

# Yucatec Maya: Grammar Signature

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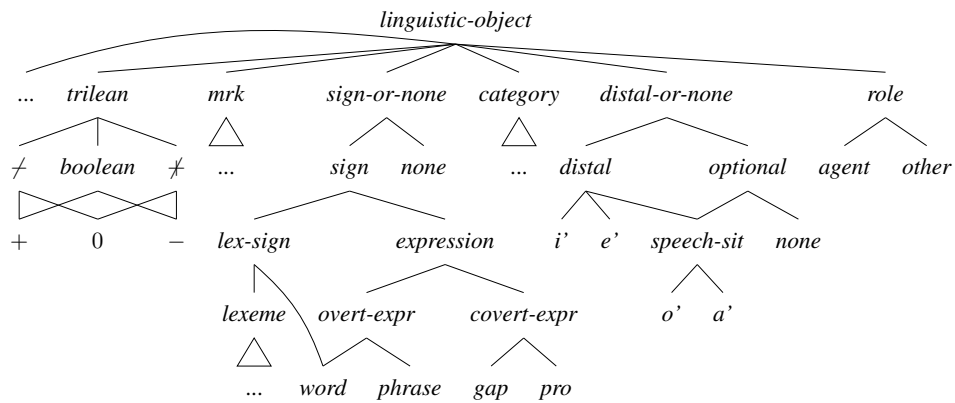
*Brown University*

