

Data

Kham (12, Remnant Himalayish, *pfx-Σ-sfx*), MIXED RESPONSES

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Hetero-		pfx-Σ	/ge-ap/ → [ge.ap]	1P-shoot	Watters 2002: 35
Deletion	R	Σ-sfx	/si-e/ → [si:] ~ [si.je]	?-ERG	Watters 2002: 35
F. Var	L	pfx-Σ	/ge-ama/ → [gjæ.ma] ~ [ge.ama]	1P-mother	Watters 2002: 35

Dolakha Newar (11, Newaric, *pfx-Σ-sfx*), MIXED RESPONSES

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Hetero-		Root; Σ-sfx	/taa.en/ → [taa.en]	‘far’	Genetti 2007: 54
Deletion	L	pfx-Σ	/bi-i/ → [bi]	give-NF	Genetti 2007: 54
Diphthongization		pfx-Σ	/k ^h o-u/ → [k ^h ow]	cry-NR1	Genetti 2007: 57
Insertions	R, R	Σ-sfx; pfx-Σ	/k ^h o-e/ → [k ^h o.we]	river-GEN	Genetti 2007: 56
Glide Formations	L	Σ-sfx	/k ^h ö-eŋ/ → [k ^h wěŋ]	see-3sFUT	Genetti 2007: 56

Belhare (10, Central-Eastern Kiranti, *pfx-Σ-sfx*), MIXED RESPONSES

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Hetero-		Root; Σ-sfx	/ta-a/ → [ta.a]	come-IMPER	Bickel 2003: 92
Insertions	L	pfx-Σ	/ka-uk-pa/ → [ka.ʔuk.pa]	PART-bring.down-M	Bickel ms.

Dege Tibetan (2, Bodic, *pfx-Σ-sfx*), HETEROSYLLABIFICATION?

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Hetero-		pfx-Σ	/ma-ö:/ → [mæ.ö:]	NEG-come	Häsler 1999: 250
Allomorphy	Span	Σ-sfx	various		

Ao (6, Kuki-Chin-Naga, *px-Σ-sfx*), ALWAYS RESOLVE

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Deletion 1	L	px-Σ	/tə-asu ^ʔ / → [ta.su ^ʔ]	PROHIB-be.small	Coupe 2007: 52
Deletion 2	L	Σ-sfx	/tʃã ^ʔ -ãŋ / → [tʃãŋ]	eat-IMPER	Coupe 2007: 55
Deletion 3	R	Σ-sfx	/sana-aŋ/ → [sa.naŋ]	speak-IMPER	Coupe 2007: 55
Diphthongization		Σ-sfx	/li-i ^ʔ / → lə-i ^ʔ → [ləj ^ʔ]	stay-CAUS	Coupe 2007: 53-55

Meithei (4, Kuki-Chin?, *px-Σ-sfx*), ALWAYS RESOLVE

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Deletion 1	L	sfx-sfx	/pi-k ^h i-í / → [pi.k ^h í]	give-STILL-NYP	Chelliah 1997: 247
Deletion 2	L	Σ-sfx	/t ^h i-í/ → [t ^h í]	search-NONHYP	Chelliah 1997: 266
Deletion 3	R	Σ-sfx	/ləi-í/ → ləy-í → [ləj]	be-NONHYP	Chelliah 1997: 67
Insertions	L, R	Σ-sfx; px-Σ	/pi-u/ → [pi.ju]; /ə-ibə/ → [ʔə.ʔi.bə]	give-IMPER; ATTRIB-write	Chelliah 1997: 65; 23
Diphthongization		Σ-sfx	/ca-u/ → [caw]	eat-IMPER	Chelliah 1997: 23

Mandarin (1, Sinitic, *Σ-sfx*), ALWAYS RESOLVE

Response	Tgt	Dom	Example	Gloss	Source
Insertions	L	Σ-sfx; Σ-Σ	/tu-a/ → [tu.wa]; /t ^w oo-a/ → [t ^w oo.faa] ~ [t ^w oo.ja]	many-INTERJ; mother + love	Duanmu 2002: 83, 43

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