

- (1) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*

/aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjaːs | jam ˈpila/

*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 ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | adaˈkoja | jam ˈpila/

*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) a. *Sa delaktang lanyā, nay yasa.*

/sa delakˈtang | ˈlanja || nai ˈjasa/

*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.’

- (4) ?*Sa ilya Ajān eda- nay ada-koya yam Pila.*

/sa ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | eda nai adaˈkoja | jam ˈpila/

*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.’

- (5) *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.’

- (6) *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”.’

- (7) *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.’

- (8) *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.’

- (9) *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.’

- (10) *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.'
- (11) *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.'
- (12) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās nay migrayas yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ '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.'
- (13) *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.'
- (14) *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.'

- (15) a. *Ang ilya nay paya Ajān koyajas māvayam nay yena.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja 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

- (16) 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

- (17) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'jadʒas nai dadan\_ 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.'

- (18) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas, nay(nay) dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ\_ 'ilja | a'dʒa:n | ko'jadʒas | nai('nai) dadan\_ 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.'

- (19) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangley merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjaːs ˈikan nai dadaŋˌlei meramˈbaɪ | jam ˈpila/  
*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.’
- (20) *Ang ilya Ajān koyās-ikan nay dadangyeley merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjaːs ˈikan nai dadaŋˌjelei 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.’
- (21) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangyeley merambay-ikan yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ˈilja | aˈdʒaːn | koˈjadʒas nai daˌdanjeˈlei 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.’
- (22) *Merambay sikan koyajang nay dadangyeley? — Da-ikan. (\*Ikan.)*  
 /meramˈbaɪ ˈsikan | kojaˈdʒaŋ nai daˌdanjeˈlei/ — /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.’
- (23) *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.’

- (24) *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.'

- (25) *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.'

- (26) *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.'

- (27) *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.'

- (28) *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.'

- (29) *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.'

- (30) *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.'

- (31) *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.'

- (32) 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

- (33) *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.’

- (34) 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

- (35) *Ang haruya yās.*  
 /aŋ ha'ruja | 'jās/

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

‘He beats him.’

- (36) 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



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

- (41) *Haruyās.*  
/haru'ja:s/

*Haruyās.*  
haru-yās  
beat-3SG.M.P

‘He is (being) beaten.’

- (42) *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.’

- (43) *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.’

- (44) *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.’

- (45) *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.’

- (46) ?*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.'
- (46) ?*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.'
- (46) *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.'
- (47) *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).'
- (48) *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.'

- (49) *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.’

- (50) *Sa keceng nay dayungisayang yan.*  
 /sa ke'tʃen nai dajunisa'jen 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.’

- (51) *Sa ilyāng koyaye nay dadangye yeyam.*<sup>1</sup>  
 /sa il'ja:ŋ | ko'jaje nai da'danje | 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  
 [ANIM +] [ANIM +] [ANIM -]

‘Books and pens he gives her.’

- (51) *Ang sobisayan Mico nay Niva sungkoranas narān.*  
 /aŋ sobi'sajan | 'mitʃo nar | 'niva | suŋko'ranas na'ra:n/

<i>Ang</i>	<i>sobisayan</i>	<i>Mico</i>	<i>nay</i>	<i>Niva</i>	<i>sungkoranas</i>	<i>narān.</i>
ang	sobisa-yan	Mico	nay	Niva	sungkoran-as	narān
AT	study-3PL.M	Mico	and	Niva	science-P	language
[ANIM +]	[ANIM + GEND M NUM PL]	[ANIM + GEND M NUM SG]		[ANIM + GEND F NUM SG]		

‘Mico and Niva 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.

- (52) *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  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Niva and Mico study linguistics.’

- (53) *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-3PL.M A Yan and dog-A 3SG.M.A  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Yan and his dog are sleeping.’

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

*Toryon veneyang nay badanang.*  
 tor-yon veney-ang nay badan-ang  
 sleep-3PL.N dog-A and father-A  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘The dog and father are sleeping.’

- (55) *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-3PL.M mother-A and dog-A  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{N} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

‘Mother and the dog are sleeping.’

- (56) *Toryon veneyang nay mavāng.*  
 /'torjon | vene'jang nai 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.’

