

English

Deleted English

## Obj+spec +NVE

1 Bahar learned the languages, but Reza didn't.

2 Bahar didn't learn the languages, but Reza did.

1 Bahar cleaned the tables, but Reza didn't.

2 Bahar didn't clean the tables, but Reza did.

## Obj-spec + NVE

3 Bahar learned a language, but Reza didn't.

4 Bahar didn't learn a language, but Reza did.

3 Bahar cleaned a table, but Reza didn't.

4 Bahar didn't clean a table, but Reza did.

## NVE (+spec)

5 Bahar learned the languages, Reza the alphabets.

6 Bahar learned the languages, but not the alphabets.

7 Bahar didn't learn the languages, but she did learn the alphabets.

5 Bahar cleaned the tables, Reza the windows.

6 Bahar cleaned the tables, but not the windows.

7 Bahar didn't clean the tables, but she did clean the windows.

## NVE(-spec)

8 Bahar didn't learn the language, but Reza learned the alphabet.

9 Bahar learned a language, but didn't learn an alphabet.

10 Bahar didn't learn a language, but she did learn an alphabet.

8 Bahar cleaned a table, but Reza a window.

9 Bahar cleaned a table, but didn't clean a window.

10 Bahar didn't clean a table, but she did clean a window.

NVE+LV

11 Bahar learned the languages, Reza the alphabets.

12 Bahar learned a language, Reza an alphabet.

13 Did Bahar learn the languages, or the alphabets?

14 Did Bahar learn a language, or an alphabet?

11 Bahar cleaned the tables, Reza the windows.

12 Bahar cleaned a table, Reza a window.

13 Did Bahar clean the tables, or the windows?

14 Did Bahar clean a table, or a window?

Farsi	
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd gereft-∅, vali rezâ na-gereft-∅ B. language-pl ra memory take.PST-3SG but R. NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd na-gereft-∅, vali rezâ gereft-∅ B. language-pl ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but R. take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz kard-∅, vali rezâ na-kard-∅. B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG but R. NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz na-kard-∅, vali rezâ kard-∅. B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zabun yâd gereft-∅, vali rezâ na-gereft-∅ B. language memory take.PST-3SG but R. NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zabun yâd na-gereft-∅, vali rezâ gereft-∅ B. language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but R. take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr miz tamiz kard-∅, vali rezâ na-kard-∅. B. table clean do.PST-3SG but R. NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr miz tamiz na-kard-∅, vali rezâ kard-∅. B. table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd gereft-∅, rezâ alefbâ-hâ ro gereft-∅ B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG R. alphabet-PL ra take.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd gereft-∅, vali alefbâ-hâ ro na-gereft-∅ B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra NEG-take.PST-3SG	??
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd na-gereft-∅, vali alefbâ-hâ ro gereft-∅ B. language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra take.PST-3SG	??
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz kard-∅, rezâ panjere-hâ ro kard-∅ B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz kard-∅, vali panjere-hâ ro na-kard-∅ B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL ra NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz na-kard-∅, vali panjere-hâ ro kard-∅ B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zabun yâd gereft-∅, vali rezâ alefbâ gereft-∅ B. language memory take.PST-3SG but R. alphabet take.PST-3SG	*

Bahâr zabun yâd gereft-ø, vali alefbâ na-gereft-ø B. language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet NEG-take.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr zabun yâd na-gereft-ø, vali alefbâ gereft-ø B. language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra take.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr miz tamiz kard-ø, vali rezâ panjere kard-ø B. table clean do.PST-3SG R. window do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr miz tamiz kard-ø, vali panjere na-kard-ø B. table clean do.PST-3SG but R. window NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr miz tamiz na-kard-ø, vali panjere kard-ø B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd gereft-ø, rezâ alefbâ-hâ ro B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG R. alphabet-PL ra	✓
Bahâr zabun yâd gereft-ø, rezâ alefbâ B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG R. alphabet-PL ra	✓
Bahâr zabun-â ro yâd gereft-ø, yâ alefbâ-hâ ro ? B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL ra	✓
Bahâr zabun yâd gereft-ø, yâ alefbâ ? B. language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet	✓
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz kard-ø, rezâ panjere-hâ ro B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG R. window-PL ra	✓
Bahâr miz tamiz kard-ø, rezâ panjere B. table clean do.PST-3SG R. window	✓
Bahâr miz-â ro tamiz kard-ø, yâ panjere-hâ ro ? B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG or window.PL ra	✓
Bahâr miz tamiz kard-ø, yâ panjere ? B. table clean do.PST-3SG or window	✓

Dari	
(zabun exists in the language, but lesaan is preferred)	
bahaar zabunaa ro yaad gereft, vali rezaa nagereft B. language-pl ra memory take.PST-3SG but R. NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar zabunaa ro yaad nagereft, vali rezaa gereft B. language-pl ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but R. take.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak kard vali rezaa nakard B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG but R. NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak nakard vali rezaa kard B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar lesaan yaad gereft, vali rezaa nagereft B. language memory take.PST-3SG but R. NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar lesaan yaad nagereft, vali rezaa gereft B. language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but R. take.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar miz paak kard vali rezaa nakard B. table clean do.PST-3SG but R. NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar miz paak nakard vali rezaa kard B. table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar lesaan yaad gereft, rezaa alefbaa gereft B. table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. do.PST-3SG	*
bahaar lesaan o yaad gereft, vali alefbaa ro nagereft B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra NEG-take.PST-3SG	?
bahaar lesaan o yaad nagereft, vali alefbaa ro gereft B. language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra take.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak kard rezaa panjeraro kard B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	*
bahaar mizaa ro paak kard vali panjera ro nakard B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG but R. window-PL ra NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak nakard vali panjera ro kard B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	✓
bahaar lesaan yaad gereft, vali rezaa alefbaa gereft B. language memory take.PST-3SG but R. alphabet take.PST-3SG	*

bahaar lesaan yaad gereft, vali alefbaa nagereft B. language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet NEG-take.PST-3SG	*
bahaar lesaan yaad nagereft, vali alefbaa gereft B. language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra take.PST-3SG	*
bahaar miz paak kard vali rezaa panjere nakard B. table clean do.PST-3SG R. window do.PST-3SG	*
bahaar miz paak kard vali panjere nakard B. table clean do.PST-3SG but R. window NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
bahaar miz paak nakard vali panjere kard B. table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but R. window-PL ra do.PST-3SG	*
bahaar zabunaa ro yaad gereft, rezaa alefbaa ro B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG R. alphabet-PL ra	✓
bahaar zabun yaad gereft, rezaa alefbaa B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG R. alphabet-PL ra	✓
bahaar zabunaa ro yaad gereft, yaa alefbaa ro B. language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL ra	✓
bahaar zabun yaad gereft, yaa alefbaa B. language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak kard rezaa panjere ro B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG R. window-PL ra	✓
bahaar miz paak kard rezaa panjere B. table clean do.PST-3SG R. window	✓
bahaar mizaa ro paak kard yaa panjere ro B. table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG or window.PL ra	✓
bahaar miz paak kard yaa panjere B. table clean do.PST-3SG or window	✓

## Persian

## Pashto

There is no "raa" equivalent in Pashto. zda kere: learned

Bahar zhebi zda kre reza nakere.

bahar language ??? Take.pst.3sg reza

Bahar learned the language, Reza didn't.

bahar daya zhebe zda kere, rezaa nakere

bahar this language ??? Take.pst.3sg, rezaa neg-take.pst.3sg

bahar learned this language, Reza didn't.

