Evidential suffixes

most end in the vowel /a/
- **Factive -wa**: IMPERFECTIVE, SEEN (or experienced) by speaker; also for generally known facts
- **Visual -ya**: PERFECTIVE, SEEN by speaker
- **Aural -inna**: INFERRED from SOUND heard by speaker
- **Circumstantial -qa**: INFERRED from INDIRECT evidence
- **Hearsay -do**: TOLD to the speaker by another

the Factive has two forms, phonologically conditioned:
- -wa after a verb
- -a after a consonant

Fleeting /a/

all Evidential suffixes containing /a/ also occur **without** it
- this happens in **word-final** context – to be defined
- *(w) - y - qʰ - in*

not true in any other context
- e.g., other **verb suffixes** preserve final /a/
  - *qʰade-:da-:la* ‘I’ve come for it’
  - *mu:ti-:pʰ-:la* ‘when it’s cooked’
  - *di:ba-:ba* ‘after giving’
  - *pʰi:la-:i:na* ‘(that’s why) they left’

therefore it must be a special Evidential property here called **FLEETING** after the Slavic *jer* vowels
- deleted in particular contexts (Gouskova 2012)
- traditionally termed “fleeting” (Russian *беглый*)

Alternations

- **Factive /wa/, /w/ after a vowel**
  - *mi:še-:wa-m* ‘(that) smells (good)’
  - *da:wa → da:w* ‘I want’

- **Factive /a/, /Ø after a consonant**
  - *di:c/wac-:q:mu* ‘what they say’ *(c = q)*
  - *di:bu-c → di:bu:* ‘(rain) is falling’

- **Visual /ya/, /y/**
  - *ba:š-ya-1* ‘where they camped’
  - *cʰe-:q:a → cʰe:dy* ‘I heard them talking’

- **Aural /inna/, /in/**
  - *di:c/wac-:inna-m* ‘(yes,) I heard them talking’
  - *ba:š-:inna → ba:š:an* ‘it sounds like’

- **Circumstantial /qa/, /qʰ/**
  - *mebi:c-:qa-m* ‘[yes, she] must have run away’
  - *mikuṭ-:qa → mikuṭ:qʰ* ‘must have hummed’

Coda aspiration

aspiration of plain stops occurs regularly in the **coda**
- hence the alternation -qa and -qʰ
- the same happens to stem consonants when the zero form of the Factive occurs
- entirely general: not restricted to Evidential contexts
  - *tʰet-i:bi* ‘stand up’
  - *tʰet-:ma* ‘be standing’

Word-final

only a few suffixes can **follow** the Evidentials and thereby preserve the /a/ vowel
- **Responsive -em**: said in response to a statement or question
- **Nominative Relative -emu**: relative clause with nominative or “agent” case
- **Accusative Relative -el**: relative clause with accusative or “patient” case

all of these are exemplified in the preceding examples
- the suffix-initial initial vowel /e/ deletes by regular Elision
the complication is that a clitic with no relation to the Evidential verb can also block deletion
- what then is “word-final”?

Imperative suffixes

most simple imperatives occur with an element /i/ at the end of the verb, immediately following the main suffix
- **Singular -i**
  - *tubic-i* ‘get up!’
  - *waq:i → waq:i* ‘go out!’
  - *cad-i → cad:i* ‘look!’
  - *bine-i → bine:* ‘hug!’

- **Negative Singular -tʰuʔ**
  - *boʔ-:tʰuʔ* ‘don’t hunt!’

- **Plural -meʔ**
  - *cac-ːmːʔ* ‘look! (pl)’

- **Negative Plural -tʰ-u-meʔ**
  - *kwaʔ-ːtʰ-u-meʔ* ‘don’t talk! (pl)’

the singular by default /i/ lacks the /i/ and shows various contextual changes:
- /a/ after /m/ and uvulars
- /u/ after /d/,
- zero after a verb, by regular Elision

Imperative clitic

this element /i/ is actually a clitic:
- when a **phrase follows the verb**, it occurs separated from the imperative, and appears in the **singular** also
- note addition of a **post-verbal word**
  - *di:c/ːʔ*
  - *di:c/ːʔ u maː:kʰʔ* ‘don’t talk!’
  - *pa:nu bhi:saṃ:me ma:yaʔ* ‘hold the scarf!’
  - *kʰ-e na:waʔ mis’a:maʔ* ‘pin my skirt!’
  - *kʰ-e na:waʔ mis’a:ma:taʔ* ‘pin my skirt for me!’
- as well as **alternate word orders**
  - *be:li wadːu* → ‘come here!’
  - *wadːu beːli* ‘stand up’
  - *maʔa qahyeː* → ‘stop eating food!’
  - *qahye maʔa*?
Embedded clauses

