

- (1) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ ʔilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila a book.’

- (2) *Sa ilya Ajān ada-koya yam Pila.*

/sa 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ada'koja | jam 'pila/

*Sa ilya Ajān ada-koya yam Pila.*

sa il-ya Ajān ada-koya yam Pila

PT give-3SG.M Ajān that-book DAT Pila

‘That book, Ajān gives (it) to Pila.’

- (3) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam ada-Pila.*

/aŋ ʔilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s | jam ʔada'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam ada-Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as yam ada-Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P DAT that-Pila

‘Ajān gives that Pila a book.’

- (4) *Ang ilya Ajān sa 'Netuye Karamazov' yam Pila.*

/aŋ ʔilja | a'dʒa:n | sa ne'tuje kara'mazov | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān sa 'Netuye Karamazov' yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān sa 'Netu-ye Karamazov' yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān P 'Brother-PL Karamazov' DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila the “Brothers Karamazov”.’

- (5) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila nay Latun.*

/aŋ ʔilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila nai 'latun/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila nay Latun.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as yam Pila nay Latun

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P DAT Pila and Latun

‘Ajān gives Pila and Latun a book.’

- (6) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila nay netuyam yena.*  
 /aŋɿ'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila nai ne'tujam 'jena/  
*Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila nay netuyam yena.*  
 ang il-ya Ajān koya-as yam Pila nay netu-yam yena  
 AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P DAT Pila and brother-DAT her.GEN  
 'Ajān gives Pila and her brother a book.'
- (7) *Ang ilyan Ajān nay Diyan koyās yam Pila.*  
 /aŋɿ'iljan | a'dʒa:n nai 'dijan | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila/  
*Ang ilyan Ajān nay Diyan koyās yam Pila.*  
 ang il-yan Ajān nay Diyan koya-as yam Pila  
 AT give-3PL.M Ajān and Diyan book-P DAT Pila  
 'Ajān and Diyan give Pila a book.'
- (8) *Ang ilya edāyon nay ledan koyās yam Pila.*  
 /aŋɿ'ilja | e'da:jon nai 'ledan | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila/  
*Ang ilya edāyon nay ledan koyās yam Pila.*  
 ang il-ya eda-ayon nay ledan koya-as yam Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M this-man and friend book-P DAT Pila  
 'This man and friend gives Pila a book.'
- (9) *Ang ilyan edāyon nay eda-ledan koyās yam Pila.*  
 /aŋɿ'iljan | e'da:jon nai eda'ledan | ko'ja:s | jam 'pila/  
*Ang ilyan edāyon nay eda-ledan koyās yam Pila.*  
 ang il-yan eda-ayon nay eda-ledan koya-as yam Pila  
 AT give-3PL.M this-man and this-friend book-P DAT Pila  
 'This man and this friend give Pila a book.'
- (10) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay migrayas yam Pila.*  
 /aŋɿ'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s nai mi'grajas | jam 'pila/  
*Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay migrayas yam Pila.*  
 ang il-ya Ajān koya-as nay migray-as yam Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P and flower-P DAT Pila  
 'Ajān gives Pila a book and a pen.'

- (11) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay dadangley yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s nai dadaŋ'lei | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay dadangley yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as nay dadang-ley yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P and pen-P.INAN DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila a book and a pen.’

- (12) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s'ikan | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as-ikan yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P-many DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila many books.’

- (13) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'jadʒas nai dadaŋ'lei\_ 'ikan meram'bai | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-ye-as nay dadang-ley-ikan merambay yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P and pen-P.INAN-many useful DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila many useful books and pens.’

- (14) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas, nay(nay) dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'jadʒas | nai('nai) dadaŋ'lei\_ 'ikan meram'bai | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyajas, nay(nay) dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-ye-as nay(nay) dadang-ley-ikan merambay yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P and(.also) pen-P.INAN-many useful DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila books, and (also) many useful pens.’

- (15) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangley merambay yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'ja:s\_ 'ikan nai dadaŋ'lei meram'bai | jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangley merambay yam Pila.*

ang il-ya Ajān koya-as-ikan nay dadang-ley merambay yam Pila

AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P-many and pen-P.INAN useful DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila many books and a useful pen.’

