

An aerial photograph of a rugged coastline. The sea is a deep blue, and the sky is a clear, pale blue. The land is covered in dense green vegetation, with numerous white, rocky outcrops and cliffs protruding into the water. The overall scene is bright and scenic.

# Implications of Multiple Exponentials

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An aerial photograph of a mountain range, likely the Alps, showing a deep valley with a river winding through it. The mountains are covered in dense green forests, and the sky is a clear, pale blue. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

Morphology of the  
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# Repeated class markers (CMs) in

## Batsbi

- (1) *oqar* *tišin* *c'a* *d-ox-d-iy-er*  
they old house.ABS CM-destroy-CM-TR-IMPF  
'They tore down the old house.' (Dict 498a)
- (2) *tišin* *c'a* *dañ* *d-ex-d-o-d-anö*  
old house PV CM-destroy-CM-PRES-CM-EVID  
'They are evidently tearing down the old house.'
- (3) *tišin* *c'a* *dañ*  
old house PV
- d-ox-d-o-d-an-iš=ešü*  
CM-destroy-CM-PRES-CM-EVD-2PL.ERG=2PL.ERG  
'Y'all are evidently tearing down the old house.'

- Exponence (Matthews 1972, 1974)

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- Multiple or extended exponence

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- Exuberant exponence

# Structure of this presentation

- Description of exuberant exponents in Batsbi

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# Description of exuberant exponent in Batsbi

# Class (gender) in Batsbi

Class	Singular	Plural	Example
1	v	b	<i>voñ</i> 'son'
2	y	d	<i>ag</i> 'grandmother'
3	y	y	<i>q'ar</i> 'rain'
4	b	b	<i>kakam</i> 'wool'
5	d	d	<i>bader</i> 'child'
6	b	d	<i>matx</i> 'sun'
7	b	y	<i>bɬark</i> 'eye'
8	d	y	<i>lark</i> 'ear'

Table 1. Grammatical classes in Batsbi

CMs are conditioned by subjects of intransitives and by direct objects of transitives.

- (12) *xen-go-ḥ*      *potl-i*      *d-ek'-i<sup>n</sup>*  
tree-ALL-LOC      leaf(d/d)-PL CM-fall-AOR  
'The leaves of the tree were falling.'
- (13) *pst'uynčo-v*      *bader*      *d-iy-e<sup>n</sup>*  
woman(y/y)-ERG child(d/d).ABS CM-TR-AOR  
'The (married) woman bore a child.'

(Dict 225b, 41a)

## Many Batsbi verbs lack preradical agreement.

- (14) ...*gor-lo-ḥ*    *la/e<sup>n</sup>* ... (Dict 358b)  
family-ALLII-LOC go-AOR  
‘[they] went around in the family’
- (15) *simind*    *lapsdan*    *matx*  
corn(d/d).ABS    to.dry    sun(b/d).ABS  
*ot’-ö*    (Dict 493a)  
spread-PRES  
‘[they] spread the corn in the sun to dry.’

## Verbs with or without a preradical CM may have a postradical CM with *-(i)*.

- (16) *done-v* *tay/z-i*  
horse(b/d)-ERG saddlebags(/d)-PL.ABS  
*d-ek'-d-iy-e<sup>n</sup>* (Dict 225b, cf (12))  
CM-fall-CM-TR-AOR  
'The horse threw off the saddlebags.'
- (17) *kuyrc'le-x* *qečqečnayren*  
wedding-CON various  
*daq'r-i* *lal-d-iy-e<sup>n</sup>* *makaňö*  
food(d/d)-PL.ABS go-CM-TR-AOR above  
'At the wedding [they] passed around  
various foods.' (Dict 359a (cf. (14)))

Verbs with or without a preradical CM  
may have a postradical CM with *-al-*.

- (20)(a) *p'erang-mak-aňö* *xalat*  
shirt-ON-LOC house.coat(y/y).ABS  
*y-opx-ö* (Dict 495a)  
CM-put.on-PRES  
‘[She] put on a house coat over her shirt.’
- (b) *sen* *yoň* *taguš*  
me.GEN girl(y/d).ABS beautifully  
*y-opx-y-al-in-ě* (Dict 495a)  
CM-put.on-CM-INTR-AOR-&  
‘My daughter dressed beautifully and...’