✓

✓

Bahar zhebi zda kre reza alefbe kere

bahar language ??? Take.pst.3sg reza alphabet take.pst.3sg

bahar daya zhebe zda kere, rezaa daya alefbe nakere.

bahar this language ??? take.pst-3sg, rezaa this alphabet neg-take.pst-3sg

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bahar miz paak kəɫ, rezaa kirkine kre

bahar table clean do.pst.3sg, reza ????? do.pst.3sg

\*





## Behbahani (questionnaire)

Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd gero-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [zabun-â yâd] na-gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr-? language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd na-gero-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [zabun-â yâd] gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language-PL râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz ke-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [miz-hâ tamiz] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr- CLTC table-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but tables-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz na-ke-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [miz-â ro tamiz] ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr- CLTC table-PL râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but rezâ-CLTC table-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd gero-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [zabun yâd] na-gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd na-gero-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [zabun yâd] gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ-ey one language memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz ke-Ø, vali rezâ-ey [miz tamiz] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr- CLTC table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ- CLTC [miz tamiz] na-ke-Ø.	
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz na-ke-Ø, rezâ-ey [miz tamiz] ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG rezâ- CLTC table clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd gero-Ø, rezâ-ey alefbâ-hâ [yâd] gero.	*
Bahâr language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ-ey alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd gero-Ø, vali alefbâ-hâ-y [yâd] na-gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL-CLTC memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd na-gero-Ø, vali alefbâ-hâ-y [yâd] gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL-CLTC râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz ke-Ø, rezâ-ey penjera-hâ [tamiz] ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr- CLTC table-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG rezâ- CLTC window-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz ke-Ø, vali penjera-hâ-y [tamiz] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr- CLTC table-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL-CLTC râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz na-ke-Ø, vali penjera-hâ-y [tamiz] ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr- CLTC table-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd gero-Ø, vali rezâ-ey alefbâ [yâd] gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	

Bahâr-ey zabun yâd gero-Ø, vali alefbâ-ey [yâd] na-gero-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd na-geroØ, vali alefbâ-ey [yâd] gero-Ø. Bahâr one language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	*
penjera [tamiz] ke-Ø. Bahâr-ey miz tamiz ke-Ø, vali rezâ-ey Bahâr- CLTC table-PL clean do.PST-3SG but rezâ- CLTC window clean do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz ke-Ø, vali penjera [tamiz] na-ke-Ø. Bahâr- CLTC table clean do.PST-3SG but window clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz na-ke-Ø, vali penjera [tamiz] ke-Ø. Bahâr- CLTC table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window clean do.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr-ey zabun-â yâd gero-Ø, rezâ-ey alefbâ-hâ [yâd gereft] Bahâr language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd gero-Ø, rezâ-ey alefbâ [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey zabun -â yâd gero -Ø, yâ alefbâ -hâ [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey zabun yâd gero -Ø, yâ alefbâ [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz ke-Ø, rezâ-ey penjera-hâ [tamiz ke-Ø] Bahâr- CLTC table-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG rezâ- CLTC window-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz ke-Ø, rezâ-ey penjera [tamiz ke-Ø] Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey miz-â tamiz ke-Ø, yâ penjera-hâ [tamiz ke-Ø] Bahâr- CLTC table-PL clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr-ey miz tamiz ke-Ø, yâ penjera [tamiz ke-Ø] Bahâr- CLTC table clean do.PST-3SG or window clean do.PST-3SG	✓

Sorani

-i is a VP internal 2nd position clitic marking 3rd sg agreement with the subject. It occasionally surfaces as an endoclititic as v

Bahâr zman-ak-an fer bu-Ø, balâm Rezâ [zman-ak-an fer] na-bu-Ø

Bahar language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3sg but Reza language-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-ak-an-i xawin krd-Ø, balâm Rezâ ne-y-krd-Ø

Bahar table-DEF-PL-3.sg clean do.PST but Reza NEG-3.sg-do.PST

Bahâr mez-ak-an-i xawin ne-krd-Ø, balâm Rezâ krd-i

Bahar table-DEF-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but Reza do.PST-EMPH

Bahâr zman-ak-an fer bu-Ø, balâm alefbâ-ake [fer] na-bu-Ø

Bahar language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3sg but alphabet-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-ak-an-i xawin krd-Ø, balâm Rezâ panjere-kan-i [xawin] krd-Ø

Bahar table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but Reza window-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-ak-an-i xawin krd-Ø, balâm panjere-kan-i [xawin] na-krd-Ø

Bahar table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but window-DEF-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bahâr zman fer bu-Ø, balâm alefbâ [fer] na-bu-Ø

Bahâr language memory is.PST-3sg but alphabet memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

In set 2, speaker notes that objects need to be definite to license gapping

Bahâr zman-ak-an fer bu-Ø, Rezâ alefbâ-ak-e [fer bu-Ø]

Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3sg Reza alphabet-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG

Bahâr zman fer bu-Ø, balâm Reza alefbâ [fer na-bu-Ø]

Bahâr language memory is.PST-3sg but alphabet memory is.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-ak-an-i xawin krd-Ø, balâm Rezâ panjere-kei [xawin krd-Ø]

Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but Reza window-DEF clean do.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-i xawin krd-Ø, balâm Rezâ panjere-kei [xawin krd-Ø]

Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but Reza window-DEF clean do.PST-3SG

? Ardalani (questionnaire)

\* Bahâr zowân-ak-ân fer bu-Ø, wale razâ [zowân-ak-ân er] ow-Ø.  
Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG but rezâ language-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

Bahâr zowân-ak-ân fer now-Ø, wale razâ[zowân-ak-ân fer] bu-Ø.  
Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG but rezâ language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG

✓ Bahâr mez-ak-ân-i tamis krd-Ø, wale razâ [mez-ak-ân tamis] krd-i.  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ tables-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG

✓ Bahâr miz-ak-ân-itamisna-krd-Ø, wale razâ [mez-ak-ân tamis] krd-i.  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but rezâ table clean do.PST-3SG

\* Bahâr zowan fer bu-Ø, wale razâ [Zowane fer] now-Ø.  
Bahâr language memory is.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

\* Bahâr zowân fer now-Ø, wale razâ [zowâne fer] bu-Ø.  
Bahâr language memory NEG-is.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory is.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-i tamis krd-Ø, wale razâ [mez tamis] na-i-krd-Ø.  
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-i tamis na-krd-Ø, razâ [miz tamiz] krd-i.  
Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG rezâ table clean do.PST-3SG

Bahâr zowân-ak- fer bu-Ø, razâ alefb â-ak-ân [fer] bu.  
Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG

\* Bahâr zowân-ak-ân fer wale alefbâ-ak-ân [fer] now-Ø.  
Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG but alphabet-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG

Bahâr zowân-ak-ân now Ø, wale alefbâ-a -ân fer] bu-Ø.  
Bahâr language-DEF-PL memory NEG-is.PST-3SG but alphabet-DEF-PL memory is.PST-3SG

\* Bahâr mez-ak-ân-i tam krd razâ panjera-ak-ân-i [t mis] krd-Ø.  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG

\* Bahâr mez-ak-ân-i tamis krd-Ø, wale panjera-ak-ân-i [tamis] na-kard-Ø. Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG but  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG but window-DEF-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bahâr mez-ak-ân- tam s na-krd Ø, wale Panjera-ak-ân-i [t mis] krd-Ø.  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG

Bahâr zowâ fer bu razâ alefbâ [fer] bu-Ø.  
Bahâr language memory is.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory is.PST-3SG

- \* Bahâr zowâ f bd wale lefbâ [fer] now-Ø.  
Bahâr language memory is.PST-3SG but alphabe t memo ry NEG-is.PST-3SG
- Bahâr zowâ f r now-Ø, wale ale bâ [ er] bu-Ø.  
Bahâr language memory NEG-is.PST-3SG bu t alphab et mem ory is.PST-3SG
- Bahâr mez-i tamis krd-Ø, wale razâ Panjera-i [tamis] krd-Ø.  
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG but rezâ windo cle n do.PST-3SG
- Bahâr mez- tam s krd wale Pan jera-i tamis] na-krd-Ø.  
Bahâr tabl cle n do.PST- 3SG but wi ndow lean NEG-do.PST-3SG
- Bahâr mez- tam s na-krd -Ø, wale panj ra-i [ amis] krd-Ø.  
Bahâr tabl cle n NEG-do.PST-3SG Bahâr didn't clean a table, but she did clean a window.

- ?? Bahâr zowân-ak-â f r bu -Ø, razâ alefbâ- [fer bu]  
Bahâr language-DEF-P L memo ry is.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-DEF PL me mory is.PST-3SG

- ?? Bahâr zowâ f r bu razâ a efbâ [fer bu-Ø]  
Bahâr language memory is.PST-3SG rezâ Bahâr learned a language, Rezâ [learned] an alphabet.

- Bahâr zowân-ak-â f r bu Ø, yâ alefbâ -a [fer bu-Ø]  
Bahâr language-DEF-P L memory is.PST-3 G or alphabet-DEF -PL me mory is.PST-3SG

- Bahâr zowâ f r bu -Ø , yâ a efbâ [fer bu-Ø]  
Bahâr languag e memory is.PST-3 SG or alph abet m emory is.PST-3SG

- ✓ Bahâr mez-ak-ân- tam s krd -Ø, razâ panjera-a -ân [ amiz kard-Ø]  
Bahâr table-DEF-P clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-DEF- L cl an do.PST-3SG

- ✓ Bahâr mez- tam s krd razâ pa jera tamiz kard-Ø]  
Bahâr tabl cle n do.PST-3SG rezâ win w c ean do.PST-3SG

- Bahâr mez-ak-ân-i tamis krd-Ø yâ panjera-ak- [ta is krd-Ø]  
Bahâr table-DEF-PL clean do.PST-3SG or window-DEF-PL clea do.PST-3SG

- Bahâr mez- tam s krd -Ø , yâ pa jera tamiz kard-Ø]  
Bahâr tabl cle n do.PST- 3S G or w dow clean do.PST-3SG

## Kurdish

## Kalhori (questionnaire)

*	Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd gerd-Ø, wali rezâ [zabun-â ro yâd] na-gerd-Ø. Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd na-gerd-Ø, wali rezâ [zabun-â ro yâd] gerd-Ø. Bahâr language-PL memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL râ memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw kerd-Ø, wali rezâ [miz-hâ ro tamiz] na-kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ tables-PL râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
✓	Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw na-kerd-Ø, wali rezâ [miz-â ro tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but rezâ table-PL râ clean do.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwân yâd gerd-Ø, wali rezâ [ye zabun yâd] na-gerd-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwân yâd na-gerd-Ø, wali rezâ [ye zabun yâd] gerd-Ø. Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	Bahâr miz tamizaw kerd-Ø, wali rezâ [miz tamiz] na-kerd-Ø. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
✓	Bahâr miz tamizaw na-kerd-Ø, rezâ [miz tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG rezâ table clean do.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd gerd-Ø, rezâ Alefbâ-gân [yâd] gerd. Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	*
*	Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd gerd-Ø, wali Alefbâ-gân [yâd] na-gerd-Ø. Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd na-gerd-Ø, wali Alefbâ-gân [yâd] gerd-Ø. Bahâr language-PL memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw kerd-Ø, rezâ Panjera-gân [tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	*
??	Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw kerd-Ø, wali Panjera-gân [tamiz] na-kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw na-kerd-Ø, wali Panjera-gân [tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	✓
*	Bahâr zwân yâd gerd-Ø, wali rezâ alefbâ [yâd] gerd-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	*

* Bahâr zwân yâd gerd-Ø, wali alefbâ [yâd] na-gerd-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	*
* Bahâr zwân yâd na-gerd-Ø, wali alefbâ [yâd] gerd-Ø. Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
* Bahâr miz tamizaw kerd-Ø, wali rezâ panjera [tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG but rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	*
* Bahâr miz tamizaw kerd-Ø, wali panjera [tamiz] na-kerd-Ø. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG but window clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
* Bahâr miz tamizaw na-kerd-Ø, wali panjera [tamiz] kerd-Ø. Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window clean do.PST-3SG	*
✓ Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd gerd-Ø, rezâ Alefbâ-gân [yâd gereft] Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr zwân yâd gerd-Ø, rezâ alefbâ [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr zwâna-gân yâd gerd -Ø, yâ Alefbâ-gân [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr zwân yâd gerd -Ø, yâ alefbâ [yâd gereft-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw kerd-Ø, rezâ Panjera-gân [tamiz kard-Ø] Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr miz tamizaw kerd-Ø, rezâ panjera [tamiz kard-Ø] Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr miza-gân tamizaw kerd-Ø, yâ panjera-gân [tamiz kard-Ø] Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓ Bahâr miz tamizaw kerd-Ø, yâ panjera [tamiz kard-Ø] Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG or window clean do.PST-3SG	✓



Kalhari (interview)

Speaker says there aren't specific objects

Bahâr mize-gân tamiz kerd-Ø, wali Reza [tamiz] na-kerd-Ø.

Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG but Reza clean NEG-do.PST-3SG

?

Bahâr mize-gân tamiz na-kerd-Ø, wali Reza [tamiz] kerd-Ø.

Bahâr table-PL clean NEG- do.PST-3SG but Reza clean do.PST-3SG

?