- (16) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangyeley merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjaːs ˈikan nai dadanˌjeleɪ meramˈbaɪ | jam ˈpila/  
*Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangyeley merambay yam Pila.*  
 ang il-ya Ajān koya-as-ikan nay dadang-ye-ley merambay yam Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P-many and pen-PL-P.INAN useful DAT Pila  
 ‘Ajān gives Pila many books and useful pens.’
- (17) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangyeley merambay-ikan yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjadʒas nai daˌdanjeˈleɪ meramˈbaɪ ˈikan | jam ˈpila/  
*Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangyeley merambay-ikan yam Pila.*  
 ang il-ya Ajān koya-ye-as nay dadang-ye-ley merambay-ikan yam Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P and pen-PL-P.INAN useful-very DAT Pila  
 ‘Ajān gives Pila very useful books and pens.’
- (18) *Merambay sikan koyajang nay dadangyeley? — Da-ikan. (\*Ikan.)*  
 /meramˈbaɪ ˈsikan | koˈjaːdʒan nai daˌdanjeˈleɪ/ — /daˈikan/  
*Merambay sikan koyajang nay dadangyeley? — Da-ikan.*  
 merambay sikan koya-ye-ang nay dadang-ye-ley da-ikan  
 useful how.much book-PL-A and pen-PL-P.INAN so-very  
 ‘How useful are the books and pens?’ — ‘Very.’
- (19) *Ang misya ku-depangas.*  
 /aŋ ˈmisja | kudeˈpaŋas/  
*Ang misya ku-depangas.*  
 ang mis-ya ku-depang-as  
 AT act-3SG.M like-fool-P  
 ‘He acts like a fool.’
- (20) *Sa misyāng ku-depang.*  
 /sa misˈjaːŋ | kudeˈpaŋ/  
*Sa misya ku-depang.*  
 sa mis-ya ku-depang  
 PT act-3SG.M like-fool  
 ‘Like a fool he acts.’

- (21) *Ang misya ku-da-depangas.*

/aŋ 'misja | kudade'paŋas/

*Ang misya ku-da-depangas.*

ang mis-ya ku-da-depang-as

AT act-3SG.M.A like-such-fool-P

'He acts like such a fool.'

- (22) *Ang misya nay lentaya ku-depangas.*

/aŋ 'misja nai len'taja | kude'paŋas/

*Ang misya nay lentaya ku-depangas.*

ang mis-ya nay lenta-ya ku-depang-as

AT act-3SG.M and sound-3SG.M like-fool-P

'He acts and sounds like a fool.'

- (23) *Sa misyāng nay lentayāng ku-depang.*

/sa mis'ja:ŋ nai lenta'ja:ŋ | kude'paŋ/

*Sa misyāng nay lentayāng ku-depangas.*

sa mis-yāng nay lenta-yāng ku-depang-as

PT act-3SG.M.A and sound-3SG.M.A like-fool-P

'Like a fool he acts and sounds.'

- (24) *Ang misya ku-depangas nay karayās.*

/aŋ 'misja | kude'paŋas nai kara'ja:s/

*Ang misya ku-depangas nay karayās*

ang mis-ya ku-depang-as nay karaya-as

AT act-3SG.M.A like-fool-P and coward-P

'He acts like a fool and coward.'

- (25) *Ang misya ku-da-depangas nay karayās.*

/aŋ 'misja | kudade'paŋas nai kara'ja:s/

*Ang misyāng ku-da-depangas nay karayās*

ang mis-yāng ku-da-depang-as nay karaya-as

AT act-3SG.M.A like-such-fool-P and coward-P

'He acts like such a fool and coward.'

- (26) *Ang silvye ku-māvās yena.*  
 /aŋ 'silvje | ku,ma:'va:s 'jena/

*Ang silvye            ku-māvās            yena.*  
 ang silv-ye            ku-māva-as            yena  
 AT look-3SG.F like-mother-P 3SG.F.GEN

‘She looks like her mother.’

- (27) *Ang silvye Pada ku-māvās yena.*  
 /aŋ 'silvje | 'pada | ku,ma:'va:s 'jena/

*Ang silvye            Pada ku-māvās            yena.*  
 ang silv-ye            Pada ku-māva-as            yena  
 AT look-3SG.F Pada like-mother-P 3SG.F.GEN

‘Pada looks like her mother.’