# Table 2. Distribution of CMs in Batsbi

	With postradical CM	Without postradical CM
With preradical CM	<i>y-opx-y-al-in</i> ‘dress (oneself)’ (20b)	<i>d-ek-in</i> ‘fall’ (12)
Without preradical CM	<i>lal-d-iy-e<sup>n</sup></i> ‘pass’ (17)	<i>ot-ö</i> ‘spread’ (15)

## Some minimal pairs in Batsbi

ak'-ar 'burn (intr. stative)	d-ak'-ar 'burn (intr. active)'
aɫ-ar 'say'	d-aɫ-ar 'give'
ebl-ar 'arrange, place; carry liquid'	d-ebl-ar 'put, place; lay bail, (egg); put down in'
ebc'-ar 'push, pull; weigh; milk; smoke'	d-ebc'-ar 'tie'
ot'-ar 'spread'	d-ot'-ar 'go, go over'
ot:-ar 'stand, stay'	d-ot:-ar 'pour into'
ol:-ar 'thread (e.g. needle); put on (e.g. clothing)'	d-ol:-ar 'put down (inside s.t.); lock'

# Predictability of CMs

- only vowel-initial or  $\zeta$ -initial verbal lexemes occur with a preradical CM
- it is not predictable which vowel-initial or  $\zeta$ -initial verbal lexemes will occur with a CM, as shown on the previous slide
- it is predictable that a CM will accompany the *-a/* intransitive formant and *-(i)* transitive formant
- the intransitive and transitive formants are not themselves predictable.

# Compound Verbs

- (23) *šobi-lö*      *široš v-uyt'-v-ay-o-s* (Dict 571b)  
Pšavs-ALL|often CM-go-CM-come-PRES-1SG.ERG  
'I (masculine) often come and go among the  
Pšavs.'
- (24) *teg-b-a-b-ol-b-i-e<sup>[n]</sup>* (Dešeriev 1967:241)  
do-CM-DS-CM-begin-CM-TR-AOR  
'They began constructing it.' 'Construction  
began.'

# Evidential

- (25) *mayqĩ*                    *tet'-o-s* (Dict 279a)  
bread(y/y).ABS    cut-PRES-1SG.ERG  
'I am cutting bread.'
- (26) *tet'-d-anö*  
cut-CM-EVID  
'Evidently s/he was cutting it.'  
(Holisky and Gagua 1994: 181, Č'relašvili  
1984, 1990).

The evidential is inflectional and can be added to any verb, thus increasing the number of CMs in a single verb form.

(27) y-ox-y-o-y-anǒ

CM-rip-CM-PRES-CM-EVIDI

‘Evidently she ripped it.’

# Person-number-case agreement in Batsbi

(28)		Absolutive	Ergative	
		Pro Agmt	Pro Agmt	
1sg	so	-sǒ	as	-as
2sg	ħo	-ħǒ	aħ	-a(ħ)
1ex	txo	-txǒ	atx	-atx
2pl	šu	-šǔ	eš	-eš, -iš

(29) *duq kaniz*  
many grape[s](y/y).ABS  
*y-ayq-n-atx* (Dict 52b)  
CM-eat-AOR-1EX.ERG  
'We (ex) ate a lot of grapes.'

Since the person-number-case agreement suffixes are conditioned by subjects, in intransitives they are triggered by the nominals that also trigger class agreement.

(32) *mič-iv-ĥ*      *b-uyt'-aišĭ*  
where-DIR-LOC    CM-go-2PL.ERG  
*k'nat-i*            (Dict 493a)  
boy(v/b)-PL.ABS

‘Where are you going, boys?’

Here the feature [NUMBER] is realized twice in the verb.

# Interim Summary

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- have a person-number-case suffix

# Other languages with exuberant exponence

- Other Nakh-Daghestanian languages – Archi, Khinalug
- Kiranti languages (Tibeto-Burman) -- including Limbu, Dumi, Athpare, and Chintang
- Hualapai (Yuman)
- Others

# Brief description of exuberant exponents in other languages

# Archi Possessive Pronouns

ɬan dias nʰoʃ podarit aboli?  
whose father-DAT horse gave gift

‘To whose father did he give a horse (as a gift)?

to-r-mano-d-ias.

she-II-GEN-II-DAT

‘To hers.’

