

Yucatec Maya in SBCG: A fragment

Grammar signature

Maksymilian Dąbkowski
Kalinda Pride
Justin Bai
Nicholas Tomlin

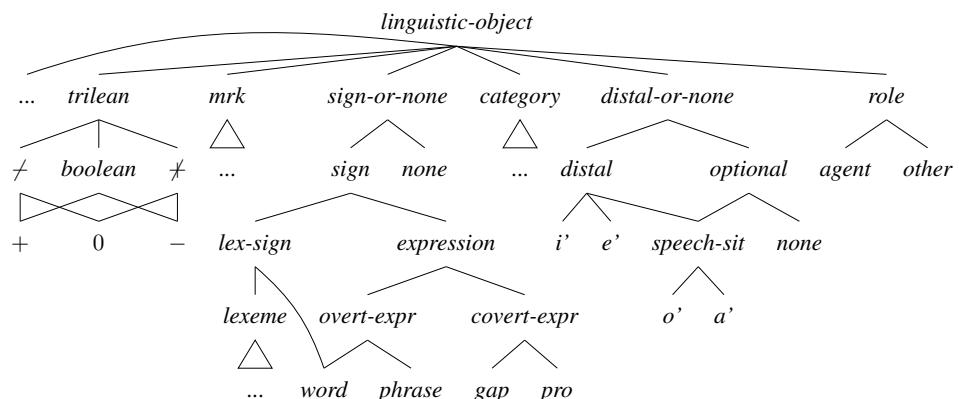
Brown University

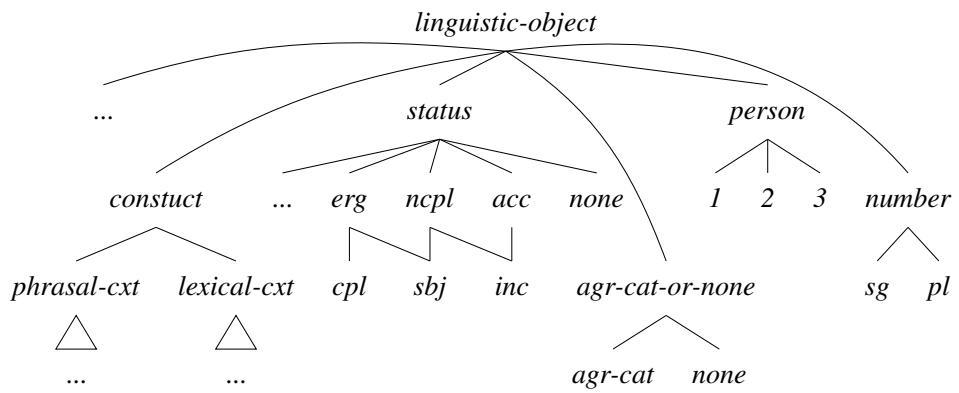
2017

A Grammar Signature

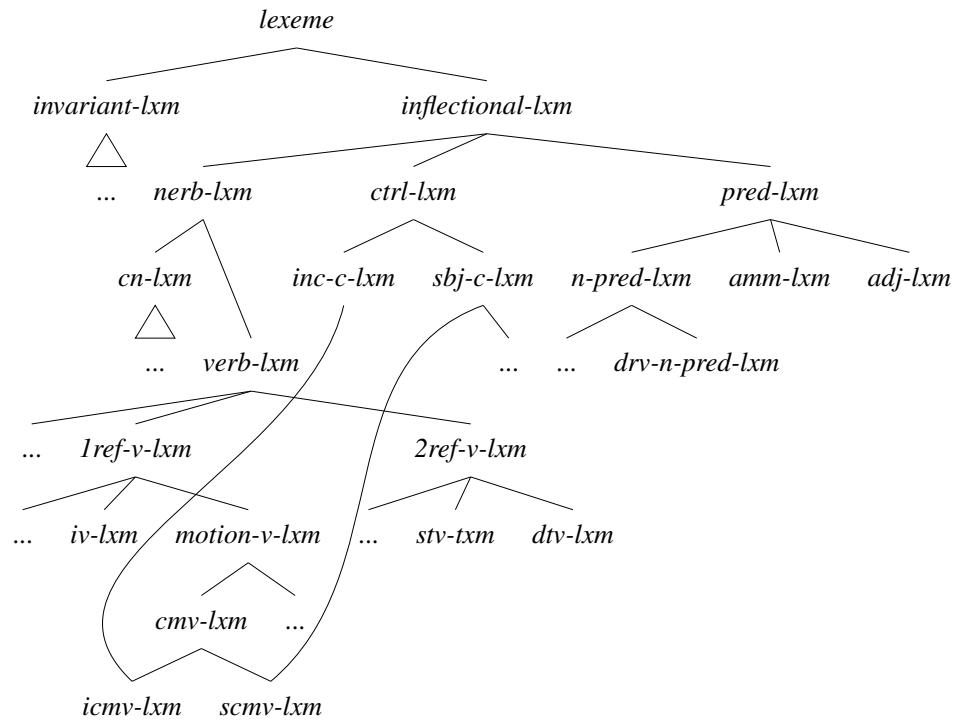
A.1 A Partial Type Hierarchy

A.1.1 *linguistic object*

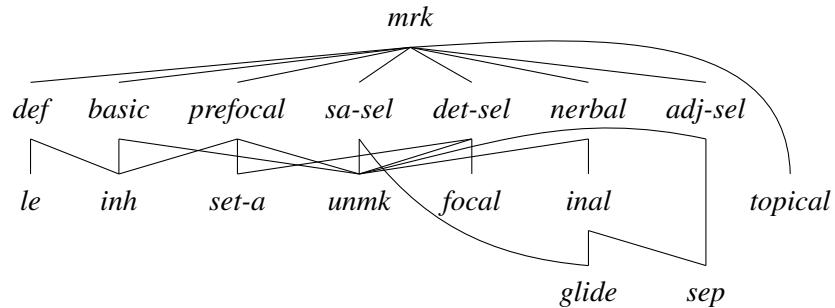




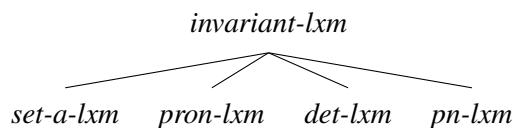
A.1.2 lexeme



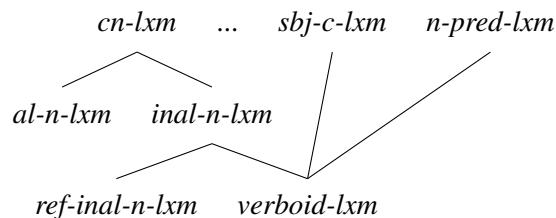
A.1.3 *mrk*



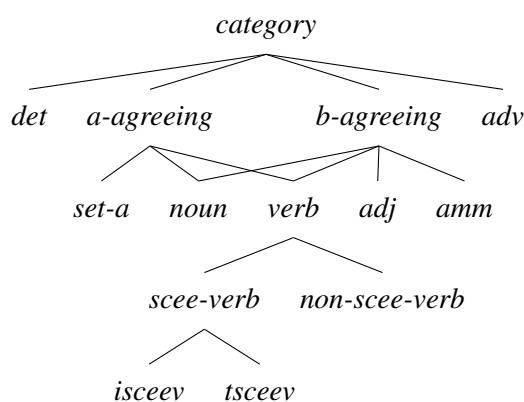
A.1.4 *invariant-lxm*



A.1.5 *cn-lxm*

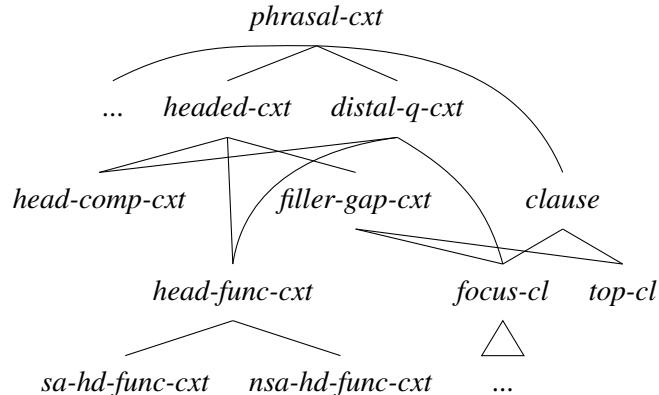


A.1.6 *category*

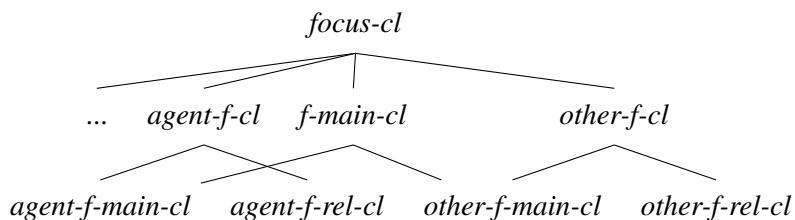


$\neg \text{set-}a$: everything that is not *set-a*.

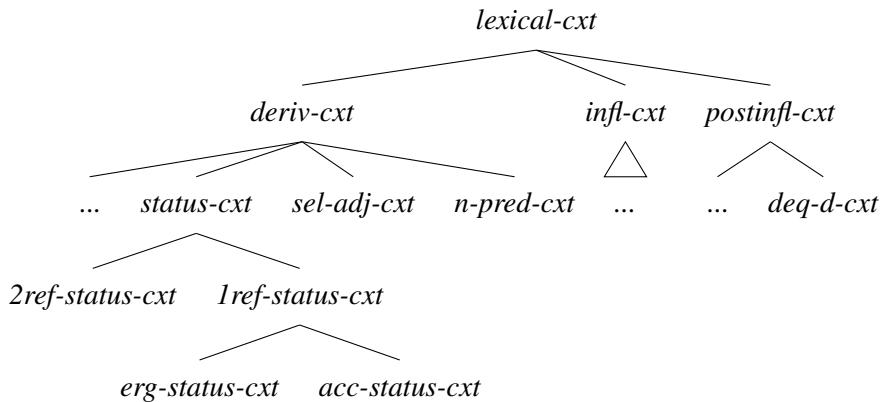
A.1.7 *phrasal-cxt*



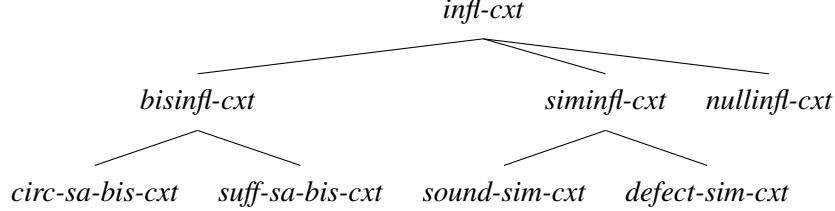
A.1.8 *focus-cl*



A.1.9 *lexical-cxt*



A.1.10 *infl-cxt*



A.2 Type Declarations

A.2.1 *sign*

