

- (1) *Tahanya ang Yan.*

/ta'hanja aŋ 'jan/

*Tahanya ang Yan.*

tahan-ya ang Yan

write-3SG.M A Yan

'Yan is writing.'

- (2) a. *Tahanyāng.*

/tahan'ja:ŋ/

*Tahanyāng.*

tahan-yāng

write-3SG.M.A

'He is writing.'

- b. \**Tahanya yāng.*

tahan-ya yāng

write-3SG.M 3SG.M.A

- c. \**Tahanya.*

tahan-ya

write-3SG.M

- (3) a. *Ang tahanya Yan tamanley.*

/aŋ ta'hanja 'jan taman'lei/

*Ang tahanya Yan tamanley.*

ang tahan-ya Yan taman-ley

AT write-3SG.M Yan letter-P.INAN

'Yan is writing a letter.'

- b. \**Tahanya ayonang tamanley.*

tahan-ya ang ayon-ang

write-3SG.M man-A letter-P.INAN

*Intended:* 'A man is writing a letter.'

- (4) a. *Le tahanya ang Yan taman.*  
 /le ta'hanja an 'jan 'taman/  
  
*Le tahanya ang Yan taman.*  
 le tahan-ya ang Yan taman  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.M A Yan letter  
  
 'The letter, Yan is writing (it).'
- b. \**Le tahanara ang Yan taman.*  
 le tahan-ara Yan taman  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.INAN A Yan letter
- c. \**Ang le tahanara ayon taman.*  
 ang le tahan-ara ayon taman  
 A PT.INAN write-3SG.INAN man letter  
  
*Intended:* 'The man is writing the letter.'
- (5) a. *Tahanara tamanley.*  
 /taha'nara taman'lei/  
  
*Tahanara tamanley.*  
 tahan-ara taman-ley  
 write-3SG.INAN letter-P.INAN  
  
 'A/the letter is being written.'
- b. \**Tahanara tamanley ri Yan.*  
 tahan-ara taman-ley ri Yan  
 write-3SG.INAN letter-P.INAN INS Yan  
  
*Intended:* 'A/the letter is being written by Yan.'
- c. \**Le tahanya ang Yan.*  
 le tahan-ya ang Yan  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.M A Yan
- (6) a. *Ang tahanya Yan adaley.*  
 /an ta'hanja 'jan ada'lei/  
  
*Ang tahanya Yan adaley.*  
 ang tahan-ya Yan adaley  
 AT write-3SG.M Yan that-P.INAN  
  
 'Yan is writing it.'

- b. ?*Ang tahanya Yan rey.*  
 ang tahan-ya Yan rey  
 AT write-3SG.M Yan 3SG.INAN.P

- (7) a. *Le tahanya ang Yan adanya.*  
 /aŋ ta'hanja aŋ 'jan a'danja/

*Le tahanya ang Yan adanya.*  
 le tahan-ya ang Yan adaley  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.M A Yan that.one

‘Yan is writing it.’

- b. ?*Le tahanya ang Yan ara.*  
 le tahan-ya ang Yan ara  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.M A Yan 3SG.INAN

- c. \**Le tahanyāra ang Yan.*  
 le tahan-ya-ara ang Yan  
 PT.INAN write-3SG.M-3SG.INAN A Yan

- (8) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʾilja 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.’

- (9) *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.’

- (10) a. *Sa delaktang lanyā, nay yasa.*  
 /sa delak'tang 'lanja lnar 'jasa/  
  
*Sa delaktang lanyā, nay yasa.*  
 sa delak-tang lanyā nay yasa  
 PT suffer-3PL.M king and 3SG.M.CAUS  
  
 'From the king they suffer, and due to him.'
- b. \**Sa nay sā delaktang lanyā.*  
 sa nay sā delak-tang lanyā  
 PT and CAUT suffer-3PL.M.A king  
  
*Intended:* 'From and due to the king they suffer.'
- (11) ?*Sa ilya Ajān eda- nay ada-koya yam Pila.*  
 /sa 'ilja a'dʒa:n eda nar ada'koja jam 'pila/  
  
*Sa ilya Ajān eda- nay ada-koya yam Pila.*  
 sa il-ya Ajān eda- nay ada-koya yam Pila  
 PT give-3SG.M Ajān this and that-book DAT Pila  
  
 'This and that book, Ajān gives (them) to Pila.'
- (12) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam ada-Pila.*  
 /aŋ' ilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s jam\_ada'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.'
- (13) *Ang ilya Ajān sa 'Netuye Karamazov' yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ' ilja 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".'

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

/aŋ\_ 'ilja 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.’

- (15) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila nay netuyam yena.*

/aŋ\_ '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.’

- (16) *Ang ilyan Ajān nay Diyan koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ '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.’

- (17) *Ang ilya edāyon nay ledan koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ '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.’

- (18) *Ang ilyan edāyon nay eda-ledan koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ '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.’

- (19) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay migrayas yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja 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.’

- (20) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay dadangley yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s nai dadan'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.’

- (21) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s ɪkan 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.’

- (22) a. *Ang ilya nay paya Ajān koyajas māvayam nay yena.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja nai 'paja a'dʒa:n ko'jadʒas jam ,ma:'vajam nai 'jena/

*Ang ilya nay paya Ajān koyajas māvayam nay yena.*  
 ang il-ya nay pa-ya Ajān koya-ye-as māva-yam nay yena  
 AT give-3SG.M and take-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P mother-DAT and 3SG.F.GEN

‘Ajān gives and takes books to and from mother.’

- b. \**Ang ilya nay paya Ajān koyajas mavayam nay na.*  
 ang il-ya nay pa-ya Ajān koya-ye-as mavayam nay na  
 AT give-3SG.M and take-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P mother-DAT and GEN

- (23) a. *Ang ilya nay paya Ajān koyajas yam Pila nay yena.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja nai 'paja a'dʒa:n ko'jadʒas jam 'pila nai 'jena/  
*Ang ilya            nay paya            Ajān koyajas       yam Pila nay yena.*  
 ang il-ya            nay pa-ya            Ajān koya-ye-as yam Pila nay yena  
 AT give-3SG.M and take-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P DAT Pila and 3SG.F.GEN  
 'Ajān gives and takes books to and from Pila.'
- b. \**Ang ilya            nay paya            Ajān koyajas       yam nay na Pila.*  
 ang il-ya            nay pa-ya            Ajān koya-ye-as yam nay na Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M and take-3SG.M Ajān book-PL-P DAT and GEN Pila
- (24) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja a'dʒa:n ko'jadʒas nai dadan'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.'
- (25) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas, nay(nay) dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja a'dʒa:n ko'jadʒas nai('nai) dadan'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.'
- (26) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangley merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s\_ikan nai dadan'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.'

