

# 1 Basic facts on verb agreement and morphosyntactic alignment

Also compare section 5.

- (1) *Tahanya ang Yan.*  
/ta'hanja an '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.*  
/an 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 ʔilja a'dʒa:n ko'ja:s jam 'pila/

*Ang ilya Ajān koyās yam Pila.*  
 ang il-ya Ajān koya-as yam Pila  
 AT give-3SG.M Ajān book-P DAT Pila

‘Ajān gives Pila a book.’

## 2 Demonstratives and prefixed case markers

- (9) *Sa ilya ang Ajān ada-koya yam Pila.*  
 /sa 'ilja aŋ a'dʒa:n ada'koja jam 'pila/

*Sa ilya ang Ajān ada-koya yam Pila.*  
 sa il-ya ang Ajān ada-koya yam Pila  
 PT give-3SG.M A Ajān that-book DAT Pila

‘That book, Ajān gives (it) to Pila.’

- (10) a. *Sa delaktang lanyā, nay yasa.*  
 /sa delak'tang 'lanja l nai '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 nai 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 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.’

- (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 ʔilja nai ʔaja a ʔɜa:n ko ʔjadʒas jam ʔpila nai ʔjena/  
*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

### 3 Quantifier suffixes

- (24) *Ang ilya Ajān koyajas nay dadangley-ikan merambay yam Pila.*  
 /aŋ ʔilja a ʔɜa:n ko ʔjadʒas nai dadan ʔlei ʔikan meram ʔbai jam ʔpila/  
*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 ʔilja a ʔɜa:n ko ʔjadʒas nai(ʔnai) dadan ʔlei ʔikan meram ʔbai jam ʔpila/  
*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 ʔilja a ʔɜa:n ko ʔja:s ʔikan nai dadan ʔlei meram ʔbai jam ʔpila/  
*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 daɗaŋ,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,daŋje'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,daŋje'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.’

## 4 Ku- likeness marker

- (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 naɪ 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.'

## 5 More on alignment

- (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 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.'
- (53) ?*Ya sarāyn yang nay vāng kodan.*  
*Ya saranang kodan, yang nay vāng.*  
 /ja sara'naŋ ko'danja 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.'



- (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.’

- (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-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.’

- (61) *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.’

- (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-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.’



- (63) *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.’

- (64) *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.’

- (65) *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.

- (66) *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.’

- (67) *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.’

- (68) *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.

- (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.’

## 7 Progressive manga

- (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.’

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

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

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

/aŋ maŋa sa'haja 'tikim 'ranja/

*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 maŋa sa'haja 'ranja 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.’

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

/aŋ ˌmaŋa saˈhaja ˈtikim ˈraŋja ɫnai 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.’

## 8 Modal particles

- (74) *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).’

- (75) a. *Ming malyya ang Tikim.*

/miŋ ˈmalja aŋ ˈtikim/

*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'ja aŋ 'tikim /

*Ming malyya nay tuyaya ang Tikim.*

ming maly-ya nay tuy-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 l'naɪ'naɪ tuja'ja:ŋ/

*Ming malyya ang Tikim, naynay tuyayāng.*

ming maly-ya ang Tikim naynay tuy-yaŋ

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

'Tikim can sing and also dances.'

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

/mja ,maŋa nim'poŋje 'sipra e'dau/

*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.'

- (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 'mjoŋja '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

## 9 Reflexive sitang-

- (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'ketʃə mɪŋ 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 mɪŋ 'ketʃə 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.'*
- (94) a. *Manga sitang-keca ang Yan.*  
 /ˌmɑŋə sitəŋ'ketʃə 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

## 10 Verb and quantifier

- (95) a. *Rua apaya-kay kaluy ang Latun.*  
 /rua aˈpajaˌkai kaˈlɔi əŋ ˈlatun/  
*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 aŋ ‘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 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 quickly A Latun

‘Latun quickly walked and talked a little.

(98) *Ang kondasaya-ikan adaley.*

/aŋ konda‘saja ikaŋ 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 ikaŋ 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.*

/ˈlampja ˈpara nai naˈraja kai aŋ ˈlatun/

*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.*

/ˈlampja ˈpara nai naˈraja kai tikiˈmarja aŋ ˈlatun/

*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.*

/ˈlampja kai ˈpara nai naˈraja tikiˈmarja aŋ ˈlatun/

*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.’

