

§2

- (1) *Taava takulirpaa qimmiaraq pituutaqarani*
taava taku-lir-pa-a qimmi-araq pitug-ut-qar-na-ni
 then see-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG dog-little.SG harness-V\obl-have-NON-3SG_T
ingirlaniataaqisuq.
ingirla-niataar-qi-tu-q
 travel-struggle.hard-very-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 Then he saw the pup, without a trace, struggling very hard to keep up.
- (2) *Qimmit unitsinnaraluarpai qimmiaraq utirtinnarlugu.*
qimmiq-t unig-tit-niar-galuar-pa-i qimmiq-araq utir-tit-niar-llu-gu
 dog-PL stop-cause-try-galuar-IND.TV-3SG.3PL dog-little.SG return-cause-intend-ELA_T-3SG₁
 He tried to stop the dogs to make the pup go back.
- (3) *Kisianni nunaqarvitsik ungasilliriiramikku ilaginnarpaa.*
kisianni nunaqarvik-rtik ungasig-llir-riir-ga-mikku ilaginnar-pa-a
 but village-3PL_T.SG be.far-get.more-be.already-FCT_T-3PL_T.3SG let.be-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 But they had already come far from their village, so he let him be.
- (4) “*Anusinnurniassaaq,*” *imminut uqarvigaaq.*
anusinnur-niar-ssa-pu-q immi-nut uqar-vigi-pu-q
 learn.from.mistake-intended-prospect-IND.IV-3SG self-SG.DAT say-to-IND.IV-3SG
 “Let him learn from his mistake,” he said to himself.
- (5) “*Qasuliruni kinguarumaarpuq.*”
qasu-lir-gu-ni kinguar-jumaar-pu-q
 be.tired-begin-HYP_T-3SG_T fall.behind-expected-IND.IV-3SG
 “When/if he gets tired, he’ll fall behind.”

§3

- (1) *Piniartup piniarvissani sikup sinaava*
pi-niar-tuq-p pi-niar-vik-ssaq-ni siku-p sina-a
 n-hunt-iv\sub-SG.ERG n-hunt-iv\loc-prospective-3SG_T.SG ice-SG.ERG edge-3SG_L.SG
tikikkamiuk qimmini aqupisippai.
tikit-ga-miuk qimmiq-ni aqupi-tit-pa-i
 come.to-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG_L dog-3SG_T.PL sit-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 When the hunter arrived at the ice edge where he was going to hunt, he got his dogs to sit.
- (2) *Taava sikup sinaanukarpuq qamaniarluni.*
taava siku-p sina-a-nut=kar-pu-q qama-niar-llu-ni
 then ice-SG.ERG edge-3SG_L.SG-DAT=go-IND.IV-3SG lie.in.wait-intend-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Then he went to the edge of the ice to lie in wait.
- (3) *Puisit ungasartumiittut takusaraluarpai,*
puisi-t ungasig-ar-tuq-mi=it-tuq-t taku-tar-galuar-pa-i
 seal-PL be.far.a.bit-iv-iv\sub-SG.LOC=be-iv\sub-PL see-habit-galuar-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
siqqurnirli ajurpuq.
siqqur-niq=li ajur-pu-q
 shoot-v\N=but never.do-IND.IV-3SG
 He saw distant seals now and then, but didn't shoot.
- (4) *Taamaalluni puisi ungasigani puivuuq.*
taama=it-llu-ni puisi ungasig-na-ni pui-pu-q
 thus=be-ELA_T-3SG_T seal be.far-NON-3SG_T pop.up(from.water)-IND.IV-3SG
 Then a seal popped up nearby.
- (5) *Ummiuppaa.*
ummiut-pa-a
 take.aim.at-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He took aim at it.
- (6) *Tassalu nusuttakkani nusuliraa*
tassa=lu nusuttagaq-ni nusug-lir-ga-a
 that=and trigger-3SG_T.SG pull-begin-ELA_L.TV-3SG.3SG
tunuani tassanngaannaq qimmiq qilulirpuq.
tunu-a-ni tassanngaannaq qimmiq qilug-lir-pu-q
 behind-3SG_L.SG suddenly dog bark-begin-IND.IV-3SG.
 And then, just as he put his finger on the trigger, a dog suddenly started barking behind him.
- (7) *Tassa Paakujuup puisi allagalugu qilulirsimagaa.*
tassa Paakujuk-p puisi allagi-llu-gu qilug-lir-sima-ga-a
 that.be Paakujuk-SG.ERG seal.SG find.strange-ELA_T-3SG_L bark-begin-prf-ELA_L.TV-3SG_L.3SG
 It was Paakujuk, which had found the seal strange and started barking at it.
- (8) *Suurunami puisi kalirrilluni aqqarpuq.*
suurunami puisi kalirrig-llu-ni aqqar-pu-q
 of.course seal get.alert-ELA_T-3SG_T dive.down-IND.IV-3SG
 Of course, the seal, alerted, dove down.

§4

- (1) *Piniartup qimmiaraq uumitsaappaa*
pi-niar-tuq qimmiq-araq uumi-tsag-ut-pa-a
 n-hunt-iv\sub.SG dog-little.SG be.angry.at-get-iv\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
qilurianngippat puisi pisarissagaluaramiuk.
qilug-riar-nngit-pp-at puisi pisari-ssa-galuar-ga-miuk
 bark-stage1-be.not-HYP₁-3SG₁ seal catch-prospect-galuar-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 The hunter got angry with the pup, for if it hadn't said woof he would've got the seal.
- (2) *Paakujuk tiguriarlugu naviirpaa.*
Paakujuk tigu-riar-llu-gu naviir-pa-a
 Paakujuk take-stage1-ELA_T-3SG₁ scold-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Grabbing hold of Paakujuk, he scolded it.
- (3) *Qimmiaraq qiluriaqqinngilaq.*
qimmiq-araq qilug-riar-nngit-la-q
 dog-little.SG bark-stage1-be.not-NEG-3SG
 The pup did not woof again.
- (4) *Piniarturlu ataatsimik puisippuq.*
pi-niar-tuq=lu ataasiq-mik puisig-pu-q
 n-hunt-iv\sub.SG=and one-SG.MOD seal-kill-IND.IV-3SG
 And the hunter got one seal.

$\tau w \in \tau p_0$

- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter at s_0 -loc = Paakujuk's hm

§1

- (1) day- -PL.ERG
 $[t \text{ *}day_{d_\omega} t]; [d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma]; [T]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \text{MIN } \uparrow d\tau]; [PL \ d\tau t];$
- part- -3PL $_{\perp}$.SG -LOC
 $[T \text{ SOME}(d\tau t, T)]; [\partial(PL \ d\tau t_1)]; [SG \ d\tau t]; [t \ t = \cup d\tau t]; [t \ t \subseteq d\tau];$
- dog-little- -SG T Paakujuk
 $[*pup_{d_\omega} \langle EXP \ d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [a \ a =_{d_\omega} EXP \ d\sigma]; [3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha]; [EXP \ d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\beta\alpha \langle Paakujuk \rangle];$
- master- -3SG $_{\tau}$.SG.ERG
 $[a \ \text{*}master.of_{d_\omega} \langle a, EXP \ d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]; [EXP \ d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha, 3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha];$
- father- -3SG $_{\perp}$.SG
 $[s \ \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma]; [*father.of_{d_\omega} \langle EXP \ d\sigma, d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]; [a \ EXP \ d\sigma =_{d_\omega} a, 3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ a];$
- [[set.out-
 $[E \ w \ travel_w \langle E, AGT \rangle]; [e \ e =_{d_\omega} BEG \ d\exists, AGT \ e =_{d_\omega} AGT \ d\exists];$
- prospect
 $[s \ \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta CON BEG \ d\sigma, BEG \ d\sigma \bullet <_{d_\omega} d\epsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, EXP \ s =_{d_\omega} AGT \ d\epsilon];$
 $[p \ p \in BEL_{d_\omega} BEG \ d\sigma \cup DES_{d_\omega} BEG \ d\sigma]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\omega];$
- ELA $_{\tau}$ -3SG
 $[d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, EXP \ d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]$
- harness- -process
 $[e \ a \ | \ harness_{d_\omega} \langle e, AGT, a \rangle]; [E \ \langle E, \bullet <_{d_\omega} \rangle]; [d\exists =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \uparrow d\epsilon];$
- antip -prf $_E$
 $[w \ w \in PER_{d_\omega} BEG \ d\exists]; [A]; [d\alpha t =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \uparrow d\alpha]; [s \ s =_{d_\omega} CON END \ d\exists, EXP \ s =_{d_\omega} AGT \ d\exists];$
- ELA $_{\perp}$.IV -3SG $_{\perp}$] (-ELA $_{\tau}$)
 $[a \ a = d\alpha]; [d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, EXP \ d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]; [d\sigma = d\sigma_1]; [a \ a = d\alpha_1];$
- dog- -PL.ERG
 $[a \ \text{*}dog_{d_\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [d\alpha = \cup d\alpha t]; [PL \ d\alpha t]$
- among- -3PL $_{\perp}$.SG.DAT
 $[l \ among_{d_\omega} \langle l, d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, l \subseteq_{d_\omega} \Pi d\sigma]; [\partial(3PL_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]; [e \ \neg(\Pi e \ O_{d_\omega} \ d\pi), \Pi CON \ e =_{d_\omega} d\pi];$
- enter-
 $[enter_{d_\omega} \langle d\epsilon, AGT, d\pi \rangle];$
- IND.IV
 $[\partial(speak_{d_\omega} \langle d\epsilon, AGT \rangle)]; [d\epsilon <_{d_\omega} d\epsilon, d\epsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, AGT \ d\epsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$
- 3SG] (-ELA $_{\perp}$)
 $[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\epsilon} \ d\alpha)]; [\vartheta d\epsilon =_{d_\omega} \vartheta BEG \ d\sigma]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{12}$

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- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P}$.
- t_{11} : day during $\vartheta_w s_0$
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq t_{11}$
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
- $a_2 = \text{fa. of } \tau a_1 \text{'s boy intends } p_{11}$
- E_{12} : a_2 harnesses [dogs] $a_3 = \cup A_3$
- e_{12} : pup τa_1 gets into $l_1 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{11}$,
among dogs a_3

$w_1 \in p_{11}$ (BEG_w s_{11} -intent)

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$s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
 BEG_{w1} s_{11} : immed. cause of e_{11}
 CON_{w1} BEG_{w1} s_{11}
 E_{11} : a_2 travels
 $e_{11} = \text{BEG}_{w1} E_1$

(2) sled.w.dogs-

-PL

=and

$[s | s =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [a | \text{sled.w.dogs}_{d_\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [3\text{PL}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha]; [t | t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma];$

set.out-

$[\text{travel}_{d_\omega} \langle d\exists_1, \text{EXP} \rangle]; [e | e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists_1, \text{EXP } e =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\exists_1];$

-FCT_⊥

-3PL_⊥

$[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [t | t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [\partial(3\text{PL}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)];$

pull.sled-

-iv\sub

$[E | \text{pull}_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, \text{THM} \rangle, \text{sled}_{d_\omega} \langle \text{THM } E, \vartheta E \rangle]; [s | \vartheta s \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\exists, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]; [a | \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} a];$

-3PL_⊥.PL.ERG

$[\partial(3\text{PL}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha_1)]; [d\alpha =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \cup \uparrow d\alpha]; [3\text{PL}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha];$

among-

-3PL_⊥.SG.DAT

$[l | \text{among}_{d_\omega} \langle l, d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, l \subseteq_{d_\omega} \Pi d\sigma]; [\partial(3\text{PL}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\Pi \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\pi \neq_{d_\omega} \Pi e];$

[get-

$[\Pi \text{CON } d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\pi, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } \text{CON } d\varepsilon];$

-ELA_τ

-3SG

$[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)];$

keep.up-

$[E | \text{keep.up.with}_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\exists \rangle];$

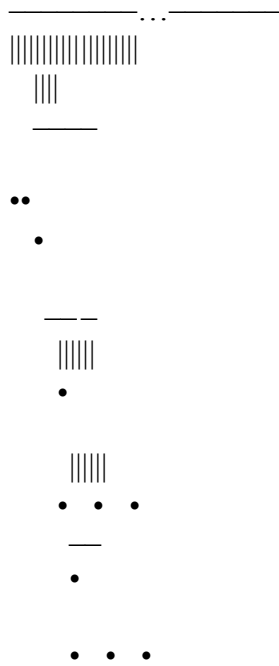
-IND.IV

$[\partial(\text{speake}_{d_\omega} \langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\exists <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$

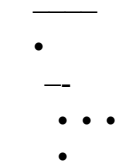
-3SG

] (-ELA_τ)

$[\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists];$

$\tau_w \in \tau_{p_2}$ 

- τ_{e_0} : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau_{t_0} = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau_{a_1} = \text{pup P.}$
- t_{11} : day during $\vartheta_w s_0$
- $\tau_{t_{12}} \subseteq t_{11}$
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
- $a_2 = \text{fa. of } \tau_{a_1}\text{'s boy intends } p_{11}$
- E_{12} : a_2 harnesses [dogs] $a_3 = \cup A_3$
- e_{12} : pup τ_{a_1} gets into $l_1 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{11}$, among dogs a_3
- $s_{21} = \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $\tau_{t_{21}} \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{21}$
- $e_{21} = \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$: driver $a_2 + \text{dogs } a_3$ set out on E_{11} -trip
- $\tau_{t_{22}} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{21}$
- E_{21} : dogs a_3 pull sled (E_{21} -theme)
- s_{22} : state of dogs a_3 during E_{21}
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_w E_{22}$: $\tau_{a_1} = \text{pup P.}$ gets into $l_2 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{22}$, among dogs a_3
- E_{22} : $\tau_{a_1} = \text{pup P.}$ keeps up with E_{21}

 $w_1 \in p_{11}$ (BEG_w s_{11} -intent)

- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
- BEG_{w1} s_{11} : immed. cause of e_{11}
- CON_{w1} BEG_{w1} s_{11}
- E_{11} : a_2 travels
- $e_{11} = \text{BEG}_{w1} E_1$

(3) be.half.dark-

 $[s | \text{half.dark.at}_{d_\omega} \langle s, d\pi \rangle];$

-FCT₁ -3SG₁
 $[\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \Pi d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\pi]; [\mathbf{t} | \mathbf{t} \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma]; [\partial(\Pi d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\pi)];$

[perceive- -passive
 $[w | w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; [s | a | \text{perceive}_{d_\omega} \langle s, \text{EXP}, a \rangle]; [s | \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$

-be.not

$[\text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]; [\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)];$
 $[s | \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$

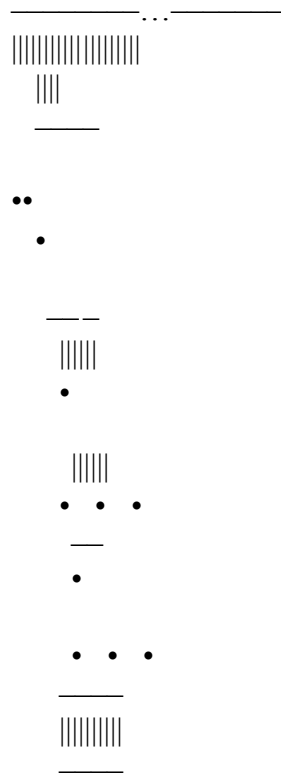
-NEG

$[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle, \mathbf{d}\omega \notin d\Omega)]; [\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$

-3SG

$[\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_3$



$w_3 \in p_3$



$w_1 \in p_{11}$ (BEG_w s₁₁-intent)



- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$
- t_{11} : day during $\vartheta_w s_0$
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq t_{11}$
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
- $a_2 = \text{fa. of } \tau a_1 \text{'s boy intends } p_{11}$
- E_{12} : a_2 harnesses [dogs] $a_3 = \cup A_3$
- e_{12} : pup τa_1 gets into $l_1 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{11}$, among dogs a_3
- $s_{21} = \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{21}$
- $e_{21} = \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$: $a_2 = \text{driver} + \text{dogs } a_3$ set out on E_{11} -trip
- $\tau t_{22} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{21}$
- E_{21} : dogs a_3 pull sled (E_{21} -theme)
- s_{22} : state of dogs a_3 during E_{21}
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_w E_{22}$: $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$ gets into $l_2 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{22}$, among dogs a_3
- E_{22} : $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$ keeps up with E_{21}
- s_{31} : half-dark at l_2
- $\tau t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{31}$
- s_{34} : state of pup τa_1 dur. s_{33} , unseen

$\tau t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{31}$

s_{32} : s_{32} -exp perceives pup τa_1

s_{33} : state of pup τa_1 during s_{32}

$s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$

BEG_{w1} s₁₁: immed. cause of e_{11}

CON_{w1} BEG_{w1} s₁₁

E_{11} : a_2 travels

$e_{11} = \text{BEG}_{w1} E_1$

(4) first.then

$[\partial(\text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, d\omega \notin \mathbf{d}\Omega)]; [e | e \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau <_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } e]; [\mathbf{t} | \mathbf{t} =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon + \vartheta \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon];$

ice-

-SG.DAT

$[s | s =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [l | \text{ice}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle l, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, \Pi d\sigma \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} l]; [\Pi d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\pi]; [\Pi \text{CON } d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\pi \neq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \Pi d\varepsilon];$

come.out.into.open-

-be.already

$[\partial(\text{open.space}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle d\pi \rangle)]; [E | \text{come.to}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\pi \rangle]; [d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{CON END } d\exists, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists];$

-ELA_T-3PL_T

$[\mathbf{a} | \mathbf{a} = d\alpha_1]; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)];$

n-

$[s | w | *inanimate_w \langle \text{THM } s, \vartheta s \rangle];$

-hunt

$[\text{catch.of}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \text{THM } d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [E | p | \text{CON END } E =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{hunt}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle, p \in \text{INT}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\exists} \uparrow d\omega];$

-iv\sub

-SG.ERG

$[s | \vartheta s \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta d\exists, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]; [\mathbf{a} | \mathbf{a} =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma, 3\text{SG}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{a}];$

dog-

-3SG_T.PL

$[*dog_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [{}^\sigma a | {}^\sigma a: d\sigma \rightarrow_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\alpha]; [\text{PL } d\alpha];$

perceive.too.many-

$[d\omega \in \cap \text{BEL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists]; [{}^{\omega\sigma} a | {}^{\omega\sigma} a: d\omega \rightarrow d\sigma\alpha];$

$[s | \mathbf{d}\omega \in \text{PER}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{BEG } s, \#(d\omega\sigma\alpha \langle d\omega, \text{CON BEG } d\exists \rangle) < \#(d\omega\sigma\alpha \langle \mathbf{d}\omega, s \rangle)];$

-begin

$[e | e =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } e =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$

-ELA_T-3PL_L] (-ELA_T)

$[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{EXP } d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [a | a = d\omega\sigma\alpha \langle \mathbf{d}\omega, d\sigma \rangle]; [\partial(3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\vartheta d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta \text{BEG } d\sigma_3];$

count-

-begin

$[E | \text{count}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle]; [e | e =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } e =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists];$

-IND.TV

$[\partial(\text{speak}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [d\varepsilon <_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$

-3SG.3PL

] (-ELA_T)

$[\partial(3\text{SG}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha, 3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\varepsilon_1];$

ten-

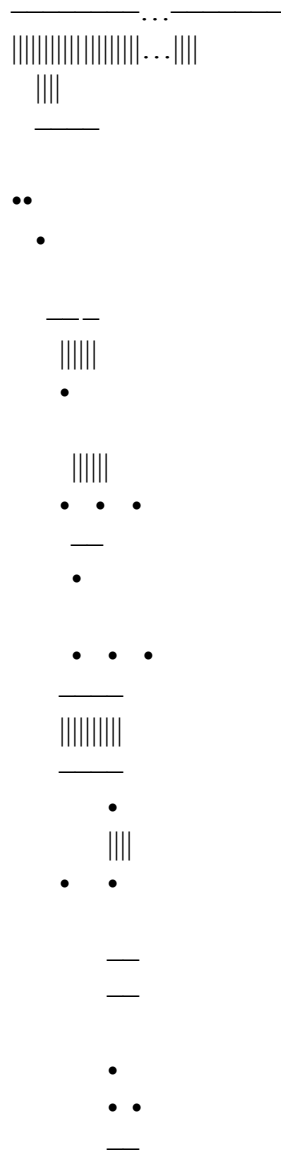
-be

$[d\alpha = d\omega\sigma\alpha \langle \mathbf{d}\omega, d\sigma \rangle, \#(\text{MIN } d\alpha) = 10]; [s | \text{EXP } s =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\alpha];$

-ELA_L-3PL_L] (-ELA_L)

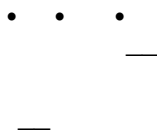
$[\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\vartheta \text{BEG } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon];$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{42}$



- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$
- t_{11} : day during $\vartheta_w s_0$
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq t_{11}$
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{12}$
- $a_2 = \text{fa. of } \tau a_1 \text{'s boy intends } p_{11}$
- E_{12} : a_2 harnesses [dogs] $a_3 = \cup A_3$
- e_{12} : pup τa_1 gets into $l_1 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{11}$, among dogs a_3
- $s_{21} = \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{21}$
- $e_{21} = \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$: $a_4 = \text{man } a_2 + \text{dogs } a_3$ set out on E_{11} -trip
- $\tau t_{22} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{21}$
- E_{21} : dogs a_3 pull sled (E_{21} -theme)
- s_{22} : state of dogs a_3 during E_{21}
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_w E_{22}$: $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$ gets into $l_2 \subseteq \Pi_w s_{22}$, among dogs a_3
- E_{22} : $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$ keeps up with E_{21}
- s_{31} : half-dark at l_2
- $\tau t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{31}$
- s_{34} : state of pup τa_1 dur. s_{33} , unseen
- e_{41} : end of s_{34}
- $\tau t_4 = \vartheta_w e_{41} + \vartheta \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- E_{41} : $\tau a_4 = \text{man } a_2 + \text{dogs}$ drive out onto open ice l_4
- $s_{41} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_{41}$: state of a_4
- s_{43} : sta of τa_2 dur s_{41} , τa_4 believes w_{41} perceives too many ${}^{\omega\sigma}a_4$ -dogs
- $e_{41} = \text{BEG}_w s_{43} = \text{BEG}_w E_{43}$
- E_{43} : τa_2 counts ${}^{\omega\sigma}a_4$ -dogs (in w) in s_{43}
- s_{44} : $10 {}^{\omega\sigma}a_4$ -dogs (in w) in s_{43}

$w_{41} \in p_{41}$ (BEG_w E_{42} -intent)
 $w_{41} \in \cap \text{BEL}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{42}$ (BEG_w E_{42} -beliefs)



- E_{42} : man a_2 hunts
- $s_{42} = \text{CON}_{w_{41}} \text{END}_{w_{41}} E_{42}$: man a_2 has caught s_{42} -theme
- $\text{CON}_{w_{41}} \text{BEG}_{w_{41}} E_{42}$: a_2 w. $n {}^{\omega\sigma}a_4$ -dogs

$w_3 \in p_3$



- $\tau t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{31}$
- s_{32} : s_{32} -exp perceives pup τa_1
- s_{33} : state of pup τa_1 during s_{32}

- (5) **nine-** **-be**
 $[a \mid a = d\omega\sigma\alpha \langle d\omega, d\sigma \rangle, \# \langle \text{MIN } a \rangle = 9]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha];$
- iv\sub**
 $[\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha];$
- prospective**
 $[s \mid \vartheta s =_{\{d\omega, d\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON BEG } d\partial_2 + \vartheta d\sigma, \text{BEG } d\partial_2 \bullet <_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } s =_{d\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$
 $[d\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\partial_2 \cup \text{DES}_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\partial_2]; [d\Omega =_{d\omega, d\partial_2} \uparrow d\omega];$
- be**
 $[\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$
- galuar**
 $[Q \mid \text{SOME} \langle \text{BEL}_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\partial_2, Q \rangle]; [d\Omega = \text{MIN}_{d\Omega} d\Omega]; [d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)];$
- IND.IV**
 $[A \mid A = \text{MIN } \uparrow d\alpha];$
 $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d\omega} \langle d\epsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d\omega} d\epsilon, d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} \cup d\alpha t]; [\mathbf{p}]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$
- 3PL**
 $[\partial(3\text{PL}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} \cup d\alpha t)];$

§2

(1) then

[t| t $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ CON d ϵ];

[see- -begin

[e a| see $_{d\omega}$ (e, EXP, a)]; [e| e = $_{d\omega}$ BEG CON d ϵ , EXP e = $_{d\omega}$ EXP d ϵ];

-IND.TV

[∂ (speak $_{d\omega}$ (d ϵ , AGT))]; [d ϵ < $_{d\omega}$ d ϵ , d ϵ $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ d τ , EXP d ϵ = $_{d\omega}$ d α]; [p]; [d Ω = \uparrow d ω];

-3SG.3SG

[∂ (3SG $_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$ d α , 3SG $_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$ d α)]; [\neg (d α O d α)];

pup-

-SG

[s| ϑ s = $_{d\omega}$ ϑ CON d ϵ_1]; [*pup $_{d\omega}$ (d α , ϑ d σ)]; [d α = d α_2]; [3SG $_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$ d α];

[harness-

[w| w \in d Ω]; [t| t $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ \cup d τ]; [e| harness $_{d\omega}$ (e, AGT, d α)];

v\obl

-have

[ϑ d σ $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ ϑ CON d ϵ , EXP d σ = $_{d\omega}$ d α]; [b| use $_{d\omega}$ (d ϵ , AGT, b)]; [WITH $_{d\omega}$ (d σ , EXP, d β)];]-NON $_{\tau}$ [a| a = d α];[d τ $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ d σ , EXP d σ = $_{d\omega}$ d α]; [p]; [d Ω = \uparrow d ω]; [d ω \in (d Ω - d Ω)];-3SG $_{\tau}$ [∂ (3SG $_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$ d α)]

[[travel-

[\underline{E} SCALE(\underline{E} , struggle.more)]; [E| travel $_{d\omega}$ (E, AGT)];

]-struggle.hard

[(BEG d(\exists t)t = $_{d\omega}$ \uparrow d \exists), (BEG d(\exists t)t < $_{d(\exists)t}$ DEG d \exists)];

-very

[∂ (# d(\exists t)t \geq 3)]; [DEG d \exists = $_{d(\exists)t}$ END d(\exists t)t];-ELA $_{\perp}$.IV[a| a = d α];[BEG d \exists $\subseteq_{d\omega}$ d τ , AGT d \exists = $_{d\omega}$ d α];-3SG $_{\perp}$ [∂ (3SG $_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$ d α)]] (-NON $_{\tau}$)] (-ELA $_{\perp}$)[a| a = d α_1]; [ϑ d ϵ = $_{d\omega}$ ϑ BEG d \exists];

$${}^T w \in {}^T p_{12} \subseteq {}^T p_5 - p_{11}$$

⋮

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- ${}^T e_0$: e_0 -agt speaks up
- | ${}^T t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by ${}^T a_1 = \text{pup P}$.
- ⋮
- ${}^T t_{11} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- e_{11} : ${}^T a_2$ sees pup a_1
- $e_{12} = \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{11}$
- s_{11} : pup a_1 dur. $\text{CON}_w e_{11}$, w/o trace
- E_1 : pup a_1 runs, struggling v. hard

$$w_1 \in p_{11}$$

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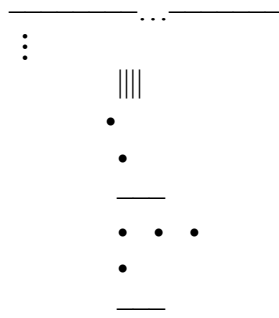
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- ${}^T t_{12} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- e_{13} : e_{13} -agt harnesses pup a_1 w/trace b_1
- s_{11} : pup a_1 (still) with trace b_1

- (2) dog- -PL
 $[a | *dog_{d_\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [d\alpha = \cup d\alpha t]; [3PL_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha];$
- stop- -cause
 $[e | stop_w \langle e, \text{AGT} \rangle]; [e | \text{BEG CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha, \neg(\text{AGT } e \text{ O}_{d_\omega} d\alpha)];$
-] -try
 $[E | \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [p | p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega];$
- galuar
 $[Q | \text{SOME}(\text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\varepsilon, Q)]; [p | p = \text{MIN}_{d_\Omega t} d\Omega]; [d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)];$
- IND.TV
 $[\partial(\text{speaks}_{d_\omega} \langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{BEG } d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$
- 3SG.3PL
 $[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha, 3PL_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\neg(d\alpha \text{ O } d\alpha)];$
- pup- -SG
 $[a | *pup_{d_\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [d\alpha = d\alpha_1]; [3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha];$
- go.back- -cause
 $[e | go.back_{d_\omega} \langle e, \text{AGT} \rangle]; [e | \text{BEG CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha, \neg(\text{AGT } e \text{ O}_{d_\omega} d\alpha)];$
-] -intend(ed)
 $[s | \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{BEG } d\varepsilon + \vartheta \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\varepsilon, \text{END } d\varepsilon \bullet <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } \text{END } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon];$
 $[d\Omega \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega];$
- ELA_T -3SG_⊥]
 $[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\text{BEG } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma]$

$${}^T w \in {}^T p_{23} = {}^T p_{12} - \text{MIN}_{Q2} {}^T p_{12}$$



- ${}^T e_0$: e_0 -agt speaks up
- | ${}^T t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by ${}^T a_1 = \text{pup P.}$
- ⋮
- ${}^T t_{11} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- e_{11} : ${}^T a_2$ sees pup a_1
- $e_{12} = \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{11}$
- s_{11} : pup a_1 dur. $\text{CON}_w e_{11}$, w/o trace
- E_1 : pup a_1 runs, struggling v. hard
- $\text{BEG}_w E_2$: ${}^T a_2$ acts, intends p_{21}
- s_2 : state of ${}^T a_2$ during
- $\vartheta \text{BEG}_w E_2 + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_2$

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$w_2 \in p_{21} \in Q_2$  (one  $\text{BEG}_w E_2$ -intent, unrealized in  $w$ )



- $E_2$ :  ${}^T a_2$  acts
- $\text{END}_{w_2} E_2 = e_{21}$ :  ${}^T a_2$  acts
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{21}$ : dogs  $a_3$  stop

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$w_2 \in p_{22} = \text{MIN}_{Q2} {}^T p_{12}$ (Q_2 -set of $\text{BEG}_w E_2$ -intents, unrealized in w)



- E_2 : ${}^T a_2$ acts
- $e_{21} = \text{END}_{w_2} E_2$: ${}^T a_2$ acts
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{21}$: dogs a_3 stop
- $e_{23} = \text{END}_{w_2} \{e_{21}, e_{23}\}$: ${}^T a_2$ acts
- $e_{24} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{23}$: pup a_1 goes bk