- (28) a. *Ang haruya Pulan sa Linko.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja | 'pulan | sa 'liŋko/

*Ang haruya            Pulan sa Linko.*  
 ang haru-ya            Pulan sa Linko  
 AT beat-3SG.M Pulan P Linko

‘Pulan beats Linko.’

- b. \**Ang haruya            ang Pulan sa Linko.*  
 ang haru-ya            ang Pulan sa Linko  
 AT beat-3SG.M A Pulan P Linko

- (29) *Ang haruya Pulan yās.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja | 'pulan | yās/

*Ang haru-ya            Pulan yās.*  
 ang haru-ya            Pulan yās  
 AT beat-3SG.M Pulan 3SG.M.P

‘Pulan beats him.’

- (30) a. *Ang haruya sa Linko.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja | sa 'liŋko/  
  
*Ang haruya sa Linko.*  
 ang haru-ya sa Linko  
 AT beat-3SG.M P Linko  
  
 'He beats Linko.'
- b. \**Ang haruya yāng sa Linko.*  
 ang haru-ya yāng sa Linko  
 AT beat-3SG.M 3SG.M.A P Linko
- (31) *Ang haruya yās.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja | 'jās/  
  
*Ang haruya yās.*  
 ang haru-ya yās  
 AT beat-3SG.M 3SG.M.P  
  
 'He beats him.'
- (32) a. *Sa haruya ang Pulan Linko.*  
 /sa ha'ruja | aŋ 'pulan | 'liŋko/  
  
*Sa haruya ang Pulan Linko.*  
 sa haru-ya ang Pulan Linko  
 PT beat-3SG.M A Pulan Linko  
  
 'Linko, Pulan beats (him).'
- b. \**Sa haruya ang Pulan sa Linko.*  
 sa haru-ya ang Pulan sa Linko  
 PT beat-3SG.M A Pulan P Linko
- (33) a. *Sa haruya ang Pulan Sipra.*  
 /sa ha'ruja | aŋ 'pulan | 'sipra/  
  
*Sa haruya ang Pulan Sipra.*  
 sa haru-ya ang Pulan Sipra  
 PT beat-3SG.M A Pulan Sipra  
  
 'Sipra, Pulan beats (her).'
- b. \**Sa haruye ang Pulan Sipra.*  
 sa haru-ya ang Pulan Sipra  
 PT beat-3SG.F A Pulan Sipra

- (34) a. *Sa haruya para ang Pulan ya.*  
 /sa ha'ruja | 'para | aŋ 'pulan | ja/  
  
*Sa haruya para ang Pulan ya.*  
 sa haru-ya para ang Pulan ya  
 PT beat-3SG.M quickly A Pulan 3SG.M  
  
 'It is him Pulan quickly beats.'
- b. \**Sa haruya para ang Pulan yās.*  
 sa haru-ya para ang Pulan yās  
 PT beat-3SG.M quickly A Pulan 3SG.M.P

- (35) *Sa haruya para ya ang Pulan.*  
 /sa ha'ruja | 'para ja | aŋ 'pulan/  
  
*Sa haruya para ya ang Pulan.*  
 sa haru-ya para ya ang Pulan  
 PT beat-3SG.M quickly 3SG.M A Pulan  
  
 'It is him Pulan quickly beats.'

- (36) *Sa haruyāng ya.*  
 /sa haru'ja:ŋ ja/  
  
*Sa haruyāng ya.*  
 sa haru-yāng ya  
 PT beat-3SG.M.A 3SG.M  
  
 'It is him that he beats.'

- (37) *Haruyās.*  
 /haru'ja:s/  
  
*Haruyās.*  
 haru-yās  
 beat-3SG.M.P  
  
 'He is (being) beaten.'



- (38) *Ang haruya Pulan sa Linko lundari.*

/aŋ ha'ruja | 'pulan | sa 'liŋko | lun'dari/

*Ang haruya Pulan sa Linko lundari.*  
ang haru-ya Pulan sa Linko lunda-ri  
AT beat-3SG.M Pulan P Linko shoe-INS

'Pulan beats Linko with a shoe.'