# Archi Personal Pronouns (Emphatic)

zon nokɬ'ak u-qʰa.

I-ABS house-INLAT I-entered

'I entered the house.'

zon-u-w-u / zon-u-w-ij-w-u nokɬ'ak u-qʰa.

I-u-I-u / I-u-I-ij-I-u house-INLAT I-entered

'I myself (only I) entered the house.'

# Archi Possessive Pronouns (Emphatic)

d-is      ʎonnoł d-aq<sup>ʁ</sup>’a    nokʎak.  
II-my.GEN    wife    II-entered house-INLAT  
‘My wife entered the house.’

d-issa-r-ej-r-u      ʎonnoł d-aq<sup>ʁ</sup>’a    nokʎak.  
II-my.GEN-II-ej-II-u    wife    II-entered house-INLAT  
‘Only my wife (nobody else) entered the house.’  
(or d-issa-r-u [II-my-GEN-II-u])

# Archi Possessive Pronoun (Emphatic, Independent)

d-as:á-r-ej-r-u-t:u-r

II-of.myself-II-suffix-II-suffix-II

‘my own’ [female]

(Kibrik, A. E. 1977. *Opyt strukturnogo opisanija arčinskogo jazyka*. Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta.: 128-30, 320, cited by

Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 108, 115-116)

# Hualapai

gwe ma-ma: **mi-dá'óp-ay-ng-ì-ng-wé?**  
s.t. 3/2-eat 2-Neg-Future-ss.2-Aux-ss.2-Aux  
'Aren't you supposed to be eating (rather than  
drinking)?'

(ng, [ŋ] < k-m-)

(Watahomigie, Lucille J., Jorogine Bender, Akira Y. Yamamoto, with Elnora Mapatis, Josie Manakaja, and Malinda Powskey. 1982. *Hualapai reference grammar*. Los Angeles, CA: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles. P. 119.)

The challenge all of these languages share is exuberant exponence.

(33) *c'arp-ex y-opx-y-al-n-as*

fire-CON CM-warm-CM-INTR-AOR-1SG.ERG

'I warmed up by the fire.'

Implications of these systems  
for a general approach to  
morphology

- Donohue notes that most theories make the “basic assumption that languages employ the most economical set of morphemes needed to realise the meaning and grammatical features required.”
- This is the Principle of Economy, and EE challenges this principle.

(Donohue, Mark. 2006. A most agreeable language. Web.)

- EE does not, of course, present a challenge in terms of the Principle of Economy in systems that make use of soft constraints, such as Optimality Theory.

# The Issues: Identity Avoidance in Morphology

- a. The same morpheme cannot appear twice in the same word.
- b. Different but homophonous morphemes cannot appear adjacent in the same word, or otherwise adjacent in the sentence.
- c. Homophonous morphemes cannot appear on adjacent words.
- d. The output of reduplication cannot be total identity. (Yip 1998: 220)

“The first type [i.e. a language in which the same morpheme appears two or more times in a given word] is rare, perhaps non-existent, but it is not clear that the morphophonology underlies this: in most cases it seems likely that syntactic and morpho-syntactic principles will achieve this end without identity avoidance being involved at all.”  
(Yip, *loc cit*)

Yip, Moira. 1998. Identity avoidance in phonology and morphology. *Morphology and its relation to phonology and syntax*, ed. by Steven G. Lapointe, Diane K. Brentari, and Patrick M. Farrell, 216-246. Stanford: CSLI.

“Because operations are informationally additive, multiple additions of identical information are precluded” (Steele 1995:280).

Steele, Susan. 1995. Towards a theory of morphological information. *Language* 71: 260-309.

# Multiple Exponence in Distributed Morphology

“There is no ‘multiple exponence’ of features from a single syntactic or morphological node” (Halle and Marantz 1993: 138)

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111-176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

# Feature Discharge

## The Rule-Affix Hypothesis

“A morphological rule introducing an affix is a structure-building rule. Structure-building rules discharge features and positions-of-exponence. The affix so introduced is the principal exponent of the features discharged” (Noyer 1997:lv).

Noyer, Rolf. 1997. *Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure*. New York: Garland.

