MOHAWK: NORTHERN IROQUOIAN

Ohkwari tanon' tsitsho

"The Bear and the Fox"

ONLINE UPDATE

Maria Bittner (4/24/2005)

In Mithun, M. & Woodbury, H. eds. 1980 *Northern Iroquoian Texts*, 77–95, U. Chicago Press.
REVISED TRANSCRIPTION: Standard Mohawk orthography (e.g., ʌ → en, u → on, l → r, …).
REVISED TRANSLATION: F. Lounsbury (*FL*), 1953, modulo M. Bittner (*MB*) 4/16/2005.
ONLINE UPDATE: See Bittner 2004 'Online Update: Quantified *de se* and polysynthesis'.
The following table lists some basic symbols of the semantic representation language to be used:

TABLE 1. Variables, demonstratives, and logical constants of *Logic of Centering*

Type	Abbr.	Name of objects	$^{\top}$Var	$^{\perp}$Var	$^{\top}$Dem	$^{\perp}$Dem	Con
t		truth values					
ω		worlds	**w**	w			
ε		events	**e**	e			
σ		states	**s**	s			
α		animates	**a**	a			
β		inanimates	**b**	b			
τ		times	**t**	t			
π		places	**l**	l			
ωt	Ω	ω-domains (propositions)	**p**	p			
εΩ		ε-dependent propositions	$\mathbf{p}_{\varepsilon}$	p_{ε}			
εt		ε-domains	**E**	E			
εε		ε-chains (processes)	**ee**	ee			
ωε	϶	ε-concepts	$\mathfrak{E}$	$\mathscr{E}$			
϶϶		ε-concept chains	$\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}$	$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$			
ωτt	θ	τ-domain concepts	$\mathfrak{D}$	$\mathscr{D}$			
ωτv	η^{v}	v-habits (v ∈ {ε, σ, εε})	$\mathbf{h}^{v}$	h^{v}			
ωvn	κ^{n}	n-kinds (n ∈ {α, β, τ, π})	$\mathbf{k}^{n}$	k^{n}			
⋮	⋮	⋮					
s		stacks (of dref objects)					
ω×s×s	s	information-and-attention states		i, j			
sa		a-demonstratives (a, dref type)			$\mathbf{da}_{n}$	$d\mathsf{a}_{n}$	
sst		updates					
ωσε		state onset					BG
ωεσ		result state					RS
ωεα		agent					AG
ωeα		dative (e ∈ {ε, σ})					DA
ωeβ		theme object (e ∈ {ε, σ})					OB
ωeτ		time (e ∈ {ε, σ})					ϑ
ωeπ		place (e ∈ {ε, σ})					Π