“okay to some extent”

Bahâr mize-gân tamiz kerd-Ø, wali Panjera-gân [tamiz] na-kerd-Ø. Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
Ma futbol bâzi odkam, au futbol [bazi] na-kam. I football play do.PST.1SG, or football NEG-do.PST.1SG	?
Bahâr mize-gân tamiz e-kar-Ø, Rezâ Panjera-gân [tamiz kar-Ø.] Bahâr table-PL clean do.PRS-3SG Reza window-PL clean NEG-do.PRS-3SG	✓
Bahâr mize-gân tamiz kerd-Ø, yâ Panjera-gân [tamiz kerd-Ø.] Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL clean do.PST-3SG	✓

Kurmanji (interview 1)

the verb in the example here, den da, means 'lend' (German leihen)

Jemile ktaw-ik den da Reza, Ryan ne-da

Jemile book-INDEF lent Reza, Ryan NEG-gave

Jemile ode pa kir, Reza na-kir

Jemile room clean did Reza NEG-did

Seems you can leave out 'den', but not 'pa'. She says 'es hat eine andere Bede

Jemile ktaw-ik den da Reza, Ryan kelam-ek da

Jemile book-INDEF lent Reza, Ryan pencil-INDEF gave

Jemile ode(?) pak ker-Ø, Reza panjere [pak] ker-Ø  
Jemile room clean do.PST-3SG, Reza window [clean] do.PST-3SG

\*



Jemile ode pak ker-Ø, Reza penjere  
Jemile room clean do.PST-3SG, Reza window

✓

Luri (questionnaire)	
Bahâr zevon-əkæ ne yâd gərət-Ø, vali rezâ [zevon-ekâ ne yâd] næ-gərət-Ø. Bahâr language-PL ne memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL ne memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon-ək æ nə yâd næ-gər æt-Ø, v ali rezâ [ zevon-ekâ ne yâd] gərət-Ø. Bahâr language-PL nə memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezə language-PL ne memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon yâd gərət-Ø, vali rezâ [ye zevon yâd] næ-gərət-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon yâd næ-gərət-Ø, vali rezâ [ye zevon yâd] gərət-Ø. Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezə one language memory take.PST-3SG	✓
utung', so it might actually just mean 'give' in this context rather than 'lend'.	
Bahâr zəvon-əkæ nə yâd gərət-Ø, rezâ alefbâ-jâ nə [yâd] gərət. Bahâr language-PL rā memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL ne memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zevon-ekæ nə yâd gərət-Ø, vali alefbâ-jâ nə [yâd] næ-gərət-Ø. Bahâr language-PL nə memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL nə memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	??
Bahâr zevon-ekæ nə yâd næ-gərət-Ø, vali alefbâ-jâ nə [yâd] gərət-Ø. Bahâr language-PL nə memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL nə memory take.PST-3SG	??
Bahâr zəvon yâd gərət-Ø, vali rezâ alefbâ [yâd] gərət-Ø. Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓

Bahâr zəvon yâd gərət-Ø, vali aləfbâ [yâd] næ-gərət-Ø. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon yâd næ-gərət-Ø, vali aləfbâ [yâd] gərət-Ø. Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	*
Bahâr zəvon-əkə nə yâd gərət-Ø, rezâ alefbâ-jâ ne [yâd geret] Bahâr language-PL nə memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL ne memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon yâd gərət-Ø, rezâ alefbâ [yâd geret-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon-əkæ nə yâd gərət -Ø, yâ alefbâ -jâ nə [yâd geret-Ø] Bahâr language-PL nə memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL nə memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Bahâr zəvon yâd gərət -Ø, yə aləfbâ [yâd geret-Ø] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓

Bakhtiari(questionnaire)	
Bahâr zavun-al-a yâd gero-Ø, ama rezâ [zavun-al-a yâd] na-gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL-râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun-ala yâd na-gero-Ø, ama rezâ [zavun-ala yâd] gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk ke-Ø, amâ rezâ [miz-al-a pâk] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ tables-PL-râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk na-ke-Ø, amâ rezâ [miz-al-a pâk] ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but rezâ table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd gero-Ø, ama rezâ [ye zavun yâd] na-gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd na-gero-Ø, ama rezâ [ye zavun yâd] gero-Ø.	✓
Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk ke-Ø, amâ rezâ [miz pâk] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk na-ke-Ø, rezâ [miz pâk] ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG rezâ table clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun-al-a yâd gero-Ø, rezâ alefbâ-yal-a [yâd] gero.	*
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zabun-al-a yâd gero-Ø, ama alefbâ-yal-a [yâd] na-gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL-râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun-al-a yâd na-gero-Ø, ama alefbâ-yal-a [yâd] gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk ke-Ø, rezâ panjere-yal-a [pâk] ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk ke-Ø, amâ panjere-yal-a [pâk] na-ke-Ø.	✓
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL-râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk na-ke-Ø, amâ panjere-yal-a [pâk] ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd gero, amâ rezâ alefbâ [yâd] gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language-PL memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	

Bahâr zavun yâd gero-Ø, ama alefbâ [yâd] na-gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd na-gero-Ø, ama alefbâ [yâd] gero-Ø.	*
Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk ke-Ø, amâ rezâ panjera [pâk] ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr table-PL clean do.PST-3SG but rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk ke-Ø, amâ panjera [pâk] na-ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG but window clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk na-ke-Ø, amâ panjera [pâk] ke-Ø.	*
Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun-al-a yâd gero-Ø, rezâ alefbâ-yal-a [yâd gero]	✓
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd gero-Ø, rezâ alefbâ [yâd gero-Ø]	✓
Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun -al-a yâd gero -Ø, yâ alefbâ -yal-a [yâd gero-Ø]	✓
Bahâr language-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL-râ memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr zavun yâd gero -Ø, yâ alefbâ [yâd gero-Ø]	✓
Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk ke-Ø, rezâ panjera-yal-a [pâk kard-Ø]	✓
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk ke-Ø, rezâ panjera [pâk ke-Ø]	✓
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz-al-a pâk ke-Ø, yâ panjera-yal-a [pâk ke-Ø]	✓
Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	
Bahâr miz pâk ke-Ø, yâ panjera [pâk ke-Ø]	✓
Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG or window clean do.PST-3SG	



Zaza-Gorani

Zazaki

no specific marker

Bahar-e Ali gos da, hama Reza-y neda

Bahar-OBL ear give, but Reza-OBL NEG-give

\*

Bahar-e mase kerde pake, Reza-y pak nekerde

Bahar-OBL table do clean, Reza-OBL clean NEG-do

\*

kerd pak is finite form of pok kerdene, if negative, pak nekerd or nekerd pak

Bahar-e Ali gos da Reza-y-ki hasan da

Bahar-e Ali ear gave, but Reza-OBL Hasan gave

\*

Bahare mase kerde pake, Ali-y-k pentsere kerd [pak]

Bahar-OBL table do clean, Ali-OBL-FOC window do

\*

Bahar-e mase kerde pake, Reza-y pentsere ne-kerd [pak]

Bahar-OBL table do clean, Reza-OBL window NEG-do

✓

Focus marker -ki occurs after the subject in the second conjunct. Very interesting.

Bahar-e Ali gos da, Reza-y-ki Hasan

Bahar-OBL Ali ear gave, Reza-OBL-FOC Hasan

Bahar-e mase kerd-e pak-e, Reza-y-ki pentsere

Bahar-OBL table did-FEM clean-FEM, Reza-OBL-FOC window

Hawrami

Like Sorani, Hawrami has obligatory past tense clitics that agree with the subject. =esh is the 3rd singular clitic.