A full clause can appear after the Imperative verb
- the clitic /a/ is present only because of the Imperative
qal to: mi-ta-ci baciLLa hi-bi-si:du-suwe?
'pour from a little higher-so it will splash farther!'
wat'ub mi-li maal'can:e mi-li?
'don’t go over there, it’s sticky there!'
ʔana: to qo:di ʔa:ti phinta:la:kʰa:e tʰin e to: ma?
'don’t look at me so much, you can’t wear me out by looking!'
yo:he: gwani:llac'ame mawa hif'etʰi?
'let’s return home when you’re ready!'

Embedded evidentials

If the embedded clause ends in an evidential verb:
- the final /a/ is not deleted
- clitic /a/ prevents it from being “final”, just like a suffix
da:w-ya → da:w
'I want'
taq'ma ʔe:du ca:du da:ya?
'wear the dress over here, I want to see it!'
ʔana: qaːlcaːtʰa → ʔana: qaːlcaːtʰa
'he’s crying a lot'
naːʔel bine ʔana: qaːlcaːtʰa?
'hug the child, he’s crying a lot!'
mukito banaːʔata ʔaːhie: dibuːn ma:bca:waʔa?
'ask him, it sounds like it’s raining!'
wa du ʔel bu:ʔaːya?
'come on, it’s ready!'
ʔana: miːbʰε kʰaːʔa ʔoːphʰoːpʰe tʰi:ʔun ʔel ma phanta:talkaʔa?
'don’t shake your clothes so much; you’ve already faded them!'

Problem

Fleeting /a/ has a special lexical or morphological status, distinct from other tokens of /a/
- this suggests its fate should be decided in a "lexical" or similar part of the derivation
but whether it deletes depends on the potential presence of an Imperative clitic unrelated to the Evidential verb
- this, in turn, makes crucial reference to the location of the Evidential word in syntactic structure
- word-internal information is normally unavailable there

Phonological aspects

It’s not hard to require that the /a/ be final in a PrWd or larger phonological phrase to trigger deletion
- the clitic /a/ should syllabify just like the /m/ of a suffix
da:w, verb [l]clitic → ([da:w], [waː])PrWd
but cannot easily represent the vowels in a special way
- a distinct featural specification would be arbitrary and otherwise unmotivated (Buckley 1994)
- non-morale status might be possible, but amounts to diacritic onsegment rather than morpheme exceptionality

Access to information

The process of deletion imposes two requirements:
- the /a/ is final in a phonological word or phrase
- the vowel comes from one of the specific suffixes
we need reference to the special property of evidentials
- but in a way that is plausibly available at the phrase
- perhaps this can refer to a specific syntactic projection

Evidential Phrase?

Fleeting /a/ is specifically restricted to Evidentials
- it is not a random property of four morphemes, and does not need an arbitrary diacritic
assume an Evidential Phrase (Cinque 1999, Tenny 2006)
- deletion can apply if the word has the EvidPrWd structure or some related morphosyntactic feature
simultaneous access to these properties?
/a/ → Ø / − EvidPrWd or /a/ → Ø / − )PrWd
- the equivalent would be an indexed constraint for morphemes (Gouskova 2012) that is in effect phrasally
- rich representation predicts quite powerful interactions

Rule activation

Suppose a rule can be activated in a derivation:
- applies later in noncyclic rule block (Embick 2010)
in Kashaya, Final-a Deletion: /a/ → Ø / − )PrWd
- this rule formulation is strictly phonological
- note that this process is not optimizing, since it creates highly marked final CC clusters
caused by properties of particular morphemes
- but associated with the entire word it is contained in, perhaps analogous to ± foreign
no access to morpheme identity when the rule applies
- clitic likely included in the noncyclic word rules
- in principle, it could apply to any final /a/ in an Evidential word, but no such case arises

Predictions

Idiosyncrasies in word vs. phrase phonology
- word-internal, can refer to specific morphemes
- phrasally, any special properties are associated with the word or phrase
- just includes clitics as part of noncyclic application?
how long can rules remain activated?
- perhaps until the next application of noncyclic rules?
even if we choose an arbitrary diacritic /a/, the word level rules are a plausible limit on the availability of this distinction

References