- (57) *Ang sarayan kadanya Api-Api nay ajam yana tadayen.*  
 /aŋ sa'rajan ka'danja | 'api'api nai '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	+
GEND	M
NUM	PL

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

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

- (58) *Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Api-Api tadayen.*  
 /eŋ sa'ra:ran ka'danja | 'adʒam nai '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	–
NUM	PL

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

ANIM	–
NUM	SG

ANIM	+
GEND	M
NUM	SG

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

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

- (59) *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  
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{M} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & + \\ \text{GEND} & \text{F} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ANIM} & - \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$

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

- (60) *Eng sarāran kadanya ajam nay Tavi-Tavi tadayen.*  
 /eŋ sa'ra:ran ka'danja | 'adʒam nar '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.’

- (61) *Ang bitojon sungkoran-narān nay payutān atasas.*  
 /aŋ bi'todʒon | suŋkorana'ra:n nar 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.’

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

- (62) *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.’

- (63) 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.’

- b. \**Nimpye manga ang Misan.*

Nimp-ye manga ang Misan  
run-3SG.F PROG A Misan

- (64) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya.*

/aŋ maŋa sa'haja | 'tikim | 'raŋja/

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

‘Tikim is coming home.’

- (65) a. *Ang manga sahaya rangya nay (manga) nedraya Tikim.*

/aŋ maŋa sa'haja 'raŋja nai (maŋa) ne'draja | 'tikim /

*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.’

(66) *Ang manga sahaya Tikim rangya, nay nedrayāng.*

/aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja | ˈtikim | ˈraŋja || 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.’

(67) *Sa ming layaye ang Misan koya.*

/sa ˌmiŋ laˈjaje | aŋ ˈmisan | ˈkoja/

*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).’

(68) a. *Ming malya ang Tikim.*

/miŋ ˈmalja | aŋ ˈtikim/

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

‘Tikim can sing.’

b. \**Malya    ming ang Tikim.*

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

- (69) 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
- (70) *Ming malyya nay tuyaya ang Tikim.*  
 /miŋ 'malja nai tu'jaja l 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.'
- (71) *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 tuya-yāng  
 can sing-3SG.M A Tikim and.also dance-3SG.M.A  
 'Tikim can sing and also dances.'
- (72) *Mya manga nimpongye Sipra edauyi.*  
 /mja ,maŋa nim'poŋje l 'sipra l e'dauyi/  
  
*Mya manga nimpongye Sipra edauyi.*  
 mya manga nimp-ong-ye Sipra edauyi  
 be.supposed.to PROG run-IRR-3SG.F Sipra now  
 'Sipra ought to be running now.'

- (73) 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 'mjoŋja | 'miŋjam | si'dedʒa | 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

- (74) *Ang mya ming sidegongya nay la-lataya adaley.*  
 /aŋ mja miŋ side'goŋja naɪ lala'taja | ada'leɪ/

*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.’

- (75) a. *Ang ming sideja adaley, nay da-myongyāng.*  
 /aŋ miŋ si'dedʒa | ada'leɪ || naɪ 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

- (76) *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).’

- (77) *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).'

- (78) *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).'

- (79) 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

- (80) 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

- (81) *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.'

- (82) *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.'

- (83) *Sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya ang Yan.*  
/sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja | əŋ '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.'

- (84) *Ming sitang-keca nay (sitang-)dayungisaya iri ang Yan-Yan.*  
/miŋ sitəŋ'ketʃa nai (sitəŋ)dajuŋi'saja 'iri | əŋ '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.'

- (86) a. \**Sitang-keca ming ang Yan.*  
/sitəŋ'ketʃa miŋ | əŋ '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 min̩ 'ketʃa l̩ əŋ 'jan/

*Sitang-ming keca ang Yan.*

sitang-ming ket-ya ang Yan

self-can wash-3SG.M A Yan

*Intended: 'Yan can wash himself.'*

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

/ˌmɑŋə sitəŋ 'ketʃa l̩ əŋ '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

- (88) a. *Rua apaya-kay kaluy ang Latun.*

/rua aˈpajaˌkai kaˈləi l̩ əŋ '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.'*

- (89) *Lampya nay naraya para ang Latun.*  
 /'lampja nai na'raja 'para | aŋ 'latun/

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

'Latun quickly walked and talked.

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

'Latun quickly walked and talked a little.

- (91) *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.'

- (92) *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.'

- (93) Scope of [V ADV and V ADV] + degree?

- (94) degree + degree?

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

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	Agent
ANIM	Animacy
AT	Agent topic
CAUS	Causative
CAUT	Causative topic
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