

## (1) Out of control reduplication in Nxaʔamxcín (CWH:395)

	<i>out of control</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>root</i>
a.	k'í <u>p</u> 'əp'	'get pinched'	(√k'ip')
	cə <u>k</u> ək	'get hit'	(√cək)
	q'ál' <u>l</u> 'x <sup>w</sup>	'something hanging'	(√q'al'x <sup>w</sup> )
b.	c'q' <u>q</u> ' <sup>w</sup> ún <sup>w</sup> l'əx <sup>w</sup>	'land gets named'	(√c'q' <sup>w</sup> u-n-ul'əx <sup>w</sup> )
	pttí <u>x</u> <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup>	'spitting alot'	(√ptix <sup>w</sup> -mix)
	t <u>k</u> kayi	'urinate (out of control)'	(√tkay)

## (2) Appendix analysis of Out of Control reduplication

## a. No initial appendix: # {CV...

<i>root</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>out of control</i>
{k'ip'}	'get pinched'	k'í <u>p'</u> əp'
{cək}	'get hit'	cə <u>k</u> ək
{q'al'}[x <sup>w</sup> ]	'something hanging'	q'á <u>l'</u> l'x <sup>w</sup>

## b. Initial appendix: #[C]{CV...

<i>root</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>out of control</i>
[c']{q' <sup>w</sup> u}	'land gets named'	c'q' <u>q'</u> únl'əx <sup>w</sup>
[p]{tix <sup>w</sup> }	'spitting alot'	pt <u>tix<sup>w</sup></u> əx <sup>w</sup>
[t]{kay}	'urinate (out of control)'	t <u>k</u> kayi

## (3) Precedence in phonological representations

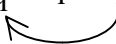
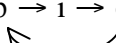
a. 'cat'            kæt

b. 'cat'            # → k → æ → t → %

## (4) Characteristic Morphology in Nxaʔamxcín (CHW 1997:403)



	Charateristic	Base	Gloss
a.	ʔac-pəkpək	pək	spotted
b.	qilqil-t	qil	it hurts
c.	picpicx <sup>w</sup>	picx <sup>w</sup>	disgusting
d.	ʔitʔitx <sup>w</sup> -ul	ʔitx <sup>w</sup>	he overslept

## (5) Application of CMR (note: affixes suppressed)

	Root (base)	Characteristic Morphology
a.	$\# \rightarrow q \rightarrow i \rightarrow l \rightarrow \%$	$\# \rightarrow q \rightarrow i \rightarrow l \rightarrow \%$ 
b.	$\# \rightarrow p \rightarrow i \rightarrow c \rightarrow x^w \rightarrow \%$	$\# \rightarrow p \rightarrow i \rightarrow c \rightarrow x^w \rightarrow \%$ 


## (6) Linearization


*prelinearization**post linearization*

- a.  $\# \rightarrow q \rightarrow i \rightarrow l \rightarrow \% \quad \# \rightarrow q \rightarrow i \rightarrow l \rightarrow q \rightarrow i \rightarrow l \rightarrow \%$   

- b.  $\# \rightarrow p \rightarrow i \rightarrow c \rightarrow x^w \rightarrow \% \quad \# \rightarrow p \rightarrow i \rightarrow c \rightarrow p \rightarrow i \rightarrow c \rightarrow x^w \rightarrow \%$   


## (7) Out of control reduplication

*root**out of control (reduplicated)*


a.  $\# \rightarrow k' \rightarrow i \rightarrow p' \rightarrow \%$        $\# \rightarrow k' \rightarrow i \rightarrow p' \rightarrow \%$   


b.  $\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow q'^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$        $\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow q'^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$   



## (8) Post linearization out of control forms

*pre-linearization**post-linearization with epenthesis*

a.  $\# \rightarrow k' \rightarrow i \rightarrow p' \rightarrow \%$        $\# \rightarrow k' \rightarrow i \rightarrow p' \rightarrow \text{ə} \rightarrow p' \rightarrow \%$



b.  $\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow q'^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$        $\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow q'^w \rightarrow q'^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$