(3) but

$$[\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega_1 - \text{MIN}_{d\Omega t} \mathbf{d}\Omega_1)];$$

village.of-

$$[s | \vartheta s =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta d\sigma]; [l | *village_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle l, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, \text{live.in} \langle d\sigma, \text{EXP}, l \rangle];$$

-3PL_T.SG

$$[\partial(3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha + d\alpha)]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha + d\alpha]; [\text{SG} \langle d\pi, \uparrow d\pi \rangle];$$

be.far-

$$[\underline{S} | \text{SCALE} \langle \underline{S}, \text{farther.from}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\pi \rangle]; [s | \text{BEG } d(\sigma t) t <_{d(\sigma t)t} \text{DEG } s];$$

-get.more

$$[E | (\forall e, e' \in E: e \bullet <_{\mathbf{d}\omega} e' \rightarrow \text{DEG } \text{CON}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} e \bullet <_{d(\sigma t)t} \text{DEG } \text{CON}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} e'), \text{CON } \text{BEG } E =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$$

-be.already

$$[s | s =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{CON } \text{END } d\exists, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]$$

-FCT_T

$$[\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\pi \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha + d\alpha]; [\mathbf{t} | \mathbf{t} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\sigma];$$

-3PL_T.3SG

$$[\partial(3\text{PL}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha + d\alpha, \text{SG} \langle d\pi, \uparrow d\pi \rangle)];$$

let.be-

[$e \mid \text{let.be}_{d_0} \langle e, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle$];

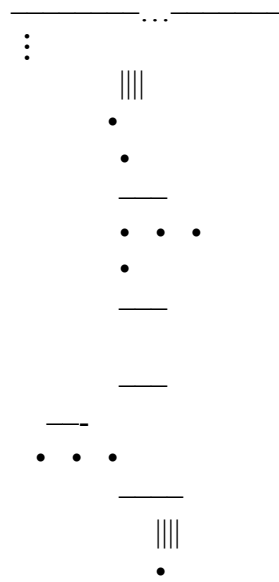
-IND.TV

[$\partial(\text{speak}_{d_0} \langle d\epsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)$]; [$d\epsilon <_{d_0} d\epsilon, d\epsilon \subseteq_{d_0} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d_0} d\alpha$]; [p]; [$d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega$];

-3SG.3SG

[$\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_0, d\epsilon} d\alpha, 3\text{SG}_{d_0, d\epsilon} d\alpha)$]; [$\neg(d\alpha \circ d\alpha)$]

$\tau_w \in \tau_{p_3}$



- τ_{e_0} : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau_{t_0} = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau_{a_1} = \text{pup P}$.
-
- $\tau_{t_{11}} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- e_{11} : τ_{a_2} sees pup a_1
- $e_{12} = \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{11}$
- s_{11} : pup a_1 dur. $\text{CON}_w e_{11}$, w/o trace
- E_1 : pup a_1 runs, struggling v. hard
- $\text{BEG}_w E_2$: τ_{a_2} acts, intends p_{21}
- s_2 : state of τ_{a_2} during
- $\vartheta \text{BEG}_w E_2 + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_2$
- s_{31} : $\tau_{a_2} + a_1$ live in village l_3
- $s_{32} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_3$
- E_3 : $\tau_{a_2} + a_1$ go farther & farther fr. l_3
- $s_{33} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_3$
- $\tau_{t_3} \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{33}$
- e_3 : man τ_{a_2} lets pup a_1 be

$w_2 \in p_{21} \in Q_2$ (one $\text{BEG}_w E_2$ -intent, unrealized in w)



- E_2 : τ_{a_2} acts
- $\text{END}_{w_2} E_2 = e_{21}$: τ_{a_2} acts
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{21}$: dogs a_3 stop

$w_2 \in p_{22} = \text{MIN}_{Q_2} \tau_{p_{12}}$ (Q_2 -set of $\text{BEG}_w E_2$ -intents, unrealized in w)



- E_2 : τ_{a_2} acts
- $e_{21} = \text{END}_{w_2} E_2$: τ_{a_2} acts
- $e_{22} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{21}$: dogs a_3 stop
- $e_{23} = \text{END}_{w_2} \{e_{21}, e_{23}\}$: τ_{a_2} acts
- $e_{24} = \text{BEG}_{w_2} \text{CON}_{w_2} e_{23}$: pup a_1 goes bk

(4) “

[e| *speak*_{d_ω}(e, AGT)]; [t| t =_{d_ω} θdε];

learn.from.mistake-

[e w| *learn.from.mistake*_w(e, EXP)];

-intended

[s| θs =_{d_ω, d_ω} θCON dε₁, dε₁ •_{<d_ω} dε ⊆_{d_ω} θCON dε₁, EXP s =_{d_ω} EXP dε];[p| p ∈ INT_{d_ω} dε₁]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d_ε} ↑dω];

-prospect

[θdσ =_{d_ω, d_ω} θCON dε₁, dε₁ •_{<d_ω} dε ⊆_{d_ω} θCON dε₁, EXP dσ =_{d_ω} EXP dε];[dΩ ∈ BEL_{d_ω} dε₁ ∪ DES_{d_ω} dε₁]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d_ε} ↑dω];

-IND.IV

[a| a = dα];

[∂(*speak*_{d_ω}(dε, AGT))]; [BEG dσ <_{d_ω} dε, dτ ⊆_{d_ω} dσ, EXP dσ =_{d_ω} dα]; [p]; [dΩ = ↑dω];

-3SG

[∂(3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα)];

”

[e| e = dε₁];

self-

-SG.DAT

[e| e = dε₁]; [a| a =_{d_ω} AGT dε]; [SG dα, EXP dε =_{d_ω} dα];

say-

-to

[*speak*_{d_ω}(dε, AGT)]; [EXP dε =_{d_ω} AGT dε]

-IND.IV

[∂(*speak*_{d_ω}(dε, AGT))]; [dε <_{d_ω} dε, dε ⊆_{d_ω} dτ₁, AGT dε =_{d_ω} dα]; [p]; [dΩ = ↑dω];

-3SG

[∂(3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα)]

(5) “

$$[\partial(\text{*speak*}_{d\omega}\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [e | e = d\varepsilon]; [t | t =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon];$$

be.tired-

-begin

$$[s | \text{*be.tired*}_{d\omega}\langle s, \text{EXP} \rangle]; [e | e =_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } e =_{d\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$$
-HYP_T[a | a = $\mathbf{d}\alpha_1$];
$$[d\varepsilon <_{d\omega} d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\varepsilon =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [t | t \subseteq_{d\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [d\omega \in \mathbf{d}\Omega_1]; [p]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$$

fall.behind-

$$[e | \text{*fall.behind*}_{d\omega}\langle e, \text{EXP} \rangle];$$

-expected

$$[s | \vartheta s =_{\{d\omega, d\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_3, d\varepsilon_3 \bullet <_{d\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} \text{EXP } d\varepsilon]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon];$$

$$[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$$

-IND.IV

$$[\partial(\text{*speak*}_{d\omega}\langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [p]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$$

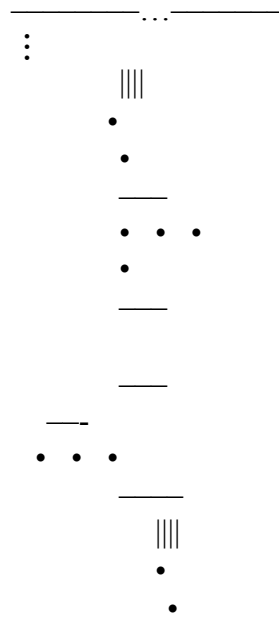
-3SG

$$[\partial(\text{3SG}_{d\omega, d\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)];$$

”

$$[e | e = \mathbf{d}\varepsilon_1]$$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{43}$



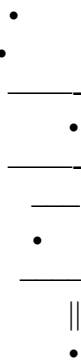
- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- s_0 : winter exp'ed by $\tau a_1 = \text{pup P.}$
-
- $\tau t_{11} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{41}$
- e_{11} : τa_2 sees pup a_1
- $e_{12} = \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{11}$
- s_{11} : pup a_1 dur. $\text{CON}_w e_{11}$, w/o trace
- E_1 : pup a_1 runs, struggling v. hard
- $\text{BEG}_w E_2$: τa_2 acts, intends p_{21}
- s_2 : state of τa_2 during
- $\vartheta \text{BEG}_w E_2 + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_2$
- s_{31} : $\tau a_2 + a_1$ live in village l_3
- $s_{32} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_3$
- E_3 : $\tau a_2 + a_1$ go farther & farther fr. l_3
- $s_{33} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_3$
- $\tau t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w s_{33}$
- e_3 : man τa_2 lets pup a_1 be
- e_{42} : man τa_2 says $(\tau)p_{52}$ to himself

$(\tau)w_{42} \in (\tau)p_{52}$ (e_{42} -self-addressed-speech)



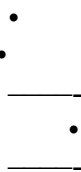
- τe_{42} : e_{42} -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_4 = \vartheta_{w4} e_{42}$
- s_{41} : state of pup a_1 dur $\vartheta_{w42} \text{CON}_{w42} e_3$

$w_{41} \in (\tau)p_{51} \subseteq p_{41}$ (e_{42} -belief)



- τe_{42} : e_{42} -agt speaks
- e_3 : τa_2 lets pup a_1 be, dir. cause of e_{41}
- $\text{CON}_{w41} e_3$
- e_{41} : pup a_1 learns from his mistake
- s_{41} : state of pup a_1 dur $\vartheta_{w41} \text{CON}_{w41} e_3$
- s_{51} : pup a_1 is tired
- $e_{51} = \text{BEG}_{w41} s_{51} \bullet_{w41} e_{52}$
- $\text{CON}_{w1} e_{42}$
- $t_5 \subseteq \vartheta_{w41} \text{CON}_{w41} e_{51}$
- e_{52} : pup a_1 falls behind

$w_{41} \in p_{41}$ (e_3 -intent & e_3 -belief-or-desire)



- τe_{42} : e_{42} -agt speaks
- e_3 : τa_2 lets pup a_1 be, dir. cause of e_{41}
- $\text{CON}_{w41} e_3$
- e_{41} : pup a_1 learns from his mistake
- s_{41} : state of pup a_1 dur $\vartheta_{w41} \text{CON}_{w41} e_3$

§3

(1) n-

[s w | *inanimate_w⟨THM s, ϑs⟩];

-hunt

[catch.of_{d_ω}⟨THM dσ, EXP dσ, ϑdσ⟩]; [E p | CON END E =_{d_ω} dσ, AGT E =_{d_ω} EXP dσ, hunt_{d_ω}⟨E, AGT⟩, p ∈ INT_{d_ω} BEG E]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d₃} dω]

-iv\sub

-SG.ERG^T[s | ϑs ⊆_{d_ω} ϑd∂, EXP s =_{d_ω} AGT d∂]; [EXP s =_{d_ω} dα₁]; [a | EXP dσ =_{d_ω} a]; [3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα];

n-

[*inanimate_{d_ω}⟨THM dσ₁, ϑdσ₁⟩];

-hunt

[catch.of_{d_ω}⟨THM dσ₁, EXP dσ₁, ϑdσ₁⟩]; [CON END d∂ =_{d_ω} dσ₁, AGT d∂ =_{d_ω} EXP dσ₁, hunt_{d_ω}⟨d∂, AGT⟩, dΩ ∈ INT_{d_ω} BEG d∂]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d₃} dω]

-iv\loc

[ϑdσ ⊆_{d_ω} ϑd∂, EXP dσ =_{d_ω} AGT d∂]; [l | l =_{d_ω} Πdσ];

-prospective

[s | ϑs =_{d_ω, d_ω} ϑCON BEG d∂, BEG d∂ •<_{d_ω} BEG dσ, EXP s =_{d_ω} EXP dσ];[dΩ ∈ BEL_{d_ω} BEG d∂ ∪ DES_{d_ω} BEG d∂]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d₃} dω];-3SG_T.SG[∂(3SG_{d_ω} dα)]; [EXP dσ =_{d_ω} dα, dπ =_{d_ω} Πdσ];

ice-

-SG.ERG

edge-

-3SG_L.SG[l | ice_{d_ω}⟨l, ϑdσ⟩]; [dπ =_{d_ω} Πd∂]; [l | *edge.of_{d_ω}⟨l, dπ, ϑdσ⟩]; [∂(dπ₁ =_{d_ω} Πd∂)]; [dπ =_{d_ω} Πdσ];

come.to-

[E | travel_{d_ω}⟨E, AGT⟩]; [e | e =_{d_ω} END d∂, AGT e =_{d_ω} AGT dε];-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG[dε <_{d_ω} dε, dε ⊆_{d_ω} dτ, AGT dε =_{d_ω} dα]; [t | t ⊆_{d_ω} CON dε]; [∂(3SG_{d_ω} dα, dπ =_{d_ω} Πdσ)];

if

[dΩ =_{d_ω} ↑dω];

dog-

-3SG_T.PL[*dog.of_{d_ω}⟨a, EXP dσ, ϑdσ⟩]; [∂(3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα)]; [EXP dσ =_{d_ω} dα, dα =_{d_ω, d_σ} ∪ ↑dα]; [3PL_{d_ω, d_ε} dα];

sit-

-cause

[s | sit_{d_ω}⟨s, EXP⟩]; [e | CON e =_{d_ω} dσ, EXP dσ =_{d_ω} dα, ¬(AGT e ○ dα)];

-IND.TV

[∂(speak_{d_ω}⟨dε, AGT⟩)]; [dε <_{d_ω} dε, dε ⊆_{d_ω} dτ, AGT dε =_{d_ω} dα]; [p]; [dΩ = ↑dω];

-3SG.3PL

[∂(3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα, 3PL_{d_ω, d_ε} dα)]; [¬(dα ○ dα)]

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{12}$
 \parallel
 $\frac{\quad}{\quad}$
 $\bullet\bullet$
 \bullet
 \parallel
 $\frac{\quad}{\quad}$
 \bullet
 $w_1 \in p_{11}$ (BEG_w E₁₁-intent)

 $\frac{\quad}{\quad}$
 $\bullet \bullet \bullet$
 $\frac{\quad}{\quad}$

- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- τt_{11}
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$: a_1 intends p_{11}
- E_{12} : hunter a_1 travels
- $e_{12} = \text{END}_w E_{12}$: τa_1 arrives at
the edge l_{12} of ice l_{11}
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $s_{13} = \text{CON}_w e_{13}$: the dogs a_2 of τa_1 sit
- e_{13} : act by τa_1

 $s_{11} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{END}_{w1} E_1$:
 hunter τa_1 has s_{11} -catch
 E_{11} : τa_1 hunts on ice l_{11}
 $s_{12} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{BEG}_{w1} E_{11}$

(2) then

 $[\mathbf{t} | \mathbf{t} \subseteq_{d\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } d\epsilon];$

 ice- -SG.ERG⁺
 $[\text{ice}_{d\omega} \langle d\pi_1, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [d\pi_1 =_{d\omega} \Pi d\delta];$

 edge- -3SG₁.SG -DAT
 $[\text{*edge.of}_{d\omega} \langle d\pi, d\pi_1, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [\partial(d\pi_1 =_{d\omega} \Pi d\delta)]; [d\pi =_{d\omega} \Pi d\sigma]; [e | \Pi \text{CON } e =_{d\omega} d\pi \neq_w \Pi e];$

 =go
 $[E | \text{END } E =_{d\omega} d\epsilon, \text{AGT } E =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\epsilon, \text{travel}_{d\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle, d\Omega \in \text{INT}_{d\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{d\omega, d\delta} \uparrow d\omega];$

