may be that Schachter retired in the early 1990s, as the UCLA linguistics department’s Department history (2017) suggests. Furthermore, note that this handbook article was published posthumously.

from the syntactic subject to some constructions, though the syntactic subject is more important overall (Kroeger 1991: 36).

- “grammatical relations are defined independently of phrase structure” (225)
- “patients can become subjects even when the agent is expressed as a direct (non-oblique) argument of the verb” (225)
- “Subject selection in Tagalog does not work by demotion or suppression of thematically more prominent arguments. Rather, all arguments seem to be equally eligible for mapping onto the subject relation” (226).

Kroeger (1991) also provides evidence based on statistics and examples that the marked-for relation, which he classifies as being in the nominative case according to his hypothesis that it is the syntactic subject, is neither especially salient in terms of pragmatic topichood, nor does it show signs of carrying pragmatic focus specifically. He finds that rather, nominative marking works independent of discourse functions (56 ff.). All things considered, the term ‘trigger language’ is probably ill-fitting, not just for Ayeri.

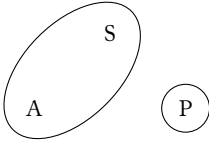
The tests for typical properties associated with grammatical subjects which Kroeger (1991) performs partially extend those presented in Schachter (1976). Moreover, his conclusions build on a more modern, functionally oriented approach than Schachter’s. For this reason, I will follow Kroeger rather than Schachter. Either way, we will have to test verb agreement, syntactic pivot, relativization, control of secondary predicates, raising, and control.<sup>6</sup> First of all, it will be helpful, however, to define some terms which will be used in the discussion below.

## 5.4 Definition of terms

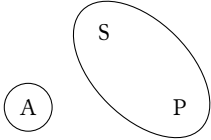
The terms ‘subject’, ‘topic’, and ‘focus’ were already used a number of times above, but it seems advisable to sketch out working definitions in order to preclude confusion before continuing to look at how Ayeri fares with regards to these notions. As we will see, all of subject, topic, and focus relate to different ways in which the relative prominence of certain NPs is raised; subject and topic are also closely related to each other. It ought to be noted that while LFG treats topic and focus as grammaticalized discourse functions outside of the argument-structure frame

<sup>6</sup> The tests which Kroeger (1991) dismisses as irrelevant to determining subjecthood in Tagalog have been omitted here if they were also not profitable to answering this question for Ayeri. The same applies to a number of tests which are specific to the grammar of Tagalog and thus have no application in Ayeri.

- (7) a. nominative–accusative alignment (S/A—P):



- b. ergative–absolutive alignment (S/P—A):



of a verb, it treats the subject as both a discourse function and an argument function; topic and focus, on the other hand, must be identified with a corresponding argument function (Bresnan et al. 2016: 99–100; also compare (1) above, p. 243).

#### 5.4.1 Subject

The subject can be defined in a variety of ways, and maybe especially because the notion of a subject is so basic, Comrie (1989) notes that if

linguists were invariably in agreement in stating which noun phrase, in each construction in each language, is the subject, then we could, perhaps, accept this inter-subjective agreement, and devote correspondingly less energy to trying to find an explicit definition of subject. However, it turns out that, in a wide range of cases, this inter-subjective agreement is lacking. (104)

Dixon (2010a) defines a subject as “the entity about which something is affirmed or denied” (76). He goes on to explain that, ignoring copula clauses like *We are tired and thirsty*, every language has two varieties of clauses, intransitive ones, where the verb has just one core argument, and transitive ones, where the verb has two core arguments. A basic definition based on this is given by the chart in (7). It shows the definition of the notion of subject for both nominative–accusative languages and ergative–absolutive languages. Languages of the world differ based on how they prefer to treat the two nominal relations of a transitive verb in relation to intransitive verbs: they may have a strong preference to either treat the agent (A)—the entity that prototypically acts in some way—or the patient/undergoer/theme (P)—the entity which is prototypically affected or handled by the action in some way—the same as S, the sole argument of an intransitive verb. In the former case, the language is said to have NOM–ACC alignment (7a) with S/A being the nominative subject, whereas in the latter case (7b), the language

is said to have ERG–ABS alignment with S/P being the absolutive subject. Comrie (1989) illustrates this difference with an example from Chukchi, which we will here contrast with English:<sup>7</sup>

- (8) a. *I*            *came*  
           ISG.NOM    come.PST  
           S
- b. *I*            *saw*    *her*  
           ISG.NOM    see.PST    3SG.F.OBL  
           S/A                            P
- (9) Chukchi (adapted from Comrie 1989: 104):
- a. *ɣəm*    *tə-yet-ɣʔek*  
       ISG.ABS    came-1SG  
       S  
       ‘I came.’
- b. *ɣəm-nan*    *ɣət*    *tə-lʔu-ɣət*  
       ISG.ERG    2SG.ABS    saw-1SG-2SG  
       A                            S/P  
       ‘I saw thee.’

While English treats the actor of the intransitive sentence (8a) the same as that of the transitive one (8b)—both sentences use *I* in the nominative—Chukchi appears to use a different pronoun for the actor of the intransitive sentence (9a) than for the actor of the transitive one (9b)—absolutive *ɣəm* versus ergative *ɣəmnan*, respectively. At least in Standard English, it would be ungrammatical to use the pronoun *me* in place of *I* in (8b), since *me* can only be used for first-person objects of the verb, but not for subjects of transitive clauses.

However, Comrie (1989) also urges to consider that grammatical relations and their representation in morphology are not always as clear-cut as in the example above. While he characterizes the prototypical subject as the intersection of agent and topic as far as cross-linguistic evidence is concerned (107), he also points out that subjects do not necessarily have to unite all the properties typically associated with them (110). This seems to be the case, with Tagalog, for instance, as observed by both Schachter (1976) and Kroeger (1991), and may considerably complicate making a definitive statement.

<sup>7</sup> In English, *you* is the same for both singular and plural as well as subjective and objective case, which is why I replaced it with the less ambiguous *her* in (8).



Moreover, Comrie (1989) points out that statistically, languages of the world show a strong preference for NOM–ACC alignment, possibly due to the fact that human perception values actors as more relevant to discourse than patients, which is why actors are far more likely also to be pragmatic topics (120). Yet, though, dominantly NOM–ACC-aligned languages may show a bias towards an ERG–ABS treatment, for instance, of resultative constructions. On the other hand, dominantly ERG–ABS languages show a bias towards a NOM–ACC treatment, for instance, of addressees of imperatives (116–119).

According to Carnie (2013), from the point of view of constituent structure (which is key in Generative Grammar), a subject is conventionally understood as a “DP that has the property indicated by the predicate phrase. What the sentence is about. In most sentences, this surfaces in the specifier of [the tense phrase]” (221). However, as we have seen above, this notion is challenged by languages such as Tagalog (Kroeger 1991: 225). What Carnie (2013) refers to in terms of constituent structure was basically already indicated by (3), except with different labels; the example is repeated here for convenience as (10). For systemic reasons, Carnie (2013) refers to a DP subject which serves as the specifier of a TP. This corresponds to the subject NP and the IP here. Unlike GG, LFG treats tense as a semantic feature, not as a functional head with a fixed position in constituent structure, hence the difference in labeling.

LFG defines a subject function, SUBJ. Which argument of the verb the subject is mapped onto is understood to be based on the relative prominence of the subject argument along some dimension compared to other arguments. For instance, NOM–ACC languages prefer the semantically most prominent available role of a verb’s argument structure, ERG–ABS languages instead pick the argument most

(11) Warlpiri (Bresnan et al. 2016: 325):



affected by the actor's action, and active languages focus on the argument in control of the action (Bresnan et al. 2016: 95–96). The mapping between grammatical functions like SUBJ and the lexical components that make it up also does not need to be a one-to-one correspondence, since LFG allows for the distributed exponence of grammatical features like in the example of Warlpiri in (11). The only condition is that grammatical functions be uniquely defined within their minimal f-structure (45). As (11) shows, multiple NPs in different positions in the constituent structure may feed semantic information to a single function defined by the argument structure of the verb.

The subject role  $\hat{\theta}$  is defined as “the most prominent semantic role of a predicator” (Bresnan et al. 2016: 330), thus signifies the logical subject. Furthermore, Bresnan et al. (2016) devise two a-structure features,  $[\pm o]$  (objective) and  $[\pm r]$  (restrictive). According to this classification, SUBJ is assigned the features  $[-r, -o]$ , since the subject is not restricted to a certain semantic role, nor needs to have a semantic role.<sup>8</sup> Also, subjects do not complement transitive predicators like objects do, so they are not ‘objective’. Bresnan et al. (2016)’s lexical mapping theory assumes that all languages have subjects, which goes counter to Schachter (1976, 2015)’s claim that subjects are possibly not universal (Bresnan et al. 2016: 330–331).

### 5.4.2 Topic

The notion of topic refers essentially to who or what a longer stretch of conversation is about. Givón (1983) defines the topic of a ‘thematic paragraph’—as he calls

<sup>8</sup> This ought to make Kroeger (1991)’s analysis compatible to LFG as well.



a coherent unit of discourse above the level of a single sentence—as “the continuity marker, the *leitmotif*” (8). The topic is thus

the participant *most crucially involved* in the action sequence running through the paragraph; it is the participant most closely associated with the higher-level “theme” of the paragraph; and finally, it is the participant most likely to be coded as the *primary topic*—or grammatical subject—of the vast majority of sequentially-ordered clauses/sentences comprising the thematic paragraph. (8)

This indicates that topic and subject are closely related concepts, as already mentioned above in reference to Comrie (1989). Languages employ various means to indicate topics; right- and left-dislocation, as known from English, or topic-marking particles as in Japanese and Korean, are only two among many possibilities (Dixon 2010a: 174).

Topicality also interfaces with definiteness in that chain-initial topics may be definite (already introduced into discourse) or indefinite (newly introduced into discourse), while chain-medial topics and chain-final topics are always expected to be definite (Givón 1983: 10). Dixon (2010a: 171) adds that topic NPs are coreferential with arguments of clauses immediately preceding or following the current clause. Moreover, the strategy of passivization (in NOM-ACC languages) or of antipassivization (in ERG-ABS languages) exists, among others, in order to keep a certain discourse item persistent in the highly topical subject position even if it would otherwise be the object of the clause. This is related in turn to the notion of syntactic pivot in clause coordination (172).

### 5.4.3 Focus

Regarding the definition of focus, Dixon (2010a: 174) only mentions contrastive focus, which basically raises the prominence of a certain NP within a single clause. It is not necessary for the focussed NP to be coordinated with another NP by ‘or’. Dixon (2010a) also warns that focus is often confused with topic. Perhaps this is in part also, as Bresnan et al. (2016) mention, due to the fact that English may use the topic position for either topic or focus under certain circumstances (98):

- (12) Q: What did you name your cat?  
A: ROSIE I named her. (*Rosie* = FOC)

The answer to a *wh*-question is considered focused, so *Rosie* in (12) is the focus in ‘I named her ROSIE’. However, in the example above, *Rosie* is fronted, which following Givón (1983), constitutes a disruptive action used to establish a new topic of conversation: left-dislocation in languages with rigid SVO word order such as English is typically associated with low topic continuity, and left-dislocated NPs can be found most often as initiating a topic chain (32).

(13) Tagalog (Kroeger 1991: 14, adapted from Foley and Van Valin 1984: 135):

- a. *B-um-ili ang=lalake ng=isda sa=tindaban.*  
 PFV.AV-buy NOM=man GEN=fish DAT=store  
 ‘The man bought fish at the store.’
- b. *B-in-ili-Ø ng=lalake ang=isda sa=tindaban.*  
 PFV-buy-OV GEN=man NOM=fish DAT=store  
 ‘The man bought *the* fish at the store.’
- c. *B-in-ilb-an ng=lalake ng=isda ang=tindaban.*  
 PFV-buy-DV GEN=man GEN=fish NOM=store  
 ‘The man bought fish *at the* store.’
- d. *Ip-in-am-bili ng=lalake ng=isda ang=pera.*  
 IV-PFV-buy GEN=man GEN=fish NOM=money  
 ‘The man bought fish *with the* money.’

## 5.5 Tests on subjecthood

As initially mentioned, Ayeri was originally conceived under an impression of what was described in the quote by Cowan (1995) above in terms of ‘trigger language’ (also compare Schachter 2015). That is, in simple declarative statements, the semantic macrorole of a definite NP is marked on the verb. This is itself a very basic account of what can be observed in Tagalog and other Philippine languages, compare (13) (emphasis mine).<sup>9</sup> Further effects will be discussed in more detail below.

The examples in (13) show variations on the same sentence, differing in the distribution of the definite NP which Kroeger (1991) classifies as being the subject of the respective sentence on syntactic grounds. The subject NPs are marked with the clitic *ang*, and their role in the clause is reflected by the voice marking on the verb (the root is *bili* ‘buy’): in (13a) the subject is the actor, in (13b) it is the object, in (13c) it is a location, and in (13d) it is an instrument. What is remarkable is that this voice marking goes beyond mere passivization,<sup>10</sup> so even the oblique arguments of (13cd) can become subjects of their respective clauses. Ayeri is at least superficially similar, compare (14).

<sup>9</sup> The italicizing in (13) is not supposed to be read as marking contrastive focus—this is one of the ‘mistakes’ that led to Ayeri’s system, basically, besides then also mixing up focus and topic.

<sup>10</sup> Note that Kroeger (1991) avoids the terms *active voice* and *passive voice* that Schachter (2015) objects to as inappropriate, even though what Tagalog does essentially appears to work along those lines, except in a more generalized way.

- (14) a. *ang=int-ya ayon-Ø inun-ley moton-ya*  
 AT=buy-3SG.M man-TOP fish-P.INAN store-LOC  
 ‘The man, he bought fish at the store.’
- b. *le=int-ya ayon-ang inun-Ø moton-ya*  
 PT.INAN=buy-3SG.M man-A fish-TOP store-LOC  
 ‘The fish, the man bought it at the store.’
- c. *ya=int-ya ayon-ang inun-ley moton-Ø*  
 LOCT=buy-3SG.M man-A fish-P.INAN store-TOP  
 ‘The store, the man bought fish there.’
- d. *ri=int-ya ayon-ang inun-ley pangis-Ø*  
 INST=buy-3SG.M man-A fish-P.INAN money-TOP  
 ‘The money, the man bought fish with it.’

Like Tagalog, Ayeri marks a privileged NP on the verb, however, in Ayeri, this is the topic, not the subject (this will be subject to further scrutiny below). Unlike in Tagalog, the marked NP is not marked by a particle, but by the very absence of case marking on the NP itself. The marker corresponding to the role of the topic NP appears as a clitic in the shape of the corresponding NP’s case marker in its proclitic form at the left-most edge of the clause, before the verb (compare sections 4.1.3 and 4.5). While the marker on the verb is thus related to nominal case markers in Ayeri, Tagalog uses a number of affixes for voice marking which are not obviously related to case markers on nouns. For instance, non-subject actors are marked by the genitive clitic *ng* (pronounced *nang*), while actor voice is marked by *mag-* or *-um-* (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 74, 78; Kroeger 1991: 16–18). In Ayeri, on the other hand, non-topic animate agents are marked on NPs by *ang* or *ang*, and animate agent-topics are marked on the verb by *ang* as well.

### 5.5.1 Verb agreement

One of the most prominent features of Ayeri with regards to verbs and their relation to subjects is verb agreement with third-person NPs. This was already discussed at length in section 3.2.5 (p. 89 ff.) and section 4.5. Hence, I will only give basic information here.

Kroeger (1991) mentions that Tagalog has optional plural agreement of predicates with the nominative NP if the nominative argument of the clause is plural. This is independent of whether the nominative argument is also the actor of the



- (16) a. *Ang manya Ajān sa Pila.*  
 ang=man-ya Ø=Ajān sa=Pila



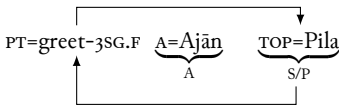
‘Ajān, he greets Pila.’

- b. *Sa manya ang Ajān Pila.*  
 sa=man-ya ang=Ajān Ø=Pila



‘Pila, Ajān greets her.’

- (17) a. <sup>2</sup> *Sa manye ang Ajān Pila.*  
 sa=man-ye ang=Ajān Ø=Pila



‘Pila, she is greeted by Ajān.’

- b. *Manye sa Pila.*  
 man-ye Ø=Pila  
 greet-3SG.F P=Pila




‘Pila is greeted.’


### 5.5.2 Syntactic pivot

Since we have just dealt with aspects of syntactic alignment and found that Ayeri behaves a little oddly with regards to this, it may be interesting to perform another test on declarative statements and their syntactic pivot as well. A simple test which Comrie (1989: 111–114) describes in this regard is to test coreference in coordinated clauses. In coordinated clauses, it seems to be not uncommon for the subject of the second conjunct to drop out. Thus, in English, which behaves very much in terms of NOM–ACC alignment in this regard, we get the result in (18).

In the English example in (18), *the cat* constitutes the coreferential subject in (18d). This NP is the intransitive subject S of (18b) and the agent A of (18a). English thus has NOM–ACC alignment, since it typically treats S and A alike. In an

- (18) a.  $\underbrace{\text{The cat}}_A \text{ hunts } \underbrace{\text{the mouse}}_P$ .  
 b.  $\underbrace{\text{The cat}}_S \text{ comes here.}$   
 c.  $\underbrace{\text{The mouse}}_S \text{ comes here.}$   
 d.  $\underbrace{\text{The cat}}_A \text{ hunts } \underbrace{\text{the mouse}}_P \text{ and } \underbrace{\phantom{\text{The mouse}}}_S \text{ comes here.}$   


- (19) Dyirbal (adapted from Comrie 1989: 112):

- a.  $\underbrace{\text{balan } d\acute{u}gumbil}_{\text{DET woman-ABS } P} \quad \underbrace{\text{baŋgul } ya\acute{r}\acute{a}ŋgu}_{\text{DET man-ERG } A} \quad \text{balgan}$   
 hit  
 ‘The man hit the woman.’
- b.  $\underbrace{\text{bayi } ya\acute{r}\acute{a}}_{\text{DET man-ABS } S} \quad \text{banin}^{\text{ru}}$   
 came.here  
 ‘The man came here.’
- c.  $\underbrace{\text{balan } d\acute{u}gumbil}_{\text{DET woman-ABS } S} \quad \text{banin}^{\text{ru}}$   
 came.here  
 ‘The woman came here.’
- d.  $\underbrace{\text{balan } d\acute{u}gumbil}_{\text{DET woman-ABS } P} \quad \underbrace{\text{baŋgul } ya\acute{r}\acute{a}ŋgu}_{\text{DET man-ERG } A} \quad \text{balgan,} \quad \underbrace{\phantom{\text{The woman}}}_S \text{ } \text{banin}^{\text{ru}}$   
 hit came.here  
  
 ‘The man hit the woman, and [the woman] came here.’

ERG-ABS language, then, we would expect the opposite case: S and P should be treated alike.

This is indeed the case in the examples of Dyirbal in (19), where we find that *balan d'ugumbil* ‘the woman’ is coreferential in (19d). This is the S of (19c), and the P of (19a). Dyirbal, thus, treats S and P alike, as predicted for an ERG-ABS language—at least in this case, since Comrie (1989: 113) also explains that 1SG and 2SG pronouns in Dyirbal behave in terms of NOM-ACC. Comrie (1989) also notes that some languages do not show a clear preference for whether the A or P of the transitive clause in the first conjunct is the preferred reference of the S of the intransitive clause in the second conjunct.



- (21) a. *Ang kimbyo paral prabarās.*  
 ang=kimb-yo paral-Ø prabara-as  
 AT= hunt-3SG.N cat-TOP mouse-P  
 A P  
 ‘The cat hunts the mouse.’
- b. *Sabayo paralang edaya.*  
 saha-yo paral-ang edaya  
 come-3SG.N cat-A here  
 S  
 ‘The cat comes here.’
- c. *Sabayo prabarāng edaya.*  
 saha-yo prabara-ang edaya  
 come-3SG.N mouse-A here  
 S  
 ‘The mouse comes here.’
- d. *Ang kimbyo paral prabarās nay sabayong edaya.*  
 ang=kimb-yo paral-Ø prabara-as nay saha=yong edaya  
 AT= hunt-3SG.N cat-TOP mouse-P and come=3SG.N.A here  
 A P S  
 ‘The cat, it hunts the mouse, and it comes here.’

constitutes the resumptive subject pronoun of the clause. In (21d) at least, this pronoun is coreferential with the subject in the first conjunct, *paral* ‘cat’. Seeing as Tagalog switches the subject around by altering the voice marking on the verb, it is certainly illustrative to check how Ayeri fares if the topic is swapped to *prabara* ‘mouse’.

- (22) *Sa kimbyo paralang prabara nay sabayong edaya.*  
 sa= kimb-yo paral-ang prabara-Ø nay saha=yong edaya  
 PT=hunt-3SG.N cat-A mouse-TOP and come=3SG.N.A here  
 A P S  
 ‘The mouse, the cat hunts it, and it comes here.’

In (22), the resumptive pronoun is indicated to not refer to the first conjunct’s agent/subject, *paral*, but to its theme/object, *prabara*. This may be explained by topicalization: the sentence is about the mouse, so the underspecified argument in the second conjunct, in absence of topic marking that would indicate otherwise, corresponds to the topic. Interestingly, the result is structurally similar to the example of Tagalog in (20) above. It is too early yet, however, to



- (23) a. *Yam ilya ang Akan ilonley Maran nay sarayāng.*  
 yam= il-ya ang=Akan ilon-ley Ø= Maran nay sara=yāng  
 DATT=give-3SG.M A= Akan present-P.INAN TOP=Maran and leave=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Maran, Akan gives him a present, and he leaves.’ (Maran leaves)
- b. *Na pabya ang Maran ilonley Diyan nay sarayāng.*  
 na= pah-ya ang=Maran ilon-ley Ø= Diyan nay sara=yāng  
 GENT=take.away-3SG.M A= Maran present-P.INAN TOP=Diyan and leave=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Diyan, Maran takes the present away from him, and he leaves.’ (Diyan leaves)
- c. *Ya babaya ang Diyan Maran nay sarayāng.*  
 ya= baha-ya ang=Diyan Ø= Maran nay sara=yāng  
 LOCT=baha-3SG.M A= Diyan TOP=Maran and leave=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Maran, Diyan shouts at him, and he leaves.’ (Maran leaves)
- d. *Ri su-sunca ang Diyan ilonley Sedan nay sarayāng.*  
 ri= su~sunt-ya ang=Diyan ilon-ley Ø= Sedan nay sara=yāng  
 INST=ITER~claim-3SG.M A= Diyan present-P.INAN TOP=Sedan and leave=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Sedan, Diyan reclaims the present with his help, and he leaves.’ (Sedan leaves)
- e. *Sā pinyaya ang Maran tatamanyam Sedan nay sarayāng.*  
 sā= pinya-ya ang=Maran tataman-yam Ø= Sedan nay sara=yāng  
 CAUT=ask-3SG.M A= Maran forgiveness-DAT TOP=Sedan and leave=3SG.M.A  
 ‘Sedan, he makes Maran ask for forgiveness, and he leaves.’ (Sedan leaves)

conclude that what was called ‘topic’ so far is the subject after all; Ayeri is merely not completely unambiguous in this context. Since Tagalog allows any NP of a clause to be the subject, as illustrated by (13), let us test whether the behavior just described for Ayeri also holds in other contexts of topicalization. Example (23) presents sentences of differently case-marked topic NPs each, but in every case, the agent NP and the topicalized NP consist of a human referent. Both referents share the same person features so that the verb in the coordinated intransitive clause can theoretically license either of them as its subject.

In each of the sentences in (23), it is the topicalized NP which is identified as the antecedent for *sarayāng* ‘he leaves’. Does this mean Ayeri does, in fact, use Austronesian alignment? While the examples in (23) certainly suggest it, let us not forget that the verb in the coordinated clause could theoretically pick either the agent NP or the topicalized NP of the first conjunct as its subject. Things look slightly different, however, if the reference of the verb is unambiguous, for instance, because the topicalized argument cannot logically be the agent of the coordinated clause, as shown in (24).

In (24), the first conjunct’s verb, as the head of its clause, specifies that the

- (24) *Le ilya ang Akan ilon yam Maran nay sarayāng.*  
le=il-ya ang=Akan ilon-Ø DAT=Maran nay sara=yāng
- 
- PT.INAN=give-3SG.M    A=Akan    present-TOP    DAT=Maran    and    leave=3SG.M.A  
                                A                       P                       R  S

'The present, Akan gives it to Maran, and he leaves.' (Akan leaves)

- |      |    |           |   |           |   |                    |
|------|----|-----------|---|-----------|---|--------------------|
| (25) | a. | ṣāṇṣ ilon | N | (↑ PRED)  | = | 'present'          |
|      |    |           |   | (↑ INDEX) | = | ↓                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ PERS)  | = | 3                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ NUM)   | = | SG                 |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ ANIM)  | = | —                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ GEND)  | = | INAN               |
|      | b. | ṣarayāṅ   | I | (↑ PRED)  | = | 'leave' ((↑ SUBJ)) |
|      |    |           |   | (↑ SUBJ)  | = | ↓                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ PRED)  | = | 'pro'              |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ PERS)  | = | 3                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ NUM)   | = | SG                 |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ ANIM)  | = | +                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ GEND)  | = | M                  |
|      |    |           |   | (↓ CASE)  | = | A                  |

topic of the clause is the patient (P), which is embodied by  $\text{ṣṛiṇ}$  *ilon* ‘present’. This NP, however, is not a very typical agent for the verb in the second conjunct,  $\text{ṣara-}$  ‘leave’. Besides, this verb is conjugated so as to require an animate masculine controller, whereas  $\text{ṣṛiṇ}$  *ilon* is inanimate, as shown by the topic marker  $\text{le}$ .  $\text{ṣṛiṇ}$  *ilon* is thus not a suitable controller for  $\text{ṣarayāṅg}$ , since their person-feature values clash with each other—the ANIM and GEND values in particular, see (25).

As before, there are two masculine NPs in the first conjunct which form suitable antecedents on behalf of being animate masculine as required: the agent (A) *ṣāḥ* *Akan* and the recipient (R) *ṣāḥ* *Maran*. Of the remaining non-topic NPs, Ayeri considers the agent to rank higher as a secondary topic on the thematic hierarchy than the recipient, compare (26). The agent hence forms the preferred controller for *ṣāḥyāṅ* *sarayāṅ*. In cases where the topic in the first conjunct can safely be ruled out as the controller of the pronominal in the second conjunct, the syntactic pivot, thus, defaults to the highest-ranking semantically coherent NP. In most cases, Ayeri will therefore group the intransitive subject and the transitive agent together.

For most verbs, this is also reflected by case marking, as we have seen above in (21): the S of an intransitive clause receives the same case marker as the A of a

- (26) Thematic hierarchy (Bresnan et al. 2016: 329):

agent &gt; beneficiary &gt; experiencer/goal &gt; instrument &gt; patient/theme &gt; locative

- (27) a. *Ang tinisaya Lita sa Kumang nay sarayāng.*  
 ang=tinisa-ya Ø=Lita sa=Kumang nay sara=yāng  
 AT= hug-3SG.M TOP=Lita P=Kumang and leave=3SG.M.A
- 

'Lita, he hugs Kumang, and he leaves.'

- b. *Ang tinisaya Lita sa Kumang nay sarayeng.*  
 ang=tinisa-ya Ø=Lita sa=Kumang nay sara=yeng  
 AT= hug-3SG.M TOP=Lita P=Kumang and leave=3SG.F.A
- 

'Lita, he hugs Kumang, and she leaves.'

transitive clause: *ang* for animate referents, and *eng* for inanimate referents (compare section 4.1.3). The case described initially, where the topic marking basically determines the controller of the coordinated intransitive clause, which is reminiscent of Tagalog's syntax, is essentially a strategy to disambiguate between two possible controllers for the same target. When only one of the referents in the transitive conjunct is eligible as the controller of the subject of the intransitive conjunct at the same time, A and P are regularly indicated by person agreement, since Ayeri requires a resumptive pronominal clitic in the intransitive clause, as indicated above. The affix on the verb thus has the status of a pronominal predicator, compare (27).

In (27a), the verb in the second conjunct, *sarayāng* 'he leaves' is marked for a masculine third-person subject. The only available controller in the first conjunct is *Lita* on behalf of being male, since *Kumang* is female. Hence, in (27b) the verb of the intransitive conjunct, *sarayeng* 'she leaves', finds its controller only in *Kumang*.

### 5.5.3 Quantifier float

Another property usually associated with subjects is the ability of quantifiers referring to the subject NP to 'float' into the VP. This is possible also in English, consider, for instance, (28).

Both of these sentences are equal in meaning: for all children in the set, every child is writing an unspecified amount of letters. It is not the case in (28b) that for

(28) English:

- a. *All the children are writing letters.*
- b. *The children are all writing letters.*

(29) Tagalog (adapted from Kroeger 1991: 22, from Schachter and Otnes 1972: 501):

- a. *sumusulat labat ang=mga=bata ng=mga=libam*  
AV.IMPF-write all NOM=PL=child GEN=PL=letter

‘All the children are writing letters.’

*Not:* \*‘The children are writing all the letters.’

- b. *sinusulat labat ng=mga=bata ang=mga=libam*  
IMPF-write-OV all GEN=PL=child NOM=PL=letter

‘The/some children write all the letters.’

*Not:* \*‘All the children are writing letters.’

an unspecified amount of children, together they write the total amount of letters. *All* refers to *the children* in both cases, even though *all* is not placed in the subject NP, *the children*, in (28b). Kroeger (1991) mentions an example from Schachter and Otnes (1972) concerning *labat* ‘all’, which is also able to float into a position right after the sentence-initial verb from the NP it normally modifies and which it would normally occur in, as (29) shows.

In (29a), *labat* ‘all’ refers to the children, which constitute the subject NP according to voice and case marking, while we get the opposite case in (29b), where it refers to the letters, which are marked as the subject this time. Of course, it is equally possible in English to say *The letters are all written by the children*, where *the letters* is the subject that the floated *all* refers to.

As pointed out in section 4.8, a lot of clitic quantifiers in Ayeri have a double meaning as intensifiers. For instance, ᐃᐃᐃᐃ -*ikan* can refer to both quantities and qualities, meaning ‘much, many’ or ‘very’ depending on context. Thus, many of the suffixed quantifiers, if appended to the VP, are understood to modify the verb as an intensifier and are thus unsuitable for floating. The only exception is ᐃᐃᐃᐃ -*aril* ‘some’, which only pertains to NPs as a quantifier. However, since the floating of suffixed quantifiers would produce readings which are ambiguous at best, floating of ᐃᐃᐃᐃ -*aril* is avoided as well. Example (30) shows an attempt to float ᐃᐃᐃᐃ -*ben* ‘all’ into the IP, resulting in a meaning different from the sentence with the unfloated particle for the reasons just stated above.

Besides suffixed quantifiers, Ayeri also has free quantifiers like ᐃᐃᐃᐃ *sano* ‘both’ or ᐃᐃᐃᐃ *diring* ‘several’, however. These free morphemes only have a quantifying reading, not an intensifying one, and are thus suitable for floating, since they do

- (30) a. *Ang tabanyan ganye-ben tamanyeley.*  
 ang=tahan-yan gan-ye-Ø=hen taman-ye-ley  
 AT= write-3PL.M child-PL-TOP=all letter-PL-P.INAN  
 ‘The children, all of them are writing letters.’
- b. *!Ang tabanyan-ben ganye tamanyeley.*  
 ang=tahan-yan=hen gan-ye-Ø taman-ye-ley  
 AT= write-3PL.M=completely child-PL-TOP letter-PL-P.INAN  
 ‘The children, they are completely writing letters.’  
*Intended:* ‘The children, they are all writing letters.’
- (31) a. *Ang apayan yan sano layjya.*  
 ang=apa-yan yan-Ø sano lay-ye-ya  
 AT= laugh-3PL.M boy-TOP both girl-PL-LOC  
 ‘The boys, both of them are laughing at the girls.’
- b. *Ang apayan sano yan layjya.*  
 ang=apa-yan sano yan-Ø lay-ye-ya  
 AT= laugh-3PL.M both boy-TOP girl-PL-LOC  
 ‘The boys, they are both laughing at the girls.’
- (32) a. *Ya apayan sano yanang layye.*  
 ya= apa-yan sano yan-ang lay-ye-Ø  
 LOCT=laugh-3PL.M both boy-A girl-PL-TOP  
 ‘The girls, the boys are both laughing at them.’
- b. *Ya apayan yanjung lay sano.*  
 ya= apa-yan yan-ye-ang lay-Ø sano  
 LOCT=laugh-3PL.M boy-PL-A girl-TOP both  
 ‘The girls, the boys are laughing at both of them.’

not produce ambiguities with regards to what is being modified.

Since, as described above, topicalization has no impact on what constitutes the subject, meaning does not significantly change when the topic of a sentence like (31b) is switched to the patient in example (32a). Unlike in Tagalog in (29b) above, *yanang* ‘boy(s)’ as the agent NP remains the subject, and the floated *sano* still refers to this NP rather than the locative NP, *layye* ‘(at) the girls’. This fact is also reflected in the lack of plural marking on *yanang*, since *sano* indicates the NP’s plurality. We would expect the forms *yanjang* and *lay* if *sano* were to refer to ‘the girls’ rather than ‘the boys’, as in (32b).

As we have seen above, the modification of subject pronouns with clitic quantifiers is avoided due to many of them serving a double role as intensifiers with

- (33) *Ang girengjan sano babalanya.*  
 ang=girend=yan.Ø sano bahalan-ya  
 AT= arrive=3PL.M.A both finish-LOC

‘They arrived both at the finish.’

related meanings which could be readily understood as referring to the verb instead of the pronoun. With free quantifiers, such as  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *sano* ‘both’ in (33), this problem does not arise, however, so that there is no problem in placing them right after the finite verb. Ambiguity may be in the phrase structure of the clause here, but not at a functional level, as it is clear that the quantifier modifies the subject pronoun due to semantic coherence.

As mentioned in section 4.2.6, it is possible for pronouns to be modified by enclitic intensifiers indirectly by using  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *sitang* ‘self’ as an indeclinable dummy pronoun to carry the clitic so as to avoid ambiguity created by floating the clitic right after the finite verb. This is also possible for the purpose of quantification of pronouns with clitic quantifiers.

- (34) a. *Ang girengjan panca sitang-ben babalanya.*  
 ang=girend=yan.Ø panca sitang=hen bahalan-ya  
 AT= arrive=3PL.M.A finally self=all finish-LOC

‘All of them finally arrived at the finish.’

- b. *Ya girendtang panca sitang-ben babalan.*  
 ya= girend=tang panca sitang=hen bahalan-Ø  
 LOCT=arrive=3PL.M.A finally self=all finish-TOP

‘The finish, all of them finally arrived there.’

Since  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *sitang* is indeclinable, it is the pronominal clitic which carries inflection for case, as (34b) shows. An analysis of  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ}$  *sitang-ben* as ‘self.TOP=all’ is therefore not possible. Moreover,  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ}$  *-tang sitang-ben* does not constitute a clitic cluster, because it is possible to place word material between the verb and  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ}$  *sitang-ben*, as (34) shows. See section 6.4.3 for an analysis of dummy  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ}$  *sitang* in terms of constituent and functional structure.

#### 5.5.4 Relativization

Kroeger (1991) observes that in Tagalog, only nominative arguments may be relativized. He refers to Keenan and Comrie (1977)’s accessibility hierarchy of NPs, according to which, he reports, “if only a single argument of any clause can be relativized, that argument must be the subject” (Kroeger 1991: 24). That is, the

argument in the main clause which is modified by a relative clause must be the nominative argument, and there must not appear an overt nominative argument in the relative clause itself. The verb in the relative clause carries inflection for the role of the relativized argument in the relative clause. Thus, (35a) is grammatical, while (35b) is not.

(35) Tagalog (Kroeger 1991: 24, from Foley and Van Valin 1984: 141–142):

- a. *bata=ng b-in-igy-an ng=lalake ng=isda*  
 child=LNK PFV-give-DV GEN=man GEN=fish  
 ‘the child which was given fish by the man’
- b. \**isda=ng nag-bigay ang=lalake sa=bata*  
 fish=LNK AV-PFV-give NOM=man DAT=child

Ayeri, however, has no such restrictions. Non-topic NPs may be relativized, and relative clauses not uncommonly contain their own agent NP. The relativized NP may even be referred to in the relative clause by a resumptive pronoun or pronominal clitic, since verbs must not go uninflected. Since all NPs are accessible for relativization, it is not a suitable criterion for testing subjecthood.

- (36) *Ang ilya inunley ganyam inunaya si gumasayāng edaya.*  
 ang=il-ya inun-ley gan-yam inunaya-Ø si gum-asa=yāng edaya  
 AT= give-3SG.M fish-P.INAN child-DAT fisherman-TOP REL work-HAB=3SG.M.A here  
 ‘The fisherman who used to work here, he gave fish to the child.’

In (36), *inunaya* ‘the fisherman’, is both the topic of the clause and modified by a relative clause. He is referenced anaphorically by the 3SG.M.A suffix *-yāng* on the verb in the relative clause, since he is the actor in both. However, as the examples in (37) show, these circumstances are not requirements for grammatical statements.

In (37a), the recipient NP *ganyam* ‘to the child’ is not the topic of the clause, but it is modified by a relative clause anyway. The relativized NP is again represented within the relative clause by means of verb morphology. The topic marker on the verb identifies the person suffix on the verb as the clause’s topic. In (37b), it is likewise not the topic NP which is relativized, but the patient NP *inunley* ‘fish’. This NP, however, is not represented in the relative clause because the verb does not inflect for the role of the patient, which the relativized NP carries in the relative clause as well. There is no morphology to alter the voice of the verb in such a way that the matrix clause’s patient NP becomes the subject of the relative clause. As (38) illustrates, relative clauses in Ayeri may even just

- (37) a. *Ang ilya inunaya inunley ganyam si*  
 ang=il-ya inunaya-Ø inun-ley gan-yam si  
 AT= give-3SG.M fisherman-TOP fish-P.INAN child-DAT REL  
*ang pyabasaye benanya-ben.*  
 ang=pyab-asa=ye.Ø benan-ya=hen  
 AT= pass.by-HAB=3SG.F.TOP morning-LOC=every  
 ‘The fisherman, he gave fish to the child which passes by every morning.’
- b. *Ang ilya inunaya ganyam inunley si petigayāng biro.*  
 ang=il-ya inunaya-Ø gan-yam inun-ley si petiga=yāng hiro  
 AT= give-3SG.M fisherman-TOP child-DAT fish-P.INAN REL catch=3SG.M.A freshly  
 ‘The fisherman, he gave fish which he caught freshly to the child.’

consist of a predicative adjective. In these cases, there is no case-marked noun or topic contained in the relative clause.

- (38) *Ang ilya inunaya ganyam inunley si biro nay lepan.*  
 ang=il-ya inunaya-Ø gan-yam inun-ley si hiro nay lepan  
 AT= give-3SG.M fisherman-TOP child-DAT fish-P.INAN REL fresh and tasty  
 ‘The fisherman, he gave fish which is fresh and tasty to the child.’

### 5.5.5 Control of secondary predicates

Secondary predicates in Tagalog are interesting insofar as depictive adjectives which occur after the verb always modify the nominative argument according to Kroeger (1991); compare the example in (39).

Kroeger (1991: 30) explains that (39c) is anomalous, since the subject is indicated as *ang isda* ‘the fish’, however, *lasing* ‘drunk’ is not a property usually associated with fish—it would fit better with ‘Maria’. However, this interpretation would be ungrammatical since ‘Maria’ is not the subject of the clause.

Secondary predicates in Ayeri also follow the finite verb, and they may refer to the agent. If what was identified as the topic would be the subject like in Tagalog, thus, the reference of the adjective should change in the way shown in (39). This is not the case, however. Thus, in (40a), the topic NP, *ᄃᄃᄃ Migray*, happens to be the same NP that is modified by the secondary predicate, *ᄃᄃᄃ gino* ‘drunk’: Migray is drunk. However, (40b) generates the same reading even though this time, *ᄃᄃᄃ sangal* ‘the room’ is marked as the topic of the clause. A reading in which the room is drunk cannot be forced by morphological means, although it needs to be pointed out that predicative adjectives relating to the object inhabit the same postverbal position. Considering structure alone, the sentence in (40b) is



(39) Tagalog (adapted from Kroeger 1991: 29–30):

- a. *naghain na lasing si=Maria ng=isda*  
 AV.PFV-serve LNK drunk NOM=Maria GEN=fish
- 

‘Maria served the fish drunk.’ (Maria was drunk)

- b. *inibain na bilaw ni=Maria ang=isda*  
 IV.PFV-serve LNK raw GEN=Maria NOM=fish
- 

‘Maria served the fish raw.’ (The fish was raw)

- c. <sup>?</sup> *inibain na lasing ni=Maria ang=isda*  
 IV.PFV-serve LNK drunk GEN=Maria NOM=fish
- 

‘Maria served the fish drunk.’ (The fish was drunk)

- (40) a. *Ang kongaye gino Migray sangalya.*  
 ang=konga-ye gino Ø=Migray sangal-ya  
 AT=enter-3SG.F drunk TOP=Migray room-LOC
- 

‘Migray, she enters the room drunk.’ (Migray is drunk)

- b. *Ya kongaye gino ang Migray sangal.*  
 ya=konga-ye gino ang=Migray sangal-Ø  
 LOCT=enter-3SG.F drunk A=Migray room-TOP
- 

‘The room, Migray enters it drunk.’ (Migray is drunk)

ambiguous, though context certainly favors the reading provided in the translation of (40b), since ‘drunk’ is not typically a property of rooms.

Different than in (40), the adjective in (41), *ṣaṭi* ‘cold’, refers to the object of the clause, *ṣaṭi* *kangaley* ‘milk’, even though *ṣaṭi* *kangaley* is not the topic of the clause. By structure alone, *ṣaṭi* *Niyas* could also be the one who is cold, rather than the milk, however, this would be unlikely considering context and extralinguistic experience. Equally unlikely is the possible interpretation of the milk becoming cold by *ṣaṭi* *Niyas*’ drinking it.

- (41) *Ang ginya sati Niyas kangaley.*  
 ang=gin-ya sati Ø=Niyas kanga-ley



'Niyas, he drinks milk cold.' (The milk is cold)

In difference to Tagalog, thus, it is not morphology but the meaning of the verb which determines whether the postverbal predicative adjective refers to the agent or the patient.<sup>12</sup> However, since in Ayeri, the depictive secondary predicate following the verb can refer to either the agent or the patient depending on context, this test does not have a very clear outcome. At least we could establish here that alternations in the morphological marking of the privileged NP has no impact on the relation between adjective and noun. The marking on the verb is thus not used for manipulating grammatical relations in this context, unlike in Tagalog. Depictives and resultatives are dealt with in more detail in section 6.4.5.

### 5.5.6 Raising

Raising verbs involve the sharing of the subject of an embedded clause with the structural subject or object position of its matrix clause; the complement clause's subject appears as a gap in English. The raised subject is not semantically an argument of the matrix clause's verb. The matrix clause's subject may also be a dummy 'it' or 'there' in English; see (42) and (43). Raising verbs are dealt with in more detail in section 6.4.3 (p. 381).

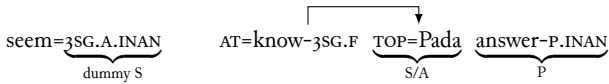
- (42) a. It seemed that John<sub>i</sub> knows the answer.  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> seemed <sub>i</sub> to know the answer.  
 c. \*John<sub>i</sub> seemed it.
- (43) a. I expected that Linda<sub>i</sub> sings the national anthem.  
 b. I expected Linda <sub>i</sub> to sing the national anthem.  
 c. <sup>1</sup>I expected Linda.

Kroeger (1991: 27–28) states that, as expected, raising is restricted to nominative arguments in Tagalog. Non-nominative actors may be raised into the matrix

<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, Kroeger (1991) does not provide any examples of object predicatives in Tagalog, and neither does Schachter and Otones (1972) readily contain information on these.



- (46) a. *Surpreng* [CP *ang koronye Pada guratanley* ].  
 surp=reng ang=koron-ye Ø=Pada guratan-ley



'Pada, it seems that she knows the answer.'

- b. *Surpye ang Pada* [VP *koronyam guratanley* ].  
 surp-ye ang=Pada koron-yam guratan-ley  
 seem-3SG.F A=Pada know-PTCP answer-P.INAN  
 S A P
- 

'Pada seems to know the answer.'

- c. \**Ang surpye Pada* [VP *koronyam guratanley* ].  
 ang=surp-ye Ø=Pada koron-yam guratan-ley  
 A=seem-3SG.F TOP=Pada know-PTCP answer-P.INAN  
 S A P
- 

Intended: 'Pada, she seems to know the answer.'

- d. \**Surpye ang Pada*.  
 surp-ye ang=Pada  
 seem-3SG.F A= Pada

'Pada seems.'

the former (as to-subject raising), however, it cannot do the latter (as to-object raising), probably for semantic reasons. First of all, let us look at to-subject raising, however.

In (46), *na Pada* is both the topic and the subject of *koron-* 'know', but not of *surp-* 'seem', as (46d) shows. However, *na Pada* can be made the subject of the matrix clause, as shown in (46b). Raising results in an intransitive matrix clause, which means that topicalizing the only argument of the verb is blocked, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (46c). The verb in (46b) also becomes non-finite, like in English. Unlike in Tagalog, it cannot carry any marking for grammatical relations, that is, there is no voice or agreement morphology available which could manipulate or indicate the grammatical context. Furthermore, it is possible in Ayeri to form a complex predicate like *surp-koronyam* in (47), literally 'seems knowing', with all of the arguments of the embedded clause becoming available as pseudo-arguments of the matrix clause, that is, the matrix verb is interpreted as a transitive clause and may carry topic marking for any of the

- (47) *Ang surpye* [<sub>VP</sub> *koronyam* ] *Pada* *guratanley*.  
 ang=surp-ye koron-yam Ø=Pada guratan-ley
- A=seem-3SG.F      A      P      TOP=Pada      S/A      answer-P.INAN      P
- Diagram illustrating the morphological structure of the sentence (47). The sentence is: *Ang surpye koronyam Pada guratanley.* (ang=surp-ye koron-yam Ø=Pada guratan-ley). The diagram shows the morphological structure of the sentence, with brackets indicating the grouping of morphemes into functional categories (A, P, TOP, S/A, answer-P.INAN) and their corresponding grammatical roles (A=seem-3SG.F, know-PTCP, TOP=Pada, answer-P.INAN). The diagram also shows the hierarchical structure of the sentence, with the main clause (A=seem-3SG.F) and the subordinate clause (know-PTCP) connected by a dashed line.

‘Pada, she seems to know the answer.’

- (48) Tagalog (adapted from Kroeger 1991: 26):

- a. *malapit na si=Manuel na bulibin ng=polis*  
 NVOL-close already NOM=Manuel COMP catch-OV GEN=police S/P  
 S A

'Manuel is about to be arrested by the police.'

- b. *napagbintangan*      *ang=pangulo=ng*      *sinubulan*      *ng=Syndikato*
- NVOL.PFV-accuse-DV      NOM=president=COMP      PFV-bribe-DV      GEN=syndicate      S/P
- S      A

‘The president was accused of having been bribed by the Syndicate.’

following NPs arguments, even though they are not licensed by the semantics of the verb—compare section 6.4.3 (p. 381) for a more detailed structural analysis.

If the topic is actually the subject, it should be possible in Ayeri to raise non-actor topics into the matrix clause easily. Of course, this is possible in Tagalog. In (48a), thus, *Manuel* is the one arrested, so he is the patient of the subordinate clause which acts as the subject of the matrix clause. The fact that *Manuel* is a patient-subject of the subordinate verb, *hulihin* ‘be caught’, is reflected in its being marked for objective voice. The English translation is consequently given with the subordinate clause phrased in the passive voice. Similarly, in (48b), the subordinate verb, *sinuhulan* ‘be bribed’, is marked for directional voice. According to this, *ang pangulo* ‘the president’ is a non-actor subject of the subordinate verb here as well. It also is in the matrix clause, since the matrix verb, *napagbintangan* ‘be accused of’, is marked for directional voice.

