**Appendix II: The Americas**

[AM-1] Apache, San Carlos (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, Athabaskan) [De Reuse 2006]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ha-yú*  *ha-gee* | *ha-yú* | *ha-yú-di*  *ha-dí’* |
| D1 | *dząą(-gee)*  *kū* | *dząą-yú* | *dząą-dí’*  *kū-dí’* |
| D2 | *a(-gee)*  *á-kū* | *a-yú* | *a-dí’* |
| D3 | *(n)lāā*  *láá-yú*  *(n)láh*  *láh-gee* | *láá-yú* | *láh-dí’* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-2] Arapaho (Algic, Algonquian) [Cowell & Moss 2008]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *teetee-*  *eet-*  *toot-(iino)*  *iitoh-* | *toot=ii3*  *toot=éí*  *toot-iino* | *toot-iit* |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| D1 | *hiit-*  *huut-*  *ii3i-*  *iit-* | *cih-[[1]](#footnote-1)*  *cei(t)-*  *no’-* | *(n)eh-*  *seh-[[2]](#footnote-2)*  *ne(e)’eh-* |
| D2 | *3ew-*  *ii‘-*  *ein-* | *ee3ew-*  *3ew-*  *seh-*  *no’-* | *ii3-[[3]](#footnote-3)* |
| D3 | *yih-*  *ii3e’-*  *3eb-ííhi’* | *3eb-iihi’*  *3eb-íis-ííhi’* | *NA* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial, D3 = distal

(3) Blackfoot (Algic, Algonquian) [Frantz 2009]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | [*tsimá*\_1/2/3*-it-*V] | [*tsimá*\_1/2/3*-itap*-V] | [*tsimá*\_1/2/3*-omoht-*V] |
| D1 | *annoma*N | [*poohsap-*V]  [*Ipoohsap-*V] | [*miistap-*V \_ *annoma*]  [*yIIstap-*V \_ *annoma*] |
| D2 | [*it-*V]  [*ist-*V] | [*itap-[[4]](#footnote-4)*V] | [*omoht-[[5]](#footnote-5)*V] |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-4] Bora (Boran) [Thiesen & Weber 2012]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *kiá* | *kiá-vú* | *kiá-tú* |
| D1 | *í-chii* | *í-chih-vu* | *Í-chih-dyu* |
| D2 | *éh-tsíi* | *NA* | *NA* |
| D3 | *té-hulle* | *té-hullé-vu* | *á-tsih-dyú* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = mediaI, D3 = distal

[AM-5] Cahuilla (Uto-Aztecan, Cupan) [Seiler 1977]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *paʔ*  *mívi-ŋa*  *mí-vaʔ* | *mívi-ka* | *mí-va-x* |
| D1 | *-ŋa*  *-ʔi-*  *-pa-*  *ʔí-va-ʔ paʔ*  *ʔí-pa*  *ʔí-paʔpe* | *-ika*  *-ka-*  *ʔí-ka* | *ʔí-pa-x* |
| D2 | *pe-*  *pé-ŋa*  *ʔé-ŋa(ʔ)* | *pi-ka* | *pé-ax*  *pé-ŋa-x*  *ʔé-ax* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = near hearer

[AM-6] Cavineña (Pano-Tacanan, Tacanan) [Guillaume 2008]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *eju*  *eje-keja* | *eju*  *eje-keja* | *eje-eke* |
| D1 | *re-wa*  *re-keja*  *riya*  *jee* | *re-wa* | *re-eke* |
| D2 | *tu-wa*  *tu-me* | *tu-wa* | *tu-eke* |
| D3 | *yu-wa*  *yu-keja*  *yu-me* | *yu-keja* | *yu-eke* |

D1 = near speaker, D2 = near hearer, D3 = distal

[AM-7] Cayuga (Iroquoian) [Mithun & Henry 1982]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *kaę*  *kaęnhǫ:*  *kaę nhǫ:weh* | *kaę*  *kaęnhǫ:*  *kaę nhǫ:weh* | *kaę*  *kaęnhǫ:*  *kaę nhǫ:weh* |
| D1 | *t(a)*-[V]  *takwá:tih* | *t(a)*-[V] | *t(a)*-[V] |
| D2 | *h(a')-[V]*  *sikwá:tih* | *h(a')*-[V] | *h(a')*-[V] |