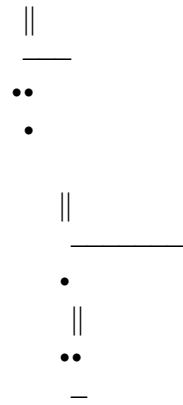
 -IND.IV -3SG
 $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\epsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{END } d\delta <_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\epsilon, \text{END } d\delta \subseteq_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\delta =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)];$

 lie.in.wait-
 $[E | \text{lie.in.wait}_{d\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle];$

 -intend(ed)
 $[s | \vartheta s = \{d\omega, d\omega\} \vartheta \text{CON BEG } d\delta_1, \text{BEG } d\delta_1 \bullet <_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\delta \subseteq_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\delta];$
 $[d\Omega \in \text{INT}_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\delta_1]; [d\Omega =_{d\omega, d\delta} d\omega];$

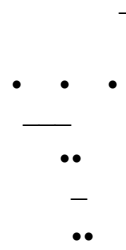
] (-ELA_T)
 $[d\sigma =_{d\omega} \text{CON BEG } d\delta_1]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_2$



- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \mathfrak{G}_w e_0$
- τt_{11}
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$: a_1 intends p_{11}
- E_{12} : hunter a_1 travels
- $e_{12} = \text{END}_w E_{12}$: τa_1 arrives at
the edge l_{12} of ice l_{11}
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq \mathfrak{G}_w \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $s_{13} = \text{CON}_w e_{13}$: the dogs a_2 of τa_1 sit
- e_{13} : act by τa_1
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \mathfrak{G}_w \text{CON}_w e_{13}$
- E_{21} : τa_1 goes to the edge l_{12} of ice l_{11}
- $s_2 = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$: $\tau a_1 = E_{21}$ -agt
(still) intends p_{11}