As we have seen above, the marking of the privileged NP on the verb in Ayeri has no effect on grammatical relations; making a transitive verb agree with an NP other than the agent NP was also judged questionable. Thus, we would expect Ayeri to not allow for the same flexibility as Tagalog. The next two sets of example

- (49) a. *Surpreng* [CP *le koronye* *ang Pila guratan* ].  
 surp=reng le=koron-ye ang=Pila guratan-Ø  
 seem=3SG.A.INAN PT.INAN=know-3SG.F A=Pila guratan-TOP  
 dummy S S/A P

'The answer, it seems that Pila knows it.'

- b. \**Surpara* *guratanreng* [VP *ang Pila koronyam* ].  
 surp-ara guratan-reng ang=Pila koron-yam  
 seem-3SG.INAN answer-A.INAN A=Pila know-PTCP  
 S A P

Intended: 'The answer seems to be known by Pila.'

- (50) a. *Silvrenng* [CP *yam lataya* *ang Maran disaley* *Apitu* ].  
 Silv=reng yam=lata-ya ang=Maran disa-ley Ø=Apitu  
 look=3SG.A.INAN DATT=sell-3SG.M A=Maran soap-P.INAN TOP=Apitu  
 dummy S S/A T R

'Apitu, it appears that Maran sold her the soap.'

- b. \**Silvye* *ang Apitu* [CP *ang Maran latayam disaley* ].  
 silv-ye ang=Apitu ang=Maran lata-yam disa-ley  
 look-3SG.F A=Apitu A=Maran sell-PTCP soap-P.INAN  
 S S/A T R

Intended: 'Apitu appears to have been sold the soap by Maran.'

sentences, (49) and (50), thus feature non-actor topics in the complement clause in the (a) examples which we attempt to raise into the subject position of the matrix clause in the (b) examples.

Comparing (49) and (50) with (48a) and (48b), it becomes apparent that Ayeri is very dissimilar to Tagalog with regards to the promotion of a non-actor NP to the subject of the matrix clause in that it is not possible to produce a grammatical result this way. Besides yet more evidence for the disconnect between the marking on the verb and subject assignment and also evidence in favor of an interpretation of the actor NP as the subject, it is possibly the fact that the subordinate verb appears in a non-finite form when raising occurs that prevents some of the flexibility of Tagalog observed above. Even if Ayeri were to work like Tagalog by and large, since finiteness in Ayeri also includes topic marking, it would not be possible for the non-finite verb to mark the assignment of grammatical roles to its complements, overt or covert.

The examples (44) and (45) from Tagalog quoted initially both feature to-object raising: the subject of the complement clause becomes an object of the matrix clause's verb. This phenomenon is also known as *exceptional case marking* (ECM) or *accusative and infinitive* (ACI) and entails that the matrix verb assigns accusative/objective case to the raised subject (Carnie 2013: 439–442, 445, 451). The raised subject is not semantically an object of the matrix verb, however, but an external agent; see (51).

- (51) a. *Mother wants them to study tonight* ≠ *Mother wants them*  
 b. *Mary expects him to tidy the room* ≠ *Mary expects him*  
 c. *John hears people sing in the street* ≠ *John hears people*

Ayeri avoids this kind of construction. The reason for this is probably that even though it treats agent and patient as semantic metaroles rather permissively, case marking is nonetheless based on semantic roles rather than purely based on syntactic function. Due to the uniqueness condition, a verb in Ayeri cannot have two agent arguments, yet the raised object is an agent, albeit an external one. It is still salient enough as an agent to preclude assigning it patient case, though.

The example sentences in (52) show that to-object raising is not possible with verbs of wanting—here using ᐃᓕᓐᓂᓐ *galam*- ‘expect’ by way of example. That is, the subject of the complement clause in (52a), ᐃᓕᓐᓂᓐ *Ijān*, cannot take the object position of the matrix clause in (52b), nor is it possible to form a complex predicate as in (47), with the arguments of the subordinate verb, ᐃᓕᓐᓂᓐ *sibund*- ‘tidy’, becoming available as quasi-arguments of the matrix clause's verb, ᐃᓕᓐᓂᓐ *galam*- ‘expect’, in (52c). Other verbs which allow to-object raising in English include verbs of want-

- (52) a. *Galamyē ang Sipra, ang sibunja Ijān sangalas.*  
 galam-ye ang=Sipra ang=sibund-ya Ø= Ijān sangal-as  
 expect-3SG.F A= Sipra AT= tidy.up-3SG.M TOP=Ijān room-P  
 ‘Sipra expects that Ijān tidy up the room.’  
 b. \**Ang galamyē Sipra ang/sa Ijān sibunjam sangalas.*  
 ang=galam-ye Ø= Sipra ang=/sa=Ijān sibund-yam sangal-as  
 AT= expect-3SG.F TOP=Sipra A=/P= Ijān tidy.up-PTCP room-P  
 Intended: ‘Sipra expects Ijān to tidy up the room.’  
 c. \**Ang galamyē sibunjam Sipra sa Ijān sangalas.*  
 ang=galam-ye sibund-yam Ø= Sipra sa=Ijān sangal-as  
 AT= expect-3SG.F tidy.up-PTCP TOP=Sipra P= Ijān room-P  
 Intended: ‘Sipra expects Ijān to tidy up the room.’

- (53) a. \**Ang tangya Yan keynamas malyyam kirinya.*  
 ang=tang-ya Ø= Yan keynam-as maly-yam kirin-ya  
 A= hear-3SG.M TOP=Yan people-P sing-PTCP street-LOC

*Intended:* 'Yan hears people sing in the street.'

- b. \**Paronyeng sa Avan tesayam.*  
 paron=yeng sa=Avan tesa-yam  
 believe=3SG.F.A P= Avan lie-PTCP

*Intended:* 'She believes Avan to lie.'

ing like *need* or *want*, or verbs of perception like *see* or *hear*. English also permits this construction for verbs of cognition like *believe*, *consider*, *know*, and *think*, and for verbs expressing a causative relationship like *make* or *let*. As described in section 4.1.3 (p. 122), verbs like *make* or *let* do not have direct counterparts in Ayeri, as Ayeri uses a morphosyntactic strategy rather than a lexical one to express causative relationships. However, as (53) shows, Ayeri does not allow to-object raising with verbs of perception and verbs of cognition either.

### 5.5.7 Control

Control verbs behave basically in the opposite way of raising verbs: the subject of the subordinate verb is also an argument of the verb in the matrix clause—subject or object—and this argument acts as a controller for the subject of the subordinate verb. The main clause predicate thus is thought to assign two thematic roles. In GG it is assumed that the subject of the lower clause is a silent PRO element which is co-indexed with the controller (Carnie 2013: 442–445, 451). An example is given in (54). For a more detailed analysis of control verbs, see section 6.4.3 (p. 380).

- (54) a. Subject control:

*John<sub>i</sub> tries [that John<sub>i</sub> gets a job]*  
 = *John<sub>i</sub> tries [PRO<sub>i</sub> to t<sub>PRO</sub> get a job]*

- b. Object control:

*The officer ordered Mary<sub>i</sub> [that Mary<sub>i</sub> turn back]*  
 = *The officer ordered Mary<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> to t<sub>PRO</sub> turn back]*

Kroeger (1991) refers to subject control as 'Equi' and reports that according to Schachter (1976: 505), it is typically the actor of the subordinate verb that is the target of deletion. At first sight this would be a strong argument in favor of defining the actor NP as the subject, however, he notes that under certain circumstances, "the controllee in a transitive complement clause [is allowed] to



(55) Tagalog (adapted from Kroeger 1991: 37):

- a. *binalak niya=ng [ magbigay ng=pera sa=Nanay ]*  
 PFV-plan-OV 3SG.GEN=COMP AV-give GEN=money DAT=mother  
 A S/A T R
- 

'He planned to give money to Mother.'

- b. *binalak niya=ng [ ibigay sa=Nanay ang=pera ]*  
 PFV-plan-OV 3SG.GEN=COMP IV-give DAT=mother NOM=money  
 A A R S/T
- 

'He planned to give the money to Mother.'

- c. *binalak niya=ng [ bigyan ng=pera ang=Nanay ]*  
 PFV-plan-OV 3SG.GEN=COMP DV-give GEN=money NOM=mother  
 A A T S/R
- 

'He planned to give Mother (some/the) money.'

be either the Actor (regardless of case marking) or the argument which bears nominative case" (Kroeger 1991: 37). This is the case, for instance, with *himukin* 'persuade' and *magpilit* 'insist on'. Subordinate verbs marked for non-volitive mood form an exception as well (Kroeger 1991: 36–37; 1991: 96–97). Kroeger (1991) illustrates the main pattern of control in Tagalog with the set of example sentences in (55).

While the nominative argument of the subordinate verb changes between the actor in (55a), the theme in (55b), and the recipient in (55c), it is always the actor which is dropped as the coreferential argument. Why the example sentences in (55) use *balak* 'plan, intend' in its object-voice form is not explained. However, Kroeger (1991) mentions that "alternation in the voice category of the matrix verb and the case marking of the controller does not affect the control relation" (37). In other words: whether the actor in the matrix clause is the syntactic subject or not does not matter; for Tagalog's equivalent of subject-control verbs, the control relationship always finds its origin in the actor argument, although there are a few exceptions, as mentioned above. The set in (56) presents an interesting example of ('obligatory') control based on the patient/theme argument in Tagalog's equivalent of object-control verbs.

Regarding (56ab), Kroeger (1991) explains that "when the complement verb

(56) Tagalog (adapted from Kroeger 1991: 93–94):

- a. *in-utus-an ko si=Maria=ng [ balik-an si=Pedro ]*
- 
- ‘I ordered Maria to kiss Pedro.’
- b. \**in-utus-an ko si=Maria=ng [ balik-an ni=Pedro ]*
- 
- ‘I ordered Maria to be kissed by Pedro.’
- c. *in-utus-an ko si=Maria=ng [ ma-balik-an ni=Pedro ]*
- 
- ‘I ordered Maria (to allow herself) to be kissed by Pedro.’

appears in its volitive (unmarked) form, the controllee must be the Actor of the embedded clause” (Kroeger 1991: 93). Thus, *Maria* cannot be the patient subject in (56b), since she is still the controllee. If the verb of the embedded clause is marked for non-volitive mood as in (56c), however, the sentence becomes grammatical: “When the embedded verb is marked for non-volitive mood, the pattern is reversed: the controllee must be the subject, and not the Actor. Actor gaps cannot be controlled in non-volitive complements” (94). The difference between obligatory and non-obligatory control adds a further complication to acceptability, but these details do not need to preoccupy us for the purpose of comparison to Ayeri, which lacks this distinction.

As previously with raising verbs, it is possible in Ayeri to combine a subordinating verb with a full complement clause, as in (57a), a VP niece of the subject NP (57b), or a VP sister of  $I^0$  (57c). In both (57a) and (57b) cases, it is necessarily the actor which is coreferenced, as the bottom arrow shows. In (57c), the bottom arrow does not show coreference, but the relation of verb agreement. The arrow on top, as before, shows what the respective verb picks as the clause’s topic for all example sentences.

As with raising verbs, the complement verbs appear in a non-finite form, the participle. For (57b) the reason may be that there is no overt agent in the clause

- (57) a. *Linkaya ang Maran, [CP ang kondisaya agujas. ]*.  
 linka-ya ang=Maran ang=kondisa=ya.Ø agu-ye-as



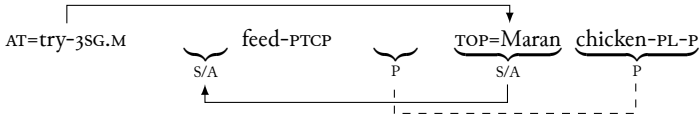
*Literally:* 'Maran tried that he feeds the chicken.'

- b. *Linkaya ang Maran [VP kondisayam agujas ]*.  
 linka-ya ang=Maran kondisa-yam agu-ye-as  
 try-3SG.M A=Maran feed-PTCP chicken-PL-P



'Maran tried to feed the chicken.'

- c. *Ang linkaya [VP kondisayam ] Maran agujas.*  
 ang=linka-ya kondisa-yam Ø=Maran agu-ye-as

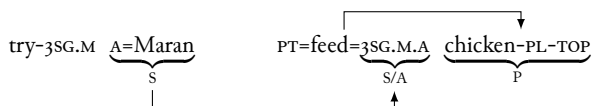


'Maran, he tried feeding the chicken.'

to agree with, and agreement with the patient does not make sense here because the clause does not express a passive either. In (57c) the reason may be that the main verb already carries person features. If the topic marking on the finite verb is altered as in (58), the meaning of the sentences does not change with regards to grammatical relations and voice, giving us yet more reason to assume that the agent is the grammatical subject, and that topic marking has no influence on these matters. Ayeri thus has actual subject-control verbs in the way English has them.

In object-control constructions, the object of the matrix clause's verb is an actual argument of it, as shown in (59). This argument becomes the subject of the embedded clause, and there is no change in the meaning of the verb between both versions of sentences. We have seen above that Ayeri does not allow to-object raising, since it is not possible to assign patient case to an external agent because Ayeri's case marking is not purely based on grammatical functions but there is still also some semantic motivation. Ayeri does, however, allow object control, so it seems to be possible at least to implicitly convert the matrix clause's patient or theme to the agent of the embedded clause, while the opposite is apparently not possible. Whether syntactic precedence or some kind of accessibility hierarchy is involved here still needs to be investigated.

- (58) a. *Linkaya ang Maran, [CP le kondisayāng aguye. ]*.  
 linka-ya ang=Maran le=kondisa=yāng agu-ye-Ø



*Literally:* ‘The chicken, Maran tried that he feeds them.’

- b. *Le linkaya [VP kondisayam ] ang Maran aguye.*  
 le=linka-ya kondisa-yam ang=Maran agu-ye-Ø
- 

‘The chicken, Maran tried feeding them.’

- (59) a. *John asked [Mary to give Peter the book]*  
 = *John asked Mary*
- b. *The teacher instructs [the students to calculate parabolas]*  
 = *The teacher instructs the students*
- c. *I persuaded [my friend to come along]*  
 = *I persuaded my friend*

The example sentences in (60) follow the format of those preceding. Again, it is generally possible to use a complement clause as in (60ab), as well as to complement the verb in the matrix clause with a non-finite clause with object control (60c). However, the strategy of adjoining a VP to IP in order to make the subordinate verb’s arguments available for topicalization by the matrix clause’s verb is not available here because this would cause a doubling of case roles and alike grammatical functions, which is unacceptable in Ayeri (60d). As we will see below, however, this is not an issue for intransitive complement clauses.

Strictly speaking, it does not matter in (60ab) whether the coreferenced argument is the topic in both clauses or not; it is simply not unlikely that it is. Again, topicalization does not have an effect on grammatical relations—although it was shown above that Tagalog, in the canonical case, deviates from its normal behavior as well with regards to control verbs to the point where this construction has been used as an argument in favor of the actor argument being the subject. As for Ayeri, unlike in coordinated main clauses, topicalization is not a strategy for disambiguation of several possible controllers for the pronominal agent of the complement clause or the non-finite VP niece of the subject NP here. Due to the

- (6o) a. *Pinyaya ang Amān, [CP ang rimaya Kagan kunangley ].*  
 pinya-ya ang=Amān ang=rimaya Ø=Kagan kunang-ley  
 ask-3SG.M A=Amān AT=close-3SG.M TOP=Kagan door-P.INAN  
 S S/A P  
 ‘Kagan, Amān asks that he close the door.’
- b. *Sa (da-)pinyaya ang Amān Kagan, [CP ang rimaya kunangley ].*  
 sa=(da-)pinya-ya ang=Amān Ø=Kagan ang=rimaya kunang-ley  
 PT=(so=)ask-3SG.M A=Amān TOP=Kagan AT=close=3SG.M.TOP door-P.INAN  
 S/A P S/A P  
 ‘Kagan, Amān asks him that he close the door.’
- c. *Sa pinyaya ang Amān Kagan [VP rimayam kunangley ].*  
 sa=pinya-ya ang=Amān Ø=Kagan rima-yam kunang-ley  
 PT=ask-3SG.M A=Amān TOP=Kagan close-PTCP door-P.INAN  
 S/A P S/A P  
 ‘Kagan, Amān asks him to close the door.’
- d. \**Sa pinyaya [VP rimayam ] ang Amān Kagan kunangley.*  
 sa=pinya-ya rima-yam ang=Amān Ø=Kagan kunang-ley  
 PT=ask-3SG.M close-PTCP A=Amān TOP=Kagan door-P.INAN  
 S/A P S/A P P  
 Literally: ‘Kagan<sub>i</sub>, Amān asks closing him<sub>i</sub> the door.’

semantics of the verb in the matrix clause, it is clear that the patient argument is to be understood as the agent of the subordinate verb. Thus, there is no ambiguity in anaphoric reference in the complement clause.

As mentioned above, forming a complex predicate and generating the arguments of the embedded verb in (6od) in their basic position is problematic due to the doubling of case roles. However, the ‘intermediate’ strategy of adjoining the VP of the complement clause, containing all its arguments, to the IP of the matrix clause, as shown in (61), is equally unfavorable. A whole clause would end up center-embedded between the matrix verb and its core arguments this way, which becomes the more awkward the longer clause is. It is possible, however, to use the VP adjunction strategy with intransitive complement clauses, as illustrated

- (61) <sup>2</sup> \**Sa pinyaya* [VP *rimayam kunangley*] *ang Amān Kagan*  
 sa=pinya-ya rima-yam kunang-ley ang=Amān Ø=Kagan
- PT=ask-3SG.M S/A close-PTCP door-P.INAN A=Amān TOP=Kagan  
 S/A P

*Literally:* ‘Kagan, Amān asks to close the door him.’

- (62) a. *Ang nosaya* [VP *nimpyam*] *Amān sa Pada.*  
 ang=nosa-ya nimp-yam Ø=Amān sa=Pada
- AT=order-3SG.M S run-PTCP TOP=Amān P=Pada  
 S/A P

‘Amān, he orders Pada to run.’

- b. *Sa nosaya* [VP *nimpyam*] *ang Amān Pada.*  
 sa=nosa-ya nimp-yam ang=Amān Ø=Pada
- PT=order-3SG.M S run-PTCP A=Amān TOP=Pada  
 S/A P

‘Pada, Amān orders her to run.’

by (62), since there are no objects in the adjoined VP to become problematic in terms of doubled case roles or syntactic functions.

### 5.5.8 Conclusion

As Table 5.1 shows, Tagalog and Ayeri are not really similar in syntax despite superficial similarities in morphology. According to Kroeger (1991)’s thesis—which critically reviews and updates Schachter (1976)’s survey by leaning on LFG theory—Tagalog prefers the argument which corresponds to the marking on the verb for most of the traits usually associated with subjects. According to Kroeger (1991)’s analysis, this NP is the nominative argument, thus. Schachter and Otnes (1972) refer to it as ‘focus’, Schachter (1976) as ‘topic’, and Schachter (2015) as ‘trigger’—‘trigger’ is also the term often seen in descriptions of constructed languages in this respect. Kroeger (1991) finds in his survey that the nominative argument is largely independent from the actor, so that the logical subject is not necessarily the syntactic subject; what Schachter (1976) calls ‘topic’ also does not behave like a pragmatic topic in terms of statistics.

Table 5.1: Comparison between Tagalog (Kroeger 1991) and Ayeri

Criterion	Tagalog	Ayeri
Marked on the verb	NOM argument	TOP argument
Verb agreement	optional; if present with NOM, independent of being A	required; typically with A, independent of being TOP
Syntactic pivot	determined by NOM, independent of being A	usually with A, but determined by TOP in ambiguous cases
Quantifier float	referring to NOM, independent of being A	referring to A, independent of being TOP
Relativization	only of NOM, independent of being A	(all NPs may be relativized)
Control of secondary predicates	referring to NOM, independent of being A	referring to A or P depending on semantics, but independent of being TOP
Raising	usually of NOM; A possible but marked for some	only of A, independent of being TOP; no ECM
Control	A deletion target, independent of being NOM (with exceptions)	A deletion target, independent of being TOP

Essentially, what Tagalog does according to Kroeger (1991)'s analysis, is to generalize voice marking beyond passive voice, so that any argument of the verb can be the subject. However, unlike passives in English, higher-ranking roles (for passives, the agent) appear not to be suppressed or to be demoted to adverbials in the way of *by* agents in English passive clauses. Linguists have been grappling for a long time with this observation, and constraint-based approaches, such as LFG (recently, Bresnan et al. 2016) or HPSG (Pollard and Sag 1994) pursue, may be able to explain things more succinctly than structuralist ones. In any case, Kroeger (1991) avoids the terms 'active' or 'passive' possibly for this reason, and instead uses 'actor voice' (AV), 'objective voice' (OV), 'dative/locative voice' (DV) etc. (14–15).

Ayeri, in contrast to Tagalog, very much prefers the actor argument (called *agent* here for consistency) for traits usually associated with subjects, independent of whether the agent is also the topic of the clause—in Ayeri it is the topic which is marked on the verb, not the nominative argument. In spite of a few irregularities like patient agreement in agentless clauses and using topicalization as a way to disambiguate the syntactic pivot in ambiguous cases, Ayeri is remarkably consistent with a NOM–ACC language. The fact that there is a subject in the classic, structural sense is also evidence for the hypothesis that Ayeri is configurational. Since it clearly prefers agent NPs over other NPs, not all arguments of a verb are on equal footing. Tagalog, on the other hand, treats the arguments of verbs in a much more equal manner.

It was pointed out before that in Tagalog, the syntactic pivot depends on what is marked as a subject (30–31). This and other examples from Kroeger (1991) may make it seem like Tagalog is not fixed with regards to the distinction between NOM–ACC and ERG–ABS alignment. However, Kroeger (1991) also points out that there is a statistically significant preference to select patient arguments as subjects, and that OV forms of verbs are “morphologically more ‘basic’” (53) than their respective AV counterparts. These observations point towards an interpretation of Tagalog as syntactically ergative, though Kroeger (1991) deems such an interpretation problematic due to non-nominative agents keeping their status as arguments of the verb—which also distinguishes Tagalog from an ergative languages like Dyirbal, where “ergative (or instrumental) marked agents are relatively inert, playing almost no role in the syntax, and have been analyzed as oblique arguments” (54).

In conclusion, is Ayeri a so-called ‘trigger language’? Yes and no. It seems to me that what conlangers call ‘trigger language’ mostly refers to just the distinct morphological characteristic of languages like Tagalog by which a certain NP is marked on the verb with a vague notion that this NP is in some way important in terms of information structure. Ayeri incorporates this morphological feature and may thus be counted among ‘trigger languages’ by this very broad definition.



However, the real-world Austronesian alignment as a syntactic phenomenon is more extensive than that according to the discussion of the various effects described in Kroeger (1991)'s survey. Ayeri, in syntactically behaving rather consistently like a NOM-ACC language, misses the point completely if 'trigger language' is understood to also entail syntactic characteristics of Philippine languages.

## 5.6 Establishing configurationality

As mentioned above, Ayeri's unmarked word order is VSO, and unlike Tagalog, it mostly displays correlations between the agent and syntactic traits usually associated with subjects. I will assume, therefore, that the agent argument is, in fact, the syntactic subject for all intents and purposes. It was also pointed out above that not grouping V and O together does not automatically result in non-configurationality at the sentence level. Speas (1990: 128) also points out that free word order alone is not sufficient evidence to claim non-configurationality. While Ayeri marks case overtly on all NPs and NPs have a certain degree of freedom with regards to their ordering, it does not mean that any order is always acceptable, much like *\*the yellow American big school bus* is not acceptable in English even though all adjectives equally describe *school bus* with no apparent ranking implied.

In his discussion of the status of Tagalog with regards to configurationality, Kroeger (1991) refers to a number of criteria devised in Speas (1990), who investigates the effects (non-)configurationality has on the relation between subject and object from a structuralist perspective. I have implicitly assumed so far that Ayeri is configurational with regards to the verb and its arguments, however, I will apply the mentioned criteria at this point in order to test whether Ayeri indeed has a 'deep' or a 'flat' structure. This will extend the insight that Ayeri makes a functional difference between subject and object gained by the various tests in section 5.5.

One test on configurationality which cannot be applied to Ayeri is that concerning the weak crossover effect (133–135). Ayeri is consistently verb-first and does not permit nominal material to precede a finite verb. Thus, even if we reverse the order of subject and object, the subject NP still c-commands the object NP and case marking unambiguously tells us that the first NP is the object.<sup>13</sup> The other test which cannot be performed concerns noun incorporation, since Ayeri does not make use of it.

<sup>13</sup> There are limitations on pronominal binding here, however, since pronouns must not precede their binder in both c- and f-structure; compare Bresnan et al. (2016: 213).

## 5.6.1 V + O as a surface constituent

Even though Ayeri does not group V and O together the way English does, it might still be interesting to see what happens if we try to delete or pronominalize either of them. In English it is possible for V and O to move together (as VP), as well as to replace V' with 'so' or 'did (so)' (63).

(63) English:

- a. *She said she would read the book, and read the book she did.*
- b. *Mary read the book, and so did John.*
- c. *Anne didn't read the book, but Tom did \_\_\_\_.*

Since Ayeri is very strict about the placement of the verb and does not share English's strategy to emphasize a verb with the equivalent of *do*, it is not possible to reproduce (63a),<sup>14</sup> but it is possible to reproduce (63bc).

- (64) a. *Sa layaye ang Mali koyā, naynay da-miraya ang Yan.*  
 sa=laya-ye ang=Mali koyā-Ø naynay da=mira-ya ang=Yan  
 PT=read-3SG.F A= Mali book-TOP and.also so=do-3SG.M A= Yan

'The book, Mali read it, and Yan did so as well.'

- b. *Sa layoyye ang Anang koyā, nārya māy da-miraya ang Tang.*  
 sa=laya-oy-ye ang=Anang koyā-Ø nārya māy da=mira-ya ang=Tang  
 PT=read-NEG-3SG.F A= Anang book-TOP but AFF so=do-3SG.M A= Tang

'Anang didn't read the book, but Tang did so.'

Even though the verb and the object are not adjacent, it appears that together they can be replaced by *da-miraya* '(he) did so'. In GG it would probably be assumed that the sentences in (64) actually have *layaye koyās* '(she) reads the book' underlying, though it should also be possible to analyze this in terms of f-structure. Ayeri also allows to drop the repeated part completely, as (65) shows.

- (65) *Sa layaye ang Mali koyā, naynay ang Yan.*  
 sa=laya-ye ang=Mali koyā-Ø naynay ang=Yan  
 PT=read-3SG.F A= Mali book-TOP and.also A= Yan

'The book, Mali read it, and Yan as well.'

The example in (66) attempts to capture the functional structure of example (64a) as representative of all three sentences in (64ab) and (65). The chart is based

<sup>14</sup> This would instead translate to *Narayeng, ang layongye koyās, nay layayeng cuyam* 'She said she would read the book, and she read (it) indeed' in Ayeri.



on the discussion of apparent V-to-I movement outlined in section 5.2, where  $I^0$  is an extended head of VP, and thus is functionally equivalent to  $V^0$ . Hence, even though V and O are not directly adjacent in Ayeri, the pro-verb  $\text{mira-}$  'do' may still stand in for the first conjunct's verb. The argument structure of the first conjunct's verb as well as its object are copied to the second conjunct, with the object/topic of the first conjunct being dropped in order to avoid repetition. Replacement by a pro-form and dropping are thus not good measures to establish Ayeri's surface constituent structure with regards to VP.

However, we can exclude that the subject NP and V/I group together in that sentences where  $\text{mira-}$  'do' is supposed to replace the subject and the verb are ungrammatical, as illustrated by (67).

- (67) \**Ang keca*                      *Mandan nikaley*                      *naynay miraya disuley.*  
 ang=ket-ya                      Ø= Mandan nika-ley                      naynay mira-ya                      disu-ley  
 AT= wash-3SG.M                      TOP=Mandan potato-P.INAN                      and.also do-3SG.M                      banana-P.INAN
- 'Mandan, he washes the potato and as well does the banana.'

What is mostly awkward about this example is that there is a transitive sentence in the second conjunct, but no topic is marked on the verb. If an agent topic were marked as a logical continuation of the first conjunct, it would mean that the verb carried not simply the third-person agreement suffix  $\text{-ya}$  '-s', but the topic-marked pronominal clitic  $\text{-ya}$  'he'. The conjunct, then, would have a separate subject, rendering our test futile. Switching the topic to the object of each conjunct would produce an awkward result as well, though, since topic continuity can be reasonably expected in this case. The verb in the second conjunct would be obliged to carry the third-person pronominal clitic  $\text{-yāng}$  'he' and thus would again render the test futile. And while a second conjunct with  $\text{naynay disuley}$  'and also the banana' would produce a grammatical outcome, there

is no pro-verb in this clause, but the missing elements are simply supplemented by consistency with the context.

### 5.6.2 Asymmetric influence on thematic roles

According to Speas (1990: 129), the semantic role of the subject is determined by the object, but not vice versa. Hence, for instance, someone who *throws a party* does not hurl it through the air, as someone who *throws a stone* would, and someone who *kills time* is not guilty of murder. This also reaches into the idiomatic use of certain verbs. Basically, this criterion suggests that in a truly non-configurational language, there ought to be cases where the role of the subject is determined by the actor. This is not the case in Ayeri, though, and a few examples (to varying degrees of idiom-ness) are listed in (68).

(68) ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *taringaya* ‘the minister’

- a. ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ — ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *ang bengya ... sangalya* ‘... stands in a room’
- b. ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ — ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *ang bengya ... kanānya* ‘... attends a wedding’
- c. ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ — ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *ang bengya ... tesānley* ‘... admits a lie’

(69) ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *devaya* ‘the captain’

- a. ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ — ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *ang pahya ... telbānley* ‘... removes a sign’
- b. ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ — ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ *ang pahya ... pegamayās* ‘... arrests a thief’

Comparing the examples in (68) is maybe most illustrative since the various shades of meaning differ most there; the common element of the examples in (69) should be more obvious, since to ‘remove’ or ‘take away’ a person is likely simply a euphemism for their seizure by police. At least in (68), the semantic role of the subject given at the top cannot be reliably predicted from the combination of the subject and the verb alone: is the minister standing somewhere literally, is he attending an event, or admitting something? In a similar way, is the captain in (69) removing something or arresting someone? In any case, the verb and its complement form a semantic unit in Ayeri, even though they are not adjacent in main clauses of declarative statements.

### 5.6.3 Idioms

Similar to the previous point, there are no idioms involving just a verb and a subject NP, while there are idioms consisting of a set combination of a verb and a complement which is attributed to a subject as a unit (70).

- (70) a. နာန:ဇိယၢ် *bras- tihangya* ‘bathe in knives’  
(be in terrible distress)
- b. ကံၣ်ဉ်နကပ်ၣ်ဉ် *petiga- inunas sapayeri-nama* ‘catch a fish with bare hands’  
(make a futile attempt)
- c. နိဉ်ပံၣ်ဉ် *sic- koyayeley* ‘spit books’  
(be smartassing)
- d. ဇာန:ကံၣ်ဉ် *tabada- venley* ‘chew air’  
(be poor, have nothing to eat)
- e. ကံၣ်ဉ်ဉ်နကပ်ၣ်ဉ် *vibisa- hapangyeley bihanena sarisa kayanyam iri*  
‘dish out last week’s remains for the third time already’  
(bring up a topic which has been discussed to death)

Just stating a subject and a verb like, for instance, နိဉ်ပံၣ်ဉ် *sicya ang Tapan* ‘Tapan spits’ would just be understood as that, literally. The idiomatic meaning of showing off (second-hand) knowledge in an annoying way depends on the object, နိဉ်ပံၣ်ဉ် *koyayeley* ‘books’.

#### 5.6.4 Obligatoriness of subjects

While Ayeri allows for intransitive verbs like နိဉ် *niba-* ‘rest’ or for transitive verbs to be used intransitively, like ကံၣ်ဉ် *kond-* ‘eat’, there are no verbs which require an object but do not optionally or obligatorily require a subject. While the agent of a transitive verb may be dropped, the patient argument triggers verb agreement which is canonically with the agent subject—compare example (17b) above, which is repeated in (71) for convenience.

- (71) *Manye sa Pila.*  
man-ye Ø=Pila  
greet-3SG.F P= Pila  
‘Pila is greeted.’

Even for verbs expressing impersonal actions, like the weather verb in (72), a dummy subject conventionally appears in the form of an inanimate third-person pronominal of some kind.

- (72) *Seyarreng.*  
seyar=reng  
rain=3SG.INAN.A  
‘It is raining.’

- (73) a. *Surpye ang Apitu vacyam perinas.*  
 surp-ye ang=Apitu vac-yam perin-as  
 seem-3SG.F A= Apitu like-PTCP sun-P  
 ‘Apitu seems to like the sun.’
- b. \**Surpye ang Apitu.*  
 surp-ye ang=Apitu  
 seem-3SG.F A= Apitu  
 ‘Apitu seems.’
- c. *Surpreng ang vacye Apitu perinas.*  
 surp=reng ang=vac-ye Ø= Apitu perin-as  
 seem=3SG.INAN.A AT= like-3SG.F TOP=Apitu sun-P  
 ‘It seems that Apitu likes the sun.’
- d. \**Surpa, ang vacye Apitu perinas.*  
 surp ang=vac-ye Ø= Apitu perin-as  
 seem AT= like-3SG.F TOP=Apitu sun-P  
*Literally:* ‘Seem that Apitu likes the sun.’

As discussed in sections 5.5.6 and 6.4.3 (p. 381), Ayeri has verbs like  $\text{surp-}$  ‘seem’, which can make a subordinate verb’s subject their own, as in (73a)—though  $\text{surp-}$  ‘seem’ may be Ayeri’s only raising verb. For raising verbs, the matrix verb’s semantically incongruent subject receives its semantic role from the subordinate verb. Thus, in (73a),  $\text{Apitu}$  is an experiencer according to the subordinate verb  $\text{vacyam}$  ‘liking’; she is not someone who acts in a manner of seeming, as (73b) would imply. The matrix verb’s subject may also be a dummy pronominal (73c). Omitting subject inflection is not grammatical (73d).

Conversely, in subject control (sections 5.5.7, p. 278, and 6.4.3, p. 380), where the matrix verb’s subject is shared with the subject of the subordinate verb, the subordinate verb’s subject cannot be a dummy pronoun (74b), and neither can the matrix verb’s subject be (74c).

### 5.6.5 Binding

According to Speas (1990), coreference of pronouns in English can be explained by the subject being higher in a clause’s structure than the object: the subject c-commands the object. From this, she deduces that if “some language has a ‘flat’ structure, then the subject and object will c-command each other, and so it is possible for the object to bind the subject” (132). Examples of this are given in (75), with the indicated outcome regarding the expected acceptability. In all of

- (74) a. *Gabaya ang Tipal pengalyam sa Apan.*  
           gaha-ya    ang=Tipal   pengal-yam   sa=Apan  
           hope-3SG.M   A=   Tipal   meet-PTCP   P= Apan  
           ‘Tipal hopes to meet Apan.’
- b. \**Gabaya ang Tipal, sa pengalreng                    Apan.*  
           gaha-ya    ang=Tipal   sa= pengal=reng        Ø=   Apan  
           hope-3SG.M   A=   Tipal   PT=meet=3SG.INAN.A   TOP=Apan  
           Literally: ‘Tipal hopes that there will meet Apan.’
- c. \**Gabareng                    pengalyam   sa Apan.*  
           gaha=reng            pengal-yam   sa=Apan  
           hope=3SG.INAN.A   meet-PTCP   P= Apan  
           Literally: ‘There hopes to meet Apan.’

these sentences, the pronoun is supposed to bind the NP containing the name in addition to being bound by the name.

- (75) a. *Mary<sub>i</sub> likes her<sub>i</sub> father.*  
       b. \**Mary<sub>i</sub>’s father likes her<sub>i</sub>.*  
       c. *Her<sub>i</sub> father likes Mary<sub>i</sub>.*  
       d. \**She<sub>i</sub> likes Mary<sub>i</sub>’s father.*

In Government and Binding theory, there are three binding principles posited, referring to the grammaticality of coreference between reflexive pronouns (‘anaphora’), personal pronouns, and R-expressions (references to extralinguistic reality, like names):

- (76) The Binding Principles (Carnie 2013: 157):
- An anaphor must be bound [i.e. c-commanded, CB] in its binding domain.
  - A pronoun must be free [i.e. not c-commanded, CB] in its binding domain.
  - An R-expression must be free.

According to these principles, (75a) is expected to be grammatical in a language in which the object c-commands the subject because *Mary* is not bound by the pronoun *her*, whose binding domain is *her father*, so Principle C is not violated. However, in (75b), the pronoun c-commands *Mary* and R-expressions must not be bound even across different binding domains, so Principle C is violated here. Conversely again, *her* in (75c) is free in its binding domain and in a different binding domain than *Mary*, so even though *her father* is commanded by *Mary*, Principle

- (77) *Ang vacye Mali badanas yena.*  
 ang=vac-ye Ø= Mali badan-as yena  
 AT= like-3SG.F TOP=Mali father-P 3SG.F.GEN  
 ‘Mali<sub>i</sub> likes her<sub>i</sub> father.’



B is not violated. Lastly, (75d) is not possible for this purpose, because *she* cannot be bound by *Mary*, but *Mary* is c-commanded by *she*.

In LFG, however, due to its being based primarily on functional structure, the condition for binding is not based on the c-structure of a clause. Rather, a pronoun is required to have an antecedent in the minimal f-structure of the predicator, that is, “the PRED element and all of the elements whose attributes are functions designated by the PRED” (Bresnan et al. 2016: 230; 2016: 250). For the examples above, this means that functionally, a reversal of dependency relations is not possible, unless one were to assume that an OBJ could syntactically outrank a SUBJ. Due to LFG’s design, even if the structure of the clause were flat, it is assumed that every language has grammatical functions, so that what functions as an object NP cannot normally outrank what functions as a subject NP. Besides, Ayerī does fulfill the requirements based on constituent structure sketched out above as well as the functional requirements; compare examples (77) to (80).

In (77), *ṁṁ Mali* is free in c-structure since it is not c-commanded in its domain, whereas the possessive pronoun, *ṁṁ yena* ‘her’, is free in its domain even though it is c-commanded by *ṁṁ Mali*. Similarly, in f-structure, *ṁṁ Mali* inhabits the top of the functional hierarchy by being the SUBJ of the f-structure core designated by *f*; *ṁṁ yena* ‘her’ is free in its f-structure core *g* and is outranked by *ṁṁ Mali* since SUBJ outranks OBJ and its contents. The clause is thus well-formed by either set of criteria.

In (78), then, *ṁṁ Mali* does not c-command the pronoun with which it is



- (78) *Ang vacya badan na Mali yes.*  
 ang=vac-ya badan-Ø na= Mali yes  
 AT= like-3SG.M father-TOP GEN=Mali 3SG.F.P

‘Mali<sub>i</sub>’s father, he likes her<sub>i</sub>.’



- (79) \**Ang vacya badan yena sa Mali.*  
 ang=vac-ya badan yena sa=Mali  
 AT= like-3SG.M father 3SG.F.GEN P= Mali

‘Her<sub>i</sub> father, he likes Mali<sub>\*i/j</sub>.’

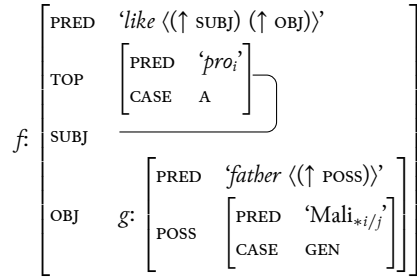
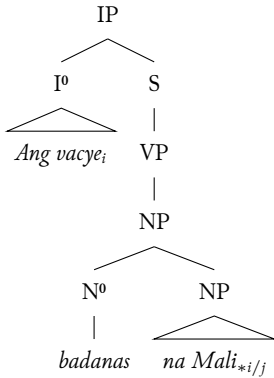


co-indexed,  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  yes ‘her’. This pronoun is also free in its domain. The pronoun also cannot c-command the nominal, so that  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  Mali is completely free. In functional terms as well, both  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  Mali and  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  yes ‘her’ are free within their respective core f-structures, *g* and *f*. The object pronoun,  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  yes ‘her’, is also outranked by a subject NP containing its antecedent. Again, the clause is well-formed.

In (79), the possessive pronoun,  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  yena ‘her’, is again free since  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  Mali cannot c-command it. Vice versa,  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  Mali cannot be c-commanded by  $\text{𑂔𑂱𑂔}$  yena ‘her’, so it as well is totally free, as required. Regarding their grammatical functions, both phrases are free in their respective core f-structures, *g* and *f*, again. Well-formedness should theoretically be given in both cases, thus. The sentence still

- (80) \**Ang vacye badanas na Mali.*  
 ang=vac=ye.Ø badan-as na= Mali  
 AT= like=3SG.F.TOP father-P GEN=Mali

‘As for her<sub>i</sub>, she likes Mali<sub>\*i/j</sub>’s father.’



sounds awkward, however, because in terms of LFG, the pronominal *f*-precedes its binder, which is a further obstacle to binding (Bresnan et al. 2016: 213). An acceptable reading can only be achieved if *yena* ‘her’ does not refer to *Mali*, but to a third person.

At last, (80) is not well-formed if the subject pronominal suffix *-ye* ‘she’ is supposed to be co-indexed with *Mali*, since *Mali* is c-commanded by *ang vacye* or its trace, if one assumes the pronominal clitic to leave behind a trace in a superficially empty subject NP to the left of VP. Either way, the object NP containing *Mali* is c-commanded, which violates binding principle C. In a functional analysis, the phrase is ungrammatical because the pronominal suffix as an instance of the subject function outranks its supposed nominal antecedent, which is a possessor inside an object NP. In order to reach a grammatically sound interpretation, the liker and *Mali* again must be different people.

Taking the above into account looking only at the constituent structure, Ayeri behaves like English in that its equivalent to (75b), that is (78), is grammatical. If Ayeri had a flat structure and c-command were the only condition of binding, we would expect it to be ungrammatical. As described above, however, a functional interpretation essentially makes c-command obsolete in that this condition is replaced by the requirement that the controlling NP’s GF outrank the controllee’s on the functional hierarchy. This way, restrictions on pronominal binding can be accounted for even in truly non-configurational languages.

However, as we have seen above, Ayeri still shows a clear preference for the

agent NP regarding most of the characteristics usually associated with subjects. This means that there is a cline between subjects and objects—subjects and objects are not treated fully alike. I will assume, thus, that Ayeri's object NP is embedded in a VP which finds its (extended) head in  $I^0$  instead of in  $V^0$ , if a full subject NP is present at the same time (compare section 6.4.2).



## 6 Phrase structures

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The previous chapter gave a short overview of the syntactic framework used in this grammar—lexical-functional grammar (LFG)—and discussed various questions about Ayeri’s syntactic alignment, and whether it is ‘configurational’ in spite of VSO word order. The present chapter, in continuation of chapter 4, finally delves into an analysis of the various phrase types which make up clauses in Ayeri. This means providing information on both their structural and their functional properties, and on how these syntactic properties interface with morphology.

### 6.1 Noun and determiner phrases

Noun phrases (NPs), and determiner phrases (DPs) as their functional counterpart, fulfill the functions of subject (SUBJ), object (OBJ), secondary object (OBJ<sub>θ</sub>), as well as various oblique constituents (OBL<sub>θ</sub>; see (1)). They can also form adjuncts (ADJ), as well as constitute topic and focus (TOP, FOC). Which DP or NP receives which function is controlled by the *a*-structure of the verb—this also has repercussions on case- and topic marking, compare section 6.4.6. Even though Ayeri is configurational and case is in part assigned on the grounds of constituent structure, semantics also play a part in case assignment. Taking the opposite perspective, we may also say that case marking provides information on both the semantics and function of NPs/DPs, as depicted in (1).

The rules in (1) illustrate the typical mappings between case marking and grammatical functions, which are not always unambiguous. As explained above (compare section 4.1.3), the dative case does not only indicate that something is given to this referent or done to their benefit, but also indicates motion towards this referent. Likewise, the genitive case does not only indicate possession, but also origin, and motion from this referent. Nominal adjuncts of nouns which specify what the noun consists of appear in the instrumental case, besides the instrumental

- (1) a.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{A} \implies (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ}) = \downarrow$   
 b.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{P} \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ}) = \downarrow$   
 c.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{DAT} \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}_{\text{recip}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{exp}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ PCASE}) = \text{OBL}_{\text{goal}}$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ PCASE}) = \text{OBL}_{\text{dir}}$   
 d.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{GEN} \implies (\uparrow \text{ POSS}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{theme}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{src}}) = \downarrow$   
 e.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{LOC} \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{loc}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{dir}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ PCASE}) = \text{OBL}_{\text{loc}}$   
 f.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{CAUS} \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{caus}}) = \downarrow$   
 g.  $(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) = \text{INS} \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{ins}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ OBL}_{\text{manner}}) = \downarrow$   
      $\vee (\uparrow \text{ COMP}) = \downarrow$

being used to indicate the means or the circumstance by which an action comes about. Nominals may also lack case marking, which indicates that the respective phrase is (a part of) the topic function of the verb, which is what (2) describes.

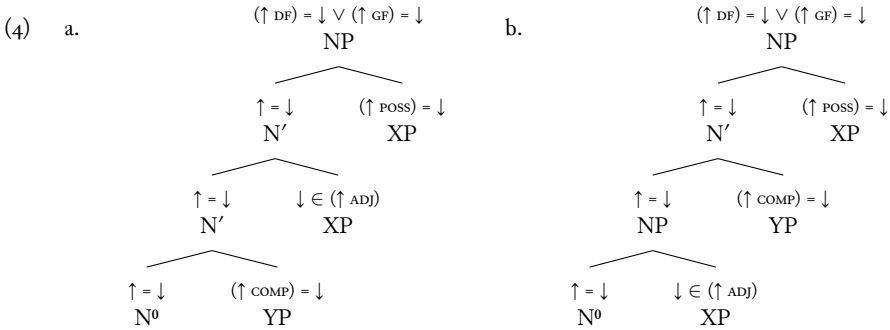
- (2)  $\neg(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) \implies (\uparrow \text{ TOP}) = \downarrow \vee \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ TOP})$

Instead of case marking on the DP or NP, there is a marker before the verb which provides information on the case and, if AT or PT, also about the animacy of the topicalized phrase. Grammatical information about the topic of a phrase is spread over two discontinuous sites this way. This issue does not pose a problem to an LFG-based analysis, however, since both grammatical sites unify their information content in the f-structure feature TOP. I will mostly be using the annotation ‘ $(\uparrow \text{ TOP}) = \downarrow$ ’ for topics in the following; ‘ $\downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ TOP})$ ’ only finds application with relative clauses, since these may have secondary topics in addition to the relativized NP. Note that otherwise, only one NP among the arguments of a verb may be the topic of the clause. Moreover, a topic can only be marked if the verb is finite and the number of case-marked arguments of the verb is greater than one.

### 6.1.1 Noun phrases

Nouns are one of the main parts of speech of Ayeri and can be modified by a number of other free elements, as we have seen previously—adjectives, possessive

- (3) a.  $NP \rightarrow N' \quad XP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow \text{ POSS}) = \downarrow$
- b.  $N' \rightarrow N' \quad YP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ ADJ})$
- c.  $N' \rightarrow N^0 \quad ZP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow \text{ COMP}) = \downarrow$



determiners, as well as relative clauses and nominal adjuncts. These typically follow nouns. It was also described before that Ayeri's nouns may host a number of clitics, among which are deictic prefixes and quantifiers, as well as proclitic case markers with proper nouns. These clitics, however, will not be treated as targets of syntactic operations, since LFG follows the approach of lexical integrity. Thus, bound elements like affixes and clitics are assumed not to be reflected or affected by syntax itself. The phrase structure of NPs should thus generally look like depicted in (3), however, there are some caveats which will be described below.