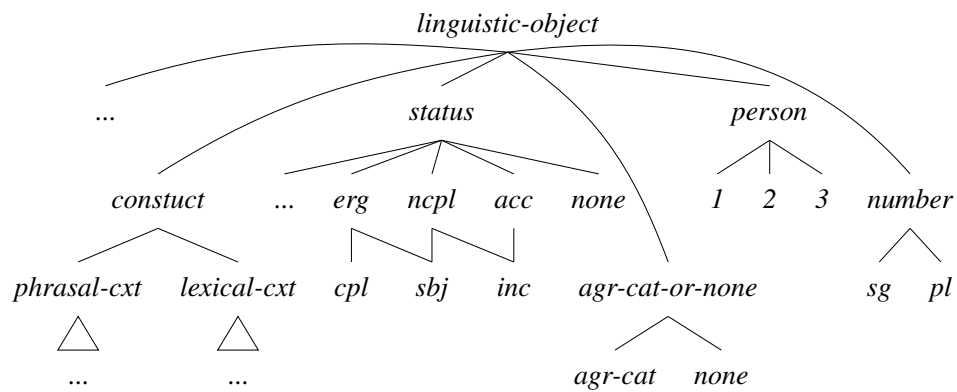
October 25, 2017

## A Grammar Signature

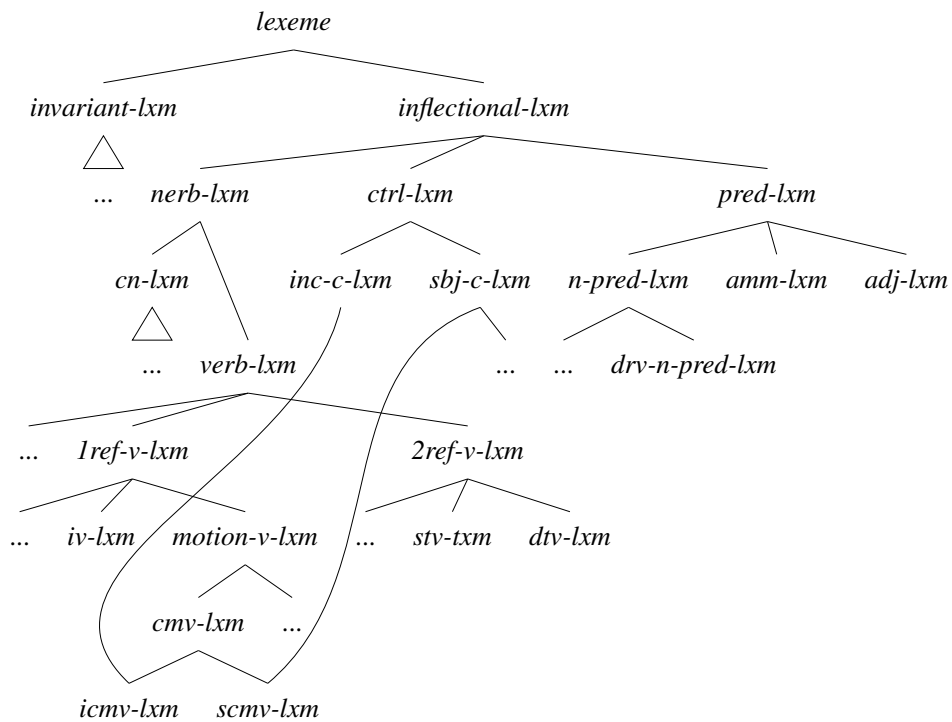
### A.1 A Partial Type Hierarchy

#### A.1.1 *linguistic object*

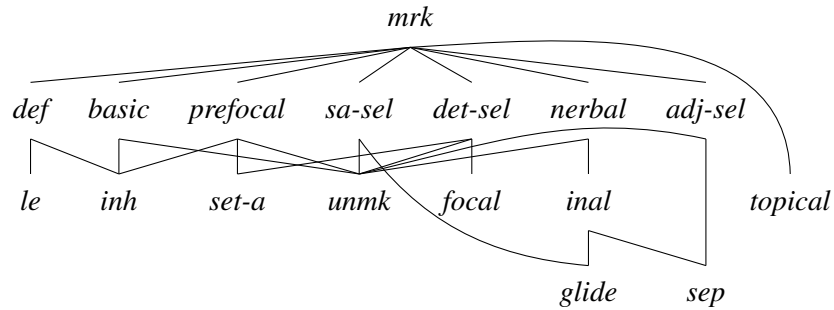




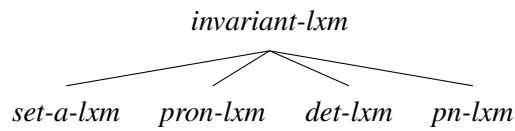
### A.1.2 lexeme



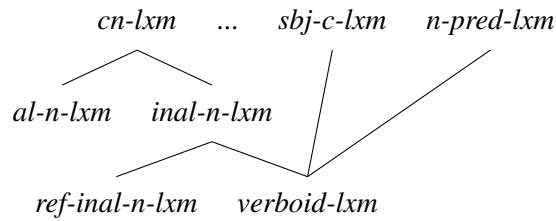
### A.1.3 *mrk*



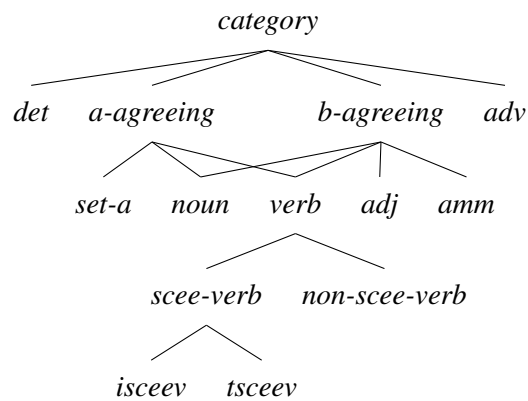
### A.1.4 *invariant-lxm*



### A.1.5 *cn-lxm*

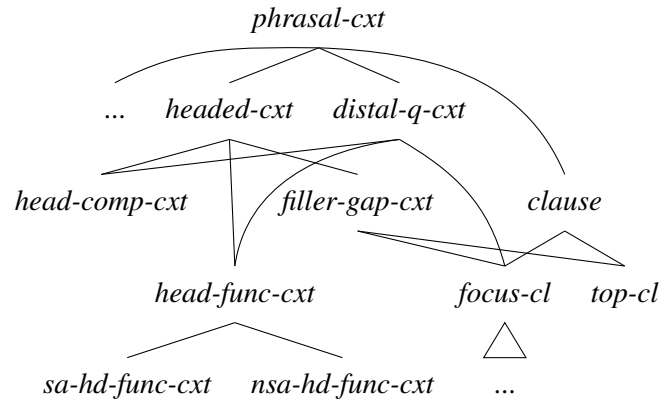


### A.1.6 *category*

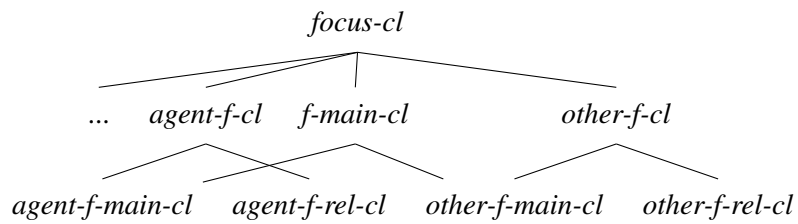


$\neg set-a$  : everything that is not *set-a*.

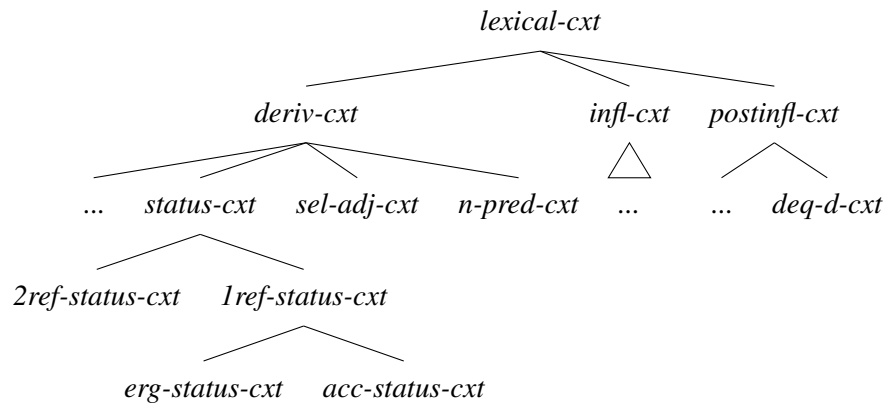
### A.1.7 *phrasal-cxt*



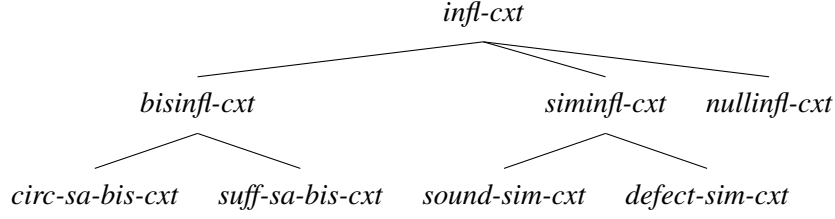
### A.1.8 *focus-cl*



### A.1.9 *lexical-cxt*



### A.1.10 *infl-cxt*



## A.2 Type Declarations

### A.2.1 *sign*

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

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

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

### A.2.2 *construct*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### A.2.3 *category*

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

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

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

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

### A.2.4 *agr-cat*

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

### A.3 General Types

$$\textit{subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \end{array} \right]$$

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

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

$$\textit{non-subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \end{array} \right]$$

### A.4 Lexical-Class Constructions

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

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

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

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

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

$$nerb\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[ \text{SYN} \left[ \text{MRKG } \textit{nerbal} \right] \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$incompletive\text{-}control\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[ SYN \left[ ARG\text{-}ST \left\langle \dots \begin{bmatrix} STATUS & inc \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \right] \right]$$



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

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

$$nominal-predicate-lexeme \Rightarrow \left[ \text{SYN} \left[ \text{CAT} \quad noun \right] \right]$$