- (39) *Ri haruya ang Pulan sa Linko lunda.*

/ri ha'ruja | aŋ 'pulan | sa 'liŋko | 'lunda/

*Ri haruya ang Pulan sa Linko lundari.*  
ri haru-ya ang Pulan sa Linko lunda-ri  
INST beat-3SG.M A Pulan P Linko shoe-INS

'It is with a/the shoe that Pulan beats Linko.'

- (40) *Ri haruya para ang Pulan sa Linko adanya.*

/ri ha'ruja | para | aŋ 'pulan | sa 'liŋko | a'danja/

*Ri haruya para ang Pulan sa Linko adanya.*  
ri haru-ya para ang Pulan sa Linko adanya  
INST beat-3SG.M quickly A Pulan P Linko that

'It is with that that Pulan quickly beats Linko.'

- (41) *Ri haruya para adanya ang Pulan sa Linko.*

/ri ha'ruja | para | a'danja | aŋ 'pulan | sa 'liŋko | 'ara/

*Ri haruya para adanya ang Pulan sa Linko.*  
ri haru-ya para adanya ang Pulan sa Linko  
INST beat-3SG.M quickly that A Pulan P Linko

'It is with that that Pulan quickly beats Linko.'

- (42) *?Ang sarāyn ay nay va kodanya.*

*Ang sarāyn kodanya, yang nay vāng.*

/ja sara'naŋ | ko'danja || 'jaŋ nai 'va:ŋ/

*Ang sarāyn kodanya, yang nay vāng.*  
Ang sara-ayn kodan-ya yang nay vāng  
AT go-1PL lake-LOC 2.A and 1SG.A

'You and I are going to the lake.' / 'We are going to the lake, you and I.'

- (42) ?*Ya sarāyn yang nay vāng kodan.*  
*Ya saranang kodan, yang nay vāng.*  
 /ja sara'naŋ | ko'danja || 'jaŋ nai 'va:ŋ/  
*Ya saranang kodan, yang nay vāng.*  
 ya sara-nang kodan yang nay vāng  
 LOCT go-1PL.A lake 2.A and 1SG.A  
 'You and I are going to the lake.' / 'We are going to the lake, you and I.'
- (42) *Ang koronay sitang-nyama guratanley.*  
 /aŋ koro'nai si'taŋ,njama | guratan'lei/  
*Ang koronay sitang-nyama guratanley.*  
 ang koron-ay sitang-nyama guratan-ley  
 AT know-1SG self-even answer-P  
 'Even I know the answer.'
- (43) *Le koronyang sitang-nyama guratan.*  
 /le koron'jaŋ si'taŋ,njama | gu'ratan/  
*Le koronyang sitang-nyama guratan.*  
 le koron-yang sitang-nyama guratan  
 PT know-1SG.A self-even answer  
 'The answer, even I know (it).'
- (44) *Ang kece nay dayungisaye māva yanjās yena.*  
 /aŋ 'ketʃe nai dajuŋi'saje | 'ma:va | 'jandʒas 'jena/  
*Ang kece nay dayungisaye māva yanjās yena.*  
 ang ket-ye nay dayungisa-ye māva yan-ye-as yena  
 AT wash-3SG.F and dress-3SG.F mother boy-PL-P 3SG.F.GEN  
 'The mother washes and dresses her boys.'
- (45) *Ang kece nay dayungisaye tas.*  
 /aŋ 'ketʃe nai dajuŋi'saje tas/  
*Ang kece nay dayungisaye tas.*  
 ang ket-ye nay dayungisa-ye tas  
 AT wash-3SG.F and dress-3SG.F 3PL.M.P  
 'She washes and dresses them.'

- (46) *Sa keceng nay dayungisayeng yan.*

/sa ke'tʃeŋ nai daʝuŋisa'jeŋ jan/

*Sa keceng nay dayungisayeng yan.*

sa ket-yeng nay dayungisa-yeng yan

PT wash-3SG.F and dress-3SG.F 3PL.M

‘Them it is whom she washes and dresses.’

- (47) *Sa ilyāŋ koyaye nay dadangye yeyam.*<sup>1</sup>

/sa il'ja:ŋ | ko'jaje nai da'daŋje | je'jam/

*Sa ilyāŋ koyaye nay dadangye yeyam.*

sa il-yāŋ koya-ye nay dadang-ye yeyam

PT give-3SG.M book-PL and pen-PL 3SG.F.DAT

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \end{bmatrix}$

‘Books and pens he gives her.’