# A different solution to multiple exponence within DM

- $\emptyset \rightarrow [-pl, +\delta]$
- $\emptyset \rightarrow [-pl, +\delta] / [-pl, +\delta] \dots \text{---}$   
|+ *-i*  
|+ *-al*  
|+ *anö*
- based on

Müller, Gereon. 2006. Extended exponence by enrichment: Argument encoding in German, Archi, and Timucua. <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~muellerg/mu256.pdf>

“The output information must not be contained in the input” (1996: 262).

(Wunderlich, Dieter, & Ray Fabri. 1996. Minimalist morphology: An approach to inflection. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 14 (1995): 236-294.)

# Visibility Requirement

“If word formation interferes with inflection, appropriate specifications for syntactically relevant inflectional features have to be given ‘outside’ in order to be visible to the syntax” (Ortmann 1999: 107).

Ortmann, Albert. 1999. Affix repetition and non-redundancy in inflectional morphology. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 18 (1): 76-120.

While this system can be made to work, it denies the claims stated in the literature and uses extra-grammatical means to circumvent these claims.

# Interim Conclusions

- Multiple exponents do exist.
- To account for Batsbi and other cases of exuberant exponents, theories that build words must take the approach of circumventing the very claims on which they are based.

# Additional problems introduced by Batsbi

# Lexical government of agreement

- As shown above, some agreement marking is not fully predictable in Batsbi.
- A simple (non-compound) verbal lexeme may govern a preradical CM and a postradical CM, independently of one another.
- Thus occurrence of CMs in these two positions must be listed in the lexicon.

- Unpredictability of agreement creates problems for any theory that would build words by adding morphemes, or for any that would copy a CM from one position to another.

- Unpredictability of agreement creates problems for any theory that would build words by adding morphemes, or for any that would copy a CM from one position to another.
- If *d-ek'ar* 'fall' contains gender & number in its meaning, we would expect *ak'ar* 'fall PL' to do so as well.

# Implications for a theory that builds words:

- So-called Class Markers, or gender-number markers, actually have no meaning (and *d-ek'ar* 'fall' and *ak'ar* 'fall PL' are alike)

*or*

- There are many CMs with the form of a zero-morpheme, but the occurrence of these is partially unpredictable (and  $\emptyset$ -*ak'ar* 'fall PL' contains one).

# Existence of CM variation throughout the lexicon

- Verbs: *d-a ʕar* ‘give’      *leḥar* ‘touch’
- Nouns: *d-axrik* ‘drunkard’      *kʕnat* ‘boy’
- Adjs: *d-aq:on* ‘big’      *kʕacʕon* ‘little’
- Advs: *d-ux* ‘back’      *yazeiṣṣ* ‘well’
- Nums: *d-šivʔ* ‘four’      *ši* ‘two’

- Unpredictability makes the same problems for theories that would build words.

- Unpredictability makes the same problems for theories that would build words.
- To the extent that the words in the left column (in the previous slide) contain gender & number in their meanings, we would expect those in the right column to contain these features.

# Implications

- CM has no meaning (and the fact that *v-axrik* means ‘male drunkard’, *y-axrik* means ‘female drunkard’, etc. is a coincidence)
- There are many zero-morphemes or unpronounced morphemes, partially unpredictable (and *naq’bist* ‘friend’ has covert variants *\*v-naq’bist* and *\*y-naq’bist* or is really  $\emptyset$ -*naq’bist*).

# Nesting in morphology

y-ox-y-o-y-an<sup>w</sup>

CM-rip-CM-TR.LV-PRES-CM-EVID

‘Evidently she ripped it.’

[[[d-ox]<sub>v</sub> -d-i]<sub>v</sub> -d-anö]<sub>v</sub>

In Batsbi, pairs of morphemes may be nested in this way.

- For a word-building theory to capture this generalization naturally, it may create recursive morphological rules.
- But there is no true recursion here; nesting stops at this level.

# Conclusions: Extended exponence indicates

- That a feature of meaning is not “discharged” or used up at its first use.

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- That a feature of meaning is not “discharged” or used up at its first use.
- That there is no one-to-one correspondence of meaning to exponent.

# Other characteristics of Batsbi indicate

- That in some languages lexical differences require that the lexicon be involved in some morphological processes (here gender-number agreement).

# Other characteristics of Batsbi indicate

- That in some languages lexical differences require that the lexicon be involved in some morphological processes (here gender-number agreement).
- That in some languages multiple exponents may be associated with specific morphs, and that these may occur in nested structures.