The ruleset in (3) defines that NPs have a lexical head which is on the left side, followed optionally by modifiers which may have various relationships to the noun: complement (instrumental nominal, NP/DP; complement clause, CP), and adjunct (adjective phrase, AP; relative clause, CP; quantifier, DP). Furthermore, there can be a possessor expressed as the specifier of NP (NP or DP). Altogether, these rules can be represented as a constituent-structure tree as described in (4). The maximal projection of  $N^0$  (that is, NP) is annotated very generally for the function of the NP—basically, an NP can act as either a discourse function (DF) or a grammatical function (GF). Besides, nouns may be modified by possessors and quantifiers. These, however, may better be analyzed as forming DPs which embed the NP as a complement. (5) gives an example of each kind of modifier. Since there is no grammatical context given, NP is unmarked for function in these examples.

- (5) a. noun + adjective:

*ningan hiro*  
 ningan hiro  
 story new

‘new story’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'story'} \\ \text{ADJ} & \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'new'} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

- b. noun + instrumental complement:

*kasu bariri*  
 kasu bari-ri  
 basket meat-INS

‘basket of meat’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'basket' } \langle (\uparrow \text{ COMP}) \rangle \\ \text{COMP} & \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'meat'} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{INS} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- c. noun + relative clause:

*nanga si incāng*  
 nanga si int=yāng  
 house REL buy=3SG.M.A

‘the house he bought’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'house'} \\ \text{ADJ} & \left\{ \left[ \text{"which he bought"} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

- d. noun + possessor:

*kegan ayonena*  
 kegan ayon-ena  
 hat man-GEN

‘the man’s hat’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'bat' } \langle (\uparrow \text{ POSS}) \rangle \\ \text{POSS} & \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'man'} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{GEN} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- e. noun + quantifier:

*nanga diring*  
 nanga diring  
 house several

‘several houses’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'house'} \\ \text{QUANT} & \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'several'} \right] \end{array} \right]$$



Of course, it is also possible to combine the nominal modifiers listed in (5). In this case, there is a certain hierarchy, presumably based on Behaghel's first law, "Das oberste Gesetz ist dieses, daß das geistig eng Zusammengehörige auch eng zusammengestellt wird" (Behaghel 1932: 4; 'The supreme law is such that the mentally closely related is also arranged in close proximity.'). and also grammatical weight (Wasow 1997):

1. APs and other NPs describing attributes
2. complementary NPs and CPs
3. quantifiers and cardinal numerals
4. possessive genitive NPs and DPs
5. relative clauses

Wasow (1997) writes that "[i]t is very hard to distinguish among various structural weight measures as predictors of weight effects. Counting words, nodes, or phrasal nodes all work well" (102), which means that no single metric can be used to describe the order of constituents in a phrase. However, for instance, relative clauses trail whenever possible presumably since they tend to contain whole sub-clauses and thus a lot of information. It seems advisable not to put an element with much less information content after them, especially when it refers to a different head than all the things inside the relative clause.

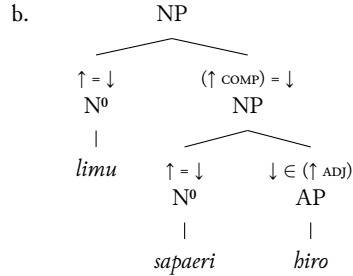
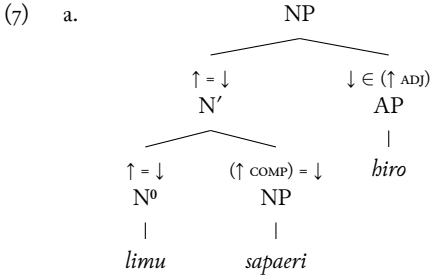
The order of NP modifiers seems somewhat jumbled up with regards to the c-structure tree in (4a) which, for instance, gives noun complements as following  $N^0$  before adjectives, while the list above indicates the reversed order. Furthermore, the c-structure tree indicates that relative clauses precede DPs embedding the NP, like possessive NPs and DPs. This is no mistake, however, but part of the caveat mentioned earlier with regards to the phrase structure rules for NPs. That is, due to information structure and modifier scope, Ayer makes good use of extraposition. For instance, (6a) is theoretically ambiguous as to whether the shirt is new or the wool its is made of—in practice, it would be assumed that the shirt is made of new wool. The problem of ambiguity is solved in (6b) by inverting the order of complement and adjective: the shirt is now unmistakably characterized as new, and being made of wool. The sentence in (6a) theoretically allows both c-structure interpretations given in (7), however, as mentioned above, the second one is actually the preferred one in such cases.

The complement does not become an adjunct, however, as (8) shows:  $X'$  branches can be replaced by *pro*-forms such as 'one' or 'so'. This, however, *pro*-

- (6) a. <sup>1</sup> *limu sapaeri biro*  
 limu sapa-eri biro  
 shirt wool-INS new

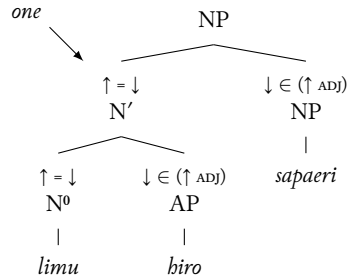
‘shirt of new wool’  
*Intended:* ‘new shirt of wool’

- b. *limu biro sapaeri*  
 ‘new shirt of wool’



duces an odd-sounding result when replacing  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ}$  *limu biro* ‘new shirt’ with  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ}$  *danya* ‘one’.<sup>1</sup>

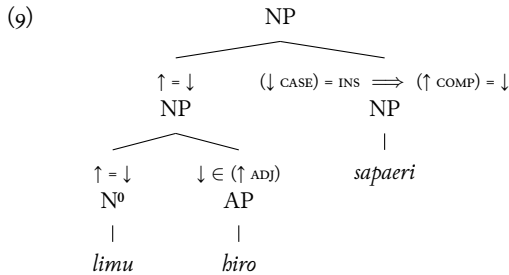
- (8) \**danya sapaeri*  
 danya sapa-eri  
 one wool-INS  
 ‘one of wool’



What should the structure for (6b) look like to produce both a correct c-structure tree and correct f-structure annotations, though? Functional projections may embed lexical ones of the same type (Bresnan et al. 2016: 104). It should thus be possible to analyze the complement NP,  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ}$  *sapaeri*, as modifying an NP which jointly holds the nominal head,  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ}$  *limu* as well as its adjunct adjective,  $\text{ᄒᆞᆫᆫᆞᆫ}$  *biro*. Regarding functional annotation, there is a problem, however, since Bresnan et al. (2016) requires that if a phrase is adjoined to a phrasal constituent, this phrase must either not be annotated or not embody an argument function (100, 107, compare (1) of chapter 5). COMP is an argument function, though. A possibility

<sup>1</sup> Carnie (2013) notes that replacing a nominal head with *one* in English is acceptable at least to some speakers (181). Let us assume that Ayeri speakers consider it odd, however.

for lexocentric specification of an argument function is left open, however. Due to Ayeri's consistent use of case marking, I see no problem to invoke a lexocentric specification for INS as given in (1g): INS specifies in this case that the head of this NP,  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *sapa* 'wool', is a complement of  $\text{ᑭᑭᑦ}$  *limu* 'shirt'. Extraposed relative clauses are less problematic, since they are adjuncts, and ADJ is by itself not an argument function.



The c-structure tree in (3) shows that Ayeri prefers consistent head-dependent word order at least for its NPs. As illustrated by previous examples, both adjuncts and complements are, for the most part, consistently appended to the right of their heads, which means that Ayeri may be classified as a rather consistently right-branching language. However, a certain number of postpositions form an exception to this classification (compare section 4.4.2). In the light of word order typology, we can state the generalizations listed in (10).

- (10) a. Order of noun and adjective: N Adj  
 b. Order of noun and genitive: N Gen  
 c. Order of noun and relative clause: N Rel

As described before (section 3.2.5), nouns can also be modified by a number of clitics which are not represented through syntax. Since it is not possible for these clitic elements to be divided from their phonological hosts, they should be treated as being an integral part of the word they attach to. Hence,  $N^0$  is given in (11) as split into 'Cl' and  $N^0$ .

More important to LFG than c-structure trees, however, is f-structure to gather potentially disparate information into semantically coherent functional units.<sup>2</sup> In the following, I will thus give a list of morpholexic specifications in (12) which

<sup>2</sup> Essentially, c-structure is similar to the tree hierarchy of paragraphs, images, tables etc. in an HTML file, while f-structure describes semantic properties of elements in the tree similar to how CSS defines the layout properties of these elements.

- (11) a. noun + deictic prefix:

*eda- nanga*

*eda*= *nanga*

this=house

‘this house’



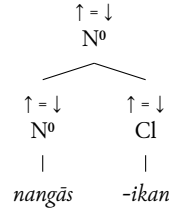
- b. noun + quantifier:

*nangās -ikan*

*nanga*-as=*ikan*

house-P =many

‘many houses’



- c. proper noun + case:

*ang Diyan*

*ang*=*Diyan*

A= Diyan

‘Diyan’



give an overview of the different semantic and morphological features nouns basically provide (also compare section 4.1). These also form the basis for f-structure matrices of the kind already shown in (64), section 3.2.5 (p. 92). Nouns generally imply a third-person reference; they distinguish number, gender and animacy, as well as case. Clitics, however, may also add information about deixis (12b); likeness and quantity might be interpreted conveniently as adding to the noun's ADJ feature (13).

- (12) a. ... N
- |          |   |                                  |
|----------|---|----------------------------------|
| (↑ PRED) | = | ‘...’                            |
| (↑ ANIM) | = | ±                                |
| (↑ CASE) | = | {A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS} |
| (↑ GEND) | = | {M, F, N, INAN}                  |
| (↑ NUM)  | = | {SG, PL}                         |
| (↑ PERS) | = | 3                                |
- b. (↑ DEIX) = {this, that, such}

It has been pointed out above that nouns intrinsically encode animacy. This has repercussions in the choice of case markers of the agent and patient cases,

- (13) a. *ganang-ben mino*  
 gan-ang=hen mino  
 child-A=all happy  
 ‘all happy children’

- b. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SUBJ} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘child’} \\ \text{ANIM} + \\ \text{CASE} A \\ \text{QUANT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘all’} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ADJ} \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘happy’} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- (14) a. 
$$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N_{\text{stem}} \\ | \\ \text{gan} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N_{\text{infl}} \\ | \\ \text{-ang} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \\ (\uparrow \text{ CASE}) = A \end{array} \end{array}$$

- b. \* 
$$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N_{\text{stem}} \\ | \\ \text{gan} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N_{\text{infl}} \\ | \\ \text{-reng} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = - \\ (\uparrow \text{ CASE}) = A \end{array} \end{array}$$

- (15) a. 
$$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ \text{Cl} \\ | \\ \text{ang} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \\ (\uparrow \text{ CASE}) = A \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ | \\ \text{Dita} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \end{array} \end{array}$$

- b. \* 
$$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ \text{Cl} \\ | \\ \text{eng} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = - \\ (\uparrow \text{ CASE}) = A \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \uparrow = \downarrow \\ N^0 \\ | \\ \text{Dita} \\ (\uparrow \text{ ANIM}) = + \end{array} \end{array}$$

which need to agree in animacy with the lexical head they attach to. An example of this is given in (14).

Example (14a) shows a well-formed construction: the noun, 𐄀𐄁 *gan* ‘child’, is animate, hence the case marker also needs to be animate—the case marker must thus be 𐄀𐄁 *-ang* to be coherent. In contrast to this, example (14b) is not well-formed in that the noun is animate but the case marker, 𐄀𐄁 *-reng*, signals that it is inanimate: the ANIM values of the noun stem and its suffix clash and cannot be conclusively unified for  $N^0$  itself. The same principle of coherence is, of course, also true for proper nouns, which receive a case-marking proclitic, as illustrated by (15).

Furthermore, example (13) already showed that nouns may be modified by quantifiers, whether these are clitic suffixes (section 4.8) or numerals (section 4.7).

In these cases, plural marking on the noun is suppressed by the presence of the modifier which supplies the information by itself so that further morphological plural marking by the suffix  $\text{ᎠᎵ}$  *-ye* on the noun stem itself would be redundant. As shown in section 4.7 (p. 226), however, there are very limited occasions where a noun may be marked for plurality in spite of the presence of a numeral, for instance as in (16).

- (16) *Ang bengyon keynamye menang kanānya desay iray.*  
 ang=beng-yon keynam-ye-Ø menang kanān-ya desay iray  
 AT= attend-3PL.N people-PL-TOP hundred wedding-LOC royal

‘Hundreds of people attended the royal wedding.’

Here, the noun  $\text{ᎠᎵᎠᎵ}$  *keynam* ‘people’ is marked additionally for plural by the nominal plural suffix  $\text{ᎠᎵ}$  *-ye* in spite of being a *plurale tantum* and in spite of the presence of the numeral  $\text{ᎠᎵᎵᎵ}$  *menang* ‘hundred’. Without plural morphology, the meaning of  $\text{ᎠᎵᎵᎵᎠᎵᎵ}$  *keynam menang* would be ‘a hundred people’, not generic ‘hundreds’.

### 6.1.2 Determiner phrases

Determiner phrases (DPs) are the functional equivalent of NPs. Determiners ( $D^0$ ) are a closed class of function words (Bresnan et al. 2016: 102). In English, for instance, articles and pronouns are counted among them (Carnie 2013: 208–211). Ayeri, as argued below, does not possess articles as such. The preposed case markers of proper nouns bear a superficial similarity to cased articles like in German (17) and the suffixed case markers look superficially similar to suffixed articles in Romanian (18) or the Scandinavian languages. The presence or absence of case markers in Ayeri is moreover morphosyntactically controlled by topicalization and thus also interacts with definiteness (compare section 5.4.2). However, as we will see below, the distribution of these case markers differs from that of articles in languages like English or German.

While in modern Standard German an article and a demonstrative pronoun, or also a possessive pronoun, cannot co-occur, this appears not to be a problem in Ayeri. As argued in section 3.2.5, both case markers and deictic/demonstrative prefixes in Ayeri are clitics; superficial similarity between possessive pronouns and adjectives has also been noted in section 4.2.1 (p. 149). Furthermore, the preposed case markers of nouns are an exception compared to the much more frequent occurrence of case-marking suffixes on generic nouns. It thus does not seem straightforward to analyze the case markers as heads of DPs.

(17) a.

A	<i>ang Săn</i>	‘Săn’
P	<i>sa Săn</i>	‘Săn’
DAT	<i>yam Săn</i>	‘to Săn’
GEN	<i>na Săn</i>	‘Săn’s’
LOC	<i>ya Săn</i>	‘at Săn’
CAUS	<i>să Săn</i>	‘due to Săn’
INS	<i>ri Săn</i>	‘with/by Săn’

b. German:

NOM.SG	<i>der mann</i>	‘the man’
ACC.SG	<i>den mann</i>	‘the man’
DAT.SG	<i>dem mann</i>	‘to the man’
GEN.SG	<i>des mannes</i>	‘of the man’

(18) a.

A	<i>ganang</i>	‘a/the child’
P	<i>ganas</i>	‘a/the child’
DAT	<i>ganyam</i>	‘to a/the child’
GEN	<i>ganena</i>	‘of a/the child’
LOC	<i>ganya</i>	‘at a/the child’
CAUS	<i>ganisa</i>	‘due to a/the child’
INS	<i>ganeri</i>	‘with/by a/the child’

b. Romanian (Lyons 1999: 75):

PRI.SG	<i>cartea</i>	‘the book’
OBL.SG	<i>cărți</i>	‘to/of the book’
PRI.PL	<i>cărțile</i>	‘the books’
OBL.PL	<i>cărților</i>	‘to/of the books’

(19) German:

a. article + noun:

<i>das</i>	<i>haus</i>
das	haus
DEF.NOM.SG.N	house
‘the house’	

b. demonstrative + noun:

<i>dieses</i>	<i>haus</i>
dies-es	haus
this-NOM.SG.N.ST	house
‘this house’	

c. possessive + noun:

<i>mein</i>	<i>haus</i>
mein-Ø	haus
ISG.GEN-NOM.SG.N.ST	house
‘my house’	

d. article + demonstrative + noun:

<i>*das</i>	<i>diese</i>	<i>haus</i>
das	dies-e	haus
DEF.NOM.SG.N	this-NOM.SG.N.WK	house
‘the this house’		

e. article + possessive (weak decl.) + noun:

<i>*das</i>	<i>meine</i>	<i>haus</i>
das	mein-e	haus
DEF.NOM.SG.N	ISG.GEN-NOM.SG.N.WK	house
‘the my house’		

f. demonstrative + possessive (weak decl.) + noun:

<i>*dieses</i>	<i>meine</i>	<i>haus</i>
dies-es	mein-e	haus
this-NOM.SG.N.ST	ISG.GEN-NOM.SG.N.WK	house
‘this my house’		

g. demonstrative + possessive (strong decl.) + noun:

<i>#dieses</i>	<i>mein</i>	<i>haus</i>
dies-es	mein-Ø	haus
this-NOM.SG.N.ST	ISG.GEN-NOM.SG.N.ST	house
‘this house of mine’		

The German examples in (19) show that determining elements such as a definite article (*der* ‘the’), a demonstrative pronoun (*dieser* ‘this’) and a possessive pronoun (*mein* ‘my’) are in complementary distribution for most combinations. The only exception to this is the combination of demonstrative and possessive in (19g), which is grammatically marked, however.<sup>3</sup> On this phenomenon of complementary distribution of determiners—which also holds true for English—Carnie (2013) writes, “One thing to note about determiners is that they are typically heads. Normally, there can only be one of them in an NP” (208), at least in English (and German). Demske (2001: 9–22) elaborates on this point for German as well. Regarding the examples of suffixed definite articles in (18b), Dindelegan (2013) states that

Prenominal demonstrative [*sic*] take a determinerless (articleless) head-noun complement [...] while postnominal demonstratives obligatorily occur in DPs with article-bearing noun heads [...]. The postnominal construction is thus a polydefinite structure, since definiteness is realized twice [...], by the article and by the demonstrative. (297)

Dindelegan (2013) furthermore gives the examples in (20) for these two placement variants (glosses extended based on further information in the grammar).<sup>4</sup>

(20) Romanian (adapted from Dindelegan 2013: 297):

a.	<i>acest</i>	<i>om</i>	b.	<i>omul</i>	<i>acesta</i>
	acest-Ø	om-Ø		om-ul	acest-a
	this-PRI.SG.M	man-SG		man-DEF.PRI.SG.M	this-PRI.SG.M
	‘this man’			‘this man’	

Ayeri, however, behaves different from either German or Romanian in treating case markers and demonstrative elements as clitics. The case marker is always present for untropicalized NPs, whether a demonstrative clitic is present as a modifier or not. The demonstrative clitic merges with the head noun to the point where it is not certain whether it is still a clitic or already an inflectional prefix

<sup>3</sup> Example (19f) differs from (19g) in the declension paradigm of the possessive: (19f) uses the ‘weak’ (WK) adjective declension regularly, since a determiner with strong (ST) declension precedes. (19g) appears to be an exception in permitting two determiners of the strong declension. Demske (2001: 160–161, 203–205) notes that, according to Plank (1992), possessive pronouns may apparently still act as modifiers, not only determiners, under certain circumstances. In modern Standard German, this construction is strongly marked, however. It is probably a remnant of earlier stages of German where there was no such restriction on the co-occurrence of demonstrative and possessive pronouns yet (Demske 2001: 173).

<sup>4</sup> In declension charts, Dindelegan (2013) indicates the cases as ‘NOM ≡ ACC’ and ‘DAT ≡ GEN’ where Lyons (1999) uses PRI and OBL. I will follow the latter convention in glossing here.



(Figure 3.2.5), that is, they do not have phrasal status like the postnominal determiners of Romanian, but they are not heads of DP like the prenominal determiners of Romanian either (Dindelegan 2013: 299), due to their status as clitics.

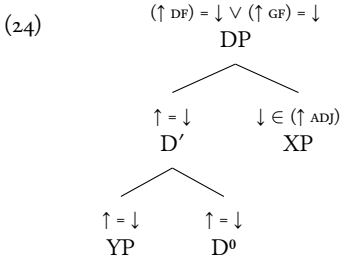
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (21) a. <i>ang Săn</i><br>ang=Săn<br>A= Săn<br>‘Săn’                | c. <i>ang Săn nă</i><br>ang=Săn nă<br>A= Săn 1SG.GEN<br>‘my Săn’                                  |
| b. <i>ang eda- Săn</i><br>ang=eda= Săn<br>A= this=Săn<br>‘this Săn’ | d. <sup>2</sup> <i>ang eda- Săn nă</i><br>ang=eda= Săn nă<br>A= this=Săn nă<br>‘this Săn of mine’ |

In all cases listed in (21), the case marker is present and marks the NP simply for agent case, irrespective of other elements. Characteristically, neither the demonstrative prefixes, nor the possessive pronoun/adjective in Ayeri mark case, while they do in German. The case marker thus cannot simply be left out, because the information it provides is not redundant, strictly speaking. Where it is left out, it marks the NP as topicalized and it is required, then, that the verb mark the topicalized NP's case. The same is also true of generic nouns, as shown in (22).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (22) a. <i>veneyang</i><br>veney-ang<br>dog-A<br>‘a/the dog’          | c. <i>veneyang nă</i><br>veney-ang nă<br>dog-A 1SG.GEN<br>‘my dog’                          |
| b. <i>eda- veneyang</i><br>eda= veney-ang<br>this=dog-A<br>‘this dog’ | d. <i>eda- veneyang nă</i><br>eda= veney-ang nă<br>this=dog-A 1SG.GEN<br>‘this dog of mine’ |

While it has been argued that Ayeri does not possess articles, it does possess a large variety of pronouns. These, as pro-forms, appear in complementary distribution with NPs. Since they encode morphosyntactic functions rather than semantic content, they are ideal candidates for heads of DP. DPs can be modified by APs and CPs, collectively referred to as XP in (23), which gives the phrase structure of DPs. Furthermore, D<sup>0</sup> may consist of a quantifier which be further specified by an intensifier. D<sup>0</sup> may also be complemented by an NP or another DP, however, since the determiner is a modifier in this case, the embedded nominal phrase precedes D<sup>0</sup> rather than following it. The constituent structure resulting from the phrase structure definition in (23) is given in (24).

- (23) a.  $DP \rightarrow \begin{matrix} D' & XP \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & \downarrow \in (\uparrow_{ADJ}) \end{matrix}$
- b.  $D' \rightarrow \begin{matrix} YP & D^0 \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & \uparrow = \downarrow \end{matrix}$



### Personal pronouns

The morpholexic specifications for personal pronouns are given in (25). Personal pronouns, as a functional category, are a closed class of words. The chart of personal pronouns in Ayeri is given in section 4.2.1. Since personal pronouns are pro-forms, they do not have lexical content for a predicator, but only ‘*pro*’. Pronouns distinguish all grammatical categories of nouns—number, gender, animacy, and case; they agree with their antecedents in number, gender, and animacy. In addition to these person features, pronouns also encode person as a deictic category. The reflexive clitic  $\text{ḥiṣṣa}$ : *sitang-* also defines the personal pronoun as reflexive.

- (25) ... D
- |                        |   |                                  |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| ( $\uparrow$ PRED)     | = | ‘ <i>pro</i> ’                   |
| ( $\uparrow$ ANIM)     | = | $\pm$                            |
| ( $\uparrow$ CASE)     | = | {A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS} |
| ( $\uparrow$ GEND)     | = | {M, F, N, INAN}                  |
| ( $\uparrow$ NUM)      | = | {SG, PL}                         |
| ( $\uparrow$ PERS)     | = | {1, 2, 3}                        |
| ( $\uparrow$ REFL)     | = | $\pm$                            |
| ( $\uparrow$ PRONTYPE) | = | <i>refl</i>                      |

Personal pronouns, as an exception to the phrase-structure definition in (23), cannot be modified by adjectives. They may nonetheless be modified by relative clauses as well as quantifiers. Modification by a quantifier clitic is only possible for personal pronouns when they are free morphemes; pronominal clitics cannot be modified by quantifiers directly, as described in section 4.2.6. The examples in (26) illustrate key differences between nouns and personal pronouns regarding the distribution of modifiers. As mentioned above, it is possible for pronouns to

be modified by relative clauses, which is illustrated by (26d). In this example, the pronoun  $\text{yeng}$  ‘she’ is modified by the relative clause  $\text{si mino}$  ‘who is happy’.

- (26) a. pronoun + adjective:
- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| <i>*yāng</i> | <i>biro</i> |
| yāng         | hiro        |
| 3SG.M.A      | new         |
| ‘new he’     |             |
- b. pronoun + possessor:
- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| <i>*reng</i>   | <i>ayonena</i> |
| reng           | ayon-ena       |
| 3SG.INAN.A     | man-GEN        |
| ‘the man’s it’ |                |
- c. pronoun + nominal complement:
- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| <i>*nang</i> | <i>bariri</i> |
| nang         | bari-ri       |
| IPL.A        | meat-INS      |
| ‘we of meat’ |               |
- d. pronoun + relative clause:
- |                    |           |             |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>yeng</i>        | <i>si</i> | <i>mino</i> |
| yeng               | si        | mino        |
| 3SG.F.A            | REL       | happy       |
| ‘she who is happy’ |           |             |

### Possessive pronouns

The whole paradigm of possessive pronouns is listed in the genitive column of Table 4.6. Possessive pronouns distinguish the same morphological features as personal pronouns: person, number, gender, animacy, and reflexivity. Their case is fixed to genitive, however. Possessors are subcategorized for by nouns as a complement feeding the POSS feature. The morpholexical specifications possible for possessive pronouns are given in (27). Reflexive possessive pronouns have the meaning ‘PRONOUN’S own’.

- (27) ... D
- |              |   |                 |
|--------------|---|-----------------|
| (↑ PRED)     | = | ‘pro’           |
| (↑ ANIM)     | = | ±               |
| (↑ CASE)     | = | GEN             |
| (↑ GEND)     | = | {M, F, N, INAN} |
| (↑ NUM)      | = | {SG, PL}        |
| (↑ PERS)     | = | {1, 2, 3}       |
| ((↑ REFL)    | = | ± )             |
| (↑ PRONTYPE) | = | poss            |

Earlier treatments of possessive pronouns analyzed them as adjectives, however, this appears incorrect in that if they were adjectives, they should coordinate with other adjectives. As illustrated in (28a), this is not the case. If possessive pronouns were adjectives, it should also be possible for there to be more than one of them in a clause, just as *new blue car* is possible, with two adjectives modifying *car*. Example (28b) illustrates that there can only be one possessor, though. According to Bresnan et al. (2016), “[s]ubjects and possessors have some properties

in common” (Bresnan et al. 2016: 100), though they are variably treated as specifiers of NP or heads of DP with an NP complement throughout the book. Let us assume here that possessors are specifiers of NP.

- (28) a. \**nanga biro nay nā*  
           nanga hiro nay nā  
           house new and ISG.GEN  
           ‘\*my and new house’
- b. \**nanga nā yena*  
           nanga nā yena  
           house ISG.GEN 3SG.F.GEN  
           ‘\*her my house’

As previously mentioned (section 4.2.1, p. 149), like adjectives, possessive pronouns cannot stand by themselves if treated as nominals rather than as modifiers of nominals. They need to be nominalized first, as it were. That is, they need the proclitic 𑌃 *da-* or full 𑌃𑌆𑌆 *danya* ‘one’ as support to form free possessive nominal expressions such as *mine* or *yours*, except if used as initial predicative nominals. This is illustrated by (29).

- (29) a. *Ada-nangāng da-nā.*  
           ada=nanga-ang da-nā  
           that=house-A one=ISG.GEN  
           ‘That house is mine.’
- b. *Nā ada-nangāng.*  
           nā ada=nanga-ang  
           ISG.GEN that=house-A  
           ‘Mine is that house.’

Since such independent possessive pronominals already express possession, there is no need to mark them with genitive case additionally. As (30) shows, these forms may be case marked—𑌃𑌆𑌆 *da-nā* ‘mine’ is the nominal corresponding to the topic marker 𑌃𑌆 *le*. This parallels the use of 𑌃 *da-* with adjectives, compare section 4.2.2.

- (30) CONTEXT: 𑌃𑌆𑌆 *dadang* ‘pen’ (INAN):
- Le ming eryavang da-nā.*  
 le= ming=ery=vāng da=nā-Ø  
 PT.INAN=can= use=2.A one=ISG.GEN-TOP  
 ‘You can use mine.’

Nominalized possessive pronouns are anaphora to a third-person form, while they additionally refer to a possessor: 𑌃𑌆𑌆 *da-nā* in (30) refers to a pen belonging to the person offering the other to use theirs. The AVN in (31a) spells out the full functional definition for 𑌃𑌆𑌆𑌆𑌆𑌆 *dadanglely nā* ‘my pen’; (31b) attempts to model the anaphoric reference, 𑌃𑌆𑌆𑌆𑌆𑌆 *da-nāley* ‘mine’.

Information about the third-person reference is preserved in (31b): the anaphoric reference is indicated by a *pro* requiring a genitive complement which is the same

(31)	a.	PRED	'pen <((↑ POSS))>'		b.	PRED	'pro <((↑ POSS))>'		
		PERS	3			PERS	3		
		NUM	SG			GEND	INAN		
		GEND	INAN			ANIM	—		
		ANIM	—			CASE	P		
		CASE	P			PRONTYPE	dem		
		POSS	PRED	'pro'		POSS	PRED	'pro'	
	PERS		I		PERS		I		
	NUM		SG		NUM		SG		
	CASE		GEN		CASE		GEN		
		PRONTYPE	poss				PRONTYPE	poss	

as that of (31a). Demonstratives distinguish fewer features than full pronouns, which is why the feature definitions referring to the possessed are less specific; compare the next section on demonstrative pronouns.

#### Demonstrative pronouns

The morphology of demonstrative pronouns was described in section 4.2.2. In contrast to personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns do not mark person; a third-person reference is implied like with nouns, however. Instead, they mark deixis more generally as location in space. Notably, demonstrative pronouns lack a number distinction. As previously discussed, Ayeri distinguishes proximal (ᑭᑭᑭ *eda-*) and distal (ᑭᑭᑭ *ada-*) as well as an indefinite 'such' (ᑭᑭ *da-*), which is why the feature definitions in (32) list a DEIX feature encoding *this*, *that*, and *such*, rather than a binary PROX or DIST feature.

(32)	...	D	(↑ PRED)	=	'pro'
			(↑ DEIX)	=	{ <i>this</i> , <i>that</i> , <i>such</i> }
			(↑ PERS)	=	3
			(↑ ANIM)	=	±
			(↑ CASE)	=	{A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}
			(↑ PRONTYPE)	=	<i>dem</i>

Regarding the ability of demonstrative pronouns to be modified, it is necessary to distinguish the proximal ᑭᑭᑭ *eda-* and distal ᑭᑭᑭ *ada-* series from the indefinite ᑭᑭ *da-* series.<sup>5</sup> The issue at hand here is that the proximal and distal demonstra-

<sup>5</sup> Based on the absence of evidence for languages which merge *that* and *such*, Lyons (1999: 152), for one, concludes that demonstratives are inherently definite, that is, he apparently refutes the idea that *such* is an 'indefinite demonstrative'. However, he does not make any suggestions

- (33) a. <sup>2</sup> *Sa noyang edanya tuvo.*  
           sa= no=yang    edanya-Ø    tuvo  
           PT=want=ISG.A    this.one-TOP    red  
           ‘I want this red one.’
- b. <sup>2</sup> *Sa noyang adanya tuvo.*  
           sa= no=yang    adanya-Ø    tuvo  
           PT=want=ISG.A    that.one-TOP    red  
           ‘I want that red one.’
- c. *Sa noyang danya tuvo.*  
           sa= no=yang    danya-Ø    tuvo  
           PT=want=ISG.A    such-TOP    red  
           ‘I want the red one.’

tive pronouns proper are not usually modified, while the indefinite one can be, as demonstrated in section 4.2.2; example (101b) from this section is repeated here as (33c) for convenience. Besides this, it is also possible to form complex demonstratives which incorporate an adjective, both generic and possessive. For illustration, (102) from section 4.2.2 is repeated here as (34).

- (34) *Sa noyang da-tuvo.*  
           sa= no=yang    da=tuvo.Ø  
           PT=want=ISG.A    such=red.TOP  
           ‘I want the red one.’

It has been argued in Figure 3.2.5 that  $\downarrow$  *da-* in this case is a simple clitic, as it appears in the same position as the full form  $\downarrow_{22}$  *danya*; the result is a complex demonstrative form which is inflectable for case. How to represent this in terms of a feature matrix, though? For one, the adjective loses its ability to carry comparison morphology (whether it is interpreted as inflectional or clitic) when being incorporated into a demonstrative form, so (35a) is ungrammatical, and the effective meaning of (35b) differs from what is intended, since  $\text{or} -v\bar{a}$  is interpreted in its regular, non-grammaticalized meaning here. Thus, in these cases, the demonstrative must be used in the full form (35c).

The form with the incorporated adjective is basically the same as that of a noun modified by  $\downarrow$  *da-*, so it was assumed previously that the proclitic essentially acts as a nominalizer for the adjective. This could also explain why the adjective

for a better term, which is why I will keep ‘indefinite’ here.

- (35) a. \**da-tuvo-vāas*  
           da=tuvo=vā-as  
           one=red=SUPL-P  
           Intended: ‘the reddest one’
- b. <sup>!</sup>*da-tuvoas-vā*  
           da=tuvo-as=vā  
           one=red-P=most/\*SUPL  
           ‘most red ones’  
           Intended: ‘the reddest one’
- c. *danyās*      *tuvo-vā*  
       danya-as    tuvo=vā  
       that.one-P   red=SUPL  
       ‘the reddest one’

forfeits its ability to undergo comparison: comparison is not a morphological operation available to nouns, and the comparison morphemes are still loose enough to not jointly undergo derivation to a noun together with the root adjective in the way it is possible, for example, in German to form the deadjectival nouns *das große* ‘what is big/great’ (for instance, *im großen* ‘on a large scale’) and *das größte* ‘the greatest thing’ from the adjective *groß* ‘big, large, great’ and its superlative form *größt-* ‘biggest, greatest’, the superlative suffix being *-(e)st*. Both c- and f-structure should thus look different for the unincorporated and the incorporated adjective, respectively. Example (36) illustrates what the c- and f-structure for the unincorporated adjective looks like, respectively.

- (36) a. 
$$\begin{array}{c} (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) = \downarrow \\ \text{DP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ ADJ}) \\ \text{D}^0 \quad \text{AP} \\ | \quad | \\ \text{danyās} \quad \text{tuvo} \end{array}$$
- b. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{OBJ} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'pro'} \\ \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{CASE} & \text{P} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} & \text{dem} \\ \text{ADJ} & \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'red'} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The difference between  $\downarrow$  *da-* combined with a noun and the same combined with an adjective is that with a noun, the meaning is ‘such a NOUN’, while with an adjective the meaning is not ‘such an ADJECTIVE one’, but ‘the ADJECTIVE one’. Thus, the deictic/anaphoric meaning remains, strictly speaking, which is manifest in the fact that the gender of the compound depends on that of the antecedent, as illustrated by (37). For cases where the noun and the adjective are homophones—like  $\text{𐌲𐌹𐌿𐌵}$  *tuvo* ‘red’—the correct interpretation is dependent on context.

- (37) a. CONTEXT:  $\text{seygo}$  ‘apple’ (AN):  
     ... *da-tuvoas*  
     da=tuvo-as  
     one=red-P.AN  
     ‘... the red one’
- b. CONTEXT:  $\text{bin}$  ‘box’ (INAN):  
     ... *da-tuwoley*  
     da=tuvo-ley  
     one=red-P.INAN  
     ‘... the red one’

If the analysis that  $\text{da-}$  is a simple clitic and thus equivalent to the full form  $\text{danya}$  (albeit restricted in its use) is maintained, the assumption stands to reason that the function embodied by  $\text{danya}$  still forms the head of the phrase, so we still have a DP. Since  $\text{da-}$  is no independent word, it cannot be the head of the phrase, so it must not be  $D^0$ . Since there is no other word material for nominal case marking to attach to, the adjective stem is inflected instead of the pronoun.

The most straightforward way to analyze  $\text{da-tuwoley}$  is probably by means of inside-out functional uncertainty.<sup>6</sup> Dalrymple (2001: 144) gives an example from Warlpiri which contains a noun with double case marking. This example may serve as a template for a solution to our question, since here as well one lexeme, *pirli-ngka-rlu*, unites two instances of the same feature, compare (38). She explains that the stacked case marking in *pirli-ngka-rlu* ‘rock-LOC-ERG’, according to Nordlinger (1998), can be represented in f-structure as described in (39).

- (38) Warlpiri (Nordlinger 1998: 136, from Simpson 1991):

*Japanangka-rlu luwa-rnu marlu pirli-ngka-rlu*  
 Japanangka-ERG shoot-PST kangaroo rock-LOC-ERG  
 ‘Japanangka shot the kangaroo on the rock.’

What the lexical annotations in (39b) mean, according to Dalrymple (2001: 145–146), is that there is a word with ‘rock’ for its PRED, which has LOC for its CASE

- (39) a. 
$$\left[ \text{SUBJ} \quad f: \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{CASE} & \text{ERG} \\ \text{OBL}_{loc} & g: \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{‘rock’} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{LOC} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$$
- b. *pirli-ngka-rlu*                      N                       $\begin{array}{ll} (\uparrow \text{PRED}) & = \text{‘rock’} \\ (\uparrow \text{CASE}) & = \text{LOC} \\ ((\text{OBL}_{loc} \uparrow) \text{CASE}) & = \text{ERG} \\ (\text{SUBJ OBL}_{loc} \uparrow) & \end{array}$

<sup>6</sup> To come back to our analogy with HTML et al., inside-out functional uncertainty is similar to traversing the DOM tree upwards in jQuery with  $\$(this).parent(selector).attr(key)$ .



- (40) a. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{OBJ } f: & \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & \text{'pro'} \\ \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{CASE} & \text{P} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} & \text{dem} \\ \text{ADJ} & g: \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \text{ 'red'} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$
- b.  $\text{da-tuwoley}$  N  $(\uparrow \text{PRED})$  = 'red'  
 $((\text{OBJ } \uparrow) \text{PRED})$  = 'pro'  
 $((\text{OBJ } \uparrow) \text{PRONTYPE})$  = dem  
 $((\text{OBJ } \uparrow) \text{CASE})$  = P  
 $(\text{OBJ ADJ } \uparrow)$

value. The third line states that there is a superordinate *f*-structure containing an attribute  $\text{OBL}_{loc}$  (we know from the LOC case marking in *g* that the value of the  $\text{OBL}_{loc}$  function is *g* itself) which belongs to an *f*-structure with ERG for the value of its own CASE feature. The fourth line states that again, a superordinate *f*-structure must exist, and that the *f*-structure containing the  $\text{OBL}_{loc}$  attribute (that is, *f*) is the value of its SUBJ function, since ergative case identifies the NP as the subject.

So how can we transfer this to our composite demonstrative  $\text{da-tuwoley}$  'a/the red one'? We know that there is a lexical base which is an adjective  $\text{tuwo}$  which has 'red' for a PRED. This is embedded as the ADJ off a functional head with deictic features (formerly  $\text{danyaleley}$ , now reduced to a simple clitic  $\text{da-}$ ). The whole compound is marked for patient case, which identifies it as an object. Thus, I propose the *f*-structure and annotations in (40).

Essentially, we can generate the same *f*-structure as in (36b) above this way, since  $\text{da-tuwoley}$  and  $\text{danyaleley tuwo}$  should be functionally equivalent. The approach with functional uncertainty permits us not to violate lexical integrity, so the c-structure should more correctly look like in (41). Secondly, we do not have to assume that the adjective itself untypically inflects for case, at least not at a functional level. The case marker just happens to be stuck on it because it is the next best lexical base to attach it to, which is represented in the accompanying c-structure (non-branching bar levels and the empty  $D^0$  have been pruned).

### Interrogative pronouns

Like the other kinds of pronouns, interrogative pronouns as well are a closed class of words in Ayeri. The whole list of them is given in section 4.2.3. Interrogative pronouns, like demonstrative pronouns, only inflect for case and distinguish



animacy in agreement with their antecedent. Since interrogative pronouns in Ayeri do not appear in clause-initial position, but *in situ*, they probably should not be analyzed as heading a CP like in English (Carnie 2013: 359–369; Dalrymple 2001: 405–408), but as heads of DP. The question word  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *sinya* ‘who, what, which (one)’ may also serve as an adjective in cases like (42a), however. This case warrants special discussion later, as it differs from the way the majority of interrogative pronouns work. A more canonical example of  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *sinya* in which it acts as a pronoun proper is given in (42b).

- (42) a. *Ang pretva kunangya sinyā?*  
 ang=pret=va.Ø kunang-ya sinyā  
 AT= knock=2.TOP door-LOC which  
 ‘Which door did you knock at?’
- b. *Le tinkaya sinyāng kunang?*  
 le= tinkā-ya sinyā-ang kunang.Ø  
 PT.INAN=open-3SG.M who-A door.TOP  
 ‘Who opened the door?’

Note also that neither  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *sikay* ‘how (means, circumstance)’ nor  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *simin* ‘how (way, procedure)’ can be combined with an adjective to ask about the extent of an attributive property.  $\text{ṣṣ} \text{ṣṣ}$  *sikan* ‘how much, how many’ is only used for quantity questions and cannot combine with adjectives either. Instead, questions like ‘how large’ or ‘how common’ must be phrased using (generic) nouns; see (43). What the question word queries for is both the implied object of the question and also new information. That is, what it asks for is the sentence’s focus (compare section 5.4.3). For English, Dalrymple (2001) gives the example in (44).

- (43) a. *Nabungreng mavayena sinyaley?*  
 nahung-reng mavay-ena siny-a-ley  
 size-A.INAN world-GEN what-P.INAN

‘What is the size of the world?’

or: ‘How big is the world?’

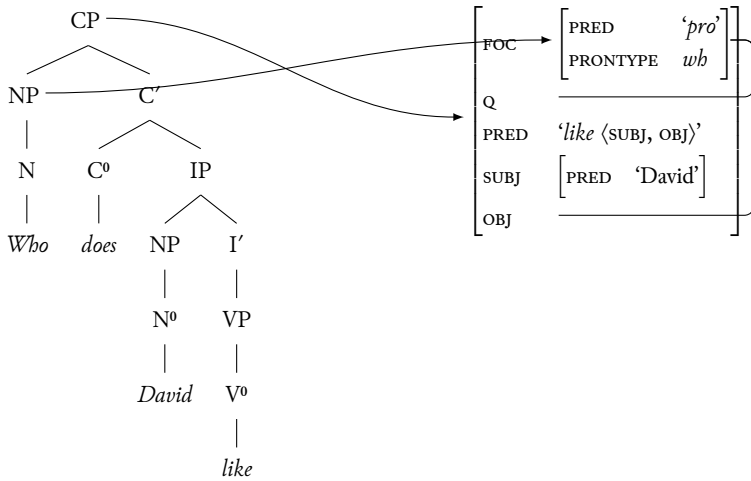
- b. *Adareng vibay apānya sinyā?*  
 ada-reng vihay apān-ya sinyā  
 that-P.INAN common extent-LOC which

‘To what extent is it common?’

or: ‘How common is it?’

- (44) English (Dalrymple 2001: 406):

- a. *Who does David like?*



- b. 
$$CP \rightarrow \left( \begin{array}{c} XP \\ (\uparrow \text{ FOC}) = \downarrow \\ (\uparrow \text{ FOC}) = (\uparrow \text{ QFocusPath}) \\ (\uparrow \text{ Q}) = (\uparrow \text{ FOC WhPath}) \\ (\uparrow \text{ Q PRONTYPE}) =_c \text{ wh} \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} C' \\ (\uparrow = \downarrow) \end{array} \right)$$

The AVM in (44a) indicates that information contained in FOC (as a discourse function) is shared with both the question particle Q and the OBJ of the clause. That is, Q is replacing the OBJ as a pronoun, and as such, embodies the FOC function with the respective properties. The phrase structure in (44b), then, tries to give a formula as general as possible for all question words in English, hence we see XP instead of NP like in example (44a), which is an example of a specific sentence

(45) *Le tinkaya sinyāng kunang?*



containing the interrogative pronoun *who*. XP corresponds to any phrase type which can contain a question word, that is, NP, PP, AdvP, and AP (Dalrymple 2001: 407). The rather intricate annotation for XP is due to English's fronting of the question word, which necessitates definitions to retrieve the correct corresponding information further down the tree. The annotation basically says that XP is the focus of the clause and specifies that the corresponding information must be found in a location accessible to the *wh*-word (that is, the *wh*-word must c-command it), and there is a requirement that a *wh*-word exist. Since Ayer does not front interrogative pronouns like English does, the functional annotations of the phrase structure rule should look a whole lot easier. Yet, however, we still need to account for Q, FOC and its associated GF sharing information. In order to give an example, let us reconsider (42b), see (45).

Example (45) is an attempt to chart the c-structure and the accompanying AVM for the sentence, *Le tinkaya sinyāng kunang?* 'The door, who opened it?'. Arrows between the c-structure tree and the AVM are analogous to the ones in (44a) for easy orientation. I labeled the phrase containing the interrogative pronoun DP, however, for consistency with the discussion of pronouns above, which were characterized as being nominal, though rather functional than lexical in nature. This also applies to interrogative pronouns.

In difference to the English example (44a), the interrogative pronoun is marked for case, and thus also encodes animacy for agents and patients. A full line connects the FOC value to both the value of Q and SUBJ to indicate correspondences between DFS and GFS; the connection between FOC and SUBJ is also contrary to the English

example above, since we are asking for the subject/agent in this case, not for the object/patient as in the previous example.

An exemplary feature set for an interrogative pronoun has already been spelled out for  $\text{ḥ}22\text{ḥ}22\text{ḥ}22$  *sinyāng* above. More generally, interrogative pronouns have the possible values in (46). That is, they do not encode person and number, though at least  $\text{ḥ}22$  *sinya* inflects for case and thus also encodes animacy for agents and patients. Other pronouns, like  $\text{ḥ}22\text{ḥ}22$  *siyan* ‘where’ or  $\text{ḥ}22\text{ḥ}22$  *sikan* ‘how many’, are invariant, as described in section 4.2.3. If case is not specified, the correct form of  $\text{ḥ}22$  *sinya* depends on the GF it is anaphorically linked to.

(46)	...	D	(↑ PRED)	=	<i>‘pro’</i>
			(↑ ANIM)	=	±
			(↑ CASE)	=	{A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}
			(↑ PRONTYPE)	=	<i>wh</i>

Since question pronouns stay *in situ*, it is not necessary to devise an outside-in functional uncertainty rule; the interrogative pronoun is already in the place the argument it stands in for would normally occupy. The interrogative pronoun as such wholly replaces an NP, and it is not possible to join modifiers like adjectives or relative clauses to D’, compare (47).

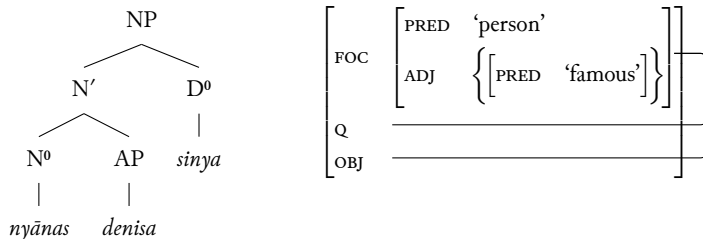
- (47) a. \**Ang pengalye sinyās denisa?*  
           ang=pengal=ye.Ø sinyā-as denisa  
           AT= meet=3SG.F.TOP who-P famous  
           ‘\*Whom famous did she meet?’
- b. \**Ang sarava siyan veno?*  
           ang=sara=va.Ø siyan veno  
           A= go=2.TOP where beautiful  
           ‘\*Where beautiful did you go?’