## (9) Inchoative infixation in Nxaʔamxcín (CHW 1997:395)

	<i>root</i>		<i>inchoative root</i>	
(a)	cíx	‘lukewarm’	na-cí- <u>ʔ</u> -x	‘water gets warm’
	p’íq	‘ripe, bake’	p’í- <u>ʔ</u> -q	‘it’s ripe, gets warm’
(b)	təmtəmút-n	‘clothes’	ta- <u>ʔ</u> -mút	‘round hemp bag’
	t’uwáy’t	‘cry hard’	s-t’a- <u>ʔ</u> -wáy’t-s	‘cry continuously’
	ʔuwám	‘go, pl.’	ʔa- <u>ʔ</u> -wám	‘walk around’
(c)	c’q’wú-n-m	‘say, name’	c’-a- <u>ʔ</u> -q’wú-n-m	‘read’

## (10) Appendices for Nxaʔamxcín

	<i>root syllabification</i>	<i>infixation</i>
a.	{cíx}	{cí- <u>ʔ</u> -x}
b.	{t'u}{wáy't}	{t'a- <u>ʔ</u> }{wáy't}
c.	[cʰ]{qʰwú}	{cʰ-a <u>ʔ</u> }{qʰwú}

## (11) Inchoative morphology on strong roots

*root**inchoative*


a. # → c → i → x → %

# → c → i → x → %


b. # → c' → q'<sup>w</sup> → u → %# → c' → q'<sup>w</sup> → u → %

## (12) Linearization and epenthesis in inchoative forms

*pre-linearization**post-linearization with epenthesis*

a.  $\# \rightarrow c \rightarrow i \rightarrow x \rightarrow \%$   


$\# \rightarrow c \rightarrow i \rightarrow ? \rightarrow x \rightarrow \%$

b.  $\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow q^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$   


$\# \rightarrow c' \rightarrow a \rightarrow ? \rightarrow q^w \rightarrow u \rightarrow \%$

## (13) The creation of unsyllabified segments

	<i>root</i>	<i>out of control</i>	
a.	{q'al'}x <sup>w</sup>	{q'al'}l'x <sup>w</sup>	'something hanging'
	c'{q'wu}	c'q' <sup>w</sup> {q' <sup>w</sup> ún}{l'əx <sup>w</sup> }	'land gets named'
	p{tix <sup>w</sup> }	pt{tí}{x <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> }	'spitting alot'
	t{kay}	tk{ka}{yi}	'urinate {out of control}'
	<i>root</i>	<i>inchoative</i>	
b.	{cíx}	{na}{cíʔ}x	'lukewarm'/'water gets warm'
	{p'íq}	{p'íʔ}q	'ripe, bake'/'it's ripe, gets warm'

## (14) Thao ‘rightward reduplication’ (Chang 1998)

šnara	pa- <u>šnara-nara</u>	‘ignite/burn s.t. repeatedly’
kikaŋi	ki <u>kati-kati</u>	‘ask/ around’
qriu?	q-un- <u>riu-riu?</u>	‘steal/ habitually’
patihaul	ma <u>tihau-haul</u>	‘spell/ cast a spell’
ag.qtu	ag <u>qtu-qtu</u>	‘contemplate/ think about’
ar.faz	m- <u>arfa-rfaz</u>	‘fly/ continuously’
m-ig.kmir	ig <u>kmi-kmir-in</u>	‘grasp/ roll into a ball’
bu.qnur	mia- <u>buqnu-qnur</u>	‘anger/ be irritable’

## (15) Abstract syllabification in Thao

<i>stem</i>	<i>syllabification</i>	<i>'reduplicant'</i>
kikaʔi	{ki}{ka}{ʔi}	{ka}{ʔi}
qriuʔ	{qØ}{ri}{Ou} <ʔ>	{ri}{Ou}
patihaul	{pa}{ti}{ha}{Ou} <l>	{ha}{Ou}
ag.qtu	{Oa}{gØ}{qØ}{tu}	{qØ}{tu}
ar.faz	{Oa}{rØ}{fa} <z>	{rØ}{fa}