- (47) *Ang sobisayan Mico nay Niva sungkoranas narān.*

/aŋ sobi'sajan | 'mitʃo nai 'niva | suŋko'ranas na'ra:n/

*Ang sobisayan Mico nay Niva sungkoranas narān.*

ang sobisa-yan Mico nay Niva sungkoran-as narān

AT study-3PL.M Mico and Niva science-P language

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Mico and Niva study linguistics.’

- (48) *Ang sobisayan Niva nay Mico sungkoranas narān.*

/aŋ sobi'sajan | 'niva nai 'mitʃo | suŋko'ranas na'ra:n/

*Ang sobisayan Niva nay Mico sungkoranas narān.*

ang sobisa-yan Niva nay Mico sungkoran-as narān

AT study-3PL.M Niva and Mico science-P language

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Niva and Mico study linguistics.’

<sup>1</sup>I think that due to the way Ayeri deals with verb agreement, it makes more sense for it overall to have nearest-conjunct agreement with regards to gender/animacy than gender resolution, though see below. Number always resolves, though.

- (49) *Toryan ang Yan nay veneyang yana.*  
 /'torjan | aŋ 'jan nai vene'jang 'jana/

*Toryan ang Yan nay veneyang yana.*  
 tor-yan ang Yan nay veney-ang yana  
 sleep-3<sub>PL.M</sub> A Yan and dog-A 3<sub>SG.M.A</sub>

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘Yan and his dog are sleeping.’

- (50) *Toryon veneyang nay badanang.*  
 /'torjon | vene'jang nai bada'nan/

*Toryon veneyang nay badanang.*  
 tor-yon veney-ang nay badan-ang  
 sleep-3<sub>PL.N</sub> dog-A and father-A

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘The dog and father are sleeping.’

- (51) *Toryan mavāng nay veneyang.*<sup>2</sup>  
 /'torjan | ma'va:ŋ nai vene'jang/

*Toryan mavāng nay veneyang.*  
 tor-yan mava-ang nay veney-ang  
 sleep-3<sub>PL.M</sub> mother-A and dog-A

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘Mother and the dog are sleeping.’

<sup>2</sup>Lack of gender resolution with regular nearest-conjunct agreement ought to be possible as well.

- (52) *Toryon veneyang nay mavāng.*  
 /'torjon | vene'jang nar ma'va:ŋ/

*Toryon veneyang nay mavāng.*  
 tor-yon veney-ang nay mava-ang  
 sleep-3PL.N dog-A and mother-A

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	F
NUM	SG

‘The dog and mother are sleeping.’

- (53) *Ang sarayan kadanya Api-Api nay ajam yana tadayen.*  
 /aŋ sa'rajan ka'danja | 'api'api nar 'adʒam 'jana | ta'dajen/

*Ang sarayan kadanya Api-Api nay ajam yana tadayen.*  
 ang sara-yan kadanya Api-Api nay ajam yana tadayen  
 AT go-3PL.M together Api-Api and toy 3SG.M.GEN everywhere

ANIM	+
------	---

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

‘Api-Api and his toy are going everywhere together.’

- (54) *Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Api-Api tadayen.*  
 /eŋ sa'ra:ran ka'danja | 'adʒam nar 'api'api | ta'dajen/

*Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Api-Api tadayen.*  
 Eng sara-aran kadanya ajam nay Api-Api tadayen  
 AT.INAN go-3PL.INAN together toy and Api-Api everywhere

ANIM	–
------	---

ANIM	–
NUM	PL

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

‘The toy and Api-Api are going everywhere together.’

- (55) *Ang sarayan kadanya Tavi-Tavi nay ajam yena tadayen.*<sup>3</sup>  
 /aŋ sa'rajan ka'danja | 'tavi'tavi nar 'adʒam 'jena | ta'dajen/

*Ang sarayan kadanya Tavi-Tavi nay ajam yena tadayen.*  
 ang sara-yan kadanya Tavi-Tavi nay ajam yena tadayen  
 AT go-3PL.M together Tavi-Tavi and toy 3SG.F.GEN everywhere

ANIM	+
------	---

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	F
NUM	SG

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

‘Tavi-Tavi and her toy are going everywhere together.’

