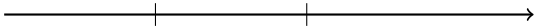


~~(x . ?)~~ . . (x .)  
 'a k<sup>h</sup>e pa k<sup>h</sup>o → a k<sup>h</sup>e 'pa k<sup>h</sup>o

~~(x .)~~ . . (x .)  
 'a k<sup>h</sup>e? pa k<sup>h</sup>a → a k<sup>h</sup>e? 'pa k<sup>h</sup>a

16th century  
migration

1950s–70s  
contact



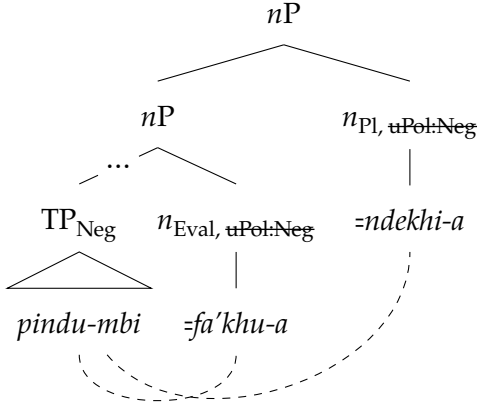
*\*ai* > *\*ui* / B \_

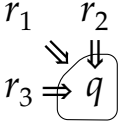
*\*u* > *i*

*ai* replaces *i*

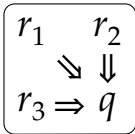
*a : i* levels to *a : ai*

(*a+i* → *i* (/ B \_))

