

Yucatecan Control and Lexical Categories in SBCG

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Complement control

Definition

Complement control is a construction where the implicit subject of a given verb is determined by some other expression in the clause.

- ▶ Yucatec Maya has two complement control constructions: subjunctive control and incomplete control.

Status marking

	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
INC	... <i>-ik</i>	... <i>-Vl, -∅</i>
SBJ	... <i>-ej, ... -∅</i>	... <i>-Vk, ... -ak</i>
CPL	... <i>-aj</i>	... <i>-aj, ... -∅</i>

Table: Status morphology

Examples

- (1) Ki'imak in w-óol in w-il-ik-ech.
happy A1 ONGL-spirit A1 ONGL-see-INC-B2SG
“I am happy to see you.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

- (2) Ma' in k'áat in man-∅ le ba'al-o'ob-o'.
NEG A1 wish A1 buy-SBJ DEF thing-PL-D2.
“I don't want to buy those things.”

(Bohnenmeyer, 2002)



Copy control

- (3) Pil-e' u k'àat u y-il-ej.
Felipe-D3 A3 wish A3 ONGL-see-SBJ.B3SG
“Felipe wish to see him/her/it.”
- (4) *Pil-e' u k'àat in/a w-il-ej.
Felipe-D3 A3 wish A1/A2 ONGL-see-SBJ.B3SG
intended: “Felipe wants me/you to see him/her/it.”
- (5) In káat káa meyaj-n-ak-ech.
A1SG wish for/that work-ANTIPASS-SBJ-B2SG
“I want you to work.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)



Split ergativity

- (6) Ts'o'ok [in na'ak-s-ik-ech].
 TERM A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
 “I finished lifting you up.”
- (7) Ts'o'ok [in na'ak-al].
 TERM A1SG ascend-INC
 “I finished going up.”
- (8) Sàam [in na'ak-s-Ø-ech].
 REC A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
 “I lifted you up a while ago.”
- (9) Sàam [na'ak-ak-en].
 REC ascend-SBJ-B1SG
 “I went up a while ago.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)



Government

Subjunctive controllees

Predicates taking subjunctive complements:

- ▶ *ka'ansik* “teach”
 - ▶ *tuxtik* “send”
 - ▶ *sajak* “fear”
 - ▶ *kanik* “learn”
 - ▶ *k'at* “want”
 - ▶ *ojel* “know (how to)”
- ▶ motion verbs:
 - ▶ *bin* “go”
 - ▶ *jok'ok* “leave”
 - ▶ *okol* “enter”
 - ▶ *tàal* “come”

Government

Imperfective controllees

Predicates taking imperfective complements:

- ▶ *k'a'ajsik* “remind”
 - ▶ *k'a'ajal* “remember”
 - ▶ *tu'ubul* “forget”
 - ▶ *chunsik* “begin”
- ▶ motion verbs:
 - ▶ *bin* “go”
 - ▶ *jok'ok* “leave”
 - ▶ *okol* “enter”
 - ▶ *tàal* “come”

Motion verbs semantics

- (10) Juan-e' táan u bin u t'ox-ik chu'ujuk te' mejen
 Juan-D3 PROG A3 go A3 see-INC candy to.DEF small
 paal-o'ob-o'.
 child-PL-D3

“Juan is going around passing out candy to children.”

- (11) Juan-e' táan u bin u t'ox-∅ chu'ujuk te' mejen
 Juan-D3 PROG A3 go A3 see-SBJ candy to.DEF small
 paal-o'ob-o'.
 child-PL-D3

“Juan is going (in order) to pass out candy to children.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)



The riddle

What we expect...

- (12) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-s-**ik-ech**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
 “I came (while) lifting you up.” (incompletive transitive)
- (13) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-**al**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-INC
 “I came (while) ascending.” (incompletive intransitive)
- (14) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-s-∅-**ech**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
 “I came to lift you up.” (subjunctive transitive)
- (15) *J t̄aal-∅-en [na'ak-**ak-en**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-SBJ-B1SG
 intended: “I came to ascend.” (subjunctive intransitive)

The riddle

... is not what we get

- (12) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-s-**ik-ech**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
 “I came (while) lifting you up.” (incompletive transitive)
- (13) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-**al**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-INC
 “I came (while) ascending.” (incompletive intransitive)
- (14) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-s-∅-**ech**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
 “I came to lift you up.” (subjunctive transitive)
- (15') J tàal-∅-en [na'ak-**al**].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC
 “I came to ascend.” (subjunctive intransitive)

Spoiler alert

Ahead:

- ▶ a review of previous literature, specifically AnderBois and Armstrong (ms.),
- ▶ some arguments for, some arguments against, some ruminations over the nature of nouns and verbs,
- ▶ a sketch of an SBCG account,
- ▶ an alternative story of intransitive subjunctive control's origin, where the irregularity follows a well-trodden path to disambiguation.