- (56) *Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Tavi-Tavi tadayen.*  
 /eŋ sa'ra:ran ka'danja | 'adʒam nai 'tavi'tavi | ta'dajen/

*Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Tavi-Tavi tadayen.*  
 Eng sara-aran kadanya ajam nay Tavi-Tavi tadayen  
 AT.INAN go-3PL.INAN together toy and Tavi-Tavi everywhere  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘The toy and Tavi-Tavi are going everywhere together.’

- (57) *Ang bitojon sungkoran-narān nay payutān atasas.*  
 /aŋ bi'todʒon | suŋkorana'ra:n nai paju'ta:n | a'tasas/

*Ang bitojon sungkoran-narān nay payutān atasas.*  
 ang bitog-yon sungkoran-narān nay payutān atas-as  
 AT tear.apart-3PL.N science.language and mathematics brain-P  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Linguistics and math tear the brain apart.’

- (58) *Eng bitogaran payutān nay sungkoran-narān atasas.*  
 /eŋ bito'garan | paju'ta:n nai suŋkorana'ra:n | a'tasas/

*Eng bitogaran payutān nay sungkoran-narān atasas.*  
 eng bitog-aran payutān nay sungkoran-narān atas-as  
 AT tear.apart-3PL.INAN mathematics and science.language brain-P  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Math and linguistics tear the brain apart.’

- (59) a. *Manga nimpye ang Misan.*  
 /maŋa 'nimpje | aŋ 'misan/

*Manga nimpye ang Misan.*  
 manga nimp-ye ang Misan  
 PROG run-3SG.F A Misan

‘Misan is running.’

<sup>3</sup>Lack of gender resolution with regular nearest-conjunct agreement ought to be possible as well.

- b. \**Nimpye manga ang Misan.*  
 Nimp-ye manga ang Misan  
 run-3SG.F PROG A Misan

- (60) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja l ˈtikim l ˈraŋja/

*Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya.*  
 ang manga saha-ya Tikim rang-ya  
 AT PROG come-3SG.M Tikim home-LOC

‘Tikim is coming home.’

- (61) a. *Ang manga sahaya rangya nay (manga) nedraya Tikim.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja ˈraŋja nai (ˌmaŋa) neˈdraja l ˈtikim /

*Ang manga sahaya rangya nay (manga) nedraya Tikim.*  
 ang manga saha-ya rang-ya nay (manga) nedra-ya Tikim  
 AT PROG come-3SG.M home-LOC and (PROG) sit-3SG.M Tikim

‘Tikim is coming home and sitting down.’

- b. ?*Ang manga sahaya nay nedraya Tikim rangya.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja nai neˈdraja l ˈtikim l ˈraŋja/

*Ang manga sahaya nay nedraya Tikim rangya.*  
 ang manga saha-ya nay nedra-ya Tikim rang-ya  
 AT PROG come-3SG.M and sit-3SG.M Tikim home-LOC

‘?Tikim is coming and sitting at home.’

- (62) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya, nay nedrayāng.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja l ˈtikim l ˈraŋja ll nai nedraˈjaːŋ/

*Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya, nay nedrayāng.*  
 ang manga saha-ya Tikim rang-ya nay nedra-yāng  
 AT PROG come-3SG.M Tikim home-LOC and sit-3SG.M.A

‘Tikim is coming home and sits down.’

- (63) *Sa ming layaye ang Misan koya.*  
 /sa ,miŋ la'jaje l aŋ 'misan l 'koja/

*Sa ming layaye ang Misan koya.*  
 Sa ming laya-ye ang Misan koya  
 PT can read-3SG.F A Misan book

'The book, Misan can read (it).'

- (64) a. *Ming malyya ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja l aŋ 'tikim/

*Ming malyya ang Tikim.*  
 ming maly-ya ang Tikim  
 can sing-3SG.M A Tikim

'Tikim can sing.'

- b. \**Malyya ming ang Tikim.*  
 maly-ya ming ang Tikim  
 sing-3SG.M can A Tikim

- (65) a. *Ming malyya veno ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja 'veno l aŋ 'tikim/

*Ming malyya veno ang Tikim.*  
 ming maly-ya veno ang Tikim  
 can sing-3SG.M beautifully A Tikim

'Tikim can sing beautifully.'