Form	*MB* gloss (stands for)	1st ex	Presuppositional test (^{P}); update; implicature (^{I})
Slot 1 (opt): CATEGORY-NEUTRAL prefix:			
n-	*of*	§1.1	[*e*| $d\kappa^{\pi}\{e\} =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\pi$]
		§1.3	[k^{π}| *d*εε: $k^{\pi}\{\varepsilon\} =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \Pi\{\varepsilon\}$]
sh-	*wth* ('with')	§4.3	
th-	*w/o* ('without')	§2.6	
Slot 2 (finite V): MOOD inflection = (CL_M*) + MOOD + (CL_M)			
t(e)-	EE (pl event)	§1.1	[*ee*| $prc_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *ee*] §1.3 [*ee*| $rcp_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *ee*]
(t)s-	^{n}EE (part of pl event)	§1.2^{3}	[$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$| *d*ə = $^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$] §1.3 [| *d*εε $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ⟨^{2}*d*əə, ^{3}*d*əə⟩]
y(e)-	XX (end of chain)	§1.1	[| *d*ε = ^{f}*d*εε] §2.1 [$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$ $\mathscr{A}$ $^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E} \subseteq \mathscr{L}$]
t(e)-	XX (beg. of chain)	§1.5	[*s*| *s* $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $^{1}d\pi\pi$]
wa'-	IND (indicative)	§1.1	[| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*ε < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε] (realized *event*)
		§1.2^{1}	[| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*εε < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε] (realized *1st* of *event*-chain)
		§1.2^{3}	[| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*əə < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε]; (realized *1st* of *planned ev*'s)
		MB05	[| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $^{1}d\eta^{\varepsilon}$ < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε] (realized *1st* of *habitual ev*'s)
en-	HYP (hypothetical)	§1.6^{2}	[$\mathscr{T}$| $\mathscr{T}$ $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS **d**ε]; ^{I}[| RS **d**ε: DA *expect*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**ωΩ]
		§2.1^{4}	[| **d**ωτ $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ə]; ^{I}[| RS *d*ə: DA *expect* **d**ωΩ]
		BT97	[$\mathscr{D}$| $\mathscr{D}$ $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS $d\eta^{\varepsilon}$]; ^{I}[| RS $d\eta^{\varepsilon}$: DA *expect* **d**ωΩ]
a(on)-	OPT (optative)	§2.1^{3}	[| ^{1}*d*əə $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS **d**ε]; ^{I}[| RS **d**ε: DA *want*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*əə];
		§1.6^{4}	[$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$| $^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ə]; ^{I}[| RS *d*ə: DA *want d*əə];
		§1.6^{3}	[$\mathbf{p}_{\omega}$ $\mathscr{S}$| BG $\mathscr{S} \subseteq_{\mathbf{p}\omega}$ ϑRS *d*ə]; ^{I}[| RS *d*ə: DA *want d*ωσ]
te-	IRR (irrealis)	§2.6	
Slot 3: Pronominal AGR with S, O			
	$3sm_U$	§1.1	^{P}[| *3sm* **d**α]; [| DA *d*ε $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]
	2s.1s	§1.6	^{P}[| *2s* **d**α, *1s d*α]; [| AG *d*ε $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α, DA *d*ε $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*α]
Slot 4: V.BASE = ({*se, se.se*}) + (n + n/v +) v (+ v\v)			
at-	*se-*	§1.1	[| AG *d*εε $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA {RS *d*εε}]
-stikahwah-	*-go.along-*	§1.1	[k^{π}| *d*εε: AG *go.along*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ k^{π}]
-en, -on	*-be*	§1.1	[*s*| DA *s* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG *d*εε]
-hakie	*-prg*	§1.1	[| *d*σ $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS ^{1}*d*εε]
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
Slot 5: ASPECT inflection = ASPECT + (CL_A)			asp-adjustment; $^{\top}$τω-location; pre-*fb* $^{\top}$τ-update
-(e)', -ne	EVT (eventive)	§1.1	([*e*| *e* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ BG *d*σ];) [| *d*ε $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε]
		§2.1^{4}	[| **d**ωτ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ $d\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [$\mathscr{D}$| $\mathscr{D}$ = ϑRS $^{1}d\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]
-(h)s, -ha	DUR (durative)	§1.1	([*s*| *s* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS *d*ε];) [| **d**τ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*σ];
(-en), *-on*	STA (stative)	§1.1	([*s*| *s* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS *d*ε];) [| **d**τ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*σ];
-s-kwe'	DUR.^{h}PRF ('used to')	BT98	[*s*| BG *s* $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ BG RS $^{f}d\eta^{\varepsilon}$]; [| **d**τ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ *d*σ];
-en-hne'	STA.^{n}PRF (*n*th res state)	BT98	[*s*| *s* $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ RS ^{n}*d*εε]; [| **d**τ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ *d*σ];