Previous accounts I

- ▶ Coon (2013) argues that control in Ch'ol is nominal.

- (16) Choñkol-∅ ja'al.
 PROG-B3SG rain
 “It is raining.”
 (lit. “Rain is happening.”) Ch'ol, (A&A, ms.)
- (17) *Tàan cháak.
 PROG rain.
 intended: “It is raining.” Yucatec Maya, (A&A, ms.)

Previous accounts II

- ▶ A&A argue that control in Yucatec Maya is verbal,
 - ▶ possible exception: subjunctive intransitive control.
- ▶ A&A's arguments for the nominal nature of subjunctive intransitive controllees:
 - ▶ morphological identity with nominalizations,
 - ▶ nominalizations tend to have a looser relation with they arguments.



Morphological identity I

Active (\emptyset):

- a. Yaan k'iin-e' le áalkab- \emptyset ^{Inc}_{Intrans}-o' jach toop- \emptyset _{B3}
exists day-TOP DEF run-STATUS.NML-DISTAL really hard-B3sg
'Sometimes, running is very difficult.'

Nominal

- b. In k'áat áalkab- \emptyset ^{Inc}_{Intrans}
A1sg want run-STATUS.NML

(18)

'I want to run.'

SSP_{Intrans}

Property/positional (-tal):

- a. Le polok-tal-o' k-u taas-ik- \emptyset _{B3} k'oja'an-il
DEF fat-STATUS.NML-DISTAL IMP-A3 bring-SS-B3sg sick-REL
'Becoming fat brings illness.'

Nominal

- b. Sajak-en polok-tal
afraid-B1sg fat-STATUS.NML

(19)

'I am afraid to get fat.'

SSP_{Intrans}

Morphological identity II

Celerative (*paj-al*):

- a. Le t'i'it'-paj-al-o' jach talam- \emptyset _{B3}
 DEF disperse-INCH-STATUS.NML-DISTAL really difficult-B3sg
 'Dispersing is very difficult.' (e.g. a graduating group of students) **Nominal**

- (20) b. Táan k óot-ik t'i'it'-paj-al
 PROG A1pl intend-TV.INCMPL disperse-INCH-STATUS.NML
 'We intend to break up.' **SSP_{Intrans}**

Change-of-state (-VI):

- a. tumen ts'o'ok a took-ik-en ti' le k'íim-il-o', bey xan
 because TERM A2 wrest-TV.INCMPL-B1sg PREP DEF die-STATUS.NML-DISTAL as also
 ti' le lúub-ul-o'
 PREP DEF fall-STATUS.NML-DISTAL
 'Because you have wrested me from death, from falling as well.' **Nominal**

- (21) b. Sajak-en lúub-ul
 afraid-B1sg fall-STATUS.NML
 'I am afraid to fall.' **SSP_{Intrans}**

Morphological identity III

Verbal noun/antipassive (VV):

- a. Le chuuy-o' jum p'éel método tu'ux k-u nuup-bes-a'al ka'a
 DEF sew.STATUS.NML-DEF one CL method where IMP-A3 pair-CAUS-PASSIVE two
 p'éel wa u je nok'-o'ob ...
 CL or A3 other cloth-PL
 'Sewing is a method where two or more cloths are joined ...' Nominal
- b. In k'áat chuuy
 A1sg want sew.STATUS.NML
 'I want to sew.' SSP_{Intrans}

(22)

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)



Counterarguments I

- ▶ Presented nominalizations are all characterized by definite morphology, the determiner *le* and the deictic clitic *o'*.
- ▶ While not necessary, nominalization tend to gravitate to definitive morphology.

