

- (1) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ\_ 'ilja | 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\_ '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.’

- (4) *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”.’

- (5) *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.’

- (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'bar | 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'bar | 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'bar | 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 | koˈjaˈdʒaŋ 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

[ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM -]

‘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

[ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM +]  
[GEND M] [GEND M] [GEND F]  
[NUM PL] [NUM SG] [NUM SG]

‘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

[ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM +]  
[GEND M] [GEND F] [GEND M]  
[NUM PL] [NUM SG] [NUM SG]

‘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>

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	SG

‘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

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

‘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

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	F
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	N
NUM	SG

‘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 | 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.’

- (58) *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.’

- (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) *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.'

- (66) *Ming malyya ang Tikim, naynay tuyayāng.*  
 /miŋ 'malja l aŋ 'tikim ll 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.'



- (67) *Ilta manga nimpongye Sipra edaui.*  
 /ilta ˌmaŋa nimˈpoŋje | ˈsipra | eˈdaui/

*Ilta                    manga nimpongye      Sipra edaui.*  
 ilta                    manga nimp-ong-ye Sipra edaui  
 be.supposed.to PROG run-IRR-3SG.F Sipra now

‘Sipra should be running now.’

- (68) *Le rua ming sideja badanang ajam.*  
 /le rua miŋ siˈdeja | badaˈnaŋ | adʒam/

*Le        rua    ming    sideja            badanang ajam.*  
 le        rua    ming    sideg-ya        badan-ang ajam  
 PT.INAN must can repair-3SG.M father-A toy

‘The toy, father must be able to repair (it).’

(69) Before dealing with reflexive actions, we need to establish the status of pre-verbal stuff like *ming* and *manga* and their scope in coordination.

(70) *Sitang-keca ang Yan.*  
 /sitəŋ'ketʃa | əŋ 'jan/

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

'Yan washes himself.'

(71) *Sitang-kecan ang Yan nay netuang yana.*  
 /sitəŋ'ketʃan | əŋ 'jan nai netu'əŋ '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.'

(72) *Sitang-keca nay (sitang-?)dayungisaya ang Yan.*  
 /si'təŋ 'ketʃa nai dajuŋi'saja | əŋ 'jan/

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

'Yan washes and dresses himself.'

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Agent
ANIM	Animacy
AT	Agent topic
DAT	Dative
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GEND	Gender

INAN	Inanimate
INS	Instrumental
INST	Instrumental topic
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NUM	Number
P	Patient
PL	Plural
PT	Patient topic
SG	Singular