- (103) *Lampya-kay para nay naraya-kay tikimarya ang Latun.*

/ˈlampja kai ˈpara nai naˈraja kai tikiˈmarja aŋ ˈlatun/

*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.*

/torˈjaŋ ikan/

*Toryang-ikan.*

tor-yang-ikan

sleep-1SG-a.lot

‘I slept a lot.’

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

(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.'

## 11 Raising verbs

Syntactic S of matrix verb is logical S of subordinate verb

(108) *Surpye bihanyam ang Pada*

/surpje bi'hanjam aŋ '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.*  
/aŋ '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'jaɲam 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'raɲam 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?’

## 12 Subject control verbs

Syntactic and logical S of matrix verb is logical S of subordinate verb

- (114) a. *Linkaye lingyam ang Banvā.*  
 /liŋ'kaɲe '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

## 13 Object control verbs

Syntactic and logical O of matrix verb is logical S of subordinate verb

- (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

## 14 ECM verbs

Syntactic O of matrix verb is logical S of subordinate verb

- (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 l aŋ ko'ronja 'mitfan 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 'dija l aŋ ko'ronja 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

## 15 Adjectives with comparative suffixes

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

*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.*  
 /palar'eŋ e'keŋ 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 palareŋ'kar/

*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 palaɪ'ɛŋ/  
*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
- (143) a. *Ang koronya Kaman apyanas palay nay ban-eng.*  
 /aŋ ko'ronja 'kaman a'pjanas palaɪ nai ban'ɛŋ/  
*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
- 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 palaɪ'ɛŋ nai niŋ'anas ban'ɛŋ/  
*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.'

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

- 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'enj 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

## 16 Adjectives with quantifiers

- (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.'

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

- 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
- 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

## 17 Adjectives with demonstrative da-

- (154) a. *Ang noay da-tuvoley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da tuvo 'lei/

*Ang noay da-tuvoley.*

ang no-ay da-tuvo-ley

AT want-1SG one-red-P.INAN

‘I want the red one.’

- b. *Ang noay danyaley tuvo.*

ang no-ay danya-ley tuvo

AT want-1SG such.one-P.INAN red

- (155) a. *Le noyang da-tuvo.*

/le no 'jaŋ da tuvo/

*Le noyang da-tuvo.*

le no-yang da-tuvo

PT.INAN want-1SG.A one-red

‘The red one I want.’

- b. *Le noyang danya tuvo.*

le no-yang danya tuvo

PT.INAN want-1SG.A such.one red

- (156) *Ang noay da-tuvoley kivo.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da tuvo 'lei 'kivo/

*Ang noay da-tuvoley kivo.*

ang no-ay da-tuvo-ley kivo

AT want-1SG one-red-P.INAN little

‘I want the little red one.’

- (157) a. ?*Ang noay da-tuvoyeley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ datu voje 'lei/

*Ang noay da-tuvoyeley.*

ang no-ay da-tuvo-ye-ley

AT want-1SG one-red-PL-P.INAN

*Intended:* ‘I want the red ones.’

- b. \**Ang noay danyayeley tuvo.*  
 ang no-ay danya-ye-ley tuvo  
 AT want-1SG such.one-PL-P.INAN red

- (158) a. ?*Ang noay da-tuvo-tuvoley.*  
 /aŋ 'nwaɪ da'tuvotu,voje'lei/

*Ang noay da-tuvo-tuvoley.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo~tuvo-ley  
 AT want-1SG one-DIM~red-P.INAN

*Intended:* 'I want the (cute) little red one.'

- b. \**Ang noay danya-danyaley tuvo.*  
 ang no-ay danya~danya-ye-ley tuvo  
 AT want-1SG DIM~such.one-PL-P.INAN red

- (159) a. *Ang noay da-tuvoley nay da-lenoley.*  
 /aŋ 'nwaɪ da'tuvo'lei naɪ da'leno'lei/

*Ang noay da-tuvoley nay da-lenoley.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo-ley nay da-lenoley  
 AT want-1SG one-red-P.INAN and one-blue-P.INAN

'I want the red one and the blue one.'

- b. \**Ang noay da-tuvo nay da-lenoley.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo nay da-lenoley  
 AT want-1SG one-red and one-blue-P.INAN

- c. \**Ang noay da-tuvoley nay da-leno.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo-ley nay da-leno  
 AT want-1SG one-red-P.INAN and one-blue

- d. \**Ang noay da-tuvoley nay lenoley.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo-ley nay leno-ley  
 AT want-1SG one-red-P.INAN and blue-P

- e. !*Ang noay da-tuvo nay lenoley.*  
 ang no-ay da-tuvo nay leno-ley  
 AT want-1SG one-red and blue-P

'I want the red and blue one.'