$\text{ḥ}22$  *sinya*’s ability to take a nominal complement may come into play instead, however. This analysis is illustrated by (48).<sup>7</sup> The interrogative pronoun asking for quantity,  $\text{ḥ}22\text{ḥ}22$  *sikan* ‘how much, how many’, likewise acts like a nominal modifier,

<sup>7</sup> I could not find any information about how to analyze *which* and *how* in terms of LFG, so I am assuming here that *which*’s function, as a determiner, is to mark a noun as being questioned about, with the noun as the lexical head and the interrogative pronoun as a determiner. The consulted literature sometimes includes a rule for interrogative pronouns to change the sentence type to *wh-question* or similar. Since I am not using such a feature here, I am simply connecting the focus NP with the Q attribute to mark that the clause is supposed to be a question. The problem then is, however, what to do with the PRONTYPE feature.

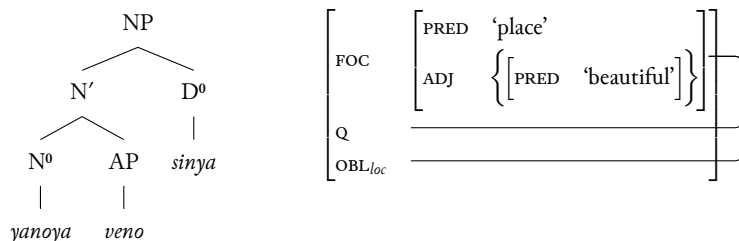
- (48) a. *Ang pengalye nyānas denisa sinyā?*  
 ang=pengal=ye.Ø nyān-as denisa sinyā  
 AT= meet=3SG.F.TOP person-P famous which

‘Which famous person did she meet?’



- b. *Ang sarava yanoya veno sinyā?*  
 ang=sara=va.Ø yano-ya veno sinyā  
 AT= go=2.TOP place-LOC beautiful which

‘Which beautiful place did you go to?’



- (49) *Sabayan keynamang sikan?*  
 saha-yan keynam-ang sikan  
 come-3PL.M people-A how.many

‘How many people came?’

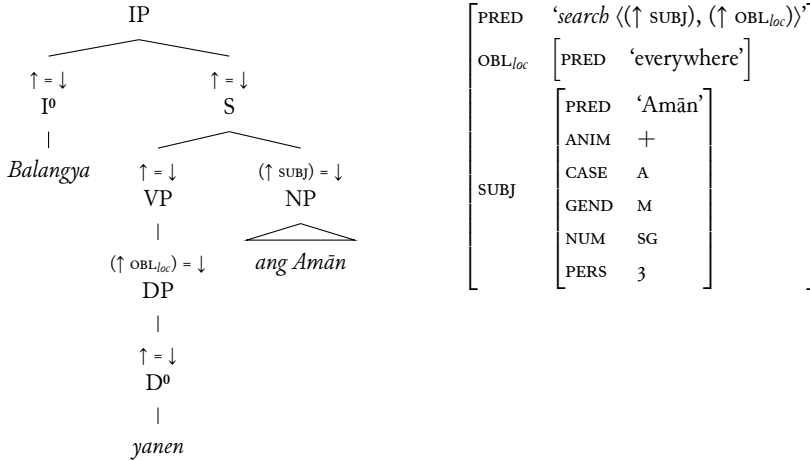
and only ever does—that is, unlike 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *sinyā* it does not have a double role. It may combine with any countable or quantifiable noun, as shown in (49), to query about this noun.

### Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns (Table 4.11) cover a range of both syntactic phrases and semantic roles: they may substitute NPs, but also PPs. They may also form various core arguments (SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ<sub>recip</sub>) as well as various oblique arguments (POSS,

- (50) *Balangya yanen ang Amān.*  
 balang-ya yanen ang=Amān  
 search-3SG.M everywhere A= Amān

‘Amān searched everywhere.’



OBL<sub>loc</sub>, OBL<sub>ins</sub>, OBL<sub>caus</sub>). Those indefinite pronouns substituting PERSON and THING decline while those encoding PLACE, TIME, MANNER, and REASON are invariant. Thus, *enya* ‘everyone/-thing’, *arilinya* ‘somebody/-thing’, and *ranya* ‘nobody/-thing’ can be declined for all cases, while the groups around *yanen* ‘everywhere’ and *tadayen* ‘everytime’ always imply location (= LOC); the group around *arēn* ‘in every way’ implies a manner (= INS), and *yārīl* ‘for some reason’ implies a reason (= CAUS).

Regarding the functional definition of indefinite pronouns, at least Dalrymple (2001) treats them as lexical items proper, that is, she does not transcribe them as  $(\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{‘pro’}$  with additional functional annotations from which the surface form arises, but simply like  $(\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{‘somebody’}$ . Since indefinite pronouns are not composed in a systematic way, I will treat them as lexical items proper here as well. For a discussion of a few regularities in word composition that nonetheless exist, see section 4.2.4 (p. 160). Example (50) attempts to model the c- and f-structure of a sentence containing an indefinite pronoun indicating place, *yanen* ‘everywhere’.

The annotation in example (50) assumes that by its lexical meaning alone, *yanen* ‘everywhere’ is identified as the locative adverbial stated in the verb’s a-

structure (a possible OBJ has been dropped from the example). *མཉམ་ཞུས་པ་* *ang Amān* itself does not mark 3SG.M, but the SUBJ relation receives this information through unification with the respective marking on the verb with which the subject NP proper coheres. The relevant information is implicitly contained in the NP's INDEX feature (Bresnan et al. 2016: 186–192), which is not shown in the example above. Example (51) gives a generalized list of features which indefinite pronouns may encode.

- (51) ... D (↑ PRED) = '...'  
 (↑ ANIM) = ±  
 (↑ CASE) = {A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}

As noted above, only those indefinite pronouns referring to persons or things decline for case, and thus also for animacy with agent and patient antecedents; for other indefinite pronouns, functional information is provided by the lexicon, as described for *uẓ yanen* in (50). Regarding their distribution, indefinite pronouns behave like personal pronouns in that it is not possible for them to be modified by nominal or adjectival adjuncts, at least formally, as illustrated in (52).<sup>8</sup>

Instead, it is necessary to modify the indefinite pronoun with a relative clause as illustrated by (53). Alternatively, it is possible to use a generic noun instead of the indefinite pronoun, like ṛēz *lyna* ‘thing’ instead of ēz *enya* ‘everyone’ and ūz *yano* ‘place’ instead of yāṛ *yāril* ‘somewhere’ in (54).

### Reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronoun *সিঁতা* *sitanya* ‘each other’ refers to two antecedents, but morphologically it is very simple in that, again, it only declines for case, so number

- (52) a. \**Ang vacye*                      *enyaley*                      *leno*.  
           ang=vac=ye.Ø                  enya-ley                  leno  
           AT= like=3SG.F.TOP    everything-P.INAN    blue  
           ‘She likes everything blue.’
- b. \**Ang sarayan*                      *yārīl*                      *agon*.  
           ang=sara=yan.Ø              yārīl                      agon  
           AT= go=3PL.M.TOP    somewhere    foreign  
           ‘They are going somewhere foreign.’

<sup>8</sup> However, *ne leno* ‘blue’ in (52a) may be analyzed as a depictive secondary predicate referring to *enayale* ‘everything’, compare section 6.4.5 (p. 393). The example is marked ungrammatical here since this is not the intended reading.



- (53) a. *Ang vacye enyaley si leno.*  
 ang=vac=ye.Ø enya-ley si leno  
 AT= like=3SG.F.TOP everything-P.INAN REL blue

‘She likes everything that is blue.’

- b. *Ang sarayan yāril si agon.*  
 ang=sara=yan.Ø yāril si agon  
 AT= go=3PL.M.TOP somewhere REL foreign

‘They are going somewhere that is foreign.’

- (54) a. *Ang vacye linyayeley-hen leno.*  
 ang=vac=ye.Ø linya-ye-ley=hen leno  
 AT= like=3SG.F.TOP thing-PL-P.INAN=all blue

‘She likes all blue things.’

- b. *Ang sarayan yanoya agon.*  
 ang=sara=yan.Ø yano-ya agon  
 AT= go=3PL.M.TOP place-LOC foreign

‘They are going to a foreign place.’

and gender do not have to be accounted for. Thus, no problems arise in finding the correct form for antecedents with differing person features. Example (55) shows the functional properties of the reciprocal pronoun.

- (55)  $\text{ṣṭṛ}22$  *sitanya* D (↑ PRED) = ‘pro’  
 (↑ ANIM) = ±  
 (↑ CASE) = {P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}  
 (↑ PRONTYPE) = *recip*

It is notable that  $\text{ṣṭṛ}22$  *sitanya* cannot appear in agent case, since ‘each other’ basically expresses that each entity is acted on by the other in the same way. The reciprocal relationship is captured in the functional annotation by defining PRONTYPE as *recip*. Example (56) illustrates what the AVM for a sentence with a reciprocal pronoun could look like.

In (56), the two coordinated subject NPs do not share the same features for GEND, since  $\text{ṣṭṛ}$  *Kan* is a male name and  $\text{ṣṭṛ}$  *Maha* is a female name; the verb form  $\text{ṣṭṛ}22$  *silvyan* ‘sees’ resolves the conflicting values to masculine. Furthermore, number is resolved to plural from two singular entities being combined. Gender resolution of conjuncts with different gender is discussed in more detail in the next section.

- (56) *Ang silvyan Kan nay Maha sitanyās.*  
 ang=silv-yan Ø= Kan nay Maha sitanya-as  
 AT= see-3PL.M TOP=Kan and Maha each.other-P

‘Kan and Maha see each other.’



### Resolution in third-person pronouns

As alluded to above, it may happen occasionally that a pronominal reference is to third persons of mixed genders. English has no problem here since it does not distinguish gender in plural, so both ‘John’ and ‘Mary’ in (57a) can simply be referred to by the pronoun *them*, which is indifferent to gender (number resolution occurs). Since Ayer’s personal pronouns distinguish gender in the plural as well as in the singular, however, there needs to be a way to deal with groups whose person features cannot easily be unified, which an example is given of in (57b). In addition to this, Ayer has a two-tier system where three genders—masculine, feminine, neuter—are grouped together as animate, which is in opposition to inanimate gender, compare (58).

If the group referred to has already served as the controller of verb agreement, it is to be expected that the person features of whatever the verb agreement indicates is simply carried through the conversation, if the resolution is justifiable. Otherwise, a speaker will have to decide which pronoun to use. In either case, an animacy hierarchy operates in that animate referents outweigh inanimate ones. Mixed animate groups often default to masculine, though not in all cases. The rules which operate are the following:

- (57) a. CONTEXT: John and Mary

*I give them the keys.*

$$\{M, SG\} \cup \{F, SG\} \implies \{\emptyset, PL\}$$

- b. CONTEXT: Ajān and Pila

*Le ilyang tinkayye cam.*

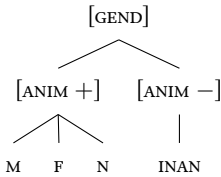
le= il=yang tinkay-ye-Ø cam

PT.INAN=give=ISG.A key-PL-TOP 3PL.M.DAT

'I give them the keys.'

$$\{M, SG\} \cup \{F, SG\} \implies \{M, PL\}$$

- (58)



1. If the conjuncts are of the same grammatical gender, use that. No gender resolution is necessary, since the person features of the conjuncts coincide.

$$M \cup M \implies M$$

$$F \cup F \implies F$$

$$N \cup N \implies N$$

$$INAN \cup INAN \implies INAN$$

2. If a conjunct referring to an animate referent is present, use the masculine form as the default for sexed entities; use neuter otherwise. Resolution to the animate conjunct's gender more generally is also possible.

$$M \cup INAN \implies M$$

$$F \cup INAN \implies M \vee F$$

$$N \cup INAN \implies N$$

3. For resolution of only animate referents, again, use the masculine form as the default. Resolution to the sexed conjunct's gender (M and F versus N) is possible here as well.

$$M \cup F \implies M$$

$$M \cup N \implies M$$

$$F \cup N \implies M \vee F$$

It is possible that the preference for the masculine form as a default is in part motivated by phonology, since /a/ is by far the most common vowel in Ayeri in all positions (section 1.2). Thus, it is also the least marked one, so that pronominal

forms with /a/ are preferred over those with more marked vowels. Corbett (1983) makes an observation on Slovene, Polish, and, to a lesser extent, French that in these languages the first strategy in gender resolution is to resolve towards a semantically justified gender. If this fails, the second strategy is to resolve towards the form which least ambiguously marks plural. Both strategies are described as a general tendency in gender resolution (205). Since there is almost no syncretism in Ayeri's third-person plural pronouns which would render certain forms ambiguous, the second strategy is moot.<sup>9</sup>

While coordinated NPs may be a very obvious case in which resolution occurs, there are even cases where simplex NPs trigger it. This is the case for lexical hybrids, for one. Hybrid nouns are nouns whose outward, morphological form encodes a gender different from the empirically observable gender of the denoted entity—there is a mismatch between form and meaning, grammatical and apparent gender.

Corbett (2006) quotes the Russian word *врач* *vrač* '(woman) doctor', which is masculine at the level of syntax, but can be used to refer to female doctors alike at the level of semantics, hence triggering feminine agreement in more than half of the examined relevant cases (158). Another example is German *mädchen* 'girl', which is syntactically neuter, but semantically feminine.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, French *sentinelle* (quoted by Wechsler 2009 as an example) is a feminine noun, but often refers to a male person. English common nouns do not morphologically distinguish gender, but for instance, *child* may refer to both boys and girls, potentially triggering masculine *he* or feminine *she* rather than the syntactically required neutral *it* in anaphoric recourse.

Ayeri's nouns are mainly distinguished by animacy; masculine and feminine only plays a role for those nouns which refer to beings, such as humans, animals, and gods (compare section 4.1). For GEND there is no cross-categorization as such, however, there is for the ANIM feature. Thus, for instance, ሰብ *subey* 'slave' is listed in the dictionary as inanimate even though it denotes a person. Conversely, ሙከራ *mimān* 'opportunity', ሙላን *myaltan* 'debt', ንጉሳ *natranga* 'temple', ንጉሥ *napakaron* 'acid', and ቅርንጫፍ *piyu* 'grain' are all listed as animate in spite of not referring to beings, but to things, tangible or abstract. It may also be noted that it is a lot easier

<sup>9</sup> ሰብ *teng* is used for both 3PL.F.A and 3PL.INAN.A; ሰብ *tan* is used for both 3PL.F.GEN and 3PL.INAN.GEN. They all unambiguously indicate plural.

<sup>10</sup> The same goes for the German neuter *weib* (compare Fleischer 2012: 165–166), which had been the long-time generic word for 'woman' (Old High German *wib*, Middle High German *wîp*; cognate to English *wife*) before the feminine *frau*, formerly denoting a woman of high social standing (OHG *frouwa*, MHG *vrouwe*), began to dominate in the first half of the 20th century. *Weib* is now derogatory.

to find ‘miscategorized’ semantic inanimates than semantic animates. However, as noted before, Ayeri is rather generous about what it allows to be categorized as animate. Thus, not only beings count as animate, but also things closely associated with living things, such as events, concepts, or activities executed or connected to them; likewise things giving some semblance of life by growing or moving are often animate.

Of nouns referring to living beings of both sexes, there are ႁᅇᅇ *baybi* ‘ruler’, ႁᅇᅇ *dapal* ‘boss, chief, superior’, ႁᅇ *gan* ‘child’, ႁᅇᅇ *lajāy* ‘student’, ႁᅇᅇ *ledan* ‘friend’, and ႁᅇᅇ *sobaya* ‘teacher’, for instance. All of these should be treated as animate neuters, factually, however, agreement is usually semantic in these cases, if justified—compare (59).

- (59) *Yam il-ilya badanang gan<sub>i</sub> ajamley yena<sub>i</sub>.*  
 yam= il~il-ya badan-ang gan-Ø ajam-ley yena  
 DATT=ITER~give-3SG.M father-A child-TOP toy-P.INAN 3SG.F.GEN

*Literally:* ‘The child, the father gives her her toy back.’

The English translation of this example is slightly odd in that ‘child’ is resumed by ‘her’, but in Ayeri ႁᅇ *gan* ‘child’ is permissible as the referent of ႁᅇ *yena* ‘her’. Since ႁᅇ *badan* ‘father’ denotes a male person, it would be odd for the feminine pronoun to be covariant with ႁᅇ *badan*—the only other permissible reading is that ႁᅇ *yena* refers to a non-present feminine third person, the owner of the toy and the recipient not being the same person ( $i \neq j$ ). However, as the indices show, this was not intended here; identity of the recipient and the owner was. There is no obligation for semantic agreement, so it is possible just as well to use ႁᅇ *yona* ‘its’ here. It is also a choice of the speaker to use ႁᅇ *gan* ‘child’ rather than ႁᅇ *lay* ‘girl’ more explicitly.

Besides hybrid nouns, there is also a class of nouns which Corbett (2006) refers to as ‘committee nouns’ after the observation that the English word *committee* may trigger both singular and plural forms in agreement, with American English preferring singular agreement (*the committee has decided*), British English preferring plural agreement (*the committee have decided*), and Australian English allowing both with some preference for singular forms (212–213). Other typical committee nouns in English are *government*, *team*, and *family*. What these all have in common is that syntactically, they are singular forms, but semantically, they refer to a group of people. Examples of committee nouns in Ayeri are ႁᅇᅇ *bayhang* ‘government’, ႁᅇᅇ *batay* ‘police’, ႁᅇᅇ *kadang* ‘committee, coalition’, and ႁᅇᅇ *pandaba* ‘family’. For committee nouns in Ayeri, canonical agreement is singular, since the body denoted by the word as such is taken as the unit of reference.

This is illustrated by (60). The canonical gender of the words is thus also animate neuter.

- (60) *Ang menuyo pandaba pandāpanas yona.*  
 ang=menu-yo pandaha-Ø pandāpan-as yona  
 AT= visit-3SG.N family-TOP relatives-P 3SG.N.GEN

‘The family is visiting its relatives.’

Example (60) displays animate neuter singular agreement on the verb, as well as on the possessive pronoun: both agree syntactically with ጥብሩ *pandaba* ‘family’ as expected. However, Corbett (2006) points out that cross-linguistically, there is a likelihood of semantic agreement to creep in, and that different constituents are differently affected by this, so that he arrives with the gradient described in (61)—the agreement hierarchy.

- (61) Agreement hierarchy (Corbett 2006: 206 ff.):  
 attribute > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun

Corbett (2006) notes on the above chart that for “any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease)” (207). That is, agreement of a target according to the syntactic features of its agreement controller becomes increasingly likely as we go from right to left, whereas agreement according to a controller’s semantic features becomes increasingly likely as we go from left to right. Fleischer (2012) also finds that, at least with regards to agreement triggered by the German lexical hybrid *weib* ‘woman’ as surveyed under a diachronic perspective, the distance between a controller and its target also plays some role in semantic agreement being triggered. This effect is also to be expected in Ayeri, and, according to Corbett (2006)’s agreement hierarchy, especially so for personal pronouns, which we have discussed in this subsection. Thus, (60) might be followed up with the sentence in (62).

- (62) *Tang mino tadayya si girendtang panca.*  
 tang mino taday-ya si girend=tang panca  
 3PL.M.A happy time-LOC REL arrive=3PL.M.A finally

‘They are happy when they finally arrive.’

Here, suddenly, anaphora relating to ጥብሩ *pandaba* ‘family’ before—the subject pronoun ተን *tang* ‘they’ as well as the pronominal suffix of the verb ገጥሞታ *girend*

*girendtang* ‘they arrive’—switch to animate masculine plural; semantic agreement has been triggered, and gender and number resolution thus occur. The pronoun of choice is masculine, since this is the default gender for mixed-gender groups of living beings, and plural, since ስጋ *pandaba* denotes a group of people. However, no statistics for Ayeri have been compiled on this issue to date, and least of all across a variety of literary genres and across different (simulated) historical stages of the language.<sup>11</sup>

### Quantifiers and Intensifiers

As described in section 4.8, Ayeri’s morphemes expressing quantity and degree come in two varieties: free morphemes, such as ጽዕ *sano* ‘both’ or ጭን *ekeng* ‘over-, overly, too’, and clitic morphemes, such as ጭን *-ikan* ‘much, many, very’ or ጽዕ *-nyama* even. In this section, we will first consider nominal quantifiers and then give the morphologically similar intensifiers a closer look.

Nominal quantifiers proper fall under the determiner rubric; they are not adjuncts. If they were, it should be possible for there to be more than one quantifier modifying a noun, as in (63a). Moreover, if quantifiers were adjectives, they would also have to coordinate with them. Example (63b) shows that they do not.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (63) a. * <i>nanga sano diring</i><br><i>nanga sano diring</i><br>house both several<br>‘*several both houses’ | b. * <i>nanga hiro nay sano</i><br><i>nanga hiro nay sano</i><br>house new and both<br>‘*both and new house’ |
|--|--|

Quantifiers can be modified by degree adverbs. However, exceptionally, independent quantifiers happen not to be semantically compatible with intensifiers such as ጭን *ekeng* ‘over-, overly, too’ or ጭን *kagan* ‘excessively, far too’, but they may occur with adverbs like ጭን *yoming* ‘maybe’ or ጭን *nilay* ‘probably’, which express a degree of certainty. The example in (64) illustrates the structural properties of an NP modified by a free quantifier.

An important property of quantifiers in Ayeri which we have to take into account is that nouns modified by quantifiers do not additionally mark plural, since the quantifier adds the PL value to an NP’s NUM feature, as the previous examples indicate. The morpholexical specification for independent quantifiers should thus

<sup>11</sup> Another difficulty in this regard is that all existing texts in Ayeri are translations from English or German, and conceived as more or less carefully crafted written texts. Any statistics on the effect of distance on semantic agreement (if it can at all be found) will thus likely be skewed as compared to the output of native speakers, both written and spoken.

- (64) *nangās biro diring*  
*nanga-as hiro diring*  
 house-P new several

‘several new houses’

OBJ	f:	PRED	‘house’
		ANIM	+
		NUM	PL
		CASE	P
		QUANT	g: [PRED ‘several’]



look like in (65). Since quantifiers manipulate the value of a superordinate f-structure, we invoke the functional uncertainty principle again here.

- (65) ... D (↑ PRED) = ‘...’  
 ((GF ↑) NUM) = PL  
 (GF QUANT ↑)

Besides independent quantifying morphemes, there are also enclitic ones, as described earlier in section 4.8 from a morphological point of view. An example of this pattern is given in (66), using the enclitic quantifier *-ikan* ‘much, many; very’. In order to illustrate modification by an intensifier as mentioned above, *ekeng* ‘too, over-, overly’ has been added. Even though quantifiers are not adjectives, they have been analyzed here as adjuncts of NP, since modifiers of quantifiers are values of QUANT’s ADJ list. That is, if quantifiers were treated as heads of DP with NP as a complement of D⁰, due to D⁰ being a co-head of N⁰, both adjectives pertaining to N⁰ and adverbs pertaining to D⁰ would write into the ADJ list of the f-structure predicated by N⁰, not into separate lists (Bresnan et al. 2016: 106). Thus, in order for DP not to be a co-head of NP, and to have its own modifiers, it must be subordinated to NP. This way, also, the quantifier DP and other modifiers of nouns, like APs, can switch places as required.

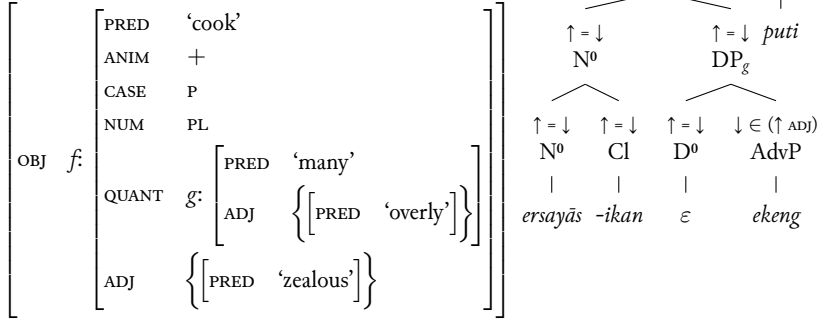
For (66), this means that we need to make sure that *ekeng*, as a part of *g*, does not modify the head of NP, *ersaya* ‘cook’, which is part of *f*, but the head of the DP. This head is an empty node  $\varepsilon$  here whose information content is provided functionally by the clitic *-ikan* on the noun.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, since

<sup>12</sup> Empty nodes are normally omitted from c-structure trees (economy of expression principle, Bresnan et al. 2016: 119–124), but I have included the empty node here nonetheless for illustration.



- (66) *ersayās-ikan ekeng puti*  
 ersaya-as=ikan ekeng puti  
 cook-P=many too zealous

‘too many zealous cooks’



- (68) a. *Ang koronay tas-ikan.*  
 ang=koron=ay.Ø tas=ikan  
 AT= know=1SG.TOP 3PL.M.P=many  
 ‘I know many of them.’
- b. *Yomāra sinyareng-ma?*  
 yoma-ara sinyar-eng=ma  
 exist-3SG.INAN what-A.INAN=enough  
 ‘What is there enough of?’
- c. *Ang ilye Pada enyaley-kay cam sano.*  
 ang=il-ye Ø= Pada enya-ley=kay cam sano  
 A= give-3SG.F TOP=Pada everything-P.INAN=a.little 3PL.M.DAT both  
 ‘Pada gave both of them a little of everything.’
- d. \**Le inttang piyu si-ma ya yomareng bukuno.*  
 le= int=tang piyu-Ø si=ma ya yoma-reng bukuno-Ø  
 P.INAN=buy=3PL.M.A grain-TOP REL=enough LOCT exist=3SG.INAN.A storage-TOP  
*Intended:* ‘They are buying the grain enough of which is in the storage’

case, however, may be modified by a quantifier: *sinā* ‘of which’ + *-ikan* ‘many’ results in *sinā-ikan* ‘many of which’. Alternatively, a resumptive pronoun carrying the quantifier may occur in the relative clause.

Besides nouns, adjectives and adverbs as well may be modified by the likes of *-ikan* ‘much, many; very’ or *-ngas* ‘almost’, only that instead of referring to quantity, the enclitics’ meaning in this context is related to quality or degree, possibly in such a way as to emphasize the head, in which case they become intensifiers. An overview of the correspondences is given in Table 4.30. Besides enclitic quantifiers and intensifiers, there are also independent morphemes which can act this way, like *ikan-ikan* ‘altogether, totally’, or *ipan* ‘extremely’. Carnie (2013) at least treats these all as adverbs in the fashion of (69).

### 6.1.3 Nominal clitics

For nominal clitics, we have already seen how preposed case markers work; some nominal clitics are also described in section 3.2.5 in a way to establish why they are clitics rather than affixes or words. In the following subsections, we will have a closer look at the morphosyntax of each group of clitics which can interact with nouns, and with regards to nouns specifically for those clitics which can interact with more than this one part of speech.

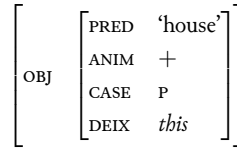
- (69) a. *babisley pray ankyu*  
 bahis-ley pray ankyu  
 day-P.INAN great really  
 ‘a really great day’



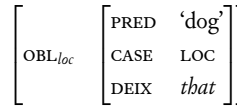
- b. *Nimpyeng para ankyu.*  
 nimp=yeng para ankyu  
 run=3SG.F.A fast really  
 ‘She is running really fast.’



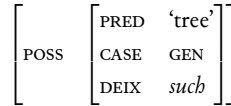
- (70) a. *eda-nangās*  
 eda=nanga-as  
 this=house-P  
 ‘this house’



- b. *ada-veneyya*  
 ada=veney-ya  
 that=dog-LOC  
 ‘at that dog’



- c. *da-mebirena*  
 da=mehir-ena  
 such=tree-GEN  
 ‘of such a tree’



### Demonstrative prefixes

For one, there is the series of demonstrative prefixes—or rather, deictic proclitics:  $\text{eda-}$  ‘this’,  $\text{ada-}$  ‘that’, and  $\text{da-}$  ‘such’. In section 3.2.1 (p. 67), it was reasoned that in Ayeri, to capture all three clitics, a feature  $\text{DEIX}$  with values *this*, *that*, and *such* should be assumed in the place of  $\text{PROX}$ , since  $[\text{PROX} \pm]$  does not apply to  $\text{da-}$ , as (70) illustrates.

The functional annotations of the deictic proclitics are thus, very straightforwardly, given in (71). Demonstrative clitics cannot be combined with pronouns of any kind, only with nouns; the combination of  $\text{da-}$  with a possessive pronoun does not result in the meaning of *\*such my*, *\*such your*, etc., but it derives inde-

pendent possessive pronouns such as *mine*, *yours*, etc. which do not act as mere modifiers of nouns.

- (71) ... Cl ( $\uparrow$  DEIX) = {*this*, *that*, *such*}

#### *Likeness prefix ku-*

There is furthermore a clitic expressing likeness and resemblance, 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *ku-* ‘like (a)’, which precedes common nouns, and which precedes proper nouns if no overt case marker is present and follows them if there is. At least in English this word may constitute a preposition or conjunction. In Ayeri, however, due to being a clitic, it behaves unlike either, which is why it may be treated most easily as a compound expression with the nominal it binds to.

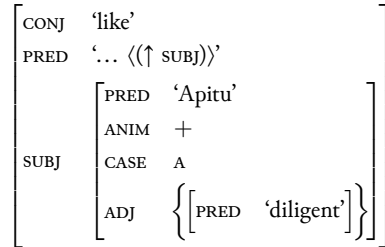
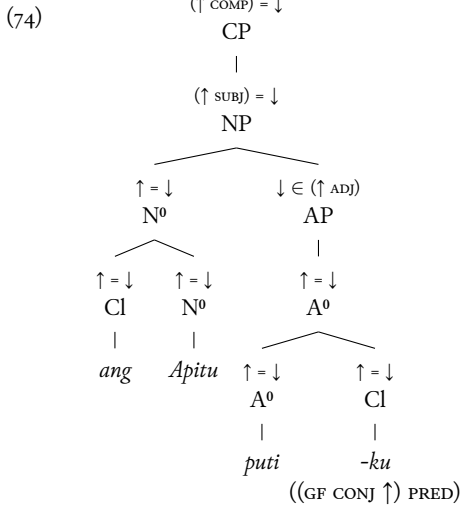
In cases like (72b), if there are adjectives following the noun, the clitic actually follows the whole NP like the *’s* possessive clitic in English, at least from a logical point of view. Phonetically, however, the enclitic leans on the last word in the phrase. Regarding constituency, it is possible to replace all of 𑄢𑄣𑄤 𑄢𑄣𑄤 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *ang Apitu puti* with 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *danyāng* ‘such one’ and to still modify that by 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *ku-*, as illustrated by (73).

#### *Inspecificity prefix mə-*

While demonstrative clitics make NPs more specific in selecting a particular specimen out of a group of entities, the proclitic 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *mə-* does the opposite: it expresses that the speaker refers to any representative of a group entities, not a specific one, as in (75). The functional definition for 𑄢𑄣𑄤 *mə-* should thus look as given in (76): the NP it is added to is neither a definite nor specific reference, the speaker means just any representative of the kind the nominal head specifies.

- (72) a. *ku-ayon* [ PRED ‘as-man’ ]  
       *ku=ayon*  
       *like=man*  
       ‘as a man’
- b. *ang Apitu-ku* [ SUBJ [ PRED ‘like-Apitu’ ] ]  
       *ang=Apitu=ku* [ ANIM + ]  
       *A= Apitu=like* [ CASE A ]  
       ‘like Apitu (does)’

- (73) a. *ang Apitu puti-ku*  
ang=Apitu puti=ku  
A= Apitu diligent=like  
‘like diligent Apitu (does)’
- b. *ku-danyāng puti*  
ku=danya-ang puti  
like=such.one-A diligent  
‘like the diligent one (does)’
- c. *ku-danyāng*  
ku=danya-ang  
like=such.one-A  
‘like such one (does)’



- The inspecificity proclitic *ə: mə-* cannot commonly be combined with pronouns, since personal pronouns as well as demonstrative pronouns have a definite reference; combining the clitic with an indefinite pronoun would be redundant.

With interrogative pronouns it is feasible to use 𐄢 *mə-* as an intensifier, though without the vulgar tone of the English translation given in (78).

- (78) *Amangreng*                      *mə-simin?*  
       *amang=reng*                    *mə=simin*  
       *happen=3SG.INAN.A*    *whichever=how*  
       ‘How the fuck did that happen?’

## 6.2 Adjective and adverb phrases

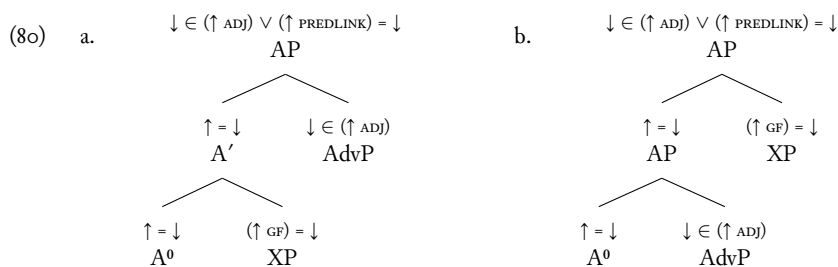
Adjectives and adverbs in Ayeri are largely similar in that they can both be modified by adverbs like *very*, and they both modify heads: adjectives modify nouns, adverbs modify everything else. Carnie (2013) thus urges his readers to think about whether it is sensible to distinguish between the two categories (51), so let us focus in this section on structural similarities and dissimilarities between the two, as well as their distribution as morphemes.

### 6.2.1 Adjective phrases

As described in the previous section, APs usually constitute adjuncts of NPs or certain kinds of DPs (demonstratives, notably), where they describe properties of these nominal elements. Adjectives are likewise commonly found as predicative complements (PREDLINK) in copula clauses, compare section 6.4.1. Possessive pronouns can be used as modifiers as well, though they are probably still better classified as DP heads. The phrase-structure rule in (79) and the c-structure tree in (80) show how an AP is constructed.

- (79) a.  $AP \rightarrow A' \quad AdvP$   
            $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow_{ADJ})$   
       b.  $A' \rightarrow A^0 \quad XP$   
            $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow_{GF}) = \downarrow$

Adjective phrases have an adjective as their lexical head. This head may be extended by modifiers adjoined to  $A'$ ;  $A'$  repeats for the adjunction of multiple modifiers. Since modifiers follow their heads here as well, APs are also a right-branching constituent. Complements of adjectives are subsumed under the label XP in the phrase structure rules, which here stands for NP, DP, and CP. An example of each phrase type modifying an adjective is given in (81) and (82).



Example (81a) gives the f- and c-structures for the adjective phrase to show that ADJ may be recursive: an adjective which serves as one of many modifiers to a noun can itself be modified by adverbs. Likewise, an adjective–adverb combination can be complemented by an NP, as shown in (82a). Especially in (81b) and (82a) we can see Ayer’s propensity for using cases with complements where English would use prepositions. Thus, in (81b), ‘about’ is expressed by putting the nominal complement in the genitive case: the NP complement expresses an oblique theme about which the experiencing subject becomes happy. This, however, should not be conflated with a possessor, poss, but should be labeled separately as an oblique complement, *OBL<sub>theme</sub>*. Similarly, the recipient of the subject’s happiness appears as an NP complement in the (ethical) dative in (82a). Instrumental and causative NP complements instead of PPs may be found as well (compare section 6.4.8, p. 420). Moreover, according to Carnie (2013), quantifiers or intensifiers of adjectives are adverbs, so they should find themselves in ADJ. An example of this is given in (83).

With regards to complements and adjuncts to NP, Carnie (2013) explains, “Since complements are sisters to X and not X’, they cannot stand next to the word *one*. Adjuncts, by definition, can” (182). To target A’ nodes, we need something corresponding to English *so*, which we find in Ayer’s *da-* ‘thus, so, such’. Since adverbs are adjuncts, it is possible to replace the adjective *sadayo* ‘crazy’ in (84a) with *da-* in (84b); the A’ in (84a) being targeted is the sister to AdvP.<sup>13</sup>

Continuing this replacement test for the other example sentences from (81), we can see that the outcomes are ungrammatical; the NPs are dependent on their lexical head, which cannot be omitted or replaced by a pro-form. The idiomatic English translations in (85) somewhat conceal this. The literal translations try to show that the complements are more tightly integrated into the sentence in Ayer

<sup>13</sup> Since in LFG, non-branching X’ nodes are omitted for brevity, c-structure trees do not strictly distinguish between complements and adjuncts (Bresnan et al. 2016: 127, fn. 52); functional annotations provide information about the status of a node instead. The tree in (84), however, keeps those X’ nodes which would otherwise be omitted.

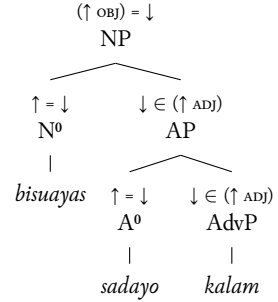


- (81) a. adjective + AdvP adjunct:

*Adareng bisuayas sadayo kalam.*  
 ada-reng bisuay-as sadayo kalam  
 that-A.INAN idea-P crazy truly

‘That is a truly crazy idea.’

OBJ	PRED	‘idea’
	ANIM	+
	CASE	P
	ADJ	$\left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘crazy’} \\ \text{ADJ} \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \text{ ‘truly’} \right] \right\} \right] \right\}$

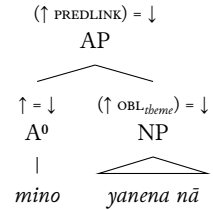


- b. adjective + NP complement:

*Yang mino yanena nā.*  
 yang mino yan-ena nā  
 ISG.A happy son-GEN ISG.GEN

‘I am happy about my son.’

PREDLINK	PRED	‘happy $\langle (\uparrow$ OBL <sub>theme</sub> ) $\rangle$ ’
	OBL <sub>theme</sub>	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘son } \langle (\uparrow$ POSS) $\rangle$ ’} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ GEN} \\ \text{POSS} \text{ [“my”]} \end{array} \right]



than in the idiomatic translations in an attempt to convey how they must seem non-sensical to an Ayeri speaker.

Further complications arise with regards to complementation in that non-clitic quantifiers like *an̄kyu* ‘really’ cause a complement of an adjective to be pushed further to the right. This may be treated as extraposition of the complement, and is possibly due to syntactic weight (Wechsler 2009). Example (86) attempts to illustrate the c-structure for a displaced CP. Following the annotation rules in Bresnan et al. (2016: 107), such an analysis is probably not unproblematic since it is required for the adjoined phrasal node to be either unannotated or not to embody an argument function, while COMP is an argument function. Using lexocentric feature annotation is not possible here, since CPs cannot be marked for case.

As pointed out in section 4.3, Ayeri’s adjectives inflect very little, since there is no agreement morphology. However, there exist morphological means of compar-

- (82) a. adjective + DP complement:

*Yang mino yayam.*  
 yang mino yayam  
 ISG.A happy 3SG.M.DAT

‘I am happy for him.’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PREDLINK} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'happy'} \langle (\uparrow \text{OBL}_{ben}) \rangle' \\ \text{OBL}_{ben} \quad \left[ \text{"him"} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

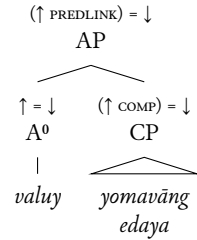


- b. adjective + CP complement:

*Yang valuy, yomavāng edaya.*  
 yang valuy yoma=vāng edaya  
 ISG.A glad exist=2.A here

‘I am glad that you are here.’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PREDLINK} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'glad'} \langle (\uparrow \text{COMP}) \rangle' \\ \text{COMP} \quad \left[ \text{"you are here"} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$



- (83) a. *luyu-mas*  
 luyu=mas  
 strange=kind.of  
 ‘kind of strange’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'strange'} \\ \text{ADJ} \quad \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'kind of'} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

- b. *valuy ipan.*  
 valuy ipan  
 glad extremely  
 ‘extremely glad’

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'glad'} \\ \text{ADJ} \quad \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'extremely'} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

ison or negation. This is reflected in the functional annotations given in (88). The features DEG, DEG-DIM, and NEG appear in brackets here, since they do not apply universally: adjectives normally appear in the positive in both regards, comparison and polarity, and are morphologically unmarked in these cases. DEG-DIM also does not play a role here, since there are only clitics for positive comparison, and negative comparison is achieved by negating the adjective with the regular negative suffix *-oy*. Examples of the different ways an adjective may be morphologically marked and their respective representation as an AVM are given in (89).

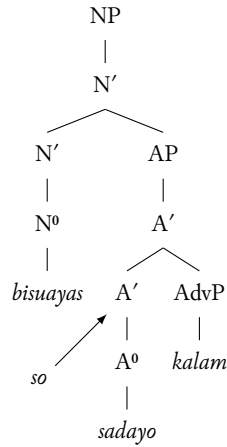
We have already seen above (section 4.3.1) that the morphemes used for synthetic comparison of adjectives are grammaticalized clitics literally meaning ‘rather,

- (84) a. *bisuyas sadayo kalam*  
 bisuay-as sadayo kalam  
 idea-P crazy truly

‘a truly crazy idea’

- b. *Da-kalam bisuayang.*  
 da=kalam bisuay-ang  
 so=truly idea-A

‘The idea is truly so.’



- (85) a. \**Yang da-yanena nā.*  
 yang da=yan-ena nā  
 ISG.A SO=SON-GEN ISG.GEN

‘I am so about my son.’

*Literally:* ‘\*I am my son’s so.’

- b. \**Yang da-yayam.*  
 yang da=yayam  
 ISG.A SO=3SG.M.DAT

‘I am so for him.’

*Literally:* ‘\*I am him so.’

- c. \**Yang da-yomavāng edaya.*  
 Yang da=yoma=vāng edaya  
 ISG.A SO=exist=2.A here

‘\*I am so that you are here.’

more’ (ᄇᆞᆫ -*eng*) and ‘most’ (ᄇᆞᆫ -*vā*) as lexical quantifiers. With adjectives, there is no clear-cut line between their functional and their lexical use. I have analyzed them here as functional, since they may be interpreted as such, depending on context.

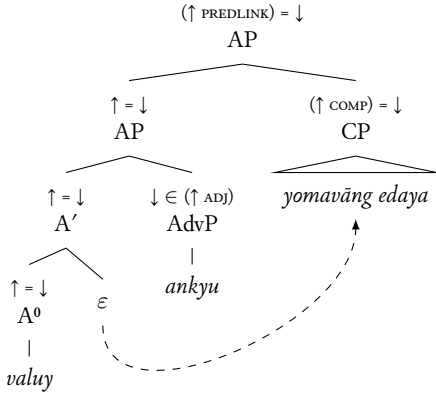
### 6.2.2 Adverb phrases

Adverbs, as (83b) shows, can easily be converted from adjectives. Thus, ᄇᆞᆫ *ipan* ‘extreme’, which is normally an adjective, is used there in an adverbial way, meaning ‘extremely’. The word stays the same, however: ᄇᆞᆫ *ipan*, without a derivative affix

- (86) *Yang valuy — ankyu, [ yomavāng edaya ].*

yang valuy ankyu yoma=vāng edaya  
1SG.A glad really exist=2.A here

‘I am really glad you are here.’



- (87) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PREDLINK} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED} \text{ 'glad' } \langle (\uparrow \text{COMP}) \rangle \\ \text{ADJ} \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED 'really'} \right] \right\} \\ \text{COMP} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PRED 'exist' } \langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow \text{OBL}_{loc}) \rangle \\ \text{SUBJ} \text{ ["you"]} \\ \text{OBL}_{loc} \left[ \text{PRED 'here'} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- (88) ... A  $\begin{array}{ll} (\uparrow \text{PRED}) & = \text{'...'} \\ ((\uparrow \text{DEG})) & = \{ \text{POS, COMP, SUPL} \} \\ ((\uparrow \text{DEG-DIM})) & = \{ \text{equative, negative, positive} \} \\ ((\uparrow \text{NEG})) & = \pm \end{array}$

akin to English *-ly* or French *-ment*. Since adverbs and adjectives are functionally similar, Carnie (2013) poses the question whether adjectives and adverbs should rather be analyzed as being part of the same category. He reasons that

[b]oth Adj and Adv can be modified by the word *very*, and they both have the same basic function in the grammar—to attribute properties to the items they modify. In fact, the only major distinction between them is syntactic: Adjectives appear inside NPs, while adverbs appear elsewhere. (51)

Adjectives and adverbs are in complementary distribution, which, he writes, would normally be taken as evidence that these two things are of the same category.

- (89) a. *nake-vā*  
 nake=vā  
 tall=SUPL  
 ‘tallest’  

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'tall'} \\ \text{DEG} & \text{SUPL} \end{bmatrix}$$
- b. *mingoy*  
 ming-oy  
 capable-NEG  
 ‘incapable’  

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'capable'} \\ \text{NEG} & + \end{bmatrix}$$
- c. *paśisoy-eng*  
 paśisa-oy=eng  
 interesting-NEG=COMP  
 ‘more uninteresting’  

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'interesting'} \\ \text{DEG} & \text{COMP} \\ \text{NEG} & + \end{bmatrix}$$

In fact, the only reason Carnie (2013) adduces for keeping the two categories apart is “because they are familiar to most people”, and he prompts the reader to consider that uniting them in a single supercategory “might provide a better analysis and might be better motivated scientifically” (51). Bresnan et al. (2016: 126) also classify both adjectives and adverbs as heads of AP with reference to Emonds (1988). As described in section 4.6, the only morphology attributive adverbs take in Ayerí is comparison morphology and negation. This is the same as with adjectives indeed, hence the morpholexic specifications in (90) appear equal.

- (90) ...            A            (↑ PRED) = ‘...’  
                                   ( (↑ DEG) = {COMP, SUPL} )  
                                   ( (↑ NEG) = + )

If we look at the phrase structure (91) and the c-structure (92) for adverbs, however, there is a slight difference in that adverbs cannot serve as xCOMP in equative statements; they also can only be modified by other adverbs, and they cannot take complements.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, adjectives are restricted to nominal contexts whereas adverbs may modify any other lexical category: verbs, adjectives, prepositions, as well as other adverbs.

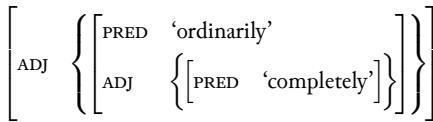
- (91) AdvP → Adv<sup>0</sup> AdvP  
                   ↑ = ↓    ↓ ∈ (↑ ADJ)

Example (93) illustrates various modifiers of adverbs. These modifiers are often quantifying/intensifying adverbs, whether clitic ones or free ones. Since adjectives

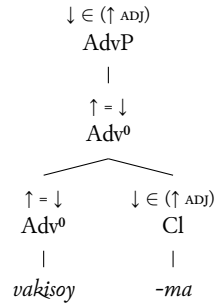
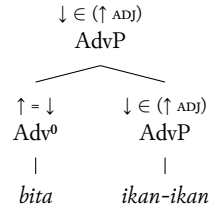
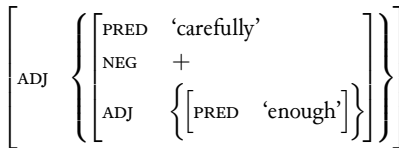
<sup>14</sup> For adjectives, compare (79), (80), and (88) in section 6.2.1.



- (93) a. *bita*      *ikan-ikan*  
*bita*      *ikan.ikan*  
 ordinarily completely  
 ‘completely ordinarily’



- b. *vakisoy*      *-ma*  
*vakisa-oy*      =ma  
 carefully-NEG=enough  
 ‘not carefully enough’



and adverbs are not distinguished by morphology, the heads of both phrases, *vakisa* ‘careful’ and *bita* ‘ordinary, normal’, may be interpreted as adjectives as well, depending on context.