D1 = proximal/towards speaker, D2 = distal/away from speaker

[AM-8] Choctaw (Muskogean) [Broadwell 2006; 1998]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *kátimmah*  *kátommah* | *kátimmah*  *kátommah* | *kátimmah*  *kátommah* |
| D1 | [V class] | [V class]  *iit* (single-event)  *at* (dual-event) |  |
| D2 | *mak-*  *yammak-* | [V class]  *pit* (single-event)  *ot* (dual-event) | [*ma hikiit*ptcplVall]  [*(m(a)-) aa-hikiit*ptcplVall] |

D1 = proximal/towards deictic center, D2 = distal/away from deictic center

[AM-9] Ch’ol, Tila (Mayan, Cholan-Tzeltalan) [CTUNT]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *baqui* | *baqui* | *baqui* |
| D1 | *wᴧ'* | *wᴧ'* | *wᴧ'* |
| D2 | *ya'* | *ya'* | *ya'* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-10] Comanche (Uto-Aztecan, Numic) [Wistrand-Robinson & Armagost 2012; 1Charney 1993]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *hak~~u~~* | *hakaapu* | *hakaapu*  *1hakanai* |
| D1 | *i-ki*  *i-k~~u~~-hu* | *i-k~~u~~-hu* | *1i-nai*  *1ma-nai* |
| D2 | *o-ko*  *o-k~~u~~-ho* | *o-k~~u~~-ho* | *1o-nai* |
| D3 | *u-ku*  *u-k~~u~~-hu* | *u-ku*  *u-k~~u~~-hu* | *NA* |

D1 = (immediate) proximal, D2 = (immediate) distal, D3 = (removed) distal

[AM-11] Cree (Algic, Algonquian) [http://www.creedictionary.com/]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *tânte*  *tânita*  *tâniwêhê* | *tânte*  *tânitê* | *tânti ohci*  *tânita ohci* |
| D1 | *ôta* | *pêci*  *pê-* | *ôta ohci* |
| D2 | *tasi*  *nete*  *neta* | *ohpime ohci* | *pêci*  *pê-*  *ohci* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-12] Crow (Siouan, Core Siouan) [Graczyk 2007]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *shóo*  *shóo-n* | *shóo-ssee*  *shóo-ss* | *shóo-kaa* |
| D1 | *hili*  *hilee-n* | *hili-ss*  *hilí-ssee* | *\*hilee-kaa* |
| D2 | *éehku*  *éehkoo-n* | *éehku-ssee* | *\*éehkoo-kaa* |
| D3 | *akú*  *íahku*  *íahkoo-n* | *\*akú-ss(ee)* | *akú-kaa* |
| D4 | *koó-n*  *íwahku* | *koo-sh* | *\*koo-kaa* |
| D5 | *áa* | *NA* | *NA* |
| D6 | *iílakaa(-n)*  *iiíilakaa-n* | *NA* | *NA* |
| D7 | *ku* | *ku-sseé* | *ku-kaá* |

D1 = proximal/near speaker, D2 = medial/near hearer, D3 = remote/out of sight, D4 = distal, D5 = audible, D6 = far distal, D7 = anaphoric

[AM-13] Cubeo (Tucanoan, Western Tucanoan) [Chacon 2012]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *'ɑ̃rĩ*  *aruka* | *'ɑ̃rĩ* | *'ɑ̃rĩ* |
| D1 | *'jo-i* | *\*'jo-i* | *\*'jo-i* |
| D2 | *dõ-i* | *dõ-i* | *dõ-i* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal/anaphoric

[AM-14] Dakota (Siouan, Core Siouan) [Williamson 1992]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *to’kiya*  *tukten* | *toʼkiya* | *toʼkiyataŋhaŋ*  *totaŋhaŋ* |
| D1 | *den*  *deʼci* | *deʼciya*  *a deʼciyataŋhaŋ* | *detaŋhaŋ*  *tokaŋ* |
| D2 | *hen*  *heʼci*  *∅*indef | *heʼciya*  *heciyotaŋ* | *hetaŋhaŋ* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-15] Garifuna (Arawakan, Caribbean Arawakan) [Haurholm-Larsen 2016, CABNT]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *halíya-ny(a)*  *hag(á)v[[6]](#footnote-6)* | *halíy-on* | *(halíya-na)[[7]](#footnote-7)*  *\*halíya-giyen[[8]](#footnote-8)* |
| D1 | *yá/ya* | *nyá-h-on* | *yá-giyen* |
| D2 | *nyé(n)* | *nyén*  *nyí-h-i*  *nyén-h-i* | *nyén-giyen* |
| D3 | *yára* | *yár-on* | *yára-giyen* |
| D4 | *yagûra* | *yagûr-on* | *\*yagûra-giyen* |
| D5 | *yágüta* | *yágüt-on* | *yágüta-giyen* |
| D6 | *yéte* | *\*yét-on* | *yéte-giyen* |