- (27) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangyeley merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s,ikan nai dadan,jelei meram'bai jam 'pila/  
*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.'
- (28) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangyeley merambay-ikan yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja a'dʒa:n ko'jadʒas nai da,danje'lei meram'bai,ikan jam 'pila/  
*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.'
- (29) *Merambay sikan koyajang nay dadangyeley? — Da-ikan. (\*Ikan.)*  
 /meram'bai 'sikan koja'dʒaŋ nai da,danje'lei/ — /da'ikan/  
*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.'
- (30) *Ang misya ku-depangas.*  
 /aŋ 'misja kude'paŋas/  
*Ang misya ku-depangas.*  
 ang mis-ya ku-depang-as  
 AT act-3SG.M like-fool-P  
 'He acts like a fool.'
- (31) *Sa misyāng ku-depang.*  
 /sa mis'ja:ŋ kude'paŋ/  
*Sa misya ku-depang.*  
 sa mis-ya ku-depang  
 PT act-3SG.M like-fool  
 'Like a fool he acts.'



- (32) *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.'

- (33) *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.'

- (34) *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.'

- (35) *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.'

- (36) *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.'

- (37) *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.'
- (38) *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.'
- (39) 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
- (40) *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.'

- (41) 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
- (42) *Ang haruya yās.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja 'jās/  
  
*Ang haruya yās.*  
 ang haru-ya yās  
 AT beat-3SG.M 3SG.M.P  
  
 'He beats him.'
- (43) 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
- (44) 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

- (45) 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

- (46) *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.'

- (47) *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.'

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

- (49) *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.’

- (50) *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.’

- (51) *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.’

- (52) *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.’

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

*Ang sarāyn kodanya, yang nay vāng.*

/ja sara'naŋ ko'danja l'jaŋ nar '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.’

- (53) ?*Ya sarāyn yang nay vāng kodan.*  
*Ya saranang kodan, yang nay vāng.*  
 /ja sara'naŋ ko'daŋja l'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.'
- (53) *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.'
- (54) *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).'
- (55) *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.'
- (56) *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.'

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

/sa ke'tʃeŋ nai dajuŋisa'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.’

- (58) *Sa ilyāng koyaye nay dadangye yeyam.*<sup>1</sup>

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

*Sa ilyāng koyaye nay dadangye yeyam.*

sa il-yāng 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.’

- (58) *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.’

- (59) *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.

- (60) *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.’

- (61) *Toryon veneyang nay badanang.*  
 /'torjon vene'jang nai bada'naŋ/

*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.’

- (62) *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.



- (63) *Toryon veneyang nay mavāng.*  
/ˈtorjon veneˈjang nai maˈva:ŋ/

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

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

- (64) *Ang sarayan kadanya Api-Api nay ajam yana tadayen.*  
/aŋ saˈrajan kaˈdanja ˈapiˈapi nai ˈadʒam ˈjana taˈdajen/

*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

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘Api-Api and his toy are going everywhere together.’

- (65) *Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Api-Api tadayen.*  
/eŋ saˈra:ran kaˈdanja ˈadʒam nai ˈapiˈapi taˈdajen/

*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

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘The toy and Api-Api are going everywhere together.’

- (66) *Ang sarayan kadanya Tavi-Tavi nay ajam yena tadayen.*<sup>3</sup>  
/aŋ saˈrajan kaˈdanja ˈtaviˈtavi nai ˈadʒam ˈjena taˈdajen/

*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

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$
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‘Tavi-Tavi and her toy are going everywhere together.’

- (67) *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.’

- (68) *Ang bitojon sungkoran-narān nay payutān atasas.*  
 /aŋ bi'todʒon suŋ, korana'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.’

- (69) *Eng bitogaran payutān nay sungkoran-narān atasas.*  
 /eŋ bito'garan paju'ta:n nai suŋ, korana'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.’

- (70) 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

- (71) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja ˈtikim 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.’

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

- (73) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya, nay nedrayāng.*  
 /aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja ˈtikim ˈraŋja ɭnai 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.’

- (74) *Sa ming layaye ang Misan koya.*  
 /sa ,miŋ la'jaɐ̃ aŋ 'misan '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).’

- (75) a. *Ming malyya ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja 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

- (76) a. *Ming malyya veno ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja 'veno 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

- (77) *Ming malyya nay tuyaya ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja nai tu'jaɐ̃ aŋ 'tikim /

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

‘Tikim can sing and dance.’

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

/miŋ 'malja aŋ 'tikim lnaɪ'naɪ 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.’

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

/mja ,maŋa nim'poŋje 'sipra e'dauɪ/

*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.’

- (80) 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

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

/aŋ mja miŋ side'goŋja naɪ 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.’

- (82) a. *Ang ming sideja adaley, nay da-myongyāng.*

/aŋ miŋ si'dedʒa ada'lei lnaɪ 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

- (83) *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).'

- (84) *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).'

- (85) *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).'

- (86) 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

- (87) 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

- (88) *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.'

- (89) *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.'

- (90) *Sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya ang Yan.*

/sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja 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.'

- (91) *Ming sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya iri ang Yan-Yan.*

/miŋ sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja 'iri 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.'

- (93) a. \**Sitang-keca ming ang Yan.*

/sitəŋ'ketʃa miŋ aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-keca ming ang Yan.*

sitang-ket-ya ming ang Yan

self-wash-3SG.M can A Yan

*Intended:* 'Yan can wash himself.'

- b. \**Sitang-ming keca ang Yan.*

/sitəŋ miŋ 'ketʃa aŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-ming keca ang Yan.*

sitang-ming ket-ya ang Yan

self-can wash-3SG.M A Yan

*Intended:* 'Yan can wash himself.'