- b. \**Ming veno malyya ang Tikim.*  
 ming veno maly-ya ang Tikim  
 can beautifully sing-3SG.M A Tikim

- (66) *Ming malyya nay tuyaya ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja nai tu'jaja l aŋ 'tikim /

*Ming malyya nay tuyaya ang Tikim.*  
 ming maly-ya nay tuyaya ang Tikim  
 can sing-3SG.M and dance-3SG.M A Tikim

'Tikim can sing and dance.'



- (67) *Ming malyya ang Tikim, naynay tuyayāng.*

/miŋ 'malja | aŋ 'tikim || nai'nai tuja'ja:ŋ/

*Ming malyya ang Tikim, naynay tuyayāng.*

ming maly-ya ang Tikim naynay tuyayāng

can sing-3SG.M A Tikim and.also dance-3SG.M.A

'Tikim can sing and also dances.'

- (68) *Mya manga nimpongye Sipra edaui.*

/mja ,maŋa nim'poŋje | 'sipra | e'dau/

*Mya manga nimpongye Sipra edaui.*

mya manga nimp-ong-ye Sipra edaui

be.supposed.to PROG run-IRR-3SG.F Sipra now

'Sipra ought to be running now.'

- (69) a. *Le mya ming sidegongya badanang ajam.*

/le mja miŋ side'goŋja | bada'naŋ | 'adʒam/

*Le mya ming sidegongya badanang ajam.*

le mya ming sideg-ong-ya badan-ang ajam

PT.INAN be.supposed.to can repair-IRR-3SG.M father-A toy

'The toy, father should be able to repair (it).'

- b. \**Le myongya mingyam sidejam badanang ajam.*

/le 'mjongja | 'miŋjam | si'dedʒam | bada'naŋ | 'adʒam/

*Le myongya mingyam sidejam badanang ajam.*

le mya-ong-ya ming-yam sideg-yam badan-ang ajam

PT.INAN be.supposed.to-IRR-3SG.M can-PTCP repair-PTCP father-A toy

- (70) *Ang mya ming sidegongya nay la-lataya adaley.*

/aŋ mja miŋ side'goŋja nai lala'taja | ada'lei/

*Ang mya ming sidegongya nay la-lataya adaley*

ang mya ming sideg-ong-ya nay la~lata-ya ada-ley

AT be.supposed.to can repair-IRR-3SG.M and ITER~sell-3SG.M that-P.INAN

'He should be able to repair and resell it.'

- (71) a. *Ang ming sideja adaley, nay da-myongyāng.*  
 /aŋ miŋ si'dedʒa | ada'lei || nai da-mjoŋ'ja:ŋ/  
*Ang ming sideja adaley, nay da-myongyāng.*  
 ang ming sideg-ya ada-ley nay da-mya-ong-yāng  
 AT can repair-3SG.M that-P.INAN and so-be.supposed.to-IRR-3SG.M.A  
 'He can, and should, repair it.'
- b. ?*Ang ming nay mya sidegongya adaley.*  
 ang ming nay mya sideg-ong-ya adaley  
 AT can and be.supposed.to repair-IRR-3SG.M that-P.INAN
- (72) *Ang da-pinyaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 /aŋ dapin'jaja | 'jan | sa 'pila/  
*Ang da-pinyaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 Ang da-pinya-ya Yan sa Pila  
 AT such-ask-3SG.M Yan P Pila  
 'Yan asks Pila to (do so).'
- (73) *Ang da-pinyaya nay hisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 /aŋ dapin'jaja nai hi'saja | 'jan | sa 'pila/  
*Ang da-pinyaya nay hisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 Ang da-pinya-ya nay hisa-ya Yan sa Pila  
 AT such-ask-3SG.M and beg-3SG.M Yan P Pila  
 'Yan asks and begs Pila to (do so).'
- (74) *Ang manga da-pi-pinyaya nay hi-hisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 /aŋ 'maŋa dapipin'jaja nai hihi'saja | 'jan | sa 'pila/  
*Ang manga da-pi-pinyaya nay hi-hisaya Yan sa Pila.*  
 Ang manga da-ITER~pinya-ya nay ITER~hisa-ya Yan sa Pila  
 AT PROG such-ask-3SG.M and beg-3SG.M Yan P Pila  
 'Yan keeps asking and begging Pila to (do so).'