Bahâr zuwan-eg-ân=esh yây(=sh) gird wali Rezâ [zuwan-eg-ân yây]=sh ne-gird

Bahâr language-DEF-PL=3.sg memory take.PST but Rezâ language-DEF-PL memory NEG=take.PST

Bahâr amini=sh shekast dâ, wali Rezâ ni-yâ=sh/Bahâr amini=sh shekast ni-yâ, Rezâ dâ=sh

Bahâr miz-age=sh pâko kerd, wali Rezâ na-kard=esh

Bahâr miz-age=sh pâko na-kerd, wali Rezâ kard=esh

Object specificity doesn't affect grammaticality here

Bahâr miz=esh pâk kard, wali Rezâ na-kard=esh

Bahâr miz=esh pâk na-kard, wali Rezâ kard=esh

Not possible to leave out NVE at all; though we didn't ask for the cases without the subject in the 2nd conjunct. Would be g

Bahâr zuwan-eg-ân=esh yây(=sh) gird wali Rezâ zuwan-eg-ân=esh [yây] ne-gird

Bahâr language-DEF-PL=3.sg memory take.PST but Rezâ language-DEF-PL memory NEG=take.PST

Gapping and stripping are acceptable, but preferred with objects with definite marker -eg.

Bahâr zuwan-eg-ân=esh yây gird Rezâ alefbâ=sh

Bahâr language-DEF-PL=3.sg memory take.PST Rezâ alphabet=3.sg

Bahâr zuwan-eg=esh yây gird Rezâ alefbâ-ge=sh

Bahâr language-DEF=3.sg memory take.PST Rezâ alphabet-DEF=3.sg

Bahâr zuwan=esh yây gird yâ alefbâ-ge=sh

Bahâr language=3.sg memory take.PST or alphabet-DEF=3.sg

Bahâr miz-age=sh pâko kard, Rezâ panjere-g-ân=esh

Baluchi		
Baluchi (questionnaire)		
(only gloss provided is for the first sentence, indefinite is my best guess -T)		
* Bahar zoban-an-a yad ge, bale reza na-ge.		*
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza NEG-took		
Bahar zoban-an-a yad na-ge, bale reza ge.		*
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory NEG-take.PST-3sg, but Reza took		
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz ko, bale reza na-ko		✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza NEG-do		
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz na-ko, bale reza ko		✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, but Reza do		
* Bahar zobani yad ge, bale reza na-ge		*
Bahar language-INDEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza NEG-took		
Bahar zobani yad na-ge, bale reza ge.		*
Bahar language-INDEF memory NEG-take.PST-3sg, but Reza took		
Bahar mizi tamiz ko, bale reza na-ko		✓
Bahar table-INDEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza NEG-do		
Bahar mizi tamiz na-ko, bale reza ko		✓
Bahar table-INDEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, but Reza do		
Bahar zoban-an-a yad ge, bale reza alefba-yan-a ge		*
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza alphabet-PL-DEF took		
Bahar zoban-an-a yad ge, bale alefba-yan-a na-ge		*
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory take.PST-3sg, but alphabet-PL-DEF NEG-took		
Bahar zoban-an-a yad na-ge, bale alefba-yan-a ge		*
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory NEG-take.PST-3sg, but alphabet-PL-DEF took		
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz ko, bale reza panjera-yan-a ko		*
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza window-PL-DEF do		
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz ko, bale panjera-yan-a na-ko		✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean do.PST-3sg, but window-PL-DEF NEG-do		
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz na-ko, bale panjera-yan-a ko		✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, but window-PL-DEF do		
Bahar zobani yad ge, bale reza alefbai ge		*
Bahar language-INDEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza alphabet-INDEF took		

Bahar zobani yad ge, bale alefbai na-ge	*
Bahar language-INDEF memory take.PST-3sg, but alphabet-INDEF NEG-took	
Bahar zobani yad na-ge, bale alefbai ge	*
Bahar language-INDEF memory NEG-take.PST-3sg, but alphabet-INDEF took	
Bahar mizi tamiz ko, bale reza panjere ko	*
Bahar table-INDEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza window-INDEF do	
Bahar mizi tamiz ko, bale panjerei na-ko	*
Bahar table-INDEF clean do.PST-3sg, but window-INDEF NEG-do	
Bahar mizi tamiz na-ko, bale panjerei ko	*
Bahar table-INDEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, but window-INDEF do	
Bahar zoban-an-a yad ge, bale reza alefba-yan-a	✓
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza alphabet-PL-DEF	
Bahar zobani yad ge, bale reza alefbai	*
Bahar language-INDEF memory take.PST-3sg, but Reza alphabet-INDEF	
Bahar zoban-an-a yad ge, ya alefba-yan-a	✓
Bahar language-PL-DEF memory take.PST-3sg, or alphabet-PL-DEF	
Bahar zobani yad ge, ya alefbai	*
Bahar language-INDEF memory take.PST-3sg, or alphabet-INDEF	
Bahar mizan-a tamiz ko, bale reza panjere-yan-a	✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza window-PL-DEF	
Bahar miz tamiz ko, bale reza panjere	✓
Bahar table-INDEF clean do.PST-3sg, but Reza window-INDEF	
Bahar miz-an-a tamiz ko, ya panjere-yan-a	✓
Bahar table-PL-DEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, or window-PL-DEF	
Bahar miz tamiz ko, ya panjere	✓
Bahar table-INDEF clean NEG-do.PST-3sg, or window-INDEF	

Caspian	
Mazandarani (questionnaire)	
Behar zebân-â re yâd bayte-∅ vali rezâ [zebânâ re yâd] nayte-∅	✓
Bahar language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG but Reza language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebân-â re yâd nayte-∅ vali rezâ [zebânâ re yâd] bayte-∅	✓
Bahar language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but Reza language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz-â re tamiz hâkerde-∅ , vali Rezâ [mizâ re tamiz] nakerde	✓
Bahar table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG but Reza tables-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz-â re tamiz nakerde-∅ , vali Rezâ [mizâ re tamiz] hâkerde	✓
Bahar table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but Reza tables-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG	
â	
Behâr zebân yâd bayte-∅ vali rezâ [zebân yâd] nayte-∅	✓
Bahar language memory take.PST-3SG but Reza language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebân yâd nayte-∅ vali rezâ [zebân yâd] bayte-∅	✓
Bahar language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but Reza language memory take.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz tamiz hâkerde-∅ , vali Rezâ [miz tamiz] nakerde	✓
Bahar table clean do.PST-3SG but Reza table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz tamiz nakerde-∅ , vali Rezâ [miz tamiz] hâkerde	✓
Bahar table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but Reza table clean do.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebânâ re yâd bayte-∅ ,rezâ alefbâhâ re [yâd] bayte-∅	*
Bahar language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG Reza language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebânâ re yâd bayte-∅ ,vali alefbâhâ re [yâd] nayte-∅	✓
Bahar language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebânâ re yâd nayte-∅ ,vali alefbâhâ re [yâd] bayte-∅	✓
Bahar language-PL ra memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz-â re tamiz hâkerde-∅ ,Rezâ panjerehâ re [tamiz] hâkerde	*
Bahar table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG Reza window-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz-â re tamiz hâkerde-∅ ,vali panjerehâ re [tamiz] nakerde	✓
Bahar table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG Reza window-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	
Behâr miz-â re tamiz nakerde-∅ ,vali panjerehâ re [tamiz] hâkerde	✓
Bahar table-PL ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG Reza window-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG	
Behâr zebân yâd bayte-∅ ,vali Rezâ alefbâ [yâd] bayte-∅	*
Bahar language memory take.PST-3SG but Reza alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	