- (94) a. *Manga sitang-keca ang Yan.*

/maŋa sitəŋ'ketʃa 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

- (95) a. *Rua apaya-kay kaluy ang Latun.*  
 /rua a'paja,kai ka'lei an 'latun/  
  
*Rua apaya-kay kaluy ang Latun.*  
 Rua apa-ya-kay kaluy ang Latun  
 must laugh-3SG.M-a.little silently A Latun  
 'Latun had to silently laugh a little.'
- b. \**Rua-kay apaya kaluy ang Latun.*  
 Rua-kay apa-ya kaluy ang Latun  
 must-a.little laugh-3SG.M silently A Latun
- c. !*Rua apaya kaluy-kay ang Latun.*  
 Rua apa-ya kaluy-kay ang Latun  
 must laugh-3SG.M silently-a.little A Latun  
 'Latun had to laugh a little silently.'  
*Intended:* 'Latun had to silently laugh a little.'

- (96) *Lampya nay naraya para ang Latun.*  
 /'lampja nai na'raja 'para an 'latun/  
  
*Lampya nay naraya para ang Latun.*  
 lamp-ya nay nara-ya para ang Latun  
 walk-3SG.M and talk-3SG.M quickly A Latun  
 'Latun quickly walked and talked.'

- (97) *Lampya nay naraya-kay para ang Latun.*  
 /'lampja nai na'raja,kai 'para an 'latun/  
  
*Lampya nay naraya-kay para ang Latun.*  
 lamp-ya nay nara-ya-kay para ang Latun  
 walk-3SG.M and talk-3SG.M-a.little quickly A Latun  
 'Latun quickly walked and talked a little.'

- (98) *Ang kondasaya-ikan adaley.*  
/aŋ konda'saja,ikan ada'lei/

*Ang kondasaya-ikan adaley.*  
ang kond-asa-ya-ikan adaley  
AT eat-HAB-3SG.M-much that-P.INAN

'He eats it much.'

- (99) *Ang kondasaya ikan adaley.*<sup>4</sup>  
/aŋ konda'saja 'ikan ada'lei/

*Ang kondasaya ikan adaley.*  
ang kond-asa-ya ikan adaley  
AT eat-HAB-3SG.M wholly that-P.INAN

'He usually eats it wholly/whole.'

- (100) *Lampya para nay naraya-kay ang Latun.*  
/'lampja 'para nai na'raja,kai aŋ 'latun/

*Lampya para nay naraya-kay ang Latun.*  
lamp-ya para nay nara-ya-kay ang Latun  
walk-3SG.M quickly and talk-3SG.M-a.little A Latun

'Latun walked quickly and talked a little.'

- (101) *Lampya para nay naraya-kay tikimarya ang Latun.*  
/'lampja 'para nai na'raja,kai tiki'marja aŋ 'latun/

*Lampya para nay naraya-kay tikimarya ang Latun.*  
lamp-ya para nay nara-ya-kay incoherent ang Latun  
walk-3SG.M quickly and talk-3SG.M-a.little incoherently A Latun

'Latun walked quickly and talked incoherently a little.'

- (102) *Lampya-kay para nay naraya tikimarya ang Latun.*  
/'lampja,kai 'para nai na'raja tiki'marja aŋ 'latun/

*Lampya-kay para nay naraya tikimarya ang Latun.*  
lamp-ya-kay para nay nara-ya incoherent ang Latun  
walk-3SG.M-a.little quickly and talk-3SG.M incoherently A Latun

'Latun walked quickly a little and talked incoherently.'

<sup>4</sup>*Ikan* is unique in this regard. Other degree suffixes don't lead double lives as (prosodically) bound and free morphemes.

- (103) *Lampya-kay para nay naraya-kay tikimarya ang Latun.*  
 /'lampja,kar 'para nar na'raja,kar tiki'marja aŋ 'latun/  
*Lampya-kay para nay naraya-kay tikimarya ang Latun.*  
 lamp-ya para nay nara-ya-kay incoherent ang Latun  
 walk-3SG.M-a.little quickly and talk-3SG.M-a.little incoherently A Latun  
 'Latun walked quickly a little and talked incoherently a little.
- (104) *Toryang-ikan.*  
 /tor'jaŋ,ikan/  
*Toryang-ikan.*  
 tor-yang-ikan  
 sleep-1SG-a.lot  
 'I slept a lot.'
- (105) *Toryang-ikaneng.*  
 /tor'jaŋika,neŋ/  
*Toryang-ikaneng.*  
 tor-yang-ikan-eng  
 sleep-1SG-a.lot-rather  
 'I slept rather a lot.'
- (106) \**Toryang-ikan nay eng.*  
 /tor'jaŋ,ikan nay eng/  
*Toryang-ikan nay eng*  
 tor-yang-ikan nay eng  
 sleep-1SG-a.lot and rather  
 'I slept rather and a lot.'
- (107) \**Toryang-ikan nay ma.*  
 /tor'jaŋ,ikan nay ma/  
*Toryang-ikan nay ma*  
 tor-yang-ikan nay ma  
 sleep-1SG-a.lot and enough  
 'I slept a lot and enough.'

- (108) *Surpye bihanyam ang Pada*  
 /'surpje bi'hanjam anj 'pada/

*Surpye bihanyam ang Pada*  
 surp-ye bihan-yam ang Pada  
 seem-3SG.F understand-PTCP A Pada

'Pada seems to understand.'

- (109) a. *Surpyeng bihanyam.*  
 /sur'pjeŋ bi'hanjam/

*Surpyeng bihanyam*  
 surp-yeng bihan-yam  
 seem-3SG.F.A understand-PTCP

'She seems to understand.'

- b. \**Surpye bihanyeng*  
 surp-ye bihan-yeng  
 seem-3SG.F understand-3SG.F.A

- c. \**Surpa bihanyeng*  
 surpa bihan-yeng  
 seem understand-3SG.F.A

- d. \**Surpyam bihanyeng*  
 surp-yam bihan-yeng  
 seem-PTCP understand-3SG.F.A

- (110) a. *Ang surpye bihanyam Pada narānas yana.*  
 /anj 'surpje bi'hanjam 'pada na'ra:nas 'jana/

*Ang surpye bihanyam Pada narānas yana*  
 ang surp-ye bihan-yam Pada narān-as yana  
 AT seem-3SG.F understand-PTCP Pada language-P 3SG.M.GEN

'Pada seems to understand his language.'