(23) ?Uts-∅ xook-∅.
 good-B3GS study-INC/NML
 ‘It’s good to study.’ / ‘Studying is good.’

(24) Uts-∅ xook-∅-o’.
 good-B3GS study-INC/NML-D2 (AnderBois, 2017)
 ‘It’s good to study.’ / ‘Studying is good.’

(AnderBois, 2017)

Counterarguments II

- (25) In k'áat meyaj-∅.
A1 wish work-INC
“I want to work.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

- ▶ The same definite morphology is ungrammatical in subjunctive intransitive control.

Argument relations

- ▶ Set-A and set-B morphology, as witnessed on verbs, are elements of verbal inflection morphology, and they need not apply on nominalizations.
- ▶ Nouns tend to have a looser relation with their arguments.



Set-A and set-B

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST	<i>in (w-)...</i>	<i>k ... in (w-)...-o'on</i>
2ND	<i>a (w-)...</i>	<i>a (w-)...-e'ex</i>
3RD	<i>u (y-)...</i>	<i>u (y-)...-o'ob</i>

Set-A morphology

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST	<i>...-en</i>	<i>...-o'on</i>
2ND	<i>...-ech</i>	<i>...-e'ex</i>
3RD	<i>...-∅</i>	<i>...-oob</i>

Set-B morphology

- ▶ Identical on nouns and verbs; the overlap is complete. Difficult to dismiss.

Counterarguments I

- ▶ Verbs inflected for status either require or forbid it; contrary to expectations, so do nouns.

INALIENABLE

- (26) in tàataj
A1 father
“my father”
- (27) *in sujuy
A1 virgin
intended: “my virgin”
- (28) in k'àan
A1 hammock
“my hammock”

ALIENABLE

- (29) *tataj
father
intended: “father”
- (30) sujuy
virgin
“virgin”
- (31) k'áan
hammock
“hammock”

Counterarguments II

(Lehmann, 2002)

- ▶ Can we even tell the difference between nouns and verbs reliably?

(32) Tàan in páan-ik-∅.
PROG A1SG dig.out-INC-B3SG
“I am digging out (holes).”
“My digging is ongoing.”

(Bohnemeyer, 2002)

(33) Uts-∅ t-in t'aan in ts'u'uts'-ik-∅ chamal.
good-B3SG IN-A1SG speech A1SG smoke-INC-B3SG cigarette
“I like smoking cigarettes.”

lit. “Smoking cigarettes is good in my speech,” “to smoke cigarettes is good in my speech.” ? (Armstrong, 2009)

- ▶ Yes, we can, but should we? No need to postulate nominalization.

The riddle

... is not what we get

- (12) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-s-ik-ech].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
“I came (while) lifting you up.” (incompletive transitive)
- (13) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-al].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-INC
“I came (while) ascending.” (incompletive intransitive)
- (14) J t̄aal-∅-en [in na'ak-s-∅-ech].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
“I came to lift you up.” (subjunctive transitive)
- (15') J t̄aal-∅-en [na'ak-al].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC
“I came to ascend.” (subjunctive intransitive)



Set-A syntax I

- ▶ Intransitive subjunctives cross-reference their only argument with set-B; importantly: no set-A.

	INCOMPLETEIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
TRANSITIVE	✓	✓
INTRANSITIVE	✓	✗

Table: Set-A?

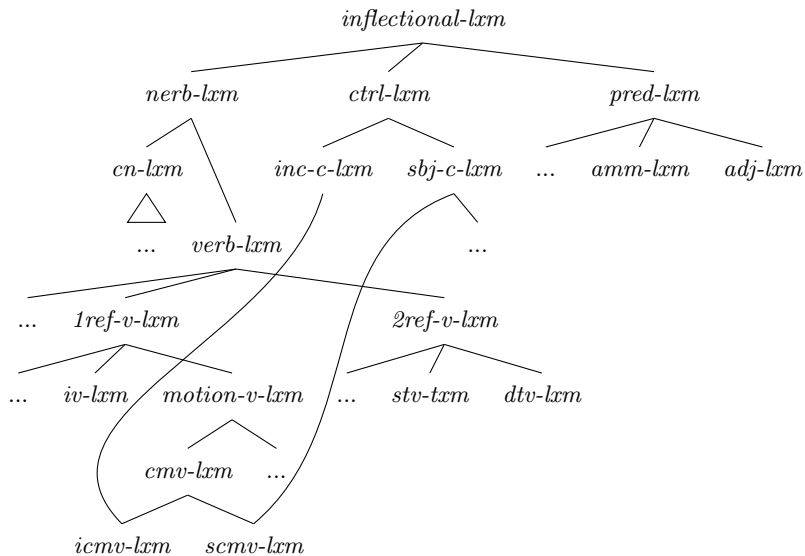
- ▶ Possibly control demands set-A:

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

Set-A syntax II

- (15') J t̄aal-∅-en [na'ak-al].
 PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC
 “I came to ascend.”
 #“I came (for somebody else) to ascend.”
- (34) In k'áat xook-∅.
 A1SG wish study-INC
 “I want to study.”
 #“I want studying.”
 #“I want studying to occur.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

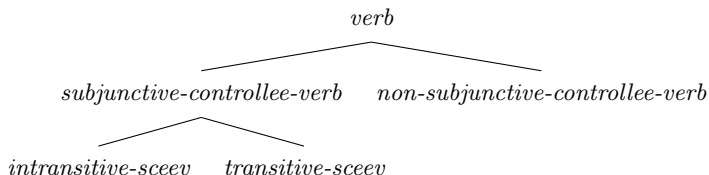


Formalism I

- ▶ Incompletive controllees work just as expected.

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

- ▶ But subjunctive controllees misbehave.

Figure: *verb* hierarchy

Formalism II

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

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

- ▶ An example maximal node...

$$\textit{control-motion-verb-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad \boxed{1} \right], \left[\text{AGR-A} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

- ▶ ... and a lexical entry: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{cmv-lxm} \\ \textit{form} \left\langle \textit{t\`aal} \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$

Why not just have the set-A morpheme?

- (34) In k'áat in xook-∅.
A1SG wish A1 study-INC
“I want to study.”

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)


- ▶ Set-A missing in agent focus constructions:

- (35) Leti' jats'-ik-en.
he beat-INC-B1SG
“It is he who beats me.”

(Bohnemeyer, 2002)

- ▶ Unlike in non-agent focus constructions:

- (36) Leti' k-in jats'-ik-∅.
he IMPV-A1 beat-INC-B3SG
“It is he whom I beat.”

(Bohnemeyer, 2002)  BROWN

A wild speculation

- ▶ Agent focus has been described as a disambiguating mechanism
- ▶ Subjunctive control shares with agent focus the purging of set-A morphology in non-head daughters.
- ▶ Subjunctive control disambiguates.
- ▶ A formal characteristic possibly paving the way for other functionally similar ones?

Summary

- ▶ The paradigm-defying **intransitive subjunctive control** construction presents us with a riddle.
- ▶ A **nominalization account** does not give us satisfying answers.
- ▶ The phenomenon can be easily accounted for in **SBCG**.
- ▶ The answer to intransitive subjunctive control's nature might lie in **disambiguation**.