D1 = proximal/coinciding, D2 = medial/visible, D3 = intermediate/invisible, D4 = distal I/invisible, D5 = distal II/invisible, D6 = distal III/invisible

[AM-16] Guaraní (Paraguay) (Tupian, Tupi-Guarani) [GRN1913]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *mamôpa*  *mamo* | *mamôpa* | *mamóguípa*  *mamógui* |
| D1 | *ape* | *ape* | *coágui* |
| D2 | *upepe* | *upepe* | *upegui* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-17] Hualapai (Cochimi-Yuman, Yuman) [Watahomigie et al. 1982; 1Winter 1966]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ge* | *ge* | *ge*  *nyi-ge* |
| D1 | *va*  *ve* | *va-k* | *va-m* |
| D2 | *nyu* | *nyu-k* | *1nu-m* |
| D3 | *ha*  *he* | *há-k*  *nyi-há-k* | *ha-m* |
| D4 | *ya*  *ye* | *ya-k* | *1ya:-m* |
| D5 | *wa*  *we* | *wa-k* | *NA* |
| D6 | *tha*  *the* | *tha-k*  *nyi-tha-k* | *1thá-m* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial I, D3 = medial II/\*anaphoric, D4 = distal I, D5 = distal II, D6 = distal III/invisible

[AM-18] Inuktitut, Western Canadian (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimo) [Denny 1982; 1985]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *na-uk* | *na-mut* | *na-ket* |
| D1 | *uv-ani* | *uv-unga* | *uv-anngat* |
| D2 | *ma-ani* | *ma-unga* | *ma-anngat* |
| D3 | *ik-ani* | *ik-unga* | *ik-anngat* |
| D4 | *av-ani* | *av-unga* | *av-anngat* |

D1 = proximal/restricted, D2 = proximal/extended, D3 = distal/restricted, D4 = distal/extended

[AM-19] Kamaiura (Tupian, Tupi-Guarani) [Seki 2000]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ma-m(e)*  *u-ma(m)* | *ma-m*  *ma-rupi*  *ma-ŋaty* | *ma-wi* |
| D1 | *'aŋ*  *'am(e)*  *'aŋ-uwe* | *'akat~~i~~ {'aŋ+kat~~i~~}*  *'am(e)* | *'aŋ(-a) wi* |
| D2 | *a'ep(e) {a'e+ip}* | *a'e katy* | *a'ea wi* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-20] Klamath (Penutian, Klamath-Modoc) [Barker 1963]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *da(t)*  *da(t)* | *da(t)*  *do·stdal̓* | *datkni·* |
| D1 | *git*  *gida(·)*  *gidadat* | *gidal̓*  *-ebg-* | *gidakni*  *gida·kni*  *gida·tantkni·* |
| D2 | *hi·*  *ge·t*  *hadakt* | *hi·tdal̓* | *hadaktkni·* |
| D3 | *do(·)*  *do·ksi* | *do·dal̓* | *do·kni·* |
| D4 | *ge·t'i·t*  *ge·t̓i·t*  *rege·t'i·t*  *gege·t̓i·t*  *ge·tant'i·t*  *ge·tant̓i·t* | *NA* | *ge·tkni·* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II, D4 = distal III

[AM-21] Kodiak Alutiiq (Eskimo-Aleut, Aleut) [Leer 1978]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *nani* | *nat'en*  *natmen* | *naken* |
| D1 | *gwaa'i* | *\*gwaa’ut* | *gwaken* |
| D2 | *maa'i* | *maa'ut* | *maaken* |
| D3 | *tawa'i* | *tawa'ut* | *tawaken* |
| D4 | *tamaa'i* | *tamaa'ut* | *tamaaken* |