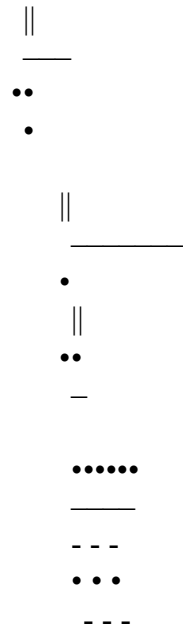
~~~~~  
 $w_1 \in p_{11}$  ( $\text{BEG}_w E_1$ -intent =  $\text{BEG}_w E_{21}$ -intent)



- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{END}_{w1} E_1$ :  
hunter  $\tau a_1$  has  $s_{11}$ -catch
- $E_{11}$ :  $\tau a_1$  hunts on ice  $l_{11}$
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{BEG}_{w1} E_{11}$
- $E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1$  goes to the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $\mathfrak{G}_{w1} s_2 = \mathfrak{G}_{w1} \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$
- $E_{22}$ :  $\tau a_1$  lies in wait

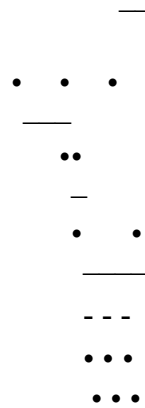
- (3) seal- -PL  
 $[s | \vartheta s =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\vartheta]$ ;  $[a | *seal_{d\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]$ ;  $[3PL_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha]$ ;
- be.far-  
 $[S | SCALE \langle S, farther.from d\pi \rangle]$ ;  $[BEG d(\sigma)t <_{d(\sigma)t} DEG d\sigma]$ ;
- a.bit -iv\sub  
 $[S | BEG d(\sigma)t \bullet <_{d(\sigma)t} S]$ ;  $[DEG d\sigma =_{d(\sigma)t} d\sigma t]$ ;  $[DEG d\sigma =_{d(\sigma)t} d\sigma t]$ ;
- SG.LOC =be -iv\sub -PL  
 $[t | t \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma]$ ;  $[EXP d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$ ;  $[EXP d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$ ;  $[A]$ ;  $[d\alpha t =_{d\omega, d\sigma} \uparrow d\alpha]$ ;  $[PL d\alpha t]$ ;
- see- -habit  
 $[e | see_{d\omega} \langle e, AGT, a \rangle]$ ;  $[d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau, AGT d\epsilon =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$ ;  $[e | \tau e: d\tau \rightarrow_{d\omega} d\epsilon]$ ;  $[T]$ ;  $[d\tau t =_{d\omega, d\tau\epsilon} \uparrow d\tau]$ ;
- galuar**  
 $[Q | SOME \langle INT_{d\omega} BEG d\vartheta, Q \rangle]$ ;  $[d\Omega = MIN_{d\Omega} d\Omega]$ ;  $[d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)]$ ;
- IND.TV  
 $[\partial(speak_{d\omega} \langle d\epsilon, AGT \rangle)]$ ;  $[BEG d\tau\epsilon <_{d\omega} d\epsilon, d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau\epsilon, AGT d\tau\epsilon =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$ ;  $[d\tau\epsilon: d\tau \rightarrow_{d\omega} d\epsilon]$ ;  
 $[p]$ ;  $[d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$ ;
- 3SG.3PL  
 $[\partial(3SG_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha, PL d\alpha t)]$ ;  $[d\alpha t =_{d\omega, d\tau\epsilon} \uparrow d\alpha]$ ;
- [ shoot-  
 $[w | w \in d\Omega]$ ;  $[e | shoot_{d\omega} \langle e, AGT, d\alpha \rangle]$ ;
- v\n  
 $[d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} CON d\epsilon_1, AGT d\epsilon =_{d\omega} AGT d\tau\epsilon]$ ;  $[e | \tau e: \vartheta CON d\epsilon_1 \rightarrow_{d\omega, d\tau\epsilon} d\epsilon]$ ;  $[d\Omega =_{d\omega, d\tau\epsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$ ;
- =but  
 $[d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)]$ ;
- ] never.do-  
 $[s | \tau s: \vartheta CON d\epsilon_1 \rightarrow_{d\omega, d\tau\epsilon} CON d\epsilon_1]$ ;  $[d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)]$ ;
- IND.IV  
 $[\partial(speak_{d\omega} \langle d\epsilon, AGT \rangle)]$ ;  $[BEG d\tau\sigma <_{d\omega} d\epsilon, d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau\sigma, EXP d\tau\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha]$ ;  $[d\tau\sigma: d\tau \rightarrow_{d\omega} d\sigma]$ ;  
 $[p]$ ;  $[d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$ ;
- 3SG  
 $[\partial(3SG_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha)]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{32}$



- $\tau e_0$ :  $e_0$ -agt speaks up
- |  $\tau t_0 = \mathfrak{D}_w e_0$
- $\tau t_{11}$
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$ :  $a_1$  intends  $p_{11}$
- $E_{12}$ : hunter  $a_1$  travels
- $e_{12} = \text{END}_w E_{12}$ :  $\tau a_1$  arrives at the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq \mathfrak{D}_w \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $s_{13} = \text{CON}_w e_{13}$ : the dogs  $a_2$  of  $\tau a_1$  sit
- $e_{13}$ : act by  $\tau a_1$
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \mathfrak{D}_w \text{CON}_w e_{13}$
- $E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1$  goes to the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $s_2 = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1 = E_{21}$ -agt (still) intends  $p_{11}$
- $E_{22}$ :  $\tau a_1$  lies in wait
- $s_{31}$ : state co-temporal with  $E_{22}$
- $s_{32}$ : seal  $S_3$ -far from  $l_{12}$  on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $\tau e_{31}$ :  $\tau a_1$  sees  $s_{32}$ -seal
- $\tau s_3$ :  $\tau a_1$  does not shoot  $s_{32}$ -seal

$w_1 \in p_{11}$  ( $\text{BEG}_w E_{22} = \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$ -intent =  $\text{BEG}_w E_1$ -intent)



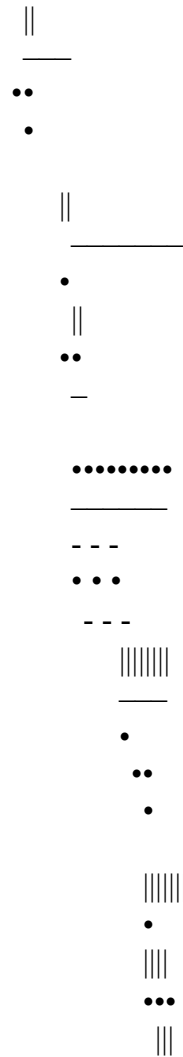
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{END}_{w1} E_1$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  has  $s_{11}$ -catch
- $E_{11}$ :  $\tau a_1$  hunts on ice  $l_{11}$
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_{w1} \text{BEG}_{w1} E_{11}$
- $E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1$  goes to the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $\mathfrak{D}_{w1} s_2 = \mathfrak{D}_{w1} \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$
- $E_{22}$ :  $\tau a_1$  lies in wait
- $s_{31} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{22}$
- $s_{32}$ : seal  $S_3$ -far from  $l_{12}$  on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $\tau e_{31}$ :  $\tau a_1$  sees  $s_{32}$ -seal
- $\tau e_{32}$ :  $\tau a_1$  shoots  $s_{32}$ -seal

- (4) [thus =be  
 [t| t  $\subseteq_{d\omega}$   $\vartheta d\exists$ ]; [s|  $\vartheta s =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ ]  
 -ELA<sub>T</sub> -3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 [**d** $\tau \subseteq_{d\omega}$   $d\sigma$ ,  $\vartheta d\sigma =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ ]; [ $\partial(\vartheta d\sigma =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ )];  
 seal- -SG  
 [seal<sub>d $\omega$</sub> (EXP  $d\sigma$ ,  $\vartheta d\sigma$ )]; [**a**| EXP  $d\sigma =_{d\omega}$  **a**, 3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\epsilon$</sub>  **a**];  
 [ be.far-  
 [w| w  $\in$  **d** $\Omega$ ]; [t| t  $\subseteq_{d\omega}$   $\cup$  **d** $\tau$ ]; [**S**| SCALE(**S**, *farther.from*  $d\pi$ )]; [BEG  $d(\sigma)t <_{d(\sigma)t}$  DEG  $d\sigma$ ];  
 ]-NON<sub>T</sub> -3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 [**d** $\tau \subseteq_{d\omega}$   $d\sigma$ , EXP  $d\sigma =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\alpha$ ]; [**p**]; [**d** $\Omega = \uparrow d\omega$ ]; [**d** $\omega \in$  (**d** $\Omega - d\Omega$ )]; [ $\partial(\vartheta d\sigma =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ )];  
 pop.up-  
 [e| *pop.up*<sub>d $\omega$</sub> (e, AGT)];  
 -IND.IV  
 [ $\partial(\textit{speake}$ <sub>d $\omega$</sub> (**d** $\epsilon$ , AGT))]; [ $d\epsilon <_{d\omega}$  **d** $\epsilon$ ,  $d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ , AGT  $d\epsilon =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\alpha$ ]; [**p**]; [**d** $\Omega = \uparrow d\omega$ ];  
 -3SG ] (-ELA)  
 [ $\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$  **d** $\alpha$ )]; [ $d\epsilon =_{d\omega}$  BEG  $d\sigma$ ];
- (5) take.aim.at-  
 [E a| *take.aim.at*<sub>d $\omega$</sub> (E, AGT, a)];  
 -IND.TV  
 [**a**| **a** = **d** $\alpha_1$ ,  $d\alpha =$  **d** $\alpha$ ];  
 [ $\partial(\textit{speake}$ <sub>d $\omega$</sub> (**d** $\epsilon$ , AGT))]; [BEG  $d\exists <_{d\omega}$  **d** $\epsilon$ , BEG  $d\exists \subseteq_{d\omega}$  **d** $\tau$ , AGT  $d\exists =_{d\omega}$  **d** $\alpha$ ]; [**p**]; [**d** $\Omega = \uparrow d\omega$ ];  
 -3SG.3SG  
 [ $\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon}$  **d** $\alpha$ , 3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\epsilon$</sub>   $d\alpha$ )]; [ $\neg(\mathbf{d}\alpha \circ d\alpha)$ ];



- (6) that =and  
 $[e | e =_{d\omega} \text{END } d\exists]; [t | t =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\epsilon + \vartheta \text{CON } d\epsilon];$   
 trigger- -3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG  
 $[s | \vartheta s =_{d\omega} d\tau]; [b | *trigger_{d\omega}(b, \vartheta d\sigma)]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha)]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha, \text{SG } d\beta];$   
 pull- -begin  
 $[e w | pull_w(e, \text{AGT}, d\beta)]; [e p | e \bullet_{<d\omega} d\epsilon, \text{AGT } e =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\epsilon, p \in \text{INT}_{d\omega} e]; [d\Omega =_{d\omega, d\epsilon} \uparrow d\omega];$   
 -ELA<sub>1</sub>.TV -3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG  
 $[a | a = d\alpha]; [d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha, \text{SG } d\beta)];$   
 behind-  
 $[l | space.behind_{d\omega}(l, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma)];$   
 -3SG.SG -LOC  
 $[\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha)]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha]; [s | \Pi s \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau];$   
 suddenly  
 $[e | surprise_{d\omega}(e, \text{AGT } d\epsilon), \vartheta e =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\epsilon]; [t | t =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\epsilon + \vartheta \text{BEG CON } d\epsilon];$   
 dog- -SG  
 $[*dog_{d\omega}(\text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma)]; [a | \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} a, 3\text{sg}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} a];$   
 bark- -begin  
 $[E | bark_{d\omega}(E, \text{AGT})]; [d\epsilon =_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists];$   
 -IND.IV  
 $[\partial(speak_{d\omega}(d\epsilon, \text{AGT}))]; [d\epsilon <_{d\omega} d\epsilon, d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$   
 -3SG ] (-ELA<sub>1</sub>)  
 $[\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha)]; [\vartheta d\epsilon = \vartheta d\epsilon_2]$
- (7) that.be  
 $[p | p \in \text{BEL}_{d\omega} \text{BEG CON } d\epsilon, d\omega \in p]; [w | w \in d\Omega]; [t | t \subseteq_{d\omega} \text{CON } d\epsilon];$   
 [Paakujuk- -SG.ERG  
 $[s | \text{EXP } s =_{d\omega} d\beta\alpha(\text{Paakujuk})]; [\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha, 3\text{sg}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha];$   
 seal- -SG  
 $[a | *seal_{d\omega}(a, \vartheta d\sigma)]; [d\alpha = d\alpha_1]; [3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha];$   
 consider.strange- -ELA<sub>T</sub>  
 $[consider.strange_{d\omega}(d\sigma, \text{EXP}, d\alpha)]; [d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\alpha];$   
 bark.at- -begin -prf  
 $[bark.at_{d\omega}(d\exists, \text{AGT}, d\alpha)]; [d\epsilon =_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]; [s | s =_{d\omega} \text{CON } d\epsilon, \text{EXP } s =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\epsilon];$   
 -ELA<sub>1</sub>.TV -3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG  
 $[a | a = d\alpha]; [d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} d\sigma]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha, 3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} d\alpha_1)]; [\neg(d\alpha \text{O } d\alpha_1)];$   
 ] (that.be)  
 $[d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_7$



$w_7 \in p_7$  (BEG<sub>w</sub> CON<sub>w</sub> e<sub>63</sub>-realization)



$w_6 \in p_{61}$  (e<sub>61</sub>-intent)



- $\tau e_0$ : e<sub>0</sub>-agt speaks up
- |  $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- $\tau t_{11}$
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$ : a<sub>1</sub> intends p<sub>11</sub>
- $E_{12}$ : hunter a<sub>1</sub> travels
- $e_{12} = \text{END}_w E_{12}$ :  $\tau a_1$  arrives at the edge l<sub>12</sub> of ice l<sub>11</sub>
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $s_{13}$ : the dogs a<sub>2</sub> of  $\tau a_1$  sit
- $e_{13}$ : act by  $\tau a_1$ , dir. cause of BEG<sub>w</sub> s<sub>13</sub>
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{13}$
- $E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1$  goes to the edge l<sub>12</sub> of ice l<sub>11</sub>
- $s_2 = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1 = E_{21}$ -agt intends p<sub>11</sub>
- $E_{22}$ :  $\tau a_1$  lies in wait
- $s_{31}$ : state co-temporal with E<sub>22</sub>
- $s_{32}$ : seal a bit far from l<sub>12</sub> on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $\tau e_{31}$ :  $\tau a_1$  sees s<sub>32</sub>-seal
- $\tau s_3$ :  $\tau a_1$  does not shoot s<sub>32</sub>-seal
- $\tau t_4 \subseteq \vartheta_w E_{22}$
- $s_4$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  not far fr. l<sub>12</sub> on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $e_4 = \text{BEG}_w s_4$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  pops up
- $E_5$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  takes aim at seal a<sub>4</sub>
- $e_{61} = \text{END}_w E_5$ :  $\tau a_1$  puts his finger on the trigger
- $\tau t_{61} = \vartheta_w e_{61} + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$
- $e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$ : surprise for e<sub>62</sub>-agt
- $\tau t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- $E_6$ : dog  $\tau a_1$  barks
- $\tau t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$

- $s_{71}$ : a<sub>1</sub> = pup P. finds seal a<sub>4</sub> strange
- $E_6$ : pup  $\tau a_1$  barks
- $e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$
- $s_{72} = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$

- $e_{61}$ :  $\tau a_1$  puts his finger on the trigger
- $e_{62}$ : e<sub>61</sub>-agt pulls the trigger

(8) [of.course

[*p* | *consider.obvious*<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub>⟨CON *dε*<sub>1</sub>, AGT *dε*<sub>1</sub>, *p*⟩]; [**Q**]; [**dΩ***t* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub>, d<sub>ε1</sub></sub> ↑*dΩ*];

seal-

-SG

[*s* | *s* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> CON *dε*]; [*\*seal*<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub>⟨EXP *dσ*, ∅*dσ*⟩]; [**a** | **a** = *dα*<sub>1</sub>]; [EXP *dσ* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dα**, 3SG<sub>d<sub>ω</sub>, d<sub>ε</sub></sub> **dα**];

get.alert-

[*alert*<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub>⟨*dσ*, EXP⟩]; [*e* | *e* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> BEG *dσ*, EXP *e* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> EXP *dσ*];-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3SG<sub>τ</sub>[*dε* ⊆<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dτ**, EXP *dε* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dα**]; [∂(3SG<sub>d<sub>ω</sub>, d<sub>ε</sub></sub> **dα**)];

dive.down-

[*E* | *dive.down*<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub>⟨*E*, AGT⟩];

-IND.IV

[∂(*speak*<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub>⟨**dε**, AGT⟩)]; [BEG *dε* <<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dε**, BEG *dε* ⊆<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dτ**, AGT *dε* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> **dα**]; [**p**]; [**dΩ** = ↑**dω**];

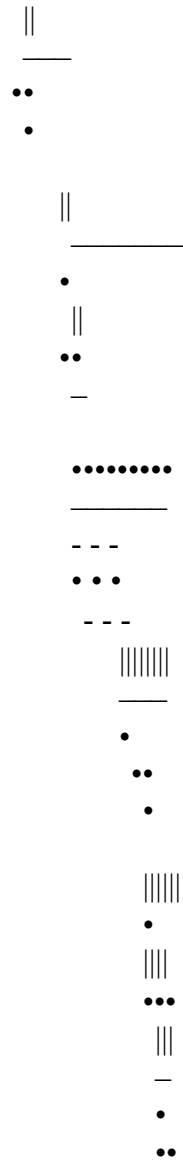
-3SG

] (-ELA<sub>τ</sub>)

] (of course)

[∂(3SG<sub>d<sub>ω</sub>, d<sub>ε</sub></sub> **dα**)]; [*dε* =<sub>d<sub>ω</sub></sub> BEG *dε*]; [**dΩ** = MIN<sub>d<sub>Ωt</sub></sub> **dΩ**<sub>1</sub>]

$\tau_w \in \tau p_7$



- $\tau e_0$ :  $e_0$ -agt speaks up
- |  $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- $\tau t_{11}$
- $s_{12} = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{11}$ :  $a_1$  intends  $p_{11}$
- $E_{12}$ : hunter  $a_1$  travels
- $e_{12} = \text{END}_w E_{12}$ :  $\tau a_1$  arrives at the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $\tau t_{12} \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{12}$
- $s_{13}$ : the dogs  $a_2$  of  $\tau a_1$  sit
- $e_{13}$ : act by  $\tau a_1$ , dir. cause of  $\text{BEG}_w s_{13}$
- $\tau t_2 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{13}$
- $E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1$  goes to the edge  $l_{12}$  of ice  $l_{11}$
- $s_2 = \text{CON}_w \text{BEG}_w E_{21}$ :  $\tau a_1 = E_{21}$ -agt intends  $p_{11}$
- $E_{22}$ :  $\tau a_1$  lies in wait
- $s_{31}$ : state co-temporal with  $E_{22}$
- $s_{32}$ : seal a bit far from  $l_{12}$  on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $\tau e_{31}$ :  $\tau a_1$  sees  $s_{32}$ -seal
- $\tau s_3$ :  $\tau a_1$  does not shoot  $s_{32}$ -seal
- $\tau t_4 \subseteq \vartheta_w E_{22}$
- $s_4$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  not far fr.  $l_{12}$  on  $\underline{S}_3$ -scale
- $e_4 = \text{BEG}_w s_4$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  pops up
- $E_5$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  takes aim at seal  $a_4$
- $e_{61} = \text{END}_w E_5$ :  $\tau a_1$  puts his finger on the trigger
- $\tau t_{61} = \vartheta_w e_{61} + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$
- $e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$ : surprise for  $e_{62}$ -agt
- $\tau t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- $E_6$ : dog  $\tau a_6$  (= pup  $a_1$ ) barks
- $\tau t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- $s_8 = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  is alert
- $e_{81} = \text{BEG}_w s_8 = \text{BEG}_w E_8$
- $E_8$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  dives down

$w_7 \in p_7$  ( $\text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$ -realization)



- $s_{71}$ :  $a_1 = \text{pup P.}$  finds seal  $a_4$  strange
- $E_6$ : pup  $\tau a_1$  barks
- $e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$
- $s_{72} = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$

$w_6 \in p_{61}$  ( $e_{61}$ -intent)



- $e_{61}$ :  $\tau a_1$  puts his finger on the trigger
- $e_{62}$ :  $e_{61}$ -agt pulls the trigger

## §4

(1) n-

[s w | \*inanimate<sub>w</sub>⟨THM s,  $\vartheta$ s⟩];

]-hunt

[catch.of<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨THM d $\sigma$ , EXP d $\sigma$ ,  $\vartheta$ d $\sigma$ ⟩]; [E p | CON END E =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\sigma$ , AGT E =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  EXP d $\sigma$ , hunt<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨E, AGT⟩, p ∈ INT<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  BEG E]; [d $\Omega$  =<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  d $\omega$ ]

-iv\sub

-SG.ERG

[s |  $\vartheta$ s ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>   $\vartheta$ d $\varepsilon$ , EXP d $\sigma$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  AGT d $\varepsilon$ ]; [EXP s =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\alpha$ <sub>2</sub>]; [**a** | EXP d $\sigma$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **a**, 3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  **a**];

dog-little-

-SG

[a | \*pup<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨a,  $\vartheta$ d $\sigma$ ⟩]; [d $\alpha$  = **d** $\alpha$ <sub>2</sub>]; [3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ];

be.angry.with-

-get

[angry.with<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨d $\sigma$ , EXP, d $\alpha$ ⟩]; [e | CON e =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\sigma$ , EXP e =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  EXP d $\sigma$ ];

-IND.TV

[ $\partial$ (speak<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨**d** $\varepsilon$ , AGT⟩)]; [d $\varepsilon$  <<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\varepsilon$ , d $\varepsilon$  ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\tau$ , EXP d $\varepsilon$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\alpha$ ]; [**p**]; [d $\Omega$  =  $\uparrow$ d $\omega$ ];

-3SG.3SG

[ $\partial$ (3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  **d** $\alpha$ , 3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ,  $\neg$ (**d** $\alpha$  O d $\alpha$ ))];

[ bark-

-stage1

[d $\omega$  ∈ **d** $\Omega$ ]; [E | bark<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨E, AGT⟩]; [e | e =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  BEG d $\varepsilon$ , AGT e =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  AGT d $\varepsilon$ ];

]-be.not

[d $\varepsilon$  ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\tau$ , AGT d $\varepsilon$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ]; [d $\Omega$  =  $\uparrow$ d $\omega$ ]; [d $\omega$  ∈ (d $\Omega$  – **d** $\Omega$ )]; [s |  $\vartheta$ s =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\tau$ , EXP s =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ];-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>[e | e = d $\varepsilon$ <sub>3</sub>];[d $\varepsilon$  <<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\sigma$ , **d** $\tau$  ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\sigma$ , EXP d $\sigma$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ]; [t | t ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>   $\vartheta$ d $\sigma$ ]; [d $\omega$  ∈ d $\Omega$ ];

seal-

-SG

[a | \*seal<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨a,  $\vartheta$ d $\sigma$ ⟩]; [d $\alpha$  = **d** $\alpha$ <sub>2</sub>]; [3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  d $\alpha$ ]

get-

[e | get<sub>d $\omega$</sub> ⟨e, AGT, d $\alpha$ ⟩];

-prospect

[s |  $\vartheta$ s =<sub>{d $\omega$ , d $\omega$ }</sub>  $\vartheta$ CON d $\varepsilon$ <sub>1</sub>, d $\varepsilon$ <sub>1</sub> •<<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\varepsilon$  ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\tau$ , EXP d $\sigma$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  AGT d $\varepsilon$ ];[d $\Omega$  ∈ BEL<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\varepsilon$ <sub>1</sub> ∪ DES<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\varepsilon$ <sub>1</sub>]; [d $\Omega$  =  $\uparrow$ d $\omega$ ];

-galuar

[Q | SOME⟨INT<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\varepsilon$ <sub>1</sub>, Q⟩]; [d $\Omega$  = MIN<sub>d $\Omega$</sub>  **d** $\Omega$ ]; [d $\omega$  ∈ (d $\Omega$  – d $\Omega$ )];-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.3SG[BEG d $\sigma$  <<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\varepsilon$ , **d** $\tau$  ⊆<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  d $\sigma$ , EXP d $\sigma$  =<sub>d $\omega$</sub>  **d** $\alpha$ ]; [ $\partial$ (3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  **d** $\alpha$ , 3SG<sub>d $\omega$ , d $\varepsilon$</sub>  d $\alpha$ )]; [ $\neg$ (**d** $\alpha$  O d $\alpha$ )];

ff

[d $\Omega$  =  $\uparrow$ d $\omega$ ]

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| $\tau_w \in \tau p_{12}$<br>$\tau_w \notin p_{11}$<br>$\vdots$<br>$\bullet\bullet$<br>$\bullet$<br>$    $<br>$\bullet$<br>$    $<br>$\bullet\bullet\bullet$<br>$   $<br>$-$<br>$\bullet$<br>$\bullet\bullet$<br>$---$<br>$\bullet$<br>$-$ | $\bullet$<br>$ $<br>$\vdots$<br>$E_5$ : hunter $\tau a_1$ takes aim at seal $a_4$<br>$e_{61} = \text{END}_w E_5$<br>$\tau t_{61} = \vartheta_w e_{61} + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$<br>$e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$ : surprise for $e_{62}$ -agt<br>$\tau t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$<br>$E_6$ : pup $\tau a_1$ barks<br>$\tau t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$<br>$s_8 = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$ : seal $\tau a_4$ is alert<br>$e_{81} = \text{BEG}_w s_8 = \text{BEG}_w E_8$<br>$E_8$ : seal $\tau a_4$ dives down<br>$s_{11} = \text{CON}_w e_{11}$ ; $\tau a_1$ angry with pup $a_1$<br>$e_{11}$ : hunter $\tau a_1$ gets angry w. dog $a_1$<br>$s_{12} = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$ |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

$w_6 \in p_{11} = p_{61} - \tau p_{12}$  ( $e_{61}$ -intent –  $p_{12}$ -barking)

$\bullet$   
 $\bullet$   
 $---$   
 $\bullet\bullet$   
 $||||$   
 $---$   
 $||$   
 $\bullet$   
 $-$

$e_{61}$ :  $\tau a_1$  puts his finger on the trigger  
 $e_{62}$ :  $e_{61}$ -agt pulls the trigger  
 $s_{11} = \text{CON}_{w_6} \text{END}_{w_6} E_1$ :  
 $\tau a_1$ -hunter with dead seal  $a_4$   
 $E_1$ :  $\tau a_1$  hunts  
 $\tau t_{62}$   
 $s_{11}$ : state of pup  $a_1$  dur  $t_{63}$ , no barking  
 $t_1 \subseteq \vartheta_{w_6} s_{11}$   
 $e_{12}$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  gets seal  $a_4$   
 $s_{12} = \vartheta_{w_6} \text{CON}_{w_6} e_{61}$

(2) dog-little- -SG

$[a | *pup_{d_\omega} \langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [d\alpha = d\alpha_2, 3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha]$

take- -stage1

$[e | take_{d_\omega} \langle e, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle]; [E | \text{BEG } E =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon];$

-ELA $\tau$  -3SG $\perp$

$[\text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau_1, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)];$

scold-

$[E | scold_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle]$

-IND.TV

$[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\exists <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\mathbf{p}]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$

-3SG.3SG ] (-ELA $\tau$ )

$[\partial(3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha, 3\text{SG}_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]; [\neg(d\alpha \circ d\alpha)]; [d\exists =_{d_\omega} d\exists_1]$

$\tau_w \in \tau p_2$   
 $\tau_w \notin p_{11}$   
 $\vdots$   
 $\bullet\bullet$   
 $\bullet$   
 $||||$   
 $\bullet$   
 $||||$   
 $\bullet\bullet$   
 $|||$   
 $-$   
 $\bullet$   
 $\bullet\bullet$   
 $---$   
 $\bullet$   
 $-$   
 $\bullet$   
 $\bullet\bullet$

$\bullet$   $\tau e_0$ :  $e_0$ -agt speaks up  
 $|\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$   
 $\vdots$   
 $E_5$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  takes aim at seal  $a_4$   
 $e_{61} = \text{END}_w E_5$   
 $\tau t_{61} = \vartheta_w e_{61} + \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$   
 $e_{63} = \text{BEG}_w E_6$ : surprise for  $e_{62}$ -agt  
 $\tau t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$   
 $E_6$ : pup  $\tau a_1$  barks  
 $\tau t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$   
 $s_8 = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  is alert  
 $e_{81} = \text{BEG}_w s_8 = \text{BEG}_w E_8$   
 $E_8$ : seal  $\tau a_4$  dives down  
 $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w e_{11}$ ;  $\tau a_1$  angry with pup  $a_1$   
 $e_{11}$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  gets angry w. pup  $a_1$   
 $s_{12} = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$   
 $e_2 = \text{BEG}_w E_2$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  grabs pup  $a_1$   
 $E_2$ : hunter  $\tau a_1$  scolds pup  $a_1$

~~~~~  
 $w_6 \in p_{11} = p_{61} - \tau p_{12}$ (e_{61} -intent – p_{12} -barking)

\bullet
 \bullet
 $---$
 $\bullet\bullet$
 $||||$
 $---$
 $||$
 \bullet
 $-$

e_{61} : τa_1 puts his finger on the trigger
 e_{62} : e_{61} -agt pulls the trigger
 $s_{11} = \text{CON}_{w6} \text{END}_{w6} E_1$:
 τa_1 -hunter with dead seal a_4
 E_1 : τa_1 hunts
 τt_{62}
 s_{11} : state of pup a_1 dur t_{63} , no barking
 $t_1 \subseteq \vartheta_{w6} s_{11}$
 e_{12} : hunter τa_1 gets seal a_4
 $s_{12} = \vartheta_{w6} \text{CON}_{w6} e_{61}$

(3) dog-little-

-SG

[$s \mid s =_{d\omega} \text{CON END } d\exists$]; [$*pup_{d\omega} \langle d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]; [$\mathbf{a} \mid \mathbf{a} = d\alpha, 3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} \mathbf{a}$];

(accom.)