# Conclusions

- Although extended exponence can be accounted for in any theory, in order to do so, theories that build words from meaningful parts must circumvent the principles on which they are based.

# Conclusions

- Although extended exponence can be accounted for in any theory, in order to do so, theories that build words from meaningful parts must circumvent the principles on which they are based.
- We learn more about the nature of languages by acknowledging the existence of facts such as these and constructing theories that are compatible with them.

# Implications of Exuberant Exponente

Thank you!

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# Reduction of word-final vowels

(35)(a) *so* *yaziš* *v-a-sǔ* (Dict 542a)

I.ABS well CM-be-1SG.ABS

‘I (masculine) am well.’

(b) *ho* *men* *v-a-hǔ*

you.ABS who.abs.sg CM-be-2SG.ABS

‘Who are you?’ (Dict 921b)

# Person suffixes are not distinct words.

- (36)(a) *meqĩ* *teť-o-s*  
bread(y/y).ABS cut-pres-1SG.ERG  
'I cut bread.' (cf. Dict 279a)
- (b) (*añ*) *meqĩ* *teť-o-ñ*  
you bread(y/y).ABS cut-pres-2SG.ERG  
'You cut bread.'  
(Author's fieldwork, inspired by (36a))

## Reduction of word-final *n*

- (a) *don*      *b-av-in-as*      (Dict 27b)  
horse.ABS      CM-lose-AOR-1SG.ERG  
'I lost a horse.'
- (b) *eš*      *vux*      *teg-d-in-eš*  
y'all.ERG      what.ABS      do-CM.TR-AOR-2PL.ERG  
'What did y'all do?'  
(Fieldwork, inspired by Dict 682b)

# Agreement trigger

(38) *manana-s*            *qor*  
Manana(y/d)-ERG apple(b/d).ABS  
*teṭ'-b-anõ*...  
cut-CM-EVID

‘Apparently Manana is cutting an  
apple....’

If *b-anõ* were an independent auxiliary, ‘be’,  
it would agree with its subject, ‘Manana’.

## Position of *co* NEG

- (43) (a) *v-ux co v-erc'-v-ien*  
CM-back NEG CM-return-CM-AOR  
'He did not turn him back.'
- (b) \**co v-ux- v-erc'-v-ien*

## Position of *-a* ‘and’

- (50) ...*oqu-in*     *matt*  
that.one-GEN    bed.ABS  
*ču-a-b-iš-en*  
in-&-cm-lie-aor  
‘...and [the wolf] lay in her bed.’

# Conjoining

- (a) *andri-s*    *qor*  
Andre-ERG apple(b/d).abs  
*dargo-b-o-b-anö*    *ye*  
plant-CM-PRES-CM-EVID    and  
*bubk'-i*    *lañ-d-o-d-anö*  
flower(d/d)-pl.abs    pick-CM-PRES-CM-EVID  
'Andre will evidently plant an apple and will  
evidently pick flowers.'
- (b) \* ...*lañ-d-o*

# Gapping

- (a) *andri-s*    *qor*    *dargo-b-ö*,  
Andre-ERG apple(b/d).ABS plant-CM-PRES  
*manana-s*    *bubk'-i*  
Manana-ERG flower(d/d)-PL.ABS  
*lañ-d-ö*  
pick-CM-PRES  
'Andre plants an apple, and Manana picks  
flowers.'
- (b) \**lañ*

# Gender Resolution

(26) (a) *vux d-aʔ*

what CM-is

‘What is it?’

(b) *kok'a-ě borga-ě d-a*

leg-& slipper-& CM-is

‘It is a leg and a slipper.’

(Holisky and Gagua 1994: 163)

# Gender Resolution with Humans

*mit'o-ě p'et'o-ě en važar-i b-a?*

Mito-& Peto-& 2SG/GEN brothers-Q CM-is

‘Are Mito and Peto your brothers?’

(Holisky and Gagua 1994: 191)

*txo-x yaz-ivx men d-a* (Dict 300)

1EX-CON good-COMP who.ABS CM-be

‘Who is better than us?’

# Evidence from the following distinguish words from phrases in

## Batsbi

- *V* reduction in word-final position
- *n* reduction in word-final position
- position of *co* and other particles
- conjoining of morphemes
- gapping