- b. \**Surpye ang bihanyam Pada narānas yana*  
 surp-ye ang bihan-yam Pada narān-as yana  
 seem-3SG.F AT understand-PTCP Pada language-P 3SG.M.GEN

- c. \**Ang surpye Pada bihanyam narānas yana*  
 ang surp-ye Pada bihan-yam narān-as yana  
 AT seem-3SG.F Pada understand-PTCP language-P 3SG.M.GEN

- (111) a. *Sa surpye bihanyam ang Pada narān yana.*  
 /sa 'surpje bi'hanjam 'pada na'ra:nas 'jana/  
*Sa surpye bihanyam ang Pada narān yana*  
 sa surp-ye bihan-yam ang Pada narān yana  
 PT seem-3SG.F understand-PTCP A Pada language 3SG.M.GEN  
 'His language, Pada seems to understand (it).'
- b. \**Sa surpye narān yana bihanyam ang Pada*  
 sa surp-ye narān yana bihan-yam ang Pada  
 PT seem-3SG.F language 3SG.M.GEN understand-PTCP A Pada
- c. \**Surpye sa bihanyam ang Pada narān yana*  
 surp-ye sa bihan-yam ang Pada narān yana  
 seem-3SG.F PT understand-PTCP A Pada language 3SG.M.GEN
- (112) a. *Surpya sitang-birenyayam ang Niyas*  
 /'surpja si'taŋbiren'jajam aŋ 'nijas/  
*Surpya sitang-birenyayam ang Niyas.*  
 surp-ya sitang-birenya-yam ang Niyas.  
 seem-3SG.M self-doubt-PTCP A Niyas  
 'Niyas seems to doubt himself.'
- b. \**Sitang-surpya birenyayam ang Niyas.*  
 sitang-surp-ya birenya-yam ang Niyas.  
 self-seem-3SG.M doubt-PTCP A Niyas
- (113) *Ang surpyan soyang mekacan-nama narayam sa Turayi?*  
 /aŋ 'surpjan so'jaŋ me'kaca nama na'rajam sa tu'raji/  
*Ang surpyan soyang mekacan-nama narayam sa Turayi?*  
 ang surp-yan soyang mekat-yan-nama nara-yam sa Turayi  
 AT seem-3PL.M or pretend-3PL.M-only speak-PTCP P Turayi  
 'Do they seem to or only pretend to speak Turayi?'
- (114) a. *Linkaye lingyam ang Banvā.*  
 /liŋ'kaje 'liŋjam aŋ ban'va:/  
*Linkaye lingyam ang Banvā.*  
 linka-ye ling-yam ang Banvā  
 try-3SG.F climb.up-PTCP A Banvā  
 'Banvā tries to climb up (on it).'

- b. \**Linkaye ang Banvā lingyam.*  
 linka-ye ang Banvā ling-yam  
 try-3SG.F A Banvā climb.up-PTCP

- (115) a. *Linkayeng lingyam.*  
 /liŋka'jeŋ 'liŋjam/  
  
*Linkayeng lingyam.*  
 linka-yeng ling-yam  
 try-3SG.F.A climb.up-PTCP  
  
 'She tries to climb up (on it).'

- b. ?*Linka lingyeng.*<sup>5</sup>  
 linka ling-yeng  
 try climb.up-3SG.F.A  
  
 c. \**Linkaye lingyeng.*  
 linka-ye ling-yeng  
 try-3SG.F climb.up-3SG.F.A  
  
 d. \**Linkayam lingyeng*  
 linka-yam ling-yeng  
 try-PTCP climb.up-3SG.F.A

- (116) a. *Linkaye ang Banvā lingyam merengley.*  
 /liŋ'kaje aŋ ban'va: 'liŋjam mereŋ'lei/  
  
*Linkaye ang Banvā lingyam merengley.*  
 linka-ye ang Banvā ling-yam mereng-ley  
 try-3SG.F A Banvā climb.up-PTCP wall-P.INAN  
  
 b. *Ang linkaye lingyam Banvā merengley.*  
 ang linka-ye ling-yam Banvā mereng-ley  
 AT try-3SG.F climb.up-PTCP Banvā wall-P.INAN  
  
 'Banvā tries to climb up a wall.'  
  
 c. \**Ang linkaye Banvā lingyam merengley.*  
 ang linka-ye Banvā ling-yam mereng-ley  
 AT try-3SG.F Banvā climb.up-PTCP wall-P.INAN  
  
 d. \**Linkaye ang lingyam Banvā merengley.*  
 linka-ye ang ling-yam Banvā mereng-ley  
 try-3SG.F AT climb.up-PTCP Banvā wall-P.INAN

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<sup>5</sup>*Linka-* 'try' is a reasonably common verb, so there is a certain likeliness for it to go the way of *div-* 'stay' and become a modal particle.

- (117) a. *Le linkaye linyam ang Banvā mereng.*  
 /le liŋ'kaje 'liŋjam aŋ ban'va: me'reŋ/  
*Le linkaye linyam ang Banvā mereng.*  
 le linka-ye ling-yam ang Banvā mereng  
 PT.INAN try-3SG.F climb.up-PTCP A Banvā wall  
 'The wall, Banvā tries to climb (it) up.'
- b. *Le linkaye linyam mereng ang Banvā.*  
 le linka-ye ling-yam mereng ang Banvā  
 PT.INAN try-3SG.F climb.up-PTCP wall A Banvā
- c. \**Le linkaye ang Banvā linyam mereng.*  
 le linka-ye ang Banvā ling-yam mereng  
 PT.INAN try-3SG.F A Banvā climb.up-PTCP wall
- d. \**Linkaye ang Banvā le linyam mereng.*  
 linka-ye ang Banvā le ling-yam mereng  
 try-3SG.F A Banvā PT.INAN climb.up-PTCP wall
- e. \**Linkaye le linyam ang Banvā mereng.*  
 linka-ye le ling-yam ang Banvā mereng  
 try-3SG.F PT.INAN climb.up-PTCP A Banvā wall
- (118) a. *Linkaye ang Pitu tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 /liŋ'kaje aŋ 'pitu 'tapjam veŋ'a:naŋ ja 'tipal/  
*Linkaye ang Pitu tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 linka-ye ang Pitu tapy-yam vengān-as ya Tipal  
 try-3SG.F AT Pitu put-PTCP kiss-P LOC Tipal  
 'Pitu tries to give Tipal a kiss.' (literally: 'P. tries to put a kiss on T.')
- b. *Ang linkaye tapyyam Pitu vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 ang linka-ye tapy-yam Pitu vengān-as ya Tipal  
 AT try-3SG.F put-PTCP Pitu kiss-P LOC Tipal
- (119) a. *Linkayeng tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 /liŋka'jeŋ 'tapjam veŋ'a:naŋ ja 'tipal/  
*Linkayeng tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 linka-yeng tapy-yam vengān-as ya Tipal  
 try-3SG.F.A put-PTCP kiss-P LOC Tipal  
 'She tries to give Tipal a kiss.'