$$sign : \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & \text{morph-obj} \\ \text{SYN} & \text{syn-obj} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$lex-sign : \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} & \text{list(expression)} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$syn-obj : \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \text{category} \\ \text{VAL} & \text{list(expression)} \\ \text{GAP} & \text{list(expression)} \\ \text{MRKG} & \text{mark} \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \text{distal-or-none} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \text{distal-or-none} \end{bmatrix}$$

A.2.2 *construct*

$$construct : \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & sign \\ \text{DTRS} & nelist(sign) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$lex-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{DTRS} & \text{list}(lex-sign) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$deriv-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & lexeme \\ \text{DTRS} & \text{list}(lexeme) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$infl-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & word \\ \text{DTRS} & \text{list}(lexeme) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$postinfl-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & word \\ \text{DTRS} & \text{list}(word) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$phr-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & phrase \\ \text{DTRS} & \text{list}(overt-expr) \end{bmatrix}$$

$$headed-cxt : \begin{bmatrix} \text{HD-DTR} & overt-expr \end{bmatrix}$$

A.2.3 *category*

$$category : \begin{bmatrix} \text{SELECT} & sign-or-none \\ \text{PRED} & boolean \\ \text{ROLE} & role \\ \text{SET-A} & trilean \end{bmatrix}$$

$$a\text{-agreeing} : \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-A} & agr\text{-cat-or-none} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$b\text{-agreeing} : \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-B} & agr\text{-cat-or-none} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$verb : \begin{bmatrix} \text{STATUS} & status \end{bmatrix}$$