Clitic quantifiers, as in (93b), attach immediately to the head they modify rather than to the last word of the AdvP. It may be assumed that the functional scheme given in (90) also holds for them. Carnie (2013) at least treats all modifiers of adjectives and adverbs as adverbs. Even though these usually refer to the extent of the adjective or adverb, they differ from quantifiers of nouns, which were analyzed above as determiners encoding the QUANT feature rather than being plain adjectives. Quantifiers of adjectives and adverbs are also able to be modified in turn, as illustrated by (76) from Figure 3.2.5 (compare p. 99), which is repeated again here, abbreviated. *ikan* ‘much, many, very’ is modified in this case by *kagan* ‘far too’ to convey the meaning ‘far too many’.

- (94) *keynam -ikan kagan*  
 keynam-Ø =ikan kagan  
 people-TOP=many far.too  
 ‘far too many people’
- (95) a. <sup>1</sup>*keynam-ikan gino kagan*  
 keynam=ikan gino kagan  
 people=many drunk far.too  
 ‘many far too drunk people’  
 Intended: ‘far too many drunk people’
- b. \**tas kagan*  
 tas kagan  
 3PL.M.P far.too  
 ‘\*far too of them’
- c. \**keynam da-kagan*  
 keynam da=kagan  
 people so=far.too  
 ‘\*far too so people’

Besides the parenthetical insertion tests on *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* in Figure 3.2.5, the examples in (95) show that *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* also cannot swap places with other nominal modifiers without a change in meaning (95a), that *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* does not work when the rest of the NP is replaced by an anaphora (95b), and that *ၵၤၤၤ -ikan* cannot be replaced by an anaphora either (95c). It appears that *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* is dependent on *ၵၤၤၤ ikan*, and that *ၵၤၤၤ -ikan* has head-like qualities with regards to modification by *ၵၤၤၤ kagan*.

As (95a) shows, *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* ‘far too’ and, alternatively, *ၵၤၤၤ ekeng* ‘too’ also work with regular adjectives, and it is possible as well to add further adjuncts to the AdvP, for instance, *ၵၤၤၤ patu* ‘surprisingly’ in (96). The AP in this example, *ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ keynam-ikan kagan patu* ‘many surprisingly far too drunk people’, has been interpreted to the effect that both *ၵၤၤၤ kagan* and *ၵၤၤၤ patu* modify *ၵၤၤၤ gino*, rather than *ၵၤၤၤ patu* modifying *ၵၤၤၤ kagan*. Evidence for such an analysis is provided by *ၵၤၤၤ da-patu* ‘surprisingly so’ being grammatical, while *\*ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ ၵၤၤၤ gino da-patu* ‘\*surprisingly so drunk’ not being so. *ၵၤၤၤ patu* thus must be adjoined to A’ rather than an Adv’ projected by *ၵၤၤၤ kagan*.



### 6.3 Prepositional phrases

As described in the section on the morphology of adpositions (section 4.4), Ayeri possesses both prepositions and postpositions, though the former are a lot more common and basic than the latter. Thus, PPs are an exceptional domain in that very limited left-branching is possible insofar as the complement of a postposition precedes its head. The complement of a postposition is, in itself, right-branching again, however. Since the label ‘AP’ for a more general ‘adpositional phrase’ has already been used for ‘adjective phrase’, I will use the common label ‘PP’ to refer to both prepositional and postpositional phrases, with their respective heads referred to as ‘P<sup>0</sup>’. It was mentioned earlier that there is no morphological difference between prepositions and postpositions; head placement is a syntactic issue and the preference of placement is rooted in the lexical entry for each adposition.

LFG categorizes the object of an adposition as an oblique argument  $\text{OBL}_\theta$ , where  $\theta$  stands for the thematic role of the embedded phrase (Dalrymple 2001: 9–10). As we have seen in the previous chapter, adpositions in Ayeri usually allow adpositional objects to be either marked for locative or dative case:



(97) English:



**Locative:** Standard case for adpositional objects, indicates a location (LOCATION).

It usually corresponds to English 'at', 'in'. It is also used for the goal (GOAL) of verbs of motion when they are directed, such as *sara-* 'go', and for the addressee of verbs of speaking like *nara* 'speak'. Thus, limitedly, it may also express 'to'.

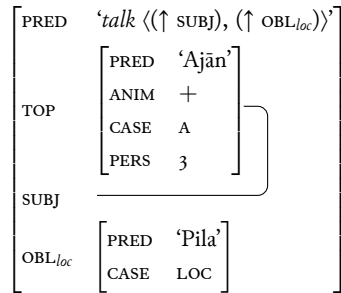
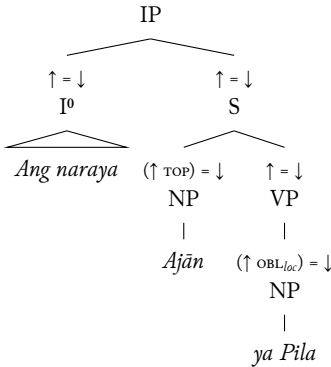
**Dative:** Indicates motion along a path towards the direction the adposition indicates (GOAL, DIRECTION). It usually corresponds to English 'to', 'for'. NPs may be marked with dative case freely to indicate direction without being governed by an adposition.

**Genitive:** Indicates motion along a path from somewhere (SOURCE). NPs may be marked with genitive case freely to indicate direction without being governed by an adposition. Genitive case usually corresponds to English 'from' or 'of' in those cases. Genitive case also marks secondary themes, corresponding to English 'about'.

Where English uses a preposition together with the verb to mark an oblique argument, Ayeri usually uses case. The case for English is illustrated by (97). Ayeri, in contrast to English, often uses an NP complement marked with one of the cases in the list above, compare (98). In the case of *nara-* 'speak, talk', the complement appears in the locative case, but as an NP, not as a PP. Thus, there is no PCASE attribute necessary here, since there is no preposition to indicate the

- (98) *Ang naraya Ajān ya Pila.*  
 ang=nara-ya Ø= Ajān ya= Pila  
 AT= talk-3SG.M TOP=Ajān LOC=Pila

‘Ajān talks to Pila.’



relation of the complement to the verb because case marking accomplishes this function.

Which oblique case the complement appears in is determined by the a-structure of the verb, not by the semantics of the complement (compare section 6.4.6). Since the dative is also used for the BENEFICIARY role, the argument expressing the direction of the talking appears exceptionally in the locative here. In (98) it may seem as though *ya* is a preposition—which is a reasonable assumption about its history. However, it has been established previously that preposed case markers are proclitics (see Figure 3.2.5, p. 75). *ya* is a case marker, not a preposition; ‘at/to Pila’ is thus *ya Pila*, not *\*ya Pila* with additional locative marking on the noun.

In Ayeri, PPs proper may either be locative complements of the verb as in (98) or free locative adverbials, ungoverned by the verb, though the number of verbs taking PP complements is smaller than in English due to case marking, as described above. As mentioned initially, Ayeri possesses prepositions as well as postpositions. With regards to word order typology, we can thus note:

- (99) Order of noun and adposition: Adp N, N Adp

The fact that Ayeri has both prepositions and postpositions is also reflected in the phrase structure rules given in (100). Here, the comma indicates that the two phrases joined by it can occur in either order. Since there are no circumpositions in Ayeri, only ever one site is occupied. XP is used again as a catch-all term for

various phrase types which form complements of semantic adpositions in the form of NPs and DPs, but especially the postposition *pesan* ‘until’ may also have a CP complement, that is, a whole complement clause. The nominal complements are objects governed by the adposition.

- (100) a.  $PP \rightarrow P' \quad AdvP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ)$
- b.  $P' \rightarrow P^0 \quad XP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow, \quad (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow \vee (\uparrow COMP) = \downarrow$

The same as in (100) is spelled out again in c-tree form in (101). Prepositional phrases, if not subcategorized for by the verb, are optional information and thus not governed by the verb; the respective PP is thus part of the set of adjuncts. Some verbs, like *tapy-* ‘put’, may take PP complements headed by an adposition, for instance, in cases like *Mary puts the book* [<sub>PP</sub> [<sub>P</sub> *on*] [<sub>NP</sub> *the pile*]]. The PP *on the pile* is not an adjunct here because *She does so on the pile* makes no sense; the PP must be an argument of the verb in this case, not additional, optional information (again, compare section 6.4.6). Ayeri behaves the same way in this regard. These governed PPs are categorized as  $OBL_\theta$  with  $\theta$  replaced by the proper semantic macrorole (*loc*, *goal*, or *src*).

Regarding functional structure, the difference between preposition and postposition is meaningless, so the morpholexical definitions in (102) do not distinguish formally between pre- and postpositions. As described in Figure 3.2.5 (p. 77)

- (101) a.  $(\uparrow (\downarrow PCASE)) = \downarrow \vee \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ) \vee (\uparrow PREDLINK) = \downarrow$   
 $PP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ)$   
 $P' \quad AdvP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow \vee (\uparrow COMP) = \downarrow$   
 $P^0 \quad , \quad XP$
- b.  $(\uparrow (\downarrow PCASE)) = \downarrow \vee \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ) \vee (\uparrow PREDLINK) = \downarrow$   
 $PP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow \vee (\uparrow COMP) = \downarrow$   
 $PP \quad XP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ)$   
 $P^0 \quad AdvP$

and section 4.4, there is a particle  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *manga* which has been analyzed as a clitic. This particle indicates that an adposition has a directional reading (specifically, into the direction of the preposition) instead of a locational one. The rule on the adpositional object's case in (102a) excludes  $\text{ལྷོ་ཁྱེད་}$  *ling* and  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *avan*, which require special treatment with regards to case marking, as described below.

- (102) a. ... P (↑ PRED) = '... <(↑ OBJ)>'  
 (↑ PCASE) = {OBL<sub>loc</sub>, OBL<sub>goal</sub>, OBL<sub>src</sub>}  
 (↑ PSEM) = *loc*  
 (↑ OBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> LOC
- b.  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *manga* Cl (↑ PSEM) = *dir*  
 (↑ PCASE) = OBL<sub>goal</sub>

German, for one, encodes the difference between locational and directional uses of a group of prepositions as well, but by an alternation in the prepositional object's case between DAT (locational) and ACC (directional). Thus, *auf dem tisch* (on DEF.DAT.M.SG table) means 'on the table', whereas *auf den tisch* (on DEF.ACC.M.SG table) means 'onto the table'. Butt (2005) defines this alternation (albeit for *in* 'in' and *an* 'at') as in (103).

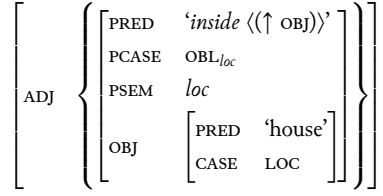
- (103) German (Butt 2005):
- PSEM *dir*  $\Rightarrow$  (↑ OBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> ACC  
 PSEM *loc*  $\Rightarrow$  (↑ OBJ CASE) =<sub>c</sub> DAT

The PSEM feature thus determines the reading of the prepositional object by a requirement that its case be either ACC or DAT, respectively. Since nouns in German always carry case, the PSEM attribute needs to be present in the lexical rules for all prepositions which show the ACC/DAT alternation. In Ayeri, however, the particle  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *manga* alternates with nothing, so the absence of marking *dir* indicates a locational reading *loc* as the default. Different than in German, the presence or absence of directionality marking also does not influence the case of the adpositional object.

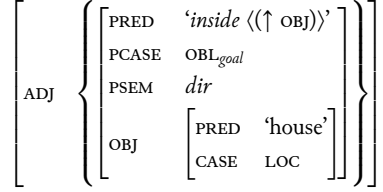
Example (104) illustrates the alternation in annotation between a bare adposition and one modified by  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *manga*:  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *manga* changes the value of the PSEM feature of the f-structure predicated by the adposition to *dir* and the PCASE feature to OBL<sub>goal</sub>, as illustrated in (104b). This is how the difference between locational 'in' and directional 'into' is represented here. The case of the prepositional object is LOC in both versions of the sentence.

With the prepositions  $\text{ལྷོ་ཁྱེད་}$  *ling* 'on top of' and  $\text{མ་གཤིད་}$  *avan* 'at the bottom of' there is another alternation, based on case, for verbs which do not encode direction. This

- (104) a. *kong nangaya*  
 kong nanga-ya  
 inside house-LOC  
 ‘in the house’



- b. *manga kong nangaya*  
 manga kong nanga-ya  
 DIR inside house-LOC  
 ‘into the house’



is rooted in the etymology of these words: *ṛṅ* *ling* as a noun means ‘top’, *ṣṛ* *avan* means ‘ground, bottom’. The directional variants of these prepositions mean ‘to the top, onto’ and ‘to the bottom’. These are essentially telic in that they express the possibility of arriving at the destination specified by the adpositional object. However, Ayeri does not possess separate adpositions to express ‘up’ and ‘down’ as ‘atelic’ concepts, that is, without referring to arriving at a destination.<sup>15</sup> Instead, *ṛṅ* *ling* and *ṣṛ* *avan* double for ‘up’ and ‘down’ with dative complements, respectively, to mark the difference, compare Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1. Note, however, that Ayeri does not possess intransitive adpositions, with the exception of a few verbs where the adposition is a lexicalized part of the expression, for instance, *ṣṛ* *ṣṛ* *tapy-dayrin* ‘save (assets)’, with the fossilized, now defunct preposition *ṣṛ* *ṣṛ* *dayrin* ‘beside, next to’ (modern *ṣṛ* *kayvo*). ‘Up’ and ‘down’ thus refer to their transitive uses as in *up the stairs* and *down the hill*, respectively. (105) provides example sentences for all configurations.

As we can see from these examples, there is an alternation in case similar to the one in German described above. The distinction in Ayeri is not between location and direction, however, but rather between the emphasis on the location or destination as a goal (hence ‘telic’) and the path as a non-goal (hence ‘atelic’). For *ṛṅ* *ling* and *ṣṛ* *avan* we can thus define the lexical rules given in (106). Compared to the rules given for adpositions more generally in (102), there is an additional feature TEL, which may be positive or negative depending on context, and an accompanying rule which determines the case of the complement for ‘atelic’ uses of the preposition. An additional rule is operating for both prepositions which

<sup>15</sup> The chosen terminology is possibly slightly problematic since, strictly speaking, ‘up’ and ‘down’ are also directions rather than locations.

Table 6.1: Case alternations of လိပ် *ling* and အောက် *avan*

	+ LOC	+ DAT
<i>ling</i> ‘top’	on top of	up
<i>manga ling</i> ‘to top’	to the top of	up to
<i>avan</i> ‘bottom’	at the bottom of	down
<i>manga avan</i> ‘to bottom’	to the bottom of	down to

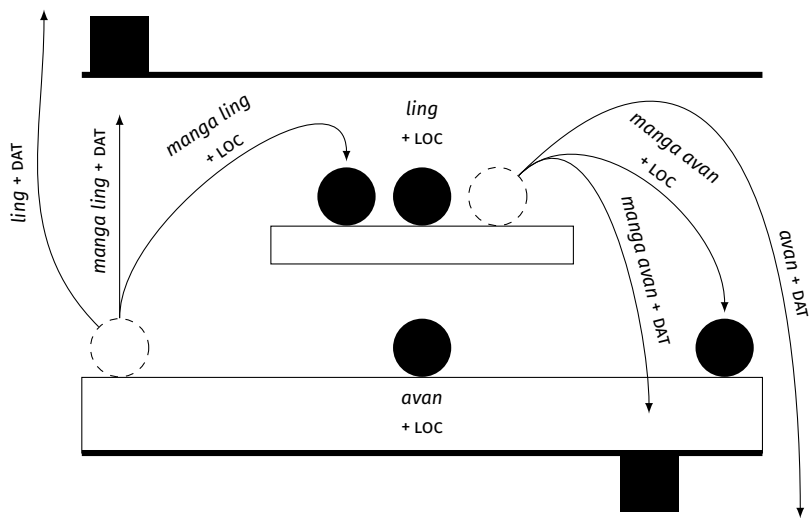


Figure 6.1: Visualization of case alternations of လိပ် *ling* and အောက် *avan*

determines that if the preposition is ‘atelic’, the prepositional object is to be put in the dative case.

English verbs use prepositions heavily, whether they are idiomatic and part of the lexical entry of the word (*clean up*, *give in*, *come on*) or actually meaningful in connecting complements to the verb (*come from*, *look at*, *talk to*). As we have seen above, Ayeri behaves quite the opposite way in mostly using case for marking verbal complements, and having very few verbs with adpositional particles—compare the list in (140) of section 4.4.1 (p. 178). Different from English, Ayeri cannot stack prepositions as in *crawl out from under the table*, *get out from inside the room*. Instead, it uses nouns, which is no surprise as most basic prepositions are derived

- (105) a. *Ang lampyo paray ling nayingya.*  
ang=lamp-yo paray-Ø ling naying-ya  
AT= walk-3SG.N cat-TOP top.of roof-LOC  
‘The cat is walking on the roof’
- b. *Ang puco paray manga ling mehirya.*  
ang=puk-yo paray-Ø manga=ling mehir-ya  
AT= jump-3SG.N cat-TOP DIR= top.of tree-LOC  
‘The cat jumps onto the tree.’
- c. *Ang nimpyan ganye ling turayyam.*  
ang=nimp-yan gan-ye-Ø ling turay-yam  
AT= run-3PL.M child-PL top.of hill-DAT  
‘The children are running up the hill.’
- d. *Ang saraya jarmaya manga ling pelangyam.*  
ang=sara-ya jarmaya-Ø manga=ling pelang-yam  
AT= go-LOC pilgrim-TOP DIR= top.of castle-DAT  
‘The pilgrim goes up to the castle.’
- |  |
|--|
| $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘top of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’} \\ \text{PCASE} \text{ OBL}_{loc} \\ \text{PSEM} \text{ loc} \\ \text{TEL} + \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘roof’} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ LOC} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$    |
| $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘top of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’} \\ \text{PCASE} \text{ OBL}_{goal} \\ \text{PSEM} \text{ dir} \\ \text{TEL} + \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘tree’} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ LOC} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$   |
| $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘top of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’} \\ \text{PCASE} \text{ OBL}_{loc} \\ \text{PSEM} \text{ loc} \\ \text{TEL} - \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘hill’} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$    |
| $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘top of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’} \\ \text{PCASE} \text{ OBL}_{goal} \\ \text{PSEM} \text{ dir} \\ \text{TEL} - \\ \text{OBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ ‘castle’} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ DAT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$ |

- (106) a.  $\text{ṛṅṅ} \text{ ling}$  P  $(\uparrow \text{ PRED}) = \text{‘top of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’}$   
 $(\uparrow \text{ TEL}) = \pm$
- b.  $\text{ṣṛṣ} \text{ avan}$  P  $(\uparrow \text{ PRED}) = \text{‘bottom of } \langle (\uparrow \text{ OBJ}) \rangle \text{’}$   
 $(\uparrow \text{ TEL}) = \pm$
- c.  $(\uparrow \text{ TEL}) = + \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBJ CASE}) =_c \text{ LOC}$   
 $(\uparrow \text{ TEL}) = - \implies (\uparrow \text{ OBJ CASE}) =_c \text{ DAT}$

from nouns (compare Table 4.14, p. 174). A phrase like *out from under* may thus be rendered as in (107). In this particular example, မြို့၌ *agonan* ‘outside’ is homonymous with the preposition မြို့၌ *agonan* ‘outside of’, however, the topic marker at the beginning of the clause shows that there is a corresponding dative NP. Strictly speaking, မြို့၌ *agonan* is not even necessary, since the first NP complement already indicates a motion from somewhere.<sup>16</sup>

- (107) *Yam cacang (agonan) eyranena prihinena.*  
 yam= cat-yang agonan eyran-ena prihin-ena  
 DATT=crawl-3SG.M.A outside-TOP underside-GEN table-GEN

‘He crawls (to the outside) from the underside of the table.’

Like adjectives, adpositions may be modified by adverbs, for instance, for intensification. This means that items from the class of adverbs categorized as quantifiers (section 4.8) are likely to occur. As we have seen previously, the most common such expressions are enclitic, that is, they merge with  $P^0$  rather than be adjuncts at  $P'$ . An analysis of the c- and f-structure of adpositional phrases with adverbial modifiers is shown in (108).

Since with prepositions the adverb comes after the nominal complement as in (108a), there may be potential ambiguity as to constituency, since adjectives and adverbs do not differ in form. One such case is illustrated in (109), where the A-type modifier ခပ် *baras* ‘rough(ly)’ may be interpreted either as an adverb modifying the adpositional phrase or as an adjective modifying the prepositional object. The individual words are copied again to the very bottom of the c-structure trees in (109) to highlight that different syntactic structures may lead to the same outcome on the surface.

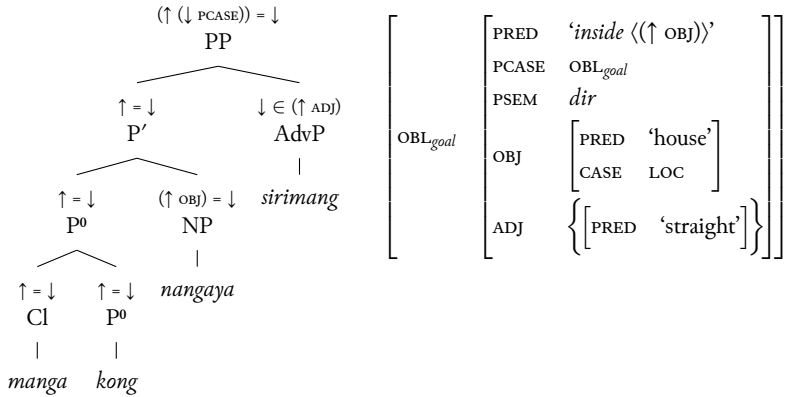
Ambiguity can be resolved in these cases by subordinating the adjective to the noun explicitly with the relativizer *si*, as shown in (110). The relative clause, then, essentially means ‘which is ADJECTIVE’. The fact that it is somewhat hard to come up with an example is probably telling of the likelihood of such ambiguity. In

<sup>16</sup> A grammaticalization process similar to that of *inside of the X* to *inside the X* may be a logical next step. What would be possible moreover is the functionalization of the triad LOC-DAT-GEN to indicate *loc*, *goal*, and *src* also with adpositions in general, either with မာ *manga* grammaticalizing further to solely marking direction, necessitating an obligatory DAT/GEN complement to indicate which way around, or with မာ *manga* becoming zero, since the cases are already enough to mark direction. The way to express the difference between *top/up* and *bottom/down* would have to change for obvious reasons, though မာ *ring* from မာ: *ring-* ‘rise, lift’ and မာ *lesa* from မာ: *lesa-* ‘fall’, or မာ *rota* from မာ: *rot-* ‘heave (up)’ and မာ *kosa* from မာ: *kosa-* ‘drop (down)’ would be good candidates from which to generate new adpositions. Alternatively, မာ *saba* could become an equivalent of မာ *manga* to indicate direction *from* the indicated place.



- (108) a. *Ang nimpya Tapan manga kong nangaya sirimang.*  
 ang=nimp-ya Ø= Tapan manga=kong nangaya sirimang  
 AT= run-3SG.M TOP=Tapan DIR= inside house-LOC straight

‘Tapan is running straight into the house.’



- b. *Ang galamyan panganya pesan-ben.*  
 ang=galam=yan.Ø pangan-ya pesan=hen  
 AT= wait=3PL.M.TOP end-LOC until=all

‘They waited until the very end.’

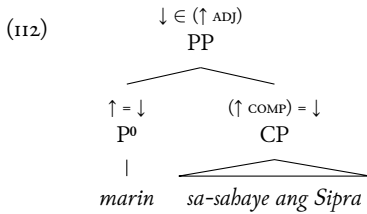


It was mentioned initially that certain adpositions are also able to take clausal complements. This is especially the case for when adpositions are used to describe points in or stretches of time. A list of adpositions which can be used for this purpose is given in Table 4.17. Essentially, a subset of spatial prepositions can be used metaphorically to refer to time, just as in English. Both မအီဂျာ *gamaryang* ‘I manage (it), I get (it) done’ and ဆာဗာယေဇ်နာဗာ *sa-sabaye ang Sipra* ‘Sipra returns’ in (111) are complete sentences; the preposition မာဗ် *marin* ‘in front of, before’

ties them together and indicates the second part's relationship to the first: the embedded clause expresses a future state which serves as the background for the action expressed by the matrix clause. The corresponding constituent structure of the PP is shown in (112).

- (111) *Gamaryang marin sa-sabaye ang Sipra.*  
 gamar=yang marin sa~saha-ye ang=Sipra  
 manage=1SG.A before ITER~come-3SG.F A= Sipra

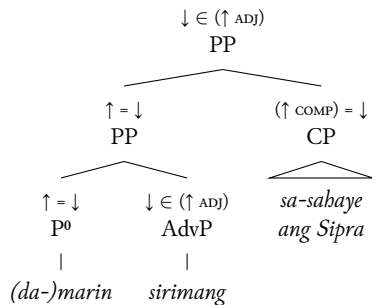
'I'll get it done before Sipra returns.'



In cases like (112), a free adverbial modifier in the fashion of (108) would attach in the adjunct position, following the clausal complement. For the example above, this is not very awkward, because the embedded clause is very short and does not branch too deeply. For cases where the length or depth of the CP does produce an awkward result, however, it is possible to extrapose it with the preposition optionally marked by  $\downarrow$ : *da-* to represent the missing complement, altogether structurally similar to (86). An example of this strategy is given in (113).

- (113) *Gamaryāng (da-)marin sirimang*  
 gamar=yāng da=marin sirimang  
 manage=1SG.A such=before straight  
*sa-sabaye ang Sipra.*  
 sa~saha-ye ang=Sipra  
 ITER~come-3SG.F A= Sipra

'I will do it right before Sipra returns.'



## 6.4 Inflectional and verb phrases

A number of important properties and questions involving verbs have already been touched on in chapter 5 with regards to Ayeri's syntactic alignment. The following sections will elaborate on points raised previously by focusing on aspects of constituent and functional structure of verbal phrase types, both lexical and functional, and of verbs as such.

### 6.4.1 Equative statements

One of the two basic sentence patterns in Ayeri is that of an equative statement in which a property is attributed to a subject in the fashion of (114).

- (114) a. *John is happy.*  
 b. *John is a man.*  
 c. *John is at work.*

While English connects the predicative phrase to the subject with a copula, Ayeri does not possess an overt copula in basic equative statements. Instead, subject and quality are simply juxtaposed, as (115) illustrates.

- (115) a. *Ang Yān mino.*  
           ang=Yān mino  
           A= Yān happy  
           'Yān is happy.'  
 b. *Mino ang Yān.*  
      mino ang=Yān  
      happy A= Yān  
      'Yān is happy.'  
 c. *Ang Yān ayonas.*  
      ang=Yān ayon-as  
      A= Yān man-P  
      'Yān is a man.'

Regarding predicative adjectives, Ayeri permits them to either follow or to precede the subject NP with proper names, as in (115a) and (b), respectively. With common nouns, however, there is a preference for the pattern in (115b) since this makes it unambiguous that the adjective is a predicate rather than attributive of the noun it refers to. Furthermore, Ayeri marks predicative NPs with the patient case as a further quirk, as shown in (115c). It needs to be pointed out here as

well that existential statements in more formal language use the existential verb *ŋa*: *yoma*- ‘be (in a place), exist’ instead of juxtaposition with locations, as in (116). We will have a closer look at existential statements in section 6.4.4.

- (116) *Ang yomayan ganye kardangya.*  
 ang=yoma-yan gan-ye-Ø kardang-ya  
 AT= be-3PL.M child-PL-TOP school-LOC  
 ‘The children are at school.’

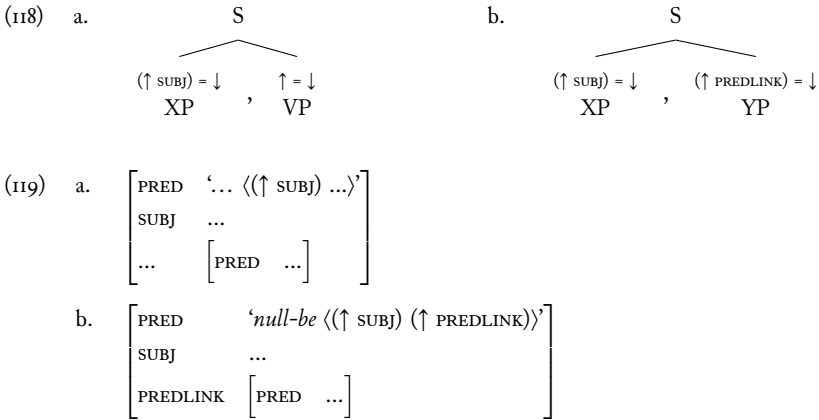
How can we formalize the phrase structure and the functional structure of equative statements in Ayeri, though, especially since there is no overt copula, but the juxtaposition of two phrases creates a predication relationship? I will follow Attia (2008) in this, who rejects the analysis of predicative complements as XCOMP, as described, among others, by Bresnan et al. (2016) in favor of treating them as closed complements of the PREDLINK type (Butt et al. 1999: 70). He maintains that

the closed complement analysis is the default syntactic representation for all languages. The presence vs. absence of a copula, presence vs. absence of agreement features on the predicate are all paradigmatic alternations that do not affect the syntactic function. (Attia 2008: 105)

Relatedly, he claims that the “presence or absence of a copula is a parameter of variation. The copula itself is considered semantically redundant” (107). For him, whether there is an overt copula morpheme or not is secondary to capturing its function, which is present either way. He also attempts to keep f-structure free from artifacts of morphological variation to create a generalized way of describing copula clauses independent of how individual languages deal with them. Attia (2008), in reference to Dalrymple et al. (2004), describes the structure of a copula clause with a zero-copula essentially in the following way (adapted for Ayeri):

$$(117) \quad S \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{XP} \quad \text{VP} \\ (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \end{array} \vee \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \varepsilon \quad \text{YP} \\ ((\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'null-be } \langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) (\uparrow \text{PREDLINK}) \rangle) \quad (\uparrow \text{PREDLINK}) = \downarrow \end{array} \right\}$$

This equation describes that if no VP is specified, a PRED is introduced into the phrase structure as an empty node which subcategorizes for the required functions, since Attia (2008) argues that whether a nominal takes a PREDLINK is not determined by its lexical entry, but is a constraint on phrase structure (103). XP may be an NP or a DP here, and YP may be an NP, DP, AP, CP, and colloquially a PP; *null-be* is basically a dummy since we still need a label for what assigns PRED in order to establish coherence of the arguments in the clause. XP may stand on



either side. The phrase structure rule in (117) results in the c-structures in (118) and corresponds to the f-structure in (119).

The phrase structure equation in (117) indicates that there is an empty node  $\varepsilon$ , however, since LFG avoids empty nodes in c-structure graphs, I have not included it in (118). As previously, there is a list of examples of each type of complement in a copula clause in (120).

Another question related to copula clauses is how to treat adverbs, since there is no VP to attach them to. Since Attia (2008) writes that according to linguistic literature, the semantic redundancy of the copula is an agreed-upon fact, one might prefer to treat adverbs as part of the predication, that is, as an ADJ within PREDLINK. This is illustrated by (121).

It is also possible for the emphatic particles  $\text{ṣā} \text{ māy}$  and  $\text{ṣā} \text{ voy}$  to occur in this context. As described in section 4.6.1 (p. 218 f.), they are used after verbs like adverbs, and may also appear between the two parts of a copula clause. This means that we will have to test whether they are copulaic elements in this context or whether they are adverbial modifiers of predicative nominals in a slightly odd position—modifiers normally follow heads in Ayeri, as a general rule. The former assumption would need us to modify the phrase structure equation in (117) to account for an optional copula element. Since this is a question of constituency, testing word order and replaceability by a pro-form should clarify these matters. First, let us test a sentence without an emphatic particle (122). Ayeri permits the subject and the predicate of a simple copula clause to be reversed, for instance, for contrastive focus, as in (122b). The predicate can also be replaced by a pro-form, which is illustrated by  $\text{ṣā} \text{ da-cuyam}$  ‘indeed so’ in (122c).

Let us now introduce  $\text{ṣā} \text{ māy}$  as a positive emphatic particle in (123). It appears

- (120) a. NP with AP complement:

*Mabo parayang.*

mabo paray-ang

hungry cat-A

‘The cat is hungry.’

PRED	‘null-be <(<↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK)>’				
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘hungry’</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘hungry’		
PRED	‘hungry’				
SUBJ	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘cat’</td></tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>A</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘cat’	CASE	A
PRED	‘cat’				
CASE	A				

- b. NP with NP complement:

*Ang Ijān petāyās.*

ang=Ijān petāya-as

A= Ijān idiot-P

‘Ijān is an idiot.’

PRED	‘null-be <(<↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK)>’				
SUBJ	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘Ijān’</td></tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>A</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘Ijān’	CASE	A
PRED	‘Ijān’				
CASE	A				
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘idiot’</td></tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>P</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘idiot’	CASE	P
PRED	‘idiot’				
CASE	P				

- c. DP with DP complement:

*Yang sitang-yās.*

yang sitang-yās

1SG.A self=1SG.P

‘I am myself.’

PRED	‘null-be (<(<↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK)>)’	
SUBJ	<table> <tr> <td>“I”</td> </tr> </table>	“I”
“I”		
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>“myself”</td> </tr> </table>	“myself”
“myself”		

- d. NP with CP complement:

*Prantanreng, sabatang?*

prantan-reng saha=tang

question-A.INAN come=3PL.M.A

‘The question is, will they come?’

PRED	<i>'null-be &lt;&lt;(↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK)&gt;&gt;'</i>				
SUBJ	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td><i>'question'</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>A</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	<i>'question'</i>	CASE	A
PRED	<i>'question'</i>				
CASE	A				
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td><i>'come &lt;&lt;(↑ SUBJ)&gt;&gt;'</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>SUBJ</td> <td><i>"they"</i></td> </tr> </table>	PRED	<i>'come &lt;&lt;(↑ SUBJ)&gt;&gt;'</i>	SUBJ	<i>"they"</i>
PRED	<i>'come &lt;&lt;(↑ SUBJ)&gt;&gt;'</i>				
SUBJ	<i>"they"</i>				

- e. DP with PP complement:

*Yāng rangya.*

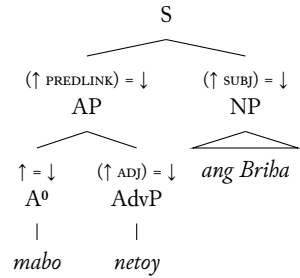
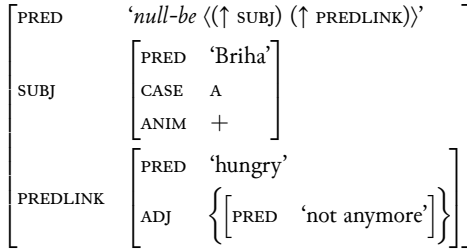
yāng rang-ya

3SG.M.A home-LOC

‘He’s at home.’

PRED	<i>'null-be &lt;(&lt;↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK)&gt;'</i>				
SUBJ	<i>["he"]</i>				
PREDLINK	<i>[</i> <table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td><i>'home'</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>LOC</td> </tr> </table> <i>]</i>	PRED	<i>'home'</i>	CASE	LOC
PRED	<i>'home'</i>				
CASE	LOC				

- (121) *Mabo netoy ang Briha.*  
 mabo netoy ang=Briha  
 hungry not.anymore A= Briha  
 ‘Briha is not hungry anymore.’



- (122) a. *Ang Apan nimpayās ban.*  
 ang=Apan nimpaya-as ban  
 A= Apan runner-P good  
 ‘Apan is a good runner.’  
 b. *Nimpayās ban ang Apan.*  
 ‘A good runner Apan is.’  
 c. *Da-cuyam ang Apan.*  
 da=cuyam ang=Apan  
 so=indeed A= Apan  
 ‘Indeed Apan is.’

- (123) a. *Ang Apan māy nimpayās ban.*  
 ang=Apan māy nimpaya-as ban  
 A= Apan INT runner-P good  
 ‘Apan is a good runner.’  
 b. \**Nimpayās ban māy ang Apan.*  
 c. *Māy nimpayās ban ang Apan.*  
 ‘A good runner, that Apan is.’  
 or: ‘Yes he is a good runner.’ (countering a claim that he is not)  
 d. *Māy ang Apan nimpayās ban!*  
 ‘What a good runner Apan is!’  
 e. *Da-cuyam ang Apan.*  
 ‘Indeed Apan is.’



that ꠘꠗ *māy* does not fulfill the role of linking subject and predicate, so (123b) is nonsensical. Instead, it may move to the front together with the predicate (123c). It is also possible for it to stand alone at the beginning of a clause, then emphasizing the statement as such, as shown in (123d); its position here is probably not that of a finite verb. The whole phrase ꠘꠗꠘꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗ *māy nimpayās ban* can also be replaced as a unit as illustrated by (123e). All in all, it seems that ꠘꠗ *māy* is basically a discourse particle and as such does not perform the role of a copula, but it seems to be more similar to a clitic in nature, binding to the left edge of a phrase. As previously, we can test its status as a word by trying to place words between it and the word it follows; compare (124).

- (124) \**Ang Apan māy, naratang, nimpayās ban.*  
 ang=Apan māy nara=tang nimpaya-as ban  
 A= Apan INT say=3PL..M.A runner-P good

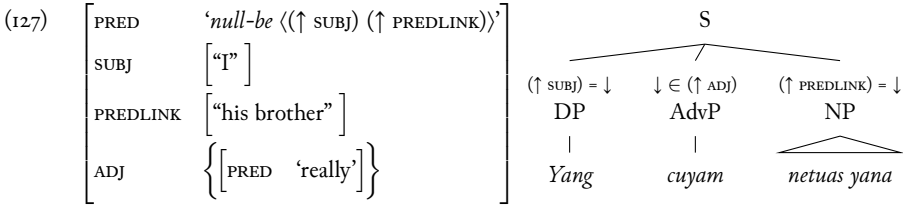
As (124) shows, ꠘꠗ *māy* cannot stand by itself; it has to ‘lean on’ what it is meant to emphasize and thus should be treated as a proclitic in the context of copula clauses. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to its negative counterpart ꠘꠗꠗ *voy*. This also means that no modifications to the phrase structure equation in (117) need to be made.

On the other hand, it is also possible for equative statements to contain an adverb, for instance as in *I really am his brother*. In these contexts, the adverb usually appears between the subject and the predicative NP, as (125) demonstrates. The permutation test in (126), then, attempts to establish whether a certain order of the constituents {*yang*; *cuyam*; *netuas yana*} is ungrammatical.

Example (125b) shows that ꠘꠗꠗꠗꠗ *cuyam* ‘really’ is optional. If it were the head of the predication, with ꠘꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗ *netuas yana* ‘his brother’ being its complement, we would expect this sentence to be ungrammatical. The adverb also does not modify the pronoun ꠘꠗꠗ *yang* ‘I’ in (125c). If it were the predication, it would have to be nominalized as ꠘꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗꠗ *da-cuyam* ‘really so’. The permutation test in (126) reveals that all sequences are licit. Since there does not seem to be a hierarchy between the constituents, I will assume the structure in (127) for the example in (125a).

- (125) a. *Yang cuyam netuas yana.*  
 yang cuyam netu-as yana  
 1SG.A really brother-P 3SG.M.GEN  
 ‘I really am his brother.’  
 b. *Yang netuas yana.*  
 c. \**Yang cuyam.*

- (126) a. *Yang cuyam netuas yana.* (preferred order)  
 b. *Yang netuas yana cuyam.*  
 c. *Cuyam yang netuas yana.*  
 d. *Cuyam netuas yana yang.*  
 e. *Netuas yana yang cuyam.*  
 f. *Netuas yana cuyam yang.*



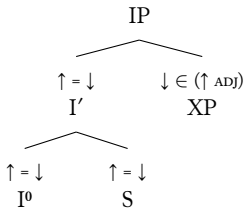
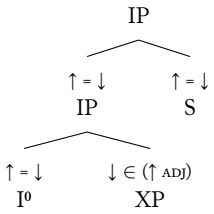
Since copula clauses form a small clause constituent, S may govern more than two elements. Case marking ensures that the different phrases map on their intended grammatical functions.

#### 6.4.2 Inflectional phrases

Copula clauses are probably the most basic kind of sentence possible to form in Ayeri. They do not contain a verb, but form a small clause. As we have seen above, Ayeri is very consistently verb-first apart from these small clauses. We have also seen above (section 5.2) that in Welsh—which is also a VSO language—the pattern for transitive clauses is such that there is an IP which governs the verb as an extended head of VP, and a small clause S which contains the subject and a headless VP which in turn carries the verb’s objects; compare section 6.4.1 for a discussion of S. The phrase structure rules for IPs are listed in (128), the corresponding c-structure is given in (129a), and the general morpholexical rule set for finite verbs is given in (130).

- (128) a.  $IP \rightarrow I' \quad XP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ)$
- b.  $I' \rightarrow I^0 \quad S$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$

In (128a), we can see that the first node branching off IP on the right is an XP which contains an adjunct. That is, I am assuming here that there is no specifier in the IP, following Bresnan et al. (2016: 130) for Welsh. The subject NP is instead

- (129) a. 
- b. 
- (130) ... I (↑ PRED) = '...'  
 (↑ TENSE) = {PRS, NPST, PST, RPST, NFUT, FUT, RFUT}  
 (↑ ASP) = {SIMP, PROG, HAB, ITER}  
 (↑ MOOD) = {IND, IRR, NEG, IMP, HORT}  
 ( (↑ MOD) = {ability, desire, intention, permission, requirement, obligation, continuation}  
  
 (↑ TOP CASE) = {A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}  
 (↑ TOP ANIM) = ±  
  
 ( (↑ SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'  
 (↑ SUBJ ANIM) = ±  
 (↑ SUBJ GEND) = {M, F, N, INAN}  
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = {SG, PL}  
 (↑ SUBJ PERS) = {1, 2, 3}

treated as a daughter of S. As we will see, not only adverb phrases (AdvP), but also adjective phrases (AP), and even noun phrases (NP) may serve as adjuncts of the verb. As discussed previously, Ayeri generally places modifiers right after the head, before complements. This means that here as well, when adjuncts are involved, S actually shifts to the right so that the phrase structure of IPs is maybe better modelled as in (128b) in those cases.

As discussed in section 4.5, verbs can mark a large number of features by means of morphology. Ayeri distinguishes an unmarked present tense from three degrees of past and future tense each (section 4.5.2). Furthermore, it marks a range of grammatical aspects, that is, progressive, habitual, and iterative aspect (section 4.5.3), as well as various moods, namely, irrealis, negative, imperative, and hortative mood (section 4.5.4). Modal particles can also be captured in terms of a functional feature MODALITY (section 4.5.5). Besides this, transitive finite verbs are obligatorily marked for the case and animacy of the clause's topic. Ayeri's system of verb agreement moreover alternates between agreement with full third-person NPs and pronominal clitics. For this reason, the feature (↑ SUBJ PRED) appears in brackets in (130): it is only defined for pronominal clitics (sections 3.2.5, p. 89, and 4.5.1). Absence of tense, mood, and aspect marking specifies that the verb is in



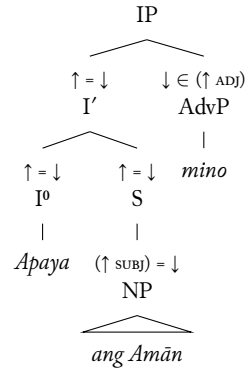
- (132) *Ang pegaya      aguas      runay      si      petigoy nang      tamala.*  
ang=pega-ya    agu-as    runay-Ø    si    petiga-oy=nang    tamala  
AT= steal-3SG.M    chicken-P    fox-TOP    REL    catch-NEG-IPL.A    yesterday

‘The fox we didn’t catch yesterday stole a chicken.’

- (I33) a. Possibly expected:

<sup>2</sup> <i>Apaya</i>	<i>ang Amān mino.</i>
apa-ya	ang=Amān mino
laugh-3SG.M	A= Amān happily

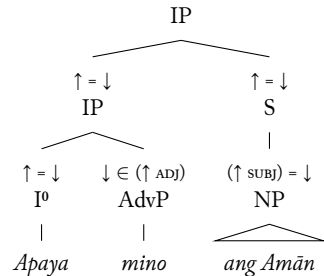
*Intended:* ‘Amān laughs happily.’



- b. Found:

<i>Apaya</i>	<i>mino</i>	<i>ang Amān.</i>
apa-ya	mino	ang=Amān
laugh-3SG.M	happily	A= Amān

*Literally:* ‘Amān happily laughs.’

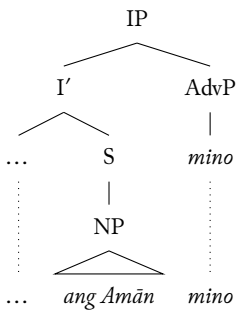


- c.  $\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'laugh' } \langle \langle \uparrow \text{SUBJ} \rangle \rangle \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \text{"Amān"} \right] \\ \text{ADJ} & \left\{ \left[ \text{PRED 'happily'} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$

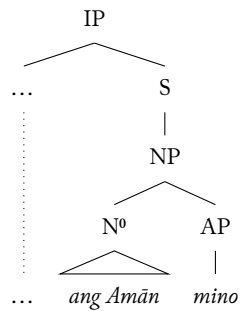
clause modifies the subject, as in (132). Here, the subject, ဂီၤဒုၤနီၤခါၤလၢၤလၢၤ *runay si petigoyyang tamala* follows the object ခါၤလၢၤ *aguas*.

As previously mentioned, the adverb ‘usurps’ the structural position of the verb’s complement in order to avoid ambiguity in its modification relationship: in (133a) it would be absolutely possible as well for the adverb to be interpreted as an adjective modifying  $\text{amān}$  *ang Amān*, since adverbs and adjectives are not strictly distinguished by means of morphology, as (134) illustrates. Due to LFG’s functional approach, however, both c-structures in (133ab) map to the f-structure shown in (133c) regardless of their individual constituent order. Whatever the actual c-

(134) a. ?

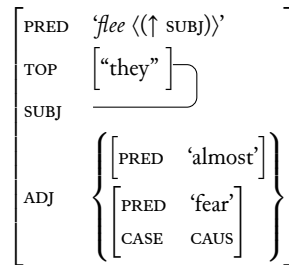
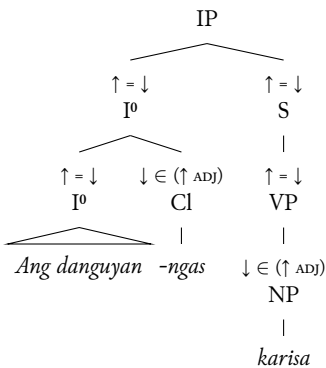


b.



- (135) a. *Ang danguyan-ngas karisa.*  
ang=dangu=yan.Ø=ngas kar-isa  
AT= flee=3PL.M.TOP=almost fear-CAUS  
‘They almost fled out of fear.’

b.



structure realization looks like, coherence is thought to be created by unifying semantic information provided by the individual words at f-structure level.

Quantifier suffixes work with verbs as well, except that they have a grading or intensifying meaning in this context, compare Table 4.30 (p. 236). An example is given in (135a). The suffix is an enclitic with an adverbial meaning here. It thus feeds into the ADJ function at clause level in the way regular adverbs do (135b).

### Topic marking

A special morphosyntactic property of the IP is that the verb is marked for the clause’s topic by a clitic corresponding to the NP’s case marker in its clitic form (see section 4.1.3). Topic marking on the verb works in tandem with case marking on the marked-for noun phrase, which receives zero-marking for case, compare

(136) a. CONTEXT: Diyas

*Sa no si-silvya ang Tenan*  
 sa=no= si~silv-ya ang=Tenan  
 PT=want=ITER~see-3SG.M A= Tenan

*Diyas.*

Ø= Diyas

TOP=Diyas

'Diyas, Tenan wants to see her again.'

PRED	'see <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ OBJ))>'							
MOD	<i>desire</i>							
ASP	ITER							
TOP	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td>'Diyas'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td> <td>+</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>P</td> </tr> </table>		PRED	'Diyas'	ANIM	+	CASE	P
PRED	'Diyas'							
ANIM	+							
CASE	P							
SUBJ	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td>'Tenan'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td> <td>+</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>A</td> </tr> </table>		PRED	'Tenan'	ANIM	+	CASE	A
PRED	'Tenan'							
ANIM	+							
CASE	A							
OBJ								

b. CONTEXT: you

*Ang ming prantongva tas.*  
 ang=ming=prant-ong=va.Ø tas  
 AT= can= ask-IRR=2.TOP 3PL.M.P

'You could ask them.'