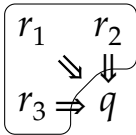




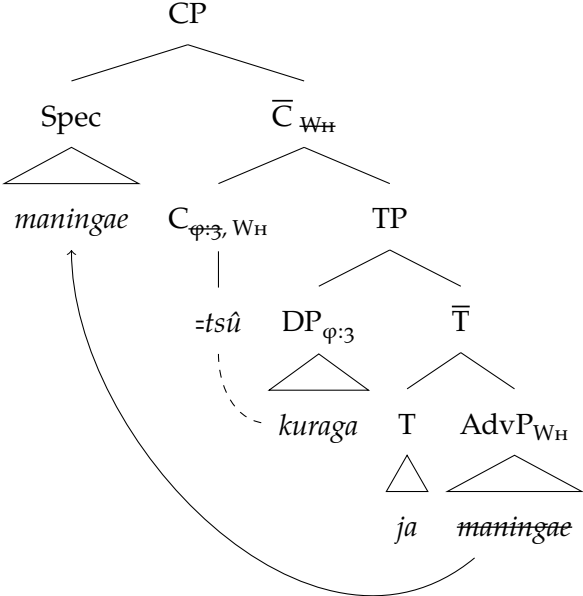
AVERTIVE



PRECAUTIONING



\*IN-CASE

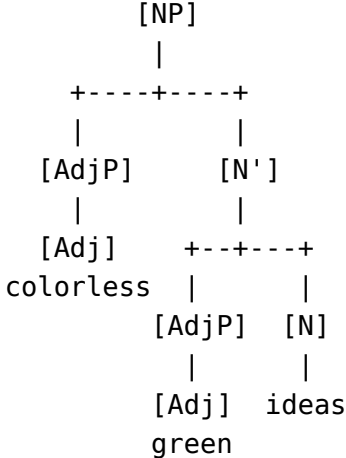




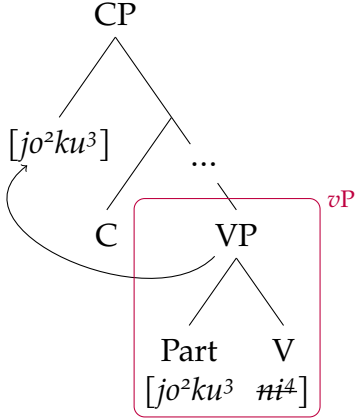
distanced

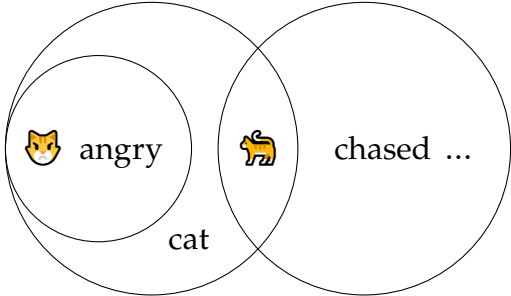
*-ed* PST

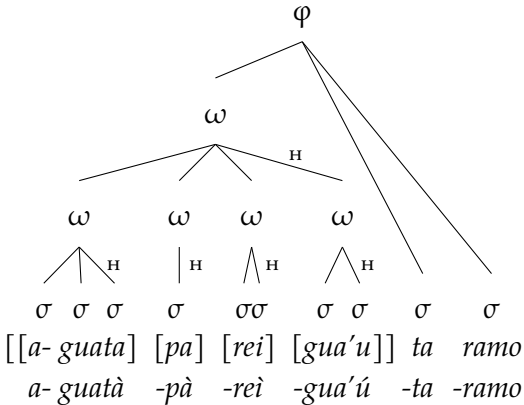
*-ʔkã* SML

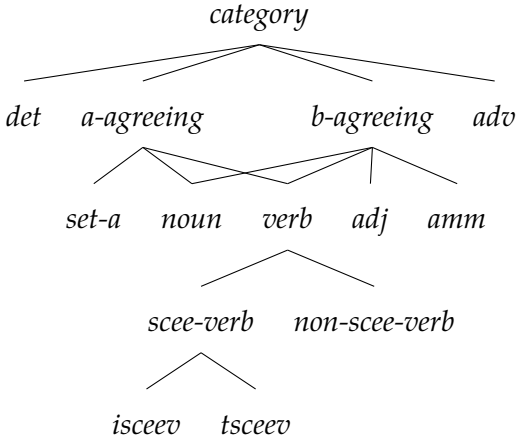


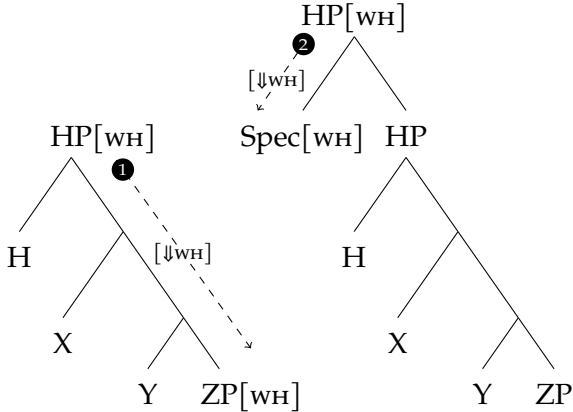












CP



TP

C<sup>°</sup>

...

*-ite*

*n*P



TP

*n*<sup>°</sup>

...

*-khû*

*n*P



TP

*n*<sup>°</sup>

...

*-?thi*

$$\sigma_1 \sigma_2 + \gamma \sigma \longrightarrow (\gamma \sigma_1 \sigma_2) \sigma_2$$

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<sup>∅</sup> IMP2, -ʔse IMP3,

-jama<sup>∅</sup> 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<sup>∅</sup> PROX, -ʔnga<sup>∅</sup> DIST)

(iv) ASPECT: (-ʔje<sup>∅</sup> IPFV, -ji PRCL, (-kha<sup>∅</sup> PAUC,)

-ʔñakha<sup>∅</sup> SMFC)

(iii) PASSIVE: (-ye<sup>∅</sup> PASS)

(ii) RECIPROCAL: (-khu<sup>∅</sup> RCPR)

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

(i) CAUSATIVE: -ñã/-an/-en CAUS

(o) VERBAL ROOT: ✓



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

$AL?$

$(\times \mu)$

$\gg EOC$

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

$INT\sigma$

i.  $\emptyset$

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

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



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

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

$*!$

$*!$

$*!$

$*$

$*$

$*$

$*$

$**!$

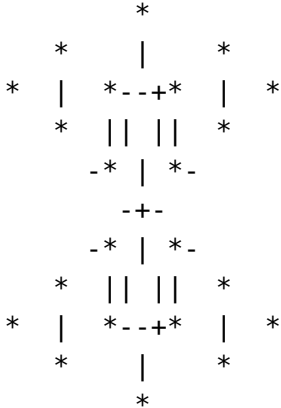
$*$

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*  $\Rightarrow$

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



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

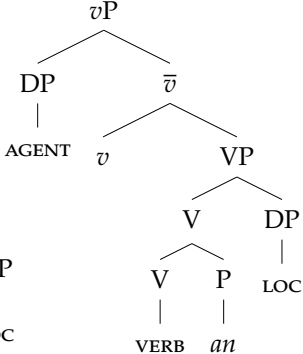
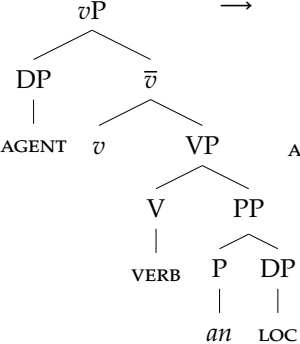
- (ix) FINITENESS: *-ye* INF
- (viii) POLARITY: *-mbi* NEG
- (vii) REALITY: *-ya* IRR
- (vi) SUBJECT NUMBER: *-ʔfa* PLS

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

- (v) ASSOC MOTION: *-ʔngi*<sup>∅</sup> PROX, *-ʔnga*<sup>∅</sup> DIST
- (iv) ASPECT: *-ʔje*<sup>∅</sup> IPFV, *-ji* PRCL, *-kha*<sup>∅</sup> PAUC,  
*-ʔñakha*<sup>∅</sup> SMFC
- (iii) PASSIVE: *-ye*<sup>∅</sup> PASS
- (ii) RECIPROCAL: *-khu*<sup>∅</sup> 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
$[\sigma'\sigma\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no underlying ?)</i>	$[[\sigma'\sigma\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no ? produced)</i>	$[\sigma'\sigma\sigma]$ <i>(no ? inferred)</i>
$['\sigma\sigma?\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(underlying ?)</i>	$[['\sigma\sigma?\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(? produced)</i>	$['\sigma\sigma?\sigma]$ <i>(? registered)</i>
$['\sigma\sigma?\sigma] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(underlying ?)</i>	$[['\sigma\sigma\sigma]] \rightsquigarrow$ <i>(no ? produced)</i>	$['\sigma\sigma?\sigma]$ <u><i>(? inferred from stress)</i></u>

o.	$*b-$	$*-b-$	$*-b$	$*d-$	$*-d-$	$*-d$	$*g-$	$*-g-$	$*-g$
i.	$*b-$	$*-\beta-$	$*-\beta$	$*d-$	$*-\delta-$	$*-\delta$	$*g-$	$*-\gamma-$	$*-\gamma$
ii.	$*b-$	$*-\beta-$	$*-\phi$	$*d-$	$*-r-$	$*-\theta$	$*g-$	$*-x-$	$*-x$
iii.	$*b-$	$*-\beta-$	$*-\tilde{\phi}$	$*d-$	$*-r-$	$*-\tilde{\theta}$	$*g-$	$*-x-$	$*-\tilde{x}$
iv.	$b-$	$-b-$	$-m$	$d-$	$-r-$	$-n$	$g-$	$-h-$	$-n$