*Intended:* 'I want the red one and the blue one.'

## 18 Possessive pronouns with demonstrative da-

- (160) a. *Ang noay da-yanaley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da,jaɪa 'lei/

*Ang noay da-yanaley.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN

‘I want his one.’

- b. *Ang noay danyaley yana.*

ang no-ay danya-ley yana

AT want-1SG such.one-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN

- (161) a. *Le noyang da-yana.*

/le no'jaŋ da'jaɪa/

*Le noyang da-yana.*

le no-yang da-yana

PT.INAN want-1SG.A one-3SG.M.GEN

‘His one I want.’

- b. *Le noyang danya yana.*

le no-yang danya yana

PT.INAN want-1SG.A such.one 3SG.M.GEN

- (162) a. *?Ang noay da-yanaley kivo.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da,jaɪa 'lei 'kivo/<sup>9</sup>

*Ang noay da-yanaley kivo.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley kivo

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN little

‘I want his little one.’

- b. \**Ang noay da-yanaley vana.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley vana

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN 2.GEN

<sup>9</sup>Strange-sounding, since it's otherwise customary to place the possessive pronoun after an attributive adjective: *veney kivo yana* (dog little 3SG.M.GEN) ‘his little dog’, not *?veney yana kivo*. Hence, *da-kivoley yana* would be more licit.



- (163) a. ?*Ang noay da-yanayeley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ datu voje 'lei/

*Ang noay da-yanayeley.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ye-ley

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-PL-P.INAN

*Intended: 'I want his ones.'*

- b. \**Ang noay danyayeley yana.*

ang no-ay danya-ye-ley yana

AT want-1SG such.one-PL-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN

- (164) a. ?*Ang noay da-yana-yanaley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da 'janaja naje 'lei/

*Ang noay da-yana-yanaley.*

ang no-ay da-yana~yana-ley

AT want-1SG one-DIM~3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN

*Intended: 'I want the (cute) little his-one.'*

- b. \**Ang noay danya-danyaley yana.*

ang no-ay danya~danya-ye-ley yana

AT want-1SG DIM~such.one-PL-P.INAN 3SG.M.GEN

- (165) a. *Ang noay da-yanaley nay da-vanaley.*

/aŋ 'nwaɪ da ,jana 'lei nai da ,vana 'lei/

*Ang noay da-yanaley nay da-vanaley.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley nay da-vanaley

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN and one-2.GEN-P.INAN

*'I want (both) his and yours.'*

- b. \**Ang noay da-yana nay da-vanaley.*

ang no-ay da-yana nay da-vanaley

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN and one-2.GEN-P.INAN

- c. \**Ang noay da-yanaley nay da-vana.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley nay da-vana

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN and one-2.GEN

- d. \**Ang noay da-yanaley nay vanaley.*

ang no-ay da-yana-ley nay vana-ley

AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN-P.INAN and 2.GEN-P

- e. *!Ang noay da-yana nay vanaley.*  
 ang no-ay da-yana nay vana-ley  
 AT want-1SG one-3SG.M.GEN and 2.GEN-P

‘I want him and yours.’

*Intended:* ‘I want (both) his and yours.’

## 19 Possessive pronouns

- (166) *Ang caya Akan veneyas yena.*  
 /aŋ 'tʃaja 'akan ve'nejas 'jena/

*Ang caya Akan veneyas yena.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as yena  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC 3SG.F.GEN

‘Akan loves her dog.’

- (167) a. *Ang caya Akan veneyas kivo yena.*  
 /aŋ 'tʃaja 'akan ve'nejas 'kivo 'jena/

*Ang caya Akan veneyas kivo yena.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as kivo yena  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC little 3SG.F.GEN

‘Akan loves her little dog.’

- b. *?Ang caya Akan veneyas yena kivo.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as yena kivo  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC 3SG.F.GEN little

- (168) *Ang caya Akan veneyas yana nay yena.*  
 /aŋ 'tʃaja 'akan ve'nejas 'jana nai 'jena/

*Ang caya Akan veneyas yana nay yena.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as yana nay yena  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC 3SG.M.GEN and 3SG.F.GEN

‘Akan loves his and her dog.’