- b. ?*Ang linkaye tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 ang linka-ye tapy-yam vengān-as ya Tipal  
 AT try-3SG.F put-PTCP kiss-P LOC Tipal

- (120) a. *Sa linkaye tapyyam ang Pitu vengān ya Tipal.*  
 /sa liŋ'kaje 'tapjam aŋ 'pitu 'veŋan ja 'tipal/

*Sa linkaye tapyyam ang Pitu vengān ya Tipal.*  
 sa linka-ye tapy-yam ang Pitu vengān ya Tipal  
 PT try-3SG.F put-PTCP A Pitu kiss LOC Tipal

‘A kiss Pitu tries to give Tipal.’

- b. ?*Sa linkayeng tapyyam vengān ya Tipal.*  
 sa linka-yeng tapy-yam vengān ya Tipal  
 PT try-3SG.F.A put-PTCP kiss LOC Tipal

- c. *(Da-)linkaye ang Pitu, sa tapyyeng vengān ya Tipal.*  
 (da-)linka-ye ang Pitu sa tapy-yeng vengān ya Tipal  
 (so-)try-3SG.F A Pitu PT put-3SG.F.A kiss LOC Tipal

- (121) a. *Linkaye lakukay ang Pitu tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*<sup>6</sup>  
 /liŋ'kaje laku'kar aŋ 'pitu 'tapjam ve'ŋanas ja 'tipal/

*Linkaye lakukay ang Pitu tapyyam vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 linka-ye lakukay ang Pitu tapy-yam vengān-as ya Tipal  
 try-3SG.F in.vain A Pitu put-PTCP kiss-P LOC Tipal

‘Pitu tries in vain to kiss Tipal.’

- b. *Ang linkaye lakukay tapyyam Pitu vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 ang linka-ye lakukay tapy-yam Pitu vengān-as ya Tipal  
 AT try-3SG.F in.vain put-PTCP Pitu kiss-P LOC Tipal

- c. *Ang linkaye tapyyam lakukay Pitu vengānas ya Tipal.*  
 ang linka-ye tapy-yam lakukay Pitu vengān-as ya Tipal  
 AT try-3SG.F put-PTCP in.vain Pitu kiss-P LOC Tipal

- (122) a. *Linkaya ang Ajān da-telbisayam ledo yayam.*  
 /liŋ'kaja aŋ a'dʒa:n datelbi'sajam 'ledo 'jajam/

*Linkaya ang Ajān da-telbisayam ledo yayam.*  
 linka-ya ang Ajān da-telbisa-yam ledo yayam  
 try-3SG.M A Ajān such-point.out-PTCP friendly 3SG.M.DAT

‘Ajān tries to point it out to him in a friendly way.’

<sup>6</sup>Both (b) and (c) sound slightly awkward to me for some reason, although they should be permissible.



- b. *Ang linkaya da-telbisayam ledo Ajān yayam.*  
ang linka-ya da-telbisa-yam ledo Ajān yayam  
AT try-3SG.M such-point.out-PTCP friendly Ajān 3SG.M.DAT

- (123) *Ang linkaya etecam karomaya sitang-yās.*  
/aŋ lin'kaja e'tetʃam karo'maja sitaŋ'ja:s/

*Ang linkaya etecam karomaya sitang-yās.*  
ang linka-ya etek-yam karomaya sitang-yās  
AT try-3SG.M heal-PTCP doctor self-3SG.M.P

'The doctor tries to heal himself.'

- (124) a. *Linkaya sitang-etecam karomayāng.*  
/lin'kaja si,taŋe'tetʃam karoma'ja:ŋ/

*Linkaya sitang-etecam karomayāng.*  
linka-ya sitang-etek-yam karomaya-ang  
try-3SG.M self-heal-PTCP doctor-A

'The doctor tries to heal himself.'

- b. \**Sitang-linkaya etecam karomayāng.*  
sitang-linka-ya etek-yam karomaya-ang  
self-try-3SG.M heal-PTCP doctor-A

- (125) *Ang linkaya etecam sitang-yās.*  
/aŋ lin'kaja e'tetʃam sitaŋ'ja:s/

*Ang linkaya etecam sitang-yās.*  
ang linka-ya etek-yam sitang-yās  
AT try-3SG.M heal-PTCP self-3SG.M.P

'He tries to heal himself.'

- (126) a. *Linkayāng sitang-etecam.*  
/linka'ja:ŋ si,taŋe'tetʃam/

*Linkayāng sitang-etecam.*  
linka-yāng sitang-etek-yam  
try-3SG.M.A self-heal-PTCP

'He tries to heal himself.'

- b. \**Sitang-linkayāng etecam.*  
sitang-linka-yāng etek-yam  
self-try-3SG.M.A heal-PTCP

- (127) a. *Ang pinyaya Tipal sa Anang, nedrayeng.*  
 /aŋ pin'jaja 'tipal sa a'naŋ | nedra'jeŋ/  
*Ang pinyaya Tipal sa Anang, nedrayeng.*  
 ang pinya-ya Tipal sa Anang, nedrayeng  
 AT ask-3SG.M Tipal P Anang sit-3SG.M.A  
 'Tipal asks Anang to sit down.'
- b. *Ang pinyaya nedrayam Tipal sa Anang.*  
 ang pinya-ya nedra-yam Tipal sa Anang  
 AT ask-3SG.M sit-PTCP Tipal P Anang
- c. *(Da-)pinyaya ang Tipal, nedraye ang Anang.*  
 (da-)pinya-ya ang Tipal nedra-ye ang Anang  
 (so-)ask-3SG.M A Tipal sit-3SG.F A Anang
- d. ?*Ang pinyaya Tipal sa Anang nedrayam.*  
 ang pinya-ya Tipal sa Anang nedra-yam  
 AT ask-3SG.M Tipal P Anang sit-PTCP
- e. \**Pinyaya ang Tipal nedrayam sa Anang.*  
 Pinya-ya ang Tipal nedra-yam sa Anang  
 ask-3SG.M A Tipal sit-PTCP P Anang  
*Literally:* 'Tipal asks to sit down Anang.'