Behâr zebân yâd bayte-∅ ,vali alefbâ [yâd] nayte-∅ Bahar language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG-take.PST-3SG	*
Behâr zebân yâd nayte-∅ ,vali alefbâ [yâd] bayte-∅ Bahar language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	*
Behâr miz tamiz hâkerde-∅ , vali Rezâ panjere [tamiz] hâkerde Bahar table clean do.PST-3SG Reza window clean do.PST-3SG	*
Behâr miz tamiz hâkerde-∅ ,vali panjere [tamiz] nakerde Bahar table clean do.PST-3SG Reza window clean NEG-do.PST-3SG	*
Behâr miz tamiz nakerde-∅ ,vali panjere [tamiz] hâkerde Bahar table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG Reza window clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Behâr zebân-âââ reâ yad bayte-∅ , âReza aâleâfba-haâ re [yad bayte] Bahar language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG but Reza alphabet-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar zeâbanâ yad bayte-∅ , Reza alâefbâa [yad bayte] Bahar language memory take.PST-3SG but Reza alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar zeâbaân-a râe yad bayte-∅â , ya âalâefba-hâa re [yad bayte] ? Bahar language-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL ra memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar zeâbanâ yad bayte-∅ â , ya aâlefâba [yad bayte] ? Bahar language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar mizâ-a re tamizâ hakerde-∅ ,âReza panjâereha re [taâmiz hakerde-∅] Bahar table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG Reza window-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar miz tamiz âhakerde-∅ , vali Râeza panjere [tamiâz hakerde] Bahar table clean do.PST-3SG but Reza window clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar mizâ-a re tamizâ hakerde-∅â ,ya panjâereha re [taâmiz hakerde] ? Bahar table-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL ra clean do.PST-3SG	✓
Behâar miz tamiz âhakerde-∅ ,ya panjere [tamizâ hakerde-∅] ? Bahar table clean do.PST-3SG or window clean do.PST-3SG	✓



Pashto

Pashto

Mohsen daya zhebe zda kere, rezaa nakere.

M. this language memory do, R. NEG-do

✓

subject gave inconsistent answers

Mohsen zhebi zda kre, va reza [zda] na-kre

M. language memory do, R. NEG-do

✓

Mohsen daya zhebe zda kere, rezaa daya alefbe nakere.

M. this language memory do, R. this alphabet NEG-do

Mohsen zhebi zda kre reza alefbe [zda] kere.

M. language memory do, R. alphabet do

\*

Mohsen miz paak kəI, rezaa kirkinə [paak] kre.  
M. table clean do(?), R. window do

\*

Tat (questionnaire)

No equivalent of 'yaad gereftan' in this language, so Murad supplied a different complex predicate that seems to behave in th

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē zän-Ø, amo Rəzo nä-zä-Ø.

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry hit.PST-3SG but Rezâ NEG-hit.PST-3SG

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē nä-zän-Ø, amo Rəzo zän-Ø.

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry NEG-hit.PST-3SG but Rezâ hit.PST-3SG

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz soxt-Ø, amo Rəzo na-soxt-Ø

Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG, but Rezâ NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz na-soxt-Ø, amo Rəzo soxt-Ø.

Bahâr stul-ho-ra clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but Rezâ do.PST-3SG

Bohor häkim qē zän-Ø, amo Rəzo nä-zän-Ø.

Bahâr doctor cry hit.PST-3SG but Rezâ NEG-hit.PST-3SG

Bohor häkim qē nä-zän-Ø, amo Rəzo zän-Ø.

Bahâr doctor cry NEG-hit.PST-3SG but Rezâ hit.PST-3SG

Bohor stul tämiz soxt-Ø, amo Rəzo na-soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bohor stul tämiz na-soxt-Ø, amo Rəzo soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but rezâ do.PST-3SG

No translation given. Ungrammatical.

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē zän-Ø, amo mäflim-ho-ra nä-zän-Ø

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry hit.PST-3SG but teacher-PL-râ NEG-hit.PST-3SG

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē nä-zän-Ø, amo mäflim-ho-ra zän-Ø.

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry NEG-hit.PST-3SG but teacher-PL-râ hit.PST-3SG

No translation given. Ungrammatical.

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz soxt-Ø, amo äquščä-ho-ra na-soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG but window-PL-râ NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz na-soxt-Ø, amo äquščä-ho-ra soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table-PL-râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window-PL-râ do.PST-3SG

No translation given. Ungrammatical.

Bohor häkim qē zän-Ø, amo mäflim nä-zän-Ø.

Bahâr doctor cry hit.PST-3SG but teacher NEG-hit.PST-3SG

Bohor ye häkim qē nä-zän -Ø, amo mäflim zän-Ø.

Bahâr one doctor cry NEG-hit.PST-3SG but teacher hit.PST-3SG

No translation given. Ungrammatical.

Bohor stul tämiz soxt-Ø, amo äquščä na-soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG but window NEG-do.PST-3SG

Bohor stul tämiz na-soxt-Ø, amo äquščä soxt-Ø.

Bahâr table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG but window do.PST-3SG

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē zän-Ø, Rəzo mäflim-ho-ra

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry hit.PST-3SG Rezâ teacher-PL-râ

Bohor häkim qē zän-Ø, Rəzo mäflim

Bahâr doctor cry hit.PST-3SG Rezâ mäflim

Bohor häkim-ho-ra qē zän-Ø, yo mäflim-ho-ra

Bahâr doctor-PL-râ cry hit.PST-3SG or teacher-PL-râ

Bohor häkim qē zän-Ø, yo mäflim

Bahâr doctor cry hit.PST-3SG or teacher

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz s oxt-Ø, Rəzo äquščä-ho-ra

Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG Rezâ window-PL-râ

Bohor stul tämiz soxt-Ø, Rəzo äquščä

Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG Rezâ window

Bohor stul-ho-ra tämiz soxt-Ø, yo äquščä-ho-ra

Bahâr table-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG or window-PL-râ