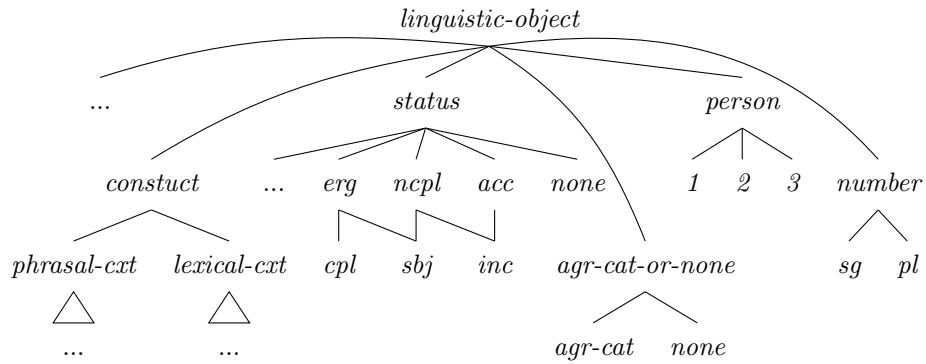
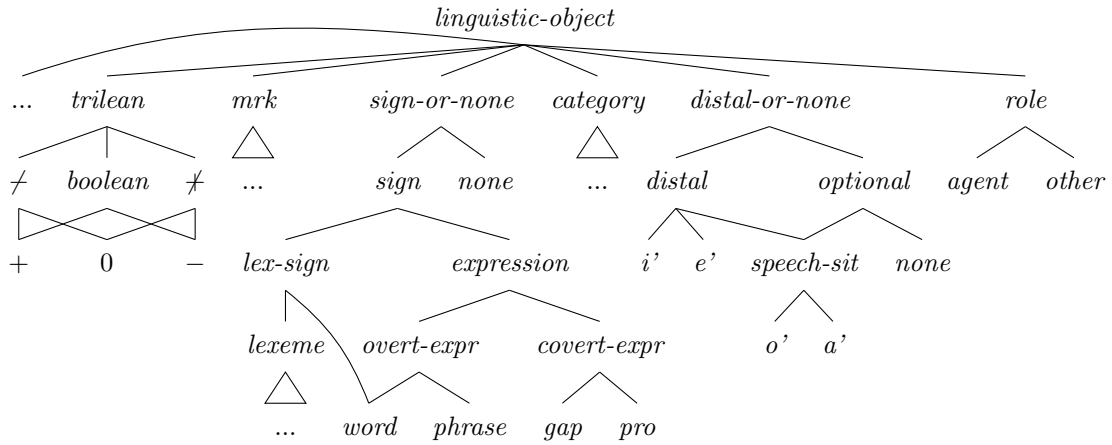
For further reading

- Scott AnderBois and Grant Armstrong. *On a transitivity-based split in Yucatec Maya control*. Brown University and University of Wisconsin, ms.
- Jürgen Bohnemeyer. *The Grammar of Time Reference in Yucatek Maya*. Lincom Europa, 2002.
- Jessica Coon. *Aspects of split ergativity*. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Scott AnderBois. Personal communication, January-February 2017.
- Christian Lehmann. *Possession in Yucatec Maya. Second, revised edition*. Universitt Erfurt, 2002.
- Grant Armstrong. On Copular Sentences in Yucatec Maya. In *Proceedings of the Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America-IV.*, 2009.