N-determiners

ne(*n*)	$D_{\top}$	§1.2	[| **d**α $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\varepsilon\varepsilon\}$]	*tsi*	$D_{\perp}$	§1.1	[*l*| *l* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\kappa^{\pi}\{d\varepsilon\}$]
		§2.1	[$\mathscr{T}$| $\mathscr{T}$ $=_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS **d**ε]			§1.2	[*e*| *e* = ^{f}*d*εε]
ki	N	§1.1	[**a** k^{α}| **a** = $k^{\alpha}\{\mathbf{d}\varepsilon\}$]	*tho*	K	§1.3	[$\mathbf{k}^{\alpha}$ *a*| *a* $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathbf{k}^{\alpha}\{d\varepsilon\}$]

§1. *Fox finds food and shares it with Bear*

(•) *Speech start-up*
[**w**| **w** = *r*]; [**e**| **e**: AG *speak.up*$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ ϑ**d**ε];

reality $^{\top}w$*: • $^{\top}e$*: speech event
| $^{\top}t$*: *e**-now

1.1 A fox… *if*: *if*
ki tsitsho
N *fox*
[**a** k^{α}| **a** = k^{α}{**d**ε}]; [| *fox* *d*κ$^{\alpha}$]; ^{I}[**p**| **p** = Dom *d*κ$^{\alpha}$];

…on the move… *if*: *mf*
te-
EE-
[*ee*| *prc*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *ee*]; (^{A}[**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS ^{1}*d*εε];)

ho-
3sm$_{U}$-
^{P}[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]; [| DA {RS *d*εε} =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

t- -stikahwah
se- *-go.along*
[| AG *d*εε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA {RS *d*εε}]; [k^{π}| *d*εε: AG *go.along*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ k^{π}];

-en -hákie
-be *-prg*
[*s*| DA *s* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG *d*εε]; [| *d*σ =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS ^{1}*d*εε]

-'
-STA
[| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*σ];

reality $^{\top}w$*: • $^{\top}e$*: speech event
| *t**: *e**-now

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story world)
••… ee_1: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-fox a_1 goes along $k^{\pi}{}_1$-path
‖ $^{\top}t_1 = \vartheta_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_1$: result time of ee_1-time
= $s_1 = \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_1$: result state of ee_1-departure

1.1 …suddenly *ib*
thontaiawénhstsi
suddenly
[*e*| *e* ∈ *d*εε]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑ*d*ε];

…came upon *mf*
yah- à-
XX- IND-
[| *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{f}*d*εε]; [| ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*ε < ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

ra-
3sm-
^{P}[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]; [| AG *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

we-
-*arrive*
^{P}[| *d*εε: AG *go.along*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*κ$^{\pi}$]; [| *d*ε = ^{f}*d*εε];

-'
-EVT
[| *d*ε ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε];

…a place
tsi- nón *ff*
D$_{\perp}$- *place/time*
[*l*| *l* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*κ$^{\pi}${*d*ε}]; [| Π{ε} ⊆ *d*κ$^{\pi}${ε}]

…where a mare was lying down…
ni- ka-
of- 3sf-
[*e*| *d*κ$^{\pi}${*e*} =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*π]; ^{P}[**k**$^{\alpha}$| *3sf*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **k**$^{\alpha}${*d*ε}]; [| AG *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*ε}];

ya'kyónni- -∅
lie.down -STA
[| *d*ε: AG *lie.down*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$]; [*s*| *s* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS *d*ε]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*σ];

ko-
3s.3s-
^{P}[| *3s* AG *d*η$^{\varepsilon}$, *3s* **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$}]; [| DA{*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$} = **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$}];

hsaten- -s
ride.astride -DUR
[| *d*η$^{\varepsilon}$: AG *ride.astride* DA]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ *d*η$^{\varepsilon}$];

…asleep.
yó- -tá'- -s
3sf$_{U}$- -*sleep*- -DUR
^{P}[| *3sf*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*σ}]; [| DA *d*σ =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*σ}]; [| *d*σ: DA *sleep*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*σ];

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)