- (169) a. *Ang caya Akan veneyas kivo yana nay yena.*  
 /aŋ 'tʃaja 'akan ve'nejas 'kivo 'jana nai 'jena/  
*Ang caya Akan veneyas kivo yana nay yena.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as kivo yana nay yena  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC little 3SG.M.GEN and 3SG.F.GEN  
 'Akan loves his and her little dog.'
- b. ?*Ang caya Akan veneyas yana nay yena kivo.*  
 ang ca-ya Akan veney-as yana nay yena kivo  
 AT love-3SG.M Akan dog-LOC 3SG.M.GEN and 3SG.F.GEN little

## 20 Predicative nominals over the subject

- (170) a. *Ang Misan lajāyas puti.*  
 /aŋ 'misan la'dʒa:jas 'puti/  
*Ang Misan lajāyas puti.*  
 ang Misan lajāy-as puti  
 A Misan student-P zealous  
 'Misan is a zealous student.'
- b. *Lajāyas puti ang Misan.*  
 lajāy-as puti ang Misan  
 student-P zealous A Misan  
 'A zealous student is what Misan is.'
- (171) a. *Ang Misan puti.*  
 /aŋ 'misan 'puti/  
*Ang Misan puti.*  
 ang Misan puti  
 A Misan zealous  
 'Misan is zealous.'
- b. *Puti ang Misan.*  
 Puti ang Misan  
 zealous A Misan

- (172) a. *Puti lajāyang.*  
 /'puti la'dʒa:jang/  
*Puti lajāyang.*  
 Puti lajāy-ang  
 zealous student-A  
 'The student is zealous.'
- b. *!Lajāyang puti.*  
 lajāy-ang puti  
 student-A zealous  
 'The zealous student.'  
*Intended: The student is zealous.*
- (173) a. *Yeng puti.*  
 /'jeŋ 'puti/  
*Yeng puti.*  
 yeng puti  
 3SG.F.A zealous  
 'She is zealous.'
- b. *Puti yeng.*  
 Puti yeng  
 zealous 3SG.F.A
- (174) a. *Ang Misan/lajāyang/yeng voy puti.*  
 /aŋ 'misan/la'dʒa:jaŋ/'jeŋ voi 'puti/ //  
*Ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng voy puti*  
 ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng voy puti  
 A Misan student 3SG.F.A NEG zealous  
 'Misan/the student/she is not zealous.'
- b. *Voy puti ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng*  
 voy puti ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng  
 NEG zealous A Misan student 3SG.F.A
- c. *\*Puti voy ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng*  
 puti voy ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng  
 zealous NEG A Misan student 3SG.F.A

- (175) a. *Ang Misan/lajāyang/yeng voy takomayās.*  
 /aŋ 'misan//la'dʒa:jaŋ/ 'jeŋ voi takoma'ja:s/ //  
*Ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng voy takomayās*  
*ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng voy takomaya-as*  
 A Misan student 3SG.F.A NEG slob-P  
 'Misan/the student/she is not a slob.'
- b. *Voy takomayās ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng*  
*voy takomaya-as ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng*  
 NEG slob-P A Misan student 3SG.F.A
- c. \**Takomayās voy ang Misan/lajāyang /yeng*  
*takomaya-as voy ang Misan/lajāy-ang/yeng*  
 slob-P NEG A Misan student 3SG.F.A

- (176) *Padu nay mico yarangang.*  
 /'padu nai 'mitʃo ja'raŋaŋ/  
*Padu nay mico yarangang.*  
*padu nay mico yarang-ang*  
 reliable and strong OX-A

'The ox is reliable and strong.'

- (177) *Voy padarya nay sapu yarangang.*  
 /voi pa'darja nai 'sapu ja'raŋaŋ/  
*Voy padarya nay sapu yarangang.*  
*voy padarya nay sapu yarang-ang*  
 NEG unreliable and weak OX-A

'The ox is not unreliable and weak.'

- (178) *Padu nay voy sapu yarangang.*  
 /'padu nai voi 'sapu ja'raŋaŋ/  
*Padu nay voy sapu yarangang.*  
*padu nay voy sapu yarang-ang*  
 reliable and NEG weak OX-A

'The ox is reliable and not weak.'

- (179) *Yarangang voy depangas nay sapumayās.*

/ja'raŋaŋ voi de'paŋas nai sapuma'ja:s/

*Yarangang voy depangas nay sapumayās.*

yarang-ang voy depang-as nay sapumaya-as

OX-A NEG fool-P and weakling-P

'The ox is no fool and weakling.'