Bohor stul tämiz soxt-Ø, yo äquščä

Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG or window

Gilaki (questionnaire) (elemenst in [ ] are elided)		
<p>bahar Zabon-on-ə yad beyt-ə vali rezâ [Zabon-on-a Yad] neyt-ə. Bahâr language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL- râ memory NEG.take.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>bahar Zabon-on-ə yad neyt-ə vali rezâ [Zabon-on-a Yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language-PL- râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>bahar miz-on-ə tamiz bod-ə, vali reza [miz-on-ə tamiz] nod-e. Bahâr table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table-PL- râ clean NEG-do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>bahar miz-on-ə tamiz nod-ə, vali reza [miz-on-ə tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table-PL- râ clean NEG.do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>✓ bahar zabon yad beyt-ə vali reza [yete zabon Yad] neyt-ə. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory NEG.take.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>✓ bahar zabon yad Neyt-ə vali reza [yete zabon Yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language memory NEG-take.PST-3SG but rezâ one language memory take.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>✓ bahar miz tamiz bod-ə, vali reza [miz tamiz] nod-ə. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table clean NEG-do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>✓ bahar miz tamiz nod-ə, vali reza [miz tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table clean NEG.do.PST-3SG, but rezâ table clean do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>* bahar Zabon-on-ə yad beyt-ə reza alefba-hon-ə [yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG</p>	*	
<p>?? bahar Zabon-on-ə yad Beyt-ə vali alefba-hon-e [yad] neyt-ə. Bahâr language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL- râ memory NEG-take.PST-3SG</p>	??	
<p>?? bahar zabon-on-ə yad neyt-ə vali alefba-hon-ə [yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language-PL- râ memory NEG.take.PST-3SG but alphabet-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG</p>	??	
<p>* bahar miz-on-ə tamiz bod-ə, reza panjere-an-ə [tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG, rezâ window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG</p>	*	
<p>✓ bahar miz-on-ə tamiz bod-ə, vali panjer-an-ə [tamiz] nod-ə. Bahâr table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG, but window-PL-râ clean NEG.do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>✓ bahar miz-on-e tamiz nod-ə, vali panjer-an-ə [tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table-PL- râ clean NEG.do.PST-3SG, but window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG</p>	✓	
<p>* bahar Zabon yad beyt-ə vali Reza alefba [yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG</p>	*	

??	bahar zabon yad beyt-ə vali alefba [yad] neyt-ə. Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory NEG.take.PST-3SG	*
??	bahar zabon yad neyt-ə vali alefba [yad] beyt-ə. Bahâr language memory NEG.take.PST-3SG but alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	*
*	bahar miz tamiz bod-ə, vali reza panjərə [tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	*
??	bahar miz tamiz bod-ə, vali panjərə [tamiz] nod-ə. Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, but window clean NEG.do.PST-3SG	*
??	bahar miz tamiz nod-ə, vali panjere [tamiz] bod-ə. Bahâr table clean NEG.do.PST-3SG, but window clean do.PST-3SG	*
✓	bahar zabon-on-ə yad beyt-ə reza alefba-hon-ə [yad beyt-ə.] Bahâr language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar zabon yad beyt-ə rezâ alefba [yad beyt-ə.] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG rezâ alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar zabon-on-ə yad beyt-ə ya alefba-hon-ə [yad beyt-ə] Bahâr language-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet-PL- râ memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar zabon yad beyt-ə ya alefba [yad beyt-ə.] Bahâr language memory take.PST-3SG or alphabet memory take.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar miz-on-ə tamiz bod-ə, reza panjer-an-ə [tamiz] bod-ə.] Bahâr table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG, rezâ window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar miz tamiz bod-ə, reza panjere [tamiz] bod-ə.] Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, rezâ window clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar miz-on-ə tamiz bod-ə, ya panjer-an-ə [tamiz] bod-ə.] Bahâr table-PL- râ clean do.PST-3SG, or window-PL-râ clean do.PST-3SG	✓
✓	bahar miz tamiz bod-ə, ya panjere [tamiz] bod-ə.] Bahâr table clean do.PST-3SG, or window clean do.PST-3SG	✓

Baluchi (interview)	
bahâr zabun-ân-a yâd gept, vali reza na-gept bahar language-pl-ra memory take.pst.3sg but reza neg-take.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr zabun-ân-a yâd na-gept, vali reza gept bahar language-pl-ra memory neg-take.pst.3sg but reza take.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr teibal-a sâp kot, reza na-kot bahar table-ra clean do.pst, reza neg-do.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr teibal-a sâp na-kot, reza kot bahar table-ra clean neg-do.pst, reza do.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr zabun yâd gept, vali reza na-gept bahar language memory take.pst.3sg but reza neg-take.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr zabun yâd na-gept, vali reza gept bahar language memory neg-take.pst.3sg but reza take.pst.3sg	✓
bahar miz sâp kot, reza na-kot bahar miz clean do.pst.3sg, reza neg-do.pst.3sg	✓
bahar miz sâp na-kot, reza kot bahar miz clean neg-do.pst.3sg, reza do.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr zabun-ân-a yâd gept, reza ab-ân-e gept bahar language-pl-ra memory take.pst.3sg, reza alphabet-pl-ra take.pst.3sg	*
bahar zabun-ân-a yâd gept, vali ab-ân-e na-gept bahar language-pl-ra memory take.pst.3sg, but alphabet-pl-ra neg-take.pst.3sg	*
bahâr zabun-ân-a yâd na-gept, vali ab-ân-a gept bahar language-pl-ra memory neg-take.pst.3sg, but alphabet-pl-ra take.pst.3sg	*
bahar miz-ân-e sâp kot, reza darig-ân-e na-kot bahar table-pl-ra clean do.pst.3sg, reza window-pl-ra neg-do.pst.3sg	*
bahar miz-ân-e sâp kot, vali darig-ân-e na-kot bahar table-pl-ra clean do.pst.3sg, but window-pl-ra neg-do.pst.3sg	✓
bahar miz-ân-e sâp na-kot, vali darig-ân-e kot bahar table-pl-ra clean neg-do.pst.3sg, but window-pl-ra do.pst.3sg	✓
bahâr zabân yâd na-gept, vali reza abe gept bahar language memory neg-take.pst.3sg, but reza alphabet take.pst.3sg	*

bahâr zabân yâd gept, vali abe na-gept bahar language memory take.pst.3sg, but alphabet neg-take.pst.3sg	*
bahâr zabân yâd na-gept, vali abe gept bahar language memory neg-take.pst.3sg, but alphabet take.pst.3sg	*
bahar miz sâp kot, vali reza darig kot bahar table clean do.pst.3sg, but reza window do.pst.3sg	*
bahar miz sâp kot, vali darig na-kot bahar table clean do.pst.3sg, but window neg-do.pst.3sg	*
bahar miz sâp na-kot, vali darig kot bahar table clean neg-do.pst.3sg, but window do.pst.3sg	*
bahâr zabân-ân-a yad gept, reza ab-ân-a. Bahar language-pl-ra memory take.pst.3sg reza alphabet-pl-ra	✓
bahâr zabân yâd gept, reza ab bahar language memory tak.pst.3sg, reza alphabet	✓
bahâr zabun-ân-a yâd gept yâ ab-ân-a? Bahar language-pl-ra memory take.pst.3sg or alphabet-pl-ra	✓
bahâr zabân yâd gept, yâ ab? Bahar language memory take.pst.3sg or alphabet	✓
bahar miz-ân-e sâp kot, reza darig-ân-e bahar table-pl-ra clean do.pst.3sg, reza window-pl-ra	✓
bahar miz sâp kot, reza darig bahar table clean do.pst.3sg, reza window	✓
bahar miz-ân-e sâp kot, yâ darig-ân-e bahar table-pl-ra clean do.pst.3sg, or window-pl-ra	✓
bahar miz sâp kot, yâ darig bahar table clean do.pst.3sg, or window	✓