••… •
‖
=
•
‖
‖
•
===…

ee_1: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-fox a_1 goes along $k^{\pi}{}_1$-path
$t_1 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}{}^{1}ee_1$: result time of ee_1-dep.
$s_1 = \mathrm{RS}_{w0}{}^{1}ee_1$: result state of ee_1-departure
$e_1 = {}^{f}ee_1$: ee_1-end; fox a_1 arrives at l_1
$t'_1 = \vartheta_{w0}\ e_1$: e_1-time
${}^{\top}t''_1 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_1$: e_1-arrival result time
e'_1: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare lies down in l_1
$s'_1 = \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e'_1$: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare is still lying in l_1
$k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare is asleep

1.2[1] He sucked milk from… mf_1

wa-
IND-
[*ee*|]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}{}^{1}d\varepsilon\varepsilon < \vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

ha-
3sm-
^{P}[| *3sm* $\mathbf{d}\alpha$]; [| AG $d\varepsilon\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\alpha$];

non'- -ké:ra-
milk.of- *-drink.from-*
[k^{β}| k^{β} *milk.of* $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}$]; [$h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$| $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$: AG *drink* $d\kappa^{\beta}$ *from* $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}$];

-'
-EVT
[| $d\varepsilon\varepsilon \in_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [| ${}^{1}d\varepsilon\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\tau$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \vartheta$RS ${}^{1}d\varepsilon\varepsilon$]

…the mare fb_1

ki
N
[*a*| $a =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\varepsilon\varepsilon\}$];

ko-
3s.3s-
^{P}[| *3s* AG $d\eta^{\varepsilon}$, *3s* $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\eta^{\varepsilon}\}$]; [| DA$\{d\eta^{\varepsilon}\} = \mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\eta^{\varepsilon}\}$];

hsaten- -s
ride.astride -DUR
[| $d\eta^{\varepsilon}$: AG *ride.astride* DA]; [| $\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\eta^{\varepsilon}$];

1.2[2] …until *if*$_2$

tsi=
$D_{\perp}$=
[*e*| *e* = $^{f}d\varepsilon\varepsilon$];

ni- yó-
of- $3s_{U}$-
[k^{τ}| $d\varepsilon\varepsilon$: $k^{\tau}\{\varepsilon\} =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \vartheta\{\varepsilon\}$]; ^{P}[| *3s* **d**$\tau$]; [| $d\kappa^{\tau}\{^{2}d\varepsilon\varepsilon\} =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ];

re- -'
distance- -CL
[| $^{2}d\varepsilon\varepsilon <_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\varepsilon$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\kappa^{\tau}\{d\varepsilon\}$]

…he had his fill *mf*$_2$

y- a-
XX- IND-
[| $d\varepsilon = {}^{f}d\varepsilon\varepsilon$]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\, d\varepsilon < \vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

hó-
$3sm_{U}$-
^{P}[| *3sm* **d**α]; [| DA {RS $d\varepsilon$} $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

-hta'-
-eat.one's.fill-
^{P}[| ($d\varepsilon\varepsilon$: AG $feed_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$), $d\varepsilon = {}^{f}d\varepsilon\varepsilon$]; [| RS $d\varepsilon$: DA $feel.full_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$];

-ne'
-EVT
[| $d\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \vartheta$RS $d\varepsilon$];

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)
⋮ ⋮
• $e_1 = {}^{f}ee_1$: ee_1-end; fox a_1 arrives at l_1
‖ $t'_1 = \vartheta_{w0}\, e_1$: e_1-time
‖ $t''_1 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS_{w0} e_1: e_1-arrival result time
• e'_1: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare lies down in l_1
===… $s'_1 = RS_{w0}\, e'_1$: $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare is still lying in l_1
$k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare is asleep
1 ••…• ee_2: fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucks $k^{\beta}{}_2$-milk from $k^{\alpha}{}_1$-mare a_2
2 • $e_2 = {}^{f}ee_2$: end of ee_2-sucking,
in e_2-result state fox a_1 feels full
‖ $t_2 = \vartheta_{w0}\, e_2$: e_2-time
‖ ${}^{\top}t'_2 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS_{w0} e_2: e_2-result.time