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

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

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

## A.5 Combinatoric Constructions

### A.5.1 Phrasal Constructions

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

$$headed\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{CAT} & \sqrt{1} \\ \text{VAL} & \sqrt{2} \\ \text{MRKG} & \sqrt{3} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$distal\text{-}queue\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{ENQ-D} & F_{\max}(\overline{1}, \overline{2}, \dots, \overline{n-1}, \overline{n}) \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \overline{m} \end{array} \right] \\ \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{ENQ-D} & \overline{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & none \end{array} \right], \dots \right. \\ \left. \dots \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{ENQ-D} & \overline{n-1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & none \end{array} \right], \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{ENQ-D} & \overline{n} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \overline{m} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$head\text{-}functor\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \text{MRKG} \quad \overline{1} \right] \\ \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{SELECT} & \overline{2} \\ \text{MRKG} & \overline{1} \end{array} \right], \overline{2} \right\rangle \\ \overline{2} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$set\text{-}a\text{-}head\text{-}functor\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \text{SET-A} \quad + \right] \\ \left\langle \left[ \text{CAT} \quad set\text{-}a \right], \left[ \text{SET-A} \quad - \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$non\text{-}set\text{-}a\text{-}head\text{-}functor\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{CAT} \quad \neg set\text{-}a \right], \dots \right\rangle \right]$$

$$head\text{-}complement\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \text{VAL} \langle \rangle \right] \\ \left\langle \overline{1}, \overline{2}, \overline{3}, \dots, \overline{n} \right\rangle \\ \overline{1} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SET-A} \quad \neq \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left\langle \overline{2}, \overline{3}, \dots, \overline{n} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$$

$$filler\text{-}gap\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \text{GAP} \quad \overline{A} \right] \\ \left\langle \overline{1}, \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SET-A} \quad /+ \\ \text{GAP} \quad \left\langle \overline{1} \right\rangle \oplus \overline{A} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

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

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

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

$$agent-focus-cl \Rightarrow \left[ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle X, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} verb \\ \text{SET-A} \quad 0 \\ \text{STATUS} \quad ncpl \end{array} \right] \\ \text{GAP} \quad \langle X^a \rangle \oplus L \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

### A.5.2 Lexical Constructions

$$status-cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad / \boxed{1} ! \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{FORM} \quad \langle F_{\text{status}}(\boxed{2}, \boxed{3}) \rangle \\ \text{STATUS} \quad \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle / \boxed{1} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ \text{STATUS} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$2ref\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SET-A} \quad \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{l} 2ref\text{-}v\text{-}lxm \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right], \left[ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{2} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$1ref\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[ 1ref\text{-}v\text{-}lxm \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

$$ergative\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SET-A} \quad \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} \quad \text{none} \\ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{STATUS} \quad \text{erg} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right], \dots \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$accusative\text{-}status\text{-}cxt \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SET-A} \quad \neq \\ \text{AGR-A} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{AGR-B} \quad \text{none} \\ \text{STATUS} \quad \text{acc} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \left[ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right], \dots \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## A.6 Example Listemes

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

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

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{amm-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{ts'o'ok} \rangle \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle [\text{STATUS} \quad \textit{inc}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{strict-tv-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{jats'} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{a-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{in} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[ \text{AGR-A} \quad \textit{1sg} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{adjective-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{uts} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{cmv-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{t\`aal} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{amm-lxm} \text{ \& } \textit{sbj-c-lxm} \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{mukaj} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[ \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle [\text{AGR-A} \quad \boxed{1}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

## A.7 Abbreviations

$$\text{S} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad + \\ \text{SET-A} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{GAP} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{ENQ-D} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{NP} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{noun} \\ \text{PRED} \quad - \\ \text{SET-A} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{X}^a = [\text{ROLE} \quad \textit{agent}]$$

$$\text{X}^o = [\text{ROLE} \quad \textit{other}]$$

$$\text{VP} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYN} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{verb} \\ \text{SET-A} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$