A.2.4 *agr-cat*

$$agr\text{-cat} : \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERSON} & person \\ \text{NUMBER} & number \end{bmatrix}$$

A.3 General Types

subjunctive-controllee-verb $\Rightarrow []$

intransitive-subjunctive-controllee-verb $\Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{SET-A } 0 \\ \text{AGR-B } \textit{none} \\ \text{STATUS } \textit{inc} \end{array} \right]$

transitive-subjunctive-controllee-verb $\Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{SET-A } + \\ \text{ARG-B } \textit{agr-cat} \\ \text{STATUS } \textit{sbj} \end{array} \right]$

non-subjunctive-controllee-verb $\Rightarrow []$

A.4 Lexical-Class Constructors

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

set-a-lexeme $\Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{CAT } \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{set-a} \\ \text{SELECT } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR-A } \boxed{1} \\ \text{MRKG } \textit{sa-sel} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{AGR-A } \boxed{1}\textit{agr-cat} \\ \text{MRKG } \textit{set-a} \end{array} \right]$

pronoun-lexeme $\Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{CAT } \left[\begin{array}{c} \textit{noun} \\ \text{AGR-A } \textit{none} \\ \text{AGR-B } \textit{agr-cat} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG } \textit{inh} \end{array} \right]$

$$\text{determiner-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{det} \\ \text{SELECT} & \text{NP} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MRKG} & \text{det-sel} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} & \text{def} \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \text{optional} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{proper-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{AGR-A} & \text{none} \\ \text{AGR-B} & \text{3sg} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} & \text{inh} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{nerb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MRKG} & \text{nerbal} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{common-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \\ \text{AGR-B} & 3 \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{alienable-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR-A} & \text{none} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} & \text{unmk} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{inalienable-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SET-A} & \cancel{\text{}} \\ \text{AGR-A} & \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} & \text{inal} \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \text{optional} \end{array} \right] \right. \\ \left. \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR-B} & \boxed{1} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \right]$$

$$\text{referential-inalienable-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{X} \right\rangle \right]$$

$$\text{verboid-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{AGR-ST} \left\langle \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right], \left[\text{AGR-A} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$\text{verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{STATUS} & \text{none} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \text{nelist}(\text{NP}) \end{array} \right]$$

$$1ref\text{-}verb\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle X^o, \dots \rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{intransitive-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle X \rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{motion-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle X, \begin{bmatrix} \text{MRKG} & \textit{prefocal} \\ \text{ROLE} & \textit{other} \end{bmatrix}, \dots \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

MRKG of *motion-verb-lexeme*'s argument is pending further research.

$$\text{control-motion-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-B} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR-A} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{ROLE} & \textit{other} \end{bmatrix}, X, \dots \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{incompletive-control-motion-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

$$\text{subjunctive-control-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

$$2ref\text{-}verb\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle X^a, X^o, \dots \rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{strict-transitive-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle X, X \rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{ditransitive-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle X, X, X^o \rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{control-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \dots / \text{VP} \left[\text{AGR-A} \quad \textit{agr-cat} \right] \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{incompletive-control-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{AGR-ST} \quad \left\langle \dots [\text{STATUS} \quad \textit{inc}] \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

$$\text{subjunctive-control-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{AGR-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR-ST} \\ \langle \dots [scee\text{-}verb] \rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{predicate-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{PRED} \end{array} \left[+ \right] \right] \right. \\ \left. \text{nelist} \right]$$

$$\text{nominal-predicate-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{CAT} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{noun} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$\text{am-marker-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{AGR-B} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{am-marker} \\ /none \end{array} \right] \right] \right. \\ \left. \langle /VP \rangle \right]$$

$$\text{adjective-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{adjective} \\ \text{AGR-B} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[1]} \end{array} \right] \right] \right] \right. \\ \left. \langle \rangle \right]$$

$$\text{derived-nominal-predicate-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AGR-B} \\ \dots \text{NP} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[1]} \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