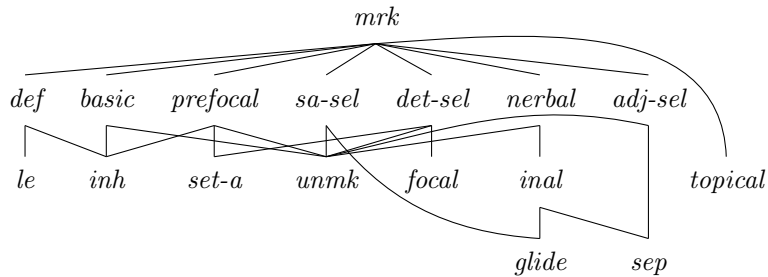
A Grammar Signature

A.1 A Partial Type Hierarchy

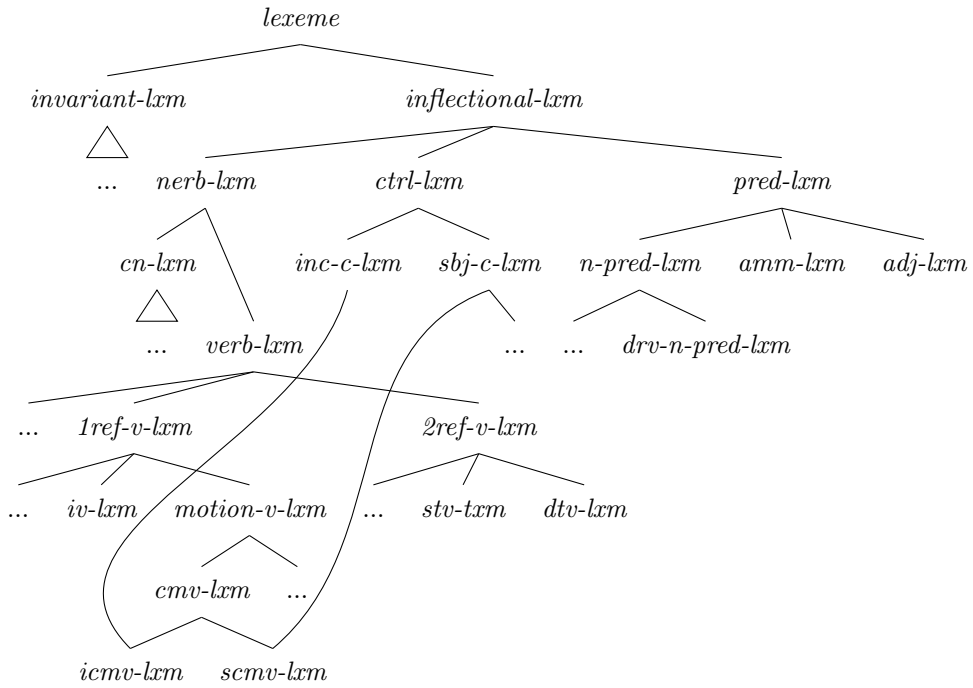
A.1.1 *linguistic object*



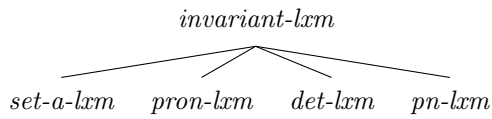
A.1.2 *mrk*



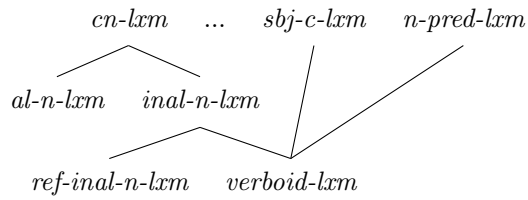
A.1.3 lexeme



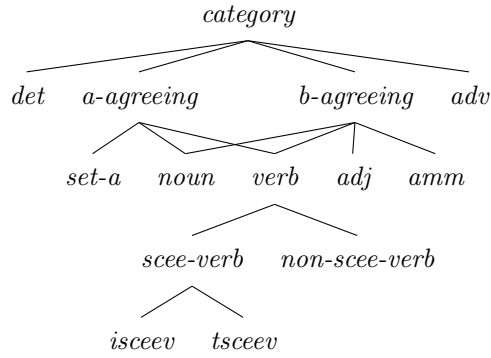
A.1.4 invariant-lxm



A.1.5 cn-lxm

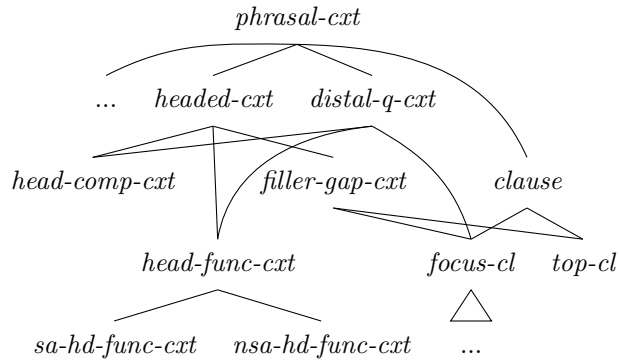


A.1.6 *category*

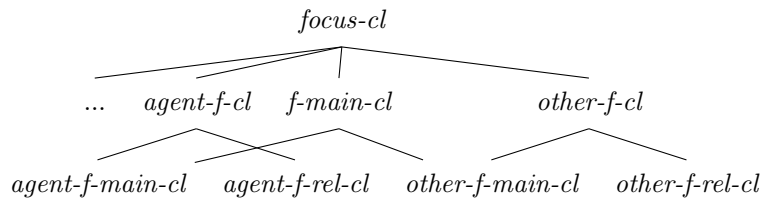


\neg set-a : everything that is not set-a.

