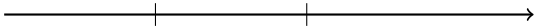


$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{~~(x . ?)~~} \\
 \text{'a } k^h e \quad pa \text{ } k^h o
 \end{array}
 \longrightarrow
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{. . (x .)} \\
 a \text{ } k^h e \text{ ' } pa \text{ } k^h o
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{~~(x .)~~} \\
 \text{'a } k^h e? \quad pa \text{ } k^h a
 \end{array}
 \longrightarrow
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{. . (x .)} \\
 a \text{ } k^h e? \text{ ' } pa \text{ } k^h a
 \end{array}$$

16th century
migration

1950s–70s
contact



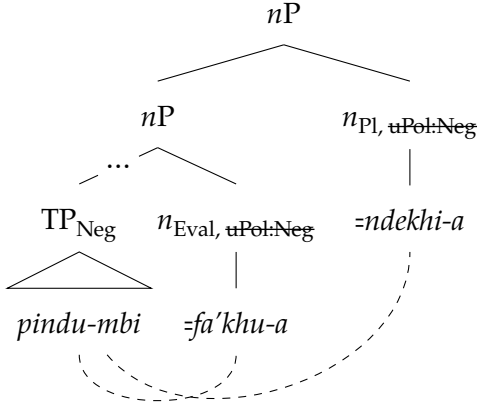
**ai* > **ui* / B _

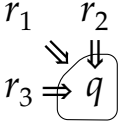
**u* > *i*

ai replaces *i*

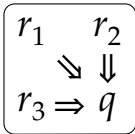
a : i levels to *a : ai*

(*a+i* → *i* (/ B _))