A.5 Combinatoric Constructions

A.5.1 Phrasal Constructions

$$\text{phrasal-ctx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \boxed{\text{x}} \oplus \boxed{\text{y}} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{\text{z}} \\ \text{GAP} \quad / \boxed{A} \oplus \boxed{B} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{Z} \end{array} \right] \right. \\ \left. \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \boxed{\text{x}} \\ \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \boxed{\text{y}} \\ \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{B} \end{array} \right], \dots \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \boxed{\text{z}} \\ \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{Z} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$\begin{aligned}
& \text{headed-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{MRKG} & \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{MRKG} & \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\
& \text{distal-queue-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{ENQ-D} & F_{\max}(\boxed{1}, \boxed{2}, \dots, \boxed{n-1}, \boxed{n}) \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{m} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \begin{array}{ll} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \text{none} \end{array}, \dots, \dots, \begin{array}{ll} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{n-1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \text{none} \end{array}, \begin{array}{ll} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{n} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{m} \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& \text{head-functor-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MRKG} & \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \begin{array}{ll} \text{SELECT} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{MRKG} & \boxed{1} \end{array}, \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \\
& \text{set-a-head-functor-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \text{set-a} \end{array}, \begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & - \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& \text{non-set-a-head-functor-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \neg \text{set-a} \end{array}, \dots \right\rangle \right] \\
& \text{head-complement-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VAL} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \boxed{2}, \boxed{3}, \dots, \boxed{n} \right\rangle \\ \text{HD-DTR} & \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & \neq \\ \text{VAL} & \left\langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{3}, \dots, \boxed{n} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\
& \text{filler-gap-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & /+ \\ \text{GAP} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \oplus \boxed{A} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]
\end{aligned}$$

$$focus-cl \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} MTR & \left[MRKG \quad focal \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[VAL \quad \langle \rangle \right] \right\rangle \\ HD-DTR & \boxed{1} \left[MRKG \quad prefocal \right] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$focus-main-cl \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} MTR & \left[PRED \quad + \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[PRED \quad - \right], \left[GAP \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \oplus L \right] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$other-focus-cl \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} DTRS & \left\langle X, \left[\begin{array}{c} PRED \\ MRKG \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} + \\ prefocal \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$agent-focus-cl \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} DTRS & \left\langle X, \left[\begin{array}{c} CAT \\ GAP \end{array} \quad \left[\begin{array}{cc} verb & \\ SET-A & 0 \\ STATUS & ncpl \end{array} \right] \right] \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$agent-focus-main-cl \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

$$other-focus-main-cl \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

$$agent-focus-relative-cl \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

$$other-focus-relative-cl \Rightarrow \left[\quad \right]$$

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

A.5.2 Lexical Constructions

$$\begin{aligned}
& status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & / \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{FORM} & \langle F_{\text{status}}(\boxed{2}, \boxed{3}) \rangle \\ \text{STATUS} & \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle / \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{verb-lxm} & \\ \text{FORM} & \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ \text{STATUS} & \text{none} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& 2\text{ref-status-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR-B} & \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{ll} 2\text{ref-v-lxm} & \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{AGR-B } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{AGR-B } \boxed{2} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& 1\text{ref-status-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} 1\text{ref-v-lxm} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& ergative\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} & \text{none} \\ \text{AGR-B} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{STATUS} & \text{erg} \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{AGR-B } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\
& accusative\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MTR} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{SET-A} & \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR-B} & \text{none} \\ \text{STATUS} & \text{acc} \end{array} \right] \right] \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{AGR-B } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]
\end{aligned}$$