- (128) a. *Ang pinyaya yes, nedrayeng.*  
 /aŋ pin'jaja yes | nedra'jeŋ/  
*Ang pinyaya yes, nedrayeng.*  
 ang pinya-ya yes, nedra-yeng  
 AT ask-3SG.M sit-3SG.F.A
- b. *(Da-)pinyayāng, nedrayeng.*  
 (da-)pinya-yāng, nedra-yeng  
 (so-)ask-3SG.M.A sit-3SG.F.A
- c. *Ang pinyaya yes nedrayam.*  
 Ang pinya-ya yes nedra-yam  
 AT ask-3SG.M 3SG.F.P sit-PTCP
- d. ?*Pinyayāng nedrayam yes.*  
 Pinya-yāng nedra-yam yes  
 ask-3SG.M.A sit-PTCP 3SG.F.P

- (129) a. *Ang (da-)pinyaye Misan sa Prano, le rimayāng kunang.*  
 /aŋ (da)pin'jaje 'misan sa 'prano | le rima'ja:ŋ ku'naŋ/  
*Ang (da-)pinyaye Misan sa Prano, le rimayāng kunang.*  
 ang (da-)pinya-ye Misan sa Prano le rima-yāng kunang  
 AT (so-)ask-3SG.F Misan P Prano PT.INAN close-3SG.M.A door  
 'Misan asks Prano to close the door.'
- b. *Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano rimayam kunangley.*  
 ang pinya-ye Misan sa Prano rima-yam kunang  
 AT ask-3SG.F Misan P Prano close-PTCP door
- c. *?Ang pinyaye rimayam kunangley Misan sa Prano.*  
 ang pinya-ye rima-yam kunangley Misan sa Prano  
 AT ask-3SG.F close-PTCP door-P.INAN Misan P Prano
- d. *\*Le pinyaye rimayam kunang ang Misan sa Prano.*  
 le pinya-ye rima-yam kunang ang Misan sa Prano  
 P.INAN ask-3SG.F close-PTCP door A Misan P Prano
- (130) a. *Ang (da-)pinyaye yās, le rimayāng kunang.*  
 /aŋ (da)pin'jaje 'ja:s | le rima'ja:ŋ ku'naŋ/  
*Ang (da-)pinyaye yās, le rimayāng kunang.*  
 ang (da-)pinya-ye yās le rima-yāng kunang  
 AT (so-)ask-3SG.F 3SG.M.P PT.INAN close-3SG.M.A door  
 'She asks him to close the door.'
- b. *Ang pinyaye yās rimayam kunangley.*  
 ang pinya-ye yās rima-yam kunang  
 AT ask-3SG.F 3SG.M.P close-PTCP door
- c. *??Ang pinyaye rimayam kunangley yās.*  
 ang pinya-ye rima-yam kunang-ley yās  
 AT ask-3SG.F close-PTCP door-P.INAN 3SG.M.P
- d. *\*Le pinyayeng rimayam kunang yās.*  
 le pinya-yeng rima-yam kunang yās  
 PT.INAN ask-3SG.F.A close-PTCP door 3SG.M.P

- (131) a. *Ang (da-)pinyaya Akan sa Sedan, sa ilyāng koyaye yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ (da)pin'jaja 'akan sa 'sedan | sa il'ja:ŋ ko'jaje jam 'pila/  
*Ang (da-)pinyaya Akan sa Sedan, sa ilyāng koyaye yam Pila.*  
 ang (da-)pinya-ya Akan sa Sedan sa il-yāng koya-ye yam Pila  
 AT (so-)ask-3SG.M Akan P Sedan PT.INAN give-3SG.M.A book-PL DAT Pila  
 'Akan asks Sedan to give the books to Pila.'
- b. *Ang pinyaya Akan sa Sedan ilyam koyaye yam Pila.*  
 ang pinya-ya Akan sa Sedan il-yam koya-ye yam Pila  
 AT ask-3SG.M Akan P Sedan give-PTCP book-PL DAT Pila
- c. ??*Ang pinyaya ilyam koyajas yam Pila Akan sa Sedan.*  
 ang pinya-ya il-yam koya-ye-as yam Pila Akan sa Sedan  
 AT ask-3SG.M give-PTCP book-PL-P DAT Pila Akan P Sedan
- d. \**Sa pinyaya ilyam koyaye yam Pila ang Akan sa Sedan.*  
 sa pinya-ya il-yam koyaye yam Pila ang Akan sa Sedan  
 PT ask-3SG.M give-PTCP book-PL DAT Pila A Akan P Sedan
- (132) a. *Ang (da-)pinyaya yās, sa ilyāng koyaye yeyam.*  
 /aŋ (da)pin'jaja 'ja:s | sa il'ja:ŋ ko'jaje 'jejam/  
*Ang (da-)pinyaya yās, sa ilyāng koyaye yeyam.*  
 ang (da-)pinya-ya yās sa il-yāng koya-ye yeyam  
 AT (so-)ask-3SG.M 3SG.M.P PT.INAN give-3SG.M.A book-PL 3SG.F.DAT  
 'He asks him to give the books to her.'
- b. *Ang pinyaya yās ilyam koyaye yeyam.*  
 ang pinya-ya yās il-yam koya-ye yeyam  
 AT ask-3SG.M 3SG.M.P give-PTCP book-PL 3SG.F.DAT
- c. \**Ang pinyaya ilyam koyajas yeyam yās.*  
 ang pinya-ya il-yam koya-ye-as yeyam yās  
 AT ask-3SG.M give-PTCP book-PL-P 3SG.F.DAT 3SG.M.P
- d. \**Sa pinyaya ilyam koyaye yeyam yās.*  
 sa pinya-ya il-yam koyaye yeyam yās  
 PT ask-3SG.M give-PTCP book-PL 3SG.F.DAT 3SG.M.P

- (133) *Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano rimayam para kunangley.*  
 /aŋ pin'jaje 'misan sa 'prano ri'majam 'para kunan'lei/

*Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano rimayam para kunangley.*  
 ang pinya-ye Misan sa Prano rima-yam para kunang  
 AT ask-3SG.F Misan P Prano close-PTCP quickly door

'Misan asks Prano to quickly close the door.'