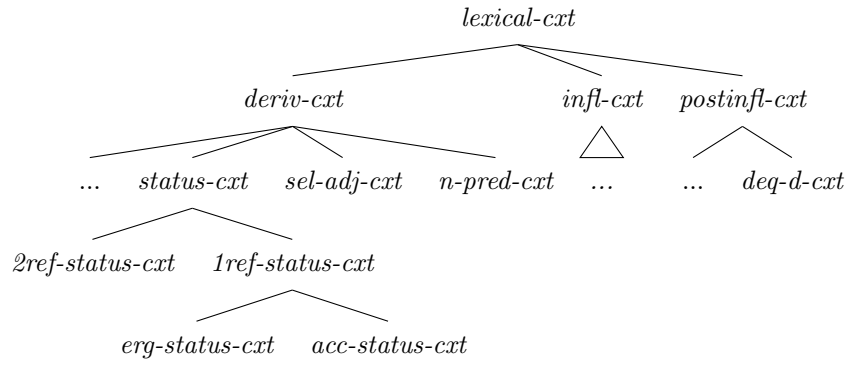
A.1.7 *phrasal-cxt*



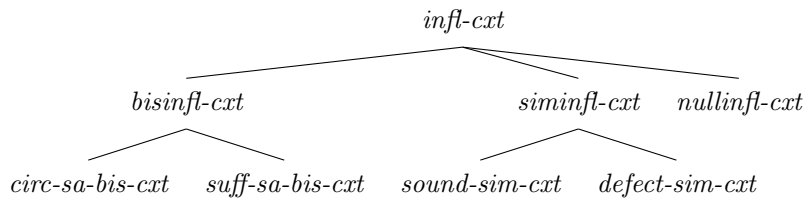
A.1.8 *focus-cl*



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

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

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

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

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

A.2.4 agr-cat

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

A.3 General Types

$$\textit{subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow []$$

$$\textit{intransitive-subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SET-A} & 0 \\ \text{AGR-B} & \textit{none} \\ \text{STATUS} & \textit{inc} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\textit{transitive-subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SET-A} & + \\ \text{ARG-B} & \textit{agr-cat} \\ \text{STATUS} & \textit{sbj} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\textit{non-subjunctive-controllee-verb} \Rightarrow []$$

A.4 Lexical-Class Constructions

$$\textit{lexeme} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SELECT} & \textit{/none} \\ \text{PRED} & \textit{/} \\ \text{SET-A} & \textit{/} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MRKG} & \textit{/unmk} \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \textit{/none} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \textit{/none} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \textit{/} \langle \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\textit{set-a-lexeme} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{set-a} \\ \text{SELECT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-A} & \textit{1} \\ \text{MRKG} & \textit{sa-sel} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{AGR-A} & \textit{1agr-cat} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MRKG} & \textit{set-a} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

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

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

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

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

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

$$\textit{alienable-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\text{CAT} \left[\text{AGR-A} \quad \textit{none} \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\textit{inalienable-noun-lexeme} \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \left[\text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SET-A} \quad \textit{\neq} \\ \text{AGR-A} \quad \textit{1} \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\left[\text{MRKG} \quad \textit{inal} \right]$$

$$\left[\text{ENQ-D} \quad \textit{optional} \right]$$

$$\left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \text{NP} \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad \textit{1} \right], \dots \right\rangle \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.5 Combinatoric Constructions

A.5.1 Phrasal Constructions

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

$$\textit{headed-ctx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad / \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} \quad / \boxed{2} \\ \text{MRKG} \quad / \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad / \boxed{1} \\ \text{VAL} \quad / \boxed{2} \\ \text{MRKG} \quad / \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{distal-queue-ctx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad F_{\max}(\underline{1}, \underline{2}, \dots, \underline{n-1}, \underline{n}) \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \underline{n} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \underline{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \underline{n-1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \underline{n} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \underline{n} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{head-functor-ctx} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[\text{MRKG} \quad \underline{1} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SELECT} \quad \underline{2} \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \underline{1} \end{array} \right], \underline{2} \right\rangle \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \underline{2} \end{array} \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$\textit{agent-focus-main-cl} \Rightarrow []$$

$$\textit{other-focus-main-cl} \Rightarrow []$$

$$\textit{agent-focus-relative-cl} \Rightarrow []$$

$$\textit{other-focus-relative-cl} \Rightarrow []$$

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

A.5.2 Lexical Constructions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.6 Example Listemes

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{det-}lxm \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{le} \rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SELECT} \quad \left[\text{PRED} \quad - \right] \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{le} \\ \text{END-Q} \quad \text{speech-sit} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{al-noun-}lxm \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{bu'ul} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{pron-}lxm \\ \text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{lela}' \rangle \\ \text{SYN} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[\text{AGR-B} \quad 3sg \right] \\ \text{ENQ-D} \quad a' \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad a' \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.7 Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

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