PRED	'ask ((↑ SUBJ) (↑ OBJ))'							
MOD	<i>possibility</i>							
MOOD	IRR							
TOP	<table> <tr> <td colspan="2">"you"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td> <td>+</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>P</td> </tr> </table>		"you"		ANIM	+	CASE	P
"you"								
ANIM	+							
CASE	P							
SUBJ	<hr/>							
OBJ	<table> <tr> <td colspan="2">"them"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ANIM</td> <td>+</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td> <td>P</td> </tr> </table>		"them"		ANIM	+	CASE	P
"them"								
ANIM	+							
CASE	P							

(136).<sup>17</sup> Personal pronouns occur in an undeclined base form if topicalized (see section 4.2.1). Morphological topic marking is limited to finite verbs of clauses containing more than one NP. Thus, even though the verb in (135a) is only specified for one argument (A), topic can be marked. This is because the causative NP, even though it is no required argument of the verb, but simply an adjunct, is eligible for topic marking as well. Another limitation to topic marking is that a matrix verb cannot topic-mark arguments of a subordinate verb if the subordinate verb occurs in the VP complement after the subject NP. Raising is required to make an embedded argument part of the matrix verb's argument structure. However, as described in section 5.5.6, only to-subject raising is permitted in Ayeri.

<sup>17</sup> Topic marking on the verb is essentially "displaced information" (Corbett 2006: 20), since the morphological category encoded by topic marking—case—is not a category of the verb, so one may want to treat it as a kind of agreement relationship where the verb agrees in case with the topicalized NP. Thus, on morphological grounds, the topicalized NP is a controller and the verb is its agreement target. On the other hand, it is the verb which assigns syntactic roles and thus governs the functional relationships between the various phrases in a clause, so at the level of syntax, the topicalized NP should be the target while the verb is a controller.

Functionally, the topic marker— $\text{sa}$  in (136a),  $\text{ang}$  in (136b)—provides information about the case of the topicalized NP and thus signals which argument of the verb is the topic as shown in (137a). Unmarkedness for case of a nominal head correspondingly identifies the NP/DP as the clause's topic, which the rule in (137b) tries to capture.

- (137) a. ... Cl  $(\uparrow \text{ TOP CASE}) = \{A, P, \text{DAT}, \text{GEN}, \text{LOC}, \text{INS}, \text{CAUS}\}$   
 $(\uparrow \text{ TOP ANIM}) = \pm$
- b. ... N/D  $\neg(\downarrow \text{ CASE}) \implies (\uparrow \text{ TOP}) = \downarrow$

According to Bresnan et al. (2016)'s annotations, possessors are realized schematically with the noun's PRED value modified by appending ' $\dots$ -of  $\langle(\uparrow \text{ POSS})\rangle$ '—at least in their English examples (315). I will, however, omit the *-of* and more generally indicate nouns taking a possessor as '*noun*  $\langle(\uparrow \text{ POSS})\rangle$ ' with the embedded NP marked for genitive case. Presumably, we want instrumental complements in Ayeri to work along these lines as well for the reason of structural similarity of the construction, except that the attributive, rather than possessive, relationship of the complement is expressed by a difference in case marking: instrumental instead of genitive. An example is given in (138).

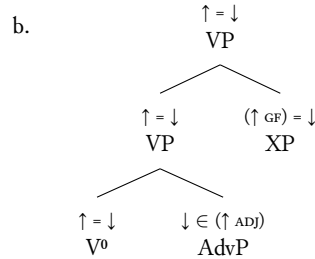
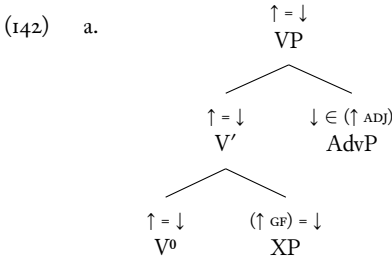
- (138) a. *kegan ayonena*  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'hat } \langle(\uparrow \text{ POSS})\rangle \\ \text{POSS} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'man'} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ GEN} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$   
*kegan ayon-ena*  
*hat man-GEN*  
 'the man's hat'
- b. *kasu bariri*  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'basket } \langle(\uparrow \text{ COMP})\rangle \\ \text{COMP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'meat'} \\ \text{CASE} \text{ INS} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$   
*kasu bari-ri*  
*basket meat-INS*  
 'basket of meat'

NPs with a genitive attribute and with a nominal complement, respectively, have just been discussed individually. Example (139) shows a full sentence with an embedded NP modifying an NP which in turn is an argument of the verb. In (139), the object NP has been topicalized and thus appears as  $\text{veney}$  instead of full  $\text{veneyas}$ . That is, the head of the phrase is marked for topic and identifies the phrase as such. Example (139b) shows that it is no problem either for the topic marker to select an embedded NP which is not part of the a-structure of the verb, but simply an NP within the clause.





- (141) a.  $VP \rightarrow \begin{matrix} V' & XP \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & (\uparrow GF) = \downarrow \end{matrix}$
- b.  $V' \rightarrow \begin{matrix} V^0 & AdvP \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ) \end{matrix}$



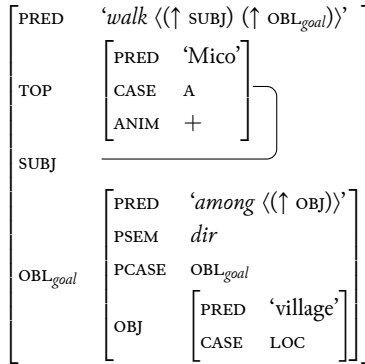
a subject has been raised or in which a subject or object slot is controlled from without. It is also the verb phrase which carries the arguments subcategorized for by the verb apart from the subject in transitive clauses. Here as well, if there is an adverbial modifier in the VP, it follows the head, and  $V^0$ 's complement and other modifiers are shifted to the right/up. The XP in the phrase structure rules in (141) and their c-structure equivalent in (142a) may be formed by an NP, DP, AP, PP, VP, or CP in decreasing order on the functional hierarchy, and in increasing order regarding syntactic weight. The position may also be left unoccupied for intransitive verbs. As before, adjuncts actually follow the verb so that the complement shifts to the right, which is illustrated in (142b).

Since  $V^0$  is a non-finite category in Ayeri, VPs cannot form complete independent sentences, as shown by (143a). Such a sentence would only be acceptable as an elliptical statement, for instance as an answer to *հասնո՞րդ անկա՞ն* *Sahavāng edaya?* 'Where did you go?'. A complete and grammatical statement is given in (143b). The latter example also shows that non-finite verbs may nonetheless be marked for aspect; they can also be negated. However, they do not mark person and topic, and they do not encode a subject by inflection or clitics either. *մեկնա՞նք* *il-ilyam* in (143b) rather receives its subject from the matrix verb, *հասնո՞րդ* *sahayang* 'I went'; the example is thus an instance of subject control. The set in (144) gives the definitions of the semantic features a non-finite verb marks. Subordinate, non-finite verbs are one of the possible complements of finite verbs, so (145) and (146) give general examples of the different complements of a verb. For simplicity, all examples have agent topics where it is relevant, and none are ditransitive or complex transitive.



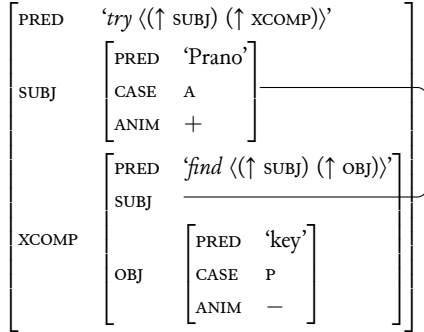
- (146) a. verb + PP complement:

*Ang lampya Mico*  
ang=lamp-ya Ø= Mico  
AT= walk-3SG.M TOP=Mico  
*manga luga minkayya.*  
manga=luga minkay-ya  
DIR= among village-LOC  
‘Mico walks through the village.’



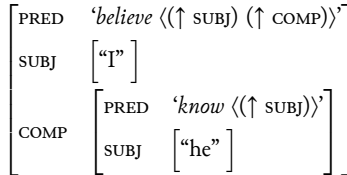
- b. verb + VP complement:

*Linkaya ang Prano sungyam*  
linka-ya ang=Prano sung-yam  
try-3SG.M A= Prano find-PTCP  
*tinkayley.*  
tinkay-ley  
key-P.INAN  
‘Prano tries to find the key.’



- c. verb + CP complement:

*Paronyang, koronyāng.*  
paron=yang koron=yāng  
believe=ISG.A know=3SG.M.A  
‘I believe that he knows (it).’



### Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs in Ayeri differ from English in that there is no dative shift where the recipient is expressed as a prepositional phrase. Like German, for instance, Ayeri uses the dative case to mark recipients. However, different from both English and German, Ayeri puts recipients after themes, irrespective of, for instance, animacy differences between the arguments. Example (147) illustrates such a double-object construction.

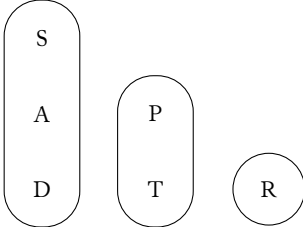
In (147), the object/recipient is *ᐃᐱ Diya*, and the secondary object/theme is *ᐃᐱᐱ koyās*. Functionally, the verb subcategorizes three arguments: a subject, an object, and a secondary object, where the object expresses the recipient and the secondary object expresses the theme, as shown in (148). The graphic in (149) ex-

- (147) a. *Ang ilya Apan koyās yam Diya kardangya.*  
 ang=il-ya Ø= Apan koya-as yam=Diya kardang-ya  
 AT= give-3SG.M TOP=Apan book-P DAT= Diya kardang-ya

‘Apan gives Diya a book at school.’

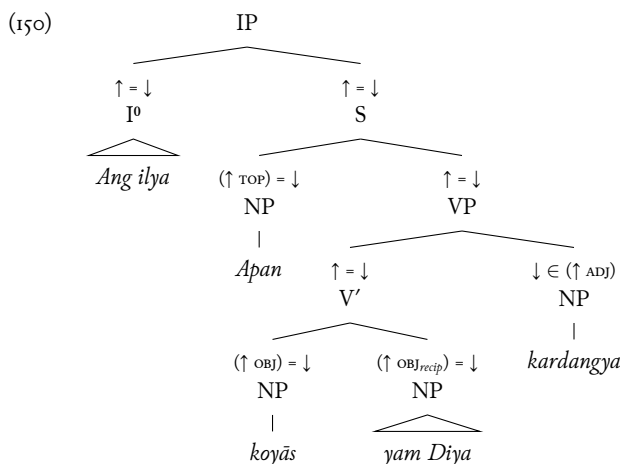
- b. \**Ang ilya Apan yam Diya koyās kardangya.*

- (148) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'give' } \langle (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) (\uparrow \text{OBJ}) (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_{\text{recip}}) \rangle \\ \text{TOP} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'Apan'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{A} \\ \text{ANIM} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'book'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{P} \\ \text{ANIM} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'Diya'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{DAT} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ}_{\text{recip}} \quad \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'school'} \\ \text{CASE} \quad \text{LOC} \end{array} \right] \right\} \\ \text{ADJ} \end{array} \right]$$

- (149) 

tends that in (7a) to show how Ayeri maps case to the complements of ditransitive verbs in relation to transitive verbs: the same case which marks the patients (P) of monotransitive verbs marks the theme (T) of a ditransitive verb (P = T). Furthermore, another case is used to mark the donor (D) of ditransitive verbs, the agent of monotransitive verbs (A), and the subject (S) of intransitive verbs in canonical cases (S = A = D). The recipient (R) receives extra marking. Ayeri is an indirective language, thus.

Essentially, Ayeri follows the same order of NPs as English in the construction where the recipient appears as a prepositional phrase headed by *to*. However, the recipient is not an adjunct—it must be an argument. That is, it is not possible to have multiple recipient NPs (unless one coordinates them with ꞑ *nay* ‘and’), just as it is not possible to have multiple patients with transitive verbs. Furthermore,



it is not possible to link either the theme and the recipient, or the recipient and an adjunct with *ṛ nay* ‘and’—only non-arguments can be coordinated this way (Carnie 2013: 181). Likewise, it is not possible for patient, recipient, and adjuncts like *ṛṇṇ kardangya* ‘at school’ in (147) to randomly switch places with each other. Both the patient and the recipient must be complements of the verb together. The recipient is more readily expendable than the theme, however. Example (150) attempts to chart this proposal as a c-structure tree.

### Control verbs

Control verbs have already been touched on in section 5.5.7 in order to compare Ayeri to Tagalog in terms of syntactic alignment. In this section, I want to elaborate on their structural and functional properties. Since LFG does not assume empty nodes to carry semantic or functional value, there is no PRO element in c-structure trees here. VP complements of control verbs are simply treated as xCOMPs, that is, open complements. These xCOMPs dependent on the superordinate verb for the subject function: control verbs share their semantic subject or object with the semantic subject of a (non-finite) subordinate verb (Bresnan et al. 2016: 289 ff.). Typical S-control verbs in Ayeri are *ṛṇṇ* *epa*- ‘refuse’, *ṛṇṇ* *linka*- ‘try’, *ṛṇṇ* *no*- ‘plan’,<sup>18</sup> *ṛṇṇ* *pebuka*- ‘promise’, *ṛṇṇ* *sara*- ‘go’, and *ṛṇṇ* *vac*- ‘like’,<sup>19</sup> among others. On the other hand, typical O-control verbs are, for instance, *ṛṇṇ* *galam*- ‘expect’, *ṛṇṇ* *ṛṇṇ*:

<sup>18</sup> This is the same stem as the modal particle *ṛṇṇ no*, but as the related content verb.

<sup>19</sup> This verb also exists as a modal particle *ṛṇṇ vaca* with the same meaning.

*kilis-* ‘allow’, *ḥel-* *nel-* ‘help’, *ḥosa-* ‘order’, *ḥ₂z-* *pinya-* ‘ask’, and *ḥ₃z-* *tonis-* ‘convince’. Examples of the c- and f-structure of control verbs in Ayeri are provided in (151).

Topicalization of NPs in subordinate VPs by matrix verbs is not possible in Ayeri if the subordinate verb stands in between the matrix verb and the subordinate verb’s arguments. Thus, the *ḥayngas* ‘roof’ in both (151ab) cannot be the topic of the verb in the respective matrix clauses, *ḥlinkaya* ‘(he) tries’ and *ḥnelye* ‘(she) helps’. Since topicalization does not apply to non-finite verbs, the subordinate verb in both sentences, *ḥsidejam* ‘repairing’, cannot be marked for topic within its own f-structure core either.

Furthermore, the process which places the matrix verb in I⁰ seems to be applicable as well to the subordinate verb if this leads to no doubling of semantic roles in the linear order of constituents in the clause. That is, there must not be two patient arguments after the verb, even if they are part of different f-structures. This means that fronting the verb as possibly a complement of I⁰ in order to be able to topicalize NPs subcategorized by the subordinate verb in (151a) is possible, while it is not in (151b). Example (152) subsequently illustrates the raising of a subordinate verb. The topic particle, as usual, appears as a proclitic before the verb, which here encodes an inanimate patient topic, referring to an argument of the subordinate verb, *ḥayng* ‘roof’. In order to address the TOP function of the matrix verb in this case, we have to use inside-out functional uncertainty and annotate the topicalized NP with ((XCOMP ↑) TOP) = ↓ to signal that TOP is an attribute of the f-structure containing XCOMP. This is an extension to the rules stated in (137a).

### Raising verbs

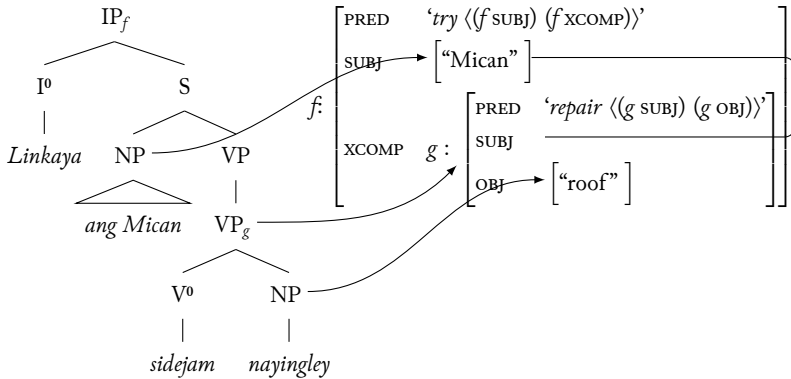
Raising verbs, like control verbs, are verbs which take a VP complement whose subject is shared with the subject or the object of the matrix verb. They as well have already been dealt with briefly in section 5.5.6 with regards to questions of syntactic alignment. In contrast to control verbs, the syntactic subject of the matrix verb is not semantically an argument of it, but of the subordinate verb. The subject of the matrix verb may thus also be a dummy *it* or *there* in English. Ayeri seems to only have *ḥsurp-* ‘seem’ as a raising verb.<sup>20</sup> Instead of using verbal expressions like *happen*, *tend*, and *be likely*, one may rather use adverbials or adverbs like *ḥkra-*

<sup>20</sup> This is likely an artefact of working mostly in English, since *seem* is a very common verb there. Since it is interesting for Ayeri to have only one verb which works this way, apparently, I decided to leave it in for now. Alternatively, it would be a reasonable next step in grammaticalization for the verb to turn into a modal particle, *ḥsurpa*. The dictionary also lists *ḥkra-* ‘tend’

(151) a. Subject control:

*Linkaya ang Mican sidejam nayingley.*  
 linka-ya ang=Mican sideg-yam naying-ley  
 try-3SG.M A= Mican repair-PTCP roof-P.INAN

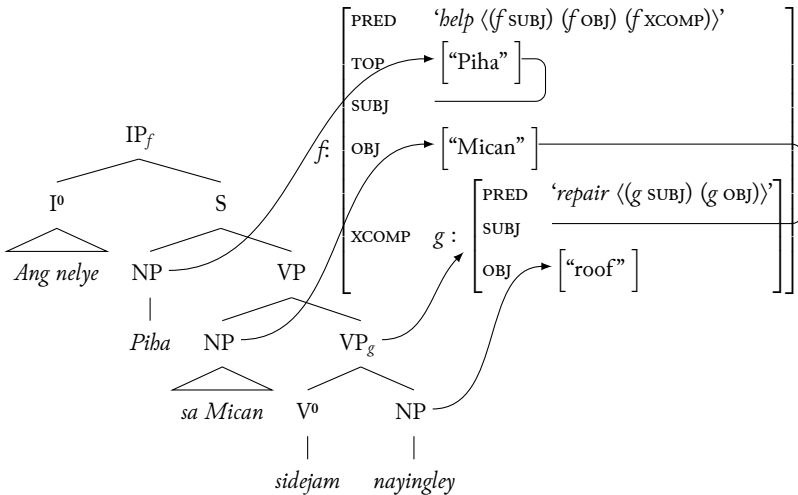
‘Mican tries to repair the roof.’



b. Object control:

*Ang nelye Piha sa Mican sidejam nayingley.*  
 ang=nel-ye Ø= Piha sa=Mican sideg-yam naying-ley  
 AT= help-3SG.F TOP=Piha P= Mican repair-PTCP roof-P.INAN

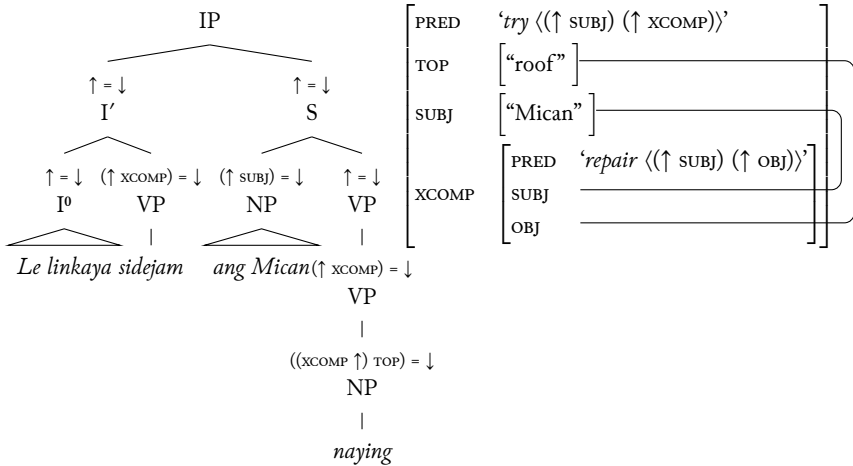
‘Piha helps Mican repair the roof.’





- (152) *Le linkaya sidejam ang Mican naying.*  
 le= linka-ya sideg-yam ang=Mican naying-Ø  
 P.INAN=try-3SG.M repair-PTCP A= Mican roof-TOP

‘The roof, Mican tries to repair it.’



*mamangeri* ‘by coincidence’, *ᄃᄃᄃᄃ krāneri* ‘by tendency’ and *ᄃᄃᄃᄃ nilay* ‘probably’. English has raising verbs like *expect*, *order*, or *want*, which may take an object and a verbal complement, but whose syntactic object is the semantic subject of the subordinate verb. Ayeri, however, lacks the raising-to-object mechanism and instead requires a complement clause.

Superficially, the charts in (153) look more or less identical to those in (151). However, while the a-structure definitions in the matrix verbs’ PRED feature in (151) define their subjects and objects as arguments, the verbs in (153) do not. Instead, (153a) defines only an XCOMP as an argument, and its SUBJ is defined as an athematic subject (Bresnan et al. 2016: 304–308). This is indicated by placing the function label outside of the pointed brackets. The same goes for the OBJ in (153b): here as well, the object is not strictly an argument of the matrix verb. In the accompanying AVMs, the respective athematic functions in *f* are connected to the SUBJ function in *g* in both cases to indicate coherence.

with no further comment, entered on November 22, 2005, and possibly intended to be used as a raising verb meaning ‘have a tendency’ rather than ‘look after, care for’. There is also *ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ramy-* ‘let, let go of’ which was intended as a raising causative verb and which was entered early on as well (May 24, 2006). Ayeri can express causative relationships by case marking, though (see section 6.4.8). If need be, *ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ramy-* can be used with a complement clause instead of a verbal complement.

- (153) a. Raising to subject:

*Surpya ang Ajān valyyam umangley.*  
 surp-ya ang=Ajān valy-yam umang-ley  
 seem-3SG.M A= Ajān enjoy-PTCP beach-P.INAN

‘Ajān seems to enjoy the beach.’



- b. Raising to object:

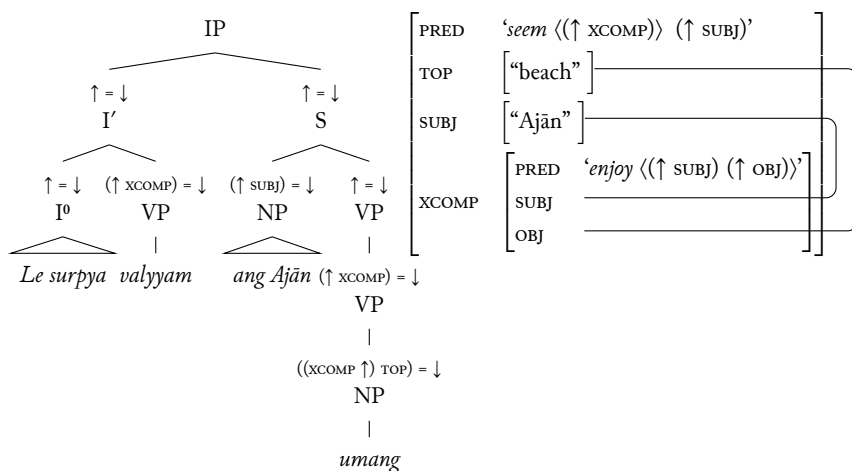
\**Ang paronye Niva sa Ajān valyyam umangley.*  
 ang=paron-ye Ø= Niva sa=Ajān valy-yam umang-ley  
 AT= believe-3SG.F TOP=Niva P= Ajān enjoy-PTCP beach-P.INAN

Intended: ‘Niva believes Ajān to enjoy the beach.’



- (155) *Le surpya vallyam ang Ajān umang.*  
 le= surp-ya valy-yam ang=Ajān umang-ley  
 PT.INAN=seem-3SG.M enjoy-PTCP A= Ajān beach-TOP

‘The beach, Ajān seems to enjoy it.’



The example sentence in (153b) is also marked ungrammatical in contrast to the previous example, (151b). Even though both sentences may be structurally similar in their constituency, their matrix verbs differ in argument structure:

- (154) a. *'help*  $\langle\langle\uparrow$  SUBJ  $\rangle\langle\uparrow$  OBJ  $\rangle\langle\uparrow$  XCOMP  $\rangle\rangle'$   
 b. *'believe*  $\langle\langle\uparrow$  SUBJ  $\rangle\langle\uparrow$  XCOMP  $\rangle\rangle\langle\uparrow$  OBJ  $\rangle'$

While *help* subcategorizes for a thematic object, *believe* does not. Its syntactic object is not actually its semantic object here: the status of *someone* in *believe someone* is different from that in *believe someone to do something*. Apparently, Ayeri is able to unify a thematic object with the subject of a subordinate verb, in spite of discrepancies in case marking between agent and patient. On the other hand, an athematic object cannot be unified with the subject of a subordinate verb. Hence, Ayeri allows  $\text{nel-}$  ‘help’ to be an object-control verb, but it does not allow  $\text{paron-}$  ‘believe’ to be a raising-to-object verb. Note again, however, that even raising-to-subject is only common in Ayeri with  $\text{surp-}$  ‘seem’, so Ayeri more generally seems to have an aversion towards raising. Or, assuming that the difference to English is lexical, Ayeri’s verbs do not allow for athematic functions with the notable exception of  $\text{surp-}$ . Instead of an xCOMP and an athematic function, they subcategorize for a COMP.

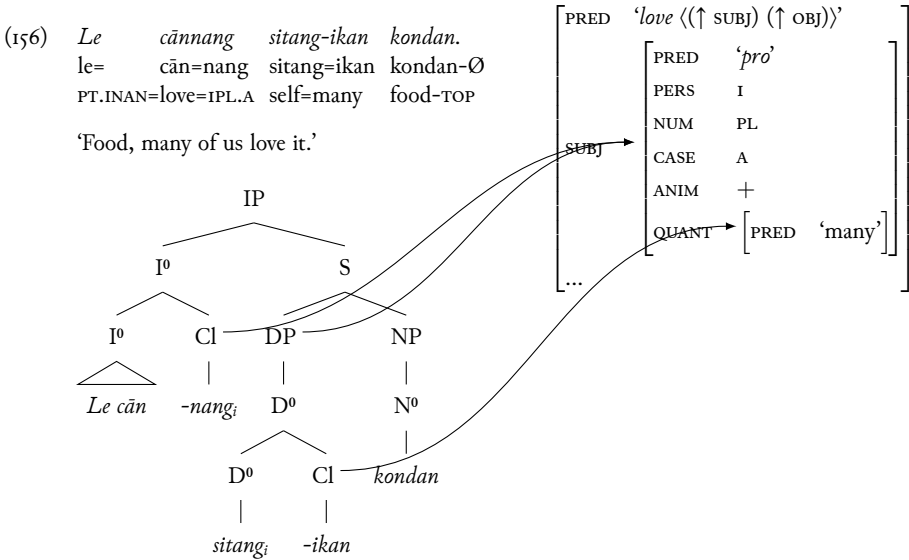
Just as with control verbs, it is possible to front the subordinate verb, effectively generating it as a complement of the matrix verb in I<sup>0</sup> according to the working hypothesis already used for control verbs. This way as well, it is possible to topicalize arguments of the subordinate verb, the condition being that no argument functions are doubled here as well. Again, the subordinate verb and the VP with its dependent NPs both have to be annotated ( $\uparrow$  XCOMP) =  $\downarrow$ , and the topicalized NP has to be marked with ((XCOMP  $\uparrow$ ) TOP) =  $\downarrow$  in accordance with the position of the topic marker as adjoined to the left edge of the matrix verb's f-structure. Again, the subordinate verb is non-finite and thus cannot carry topic marking.

An example of this is given in (155). Here, the VP which would normally carry the subordinate V<sup>0</sup>,  $\text{ṛṅṅuṣ}$  *valyyam* 'enjoying', is headless, just as the VP which would normally contain I<sup>0</sup>,  $\text{ṛṅṅṅ}$  *le surpya* '(he) seems'. The subordinate verb is instead found as a sister node to the matrix verb. However, both verbs' complements are generated in their usual position: the VP complementing the matrix verb is a daughter of the VP sister of the subject NP,  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *ang Ajān*. This VP, in turn, has an NP complement carrying the object of the subordinate verb,  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *umang* 'beach'. The subordinate VP is discontinuous here as well, so both parts are marked XCOMP. The subordinate verb's object is also the topic which the matrix verb is marked for by  $\text{ṅṅ}$  *le*. In order to place the TOP function at the correct f-structure level, inside-out functional uncertainty is used to indicate that  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *umang* feeds into the TOP function of the superior f-structure which specifies XCOMP.

### Expletive *sitang*

It has been mentioned before that  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *sitang* 'self' can also be used as an expletive pronoun in such a way that quantifiers can be attributed to subject pronouns which are realized as pronominal clitics, compare section 4.2.6 and section 5.5.3. The quantifier cannot follow the pronominal clitic directly due to the double function of many quantifiers as intensifiers which modify the verb. Ayeri otherwise uses the demonstratives  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *adanya* 'that one' or  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *danya* '(such) one' as dummy pronouns, but these encode a third-person reference (see section 6.1.2, p. 315). As (156) shows, it is also possible, however, to quantify personal pronouns of persons other than the third. Thus,  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *sitang* is used in this context as a dummy pronoun since ordinarily, it does not encode person, but reflexivity. It is hence neutral to person features while still establishing an anaphoric relationship to its binder. It also gives the clitic something to lean on which is not the verb or an adverb.

In spite of  $\text{ṅṅṅ}$  *sitang* being used as a reflexivizing prefix otherwise, it has not been analyzed as adding [REFL +] to the SUBJ function in (156). This is because



of its use as a dummy here; essentially, it adds no meaning besides establishing an anaphoric relationship which is marked in the example as an index *i*. Since it cannot be declined either, all person features rest in the pronominal clitic, ལྷན་ nang 'we'. Distributed exponence maps both the pronominal clitic's semantic content and that of the subject DP, སྤྱང་འི་ཀན་ sitang-ikan, onto the SUBJ function in the partial f-structure diagram. The only lexical content which the subject DP contains is that of the quantifier clitic, འི་ -ikan 'many'. Since this information is quantifying in nature, it feeds into the QUANT list of the SUBJ function to create a unified meaning of 'many of us' in spite of the parts which create this meaning being scattered over I<sup>0</sup> and the subject DP.

Going by classic, structuralist binding theory, སྤྱང་ sitang should be able to bind the subject clitic because ལྷན་ cānnang as a unit c-commands སྤྱང་འི་ཀན་ sitang-ikan, among others. In terms of LFG's functionally oriented binding theory, both the subject pronoun and སྤྱང་འི་ཀན་ sitang-ikan are part of the same f-structure core created by the predicator ལྷན་ cān- 'love', and the binder f-precedes the bindee. Thus, it is possible to establish an anaphoric relationship between them.

#### 6.4.4 Existential statements

While Ayeri uses a zero copula, there are nonetheless full verbs expressing existence: རྩེ་ yoma- 'be (in a place), exist', as well as the comparison verbs རེ་ kama- 'be as' རྒྱ་ eng- 'be more' and ར་ va- 'be most'. Obviously, the comparison verbs

- (157) a. *Le yomoyreng kanga-ma bibanjyam siku.*  
 le= yoma-oy=reng kanga-Ø=ma biban-ye-yam siku  
 PT.INAN=be-NEG=3SG.INAN.A milk-TOP=enough cake-PL-DAT pan

‘There is not enough milk for pancakes.’

- b. *Le yomareng nārya hemaye-ma.*  
 le= yoma=reng nārya hema-ye-Ø=ma  
 PT.INAN=be=3SG.INAN.A though egg-PL-TOP=enough

‘There are enough eggs, though.’

- (158) a. *Ang yomasaya Mican*  
 ang=yoma-asa-ya Ø= Mican  
 AT= be-HAB-3SG.M TOP=Mican  
*visamyā.*  
 visam-ya  
 capital-LOC

‘Mican is usually in the capital.’

PRED	‘be <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ OBL <sub>loc</sub> )>’				
ASP	HAB				
TOP	“Mican”				
SUBJ					
OBL <sub>loc</sub>	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘capital’</td></tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>LOC</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘capital’	CASE	LOC
PRED	‘capital’				
CASE	LOC				

- b. *Yāng sangalya.*  
 Yāng sangal-ya  
 3SG.M.A room-LOC

‘He’s in the room.’

PRED	‘null-be <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>’				
SUBJ	“he”				
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>‘room’</td></tr> <tr> <td>CASE</td><td>LOC</td></tr> </table>	PRED	‘room’	CASE	LOC
PRED	‘room’				
CASE	LOC				

are related to the enclitic suffixes described in section 4.3.1. By extension, the verb meaning ‘give’, 𐌆𐌵: *il-*, can also be used to mean ‘be less’. Theoretically, there is also 𐌆𐌵: *varya-* ‘be least’,<sup>21</sup> but that has never seen much practical use, and neither has 𐌆𐌵: *il-* in its negative comparative meaning.

In order to express *there is*, Ayeri uses 𐌆𐌵: *yoma-* with a dummy subject pronoun: 𐌆𐌵𐌆𐌵 *yomareng* ‘there is/are’, which is a set expression—literally, ‘it exists’. That is, 𐌆𐌵𐌆𐌵 *yomareng* is even used with plural complements, and can be inflected for the usual morphological features of verbs, as shown in (157), where the verb carries negation. Apart from this, 𐌆𐌵: *yoma-* is usually used with locations, that is, it frequently comes with a locative complement to express that someone or something exists in relation to a place. Less formally, however, a copulaic construction may as well be used for these purposes, compare the examples in (158). The copula-clause strategy comes at the slight disadvantage of not being able to use verb morphology.

An alternative to the comparison strategy by enclitics is to use a verb of com-

<sup>21</sup> From *r- va-* ‘be most’ + 𐌆𐌵𐌆𐌵 *-arya* (categorical negation).

parison as listed initially. Ayeri behaves differently in this from what Stassen (2013) reports on the way ‘exceed comparatives’ work, however. According to him,

Exceed Comparatives have as their characteristic that the standard NP is constructed as the direct object of a transitive verb with the meaning “to exceed” or “to surpass”. Thus, the construction typically includes two predicates, one which is the comparative predicate, and another which is the “exceed”-verb. (Stassen 2013)

Also compare Beermann et al. (2005). What is described by Stassen (2013) has similarities to a serial-verb construction, as shown in (159).

(159) COMPAREE is QUALITY exceeds STANDARD

Ayeri does not possess serial-verb constructions, however. Instead, it superficially appears as though comparative verbs take the quality adjective as a modifier, essentially in the way of an adverb. Nonetheless, the subject forms the comparee, and the object the standard. An example is given in (160). More generally, the structure in Ayeri is as stated in (161).

(160) *Eng engaran                      nake rivanye                      vana danyaley                      nana.*  
 eng=    eng-aran                      nake rivan-ye-Ø                      vana danya-ley                      nana  
 AT.INAN=be.more-3PL.INAN    tall    mountain-PL-TOP    2.GEN    one-P.INAN    IPL.GEN  
 ‘Your mountains are higher than ours.’

(161) exceeds QUALITY COMPAREE STANDARD

The way LFG handles comparison of adjectives in predicative contexts is sketched out in Butt et al. (1999: 122), see (162). As expected, the predicative complement is contained within a PREDLINK function. Comparison morphology is represented through functional annotations, DEG and DEG-DIM, to express *more than* as a positive comparative in this case; *-er than* would receive the same annotation because it is functionally equivalent. The adjective itself is analyzed as subcategorizing for a complement which holds the standard of comparison.

Since the functional analysis of LFG is intended to be as independent of the morphology of individual languages as possible, how can we analyze Ayeri in this regard, especially since the verbs encode DEG and DEG-DIM, and the adjective seems to appear in the place an adverb would normally inhabit? In fact, the AVM in (162) has a certain similarity to those presented for control and raising verbs, compare (151) and (153). In all cases, there is a subordinate predicator subcategorizing for a complement. What if rather than treating the quality in the way of an adverb, Ayeri actually generalized the way subordinate verbs can be fronted, treating the adjective in the way of a verbal complement of I<sup>0</sup>? This hypothesis neatly coincides

(162) English (adapted from Butt et al. 1999: 122):

*It is more comfortable than a tractor.*

PRED	'be <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>'								
SUBJ	["it"]								
PREDLINK	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td><td>'comfortable &lt;((↑ COMP))&gt;'</td></tr> <tr> <td>DEG</td><td>COMP</td></tr> <tr> <td>DEG-DIM</td><td>positive</td></tr> <tr> <td>COMP</td><td>["tractor"]</td></tr> </table>	PRED	'comfortable <((↑ COMP))>'	DEG	COMP	DEG-DIM	positive	COMP	["tractor"]
PRED	'comfortable <((↑ COMP))>'								
DEG	COMP								
DEG-DIM	positive								
COMP	["tractor"]								

- (163) a.  $\text{ḥa:}$  *kama-* I (↑ PRED) = 'be-as <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>  
 (↑ PREDLINK) = ↓  
 (↓ DEG) = POS  
 (↓ DEG-DIM) = *equative*
- b.  $\text{ḥa:}$  *eng-* I (↑ PRED) = 'be-more <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>  
 (↑ PREDLINK) = ↓  
 (↓ DEG) = COMP  
 (↓ DEG-DIM) = *positive*
- c.  $\text{r:}$  *va-* I (↑ PRED) = 'be-most <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>  
 (↑ PREDLINK) = ↓  
 (↓ DEG) = SUPL  
 (↓ DEG-DIM) = *positive*
- d.  $\text{ḥa:}$  *il-* I (↑ PRED) = 'be-less <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>  
 (↑ PREDLINK) = ↓  
 (↓ DEG) = COMP  
 (↓ DEG-DIM) = *negative*
- e.  $\text{r:}$  *varya-* I (↑ PRED) = 'be-least <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))>  
 (↑ PREDLINK) = ↓  
 (↓ DEG) = SUPL  
 (↓ DEG-DIM) = *negative*

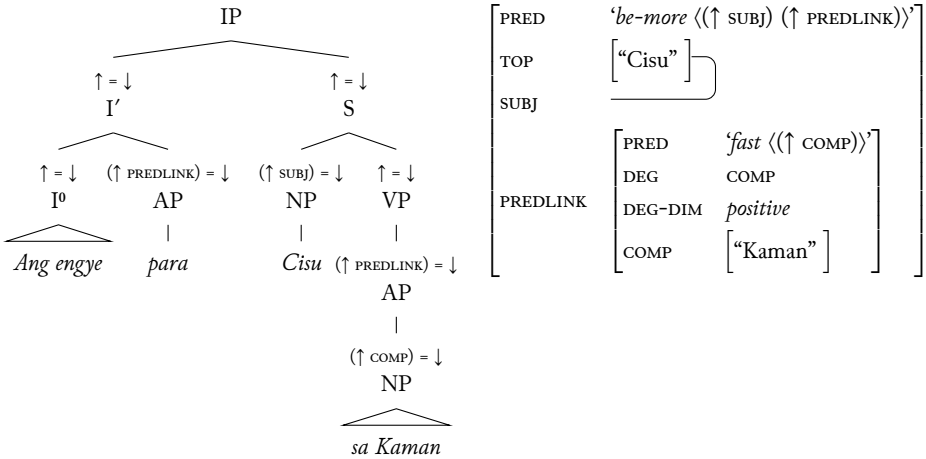
with Ayeri's strategy of fronting subordinate verbs in order to enable topicalization of their dependents by making the embedded NPs look like regular arguments of the matrix clause's verb.

First of all, example (163) gives the morpholexical annotations for all comparative verbs,  $\text{ḥa:}$  *kama-* 'be as',  $\text{ḥa:}$  *eng-* 'be more',  $\text{r:}$  *va-* 'be most',  $\text{ḥa:}$  *il-* 'be less', and  $\text{r:}$  *varya-* 'be least'. Only the definitions extending those in (130) are listed, however. Here, the verb contains information on the comparison status of the predicative complement as well as about its polarity: the table contains all possible permutations for the values of (↑ PREDLINK DEG) and (↑ PREDLINK DEG-DIM).



- (164) *Ang engye para Cisu sa Kaman.*  
 ang=eng-ye para Ø= Cisu sa=Kaman  
 AT= be.more-3SG.F fast TOP=Cisu P= Kaman

‘Cisu is faster than Kaman.’



Following the hypothesis above, the c-structure of a comparative statement in Ayeri should look like in (164). This is purposefully designed in parallel to (152), even though the subject of the comparative verb is not shared by the a-structure of the adjective. As in (152) and (155), the complement of the verb is understood as a discontinuous constituent of the PREDLINK type. The complement of the adjective is generated in its canonical position as a daughter of the AP in S. Alternatively, it should be possible for the A<sup>0</sup> not to be fronted, just as the subordinate verb in (151) and (153) appears as the head of the subordinate VP. However, this leads to ambiguity in that an adjective, then, directly follows a noun, so modification relationships would not be entirely clear. The preferred way is, thus, to generate the adjective as a complement of I<sup>0</sup>.

In order to form clauses of the kind *John is a better doctor than Bill*, with the quality composed of an NP–AP combination, it is necessary to use a relative clause: *John is a doctor who is better than Bill*. Ayeri only allows for A<sup>0</sup> to be fronted if it does not modify a predicative nominal. The sentence in (165a) is thus ungrammatical because the adjective, *ban* 'good', modifies a predicative noun, *karomayās* 'doctor'. Since the adjective itself has a complement, *sa Hiro*, there are two patient arguments following each other, which is not permissible. Example (165b), on the other hand, shows the grammatical solution with the relative clause. Here, the term under comparison, being a *karomayās* 'doctor', is constructed as a

- (165) a. \**Engya*      *ban*      *ang Apican*  
 eng-ya      ban      ang=Apican  
 be.more-3SG.M      good      A= Apican  
  
*karomayās*      *sa Hiro.*  
 karomaya-as      sa=Hiro  
 doctor-P      P= Hiro  
  
*Intended:* ‘Apican is a better doctor than Hiro.’



- b. *Ang Apican*      *karomayās*      *si*  
 ang=Apican      karomaya-as      si  
 A= Apican      doctor-P      REL  
  
*ang engya*      *ban sa Hiro.*  
 ang=eng-ya.Ø      ban      sa=Hiro  
 AT= be.more=3SG.M.TOP      good      P= Hiro  
  
 ‘Apican is a doctor who is better than Hiro.’



copula clause while the comparison in quality between *ang Apican* and *sa Hiro* is moved into the relative clause.

#### 6.4.5 Secondary Predicates

Section 6.4.1 has only dealt with predicative adjectives and nominals over the subject in order to illustrate a very common basic type of statement. There are also secondary predicates, however, which can be subdivided further into depictive and resultative secondary predicates. A depictive secondary predicate, on the one hand, “provides information about the state of the entity it refers to. This state holds at the time of the event described by the verb” (Müller 2002: 173). A resultative secondary predicate, on the other hand, refers to “the result of an event [...] specified by the adjective” (173). This difference is illustrated in (166).

In (166a), *sick* does not describe the manner in which Suzy came to work, but the state in which she did so. Similarly, *unwashed* in (166b) refers to the state of the apple at the time of being eaten rather than the manner in which it is eaten.

- (166) a. *Suzy came to work sick.*  
 b. *Jack eats the apple unwashed.*  
 c. *Bill wipes the table clean.*

It is also possible to interpret the adjective as referring to Jack, but let us assume that, in the context of this statement, it is rather more relevant for the apple to be clean. In contrast to these two examples, *clean* in (166c) does not refer to the state of the subject or the object at the moment of wiping, but the state of the table as a result of being wiped.

Unfortunately, Bresnan et al. (2016: 347), while mentioning resultatives, do not go into detail about an LFG analysis of them, and do not say anything at all about depictives. While they give a few references about LFG-based surveys of resultatives in English, a cursory web search does not bring up papers on depictive predicates in terms of LFG. One has to assume that this topic probably constitutes a desideratum at the time of writing. Dalrymple (2001) does not touch the topic of secondary predication at all, and neither do Butt et al. (1999); Falk (2001) only provides an analysis of resultatives. As far as LFG analyses of resultatives go, Simpson (1983) and Christie (2013) were used to inform the below discussion. Müller (2002) provides analyses of both depictives and resultatives in terms of constraint-based grammar, however, he does so from the point of view of Head-driven Phrase-Structure Grammar (HPSG; Pollard and Sag 1994) and uses only German as his object of study. Nonetheless, his analyses informed the below discussion of depictives.

### Depictives

English examples of depictive adjectives were given in (166ab). Moreover, NPs can also be depictive predicates in English, for instance in *John came out of the exam a nervous wreck*, where *a nervous wreck* describes the state of John as he returns from the exam. According to Müller (2002)'s analysis, "the subject of the depictive secondary predicate is coindexed with an element of the argument structure of the primary predicate" (196). He suggests for HPSG "a lexical rule that recategorizes predicative adjectives and prepositions so that they can modify verbal elements" as a way to "capture the adjunct properties of depictive secondary predicates" (196). I tried to cast this in (167) as an f-structure in which the depictive secondary predicate is an adjunct of the verb. The anaphoric relationship between SUBJ and the adjective is expressed by *i* as an index which marks that they are co-indexed.

In Ayeri, the depictive adjective, whether it refers to the subject or the object,

(167) English:

*Suzy<sub>i</sub> came to work sick<sub>i</sub>.*

PRED	'come' <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ OBL <sub>to</sub> ))>						
TENSE	PST						
SUBJ	[ "Suzy <sub>i</sub> " ]						
OBL <sub>to</sub>	<table> <tr> <td>PRED</td> <td>'to' &lt;((↑ OBJ))&gt;</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PCASE</td> <td>to</td> </tr> <tr> <td>OBJ</td> <td>[ "work" ]</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	'to' <((↑ OBJ))>	PCASE	to	OBJ	[ "work" ]
PRED	'to' <((↑ OBJ))>						
PCASE	to						
OBJ	[ "work" ]						
ADJ	{ [ PRED 'sick <sub>i</sub> ' ] }						

follows the verb. This nicely fits the analysis fashioned after Müller (2002) above, by which the depictive acts as an adjunct of the verb with reference to one of the verb's arguments. Ayeri makes no formal distinction between adjectives and adverbs, but context should clarify under normal circumstances. An example of depictive secondary predicates in Ayeri is given in (168). In (168a), there is only a subject, ᑭᑦ *Gada* 'to be described by the adjective', ᑭᑦ *pisu* 'tired'. In (168b), the adjective, ᑭᑦ *tuvo* 'red' (here in the meaning 'raw') can describe either the subject or the object, but semantically, it makes most sense for it to refer to the object, ᑭᑦ *inun* 'fish'. It may be noted again here that topicalization has no impact on the argument of the verb the secondary predicate refers to (compare section 5.5.5).

As mentioned initially, there is also the possibility of nominal depictives. These are introduced with the proclitic expressing likeness, ᑭᑦ *ku-*. Since secondary complements are adjuncts, they are not subcategorized for by the verb, so the question is which case they should receive—Ayeri, curiously, does not assign case to these NPs.<sup>22</sup> Nominal depictives may appear right after the verb or as adjuncts of the VP if they are heavy. This is illustrated in (169): while the NP ᑭᑦ *ku-sikataya* 'as a winner' follows the verb directly in (169a), the depictive NP ᑭᑦ *ku-arilinya ... kovaro* 'someone ... easily' in (169b) is trailing at the end of the phrase as a result of being modified by a relative clause.