[

bark-

-stage1

[$t \mid t =_{d\omega} \vartheta d\sigma$]; [$w \mid w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega$]; [$E \mid bark_{d\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle$]; [$e \mid e =_{d\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } e =_{d\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists$];

-again

[$\text{BEG } d\exists_n <_{d\omega} d\epsilon$]; [$\{\text{BEG } d\exists_n, d\epsilon\} \subseteq_{d\omega} \uparrow d\epsilon$];

]-be.not

[$d\epsilon \subseteq_{d\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\epsilon =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha$]; [p]; [$d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega$]; [$\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)$];

[$s \mid \vartheta s =_{d\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha$];

]-NEG

[$\partial(\text{speak}_{d\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\epsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle, \mathbf{d}\omega \notin d\Omega)$]; [$\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\epsilon, d\tau \subseteq_{d\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha$]; [\mathbf{p}]; [$\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega$];

-3SG

[$\partial(3\text{SG}_{d\omega, d\epsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)$]

${}^T w \in {}^T p_{32} = (p_2 - p_{31})$

⋮

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- ${}^T e_0$: e_0 -agt speaks up
- | ${}^T t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- ⋮
- ${}^T t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- E_6 : pup ${}^T a_1$ barks
- ${}^T t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- $s_8 = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$: seal ${}^T a_4$ is alert
- $e_{81} = \text{BEG}_w s_8 = \text{BEG}_w E_8$
- E_8 : seal ${}^T a_4$ dives down
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w e_{11}$; ${}^T a_1$ angry with pup a_1
- e_{11} : hunter ${}^T a_1$ gets angry w. pup a_1
- $s_{12} = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$
- $e_2 = \text{BEG}_w E_2$: hunter ${}^T a_1$ grabs pup a_1
- E_2 : hunter ${}^T a_1$ scolds pup a_1
- $s_{31} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_2$
- $t_3 = \vartheta_w s_{31}$
- s_{32} : state of pup a_1 during t_3 ,
no more barking

$w_3 \in p_{31}$

|||||||

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- $t_3 = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_2$
- E_3 : pup a_1 barks again
- $e_3 = \text{BEG}_w E_3$

(4) n-

[s w | *inanimate_w⟨THM s, ϑ s⟩];

-hunt

[catch.of_{d_ω}⟨THM dσ, EXP dσ, ϑ dσ⟩]; [E p | CON END E =_{d_ω} dσ, AGT E =_{d_ω} EXP dσ, hunt_{d_ω}⟨E, AGT⟩, p ∈ INT_{d_ω} BEG E]; [dΩ =_{d_ω, d₃} dω];

-iv\sub

[s | ϑ s ⊆_{d_ω} ϑ d ϑ , EXP dσ =_{d_ω} AGT d ϑ];

-SG.ERG

[a | a = dα₁]; [EXP dσ =_{d_ω} dα, 3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα];

=and

if

[dτ ⊆_{d_ω} dσ]; [t | t = dτ]; [dΩ = ↑dω];

[one- -SG -MOD

[B | SG B]; [SG dβt]; [b s]; [dβt =_{d_ω, s} ↑dβ];

seal-

[*dead.seal_{d_ω}⟨dβ, ϑ dσ⟩];

-kill

[e | CON e =_{d_ω} dσ, *corpse.of_{d_ω}⟨dβ, EXP e, ϑ dσ⟩, kill_{d_ω}⟨e, AGT, EXP⟩];

-IND.IV

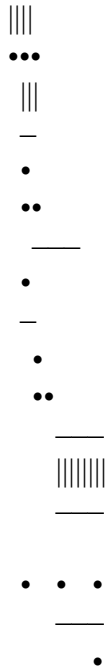
[∂(speak_{d_ω}⟨dε, AGT⟩)]; [dε <_{d_ω} dε, dε ⊆_{d_ω} dτ, AGT dε =_{d_ω} dα]; [p]; [dΩ = ↑dω];

-3SG

[∂(3SG_{d_ω, d_ε} dα)]; [dβ ∈ dβt]

$\tau_w \in \tau p_{42}$

⋮



- τe_0 : e_0 -agt speaks up
- | $\tau t_0 = \vartheta_w e_0$
- ⋮
- $\tau t_{63} = \vartheta_w e_{63} + \vartheta_w \text{BEG}_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- E_6 : pup τa_1 barks
- $\tau t_7 \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{63}$
- $s_8 = \text{CON}_w e_{63}$: seal τa_4 is alert
- $e_{81} = \text{BEG}_w s_8 = \text{BEG}_w E_8$
- E_8 : seal τa_4 dives down
- $s_{11} = \text{CON}_w e_{11}$; τa_1 angry with pup a_1
- e_{11} : hunter τa_1 gets angry w. pup a_1
- $s_{12} = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e_{61}$
- $e_2 = \text{BEG}_w E_2$: hunter τa_1 grabs pup a_1
- E_2 : hunter τa_1 scolds pup a_1
- $s_{31} = \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_2$
- $t_3 = \vartheta_w s_{31}$
- s_{32} : state of pup a_1 during t_3 , no more barking
- E_4 : τa_4 hunts
- s_{42} : state of τa_4 during $t_3 \subseteq \vartheta_w E_4$
- e_4 : hunter τa_4 kills one seal b_4

$w_4 \in p_{41}$ (BEG_w E₄-intent)



- E_4 : τa_4 hunts
- $s_{41} = \text{CON}_{w4} \text{END}_{w4} E_4$: hunter τa_4 has s_{41} -catch

$w_3 \in p_{31}$



- $t_3 = \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w \text{END}_w E_2$
- E_3 : pup a_1 barks again
- $e_3 = \text{BEG}_w E_3$

APPENDIX 1: UPDATE WITH CENTERING (UC)

D0. Set of *dref* type

- i. $\{\alpha, \beta, \varepsilon, \sigma, \tau, \pi, \omega\} \subseteq \Theta$
- ii. $Rt \in \Theta$, if $R \in \Theta$
- iii. $RR' \in \Theta$, if $R, R' \in \Theta$

D1. Basic terms of UC

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Constants</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Name of objects</u>
a , <i>a</i>	a_n	α	animate entities
b , <i>b</i>	$b_n, John$	β	inanimate entities
e , <i>e</i>	e_n	ε	(atomic) events
s , <i>s</i>	s_n	σ	states (of entities)
t , <i>t</i>	t_n	τ	times
l , <i>l</i>	l_n	π	places
w , <i>w</i>	w_n	ω	worlds
A , <i>A</i>	A_n	αt	α -sets
B , <i>B</i>	B_n	βt	β -sets
E , <i>E</i>	E_n	$\varepsilon t =: \exists$	ε -sets
\vdots	\vdots	\vdots	\vdots
L , <i>L</i>	L_n	πt	π -sets
p , <i>p</i>	p_n	$\omega t =: \Omega$	ω -sets (<i>aka</i> propositions)
Q , <i>Q</i>	Q_n	Ωt	Ω -sets (e.g. questions)
<u>A</u> , <i><u>A</u></i>	A_n	$(\alpha t)t$	αt -sets (e.g. α -scales)
<u>E</u> , <i><u>E</u></i>	E_n	$(\exists t)t$	$\exists t$ -sets (e.g. \exists -scales)
\vdots	\vdots	\vdots	\vdots
<u>Q</u> , <i><u>Q</u></i>	Q_n	$(\Omega t)t$	Ωt -sets (e.g. echo questions)
	BEG	$\omega\sigma\varepsilon$	beginning (of state)
	CON	$\omega\varepsilon\sigma$	consequent state (of event)
	AGT	$\omega\varepsilon\alpha$	agent (of action)
	EXP	$\omega(\varepsilon\nu\sigma)\alpha$	experiencer (of eventuality)
	THM	$\omega(\varepsilon\nu\sigma)\beta$	theme (of eventuality)
	ϑ	$\omega(\varepsilon\nu\sigma)\tau$	time (of eventuality)
	Π	$\omega(\varepsilon\nu\sigma)\pi$	place (of eventuality)
<i>z</i>	z_n, c_0, \dots	ζ	dref stacks
<i>i, j, k, h</i>		$\zeta \times \zeta := s$	indices
<i>I, J, K, H</i>	$[c_0]$	<i>st</i>	(information & attention) states
<i>D</i>		$(st)st$	updates

In the following *axioms* for *dref stacks*, $n \in \{1, 2, \dots\}$ and $R, R' \in \Theta$:

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------------|
| Ax1 | $\exists z_\zeta: \forall n(n(z) = \dagger) \wedge \forall R(R(z) = z)$ | empty stack |
| Ax2 | $\forall z_\zeta \forall R \forall d_R: {}^1(d \cdot z) = d \wedge \forall n(n > 1 \rightarrow {}^n(d \cdot z) = {}^{n-1}(z))$ | <i>n</i> th coord of $(d \cdot z)$ |
| Ax3 | $\forall z_\zeta \forall R \forall d_R: {}^R(d \cdot z) = (d \cdot {}^R(z)) \wedge \forall R'(R' \neq R \rightarrow {}^{R'}(d \cdot z) = {}^{R'}(z))$ | R-coord's of $(d \cdot z)$ |
| Ax4 | $\forall z_\zeta \forall R \forall d_R \exists z'_\zeta: (d \cdot z) = z'$ | enough stacks |
| Ax5 | $\forall z_\zeta \forall z'_\zeta: \forall n(n(z) = {}^n(z')) \rightarrow z = z'$ | stack identity |

D2. Sequence notation & coordinates

- $\langle \rangle$:= the stack z such that $\forall n(n^n(z) = \dagger \wedge \forall R \in \Theta(R(z) = z))$
- $\langle d_1, \dots, d_n \rangle$:= $d_1 \cdot (\dots \cdot (d_n \cdot \langle \rangle))$
- τ_i, \perp_i := ${}^1i, {}^2i$

D3. Initial contexts, default states & indexicals

- A *context* is a stack $c_0 = \langle p_0, e_0, [{}^\beta a]_0, [{}^\beta l]_0 \rangle$ such that (i) $p_0 \neq \emptyset$, (ii) $\forall w \in p_0$: $speaks_w(e_0, AGT_w e_0)$, (iii) $\forall w \in p_0 \forall b \in \text{Dom } [{}^\beta a]_0 \cup \text{Dom } [{}^\beta l]_0$: $name_w(b, \vartheta_w e_0)$
- c_0 induces the *default state* $[c_0] := \lambda i_s. \exists w \in p_0 (i = \langle \langle p_0, \vartheta_w e_0, w, e_0, [{}^\beta a]_0, [{}^\beta l]_0 \rangle, \langle \rangle \rangle)$
- $1_{w, e_0} a$:= $(AGT_w e_0 \leq a)$
- $2_{w, e_0} a$:= $(EXP_w e_0 \leq a)$
- $3_{w, e_0} a$:= $\neg(a \circ (AGT_w e_0 + EXP_w e_0))$

D4. Perceptions, attitudes

- $PER_w e$:= $\{w \uparrow \exists s(\vartheta_w e = \vartheta_w s \wedge AGT_w e = EXP_w s \wedge perceive_w(s, EXP_w s, w))\}$
- $DES_w e$:= $\{p \mid \exists s(\vartheta_w e \subseteq \vartheta_w s \wedge AGT_w e = EXP_w s \wedge desire_w(s, EXP_w s, p))\}$
- $BEL_w e$:= $\{p \mid \exists s(\vartheta_w e \subseteq \vartheta_w s \wedge AGT_w e = EXP_w s \wedge believe_w(s, EXP_w s, p))\}$
- $INT_w e$:= $\{p \mid \exists s(\vartheta_w e \subseteq \vartheta_w s \wedge AGT_w e = EXP_w s \wedge intend_w(s, EXP_w s, p))\}$

D5. Orders

- $w \leq_Q w'$:= $\{p \mid p \in Q \wedge w' \in p\} \subseteq \{p \mid p \in Q \wedge w \in p\}$
- $w <_Q w'$:= $(w \leq_Q w' \wedge \neg w' \leq_Q w)$
- $MIN_Q p$:= $\{w \mid w \in p \wedge \neg \exists w'(w' \in p \wedge w' <_Q w)\}$
- $d' \subseteq d$:= $d' \subseteq d \wedge \neg(d \subseteq d')$
- $MIN_{\subseteq} d$:= $\{d \uparrow d' \subseteq d \wedge \neg \exists d''(d'' \subseteq d')\}$
- $\cup D$:= $\cup d. \forall d' \in D(d' \subseteq d) \wedge \forall d''(\forall d' \in D(d' \subseteq d'') \rightarrow d \subseteq d'')$

D6. Processes & scales

- $\langle E, \bullet <_w \rangle$:= $\exists e'', E_0(\{e''\} = E - E_0 \wedge E_0 \neq \emptyset \wedge \forall e \in E_0 \exists e' \in E(e \bullet <_w e'))$
- $e \bullet <_w e'$:= $\vartheta_w e' \subseteq \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e < \vartheta_w \text{CON}_w e'$
- $AGT_w E$:= $\cup a. \forall e \in E(a = AGT_w e)$
- $SCALE_w \langle \underline{\Delta}, R \rangle$:= $\exists n > 1 \exists \Delta_1, \dots, \Delta_n (\underline{\Delta} = \{\Delta_1, \dots, \Delta_n\} \wedge \Delta_n \subset \dots \subset \Delta_1$
 $\wedge \forall m(1 \leq m < n \rightarrow \forall \delta \in \Delta_m - \Delta_{m+1} \forall \delta' \in \Delta_{m+1}(\delta' R_w \delta))$
- $\Delta \bullet <_{\underline{\Delta}} \Delta'$:= $\Delta', \Delta \in \underline{\Delta} \wedge \Delta' \subseteq \Delta \wedge \neg \exists \Delta'' \in \underline{\Delta}(\Delta' \subseteq \Delta'' \subseteq \Delta)$
- $DEG_{\underline{\Delta}} \delta$:= $\cup \Delta. \Delta \in \underline{\Delta} \wedge \delta \in \Delta \wedge \forall \Delta'(\Delta' \in \underline{\Delta} \wedge \delta \in \Delta' \rightarrow \Delta \subseteq \Delta')$