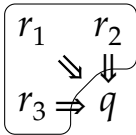




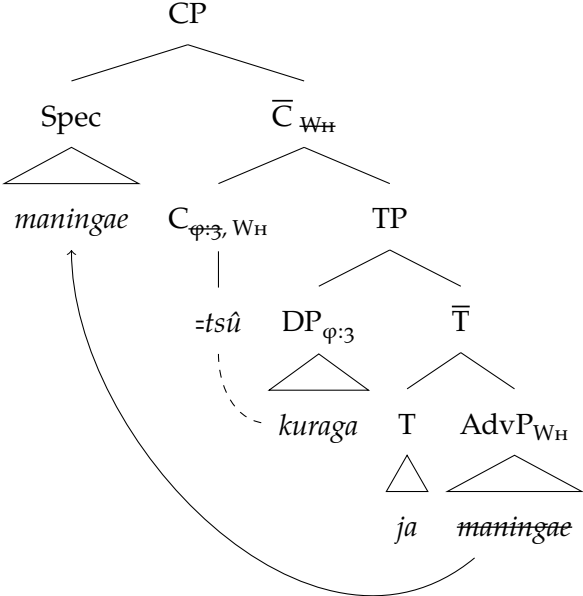
AVERTIVE



PRECAUTIONING



*IN-CASE

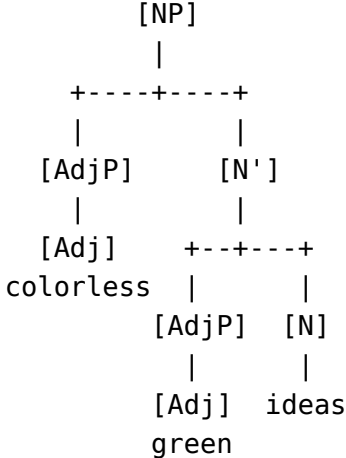


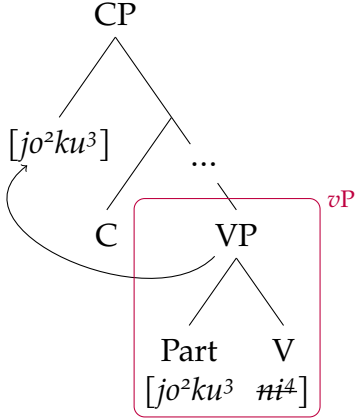


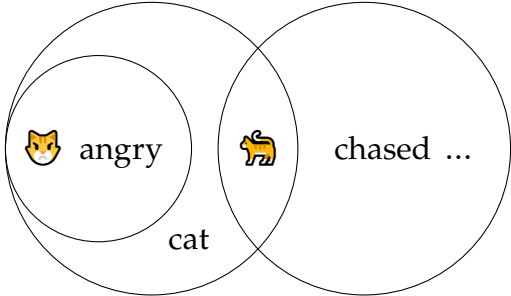
distanced

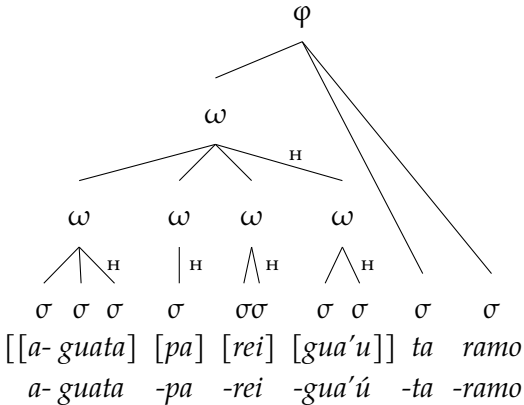
-ed PST

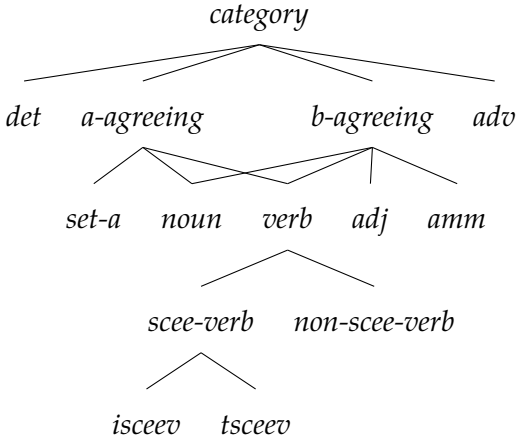
-\'kan SML

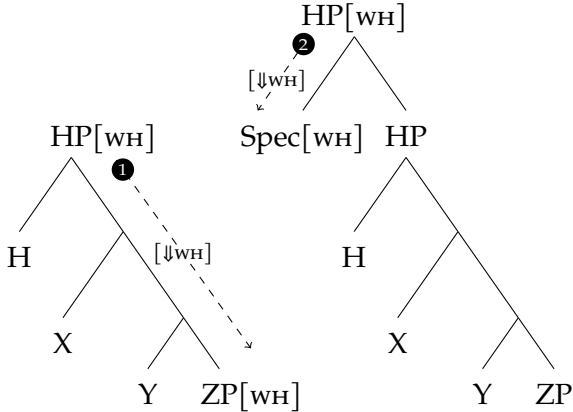












CP



TP

C[°]

...

-ite

*n*P



TP

n[°]

...

-khû

*n*P



TP

n[°]

...

-?thi

$$\sigma_1 \sigma_2 + -i\sigma \longrightarrow (i\sigma_1 \check{\sigma}_2 i)\sigma_2$$

root

GPLS

(CP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : outer })

(xii) SUBJECT PERSON: =ngi 1, =ki 2, =tsû 3

(xi) SENTENCE-LEVEL: =te RPRT, =ti YNQ

(x) CLAUSE TYPE

SUBORDINATE: -ʔta IF.SS, -ʔja IF2.SS,

-ʔni IF.DS, -ʔma FRST, -saʔne APPR

COSUBORDINATE: -pa SS, -si DS

MATRIX: -ja IMP, (-kha[∅] IMP2, -ʔse IMP3,

-jama[∅] PRHB, -ʔya VER

(TP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : outer })

(ix) FINITENESS: -ye INF

(viii) POLARITY: -mbi NEG

(vii) REALITY: -ya IRR

(vi) SUBJECT NUMBER: -ʔfa PLS

(AspP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : inner })

(v) ASSOC MOTION: (-ʔngi[∅] PROX, -ʔnga[∅] DIST)

(iv) ASPECT: (-ʔje[∅] IPFV, -ji PRCL, (-kha[∅] PAUC,)

-ʔñakha[∅] SMFC)

(iii) PASSIVE: (-ye[∅] PASS)

(ii) RECIPROCAL: (-khu[∅] RCPR)