## Kurmanji (interview 2)

Nazin zman fer bu, le Roya na-bu  
 Nazin language learn be.pst but Roya neg-be.pst

Nazin zman fer na-bu le Roya bu  
 Nazin language learn neg-be.pst but Roya be.pst

Nazin mase paqIzh kIr le Roya na-kIr  
 Nazin table clean do.pst but Roya neg-do.pst

Nazin mase paqIzh na-kIr le Roya kIr  
 Nazin table clean neg-do.pst but Roya do.pst

Nazin zman-eki fer bu, le Roya na-bu  
 Nazin language-indef learn be.pst but Roya neg-be.pst

Nazin zman-eki fer na-bu le Roya bu  
 Nazin language-indef learn neg-be.pst but Roya be.pst

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh kIr le Roya na-kIr  
 Nazin table-indef clean do.pst but Roya neg-do.pst

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh na-kIr le Roya kIr  
 Nazin table-indef clean neg-do.pst but Roya do.pst

Nazin zman fer bu, Roya alfabe bu  
 Nazin language learn be.pst Roya alphabet be.pst

Nazin zman fer bu, le alfabe na-bu  
 Nazin language learn be.pst but alphabet neg-be.pst

Nazin zman fer na-bu, le alfabe bu  
 Nazin language learn neg-be.pst but alphabet be.pst

Nazin mase paqIzh kIr, Roya shIbake kIr  
 Nazin table clean do.pst Roya window do.pst

Nazin mase paqIzh kIr, le shIbake na-kIr  
 Nazin table clean do.pst but window neg-do.pst

Nazin mase paqIzh na-kIr, le shIbake kIr  
 Nazin table clean neg-do.pst but window do.pst

Nazin zman-eki fer bu, Roya alfabe-ki bu  
 Nazin language-indef learn be.pst Roya alphabet-indef be.pst

Nazin zman-eki fer bu, le alfabe-ki na-bu  
 Nazin language-indef learn be.pst but alphabet-indef neg-be.pst

Nazin zman-eki fer na-bu, le alfabe-ki bu  
 Nazin language-indef learn neg-be.pst but alphabet-indef be.pst

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh kIr, Roya shIbake-ki kIr  
 Nazin table-indef clean do.pst Roya alphabet-indef do.pst

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh kIr, le shIbake-ki na-kIr  
 Nazin table-indef clean do.pst but window-indef neg-do.pst

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh na-kIr, le shIbake-ki kIr  
 Nazin table-indef clean neg-do.pst but window-indef do.pst

Nazin zman fer bu, Roya alfabe  
 Nazin language learn be.pst Roya alphabet

Nazin zman-eki fer bu, Roya alfabe-ki  
 Nazin language-indef learn be.pst Roya alphabet-indef

Ma Roya zman fer bu, yanji alfabe?  
 Q Roya language learn be.pst or alphabet

Ma Roya zman-eki fer bu, yanji alfabe-ki?  
 Q Roya language-indef learn be.pst or alphabet-indef

Nazin mase paqIzh kIr, Roya shIbake  
 Nazin table clean do.pst Roya window

Nazin mase-ki paqIzh kIr, Roya shIbake-ki  
 Nazin table-indef clean do.pst Roya window-indef

Ma Roya mase paqIzh kIr, yanji alfabe?  
 Q Roya table clean do.pst or alphabet?

Ma Roya mase-ki paqIzh kIr, yanji alfabe-ki  
 Q Roya table-indef clean do.pst or alphabet-indef

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English English	Persian					Kurdish	
	Fa	Da	Tj	Bb	Sor	Ard	Ka(Q) Ka(G)
Obj+spec +NVE							
Bahar learned the languages, but Reza didn't.	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	✓
Bahar didn't learn the languages, but Reza did.	✓	✓	✓	✓	0	*	✓
Bahar cleaned the tables, but Reza didn't.	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	0
Bahar didn't clean the tables, but Reza did.	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	0
Obj-spec + NVE							
Bahar learned a language, but Reza didn't.	✓	✓		✓	*	*	✓
Bahar didn't learn a language, but Reza did.	✓	✓		✓	*	*	✓
Bahar cleaned a table, but Reza didn't.	✓	✓		✓		✓	?
Bahar didn't clean a table, but Reza did.	✓	✓		✓		✓	?
NVE (+spec)							
Bahar learned the languages, Reza the alphabets.	*	*	*	*		*	*
Bahar learned the languages, but not the alphabets.	??	?	*	*	*	*	✓ ?
Bahar didn't learn the languages, but she did learn the alphabets.	??	✓		*		*	✓
Bahar cleaned the tables, Reza the windows.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Bahar cleaned the tables, but not the windows.	✓	✓		✓	*	??	✓ *
Bahar didn't clean the tables, but she did clean the windows.	✓	✓		✓		*	✓
NVE(-spec)							
Bahar didn't learn the language, but Reza learned the alphabets.	*	*		*		*	*
Bahar learned a language, but didn't learn an alphabet.	*	*		*	*	*	*
Bahar didn't learn a language, but she did learn an alphabet.	*	*		*		*	✓
Bahar cleaned a table, but Reza a window.	*	*		*		*	*
Bahar cleaned a table, but didn't clean a window.	*	*		*		*	*
Bahar didn't clean a table, but she did clean a window.	*	*		*		*	*
NVE+LV							
Bahar learned the languages, Reza the alphabets.	✓	✓		✓	??	✓	✓
Bahar learned a language, Reza an alphabet.	✓	✓		✓	??	✓	✓
Did Bahar learn the languages, or the alphabets?	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
Did Bahar learn a language, or an alphabet?	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
Bahar cleaned the tables, Reza the windows.	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Bahar cleaned a table, Reza a window.	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Did Bahar clean the tables, or the windows?	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
Did Bahar clean a table, or a window?	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓

Krm	Luri/Baxtiari			Zaza-Gorani		Baluchi	Caspian	Eastern
	Lur	Lur(Q)	Bax	Zz	Gr	Bal	Mz	Pst
###	✓	✓		*	*	*	✓	✓
###	✓	✓				*	✓	
###		✓		*		✓	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	
###	✓	✓			*	*	✓	✓
###	✓	✓				*	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	
###	✓	*		*		*	*	0
###	??	*				*	✓	0
###	??	*				*	✓	
###		*		*		*	*	
###		✓		✓		✓	✓	
###		*				✓	✓	
###	✓	*				*	*	*
###	✓	*				*	*	
###	*	*				*	*	
###		*				*	*	*
*	###	*				*	*	
###		*				*	✓	
###	✓	✓				✓	✓	
###	✓	✓				*	✓	
###	✓	✓				✓	✓	
###	✓	✓				*	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	
✓	###	✓				✓	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	
###		✓				✓	✓	