- (75) a. *Ang ming da-pinyongya yes.*

/aŋ miŋ dapin'jonja jes/

*Ang ming da-pinyongya yes.*  
*Ang ming da-pinya-ong-ya yes*  
 AT can such-ask-IRR-3SG.M 3SG.F.P

'He could ask her to (do so).'

- b. \**Ang da-ming pinyongya yes.*

*Ang da-ming pinya-ong-ya yes*  
 AT such-can ask-IRR-3SG.M 3SG.F.P

- (76) a. *Ang ming manga da-pinyongya yes*

/aŋ miŋ ,maŋa dapin'jonja jes/

*Ang ming manga da-pinyongya yes.*  
*Ang ming manga da-pinya-ong-ya yes*  
 AT can PROG such-ask-IRR-3SG.M 3SG.F.P

'He could be asking her to (do so).'

- b. \**Ang ming da-manga pinyongya yes.*

*Ang ming da-manga pinya-ong-ya yes*  
 AT can such-PROG ask-IRR-3SG.M 3SG.F.P

- (77) *Sitang-keca ang Yan.*

/sitəŋ'ketʃa | aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-keca ang Yan.*  
*sitang-ket-ya ang Yan*  
 self-wash-3SG.M A Yan

'Yan washes himself.'

- (78) *Sitang-kecan ang Yan nay netuang yana.*

/sitəŋ'ketʃan | aŋ 'jan nai netu'aŋ 'jana/

*Sitang-kecan ang Yan nay netuang yana.*  
*sitang-ket-yan ang Yan nay netu-ang yana*  
 self-wash-3PL.M A Yan and brother-A 3SG.M.GEN

'Yan and his brother wash themselves.'

- (79) *Sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya ang Yan.*  
 /sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja l aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya ang Yan.*  
 sitang-ket-ya nay (sitang-)dayungisa-ya ang Yan  
 self-wash-3SG.M and (self-)dress-3SG.M A Yan

'Yan washes and dresses himself.'

- (80) *Ming sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya iri ang Yan-Yan.*  
 /miŋ sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja 'iri l aŋ 'janjan/

*Ming sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya iri ang Yan-Yan.*  
 ming sitang-ket-ya nay (sitang-)dayungisa-ya iri ang Yan-Yan  
 can self-wash-3SG.M and (self-)dress-3SG.M already A Yan-Yan

'Yan-Yan can already wash and dress himself.'

- (82) a. *\*Sitang-keca ming ang Yan.*  
 /sitəŋ'ketʃa miŋ l aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-keca ming ang Yan.*  
 sitang-ket-ya ming ang Yan  
 self-wash-3SG.M can A Yan

- b. *\*Sitang-ming keca ang Yan.*  
 /sitəŋ miŋ 'ketʃa l aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-ming keca ang Yan.*  
 sitang-ming ket-ya ang Yan  
 self-can wash-3SG.M A Yan

- (83) a. *Manga sitang-keca ang Yan.*  
 /maŋa sitəŋ'ketʃa l aŋ 'jan/

*Manga sitang-keca ang Yan.*  
 manga sitang-ket-ya ang Yan  
 PROG self-wash-3SG.M A Yan

'Yan is washing himself.'

- b. *\*Sitang-keca manga ang Yan.*  
 sitang-ket-ya manga ang Yan  
 self-wash-3SG.M PROG A Yan

- c. \**Sitang-manga keca ang Yan.*  
 sitang-manga ket-ya ang Yan  
 self-PROG wash-3SG.M A Yan

1	First person	IRR	Irrealis
2	Second person	ITER	Iterative
3	Third person	LOC	Locative
A	Agent	LOCT	Locative topic
ANIM	Animacy	M	Masculine
AT	Agent topic	N	Neuter
DAT	Dative	NUM	Number
F	Feminine	P	Patient
GEN	Genitive	PL	Plural
GEND	Gender	PROG	Progressive
INAN	Inanimate	PT	Patient topic
INS	Instrumental	PTCP	Participle
INST	Instrumental topic	SG	Singular