1.2[3] …and then
tánon' *if*$_3$
and
[*ee*| ^{1}*ee* $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS *d*ε];

…took a little bit for a snack.
stónha *ib*$_3$
little.bit
^{P}[| *d*εε ∈ *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [*b*| *b* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*κ$^\beta${RS ^{f}*d*εε}, *small*{*b*, (*d*κ$^\beta$| RS ^{f}*d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$)}];

y- on.s.a- *mf*$_3$
XX̲- ^{n}EE- (s-) IND- (wa'-)
[$\mathscr{E}$| $\mathscr{E}$ =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{f}*d*εε]; [$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$| *d*ə = $^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*əə < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

ha-
3sm-
[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]; [| AG *d*əə = **d**α]

(a)t- -énna't-
se- *-snack.on-*
[| AG *d*əə = DA {RS *d*əə}]; [| ^{f}*d*əə: AG *snack.on d*β]; ^{I}[| *process d*əə]

-e'
-EVT
[| ^{1}*d*əə $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS ^{1}*d*əə]

$w_0 \in {}^\top p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)
⋮ ⋮
====… s'_1 = RS$_{w0}$ e'_1: $k^\alpha{}_1$-mare is still lying in l_1
$k^\alpha{}_1$-mare is asleep
1 ••…•… ee_2: fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucks $k^\beta{}_2$-milk from $k^\alpha{}_1$-mare
2 • e_2 = $^f ee_2$: end of ee_2-sucking,
in e_2-result state fox a_1 feels full
|| t_2 = ϑ_{w0} e_2: e_2-time
|||| t'_2 = ϑ_{w0} RS$_{w0}$ e_2: e_2-result.time
3 •• ee'_2: fox a_1 again $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucks $k^\beta{}_2$-mlk fr $k^\alpha{}_1$-mare
• $^f ee'_2$ = [$^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$]$w_0$: end of ee'_2-sucking, resulting
in b_2-small amt (small for rs of $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucking)
of k^β-milk, 1st stage of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$-action plan
|| $^\top t''_2$ = ϑ_{w0} [$^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$]$w_0$: result tm of 1st stg of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$

~~~~~~

$w_2 \in$ Dom $^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$ ($\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$-action plan successfully completed)
•…• ⟨[$^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$]$w_0$,…, ⟨[$^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$]$w_2$⟩:
activity by fox a_1, ending with fox a_1
snacking on b_2-milk sucked out in $\mathscr{E}_2$
~~~~~~

1.3[1] He had just gone a short distance, when…

kwah ken *if*
just *some*
$^{P}[\mid \mathbf{d\tau} =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \vartheta\mathrm{RS}\ {}^{1}d\ni\ni]$; $[ee\mid ee =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \langle {}^{2}d\ni\ni, {}^{3}d\ni\ni\rangle]$; $[\mathbf{t}\mid \mathbf{t} =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \vartheta\mathrm{RS}\ {}^{1}d\varepsilon\varepsilon]$; $[e\mid e \in d\varepsilon\varepsilon]$;

ni- yó-
of- $3s_U$-
$[k^{\pi}\mid d\ni\ni\colon k^{\pi}\{\varepsilon\} = \Pi\{\varepsilon\}]$; $^{P}[\mid 3s\ d\pi]$; $[\mid d\kappa^{\pi}\{{}^{1}d\ni\ni\} =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} d\pi]$;

re- -a'
distance- -DIM
$[\mid {}^{1}d\ni\ni <_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} d\varepsilon]$; $^{P}[\mid d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} {}^{3}d\ni\ni]$; $[\mathbf{l}\mid \mathbf{l} =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} d\kappa^{\pi}\{d\varepsilon\}]$;