D7. WITH-states, beginnings, ends

- $WITH_w \langle s, a, a' \rangle$:= $EXP_w s = a \wedge \neg(a \circ a') \wedge \exists s'(\vartheta_w s = \vartheta_w s' \wedge EXP_w s' = a + a')$
- $WITH_w \langle s, t, a \rangle$:= $\vartheta_w s = t \wedge EXP_w s = a$
- $BEG_w \tau d$:= $\cup d'. \forall d''(d'' \in \text{Ran } \tau d \rightarrow \vartheta_w d' \leq \vartheta_w d'')$
- $END_w \tau d$:= $\cup d'. \forall d''(d'' \in \text{Ran } \tau d \rightarrow \vartheta_w d'' \leq \vartheta_w d')$
- $BEG_w E$:= $\cup e. \langle E, \bullet <_w \rangle \wedge e \in E \wedge \forall e' \in E(\vartheta_w e \leq \vartheta_w e')$
- $END_w E$:= $\cup e. \langle E, \bullet <_w \rangle \wedge e \in E \wedge \forall e' \in E(\vartheta_w e' \leq \vartheta_w e)$
- $BEG_{\underline{\Delta}}$:= $\cup \Delta. \Delta \in \underline{\Delta} \wedge \forall \Delta' \in \underline{\Delta}(\Delta' \subseteq \Delta)$
- $END_{\underline{\Delta}}$:= $\cup \Delta. \Delta \in \underline{\Delta} \wedge \forall \Delta' \in \underline{\Delta}(\Delta \subseteq \Delta')$
- $BEG_w b$:= $\cup e. \exists s(e = BEG_w s \wedge exist_w(s, b) \wedge \forall s'(exist_w(s', b) \rightarrow \vartheta_w e \leq \vartheta_w BEG_w s'))$

D8. Demonstratives (type sR , $R \in \Theta$)

- dR_n := $\lambda i_s. n+1^R(\perp_i)$
- $\mathbf{d}R_n$:= $\lambda i_s. n+1^R(\tau_i)$
- $dR, \mathbf{d}R$:= $dR_0, \mathbf{d}R_0$

D9. Local conditions (type st)

- $SG\langle\delta\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. |\text{MIN } \delta i| = 1$
- $PL\langle\delta\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. |\text{MIN } \delta i| > 1$
- $SG\langle\Delta\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. |\Delta i| = 1$
- $SG\langle\delta, \Delta\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. \delta i \in \text{MIN } \Delta i$
- $\text{SOME}\langle\Delta, \Delta'\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. \emptyset \subset \Delta' i \subseteq \Delta i$
- $\text{MOST}\langle\Delta, \Delta'\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. |\Delta i \cap \Delta' i| - |\Delta i - \Delta' i|$
- $1SG_{\mathbf{d}_\omega, \mathbf{d}_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha$:= $\lambda i_s. 1_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i, \mathbf{d}_\varepsilon i} \mathbf{d}\alpha i \wedge SG\langle\mathbf{d}\alpha\rangle i$
- $3PL_{\mathbf{d}_\omega, \mathbf{d}_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha$:= $\lambda i_s. 3_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i, \mathbf{d}_\varepsilon i} \mathbf{d}\alpha i \wedge PL\langle\mathbf{d}\alpha\rangle i$
- $R_{\mathbf{d}_\omega}\langle s, \text{EXP}\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. R_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i}(s, \text{EXP}_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} s)$
- $R_{\mathbf{d}_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT}, a\rangle$:= $\lambda i_s. R_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i}(e, \text{AGT}_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} e, a)$
- $\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}_\omega} d\sigma$:= $\lambda i_s. \mathbf{d}\tau i \subseteq \vartheta_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} d\sigma i$
- $\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}_\omega} d\tau\varepsilon$:= $\lambda i_s. \mathbf{d}\tau i \subseteq \cup_{\tau} \{\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} e : e \in \text{Ran } d\tau\varepsilon\}$
- $d\exists \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau$:= $\lambda i_s. \forall e \in d\exists i (\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} e = \mathbf{d}\alpha i)$
- $\text{AGT } d\exists =_{\mathbf{d}_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha$:= $\lambda i_s. \forall e \in d\exists i (\text{AGT}_{\mathbf{d}_\omega i} e = \mathbf{d}\alpha i)$

D10. Local updates (type $(st)(st)$)

- $[v_R]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. \exists i_s \in I \exists v_R(j = \langle \tau_i, v \cdot \perp_i \rangle)$ for $v_R \in {}^\perp\text{Var}$, $R \in \Theta$
- $[v_R]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. \exists i_s \in I \exists v_R(j = \langle v \cdot \tau_i, \perp_i \rangle)$ for $v_R \in {}^\top\text{Var}$, $R \in \Theta$
- $[C_1, \dots, C_n]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda i_s. i \in I \wedge C_1 i \wedge \dots \wedge C_n i$
- $(D_1; D_2)$:= $\lambda I_{st}. D_2(D_1 I)$
- $[v_R | C_1, \dots, C_n]$:= $[v_R]; [C_1, \dots, C_n]$ for $v_R \in {}^\perp\text{Var} \cup {}^\top\text{Var}$, $R \in \Theta$

D11. Global values & substates

- δI := $\{\delta i : i_s \in I_{st}\}$ for δ_{sR} , $R \in \Theta$
- $I_{\delta=d}$:= $\{i_s \in I_{st} | \delta I = d\}$ for d_R, δ_{sR} , $R \in \Theta$

D12. Non-local updates (type $(st)(st)$)

- $[\partial(C)]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \forall i \in I(Ci)$
- $[\Delta = \uparrow\delta]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j = \delta I$ for $\Delta_{s(RT)}$, δ_{sR} , $R \in \Theta$
- $[\Delta =_{\chi} \uparrow\delta]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j = \delta I_{\chi=\chi j}$
- $[\Delta =_{\chi, \chi'} \uparrow\delta]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j = \delta I_{\chi=\chi j, \chi'=\chi j}$
- $[\Delta =_{\chi} \text{MIN } \uparrow\delta]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j = \text{MIN } \delta I_{\chi=\chi j}$
- $[\Delta =_{\chi} \{\uparrow\delta\}]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j = \{\delta I_{\chi=\chi j}\}$ for $\Delta_{s((RT)I)}$, δ_{sR} , $R \in \Theta$
- $[\delta \in_{\chi} \uparrow\delta']$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \delta j \in \delta' I_{\chi=\chi j}$ for $\delta_{sR}, \delta'_{sR}$, $R \in \Theta$
- $[\Delta \subseteq_{\chi} \uparrow\delta]$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \Delta j \subseteq \delta I_{\chi=\chi j}$ for $\Delta_{s(RT)}$, δ_{sR} , $R \in \Theta$
- $[\delta =_{\chi} \cup \uparrow\delta']$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \delta j = \cup \delta' I_{\chi=\chi j}$ for $\delta_{sR}, \delta'_{sR}$, $R \in \Theta$
- $[\Delta : \delta \rightarrow_{\chi} \delta']$:= $\lambda I_{st} \lambda j_s. j \in I \wedge \text{Dom } \Delta j = \delta I_{\chi=\chi j} \wedge \Delta j(\delta j) = \delta' j$ for $\Delta_{s(RR)}$, $\delta_{sR}, \delta'_{sR}$, $R, R' \in \Theta$

D13. Truth (relative to initial context c_0)

- $|= D$:= $\exists j_s(j \in D[c_0])$

APPENDIX 2: FROM KALAALLISUT TO UC

Cat	Gloss/item	UC translation
cn	Aani-	[EXP $d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\beta\alpha\langle Aani \rangle$ [$b \mid b = Aani$]
	sbd-	[* $person_{d_\omega}\langle \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	man-	[$a \mid *man_{d_\omega}\langle a, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	other-	[$\partial(d\alpha \in_{d_\omega} \uparrow \mathbf{d}\alpha)$]; [$\neg(d\alpha \circ \mathbf{d}\alpha)$]
	chess-	[$b \mid *chess.set_{d_\omega}\langle b, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	dinner-	[$b \mid *eve.meal.for_{d_\omega}\langle b, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	knife-	[* $knife_{d_\omega}\langle \text{INS } d\varepsilon, \vartheta d\varepsilon \rangle$]; [B]; [$d\beta t =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon} \uparrow \text{INS } d\varepsilon$]
	helicopter-	[$l \mid *helicopter_{d_\omega}\langle l, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\pi$]
	east-	[$l \mid *east.of_{d_\omega, d_{\exists 1}}\langle l, \Pi \text{BEG } d\exists \rangle$]
	wind-	[$t \mid windy.at_{d_\omega}\langle t, \Pi d\sigma \rangle, t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma$]
	fall-	[$t \mid *fall_{d_\omega} t$]
	day-	[$t \mid *day_{d_\omega} t$]
	duration-	[$t \mid s \mid \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} t$]
	first-	[$t \mid \text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} t <_{d_\omega} \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\exists$]
	most-	[$T \mid \text{MOST}\langle d\tau t, T \rangle$ [$E \mid \text{MOST}\langle \text{Ran } d\tau\exists, E \rangle$]; [$T \mid T =_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\exists$];
rn	enemy-	[$a \mid *enemy.of_{d_\omega}\langle a, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	head-	[$b \mid *head.on_{d_\omega}\langle b, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	pairmate-	[$b \mid pairmate.of_{d_\omega}\langle b, \text{THM } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle$]
	part-	[$a \mid \text{SOME}\langle \text{MIN } d\alpha, \text{MIN } a \rangle$ [$T \mid \text{SOME}\langle d\tau t, T \rangle$ [$S \mid \text{SOME}\langle \text{Ran } d\tau\sigma, S \rangle$]; [$T \mid T =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma t$] [$E \mid \text{SOME}\langle \text{Ran } d\tau\varepsilon, E \rangle$]; [$T \mid T =_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon$] [$\mathcal{E} \mid \text{SOME}\langle \text{Ran } d\tau\exists, \mathcal{E} \rangle$]; [$T \mid T =_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\exists$]
	between-	[$l \mid between_{d_\omega}\langle l, d\alpha, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, l \subseteq_{d_\omega} \Pi d\sigma$]
iv	be.busy-	[$s \mid busy_{d_\omega}\langle s, \text{EXP} \rangle$]
	come.hm-	[$e \mid come.home.to_{d_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT}, \Pi \text{CON } e \rangle$]
	set.out	[$travel_{d_\omega}\langle d\exists, \text{AGT} \rangle$]; [$e \mid e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists$]
	catch.sth	[$hunt_{d_\omega}\langle d\exists, \text{AGT} \rangle$]; [$e \mid e =_{d_\omega} \text{END } d\exists, \text{AGT } e =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists, catch.of_{d_\omega}\langle \text{THM } e, \text{AGT } e, \vartheta \text{CON } e \rangle$]
	promise-	[$e \mid w \mid promise_{d_\omega}\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, w \rangle$]
	run-	[$E \mid run_{d_\omega}\langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle$]
	v.slowly-	[$\mathcal{E} \mid \text{SCALE}\langle \mathcal{E}, slower \rangle$]; [$E \mid \text{BEG } d(\exists t) t <_{d(\exists t)} \text{DEG } E$]
	never.do-	$\lambda D. [w \mid w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]$; [D]; [$\tau s \mid \tau s: \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1 \rightarrow_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1$]; [$\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)$]
tv	love-	[$s \mid love_{d_\omega}\langle s, \text{EXP}, d\alpha \rangle$]
	kill-	[$e \mid kill_{d_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle$]
	visit-	[$E \mid visit_{d_\omega}\langle E, \text{AGT}, d\alpha \rangle$]

v\n	-tv\obj	$[d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [^\circ a ^\circ a: d\sigma \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$
	-iv\sub	$[d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [a \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} a]$ $[\vartheta d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [a \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} a]$
	-iv\loc	$[d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [l \Pi d\sigma =_{d_\omega} l]$
	-v\n	$[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\tau\varepsilon]; [^\tau e ^\tau e: \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1 \rightarrow_{d_\omega, d\tau\varepsilon} d\varepsilon];$ $[d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\tau\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
n\n	-with	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, d\alpha, d\beta \rangle]$
	-other(s)	$[d\alpha_1 \subseteq_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\alpha]; [\neg(d\alpha \circ d\alpha_1)]$
	-a.few	$[b *medium.group.of_{d_\omega} \langle b, \uparrow d\beta, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]$
	-a.bit	$[\text{BEG } d(\tau t) t \bullet <_{d(\tau t) t} \text{DEG } d\tau]$
	-long	$[\mathcal{T}' \text{SCALE} \langle \mathcal{T}', longer \rangle, \text{BEG } \mathcal{T}' =_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\tau]; [\text{BEG } d(\tau t) t <_{d(\tau t) t} \text{DEG } d\tau]$
	-prospective	$[s \vartheta s = \{d_\omega, d_\omega\} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, d\varepsilon_1 \bullet <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$ $[p p \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1 \cup \text{DES}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon_1} \uparrow d\omega]$ $[s \vartheta s = \{d_\omega, d_\omega\} \vartheta \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\varepsilon_1 + \vartheta d\sigma, \text{BEG } d\varepsilon_1 \bullet <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$ $[d\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\varepsilon_1 \cup \text{DES}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\varepsilon_1]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon_1} \uparrow d\omega]$
n\v	-be	$[\text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$
	-have _n	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \Pi, d\alpha \rangle]$ or $[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \text{EXP}, d\alpha \rangle]$
	-ache	$[feel.pain.in_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \text{EXP}, d\beta \rangle]$
	-become	$[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } e =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma]$
	-get _α	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \text{EXP}, d\beta \rangle]; [e \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{AGT } e =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma]$
	-get _β	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \text{THM}, d\beta \rangle]; [e \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{THM } e =_{d_\omega} \text{THM } d\sigma]$
	-get _τ	$[\Pi d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau]; [e \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\sigma]$
	-give	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, \text{EXP}, d\beta \rangle]; [e e \bullet <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \neg(\text{AGT } e \circ_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma)]$
	-give ⁺	$[\text{WITH}_{d_\omega} \langle d\sigma, d\alpha, d\beta \rangle]; [e e \bullet <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \neg(\text{AGT } e \circ_{d_\omega} d\alpha)]$
	-kill (-g)	$[e \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, *corpse.of_{d_\omega} \langle d\beta, \text{EXP } e, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle, kill_{d_\omega} \langle e, \text{AGT}, \text{EXP} \rangle]$
	-eat/drink	$[E E \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma, ingest_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\beta \rangle]$
	-use (-tur)	$[E E \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma, use_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT}, d\beta \rangle]$
	-do (-r)	$[E E \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma, \text{THM } E =_{d_\omega} d\beta]$
	-experience	$[E E \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\sigma, \text{EXP } E =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma, \text{THM } E =_{d_\omega} d\beta]$
	=go	$[E p \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon, travel_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle,$ $p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
	-seek	$[E p \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, search_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle, find_{d_\omega} \langle \text{END } E, \text{AGT } E, \text{THM } d\sigma \rangle,$ $p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
	-make	$[\text{BEG } \text{THM } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma]; [E p \text{CON } \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, create_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle,$ $p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
	-hunt	$[catch.of_{d_\omega} \langle \text{THM } d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma, \vartheta d\sigma \rangle]; [E p \text{CON } \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma,$ $hunt_{d_\omega} \langle E, \text{AGT} \rangle, d\Omega \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
v\v	-be.not	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [\text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)]; [s \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$ $\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)]; [s \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$ $\lambda D. [\mathbf{d}\omega \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$ $[d\omega \in (d\Omega - \mathbf{d}\Omega)]; [s \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$