- (134) a. *Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano ranicam sitang-yas.*  
 /aŋ pin'jaje 'misan sa 'prano ra'nitjam sitan'jas/

*Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano ranicam sitang-yas.*  
 ang pinya-ye Misan sa Prano ranit-yam sitang-yas  
 AT ask-3SG.F Misan P Prano hide-PTCP self-3SG.M.P

'Misan asks Prano to hide himself.'

- b. *Ang pinyaye Misan sa Prano sitang-ranicam.*  
 ang pinya-ye Misan sa Prano sitang-ranit-yam  
 AT ask-3SG.F Misan P Prano self-hide-PTCP
- c. *Ang pinyaye sitang-ranicam Misan sa Prano.*  
 ang pinya-ye sitang-ranit-yam Misan sa Prano  
 AT ask-3SG.F self-hide-PTCP Misan P Prano

- (135) a. *Galamye ang Caysu, apaya ang Niyas.*  
 /ga'lamje aŋ 'tʃaisu l a'paja aŋ 'nijas/

*Galamye ang Caysu, apaya ang Niyas.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu apa-ya ang Niyas  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu laugh-3SG.M A Niyas

'Caysu expects Niyas to laugh.'

- b. \**Galamye ang Caysu apayam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu apa-yam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu laugh-PTCP A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Niyas
- c. \**Galamye ang Caysu ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas apayam.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas apa-yam  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Niyas laugh-PTCP
- d. \**Galamye apayam ang Caysu ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas.*  
 galam-ye apa-yam ang Caysu ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-PTCP A Caysu A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Niyas

- e. \**Galamye apayam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas ang Caysu.*  
 galam-ye apa-yam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Niyas ang Caysu  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-PTCP A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Niyas A Caysu
- f. \**Galamye apaya ang Niyas ang Caysu.*  
 galam-ye apa-ya ang Niyas ang Caysu  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-3SG.M A Niyas A Caysu

- (136) a. *Galamye ang Caysu, apayāng.*  
 /ga'lamje aŋ 'tʃaisu | a'paja:ŋ/

*Galamye ang Caysu, apayāng.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu apa-yāng  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu laugh-3SG.M.A

‘Caysu expects him to laugh.’

- b. \**Galamye ang Caysu apayam yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu apa-yam yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu laugh-PTCP 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS
- c. \**Galamye ang Caysu yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari apayam.*  
 galam-ye ang Caysu yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari apa-yam  
 expect-3SG.F A Caysu 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS laugh-PTCP
- d. \**Galamye apayam ang Caysu yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari.*  
 galam-ye apa-yam ang Caysu yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-PTCP A Caysu 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS
- e. \**Galamye apayam yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari ang Caysu.*  
 galam-ye apa-yam yāng/yās/yayam/yana/yari ang Caysu  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-PTCP 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS A Caysu
- f. \**Galamye apayāng ang Caysu.*  
 galam-ye apa-yāng ang Caysu  
 expect-3SG.F laugh-3SG.M.A A Caysu

- (137) a. *Galamye ang Diya, ang koronya Mican guratanley.*  
 /ga'lamje aŋ 'dija | aŋ ko'ronja 'mitʃan guratan'lei/

*Galamye ang Diya, ang koronya Mican guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya ang koron-ya Mican guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya AT know-3SG.M Mican answer-P.INAN

‘Diya expected Mican to know the answer.’

- b. \**Galamye ang Diya koronyam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya koron-yam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya know-PTCP A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Mican answer-P.INAN
- c. \**Galamye ang Diya ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican koronyam guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican koron-yam guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Mican know-PTCP answer-P.INAN
- d. \**Galamye koronyam ang Diya ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratanley.*  
 galam-ye koron-yam ang Diya ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F know-PTCP A Diya A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Mican answer-P.INAN
- e. \**Galamye koronyam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratanley ang Diya.*  
 galam-ye koron-yam ang/sa/yam/na/ri Mican guratan-ley ang Diya  
 expect-3SG.F know-PTCP A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Mican answer-P.INAN A Diya
- f. \**Galamye koronya ang Mican guratanley ang Diya.*  
 galam-ye koron-ya ang Mican guratan-ley ang Diya  
 expect-3SG.F know-3SG.M A Mican answer-P.INAN A Diya

- (138) a. *Galamye ang Diya, ang koronya guratanley.*  
 /ga'lamje aŋ 'diɟa l aŋ ko'ronɟa guratan'lei/

*Galamye ang Diya, ang koronya guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya ang koron-ya guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya AT know-3SG.M answer-P.INAN

'Diya expected him to know the answer.'

- b. \**Galamye ang Diya koronyam yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya koron-yam yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya know-PTCP 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS Mican
- c. \**Galamye ang Diya yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari koronyam guratanley.*  
 galam-ye ang Diya yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari koron-yam guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F A Diya 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS know-PTCP answer-P.INAN
- d. \**Galamye koronyam ang Diya yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratanley.*  
 galam-ye koron-yam ang Diya yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratan-ley  
 expect-3SG.F know-PTCP A Diya 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS answer-P.INAN
- e. \**Galamye koronyam yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratanley ang Diya.*  
 galam-ye koron-yam yāng/yās/yayaym/yana/yari guratan-ley ang Diya  
 expect-3SG.F know-PTCP 3SG.M.A/P/DAT/GEN/INS answer-P.INAN A Diya
- f. \**Galamye koronyāng guratanley ang Diya.*  
 galam-ye koron-yāng guratan-ley ang Diya  
 expect-3SG.F know-3SG.M.A answer-P.INAN A Diya

- (139) *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng.*  
 /aŋ ko'ronja 'kaman a'pjanas palai'en/

*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.'

- (140) \**Palay-eng ekeng apyanang.*  
 /palai'en e'ken apja'nan/

*Palay-eng ekeng apyanang.*  
 Palay-eng ekeng apyan-ang.  
 funny-COMP too joke-A

'The joke is too funnier.'

- (141) *Ang ningya apyanas palay-engkay.*  
 /aŋ 'niŋja a'pjanas palai'en'kai/

*Ang ningya apyanas palay-engkay.*  
 ang ning-ya apyan-as palay-eng-kay.  
 AT tell-3SG.M joke-P funny-COMP-a.little

'He tells a slightly funnier joke.'