D1 = proximal/restricted, D2 = proximal/extended, D3 = general distal, D4 = distal/extended

[AM-22] Kumeyaay (Cochimi-Yuman, Yuman) [Langdon 1970]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ma·y*  *ma·yvi* | *ma·yəm* | *ma·yk* |
| D1 | *puy* | *=(və)k* | *=(və)m* |
| D2 | *puyi*  *pa·v* | *pu·m*  *pamv* | *pu·k*  *=(və)k*  *=(və)m* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-23] Kuna, Border (Chibchan, Core Chibchan) [Forster 2011]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *pia* | *pia*  *pia-je* | *pia akar* |
| D1 | *iti-gin*spec  *iti-bal*unspec | *iti-gin*  *iti-bal* | *iti-akar* |
| D2 | *we-gin*spec  *we-bal*unspec | *we-gin*  *we-bal* | *we-akar* |
| D3 | *a-gin*spec  *a-gal*unspec | *\*a-gin*  *\*a-gal* | *\*a-akar* |
| D4 | *te-gin*  *tenal* | *te-gin*  *tenal* | *te-akar* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial, D3 = distal, D4 = anaphoric

[AM-24] Lakota (Siouan, Core Siouan) [http://www.lakotadictionary.org]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *tuktél* | *tókhiya* | *tuktétaŋhaŋ*  *tuktétaŋ*  *tókhiyataŋhaŋ*  *tókhiyataŋ* |
| D1 | *lél* | *léčiya*  *létkiya*  *tȟahéna* | *léčhiyataŋhaŋ*  *letáŋni* |
| D2 | *hél*  *héčhiya* | *hétkiya*  *héčhiya* | *héčhiyataŋhaŋ*  *héčhiyataŋ*  *hetáŋni* |
| D3 | *ká(l)* | *káktiya* | *NA* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal (specific), D3 = distal (unspecific/indefinite)

[AM-25] Lenca, Honduran (reconstructed) (Lencan) [Alan R. King, p.c.]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *kap* | *kap* | *kap nam* |
| D1 | *nap* | *nap* | *\*nap nam* |
| D2 | *inap* | *inap* | *inap nam* |
| D3 | *anap* | *anap* | *anap nam* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-26] Mapudungun (Araucanian) [ARNNT, 1Smeets 2008]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *chew* | *chew* | *chew* |
| D1 | *tüfa (mew)* | *tüfa mew*  *1tüfá pülé[[9]](#footnote-9)* | *tüfa mew* |
| D2 | *üyew*  *1fey-mew* | *üyew* | *üyew püle* |
| D3 | *tüyew*  *1tüye-mew*  *tüfey mew* | *tüfey mew* | *tüyew püle*  *tüfey mew* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-27] Movima (Movima) [Haude 2006]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *naya’* | *naya’* | *naya’* |
| D1 | *ney*  *neyru* | *ney*  *neyru* | *ney*  *neyru* |
| D2 | *nosde:* | *nosde:* | *nosde:* |
| D3 | *nakal*  *no-ko(l)de:* | *nakal* | *nakal* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-28] Musqueam (Salishan, Central Salish) [Suttles 2004]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ʔəncə*  *ʔə́nəcə*  *xʷcél*V | *xʷə-ʔə́nəcə*  *xʷcél*V | *təl̓-ʔə́nəcə* |
| D1 | *teʔí*  *ʔí*V | *ʔəm̓í*V  *técəl*V  *xʷə-ʔí*V | [*təl-íʔ*V *(ʔə*obl*) tən̓ə*dem] |
| D2 | *təníʔ*  *niʔ*V | *ném̓*  *tə́s*V  *xʷə-níʔ*V | \*[*təl-íʔ*V *(ʔə*obl*) tən̓ə*dem] |
| D3 | *tənáˑnə* | *x̌ʷtéʔ*V | [*təl-íʔ*V *(ʔə*obl*) tən̓ə*dem] |
| D4 | *k̓ʷəná·nə* | *NA* | *\**[*təl-íʔ*V *(ʔə*obl*) k̓ʷən̓a*dem] |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II, D4 = distal III