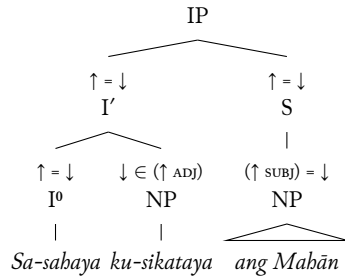
<sup>22</sup> One might be tempted to analyze ᑭᑦ *ku-* as a case marker used for essive and equative functions. NPs marked with ᑭᑦ *ku-* may be regularly case-marked in other contexts, though, and Ayeri does not make use of multiple case marking or *suffixaufnahme* otherwise. Moreover, there is none of the usual alternation between overtly marked and zero-marked forms with ᑭᑦ *ku-*. The distribution of ᑭᑦ *ku-* is thus different from that of typical case markers.



- (169) a. *Sa-sabaya*                      *ku-sikataya*  
           *sa~saha-ya*                      *ku=sikataya*  
           ITER~come-3SG.M              as=winner  
           *ang Mabān.*  
           ang=Mahān  
           A= Mahān

‘Mahān returned (as) a winner.’

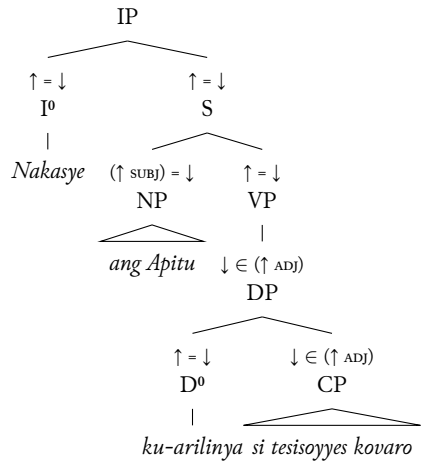
PRED	‘come <((↑ SUBJ))’
ASP	ITER
SUBJ	[“Mahān <sub>i</sub> ”]
ADJ	{ [PRED ‘winner <sub>i</sub> ’] }



- b. *Nakasye*                      *ang Apitu*  
       *nakas-ye*                      ang=Apitu  
       grow.up-3SG.F              A= Apitu  
       *ku-arilinya*                  *si*  
       *ku=arilinya*                  *si*  
       as=someone                  REL  
       *tesisoyyes*                      *kovaro.*  
       *tesisa-oy=yes*                  *kovaro*  
       betray-NEG=3SG.F.A          easily

‘Apitu grew up someone not betrayed easily.’

PRED	‘grow-up <((↑ SUBJ))’
SUBJ	[“Apitu <sub>i</sub> ”]
ADJ	{ [“someone <sub>i</sub> not ...”] }



compare (170).<sup>23</sup> Müller (2002) seems to argue along similar lines, but from an HPSG perspective.

<sup>23</sup> The terms Perlmutter (1978) introduces, however, appear to be not completely unproblematic today. As Dixon (2010b) writes, “the labels ‘unaccusative’ and ‘unergative’ are used for such a wide variety of phenomena as to be essentially imprecise and unclear. [...] Their employment provides the false sense of a universal semantic basis for varied grammatical properties. They are best avoided” (156). In the literature consulted as a theoretical background for this section, ‘unaccusative’ and ‘unergative’ are used in their basic definition as provided by Perlmutter (1978) and summarized in (170), and I will stick to this definition here as well. Also compare Bresnan et al. (2016: 334–336).

(170) Syntactic typology of intransitive verbs (Perlmutter 1978; Bresnan et al. 2016):

- a. unergative
  - $S_A$  with  $[-o] \mapsto S$
  - S typically in control of the action
  - *He ran*
- b. unaccusative
  - $S_P$  with  $[-r] \mapsto S$
  - S typically not in control of the action
  - *The tree fell*

In English, a variety of phrase types can form resultative secondary predicates: APs, NPs, and PPs (Simpson 1983; Christie 2013). While English (like other Germanic languages) makes heavy use of intransitive prepositions as constituent parts of verbs such as *knock out*, *lock in*, or *look over*, this is not so in Ayerí (compare section 4.4.1, p. 177). Examples with transitive adpositions where the PP is not an adjunct should also be hard to find. An example for each phrase type complementing the object of a transitive verb to express a result is given in (171). The sentence in (171d) is adapted from Christie (2013), and here the status of the PP as an argument of the verb is not entirely clear, probably because of the added-argument status of xCOMPS which she asserts. It may also be pointed out that in (171b) we can see another use of the dative, that is, to mark resultative NPs. A verb may thus occur exceptionally with more than one complement in the dative case. However, different from a regular recipient or a goal NP, a resultative dative NP also normally occurs after the verb.

As with other secondary predicates, the normal place for a depictive to appear in is behind the verb, unless the complement is syntactically heavy and in this position makes the connection between the verb and its subject hard to grasp, as is the case with *ᱠᱟᱨᱢᱟᱝᱱᱟᱜᱟᱲ* *avan turayyam* ‘down the hill’ in (171d): compared to the other examples in (171), this phrase consists of two words and contains its own complement. While (171b) also contains a modifier and likewise consists of two words, the modifier is not an argument but an adjunct. The NP with an adjective is thus relatively more light than the PP still.

According to Simpson (1983), the structure all of the examples in (171) have in common is something along the lines of what is illustrated by (172). This, however, is an interpretation which extrapolates from the article because she only gives the a-structure definition, but no f- and c-structures. Simpson (1983) explicitly likens the a-structure of transitive clauses with unergative verbs to that of control verbs—she analyzes resultative secondary predicates in terms of functional control by interpreting the object of the verb as the subject of the resultative.

- (171) a. object NP + resultative AP:

*Ang gondaya apitu Sedan prihinley.*  
 ang=gonda-ya apitu Ø= Sedan prihin-ley  
 AT= wipe-3SG.M clean TOP=Sedan table-P.INAN

‘Sedan wipes the table clean.’

- b. object NP + resultative NP:

*Ang visya nernanjyam kivo Amān seygoley.*  
 ang=vis-ya nernan-ye-yam kivo Ø= Amān seygo-ley  
 AT= cut-3SG.M piece-PL-DAT small TOP=Amān apple-P.INAN

‘Amān cuts the apple into little pieces.’

- c. object NP + resultative PP (intransitive):

*Ang tapyye miday Briha tovaley.*  
 ang=tapy-ye miday Ø= Briha tova-ley  
 AT= put-3SG.F around TOP=Briha tova-ley

‘Briha puts a cloak on.’

- d. object NP + resultative PP (transitive):

*Ang biyaye Gada suranley avan turayyam.*  
 ang=hiya-ye Ø= Gada suran-ley avan turay-yam  
 AT= roll-3SG.F TOP=Gada ball-P.INAN bottom hill-DAT

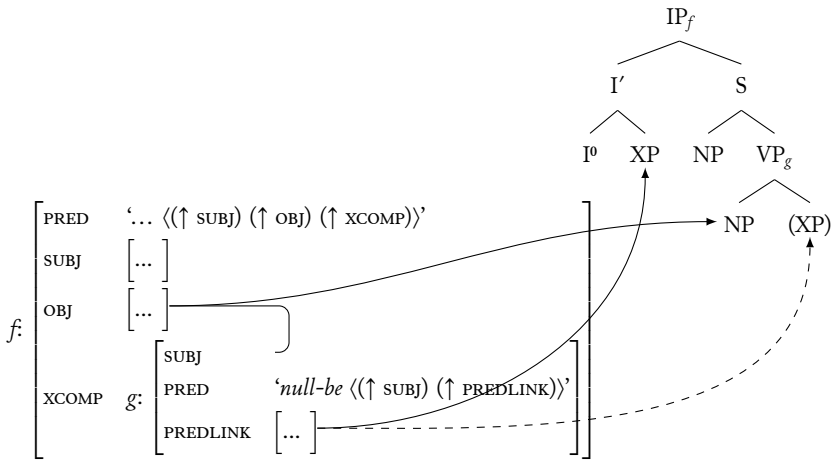
‘Gada rolls a ball down the hill.’

My interpretation is that this suggests a structure as described for copula clauses (section 6.4.1), so there should be a *null-be* predicator requiring a subject and a predicative element as its arguments here as well—the head of the xCOMP is basically the construction itself here as well. This f-structure *g* forms an open complement of the verb in *f*. The xCOMP as a phrase has no equivalent in the form of a maximal projection in the c-structure tree in (172), however, the XP node of the resultative element should be annotated ( $\uparrow$  xCOMP PREDLINK) =  $\downarrow$ . This way, xCOMP is represented functionally.

Regarding imperfect correspondences between structural levels, Bresnan et al. (2016) mention that “f-structure heads need not correspond only to c-structure heads” (105). Thus, while a c-structure head maps onto an f-structure head, the reverse is not mandatory. Importantly, though, Bresnan et al. (2016) say this in relation to the many-to-one correspondence between the mapping from c-structure into f-structure (the  $\phi$  function). By not representing xCOMP as a phrasal node in the c-structure, we seem to have a to-zero relationship. However, as mentioned above, the *null-be* predicator is basically a stand-in for the construction itself licens-



(172)



ing certain complements. It appears that the construction takes over the function of a head. As a logical consequence,  $(\uparrow \text{XCOMP PRED})$  is not represented by a node in the c-structure but by the relation between its complements. This way, there is a to-one relationship, though on a more abstract level.

Furthermore, with the economy of expression principle of LFG in mind, it may be reasoned that since the resultative XP is also a complement of the verb according to both Simpson (1983) and Christie (2013), we probably do not want it to be included inside an S sister of the object NP if there is usually nothing present in this place. As we have seen, the resultative mostly occupies the spot to the right of the verb, so this S would mostly not occur due to pruning empty nodes. There is little reason, thus, to include it just to force a one-to-one correspondence between f- and c-structure (the  $\phi^{-1}$  function) for the minority of cases.

So far, we have only looked at transitive clauses with resultatives. Ayeri also allows for intransitive clauses with resultatives, though. Since resultative secondary predicates refer to objects, however, the restriction is that the subject of the intransitive verb be semantically a patient, that is, not in control of the action, but being acted on or undergoing a transformation. This becomes evident in (173). *Ṣāḥab Tipal* in (173a) is running, which is typically an action that is willingly performed and controlled by the runner, so that he is a typical agent. The wood in (173b), on the other hand, does not control its burning but is undergoing a change of state. Even if the language treats it as an agent in terms of case marking, it is more typically a patient in terms of semantics. Likewise, it is possible for the patient-subject of a passive verb to be complemented by a resultative, as in (174). The status of the subject as corresponding to the object of a detransitized verb is

(173) a. Unergative verb:

<sup>1</sup>*Nimpya pisu ang Tipal.*  
 nimp-ya pisu ang=Tipal  
 run-3SG.M tired A= Tipal

‘Tipal ran tired(ly).’ (Tipal ran in a tired fashion or while being tired)  
*Intended:* ‘\*Tipal ran tired.’ (Tipal made himself tired by running)

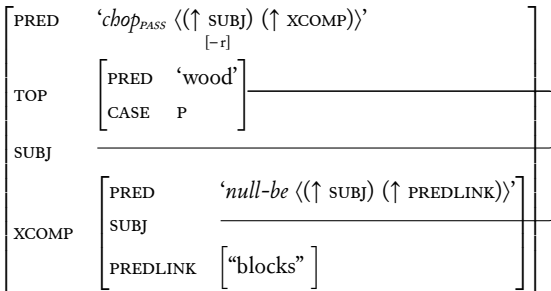
b. Unaccusative verb:

*Napāra maganyam mihanreng.*  
 napa-ara magan-yam mihan-reng  
 burn-3SG.INAN coal-DAT wood-A.INAN

‘The wood burns to coal.’

(174) *Le hayarara bidanjyam miban.*  
 le= hayar-ara bidan-ye-yam mihan-Ø  
 PT.INAN=chop-3SG.INAN block-PL-DAT wood-TOP

‘The wood, it is chopped into blocks.’



more apparent here: unlike with unaccusative verbs, Ayeri retains the patient case marking for subjects of passive verbs. The [−r] marking on the passive subject refers to its role in the argument structure as thematically unrestricted (Bresnan et al. 2016: 324–348).

While (173a) was ruled out as ungrammatical (in the meaning intended), it is nonetheless possible to receive a resultative reading from this example as intended with a tweak in morphology: Ayeri permits ‘fake reflexives’ (Simpson 1983: 145) by which the subject NP is basically doubled as an object to which a result state can be attributed. This typically manifests as a reflexive clitic *sitang-* in front of the verb, compare section 4.2.6. An example of this strategy is given in (175). Here, the OBJ function has been added to the argument structure of the verb. As its position outside of the pointed brackets shows, this object—the fake reflexive—

- (175) *Sitang-nimpya pisu ang Tipal.*  
 sitang=nimp-ya pisu ang=Tipal  
 self=run-3SG.M tired A= Tipal

‘Tipal ran himself tired.’ (Tipal made himself tired by running)

PRED	‘run <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ XCOMP)) (↑ OBJ)’		
SUBJ	[“Tipal <sub>i</sub> ”]		
OBJ	PRED	‘pro <sub>i</sub> ’	
	REFL	+	
XCOMP	PRED	‘null-be <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK))’	
	SUBJ		
	PREDLINK	[PRED ‘tired’]	

- (176) \*run <((↑ SUBJ) (↑ OBJ))>

\**Sitang-nimpya ang Tipal.*  
 sitang=nimp-ya ang=Tipal  
 self=run-3SG.M A= Tipal

‘\*Tipal ran himself.’

does not receive its syntactic role from the argument structure of the verb, so it must be athematic (compare section 6.4.3, p. 381).

We know that the OBJ function in (175) has been added to the argument structure of the verb since ႁႏ: *nimp-* ‘run’ is normally intransitive and thus does not subcategorize for an object in its argument structure; compare (176). Adding the reflexive as an object has the advantage of being able to serve as a subject for the resultative adjective ႁႏ *pisu* in the XCOMP function, however. This way, the state achieved by running—being tired—can be attributed indirectly to the controller of the reflexive, the subject ႁႏ *Tipal*.

#### 6.4.6 Complex transitive verbs

Most transitive verbs in Ayeri take a complement in the patient case, and possibly also a second complement in the dative case. However, there are a number of verbs as well which take arguments marked for different cases and which are more or less optional. This makes it hard to decide whether they are complements or adjuncts. There have been tests on constituency before, however, more in-depth testing than previously is required here. Needham and Toivonen (2011) discuss various tests which include but also go beyond what Carnie (2013) suggests in order to

determine whether an argument is a complement or an adjunct, noting that there is also a third ‘in-between’ category, which they refer to as *derived arguments*. The verbs listed in (177) will be exemplarily tested for this purpose.

- (177) a.  $\text{ಸಾರಾ}$ : *sara*- ‘go’  
 b.  $\text{ಮಿತ್}$ : *mit*- ‘live (in a place)’  
 c.  $\text{ತಾಪ್ಪ}$ : *tapy*- ‘put’  
 d.  $\text{ನಾರಾ}$ : *nara*- ‘speak’  
 e.  $\text{ತಿಯಾ}$ : *tiya*- ‘make’

The verbs in (177a–d) permit a locative argument; (177d) may also take an argument in the genitive to express the theme, that is, what is talked about; and (177e) may indicate a tool or material as an instrument. The difficulty lies in the fact that “Time and place expressions [...] can be added to the description of any event; they are not tied to specific verb classes” (Needham and Toivonen 2011: 405). On the other hand, they are more central to the argument structure of certain verbs than others. Needham and Toivonen (2011) also caution that there is evidence for obligatorily required adjuncts (406). Whether there are in Ayeri as well is unclear at present.

### Summary of lexical mapping theory

In LFG, the mapping between argument structure and syntactic structure (the  $\alpha$  function) is handled by the ‘lexical mapping theory’ (Bresnan et al. 2016: 324–348). According to this theory, the main argument functions decompose into the feature set displayed in (178a). Here,  $[\pm o]$  stands for ‘(non-)objective’, and  $[\pm r]$  stands for ‘(un)restricted’. The former refers to the ability (or its lack) of complementing intransitive predicates, the latter refers to restriction (or its lack) to a certain semantic role. In the following, the different semantic features will be referred to by a singleton feature rather than a pair; the abbreviations are given in (178b).

- (178) a. 

	$-r$	$+r$
$-o$	SUBJ	OBL $_{\theta}$
$+o$	OBJ	OBJ $_{\theta}$
- b.  $-o \mapsto \text{SUBJ}$   
 $-r \mapsto \text{OBJ}(, \text{SUBJ})$   
 $+o \mapsto \text{OBJ}_{\theta}$   
 $-o \mapsto \text{OBL}_{\theta}$

The SUBJ function may embody either  $[-o]$  or  $[-r]$ : for instance, the syntactic subject of an unergative verb is non-objective  $[-o]$  since it acts like a typical logical subject, whereas the syntactic subject of an unaccusative verb is patient-like  $[-r]$ ; the same goes for the subject of a passive. Semantic roles other than SUBJ, OBJ, and  $OBJ_\theta$  are annotated with  $[-o]$  as well. The syntactic functions in (178) map to the closest available role in the thematic hierarchy (179) (Bresnan et al. 2016: 329).

(179) agent > beneficiary > experiencer/goal > instrument > patient/theme > locative

A typical transitive English sentence like *John eats a sandwich* assigns the agent, *John*, with the most prominent semantic role ( $\hat{\theta}$ ), which is  $[-o]$ . If initial in a-structure,  $[-o]$  is mapped onto the SUBJ function. The object of John's eating, *a sandwich*, is assigned  $[-r]$ , and thus maps to the OBJ function. This is shown in (180).

(180)	a-structure:	<i>eat<sub>i</sub></i>	<	AGENT	PATIENT	>
				$[-o]$	$[-r]$	
	f-structure:			SUBJ	OBJ	

#### Core participants and optionality test

The first test for argumenthood which Needham and Toivonen (2011) describe is the *core participants* test (404). This is a test based on the intuition about required and optional arguments of verbs.<sup>24</sup> Commonly, complements are considered to be required, whereas adjuncts are considered optional (405–407). The following list discusses the verbs specified for testing in (177).

ཁག: **sara- 'go'**: The act of going typically entails an agent and a destination. This verb may be used intransitively as ཁག་པ་ *sarayāng* 'I go', but the destination may *optionally* be included as either an NP in the locative case or a PP.

མི་བཞུགས་པ་: **mit- 'live (in a place)'**: Ayeri distinguishes lexically between being alive, མི་བཞུགས་པ་ *ten-*, and living in a place. The latter typically entails an agent and an inhabited place. Expressing the inhabited place is *required* for this verb.

<sup>24</sup> The problem here is in how far a language creator has intuition about his or her language, and again, in how far they are biased by their native language or other secondary languages they have attained a reasonable level of fluency in.

ᐃᑦᑦᑦ: **tapy- ‘put’**: The verb’s meaning specifically entails that an object is transferred from one location or position to another; there usually is an agent and a destination. The destination of putting is *required* for this verb.

ᑎᑦᑦ: **nara- ‘speak, talk’**: Speaking typically involves a speaker and possibly a listener. Furthermore, the thing spoken and the content of the message can feature in the action. Ayeri permits this verb to be used intransitively to describe the action of speaking: ᑎᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ *narayāng* ‘I speak’. A patient (what is spoken), an addressee, and a theme (what is spoken about) may be stated *optionally* with the addressee NP in the locative case and the theme in the genitive case.

ᑦᑦᑦ: **tiya- ‘make’**: The creation of something involves a creator and a creation as necessary parts of the process. A tool or material may be *optionally* stated as an instrumental NP. Especially a material is not untypical to occur as an instrument with this verb.

#### *Prepositional content and fixed preposition*

Needham and Toivonen (2011) state that “[t]he more semantically contentful the preposition is in the PP accompanying a certain verb, the more likely it is to mark an adjunct” (405). All of the verbs in (177) which can take PPs—specifically (177a–c)—do not require a certain adposition for the locational argument. The prepositions or locative marking are thus semantically contentful, while case marking for ᑎᑦᑦ: *nara- ‘speak’* and ᑦᑦᑦ: *tiya- ‘make’* in (177de) is less so.

#### *Iterativity*

A distinct property of complements is that they are unique, while adjuncts of the same function may be repeated. For all verbs in (177a–c) it is possible to specify several places, as (181) illustrates. Here, however, the question is whether the second PPs modify the first or the verb. Going to a friend’s house and going to the next village may coincide in (181a), but the latter does not necessarily imply the former; coordinating them leads to an odd result as well: *to a friend’s house and in the next village*. If the first location adverbial were an adjunct, this should not be a problem, compare (182a). Here, the setting of the kiss is not central to the verb’s meaning, and it is no problem coordinating the two locations. As in (181a), coordinating the location adverbials in (181b–d) sounds odd. A location which has all the earmarks of an argument can even occur together with an incidental location

- (181) a. *Ang sarāy nangaya ledanena (\*nay) minkayya mararya.*  
 ang=sara=ay.Ø nanga-ya ledan-ena nay nā minkay-ya  
 AT= go=1SG.TOP house-LOC friend-GEN and village-LOC next  
 'I will go to a friend's house (\*and) in(/to) the next village.'
- b. *Ang mica ledan nā nangaya (\*nay) pang natrangya.*  
 ang=mit-ya ledan-Ø nā nanga-ya nay pang natrang-ya  
 AT= live=3SG.M friend-TOP 1SG.GEN house-LOC and behind temple-LOC  
 'My friend lives in the house (\*and) behind the temple.'
- c. *Ang tapyya Prano usingley binyanya (\*nay) penungya.*  
 ang=tapy-ya Ø= Prano using-ley hinyan-ya nay penung-ya  
 AT= put=3SG.M TOP=Prano bucket-P.INAN corner-LOC and shed-LOC  
 'Prano puts the bucket in a corner (\*and) in the shed.'
- d. *Ang narāy ya Paso (\*nay) renya.*  
 ang=nara=ay.Ø ya= Paso nay ren-ya  
 AT speak=1SG.TOP LOC=Paso and market-LOC  
 'I speak to Paso (\*and) at the market.'

where the second location does not describe the first, as in (182b). Combining them with  $\text{Ɂ}$  *nay* 'and' results in a zeugmatic expression at best.

- (182) a. *Ang vengaye yās lampyanya nay ranya.*  
 ang=venga-ye.Ø yās lampyan-ya nay ran-ya  
 AT= kiss=3SG.F.Ø 3SG.M.P park-LOC and home-LOC  
 'She kissed him in the park and at home.'
- b. *Ang vengaye yās bantaya (¹nay) ranya.*  
 ang=venga-ye.Ø yās banta-ya nay ran-ya  
 AT= kiss=3SG.F.Ø 3SG.M.P mouth-LOC and home-LOC  
 'She kissed him on the mouth (¹and) at home.'

As mentioned above,  $\text{Ɂ}$  *nara-* may also include an NP in the genitive case expressing what is spoken about. Two examples are given in (183): in (183a) the verb is optionally extended by a listener and a theme, while in (183b), there are two optional genitive NPs, one for the theme and another as a locative adverbial. In both cases, a combination with  $\text{Ɂ}$  *nay* 'and' is possible in principle, but the reading again becomes zeugmatic. At last, (184a) attempts to coordinate an instrumental DP with an instrumental NP to express both authorship and material use. These phrases can be coordinated with each other, and coordination with an adverb as in (184b) is possible as well.

- (183) a. *Ang narāy ya Paso (‘nay) ganyena.*  
 ang=nara=ay.Ø ya= Paso nay gan-ye-na  
 AT speak=ISG.TOP LOC=Paso and child-PL-GEN  
 ‘I spoke to Paso (‘and) about the children.’
- b. *Ang narāy ganyena (‘nay) paranena nā.*  
 ang=nara=ay.Ø gan-ye-na nay paran-ena nā  
 AT speak=ISG.TOP child-PL-GEN and opinion-GEN ISG.GEN  
 ‘I speak about the children (‘and) from my point of view.’
- (184) a. *Ang tiyāy sitang-rī (nay) mibaneri.*  
 ang=tiya=ay.Ø sitang=rī nay mihan-eri  
 AT make=ISG.TOP self=ISG.INS and wood-INS  
 ‘I made it by myself (and) from wood.’
- b. *Ang tiyāy para (nay) mibaneri.*  
 ang=tiya=ay.Ø para nay mihan-eri  
 AT make=ISG.TOP quickly and wood-INS  
 ‘I made it quickly (and) from wood.’
- (185) *Ersya ang Tipal tamala nay da-miraya ang Ikan dabas.*  
 ers-ya ang=Tipal tamala nay da=mira-ya ang=Ikan dabas  
 cook-3SG.M A= Tipal yesterday and so=do-3SG.M A= Ikan today  
 ‘Tipal cooked yesterday and Ikan does so today.’

### VP anaphora test

The VP anaphora test is another standard test for determining the status of a verb’s argument, based on the idea that “adjuncts may be added to ‘do so’ clauses, but arguments may not” (Needham and Toivonen 2011: 407). Example (185) gives a valid example of such coordination where both adverbials clearly are adjuncts. As (186) shows, Ayeri does not permit to place the additional arguments of the respective verbs in the ‘do so’ part as though they were adjuncts. This means that even though they are optional, they behave like arguments for the purpose of this test.

### Pseudocleft test

In the pseudocleft test, adjuncts remain in the half of the sentence the verb is extracted from, while complements need to stay with their head, that is, the verb (compare Needham and Toivonen 2011: 407–408). Hence, *What John did at the restaurant was eat* is grammatical, while *\*What Mary did from the menu is pick* is



- (186) a. \**Ya saraya ang Kan natrang nay ya da-miraye ang Dita visam.*  
 ya= sara-ya ang=Kan natrang nay ya= da=mira-ye ang=Dita visam-Ø  
 LOCT=go-3SG.M A= Kan temple-TOP and LOCT=so=do.3SG.F A= Dita capital-TOP  
 ‘\*Kan goes to the temple and Dita does so to the capital.’
- b. \**Ya micang Litoming nay ya da-mirayāng Vangareng.*  
 ya= mit=yang Ø= Litoming nay ya= da=mira=yāng Ø= Vangareng  
 LOCT= live=1SG.A TOP=Litoming and LOCT=so=do=3SG.M.A TOP=Vangareng  
 ‘\*I live in Litoming and he does so in Vangareng.’
- c. \**Ya tapyye ang Apitu tinkayley sayan nay ya da-miraya*  
 ya= tapy-ye ang=Apitu tinkay-ley sayan-Ø nay ya= da=mira-ya  
 LOCT=put-3SG.F A= Apitu key-P.INAN hole-TOP and LOCT=so=do-3SG.M  
*ang Ulang hin-hin.*  
 ang=Ulang hin~hin-Ø  
 A= Ulang box~DIM-TOP  
 ‘Apitu puts the key into the hole and Ulang does so into the case.’
- d. \**Na naraya ang Sān yās vaham nay na da-miraya ang Bihān*  
 na= nara-ya ang=Sān yās vaham-Ø nay na= da=mira-ya ang=Bihān  
 GENT=speak-3SG.M A= Sān 1SG.P party-TOP and GENT=so=do-3SG.M A= Bihān  
*yes kimay.*  
 yes kimay-Ø  
 3SG.F.P baby-TOP  
 ‘Sān talks to me about the party and Bihān does so to her about the baby.’
- e. \**Ri tiyanang limuyeley sapa nay ri da-miratang gada.*  
 Ri= tiya=nang limu-ye-ley sapa-Ø nay ri= da=mira=tang gada-Ø  
 INST=make=1PL.A shirt-PL-P.INAN wool-TOP and INST=so=do=3PL.M.A gada-TOP  
 ‘We make shirts from wool and they do so from silk.’

not: *at the restaurant* is an adjunct, whereas *from the menu* is a complement. The sentences in (187) apply this schema to the examples from (177) for easy comparison; the order of the focused VP and the rest of the sentence is inverted to match Ayer’s sensitivities about syntactic weight. In all cases, the additional argument(s) cannot be left behind when extracting the verb, so they have the status of complements according to this test as well.

#### *Wh-word conjunction test*

A further trait of adjuncts is that *wh*-words referring to adjuncts with different semantic roles can be coordinated, while this is not possible for complements (Needham and Toivonen 2011: 408). It appears that question words for most of

- (187) a. \**Sarayam adareng si ang mirāy nangaya ledanena.*  
 sara-yam ada-reng si ang=mira=ay.Ø nangaya ledanena  
 go-PTCP that-A.INAN REL AT= do=ISG.TOP house-LOC friend-GEN  
 ‘\*What I do to a friend’s house is go.’
- b. \**Micam adareng si ang miraya ledan nā nangaya.*  
 mit-yam ada-reng si ang=mira-ya ledan-Ø nā nanga-ya  
 live-PTCP that-A.INAN REL AT= do-3SG.M friend-TOP ISG.GEN house-LOC  
 ‘\*What my friend does in the house is live.’
- c. \**Tapyyam usingley adareng si ang miraya Prano binyanya.*  
 tapy-yam using-ley ada-reng si ang=mira-ya Ø= Prano hinyan-ya  
 put-PTCP bucket-P.INAN that-A.INAN REL AT= do-3SG.M TOP=Prano corner-LOC  
 ‘\*What Prano does in the corner is to put the bucket.’
- d. \**Narayam adareng si ang mirāy ya Paso ganyena.*  
 nara-yam ada-reng si ang=mira=ay.Ø ya= Paso gan-ye-na  
 speak-PTCP that-A.INAN REL AT= do=ISG.TOP LOC=Paso child-PL-GEN  
 ‘\*What I do to Paso about the children is talk.’
- e. \**Tiyayam adareng si ang mirāy mihaneri.*  
 tiya-yam ada-reng si ang=mira=ay.Ø mihan-eri  
 make-PTCP that-A.INAN REL AT= do=ISG.TOP wood-INS  
 ‘\*What I did from wood is make it.’

the non-core arguments in (188) can be coordinated with the exception of (188bc). Apparently, the location of living and that of putting is central enough to the semantics of the respective verbs that it is treated like a *bona fide* argument.

#### Analysis in terms of LFG

All of the tested verbs show mixed behavior in the little survey above—a summary of the tests is given in Table 6.2. That is, for some tests, the non-core argument behaves like a complement typically would, for others, it behaves as would be expected from an adjunct. Needham and Toivonen (2011) argue that these optional or required in-between arguments are *derived arguments* and should be treated as an additional part of the verb’s a-structure. Especially the pseudocleft test—labeled ‘Moves with V0’ in Table 6.2—“is excellent for two reasons: first, it elicits strong intuitions from speakers [...] and second, it demonstrates a clear and definite difference between arguments and adjuncts” (Christie 2013: 219).

For *RD*: *sara*- ‘go’, the direction or destination of going expressed by a PP is part of the verb’s semantics, so it is core information, which makes it potentially a

- (188) a. *Ang sarāy nangaya ledanena tasela.*  
 ‘I am going to a friend’s house tomorrow.’

*Ang sarava siyan nay sitaday?*  
 ang=sara=va.Ø siyan nay sitaday?  
 AT= go=2.TOP where and when

‘Where and when do you go?’

- b. *Ang mitasaya ledan nā eda-nangaya tadayen.*  
 ‘My friend has always lived in this house.’

*\*Ang mitasaya ledan vana siyan nay sitaday?*  
 ang=mit-asa-ya ledan-Ø vana siyan nay sitaday?  
 AT= live-HAB-3SG.M friend-TOP 2.GEN where and when

‘Where and when has your friend lived?’

- c. *Ang tapyya vakisarya Prano usingley binyanya.*  
 ‘Prano carelessly put the bucket in the corner.’

*\*Ang tapyya Prano usingley simin nay siyan?*  
 ang=tapy-ya Ø= Prano using-ley simin nay siyan  
 AT= put-3SG.M TOP=Prano bucket-P.INAN how and where

*Intended:* ‘\*How and where did Prano put the bucket?’

- d. *Ang narāy ya Paso renya.*  
 ‘I speak to Paso at the market.’

*Ang narava sinyaya nay siyan?*  
 ang=nara=va.Ø sinyaya nay siyan  
 AT= speak=2.TOP who-LOC and where

‘Where and to whom did you speak?’

- e. *Ang tiyāy para mibaneri.*  
 ‘I made it quickly from wood.’

*Tiyavāng simin nay sikay?*  
 tiya=vāng simin nay sikay  
 make=2.AT how and what.with

‘How and what with did you make it?’

Table 6.2: Collected results of the tests on derived arguments

	<i>sara</i> - ‘go’ + LOCATION	<i>mit</i> - ‘live’ + LOCATION	<i>tapy</i> - ‘put’ + LOCATION	<i>nara</i> - ‘speak’ + RECIPIENT + THEME	<i>tiya</i> - ‘make’ + INSTRUMENT
Core participant	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Optional	✓			✓	✓
Prepositional content	✓	✓	✓		
Fixed preposition/case				✓	✓
Iterable					
<i>Do so</i> -replaceable	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moves with V <sup>0</sup>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Wh</i> -word conjoinable	✓			✓	✓

complement. However, like an adjunct, it appears optionally. As with typical adjuncts, P<sup>0</sup> provides contentful information about the location and is not fixed. It is hard to construct a sentence where multiple locations can be interpreted as adding incidental information about the action. I thus decided to cautiously rule out iterability of the PP for this verb—another trait typical of complements. Furthermore, the PP is captured by the *do-so* test, which is also typical of complements. Like a typical complement, the PP also has to move with its V<sup>0</sup> in a pseudocleft structure. Unlike a typical complement, however, a question word relating to the PP is conjoinable with the question word for another adverbial expressing a different function. Just going by numbers of tests passed, the score for this verb is a tie between typical traits of complements and typical traits of adjuncts.

The case for both *mit*- ‘live’ and *tapy*- ‘put’ is similar, except that the PP is required in the way of a typical complement. Moreover, the question word for the PP expressing the locative adverbial cannot be freely conjoined with another *wh*-word, which is another typical trait of complements. The score is thus 6 to 2 in favor of complementhood.

The verbs *nara*- ‘speak’ and *tiya*- ‘make’ differ from *sara*- ‘go’ in their behavior in that they may be modified by a locative and an instrumental

NP, respectively. This means that there are no prepositions involved which could provide any contentful information, however, the case markers for these adverbials themselves are to be taken literally as expressing a location and a material or means. There is no free choice about these case markers, even though the degree of grammaticalization of these adverbial cases is possibly not as high as with the core cases—although it was noted before how Ayeri's core cases do not just express function, but that semantics still need to be factored in. The degree of grammaticalization is definitely higher than that of a free PP adjunct. The score is also 6 to 2 in favor of complementhood.

If we treat the PPs, locative NPs, and instrumental NPs of the surveyed verbs as complements, we need to categorize them as oblique functions  $OBL_{\theta}$ , with the ' $\theta$ ' subscript replaced by the respective thematic role: *goal* or *source* for PPs and locative NPs, and *instr* for the instrumental. According to Bresnan et al. (2016: 331) and Needham and Toivonen (2011: 414), roles which encode neither patientlike nor secondary patientlike roles are mapped to  $[-o]$ , thus embody the  $OBL_{\theta}$  function.

#### 6.4.7 Passivization

Passivization is a valency-decreasing operation in that a transitive verb loses its agent argument. In English, passivization is a way to keep a topic in the subject slot, for one. This function is acted out by Ayeri's topic marking, however. Still, there may be contexts in which not stating an agent may be useful. Moreover, we may want to test whether Ayeri allows recipients in ditransitive constructions to be passivized. Another question is how Ayeri fares regarding passivizing the objects of subordinate verbs. Lastly, we need to check whether Ayeri can passivize derived arguments of complex transitive verbs such as those which were surveyed in the previous section (section 6.4.6).

According to LFG's lexical mapping theory (Bresnan et al. 2016: 324–348; Needham and Toivonen 2011: 413–414), negative/unmarked roles may be suppressed as arguments, that is,  $[-o]$  and  $[-r]$ . In LFG's understanding, passivization is thus a manipulation of the lexical entry for a verb by which the  $[-o]$  argument of the active version of the verb is suppressed to form its passive counterpart. The SUBJ function is then assigned to the next available semantic role, that is,  $[-r]$ . Example (189) shows an English verb in active voice and its passive counterpart.

#### *Passive of transitive verbs*

As noted initially, Ayeri permits transitive verbs to be detransitized by making them passive. We have already seen how LFG handles passivization according to

- |              |                         |   |         |         |   |
|--------------|-------------------------|---|---------|---------|---|
| a-structure: | <i>eat</i> <sub>I</sub> | < | AGENT   | PATIENT | > |
|              |                         |   | [ - o ] | [ - r ] |   |
|              |                         |   |         |         |   |
| f-structure: |                         |   | SUBJ    | OBJ     |   |

- a-structure:    *eat*<sub>2</sub>     $\langle$     AGENT    PATIENT     $\rangle$   
                                  [-o]    [-r]  
                                   $\emptyset$     |  
 f-structure:                                        SUBJ

- Bresnan et al. (2016). Example (190a) shows a regular statement in active voice,<sup>25</sup> (190b) shows the corresponding passive version of the sentence.

Also unlike in English, it is not possible to have the verb agree with the patient subject and to reintroduce the agent as an oblique in either the agent or

<sup>25</sup> The topicalized argument is marked with an asterisk. This is non-standard, however.

(191)	a.	* <i>Kondara</i>	<i>disuley</i>	<i>eat</i> <sub>2</sub>	<	PATIENT	>	AGENT
		kond-ara	disu-ley			[-r]		[-o]
		eat-3SG.INAN	banana-P.INAN					
		<i>ang/ri</i>	<i>Niyas</i> .			SUBJ		OBL <sub>agt</sub>
		ang=/ri=Niyas						
		A=/INS=	<i>Niyas</i>			<i>banana</i>		<i>Niyas</i>

*Intended: 'A banana is eaten by Niyas.'*

b.	<i>Le konja</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>Niyas</i>	<i>disu.</i>	<i>eat</i> <sub>1</sub>	<	AGENT	PATIENT	>
	le= kond-ya	ang=Niyas	disu-Ø			[-o]		[-r]	
	PT=eat-3SG.M	A=	<i>Niyas</i>	banana-TOP					
						SUBJ		OBJ*	
						<i>Niyas</i>		<i>banana</i>	

*'The banana, Niyas eats it.'*

the instrumental case, as illustrated in (191a) (for English, compare Needham and Toivonen 2011: 416). Instead, one may rather keep the active phrasing and choose to topicalize the patient argument as in (191b).

#### Passive of ditransitive verbs

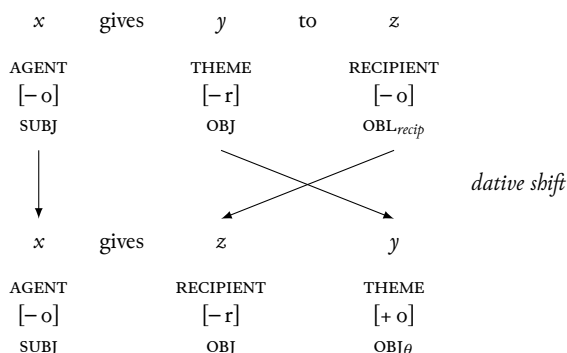
Ditransitive verbs add a third role to the argument structure of a verb. This means that the direct object—marked with the patient case since it is a patient or a theme—is mapped to [-r], while the indirect/secondary object—marked with the dative case since it is a recipient or beneficiary—is mapped to [+o]. As in English ditransitive clauses with dative movement (*x gives y the z*), object and secondary object appear in the order OBJ—OBJ<sub>θ</sub>. However, Ayeri differs from English in its mapping of semantic roles according to the [±o, ±r] scheme introduced above. An example of an active ditransitive sentence is given in (192).

(192)	<i>Ang ningye</i>	<i>Gada</i>	<i>tell</i> <sub>1</sub>	<	AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT	>
	ang=ning-ye	Ø= Gada			[-o]	[-r]	[+o]	
	AT= tell-3SG.F	TOP=Gada						
	<i>budangas</i>	<i>ledanyam.</i>			SUBJ*	OBJ	OBJ <sub>θ</sub>	
	budang-as	ledan-yam						
	news-P	friend-DAT			<i>Gada</i>	<i>news</i>	<i>friend</i>	

*'Gada tells a friend the news.'*

The question here is which of the arguments of a ditransitive verb can be passivized. According to Bresnan et al. (2016), in English, the subject function, as the syntactic equivalent of [-o], may be dropped. The [-r] role, that is, the recipient or beneficiary, becomes the new subject while the patient or theme remains as

(193) English:



a secondary object [+o]. Example (194) illustrates this using the example sentence from (192). It needs to be duly noted, however, that English behaves a little irregularly here due to conflating accusative and dative case into one objective case. This will be especially apparent in comparing English to German—and Ayeri. As Kibort (2007) explains (compare (193)):

English has lost the morphological means to distinguish [the beneficiary] from the primary object and hence base predicates treat beneficiaries as obliques. [...] However, through dative shift, verbs of a certain class in English are capable of recovering their dative argument position: dative shift (or, dative alternation) in English is a morphosemantic operation on argument structure which alters the mapping of the semantic participants of the predicate onto argument positions by remapping the beneficiary onto the primary object position, and “downgrading” the theme to the secondary object position. (260)

German, as mentioned above, works a little different from English. This is illustrated by the example sentences in (195). In (195a), the agent is marked with the nominative case, the recipient with the dative case, and the theme with the accusative case. As in the English example (194b) above, (195b) drops the agent. Passive voice is expressed by the auxiliary *werden* ‘become’ with the content verb appearing as a past participle. German furthermore assigns the OBJ function to the theme and the OBJ<sub>θ</sub> function to the recipient. The primary object thus maps onto [-r] and the secondary object onto [+o]. This is the reverse of what English does. If we assign the subject—and thus nominative case—to the recipient and let the theme remain in the accusative, this leads to an ungrammatical outcome. The correct reading is instead achieved in (195c), whose English equivalent (194c) is ungrammatical. The [-r] argument serves as the subject in both languages but is associated with different functions.

In the grammatically correct example (195c), *Anna* is singular, but the verb



(194) English:

a. *John tells Mary the news.*

$tell_1$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[-r]	[+o]	
		SUBJ	OBJ	OBJ $\theta$	
		John	Mary	news	

b. *Mary is told the news.*

$tell_2$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[-r]	[+o]	
		$\emptyset$			
			SUBJ	OBJ $\theta$	
			Mary	news	

c. \**The news is told Mary.*

$tell_2$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[-r]	[+o]	
		$\emptyset$			
			OBJ	SUBJ	
			Mary	news	

*werden* has plural agreement which can only be with the plural NP *die Neuigkeiten*. We have to assume, thus, that the theme receives the subject role with nominative case, while the recipient remains in the dative and appears at the front of the clause as a topic. Names in (Standard) German are only marked for genitive case, but replacing *Anna* with a pronoun makes case marking more clear. If we replace *Anna* with the corresponding nominative singular pronoun *sie* 'she' in (195b), the sentence is still wrong. Using the dative singular pronoun *ih*r '(to) her' in (195c), however, results in the desired, grammatically correct result.

As we have seen in the previous section, subjects of monotransitive passive verbs in Ayeri retain their patient case marking. The question is, thus, what happens to the subject of ditransitive passive verbs. As we have already seen in (192) above, the recipient receives dative case marking and is classified as [-r]. Considering English's strategy of making the [-r] argument the subject of the passive clause, this theoretically opens a possibility of having a recipient subject in the dative case. As we will see, however, Ayeri does not follow this route.

In analogy to the previous examples in this section, (196a) attempts to construct the sentence in (192) with the [+o] argument as a subject. Parallel to how

(195) German:

- a. *Thomas erzählt Anna die Neuigkeiten.*  
 Thomas erzähl-t Anna die Neuigkeit-en  
 Thomas.NOM tell-3SG.PRS Anna.DAT DEF.ACC.PL news-PL

‘Thomas tells Anna the news.’

$tell_1$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[+o]	[-r]	
		SUBJ	OBJ $\theta$	OBJ	
		Thomas	Anna	news	

- b. \**Anna wird die Neuigkeiten erzählt.*  
 Anna wird die Neuigkeit-en erzähl-t  
 Anna.NOM become-3SG.PRS DEF.ACC.PL news-PL tell-PST.PTCP

Intended: ‘Anna is told the news.’

$tell_2$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[+o]	[-r]	
		$\emptyset$			
			SUBJ	OBJ	
			Anna	news	

- c. *Anna werden die Neuigkeiten erzählt.*  
 Anna werd-en die Neuigkeit-en erzähl-t  
 Anna.DAT become-3PL.PRS DEF.NOM.PL news-PL tell-PST.PTCP

‘Anna is told the news.’

$tell_2$	<	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME	>
		[-o]	[+o]	[-r]	
		$\emptyset$			
			OBJ*	SUBJ	
			Anna	news	

(196)	a.	* <i>Yam ningya budangas</i>	<i>tell<sub>2</sub></i>	<	AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT	>
		yam= ning-ya budang-as			[- o]	[- r]	[+ o]	
		DATT=tell-3SG.M news-P			Ø			
		<i>Ajān.</i>				OBJ	SUBJ*	
		TOP=Ajān						
		TOP=Ajān				<i>news</i>	<i>Ajān</i>	

*Intended:* ‘Ajān is told the news.’

b.	<i>Yam ningyo budangas</i>	<i>tell<sub>2</sub></i>	<	AGENT	THEME	RECIPIENT	>
	yam= ning-yo budang-as			[- o]	[- r]	[+ o]	
	DATT=tell-3SG.N news-P			Ø			
	<i>Ajān.</i>				SUBJ	OBJ*	
	Ø= Ajān						
	TOP=Ajān				<i>news</i>	<i>Ajān</i>	

‘Ajān is told the news.’

Ayeri forms passives of monotransitive verbs, this example sentence keeps the dative case marking on the purported subject: the verb shows agreement with a third person masculine referent, which *Ajān* satisfies. This, however, does not produce a valid outcome. Demoting the recipient to a non-core argument would not work either, since dative marking is the only available strategy to mark the recipient as such—Ayeri cannot rephrase the recipient as a PP like English does.

Reversing verb agreement to mark the theme as a subject in (196b), on the other hand, produces a grammatically valid statement. This is an extension of the strategy Ayeri uses for monotransitive verbs: make the patient-marked argument the subject. Ayeri can then mark the recipient as a topic instead. Essentially, Ayeri works like German in this regard, except that case marking on the theme/patient NP does not change to agent, since this makes no sense semantically—the agent case in Ayeri is not fully equivalent to the nominative case of languages such as English or German.<sup>26</sup>

According to Bresnan et al. (2016), “if we try to apply intransitivization to either the active ditransitive argument structure or the passive version, it will fail. Suppressions may apply only to unmarked roles, i.e. those that are negatively

<sup>26</sup> The question remains, in how far this is simply native-language interference, being a native German speaker. However, I made a rule that only agents or patients (subsuming similar semantic roles) can be subjects in Ayeri. This precludes recipients from acting as subjects even if native-language interference were at play. German simply gives convenient evidence for an alternative to English’s handling of this phenomenon without having to resort to making radical structural changes, such as remodelling Ayeri as a secundative language.

- (197) a. <sup>2</sup>*Ang ningye Gada* *tell<sub>1</sub>* < AGENT THEME RECIPIENT >  
ang=ning-ye Ø= Gada  
AT= tell-3SG.F TOP=Gada  
|  
SUBJ\*  
|  
*Gada*  
*yam Ajān.*  
yam=Ajān  
|  
DAT= Ajān  
OBJ  
|  
*Ajān*  
‘Gada tells Ajān.’
- b. *Ang ningye Gada* *tell<sub>1</sub>* < AGENT THEME RECIPIENT >  
ang=ning-ye Ø= Gada  
AT= tell-3SG.F TOP=Gada  
|  
SUBJ\*  
|  
*Gada*  
*budangas.*  
budang-as  
|  
news-P  
OBJ<sub>θ</sub>  
|  
*news*  
‘Gada tells the news.’
- (198) a. *\*Ningya yam Ajān.* *tell<sub>2</sub>* < AGENT THEME RECIPIENT >  
ning-ya yam=Ajān  
tell-3SG.F DAT= Ajān  
|  
SUBJ  
|  
*Ajān*  
‘Ajān is told.’
- b. *Ningyo budangas.* *tell<sub>2</sub>* < AGENT THEME RECIPIENT >  
ning-yo budang-as  
tell-3SG.N news-P  
|  
SUBJ  
|  
*news*  
‘The news is told.’

specified” (Bresnan et al. 2016: 339). The example sentences in (197) and (198) accordingly try removing one of the objects in active voice (197) and in passive voice (198). Suppressing the recipient as a [+ o] argument produces a grammatically correct result in spite of not being negatively specified; suppressing the theme as a [− r] argument yields a ‘questionable’ and an ungrammatical result, respectively, in (197a) and (198a). The sentence in (197a) is not quite grammatical only in that the statement cannot be without context. If read as elliptical, it becomes acceptable. The ungrammatical example in (198a) is due to the rule against recipient subjects.