- (142) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas nay ninganas palay-eng.*  
 /aŋ ko'ronja a'pjanas nai niŋ'anas palai'en/

*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas nay ninganas palay-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as nay ningan-as palay-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P and story-P funny-COMP

'Kaman knows funnier a joke and story.'

- b. ?*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ninganas palay-eng.*<sup>7</sup>  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ningan-as palay-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and story-P funny-COMP

<sup>7</sup>This is not wrong per se, but merely sounds unnecessarily redundant.



- (143) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ban-eng.*  
 /aŋ ko'ronja 'kaman a'pjanas palai nai ban'enj/  
*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ban-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay nay ban-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny and good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier and better joke.'
- b. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ban-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ban-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier joke and (also a) better one.'
- c. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay(nay) da-ban-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay(nay) da-ban-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and(~also) one-good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier joke and (also a) better one.'
- d. !*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ban.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ban  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and good  
 'Kaman knows a funnier, and good, joke.'  
*Intended:* 'Kaman knows a funnier and better joke.'
- (144) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ninganas ban-eng.*  
 /aŋ ko'ronja a'pjanas palai'enj nai niŋ'anas ban'enj/  
*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ninganas ban-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ningan-as ban-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and story-P good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funnier joke and a better story.'
- b. !*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ninganas ban-eng.*  
 ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay nay ningan-as ban-eng  
 AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny and story-P good-COMP  
 'Kaman knows a funny joke and a better story.'  
*Intended:* 'Kaman knows a funnier joke and a better story.'

- (145) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ninganas ban-vā.*

/aŋ ko'ronja a'pjanas palaɪ'eŋ nai niŋ'anas ban'va:/

*Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay-eng nay ninganas ban-vā.*

ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay-eng nay ningan-as ban-vā

AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny-COMP and story-P good-SUPL

‘Kaman knows a funnier joke and the best story.’

- b. \**Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ninganas ban-eng nay -vā.*

ang koron-ya Kaman apyan-as palay nay ningan-as ban-eng nay -vā

AT know-3SG.M Kaman joke-P funny and story-P good-COMP and -SUPL

- (146) *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan.*

/aŋ ta'haja 'liŋko naŋ'a:s 'kivo,ikan/

*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan.*

ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan

AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very

‘Linko has a very small house.’

- (147) \**Kivo-ikan ekeng nangāng.*

/'kivo,ikan e'keŋ naŋ'a:ŋ/

*Kivo-ikan ekeng nangāng.*

kivo-ikan ekeng nanga-ang

small-very too house-A

‘The house is too very small.’

- (148) *Kivo ekeng-ngas nangāng.*

/'kivo e'keŋas naŋ'a:ŋ/

*Kivo ekeng-ngas nangāng.*

kivo ekeng-ngas nanga-ang

small too-almost house-A

‘The house is almost too small.’

- (149) a. *Kivo-ikannama nangāng.*  
 /'kivoika<sub>1</sub>nama naŋ'a:ŋ/  
*Kivo-ikannama nangāng.*  
 kivo-ikan-nama nanga-ang  
 small-very-just house-A  
 'The house is just very small.'
- b. \**Kivo-ikan nay nama nangāng.*  
 kivo-ikan nay nama nanga-ang  
 small-very and just house-A
- (150) a. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās nay mondoas kivo-ikan.*  
 /aŋ ta'haja 'liŋko naŋ'a:s nai mon'doas 'kivo<sub>1</sub>ikan/  
*Ang tahaya Linko nangās nay mondoas kivo-ikan.*  
 ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as and mondo-as kivo-ikan  
 AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P and garden-P small-very  
 'Linko has a very small house and garden'
- b. ?*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay mondoas kivo-ikan.*<sup>8</sup>  
 ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay mondo-as kivo-ikan  
 AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and garden small-very
- (151) a. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo nay giro-ikan.*  
 /aŋ ta'haja 'liŋko naŋ'a:s 'kivo nai 'giro<sub>1</sub>ikan/  
*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo nay giro-ikan.*  
 ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo nay giro-ikan  
 AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small and cute-very  
 'Linko has a very small and cute house.'
- b. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay giro-ikan.*  
 ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay giro-ikan  
 AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and cute-very
- c. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay(nay) da-giro-ikan.*  
 ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay(~nay) da-giro-ikan  
 AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and(~also) one-cute-very

<sup>8</sup>Again, not wrong as such, but unnecessarily wordy.

- d. !*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay giro.*  
ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay giro  
AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and cute

‘Linko has a very small, and cute, house.’

*Intended:* ‘Linko has a very small and cute house.’

- (152) a. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay mondoas bino-ikan.*  
/aŋ ta'haja 'liŋko naŋ'a:s naŋ'a:s 'kivo,ikan nai mon'doas 'bino,ikan/

*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay mondoas bino-ikan.*  
ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay mondo-as bino-ikan  
AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and garden-P colorful-very

‘Linko has a very small house and a very colorful garden.’

- b. !*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo nay mondoas bino-ikan.*  
ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo nay mondo-as bino-ikan  
AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small and garden-P colorful-very

‘Linko has a small house and a very colorful garden.’

*Intended:* ‘Linko has a very small house and a very colorful garden.’

- (153) a. *Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay mondoas bino-ven.*  
/aŋ ta'haja 'liŋko naŋ'a:s 'kivo,ikan nai mon'doas 'bino,ven/

*Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo-ikan nay mondoas bino-ven.*  
ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo-ikan nay mondo-as bino-ven  
AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small-very and garden-P colorful-pretty

‘Linko has a very small house and a pretty colorful garden.’

- b. \**Ang tahaya Linko nangās kivo nay mondoas bino-ikan nay -ven.*  
ang taha-ya Linko nanga-as kivo nay mondo-as bino-ikan nay -ven  
AT have-3SG.M Linko house-P small and garden-P colorful-very and -pretty

(154) da- + ADJ

(155) da- + POSS

(156) subject predicatives

(157) object predicatives

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Agent
ANIM	Animacy
AT	Agent topic
CAUS	Causative
CAUT	Causative topic
COMP	Comparative
DAT	Dative
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GEND	Gender
HAB	Habitative
INAN	Inanimate
INS	Instrumental

INST	Instrumental topic
IRR	Irrealis
ITER	Iterative
LOC	Locative
LOCT	Locative topic
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NUM	Number
P	Patient
PL	Plural
PROG	Progressive
PT	Patient topic
PTCP	Participle
SG	Singular
SUPL	Superlative