[AM-29] Mutsun (Penutian, Costanoan) [Warner et al. 2016]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *hista*  *hanni* | *hista*  *hanni* | *hannitum* |
| D1 | *ni* | *ni* | *niitum*  *niyaatum* |
| D2 | *pina* | *pina* | *pinaatum* |
| D3 | *tina* | *tina* | *tinatum* |
| D4 | *nahan*  *nuhu*  *iti* | *nahan*  *nuhu* | *nahantum*  *nuhuutum* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial I, D3 = medial II, D4 = distal

[AM-30] Nahuatl, Guerrero (Uto-Aztecan, Aztec) [NGU]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *canon* | *canon* | *canon* |
| D1 | *nican* | *nican* | *nican* |
| D2 | *ompa* | *ompa* | *ompa* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-31] Navajo (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, Athabaskan) [Reichard 1951]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *xa-di* | *xa-góˑ*  *xa-djiʼ* | *xa-dóˑ* |
| D1 | *ʼa-di* | *ʼa-djiʼ* | *ʼa-dóˑ* |
| D2 | *ʼaˑ-di* | *ʼaˑ-djiʼ* | *ʼaˑ-dóˑ* |
| D3 | *ʼˑá-di* | *ʼáˑ-djiʼ* | *ʼáˑ-dóˑ* |

D1 = proximal/near speaker, D2 = medial/near hearer, D3 = distal

[AM-32] Nez Perce (Penutian, Sahaptian) [Aoki 1994]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *míne* | *míne·px* | *mínix* |
| D1 | *kíne*  *kinímpe* | *kíne·px*  *kinímpx* | *kíne·me*  *kínix* |
| D2 | *koná*  *konapkí*  *konímpa* | *koná·px*  *konímpx* | *konamá*  *koní·x* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-33] Osage (Siouan, Core Siouan) [La Flesche 1932]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ho´-wa-in-ge*  *a´-gu-di* | *\*ho´-wa-in-ge[[10]](#footnote-10)* | *ho´-wa-gi ṭon* |
| D1 | *the-ga* | *the-ga* | *thé-ga-ṭon* |
| D2 | *dsi*  *kshe-dsi* | *dsi*  *e-t̥a´* | *e-dsi´-ṭon* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-34] Otomí, Sierra (Oto-Manguean, Otomian) [Voigtlander & Echegoyen 1985]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *hap~~u~~* | *hap~~u~~* | *hap~~u~~* |
| D1 | *ua (ja)*  *gua*  *cua* | *ua (ja)*  *gua*  *cua* | *ua (ja)*  *gua*  *cua* |
| D2 | *n~~u~~ (ja)*  *y~~u~~* | *n~~u~~ (ja)*  *y~~u~~* | *n~~u~~ (ja)*  *y~~u~~* |
| D3 | *b~~u~~ (ja)*  *p~~u~~* | *b~~u~~ (ja)*  *p~~u~~* | *b~~u~~ (ja)*  *p~~u~~* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-35] Parecís (Arawakan, Central Maipuran) [PABNT, *1*Burgess & Rowan 2008]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *1aliyo*  *alyako* | *1aliyo*  *alyako* | *1aliyo-ta* |
| D1 | *ali* | *ali* | *ali-ta* |
| D2 | *nali* | *nali* | *nali-ta* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-36] Pipil[[11]](#footnote-11) (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan) [NBTN, Alan R. King p.c.]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *kan(ka)* | *kan(ka)* | *kan(ka)* |
| D1 | *(ka) nikan* | *(ka) nikan*  *(w)al-* | *(ka) nikan* |
| D2 | *(ka) né* | *(ka) né* | *(ka) né* |
| D3 | *(ka) ikuni* | *(ka) ikuni* | *(ka) ikuni* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial/anaphoric, D3 = distal

[AM-37] Popoluca, Highland (Mixe-Zoque) [POINT]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ju̱t́* | *ju̱t́* | *ju̱t́* |
| D1 | *y~~ii~~m* | *y~~ii~~m* | *de y~~ii~~m* |
| D2 | *jem* | *jem* | *de jem* |
| D3 | *jeex~~i~~c* | *jeex~~i~~c* | *NA* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial, D3 = distal