#### Interactions between raising verbs and passive voice

Raising verbs provide an argument to the matrix predicate which is not licensed by its semantics (compare section 6.4.3, p. 381). It is thus of interest to explore the

interplay between Ayeri's possibly only raising verb,  $\text{surp-}$  'seem', and passive voice. Bresnan et al. (2016) give the a-structure for English *seem* as in (199). They note that *seem* cannot appear in passive voice. As we have seen before,  $\text{surp-}$ , like its English counterpart, assigns SUBJ to an external argument. That is, the syntactic subject of *seem* is not its logical subject, hence this argument is given as  $[-r]$  instead of  $[-o]$ . This annotation is instead chosen for the experiencer as an oblique function, which is realized in English as a PP, and as a dative NP in Ayeri. Since open complements (labeled PROPOSITION) are an 'other' function as well, they also receive  $[-o]$  annotation.

(199)	<i>seem</i>		<	EXPERIENCER	PROPOSITION	>
	$[-r]$			$[-o]$	$[-o]$	
	SUBJ			OBL <sub>exp</sub>	XCOMP	

It makes no sense in English to put *seem* into the passive voice with the experiencer becoming the subject (\**I am seemed*). Since Ayeri does not permit dative NPs to be subjects of passive verbs, this is not possible in Ayeri either. The question is, however, whether it is possible to passivize the subordinate verb in order to raise its passive subject. An attempt to construct such a statement is given in (200).

While it is unproblematic for the complement clause in (200a) to be in passive voice, raising the patient subject in (200bc) does not yield an acceptable result. This may be due to Ayeri lacking morphological voice-marking means—the difference is instead realized in the case marking of the subject argument. The verb  $\text{valyiam}$  in (200b) is thus not readily recognizable as a passive verb form.

- (200) a. *Surpreng, valyara umangley.*  
 surp=reng valy-ara umang-ley  
 seem=3SG.INAN.A enjoy-3SG.INAN beach-P.INAN

'It seems that the beach is enjoyed.'

- b. \**Surpara umangley valyyam.*  
 surp-ara umang-ley valy-yam  
 seem-3SG.INAN beach-P.INAN enjoy-PTCP

*Intended:* 'The beach seems to be enjoyed.'

- c. \**Surpara valyyam umangley.*  
 surp-ara valy-yam umang-ley  
 seem-3SG.INAN enjoy-PTCP beach-P.INAN

*Intended:* 'The beach seems to be enjoyed.'

Both sentences are odd in that ᐱᓄᓂᓂ: *surp-* ‘seem’ is complemented by a patient subject. This is comparable to *\*The beach is seemed to be enjoyed* in English.

Moreover, ᐱᓄᓂᓂ: *surp-* does not subcategorize for a patient argument, so it would seem odd for it to take a patient subject that makes it look as though it were passivized. There is also a certain structural similarity to unaccusative verbs (compare section 6.4.5, p. 395). Here, the subject is specified as  $[-r]$  as well, but yet it appears in the agent case. The closest grammatically permissible way to express the intended statement in (200bc) is to topicalize the patient argument of the subordinate verb, as shown in (201).

- (201) *Le surptang vallyam umang.*  
 le= surp=tang valy-yam umang-Ø  
 PT.INAN=seem=3PL.M.A enjoy-PTCP beach-TOP  
 ‘The beach, they seem to enjoy it.’

### Passivization of derived arguments

Since derived arguments, as oblique functions, are mapped to  $[-o]$  and SUBJ as a  $[-o]$  function is eligible for passivization, the question is whether oblique arguments can also become subjects of passive sentences. As (202b) shows, this is not possible. Following the way Ayeri keeps the case marking of patient subjects of passive verbs intact for semantic reasons, the subject in this example has genitive marking. We know from verb agreement with a singular third person that ᐱᓄᓂᓂ: *seles* ‘shelf’ is supposed to be the subject here. However, as we have seen above, Ayeri only permits agent and patient subjects. Hence, in contrast, (202c) is correct in that in absence of the agent, the patient is assigned the SUBJ function (Bresnan et al. 2016: 334). Verb agreement is here with a plural subject, which ᐱᓄᓂᓂ: *tehasyeley* ‘cups’ satisfies. If both NPs were inanimate singulars, the sentence would be ambiguous between the passivization strategies in (202b) and (202c).

### 6.4.8 Causatives

While passives delete one or more arguments, causative constructions add one: the causer. This function has control over an action as a force which motivates or forces the actor of the plain sentence to act. As we have seen before, Ayeri behaves in an untypical way in not making causers subjects (section 4.1.3, p. 122). Bresnan et al. (2016: 342) give the annotation for causers as  $\emptyset \rightarrow \hat{\theta}_{\text{causer}}$ : a primary causer-subject is added to the argument structure. Causers are given as mapping to  $[-o]$  and to the SUBJ function. In Ayeri, causers are also mapped to  $[-o]$ , but to the

- (202) a. *Ang paye Misan tehasyeley take<sub>1</sub> < AGENT THEME SOURCE >*  
 ang=pa-ye Ø= Misan tehas-ye-ley [-o] [-r] [-o]  
 AT= take-3SG.F TOP=Misan cup-PL-P.INAN | | |  
*selesena.* SUBJ OBJ OBL<sub>src</sub>  
*seles-ena* | | |  
*shelf-GEN* *Misan cups shelf*

‘Misan takes cups from the shelf.’

- b. \**Na pāra tehasyeley seles. take<sub>2</sub> < AGENT THEME SOURCE >*  
 na= pa-ara tehas-ye-ley seles-Ø [-o] [-r] [-o]  
 GENT=take-3SG.INAN cup-PL-P.INAN shelf-TOP Ø | |  
 Intended: ‘The shelf is taken cups from.’ OBJ SUBJ  
 | |  
*cups shelf*

- c. *Na pāran tehasyeley seles. take<sub>2</sub> < AGENT THEME SOURCE >*  
 na= pa-aran tehas-ye-ley seles-Ø [-o] [-r] [-o]  
 GENT=take-3PL.INAN cup-PL-P.INAN shelf-TOP Ø | |  
 ‘The shelf, cups are taken from there.’ SUBJ OBL<sub>src</sub>\*  
 | |  
*cups shelf*

- (203) a. *Ang nimpyan pralanye hakasley verb < AGENT PATIENT >*  
 ang=nimp-yan pralan-ye-Ø hakas-ley [-o] [-r]  
 AT= run-3PL.M recruit-PL-TOP mile-P.INAN | |  
*miye.* SUBJ OBJ  
*miye* | |  
*six* *recruits miles*

‘The recruits run six miles.’

- b. *Sā nimpyan pralanjang hakasley verb < AGENT PATIENT CAUSER >*  
 sā= nimp-yan pralan-ye-ang hakas-ley [-o] [-r] [-o]  
 CAUT=run-3PL.M recruit-PL-A mile-P.INAN | | |  
*miye nosāya.* SUBJ OBJ OBL<sub>caus</sub>\*  
*miye nosāya-Ø* | | |  
*six chief-TOP* *recruit miles chief*

‘The chief makes the recruits run six miles.’

OBL<sub>θ</sub> function rather than to SUBJ, that is, basically like a derived argument which is added to the a-structure of a verb. The agent remains the logical subject,  $\hat{\theta}$ , and is not demoted to an object or oblique function, and neither is the patient demoted to a secondary object. Ayeri instead topicalizes causers to express the sense of ‘Z makes X VERB Y’. An example is provided by (203).

In (203) the ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ *pralanye* ‘recruits, rookies’ are marked as agent in both

- (204) *Ri nimpyan pralanjang bakasley miye nosāya.*  
 ri= nimp-yan pralan-ye-ang hakas-ley miye nosāya-Ø  
 INST=run-3PL.M recruit-PL-A mile-P.INAN six chief-TOP

‘The chief has/lets the recruits run six miles.’

(a) and (b) versions, and the *bakasley* ‘miles’ are marked as patient. The verb in both cases has agreement with an animate masculine plural NP, which refers to *pralanye*. This also means that the agent NP in both cases is the syntactic subject. In (203b), a causer, *nosāya* ‘chief’ is added as an argument and topicalized, basically for the reason of being the logical subject. A weaker kind of causation may be expressed by putting the causer in the instrumental case, as in (204), essentially as a secondary agent on whose behalf the primary agent acts.

## 6.5 Complementizer phrases

Various phrase types, verbs especially, can take complements or adjuncts which are themselves clauses and form subordinate clauses dependent on the main clause. Most notably, these are complement clauses and relative clauses. Another common type of dependent clause is the conditional clause. As before, this section will describe their structure and function.

- (205)  $CP \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C^0 & XP \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & \uparrow = \downarrow \end{matrix}$

- (206)  $(\uparrow \text{ COMP}) = \downarrow \vee (\uparrow \text{ ADJ}) = \downarrow$   

$$\begin{array}{c} CP \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \\ C^0 \quad \quad XP \end{array}$$

- (207) ...            C             $(\uparrow \text{ CONJ}) = \text{‘...’}$

As (205) and (206) show, the head of a complementizer phrase is formed by a conjunction,  $C^0$ , which also can be empty and is indeed so for some basic purposes in Ayeri. At least in Ayeri, conjunctions cannot be modified, so neither phrase-structure diagram includes a  $C'$  to attach an adjunct to. The complement of a  $C^0$  is formed by a verbal phrase type—IP or VP, but also plain S in the case of a copula clause. This means that the complement clause may be finite or infinite. The CP



- (208) a. finite complement clause:

*Tunyang, yomongyeng edaya.*  
 tun=yang yoma-ong=yeng edaya  
 wish=1SG.A exist-IRR=1SG.A here

‘I wish (that) she were here.’

- b. non-finite complement clause:

*Korontang briyyam simin.*  
 koron=tang briy-yam simin  
 know=3PL.M.A celebrate-PTCP how

‘They know how to celebrate.’

- c. final clause:

*Garayāng kadāre sahanang yoming.*  
 gara=yāng kadāre saha=nang yoming  
 call=3SG.M.A so.that come-IPL.A maybe

‘He called so that we might come.’

- d. conditional clause:

*Vāng larau, le tavvāng pasan.*  
 vāng larau le= tav=vāng pasan-Ø  
 2.A nice PT=get=2.A candy-TOP

‘If you’re good, you’ll get some candy.’

- e. relative clause:

*Ang koronay adaley si mirayang.*  
 ang=koron=ay.Ø ada-ley si mira=yang  
 AT= know=1SG.TOP that-P.INAN REL do=1SG.A

‘I know what I am doing.’

itself may fulfill different grammatical functions: it may be a closed complement when it acts as a complement clauses, as well as adjunct when it acts as a relative clause.

Since conjunctions do not inflect, the morpholexical specification in (207) simply lists a CONJ feature which takes the conjunction as a value, for instance, *and*, *or*, *if*, etc. Relativizers form an exception to this rule, however, so for additional rules for relative pronouns, see below. Ayeri is rather sparse about different conjunction types, however; compare section 4.6.2 (p. 222). The conjunction corresponding to English *that* is zero, so that simple complement clauses are simply juxtaposed. Examples of complement clauses are provided in (208).

### 6.5.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses like those in (208a–c) are very commonly occurring clausal complements or adjuncts of verbs. The respective *c*- and *f*-structures of the sentences in (208a) and (208c) are charted in (209). Since (208a) has a plain clausal complement *g*, the *C*<sup>0</sup> position in (209a) is empty. Example (209b), on the other hand, contains a final clause *g* as an adjunct of the verb in *f*—the purpose is not required information here. The conjunction, however, marks the subordinate clause *g* as providing a purpose. In this case, the *C*<sup>0</sup> position is filled with the conjunction, *kadāre* ‘so that’. The subclauses *g* of both examples in (209) form independent *f*-structure cores: the verb as a predicator does not contain arguments controlled by the respective superordinate clause *f* in its *a*-structure.

The non-finite complement clause in (208b) is special in that the subordinate clause is formed by a participle. Even if there is a superficial similarity to control and raising verbs (compare section 6.4.3, pp. 380 ff.), this construction is structurally and functionally different, as shown in (210). The thing which is known is a closed complement subcategorized for by the verb in *f*; the predicator of the complement *g*, however, is an intransitive non-finite form and hence there is neither a subject nor an object. The *a*-structure of the verb is thus simply indicated as *null* in this particular case. Non-finite verbs are not precluded from having arguments and adjuncts otherwise, compare section 6.4.3.

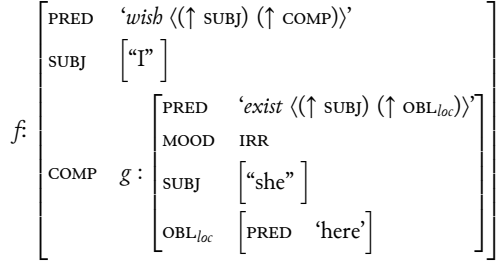
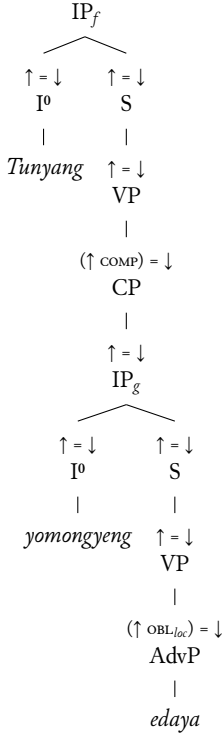
### 6.5.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clausal adjuncts of nouns. In Ayeri, they are typically headed by a relative pronoun which may agree with its head in case and animacy as well as inflect for its role within the relative clause, compare section 4.2.5. As a pronoun, the relativizer underlies anaphoric control. Functionally, the relative pronoun constitutes a topic which is connected to one of the arguments of the verbs inside the relative clause (Butt et al. 1999: 56–58; Dalrymple 2001: 400–405; Falk 2001: 161–165).<sup>27</sup> This topic is not marked on the verb as such, though, but a different argument of the verb often is.<sup>28</sup> In order to indicate the type of pronoun which the relativizer constitutes, I will use the *PRONTYPE* feature for consistency with other kinds of pronouns discussed previously. The general morpholexical specification for relative pronouns is given in (211).

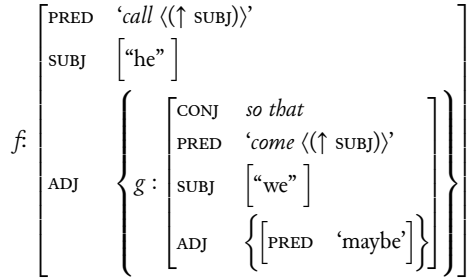
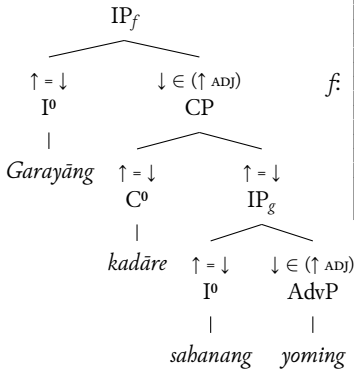
<sup>27</sup> These textbooks deal mainly or exclusively with English relative clauses; Bresnan et al. (2016) do not say anything about the *f*-structure of relative clauses.

<sup>28</sup> Compare Bresnan et al. (2016: 70–71) for an example of set-valued topics in Russian.

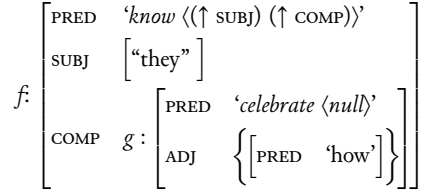
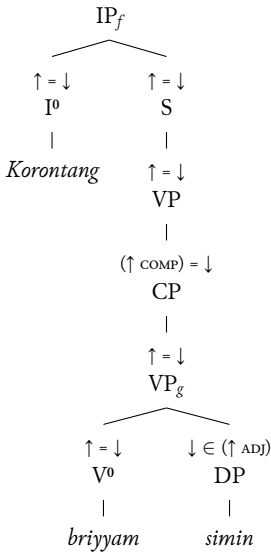
(209) a.



b.



(210)



(211) ...

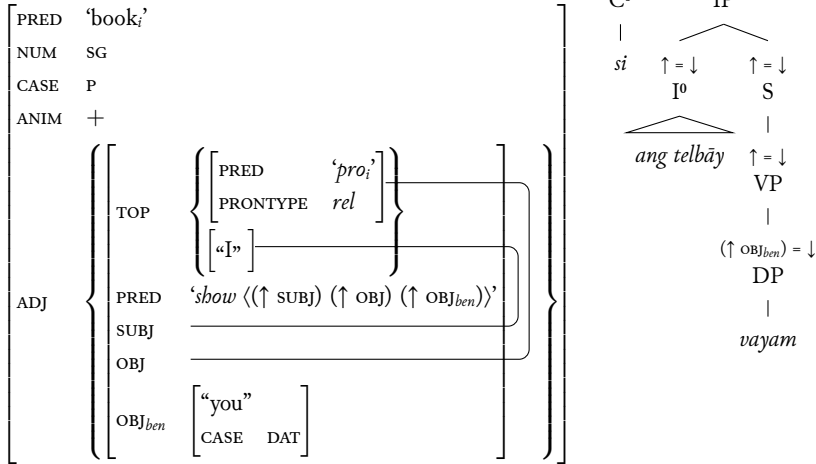
C	( $\uparrow$ PRED)	=	'pro'
	( $\uparrow$ PRONTYPE)	=	rel
	((GF ADJ $\uparrow$ ) CASE)	= <sub>c</sub>	{A, P, DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}
	((GF ADJ $\uparrow$ ) ANIM)	= <sub>c</sub>	$\pm$
	( $\uparrow$ GF ADJ)		
	( $\uparrow$ CASE)	=	{DAT, GEN, LOC, INS, CAUS}
	( $\uparrow$ ANIM)	=	$\pm$

According to the definitions in (211), a relative pronoun's agreement with an *external* controller is conceptualized as a constraining equation where the relative pronoun requires being included in the ADJ of a GF which contains CASE and ANIM features which equal the values the relative pronoun specifies. Any roles which the relative pronoun receives from an *internal* predicator are realized by the CASE and ANIM features. Internal additional case marking is limited to those grammatical functions which are not subject or object.

In example (212), we see the plain relativizer  $\text{ḥ} si$  with no external or internal case marking, since the relative clause is directly adjacent to its head and the relative pronoun has the role of a patient within the relative clause. The agent forms the secondary topic of the relative clause. Since we defined case marking for the external head as an effect of agreement, the  $f$ -structure would not change if the relativizer were  $\text{ḥ} sas$ , that is, marked for an animate-patient controller outside of the relative clause.

- (212) *koyās si ang telbāy vayam*  
 koya-as si ang=telba=ay.Ø vayam  
 book-P REL AT= show=1SG.TOP 2.DAT

‘the book which I showed you’

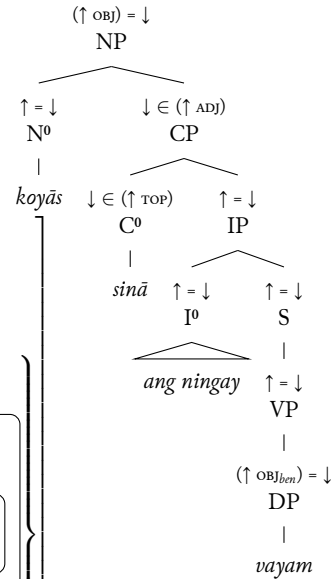
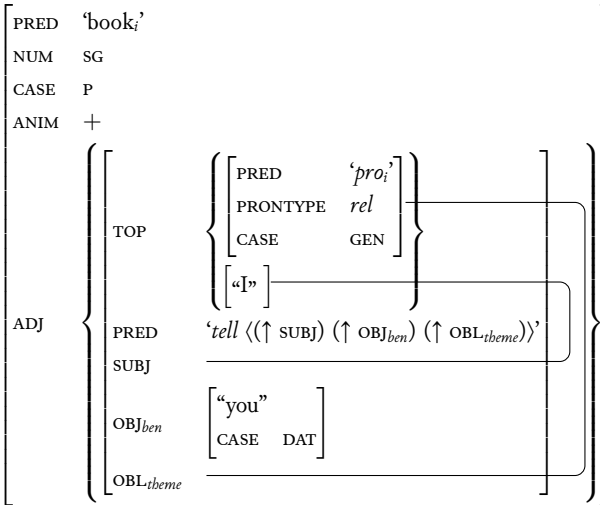


At first glance, the example in (213) is not much different from the previous one, however, the relativizer has been changed to  $\text{ṣinā}$  in order to mark that the controller of the relativizer is the  $\text{OBL}_{\text{theme}}$  of the relative clause. Accordingly, the f-structure which holds information about the relativizer has gained a CASE feature with the attribute GEN to reflect internal case marking of the relativizer. Essentially, the relative pronoun reflects the role of the internal grammatical function it links to as a topic.

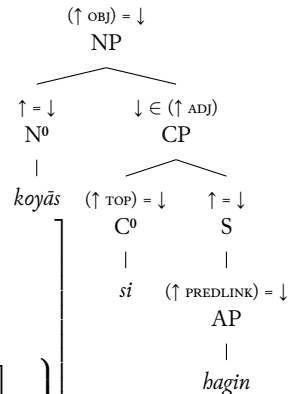
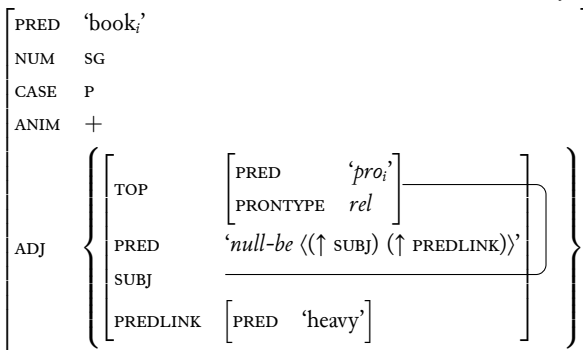
It has been mentioned initially that complement clauses may also have S complements. This is the case with a copula clause complementing the relative pronoun, as in (214). Here, the relativizer substitutes its external controller  $\text{ṣinā}$  'book', which is a patient form, as the copula clause's subject to which the quality  $\text{ḥagin}$  'heavy' is attributed. Since there is no other NP which could be a secondary topic, the topic in (214) is not given as a list of attributes.

The example in (215) illustrates why it may be preferable to use a resumptive pronoun in a relative clause. The relativizer's controller is  $\text{ayonas}$  'man', which is a possessor in the relative clause. The position which the possessor would usually occupy is redundantly filled here with a resumptive pronoun which appears as topicalized. As discussed previously, it is grammatical in Ayeri to make a possessor

- (213) *koyās sinā ang ningay vayam*  
 koya-as si-Ø-na ang=ning=ay.Ø vayam  
 book-P REL-P-GEN AT= tell=1SG.TOP 2.DAT  
 ‘the book which I told you about’



- (214) *koyās si hagin*  
 koya-as si hagin  
 book-P REL heavy  
 ‘the book which is heavy’



- (215) *ayonas si na layayang koyās*  
 ayon-as si na= laya=yang koya-as  
 man-P REL GENT=read=1SG.A book-P  
*ya*  
 ya.Ø  
 3SG.M.TOP

‘the man whose book I read’



the topic of its superior f-structure, so a construction using *sinā* ‘whose’ as in (213) should not be a problem. However, since genitive case may mark both possessors and oblique themes, the construction with the resumptive pronoun may be used to disambiguate between reading someone’s book and reading a book about someone. This distinction is obliterated by just using *sinā*.

All of the relative clauses exemplified here so far have been externally headed, however, English at least also allows headless relative clauses. These find use, for instance, in subject clauses, such as in *What they found on the table was a bar of soap*, where *What they found on the table* is a relative clause which has no nominal head which it modifies. Ayeri avoids this kind of construction and instead uses a generic noun or a dummy pronoun as a head instead, at least in more formal registers. An example with a headless relative clause is given in (216). The sentence in this example is given as questionable, however. What would be preferred in Ayeri is to introduce this sentence with *adareng* ‘that’ (that-A.INAN). This way, the relative clause is provided with a head in the way of ‘that which’. Also note that Ayeri does not distinguish between restricted and unrestricted relative clauses the way English does.

- (216) <sup>2</sup>Si ang sungyan pribinya, bituayley disaeri.  
 si ang=sung=yan.Ø prihin-ya bituay-ley disa-eri  
 REL AT= find=3PL.M.TOP table-LOC loaf-P.INAN soap-INS

‘What they found on the table was a piece of soap.’

- (217) a. Bata sa menuvāng ay, kada ang ersay vayam.  
 bata sa=menu=vāng ay.Ø kada ang=ers=ay.Ø vayam  
 if PT=visit=2.A ISG.TOP then AT= cook=ISG.TOP 2.DAT

‘If you visit me, then I will cook for you.’

- b. Ang kondvāng nihagayele, kada divvāng sapin.  
 ang=kond=vāng nihaga-ye-ley kada div=vāng sapin  
 AT= eat=2.A vegetable-PL-P.INAN then stay=2.A healthy

‘If you eat your vegetables, you will stay healthy.’

- c. Sa ripavāng ay, ang gumay vayam.  
 sa=ripa=vāng ay.Ø ang=gum=ay.Ø vayam  
 PT=pay=2.A ISG.TOP A= work=ISG.A 2.DAT

‘You pay me, I will work for you.’

### 6.5.3 Conditional clauses

Protasis (condition) and apodosis (consequence) in Ayeri may or may not be introduced by a conjunction. The two conjunctions found with conditional clauses are *bata* ‘if, whether’ and *kada* ‘then, thus, so’. Examples of conditional clauses are given in (217). Protasis and apodosis may also appear in the opposite order in these examples. Generally, either conjunction may be dropped, though it is most common to drop the one of the first clause, whether it is the apodosis or the protasis. In more formal language, neither clause may be introduced by a conjunction. The conditional meaning has to be inferred from context in these cases, as there is not even word order inversion to mark the construction as conditional.

As described in section 4.5.2, Ayeri is not very strict about tense marking if tense can be inferred from context. It is common, thus, that both clauses have the same tense marking—very often, this will be none. In order to express a counterfactual conditional, the irrealis mood is used, as in (218). Ayeri does not distinguish between subjunctive and conditional moods; irrealis covers both.

- (218) Yomongyang adaya, sa nelongyang va.  
 yoma-ong=yang adaya sa=nel-ong=yang va.Ø  
 exist-IRR=ISG.A there PT=help-IRR=ISG.A 2.P

‘If I were there, I would help you.’



Since Ayeri uses a zero-copula, there is no verb to mark for irrealis in conditions containing a copula clause. An adverb expressing a potential action like 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *yoming* ‘maybe, perhaps’ may be used in these cases, or no marker at all. Both options are illustrated in (219).

- (219) *Yang ijan (yoming), sa intongyang koya-hen si vacyang.*  
 yang ijan (yoming) sa=int-ong=yang koya-Ø=hen si vac=yang  
 ISG.A rich (maybe) PT=buy-IRR=ISG.A book-TOP=all REL like=ISG.A

‘If I were rich, I would buy all the books I like.’

Besides positive conditions of the kind IF  $x$  THEN  $y$ , there are also negative ones of the kind  $x$  UNLESS  $y$ : a proposition  $x$  is valid unless a condition  $y$  is fulfilled. Ayeri does not possess a dedicated conjunction expressing ‘unless’, however, it has 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *nārya* as a general-purpose negative conjunction. It may also use negation as a morphological means to mark a negative condition.

- (220) a. *Sa-sahoyang, nārya bengyāng, simalyāng.*  
 sa~saha-oy=yang nārya beng=yāng simal=yāng  
 ITER~come-NEG=3SG.M.A but admit=3SG.M.A be.sorry=3SG.M.A

‘I will not return unless he admits he is sorry.’

- b. *Gumasayāng, toroyyāng.*  
 gum-asa=yāng tor-oy=yāng  
 work-HAB=3SG.M.A sleep-NEG=3SG.M.A

‘He works unless he is sleeping.’

or: ‘He works if he is not sleeping.’

Example (220a) displays the first strategy: the negative condition is indicated by the conjunction 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *nārya*. This conjunction can mostly be translated as ‘but’ in preverbal, clause-initial position. Here, however, it rather serves the purpose of ‘except’ or ‘unless’. Example (220b), on the other hand, is an extension to unin-  
 troduced conditional clauses as illustrated by (217c). Here, the negative condition, 𐄂𐄂𐄂 *toroyyāng* ‘(if) he is not sleeping’, is solely expressed by negation of the verb and the juxtaposition of clauses. 𐄂𐄂 *bata* may also be used together with a verb in negative mood.



# A Names

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## A.1 Masculine names

အဲဗျဲ <i>Ajan</i>	အဲဗ်ပဲ <i>Kruyan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Sedan</i>
အဲဗျဲ <i>Ajān</i>	ကဲဗျဲ <i>Lantān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Sirtang</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Akan</i>	ကဲဗျဲ <i>Lanyan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Sopan</i>
အဲဗျဲ <i>Amān</i>	ကဲဗျဲ <i>Latun</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Subing</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Apan</i>	ကဲဗ် <i>Ledo</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Taboy</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Apican</i>	ကဲဗ် <i>Linko</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tang</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Banan</i>	ကဲဗ် <i>Lita</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tapan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Bayban</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mabān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Taryan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Baykan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Makang</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Telbān</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Bihān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mangan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tenan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Canya</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mangān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tendan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Denan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mangyan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tenyam</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Diyan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Maran</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tikim</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Gabān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mican</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tipal</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Hanuan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Mico</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Togas</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Hanvan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Nabang</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Toryan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Hinvo</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Nibān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Tukong</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Hiro</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Niyas</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Ulang</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Ijān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Pangal</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Ven</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Ikan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Peran</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Vey</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Kadijan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Pinyān</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Veykan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Kagan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Pralan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Vipin</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Kaman</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Prano</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Virang</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Kan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Pulan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Yan</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Kolun</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Saylan</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Yonang</i>
အဲဗ် <i>Krui</i>	အဲဗ် <i>Sān</i>	

## A.2 Feminine names

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Agivay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Anang*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Apitu*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Apituay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Apitvay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Avan*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Bahay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Bamis*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Biling*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Binis*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Bribu*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Caysu*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Dembay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Diras*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Dita*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Diya*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Gada*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Gindi*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Gumkay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Kadisu*

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Karon*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Kemis*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Kumang*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Linglay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Lito*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Magaya*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Maha*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Mali*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Malivay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Mangavay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Migray*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Misan*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Nilan*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Ninlay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Niva*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pada*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pakay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Palay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Panglay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Paso*

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pila*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pin*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pituyay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sempay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sikavay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Silva*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Silvan*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sinlay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sinvay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sipra*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tamay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Taniva*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tavisay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Teping*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Trānay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tunan*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tuvo*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Vala*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Vapa*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Vomay*

## A.3 Gender-neutral names

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Anang*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Banvā*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Cān*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Cisu*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Dikun*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Leno*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Maka*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Manting*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Ming*

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Natran*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Nava*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Nilyam*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pangra*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Para*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Parān*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Perin*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Piba*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pralan*

ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Pray*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Sutay*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tabi*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Taran*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Toran*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Tupoy*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Veno*  
 ႁၢ်ဒၢ် *Veta*

## B Example Texts

## B.1 The North Wind and the Sun

(From Becker 2016c)

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two. (After Aesop; International Phonetic Association 2007: 39)

[illegible]

*Ang manga ranyon adauyi Pintemis nay Perin, engyo mico sinyāng luga toya, lingya si lugaya asāyāng si sitang-naykonyāng kong towaya mato. Sakantong, engongyo mico danyās palung menanang sirī ang pahongya asāya tovaley yana. Ang gibayo Pintemis minganeri-ben yona. Nay gibayong mico nay mico-eng, nay ang da-naykonya rado nay rado-eng asāya tovaley yana. Subryo deramyam ang Pintemis. Cuno makayam mato epang ang Perin, nay ang pahya edauyikan asāya tovaley yana. Kada rua bengyo ang Pintemis, ang engyo mico cuyam Perin luga toya sam.*

- (1) *Ang manga ranyon adaui Pintemis nay Perin, engyo*  
 ang=manga=ran-yon adaui Ø= Pintemis nay Perin eng-yo  
 AT= PROG= argue-3PL.N then TOP=North.Wind and Sun be.more-3SG.N  
*mico sinyāng luga toya, lingya si lugaya asāyāng si*  
 mico sinyang-luga toya ling-ya si luga-ya asāya-ang si  
 strong who-A among 3PL.N.LOC while-LOC REL pass-3SG.M traveler-A REL  
*sitang-naykonyāng kong tova ya mato.*  
 sitang=naykon-yāng kong tova-ya mato  
 self-wrap-3SG.M.A inside cloak-LOC warm

‘The North Wind and the Sun were then arguing which among them is stronger, all the while a traveler passed by who had wrapped himself in a warm cloak.’

- (2) *Sakantong, engongyo mico danyās palung menanang sirī*  
 sakan=tong eng-ong-yo mico danya-as palung menan-ang si-ri<i>  
 agree=3PL.N be.more-IRR-3SG.N strong one-P other first-A REL<-A>-CAUS  
*ang pabongya asāya tova ley yana.*  
 ang=pah-ong-ya asāya-Ø tova-ley yana  
 AT= remove-IRR-3SG.M traveler-TOP cloak-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN

‘They agreed that the first one due to whom the traveler would take off his cloak would be stronger than the other.’

- (3) a. *Ang gibayo Pintemis minganeri-ben yona.*  
 ang=giha-yo Ø= Pintemis mingan-eri=hen yona  
 AT= blow-3SG.N TOP=North.Wind ability-INS=all 3SG.N.GEN

‘The North Wind blew with all of his might.’

- b. *Nay gibayong mico nay mico-eng, nay ang da-naykonya rado nay*  
 nay giha=yong mico nay mico=eng nay ang=da=naykon-ya rado nay  
 and blow=3SG.N.A= strong and strong=COMP and AT= so=wrap-3SG.M tight and  
*rado-eng asāya tova ley yana.*  
 rado=eng asāya-Ø tova-ley yana  
 tight=COMP traveler-TOP cloak-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN.

‘And it blew harder and harder, and the traveler so wrapped his cloak tighter and tighter.’

- c. *Subryo deramyam ang Pintemis.*  
 Subr-yo deramyam ang=Pintemis  
 give.up-3SG.N after.all A= North.Wind

‘The North Wind gave up after all.’

- (4) *Cunyo makayam mato epang ang Perin, nay ang pahya edauyikan*  
 cun-yo maka-yam mato epang ang=Perin nay ang=pah-ya edauyikan  
 begin-3SG.N shine-PTCP warm next A= Sun and AT= remove-3SG.M immediately  
*asāya tovaley yana.*  
 asāya-Ø tova-ley yana  
 traveler-TOP cloak-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN

'Next, the Sun began to shine warmly, and the traveler immediately took off his cloak.'

- (5) *Kada rua bengyo ang Pintemis, ang engyo mico cuyam Perin*  
 kada rua= beng-yo ang=Pintemis ang=eng-yo mico cuyam Ø= Perin  
 thus must=admit-3SG A= North.Wind AT= be.more-3SG.N strong indeed TOP=Sun  
*luga toya sam.*  
 luga toya sam  
 among 3PL.N.LOC two

‘Thus the North Wind had to admit that the Sun was indeed the stronger among both of them.’

## B.2 The Fox and the Rooster

(Adapted from Becker 2016b)

Once upon a time, a hungry fox came to a village. He said to the rooster: "Let me hear your beautiful voice!" The proud rooster closed his eyes and crowed loudly. There the fox grabbed him and carried him into the forest. When the farmers noticed this, they ran after the fox and cried "The fox is carrying away our rooster!" There the rooster said to the fox: "Tell them, 'I am carrying my rooster and not yours!'" The fox released the rooster from his mouth and called "I am carrying my rooster and not yours!" There, however, the rooster quickly flew onto a tree. The fox called himself a fool and trotted off. (After Aesop)

[illegible]

*Mə-babisiya, ang sabaya runay mabo minkayya. Ang naraya aguyanya: “Garu, sa ming tangyang kadāre sekay veno vana!” Ang rimaya aguyan viyu nivajas yana nay garayāng babo. Sa da-kacisaya runayang ya nay sa ninyāng ya manga kong vinimya. Tadayya si ang kengyan bedangye adaley, ang nimpyan manga pang runayya*

*nay babatang: “Ang manga pabya runay aguyanas nana!” Nay ang naraya aguyan runayya: “Ningu cam: ‘Sa ninyang aguyan nā; ninoyyang da-vana.’” Ang bomya runay aguyanas bantana yana nay garayāng: “Sa ninyang aguyan nā; ninoyyang da-vana.” Ang nunaya para nārya aguyan manga ling mehirya. Sitang-gasiya runayang, yāng depangas, nay lampyāng mangasara.*

- (1) a. *Mə-babisya, ang sabaya runay mabo minkayya.*  
 mə=bahis-ya ang=saha-ya runay-Ø mabo minkay-ya  
 some=day-LOC AT= come-3SG.M fox-TOP hungry village-LOC  
 ‘Some day a hungry fox came to a village.’
- b. *Ang naraya aguyanya: Garu, sa ming tangyang kadāre sekay*  
 ang=nara=ya.Ø aguyan-ya gara-u sa= ming tang=yang kadāre sekay-Ø  
 AT= speak=3SG.M.TOP rooster-LOC call-IMP PT=can hear=1SG.A so.that voice-TOP  
*veno vana!*  
 veno vana  
 beautiful 2.GEN

‘He spoke to a rooster: “Call, so that I can hear your beautiful voice!”’

- (2) a. *Ang rimaya aguyan viyu nivajas yana nay garayāng babo.*  
 ang=rima-ya aguyan-Ø viyu niva-ye-as yana nay gara=yāng baho  
 AT= close=3SG.M rooster-TOP proud eye-PL-P 3SG.M.GEN and call=3SG.M.A loudly  
 ‘The proud rooster closed his eyes and crowed loudly.’
- b. *Sa da-kacisaya runayang ya nay sa ninyāng ya*  
 sa=da=kacisa-ya runay-ang ya.Ø nay sa= nin=yāng ya.Ø  
 PT=so=grab-3SG.M fox-A 3SG.M.TOP and PT=carry=3SG.M.A 3SG.M.TOP  
*manga kong vinimya.*  
 manga=kong vinim-ya  
 DIR= in forest-LOC

‘There he was grabbed by the fox and carried to the forest by him.’

- (3) a. *Tadayya si ang kengyan bedangye adaley, ang nimpyan*  
 taday-ya si ang=keng-yan bedang-ye-Ø ada-ley ang=nimp=yan.Ø  
 time-LOC REL AT= notice-3PL.M farmer-PL-TOP that-P.INAN AT= run=3PL.M.TOP  
*manga pang runayya nay babatang:*  
 manga=pang runay-ya nay baha=tang  
 DIR= behind fox-LOC and cry.out=3PL.M.A

‘As the farmers noticed, they ran after the fox and cried out.’

- b. *Ang manga pabya runay aguyanas nana!*  
 ang=manga=pah-ya runay-Ø aguyan-as nana  
 AT= PROG= take.away-3SG.M fox-TOP rooster-P 1SG.GEN

‘The fox is taking our rooster away!’



- (4) a. *Nay ang naraya aguyan runayya: Ningu cam:*  
 nay ang=nara-ya aguyan-Ø runay-ya ning-u cam  
 and AT= speak-3SG.M rooster-TOP fox-LOC say-IMP 3PL.M.DAT  
 ‘And the rooster said to the fox: “Tell them:”’
- b. *Sa ninyang aguyan nā; ninoyyang da-vana.*  
 sa= nin=yang aguyan-Ø nā nin-oy=yang da=vana  
 PT=carry=ISG.A rooster-TOP ISG.GEN carry-NEG=ISG.A SO=2PL.GEN  
 ‘I am carrying my own rooster; I am not carrying yours.’
- (5) a. *Ang bomya runay aguyanas bantana yana nay garayāng:*  
 ang=bom-ya runay-Ø aguyan-as banta-na yana nay gara=yāng  
 AT= release-3SG.M fox-TOP rooster-P mouth-GEN 3SG.M.GEN and call=3SG.M.A  
 ‘The fox released the rooster from his mouth and called.’
- b. *Sa ninyang aguyan nā; ninoyyang da-vana.*  
 sa= nin=yang aguyan-Ø nā nin-oy=yang da=vana  
 PT=carry=ISG.A rooster-TOP ISG.GEN carry-NEG=ISG.A SO=2PL.GEN  
 ‘I am carrying my own rooster; I am not carrying yours.’
- (6) a. *Ang nunaya para nārya aguyan manga ling mebirya.*  
 ang=nuna-ya para nārya aguyan-Ø manga=ling mehir-ya  
 AT= fly-3SG.M quickly though rooster-TOP DIR= on tree-LOC  
 ‘The rooster, though, quickly flew onto a tree.’
- b. *Sitang-gasiya runayang, yāng depangas, nay lampyāng mangasara.*  
 sitang=gasi-ya runay-ang yāng depang-as nay lamp=yāng mangasara  
 REFL=scold-3SG.M fox-A 3SG.M.A fool-P and walk=3SG.M.A away  
 ‘The fox scolded himself, that he were a fool, and walked away.’<sup>1</sup>

## B.3 Ozymandias

(Adapted from Becker 2011b)

### Ozymandias

I met a traveller from an antique land,  
 Who said – “two vast and trunkless legs of stone

<sup>1</sup> This sentence was translated rather literally from the German *der Fuchs schalt sich einen Narren*, literally ‘the fox scolded himself a fool’, with *einen Narren* ‘a fool’ as an object-predicative nominal.

Stand in the desert ... near them, on the sand,  
Half sunk a shattered visage lies, whose frown,  
And wrinkled lips, and sneer of cold command,  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read  
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,  
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed;  
And on the pedestal these words appear:  
My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings,  
Look on my Works ye Mighty, and despair!  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal Wreck, boundless and bare  
The lone and level sands stretch far away.” –

(Shelley 2003)

ရဲယုဂ

[illegible]

*Simanjas*

*Sa pengalyang asano similena tado, ang naraya: Namāng sam kāryo nay taryankay bengyon adābalya. Ya hemayong kiyisa nasay adany', abalya, marinas avanu-ngas. Ang ngyon igān nay nanding dijisu yona nosānas kilisarya nay sagoyamanas: Sa layaya ban-ikan tiyanyāng da-dikun si telujong tarela, ya saprayos linyaye:<sup>2</sup> sapayas si sagoyong; padangas si kondis'yong. Nay sa tabanyo eda-narān bengyamanya: Garanang nā SIMANJAS, baybiang baybiyena: Sa silvu gumo nā, nay prisu, vāng si lita! Hangara ranyareng palung. Le apanisareng abal-nama kebay, pray, soya, litoya kayvay, miday nernanyēa eda-kiyanena nake.*

2 Originally ၵဲးတဲးတဲး <sup>2</sup>*telugtong* ‘survive’ (survive=3PL.N.A), which at least presently is a mistake since ၵဲးတဲး *dikun* ‘passion’ is listed in the dictionary as a *singulare tantum*. The same goes for ၵဲးတဲးတဲး *saprayos*, which was plural ၵဲးတဲးတဲး *sapratos* ‘they are stamped’ (stamp=3PL.N.P) before. One word of the line in the original poem was not translated as it did not fit the meter in Ayer, “lifeless,” which may be translated as ၵဲးတဲးတဲး *si tenarya* ‘which are unalive’ (REL unalive).

- (1) *Sa pengalyang asano similena tado, ang*  
 sa=pengal=yang asano-Ø simil-ena tado ang=  
 PT=meet=ISG traveler-TOP country-GEN old AT=  
 'I met a traveler from an old country,'
- (2) *naraya: Namāng sam kāryo nay taryankay*  
 nara=ya.Ø nama-ang sam kāryo nay taryan-kay  
 say=3SG.M.TOP leg-A two big and torso-less  
 'he said: Two big and torsoless legs'
- (3) *bengyon adābalya. Ya hemayong kiyisa*  
 beng-yon ada=ahal-ya ya= hema=yong kiyisa  
 stand-3PL.N that=desert-LOC LOCT=lie-3SG.N.A shattered  
 'stand in that desert. There lies shattered'
- (4) *nasay adany', abalya, marinas avanu-ngas.*  
 nasay adanya-Ø ahal-ya marin-as avanu=ngas  
 near.of that.one-TOP sand-LOC face-P sunken=almost  
 'close to there, in the sand, an almost-sunken face.'
- (5) *Ang ningyon igān nay nanding dijisu yona*  
 ang=ning-yon igān-Ø nay nanding-Ø dijisu yona  
 AT= tell-3PL.N frown-TOP and lips-TOP twisted 3SG.N.GEN  
 'Its frown and twisted lips tell'
- (6) *nosānas kīlisarya nay sagoyamanas:*  
 nosān-as kilisarya nay sagoyaman-as  
 command-P strict and mocking-P  
 'of strict command and mockery'
- (7) *Sa layaya ban-ikan tiyanyāng da-dikun*  
 sa=laya-ya ban=ikan tiyanya-ang da=dikun-Ø  
 PT=read-3SG.M well=very creator-A such=passion-TOP  
 'Very well did the creator read such passion'
- (8) *si telujong tarela, ya saprayos linyaye:*  
 si telug=yong tarela ya= sapra=yos linya-ye-Ø  
 REL survive=3SG.N.A still LOCT=stamp=3SG.N.P thing-PL-Top  
 'which still survives, stamped into the things:'

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- (9) *sapayas si sagoyong; padangas si kondis'yong.*  
 sapay-as si sago=yong padang-as si kondisa=yong  
 hand-P REL mock=3SG.N.A heart-P REL feed=3SG.N.A  
 'the hand that mocks; the heart that feeds.'
- (10) *Nay sa tabanyo eda-narān benyamanya:*  
 nay sa=tahan-yo eda=narān-Ø benyaman-ya  
 and PT=write-3SG.N this=word-TOP pedestal-LOC  
 'And this word is written on the pedestal.'
- (11) *Garanang nā Simanjas, baybiang baybiyena:*  
 garan-ang nā Simanjas bayhi-ang bayhi-ye-na  
 name-A ISG.GEN Ozymandias ruler-A ruler-PL-GEN  
 'My name is Ozymandias, the king of kings.'
- (12) *Sa silvu gumo nā, nay prisu, vāng si lita!*  
 sa=silv-u gumo-Ø nā nay pris-u vāng si lita  
 PT=see-IMP work-TOP ISG.GEN and tremble-IMP 2.A REL mighty  
 'Behold my work and tremble, you who are mighty!'
- (13) *Hangara ranyareng palung. Le apanisareng*  
 hang-ara ranya-reng palung le= apanisa=reng  
 remain-3SG.INAN nothing-A.INAN else PT.INAN=stretch=3SG.INAN.A  
 'Nothing else remains. It stretches'
- (14) *ahal-nama kebay, pray, soya, litoya kayvay,*  
 ahal-Ø=nama kebay pray soya lito-ya kayvay  
 sand-TOP=only lonely smooth empty border-TOP without  
 'only the lonely, smooth, empty sand, without borders,'
- (15) *miday nernanyēa eda-kiyanena nake.*  
 miday nernan-ye-ya eda=kiyan-ena nake  
 around part-PL-LOC this=wreckage-GEN large  
 'around the pieces of this large wreckage.'

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