$$selectional\text{-}adjective\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} MTR & \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{ll} SELECT & \left[\begin{array}{ll} CAT & \left[\begin{array}{ll} noun & \text{MRKG } adj\text{-sel} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ AGR\text{-B} & none \end{array} \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} CAT & adj \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$nominal\text{-}predicate\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} MTR & \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{drv-}n\text{-pred-}lxm & \\ CAT & \left[\begin{array}{ll} AGR\text{-B} & agr\text{-cat} \end{array} \right] \\ ARG\text{-ST} & \boxed{A} \oplus \langle X \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} CAT & noun \\ DEQ\text{-D} & none \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$bisinflectional\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[DTRS \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{ll} infl\text{-}lxm & \\ SET\text{-A} & \neq \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$circumfix\text{-}set\text{-}a\text{-}bisinflectional\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} MTR & \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{ll} FORM & \left\langle F_{\text{circ-}A\&B}(\boxed{2}), \right. \\ & \left. \langle \boxed{3}, \boxed{4} \rangle \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} FORM & \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ CAT & \left[\begin{array}{ll} AGR\text{-A} & \boxed{3} \\ AGR\text{-B} & \boxed{4} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ & \quad \text{MRKG } glide \end{array} \right]$$

$$suffix\text{-}set\text{-}a\text{-}bisinflectional\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ll} MTR & \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{ll} FORM & \left\langle F_{\text{suff-}A\&B}(\boxed{2}, \boxed{3}, \boxed{4}) \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\ DTRS & \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{ll} FORM & \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ CAT & \left[\begin{array}{ll} AGR\text{-A} & \boxed{3} \\ AGR\text{-B} & \boxed{4} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ & \quad \text{MRKG } sep \end{array} \right]$$

$$siminflectional-cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \quad \boxed{1} ! \left[\text{FORM} \quad \left\langle F_B(\boxed{2}, \boxed{3}) \right\rangle \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{infl-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{3} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{basic} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$sound-siminflectional-cxt \Rightarrow \left[\text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{SET-A} \quad \neq \right] \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$defective-siminflectional-cxt \Rightarrow \left[\text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\text{CAT} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{SET-A} \quad \neq \end{array} \right] \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$nullinflectional-cxt \Rightarrow \left[\text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\text{invariant-lxm} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$dequeue-distal-cxt \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \quad \boxed{1} ! \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle F_{\text{distal}}(\boxed{2}, \boxed{3}) \right\rangle \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

A.6 Example Listemes

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{det-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \text{le} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SELECT} \quad \left[\text{PRED} \quad - \right] \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{le} \\ \text{END-Q} \quad \text{speech-sit} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pron-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \text{lela'} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad 3sg \right] \\ \text{ENQ-D} \quad a' \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad a' \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{al-noun-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \text{bu'ul} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pron-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \left\langle \text{tèech} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad 2sg \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$\begin{bmatrix} amm-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle ts' o' ok \rangle \\ \text{ARG-ST } \langle [\text{STATUS } inc] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} adjective-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle uts \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix} strict-tv-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle jats' \rangle \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} cmv-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle taal \rangle \end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix} a-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle in \rangle \\ \text{SYN } [AGR-A \ 1sg] \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} amm-lxm \& sbj-c-lxm \\ \text{FORM } \langle mukaj \rangle \\ \text{SYN } \left[\text{CAT } \left[\text{AGR-B } \boxed{1} \right] \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST } \langle [AGR-A \ \boxed{1}] \rangle \end{bmatrix}$

A.7 Abbreviations

$$S = \left[\begin{array}{c|c} & \left[\begin{array}{c|cc} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & + \\ \text{SET-A} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{GAP} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$NP = \left[\begin{array}{c|c} & \left[\begin{array}{c|cc} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{noun} & - \\ \text{PRED} & - \\ \text{SET-A} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$X^a = \left[\begin{array}{c|c} \text{ROLE} & agent \end{array} \right]$$

$$X^o = \left[\begin{array}{c|c} \text{ROLE} & other \end{array} \right]$$

$$VP = \left[\begin{array}{c|c} & \left[\begin{array}{c|cc} \text{CAT} & \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{verb} & - \\ \text{SET-A} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$