- (180) *Ang mingyon palay ninganye na Baba.*

/aŋ 'mingjon pa'lai niŋ'anje na 'baba/

*Ang mingyon palay ninganye na Baba.*

ang ming-yon palay ningan-ye na Baba

AT can-3SG.N.PL funny story-PL GEN Grampa

'Grampa's stories can be funny.'

- (181) *Ang mingyo gumo babakalya kotaneri.*

/aŋ 'minjo 'gumo babe'kalja kota'neri/

*Ang mingyo gumo babakalya kotaneri.*

ang ming-yo gumo babakal-ja kotan-eri

A can-3SG.N work holiday-LOC toil-INS

'Work on a holiday can be toil.'

- (182) a. *Surpya kayto ang Denan.*

/'surpja 'karto aŋ 'denan/

*Surpya kayto ang Denan.*

surp-ya kayto ang Denan

seem-3SG.M right A Denan

'Denan seems right.'

- b. *Surpya kayto ayonang.*

surp-ya kayto ayonang

seem-3SG.M right man-A

'The man seems right.'

- c. *Surpyāng kayto.*

surp-yāng kayto

seem-3SG.M.A right

'He seems right.'

- (183) a. *Ang surpya Denan sobayās.*  
 /aŋ 'surpja 'denan soba'ja:s/  
*Ang surpya Denan sobayās.*  
 ang surp-ya Denan sobaya-as  
 AT seem-3SG.M Denan teacher-P  
 'Denan seems to be a teacher.'
- b. *Surpreng, ang Denan sobayās.*  
 surp-reng ang Denan sobaya-as  
 seem-3SG.INAN A Denan teacher-P  
 'It seems that Denan is a teacher.'
- c. \**Surpya ang Denan, yāng sobayās.*  
 surp-ya ang Denan, yāng sobaya-as  
 seem-3SG.M A Denan, 3SG.M.A teacher-P

## 21 Predicative nominals over the object

- (184) a. *Ang vitaya maka Diyan nangās.*  
 /aŋ vi'taja 'maka 'dijan naŋ'a:s/  
*Ang vitaya maka Diyan nangās.*  
 ang vita-ya maka Diyan nanga-as  
 AT paint-3SG.M white Diyan house-P  
 'Diyan paints the house white.'
- b. *Ang vitaya Diyan nangās binoeri maka.*  
 ang vita-ya Diyan nangās bino-eri maka  
 AT paint-3SG.M Diyan house-P paint-INS white  
 'Diyan paints the house with white paint.'
- c. *Ang vitaya Diyan nangās kadāre adanyāng maka.*  
 ang vita-ya Diyan nangās kadāre adanya-ang maka  
 AT paint-3SG.M Diyan house-P so.that that.one-A white  
 'Diyan paints the house so that it is white.'
- d. ?*Vitaya ang Diyan, maka nangāng.*  
 vita-ya ang Diyan, maka nanga-ang  
 paint-3SG.M A Diyan white house-A

- e. ?*Ang vitaya Diyan maka nangās.*  
ang vita-ya Diyan maka nanga-as  
A paint-3SG.M Diyan white house-P
- f. !*Ang vitaya Diyan nangās maka.*  
ang vita-ya Diyan nanga-as maka  
A paint-3SG.M Diyan house-P white
- ‘Diyan paints the white house.’  
*Intended:* ‘Diyan paints the house white.’

- (185) a. *Naratang, ang Prano tesātias.*  
/nara'taŋ | aŋ 'prano te'sa:t̪ias/  
*Naratang, ang Prano tesātias.*  
nara-tang ang Prano tesāti-as  
say-3PL.M A Prano liar-P  
‘They say that Prano is a liar.’
- b. \**Sa garatang tesātias Prano.*  
sa gara-tang tesāti-as Prano  
PT call-3PL.M liar-P Prano  
*Intended:* ‘They call Prano a liar.’
- c. \**Garatang, Prano tesātias.*  
gara-tang Prano tesāti-as  
call-3PL.M Prano liar-P  
*Intended:* ‘They call Prano a liar.’
- d. \**Sa garatang Prano tesātias.*  
sa gara-tang Prano tesāti-as  
PT call-3PL.M Prano liar-P  
*Intended:* ‘They call Prano a liar.’
- e. \**Sa garatang Prano tesāti.*  
sa gara-tang Prano tesāti  
PT call-3PL.M Prano liar  
*Intended:* ‘They call Prano a liar.’



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
DIM	Diminutive
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
NEG	Negative
NUM	Number
P	Patient
PL	Plural
PROG	Progressive
PT	Patient topic
PTCP	Participle
SG	Singular
SUPL	Superlative