vP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : inner }

(i) CAUSATIVE: -ñã/-an/-en CAUS

(o) VERBAL ROOT: ✓

$f\tilde{t}^nd\dot{t}i-? \sigma$

$AL?$

$(\times \mu)$

$\gg EOC$

$\gg M_{\text{AX}}V$

$INT\sigma$

i. \emptyset

ii. $f\tilde{t}^nd\tilde{t}i?^nd\dot{t}i$

iii. $(^f\tilde{t}^nd\tilde{t}i?)^nd\dot{t}i$



iv. $(^f\tilde{t}^nd\tilde{t}?)^nd\dot{t}i$

v. $(^f\tilde{t}^nd\tilde{t}?)^nd\dot{t}$

$*!$

$*!$

$*!$

$*$

$*$

$*$

$*$

$**!$

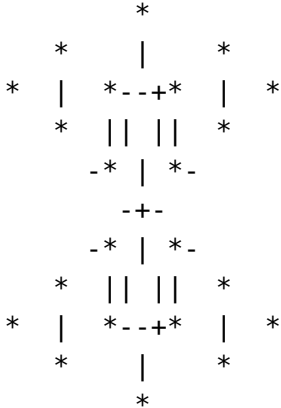
$*$

sweep -GPLS

$$lexeme \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} SYN \left[\begin{array}{l} CAT \left[\begin{array}{l} SELECT \ /none \\ PRED \ /- \\ SET-A \ /+ \end{array} \right] \\ MRKG \ /unmk \\ ENQ-D \ /none \\ DEQ-D \ /none \end{array} \right] \\ ARG-ST \ / \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

topical-cl \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[\text{MRKG } \textit{topical} \right] \\ \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \boxed{2} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D } \boxed{3} \\ \text{DEQ-D } F_{\max}(e', \boxed{3}) \end{array} \right]' \\ \\ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{PRED } + \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \boxed{4} \text{ GAP} \quad \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \oplus L \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \textit{mrk} \\ \text{ENQ-D} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \end{array} \right. \right\rangle \\ \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \boxed{4} \end{array} \right]$$



(TP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : *outer* })

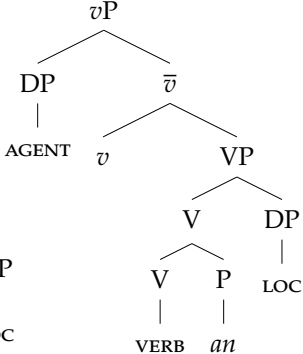
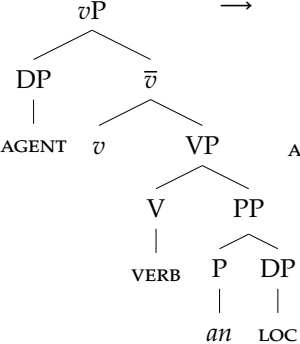
- (ix) FINITENESS: *-ye* INF
- (viii) POLARITY: *-mbi* NEG
- (vii) REALITY: *-ya* IRR
- (vi) SUBJECT NUMBER: *-ʔfa* PLS

(AspP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : *inner* })

- (v) ASSOC MOTION: *-ʔngi*[∅] PROX, *-ʔnga*[∅] DIST
- (iv) ASPECT: *-ʔje*[∅] IPFV, *-ji* PRCL, *-kha*[∅] PAUC,
-ʔñakha[∅] SMFC
- (iii) PASSIVE: *-ye*[∅] PASS
- (ii) RECIPROCAL: *-khu*[∅] RCPR

*v*P \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : *inner* })

- (i) CAUSATIVE: *-ñā/-an/-en* CAUS
- (o) VERBAL ROOT: ✓



$[\emptyset_Q \text{ junguesû } \overbrace{\text{ñā ankhe'sû=ma}}^{\sim \downarrow_{\text{WH}} -} \text{ } \textcircled{t}] \text{ } \boxed{=tsû} \text{ an } \textcircled{t} ?$

what 1SG food=ACC =3 eat

$[\emptyset_Q \text{ ñā } \overbrace{\text{ankhe'sû junguesû=ma}}^{\sim \downarrow_{\text{WH}} - \times}] \text{ } \boxed{=tsû} \text{ an } \textcircled{t} ?$

1SG food what=ACC =3 eat

MINIMAL APPREHENSIONAL SITUATION

In the future, X is possible. X would be bad.
I – future II – possibility III – negative evaluation

PROTOTYPICAL APPREHENSIONAL SITUATION

(In order to avoid (the consequences of) X,
IV – averted intent
(it is better to) do Y.)
V – preferred action

TARGET	PRODUCTION	INTERPRETATION
$[\sigma^1\sigma\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no underlying ?)</i>	$[[\sigma^1\sigma\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no ? produced)</i>	$[\sigma^1\sigma\sigma]$ <i>(no ? inferred)</i>
$[^1\sigma\sigma?\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(underlying ?)</i>	$[[^1\sigma\sigma?\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(? produced)</i>	$[^1\sigma\sigma?\sigma]$ <i>(? registered)</i>
$[^1\sigma\sigma?\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(underlying ?)</i>	$[[^1\sigma\sigma\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no ? produced)</i>	$[^1\sigma\sigma?\sigma]$ <u><i>(? inferred from stress)</i></u>