n- ye- s-
of- XX- ^{n}EE-
$[\mid d\kappa^{\pi}\{d\varepsilon\} =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \mathbf{d}\pi]$; $[\mid d\varepsilon = {}^{f}d\varepsilon\varepsilon]$; $[\mid d\varepsilon\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \langle {}^{2}d\ni\ni, {}^{3}d\ni\ni\rangle]$;

haw-
3sm-
$[\mid 3sm_{\mathbf{d\Omega}}\ \mathbf{d}\alpha]$; $[\mid \mathrm{AG}\ d\varepsilon\varepsilon = \mathbf{d}\alpha]$;

e-
go-
$[\mid d\varepsilon\varepsilon\colon \mathrm{AG}\ go.along_{\mathbf{d\Omega}}\ d\kappa^{\pi}]$;

-non
-STA
$[s\mid s =_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} \mathrm{RS}\ {}^{1}d\varepsilon\varepsilon]$; $[\mid \mathbf{d\tau} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d\Omega}} d\sigma]$;

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)
⋮ ⋮
• ${}^{f}ee'_2 = [{}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0$: end of ee'_2-sucking, resulting in b_2-small amt (small for rs of $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucking) of k^{β}-milk, 1st stage of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$-action plan
‖ $t''_2 = \vartheta_{w0}\ [{}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0$: result tm of 1st stg of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$
•• $ee_3 = \langle [{}^{2}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0, [{}^{3}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0\rangle$: nxt 2 stgs of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$, fox a_1 goes (away from l_1) along path $k^{\pi}{}_3$ just a little bit (compared to planned ${}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$)
‖ ${}^{\top}t_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_3$: aft. 1st stg of ee_3-short walk
• $e_3 = {}^{f}ee_3 = [{}^{3}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0$: ee_3-end, jst 3rd $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$-stage fox a_1 arrives at ${}^{\top}l_3 = k^{\pi}{}_3w_0e_3$
= $s_3 = \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_3$: result state of 1st stage of ${}^{1}ee_3$

~~~~~~

$w_2 \in \mathrm{Dom}\ {}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$ ($\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2$-action plan successfully completed)
•••…• $\langle [{}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_2, \langle [{}^{2}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0, [{}^{3}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_0, \ldots, \langle [{}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_2\rangle$: activity by fox a_1, ending with fox a_1 snacking on b_2-milk sucked out in $[{}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_2]w_2$
~~~~~~

1.3[2] …he bumped into a bear.

tho *ib*
K
[$\mathbf{k}^{\alpha}$ *a*| *a* =$_{d\Omega}$ $\mathbf{k}^{\alpha}${*dε*}];

o- -hkwári
sg- *-bear*
[| *one*(*dα*, $\mathbf{d\kappa}^{\alpha}$)]; [| *bear* $\mathbf{d\kappa}^{\alpha}$];

wa- t- *mf*
IND- EE-
[| $\vartheta_{d\Omega}$ *dε* < $\vartheta_{d\omega}$ **dε**]; [*ee*| *recip*$_{d\Omega}$ *ee*]; [| *dε* ∈ *dεε*];

hy-
33m-
[| *33m*$_{d\Omega}$ {**dα**, *dα*}]; [**A**| **A** = {**dα**, *dα*}]; [| ∪AG *dεε* =$_{d\Omega}$ **dα***t*];

ate- -ra'-
se- *bump.into-*
[| *dεε*: AG{ε} =$_{d\Omega}$ DA{*dεε*(ε)}];[| (*dεε*: AG *come.upon*$_{d\Omega}$ DA), (*dεε*: ϑε =$_{d\Omega}$ ϑ*dεε*(ε))]