[AM-38] Quechua, Yauyos (Quechuan, Central Quechua I) [Shimelman 2017]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *may-pi*  *may-pa* | *may-man* | *may-paq* |
| D1 | *kay-pi*  *kay-pa* | *kay-man*  *kay-kama*  *asta kay-kama* | *kay-paq* |
| D2 | *chay-pi*  *chay-pa* | *chay-man* | *chay-paq* |
| D3 | *wak-pi*  *wak-pa* | *wak-man* | *wak-paq* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-39] Sahaptin (Yakima Ichishkíin) (Penutian) [Jansen 2010]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *mi-nán* | *miin*  *ímin* | *mí-ník* |
| D1 | *í-ch-na*  *í-ch-nak* | *í-chii-ni*  *í-chi-n* | *chí-nik* |
| D2 | *í-kw-na*  *í-kw-nak*  *kw-nak* | *í-kuu-ni*  *í-kuu-nik*  *íkwin* | *kwí-nik* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-40] Shipibo-Konibo (Pano-Tacanan, Panoan) [Valenzuela 2003]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *jawerano*<X>*-ki* | *jawerano*<X>*-ki* | *jawerano-a*<X>*-ki* |
| D1 | *ne-no* | *ne-no* | *ne-no-a*  *n~~i~~-no-a* |
| D2 | *jai-n(o)* | *jai-n(o)* | *jai-no-a* |
| D3 | *o-no* | *\*o-no* | *o-no-a* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-41] Tohono O'Odham (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman) [Saxton & Saxton 1969]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *bah*  *heb-ai i*  *heb-ai* | *heb-ai i*  *heb-ai* | *heb-ai-jeD* |
| D1 | *iia*  *ihya*  *ihna*  *im*  *ihma* | *’ia’i* | *i’a-jeD* |
| D2 | *am(ai)*  *ab(ai)*  *an(ai)* | *am(ai)*  *ab(ai)*  *an(ai)* | *am-jeD* |
| D3 | *gam(ai)*  *ga‘ab(ai)*  *gan(ai)* | *gam(ai)*  *ga'ab(ai)*  *gan(ai)* | *ga'a-jeD*  *ga'aga-jeD* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-42] Totonac, Filomeno Mata (Totonacan, Totonac) [José Santiago Francisco, p.c.; *1*McFarland 2009]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *lhaa* | *lhaa* | *lhaa* |
| D1 | *atsá* | *a-*  *1či-* | ∄ |
| D2 | *tsanú* | *tsa- ~ 1ča-*/*-ča* | *tsanú* |
| D3 | *anu* | *anu* | *anu* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-43] Totonac, Upper Necaxa (Totonacan, Totonac) [David Beck & Porfirio Sampayo Macín, p.c.]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ja:'* | *ja:'* | *ja:'* |
| D1 | *wa:*  *wa:tzá:* | *wa:*  *wa:tzá:* | ∄ |
| D2 | *wa’n*  *a'ntzá:*  *a:nanú:*  *wa:nanú: [+ pointing]* | *wa'n*  *a'ntzá:* | *a'ntza:* |
| D3 | *wa:‘j*  *wa:'jnanú:*  *a:'jnanú:* | *wa:'j*  *wa:'jtzá:* | *NA* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial, D3 = distal

[AM-44] Trio (Cariban, Guianan) [Carlin 2004]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *a-n-po* | *a-ja*  *a-n-pona* | *a-(i)n-je*  *a-n-pëe* |
| D1 | *sarë*  *serë-po*  *sen-po* | *sarë*  *serë-pona*  *sen-pona* | *serë-npë-pëe*  *sen-pëe* |
| D2 | *mërë-po* | *mïjarë*  *mïjaja*  *mërë-pona* | *mërë-pëe* |
| D3 | *ooni-po* | *ooni-pona* | *ooni-pëe* |
| D4 | *irë-po* | *irë-pona* | *irë-pëe*  *irë-npë-pëe* |
| D5 | *tëërë* |  |  |

D1 = proximal, D2 = medial, D3 = distal, D4 = anaphoric, D5 = invisible

[AM-45] Tzotzil, Zinacantán (Mayan, Cholan-Tzeltalan) [TZOT, Laughlin 1975]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *bu* | *bu* | *bu* |
| D1 | *li‘-* | *li’-* | *li’-* |
| D2 | *te(y)-* | *te(y)-* | *te(y)-* |
| D3 | *le'-* | *le’-* | *le’-* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