-prf	$[s s =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]$
-prf _E	$[s s =_{d_\omega} \text{CON END } d\exists, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]$
-state	$[t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\exists]; [s \vartheta s =_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]$
-prospect	$[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \bullet_{<d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$ $[d\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon \cup \text{DES}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$ $[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON BEG } d\exists + \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_2, \text{BEG } d\exists \bullet_{<d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau,$ $\text{THM } s =_{d_\omega} \text{THM } d\sigma]; [p p \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists \cup \text{DES}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \uparrow d\omega]$
-expected	$[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \bullet_{<d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma];$ $[d\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta d\varepsilon_3, d\varepsilon_3 <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1 \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\varepsilon];$ $[d\Omega \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$ $[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta d\varepsilon_1 + \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, d\varepsilon_1 \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon];$ $[p p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$
-intended	$[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon];$ $[d\Omega \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$ $[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta d\varepsilon_1 + \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, d\varepsilon_1 \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau_1, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon];$ $[p p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$
-liable	$[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\varepsilon]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[(d\Omega - d\Omega) \in \text{DES}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]$
-possible	$[s \vartheta s =_{\{d_\omega, d_\omega\}} \vartheta \text{CON } d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \bullet_{<d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{EXP } s =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon t]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$
-passive	$[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } e =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$
-iv\ tv (- <i>ut</i>)	$[e e \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } e =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP CON } d\varepsilon, \text{THM } e =_{d_\omega} \text{THM CON } d\varepsilon]$
-begin	$[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, \text{EXP } e =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\sigma]$ $[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \Pi e =_{d_\omega} \Pi d\exists]$ $[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon, \text{EXP } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } d\varepsilon]$ $[e p e \bullet_{<d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } e =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon, p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\omega]$
-cause	$[e \text{BEG CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha, \neg(\text{AGT } e \circ d\alpha)]$ $[e \text{CON } e =_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha, \neg(\text{AGT } e \circ d\alpha)]$
-stage1	$[e e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists, \text{AGT } e =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]$ $[E d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]$ $[E \text{BEG } d\exists =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } E \bullet_{<d_\omega} \text{END } E, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\exists]$
-process	$[E \langle E, \bullet_{<d_\omega} \rangle]; [d\exists =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \uparrow d\varepsilon]$
-try	$[E \text{END } E =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } E =_{d_\omega} \text{AGT } d\varepsilon]; [p p \in \text{INT}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\exists} \uparrow d\omega]$
-habit	$[d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [{}^r s {}^r s: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\sigma]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\sigma}} \uparrow d\tau]$ $[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [{}^r e {}^r e: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\varepsilon}} \uparrow d\tau]$ $[\text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [{}^r E {}^r E: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\exists]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\varepsilon}} \uparrow d\tau]$
-ever	$[d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [{}^r s {}^r s: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\sigma]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\sigma}} \uparrow d\tau]$
-often	$[T \text{MOST} \langle d\tau t, T \rangle]; [d\tau \in d\tau t]; [d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]; [{}^r e {}^r e: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon];$ $[d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\varepsilon}} \uparrow d\tau]$
-slowly	$\lambda D. [\underline{\mathcal{E}} \text{SCALE} \langle \underline{\mathcal{E}}, \text{slower} \rangle]; D; [(\text{BEG } d(\exists t) =_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\exists), (d\exists \in \text{END } d(\exists t)t)]$
- <i>galuar</i>	$[Q \text{SOME} \langle \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, Q \rangle]; [p p = \text{MIN}_{d_\Omega t} d\Omega]; [d\omega \in (d\Omega - d\Omega)]$
-antip	$[w w \in \text{PER } d_\omega d\varepsilon]; [A]; [d\alpha t =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\alpha]$
-again	$[\text{BEG } d\sigma_n <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma]; [\{d\sigma t_n, d\sigma t\} \subseteq_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\sigma]$

v\w'	-IND.IV	$[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$ $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$ $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\exists <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$ $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\tau\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau\sigma, \text{EXP } d\tau\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[d\tau\sigma: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\sigma]; [\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$ $[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]; [\text{BEG } d\tau\exists <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau\exists, \text{AGT } d\tau\exists =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[d\tau\exists: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\exists]; [\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega];$
	-NEG	$[\partial(\text{speak}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle, \mathbf{d}\omega \notin d\Omega)]; [\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$
	-QUE	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega =_{(d_\omega)} \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\mathbf{Q}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega t = \uparrow d\Omega]; [\partial(\text{ask}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (?p \in \mathbf{d}\Omega t: \mathbf{d}\omega \in p) \rangle)]$ $\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [p]; [d\Omega =_{(d_\omega, d_{\beta t})} \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\mathbf{Q}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega t = \uparrow d\Omega]; [\partial(\text{ask}_{d_\omega} \langle d\varepsilon_1, \text{AGT}, (?p \in \mathbf{d}\Omega t: \mathbf{d}\omega \in p) \rangle)]$
	-OPT	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [\mathbf{d}\varepsilon \bullet <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\partial(\text{wish.for}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, \mathbf{d}\Omega \rangle)]$
	-IMP	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [\mathbf{d}\varepsilon \bullet <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]; [\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\partial(\text{command}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, \mathbf{d}\Omega \rangle)]$
	-IMP	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; D; [\mathbf{d}\varepsilon \bullet <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]; [p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega];$ $[\partial(\text{command}_{d_\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega) \rangle)]$
	-FCT _T	$[\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; ([t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma)$ $[d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; ([t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon)$
	-FCT _L	$[d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; ([t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon)$
	-HYP _T	$[\mathbf{d}\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma, d\tau_1 \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma]; [d\omega \in \mathbf{d}\Omega];$ $([\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega])$ $[d\varepsilon_2 <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau_1, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{EXP } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]; [t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [d\omega \in \mathbf{d}\Omega];$ $([\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega])$
	-HYP _L	$[\text{END } d\exists <_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon, d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau_1, \Pi d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\pi]; [t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [d\omega \in d\Omega];$ $([\mathbf{p}]; [\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega])$
	-HAB _T	$[d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau]; [a a = \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [\text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [d\tau\varepsilon: d\tau \rightarrow_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon]; [d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\varepsilon}} \uparrow d\tau];$ $[\mathbf{T}]; [\mathbf{d}\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_{\tau\varepsilon}} \uparrow \text{CON } d\varepsilon]; [t t \in \mathbf{d}\tau t]$
	-NON	$\lambda D. [w w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]; [t t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \cup \mathbf{d}\tau]; D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha];$ $[p]; [d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]; [\mathbf{d}\omega \in (\mathbf{d}\Omega - d\Omega)]$
	-ELA _T	$\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\sigma])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\exists])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\varepsilon_1])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [\text{BEG } d\exists \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\exists =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG } d\exists])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau\exists, \text{AGT } d\tau\exists =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [d\tau\exists = d\tau\exists_1])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D'; D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; [d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\omega])$
	-ELA _L	$\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma, \text{EXP } d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [\text{CON } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } \text{BEG } d\sigma])$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. (D; [d\varepsilon \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha]; D'; [\text{CON } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1])$

v\V	-3SG _(τ)	$[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]$ or $[\partial(\Pi d\sigma = \mathbf{d}\pi)]$ or ...
	-3SG _⊥	$[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]$ or $[\partial(\Pi d\sigma = d\pi)]$ or ...
	-3SG.3SG	$[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha, 3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha)]$; $[\neg(\mathbf{d}\alpha \circ d\alpha)]$ $[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha, d\omega \in \cap BEL_{d_\omega} BEG d\sigma)]$; $[p]$; $[d\Omega =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\omega]$
n\N'	-SG ^T	$([\mathbf{a}])$; $[EXP d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha, 3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha]$
	-3SG _T .SG ^T	$[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]$; $[EXP d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha, 3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha]$ $[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]$; $[EXP d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha, d\pi =_{d_\omega} \Pi d\sigma]$ $[\partial(d\pi_1 =_{d_\omega} \Pi d\exists)]$; $[\Pi d\sigma =_{d_\omega} d\pi]$
	-3SG _T .PL ^T	$[\partial(3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \mathbf{d}\alpha)]$; $[EXP d\sigma =_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha, d\alpha =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \cup \uparrow d\alpha]$
	-3PL _⊥ .SG	$[\partial(PL\langle d\tau t \rangle)]$; $[SG\langle d\tau, d\tau t \rangle]$
	-SG	$[3SG_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha]$ or $[SG\langle d\tau, d\tau t \rangle]$...
	-PL	$[3PL_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} d\alpha]$ or $[PL\langle d\tau t \rangle]$...
	-WH ^T	$\lambda D. [A]$; D ; $[d\alpha t =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\alpha]$
	-WH	$\lambda D. [T]$; D ; $[d\tau t =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\tau]$
	-WH	$\lambda D. ([A])$; D ; $[d\alpha t =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\alpha]$
n\N	-ERG	$[d\alpha =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \cup \uparrow d\alpha]$
	-LOC _{if}	$[t \mid t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\tau]$ $[s \mid \Pi s \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\pi]$
	-VIA _{if}	$[T]$; $[d\tau t = \text{MIN } \uparrow d\tau]$; $[t \mid t \in d\tau t]$ $[T]$; $[d\tau t = \text{MIN } \uparrow d\tau]$; $[d\tau \in d\tau t]$
	-ABL	$[\Pi d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\pi \neq_{d_\omega} \Pi \text{CON } d\varepsilon]$ or $[AGT d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$
	-DAT	$[\Pi \text{CON } d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\pi \neq_{d_\omega} \Pi d\varepsilon]$ or $[EXP d\varepsilon =_{d_\omega} d\alpha]$
	-MOD	$\lambda D \lambda D'. D$; $[A]$; $[d\alpha t =_{d_\omega, d_\sigma} \uparrow d\alpha]$; D' ; $[d\alpha \in d\alpha t]$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. D$; $[B]$; $[d\beta t =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon} \uparrow d\beta]$; D' ; $[d\beta \in d\beta t]$ $\lambda D \lambda D'. D$; $[E]$ $E =_{d_\omega, d((\exists t)t)} \uparrow d\exists]$; D' ; $[d\exists \in d\exists t]$
cl	=and	$[b \mid b = d\beta_1 + d\beta]$ or $[d\tau \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma]$; $[t \mid t = d\tau]$
	=but	$[w \mid w = (\mathbf{d}\Omega_1 - \mathbf{d}\Omega)]$ or $[\text{MIN}_{d\Omega'} \mathbf{d}\Omega_1 = (\mathbf{d}\Omega_1 - \mathbf{d}\Omega)]$
	=RPT	$\lambda D. [e \mid \text{speak}_{d_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT} \rangle, e <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, 3_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon}\langle \text{AGT } e \rangle]$; $([d\varepsilon = \delta_{s_\varepsilon, n}])$ $[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$; $[w \mid \text{speak}_w\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle]$; D $\lambda D. [e \mid \text{speak}_{d_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT} \rangle, \mathbf{d}\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} e, 3_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon}\langle \text{AGT } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon \rangle]$; $([d\varepsilon = \delta_{s_\varepsilon, n}])$ $[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$; $[w \mid \text{speak}_w\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle]$; D
pcl	then	$[t \mid t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]$
	first.then	$[\partial(\text{BEG } d\sigma \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau, d\omega \notin \mathbf{d}\Omega)]$; $[e \mid e \subseteq_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\tau <_{d_\omega} \vartheta \text{CON } e]$; $[t \mid t =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon + \vartheta \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon]$
	suddenly	$[e \mid \text{surprise}_{d_\omega}\langle e, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon \rangle, \vartheta e =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon]$; $[t \mid t =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon + \vartheta \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon]$
	immediately	$[e \mid e =_{d_\omega} \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon_2]$; $[t \mid t =_{d_\omega} \vartheta d\varepsilon + \vartheta \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon]$
	still	$[\partial(d\varepsilon <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon)]$; $[t \mid t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]$ or $[\partial(\text{BEG } d\sigma <_{d_\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon)]$; $[t \mid t \subseteq_{d_\omega} d\sigma]$
	that.be	$\lambda D. [p \mid p \in \text{BEL}_{d_\omega} \text{BEG CON } d\varepsilon, \mathbf{d}\omega \in p]$; $[w \mid w \in d\Omega]$; $[t \mid t \subseteq_{d_\omega} \text{CON } d\varepsilon]$; D ; $[d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$
	maybe	$\lambda D. [Q \mid Q =_{d_\omega} \text{BEL } d\varepsilon_2]$; $[p \mid \text{SOME}\langle \text{MIN}_{d\Omega'} d\Omega, p \rangle]$; $[d\omega \in d\Omega]$; D ; $[d\Omega = \uparrow d\omega]$
	of.course	$\lambda D. [p \mid \text{consider.obvious}_{d_\omega}\langle \text{CON } d\varepsilon_1, \text{AGT } d\varepsilon_1, p \rangle]$; $[Q]$; $[d\Omega t =_{d_\omega, d_\varepsilon 1} \uparrow d\Omega]$; D ; $[d\Omega = \text{MIN}_{d\Omega'} \mathbf{d}\Omega_1]$
	how	$[p \mid \text{say}_{d_\omega}\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, p \rangle]$; $[Q]$; $[d(\Omega t) =_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\Omega]$ $[Q \mid \text{ask}_{d_\omega}\langle d\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (?p \in d\Omega t: \mathbf{d}\omega \in p) \rangle]$; $[S]$; $[d((\Omega t)t) =_{d_\omega} \uparrow d\Omega t]$

Topology

ib, ff $[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$

Intonation

· $[\mathbf{p}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega \sim \mathbf{d}\omega]$

...” $[\mathbf{w} | \mathbf{w} = \mathbf{d}\omega_1]$

“...” $\lambda D. [\mathbf{e} | \text{*speak*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{e}, \text{AGT} \rangle]$; $[\mathbf{t} | =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; D ; $[\mathbf{e} | \mathbf{e} = \mathbf{d}\varepsilon_1]$

$\lambda D. [\partial(\text{*speak*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT} \rangle)]$; $[\mathbf{e} | \mathbf{e} = \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; $[\mathbf{t} | =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \vartheta \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; D ; $[\mathbf{e} | \mathbf{e} = \mathbf{d}\varepsilon_1]$

! $\lambda D. [w | w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]$; D ; $[\mathbf{d}\varepsilon \bullet <_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \text{EXP } \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; $[\mathbf{p}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$;
 $[\partial(\text{*command*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, \mathbf{d}\Omega \rangle)]$

? $\lambda D. [w | w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]$; D ; $[\mathbf{p}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega]$; $[\mathbf{Q}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega t = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\Omega]$;
 $[\partial(\text{*ask*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (?p \in \mathbf{d}\Omega t: \mathbf{d}\omega \in p) \rangle)]$

$\lambda D. [w | w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]$; D ; $[\mathbf{p}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega =_{\mathbf{d}\omega, (\mathbf{d}\beta t), \uparrow \mathbf{d}\omega}]$; $[\mathbf{Q}]$; $[\mathbf{d}\Omega t = \uparrow \mathbf{d}\Omega]$;

$[\partial(\text{*ask*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (?p \in \mathbf{d}\Omega t: \mathbf{d}\omega \in p) \rangle)]$

[...]?” $\lambda D. [w | w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega]$; D ; $[\mathbf{w} | \mathbf{w} = \mathbf{d}\omega_1]$; $[\partial(\text{*ask*}_{\mathbf{d}\omega} \langle \mathbf{d}\varepsilon, \text{AGT}, (?Q \in \mathbf{d}(\Omega t): Q = \mathbf{d}\Omega t) \rangle)]$