[AM-46] Wapishana (Arawakan, Northern Maipurean) [Gomes dos Santos 2006]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *naʔ-ia-m (ɖiː)*  *naʔ-iaʔuɽa-m*  *naʔiː ɖiː* | *naʔ-iti-m* | *naʔ-iki-m* |
| D1 | *ɖaʔaː* | *ɖaʔaː-ʔ-atiː* | *\*ɖaʔaː-ik(i)* |
| D2 | *naʔiː* | *ɖi-ʔ-iti* | *ɖi-ik*  *ɖi-ʔ-iki* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal

[AM-47] Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan, Cahitan) [Dedrick & Casad 1999]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *hák=sa*  *hakún=sa* | *haú=sa*  *hákun-bičáa=sa* | *hakú'ubo=sa* |
| D1 | *'ím*  *'iním*  *'ími'i*spec  *íními'i* | *'ím*  *'iním*  *'ími'i*  *\*íními'i* | *\*'ím*  *'iním*  *\*'ími'i*  *\*íními'i* |
| D2 | *húm*  *húmu'u*spec | *húm*  *hunúm* | *\* húm*  *\* hunúm* |
| D3 | *'áma*  *'áman*  *'ámman* | *\*'áma*  *'áman*  *\*'ámman* | *\*'áma*  *\*'áman*  *\*'ámman* |
| D4 | *hunáma*  *hunáma'a*unspec  *hunámani*  *hunáman* | *\*hunáma*  *\*hunáma'a \*hunámani \*hunáman* | *hunáma*  *\*hunáma'a \*hunámani \*hunáman* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II, D4 = distal III

[AM-48] Yine (Arawakan, Purus) [Hanson 2010]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *hinaka* | *hinaka* | *hinaka* |
| D1 | *hewi* | *hewi* | *hewi* |
| D2 | *wane* | *wane* | *wane* |
| D3 | *hawla* | *NA* | *NA* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = anaphoric (distal), D3 = distal

[AM-49] Yucatec Maya (Mayan, Yucatecan) [MAYABI, *1*Hanks 2005]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *tu'ux* | *tu'ux* | *tu'ux* |
| D1 | *way*  *1way-e* | *way*  *way-e* | *way*  *way-e* |
| D2 | *te'(e)l*  *1te'(e)l-a*  *1te‘(e)l-o* | *te'(e)l*  *te'(e)l-a*  *te‘(e)l-o* | *te'(e)l*  *te'(e)l-a*  *te‘(e)l-o* |
| D3 | *ti'*  *1ti'-i*  *1tol-o’* | *ti'*  *ti'-i*  *tol-o’* | *ti'*  *ti'-i*  *tol-o’* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal, D3 = anaphoric

[AM-50] Yuracaré (Yuracaré) [Van Gijn 2006]

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Place | Goal | Source |
| SI | *ama=ti*  *amti* | *am=chi* | *ama=jsha* |
| D1 | *ani* | *ani*  *an=chi* | *ana=jsha* |
| D2 | *ati* | *at=chi* | *ati=jsha* |
| D3 | *na=y* | *na=chi* | *na=jsha* |

D1 = proximal, D2 = distal I, D3 = distal II

1. ‘to speaker‘ [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. This form co-encodes ‘from here to there‘ as it “converts locational forms to directional forms“ (Cowell & Moss 2008: 214). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. This form appears only in conjuction with other preverbs (Cowell & Moss 2008: 214) and is left out of the statistical evaluations in Chapter 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. May express ‘toward‘ or 'to' (telic) depending on the final verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Possibly an atelic instrumental ‘away’ morpheme which encodes Source or Path depending on the final verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. This additionally cited verb form is not included in the statistical evaluations in Chapter 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. This form is possibly an origin marker. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This form is reconstructed on the basis of *jalíagiñésan* (cf. CABNT Rev 7:13). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. The form *püle/pülé* encodes ‘side‘, so that e.g. *tüfá pülé* translates roughly to ‘to this side, to here’ (cf. Section 3.5.2.1). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The P=G syncretism of SIs is not evident in La Flesche (1932) but can tentatively be reconstructed on the basis of Quintero (2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The occurrence of the bracketed elements increases from Place via Goal to Source contexts (cf. Section 3.4.2) but is grammatical in all cells. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)