-ne'
-EVT
[| *dεε* ⊆$_{d\Omega}$ **dτ**]; [**t**| **t** =$_{d\Omega}$ ϑRS *dεε*];

reality $^{\top}w$*: • $^{\top}e$*: speech event
| *t**: *e**-now

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)
⋮ ⋮
• $^{f}ee'_2$: end of ee'_2-sucking, resulting in b_2-small amt (small for rs of $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucking) of k^{β}-milk
‖ $t''_2 = \vartheta_{w0}\ {}^{f}ee'_2$: result tm of ee'_2-sucking
•• ee_3: fox a_1 goes (away from l_1) along path $k^{\pi}{}_3$ just a little bit (compared to $\mathscr{EE}_2$-plan)
‖ $t_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_3$: aft. 1st stg of ee_3-short walk
• $e_3 = {}^{f}ee_3 = [{}^{3}\mathscr{EE}_2]w_0$: ee_3-end, jst 3rd $\mathscr{EE}_2$-stage fox a_1 arrives at ${}^{\top}l_3 = k^{\pi}{}_3 w_0 e_3$
= $s_3 = \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ {}^{1}ee_3$: result state of 1st stage of ${}^{1}ee_3$
: $ee'_3 = \{\langle e_3, ee'_3(e_3)\rangle, \langle ee'_3(e_3), e_3\rangle\}$ fox a_1 and $k^{\alpha}{}_3$-bear a_3 come upon each other
‖ ${}^{\top}t'_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ ee'_3$: ee_3'-meeting result time

1.4[1] The bear said:

wa- *mf*
IND-
[*e*|]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*ε < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

hèn-
3sm-
[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*ε}]; [| AG *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*ε}];

-ron-
-*say*
[| *d*ε: AG *speak*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$];

-'
-EVT
[| *d*ε ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε];

n= *ff*
D$_{\top}$
[| *d*α =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*ε}];

o- -hkwári
sg- -*bear*
[| *one*(*d*α, **d**κ$^{\alpha}$)]; [| *bear* **d**κ$^{\alpha}$];

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)

⋮ ⋮

• $^{f}ee'_2$: end of ee'_2-sucking, resulting in b_2-small amt (small for rs of $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_2$-sucking) of k^{β}-milk

‖ $t''_2 = \vartheta_{w0}\ {}^{f}ee'_2$: result tm of ee'_2-sucking

•• ee_3: fox a_1 goes (away from l_1) along path $k^{\pi}{}_3$ just a little bit (compared to $\mathscr{EE}_2$-plan)

⋮ ⋮

: $ee'_3 = \{\langle e_3, ee'_3(e_3)\rangle, \langle ee'_3(e_3), e_3\rangle\}$ fox a_1 and $k^{\alpha}{}_3$-bear a_3 come upon each other

‖ $t'_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ ee'_3$: ee_3'-meeting result time

• e_4: $k^{\alpha}{}_3$-bear a_3 speaks

‖ ${}^{\top}t_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-result time

1.4[2] " (shift to bear's voice)
[**e**| **e** = $d\varepsilon$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\vartheta\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

(*oh* or begin question intonation)
WH
[$\mathscr{E}$| ($\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$: AG *request*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathscr{E}$), ($\mathscr{E}$: AG *specify* OB)]; $^{\mathrm{I}}$[| AG $\mathbf{d}\ni$ = DA $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

what…

n=	-ah	-òt.en	*if*
$D_{\top}$=	*-thing*	*-kind*.CL	

[$\mathbf{k}^{\beta}$| $\mathbf{k}^{\beta}$ $=_{d\Omega}$ OB $\mathbf{d}\ni$]; [| *inanimate* $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\beta}$]; [| $d\Omega \subseteq$ Dom $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\beta}$];

…is that…

ne'	thiken	*ib*
$D_{\top}$	*that*	

[b| b $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathbf{d}\kappa^{\beta}\{\mathbf{d}\varepsilon\}$]; [| $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$: AG *point.at*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\beta$];

…stuff bulging in your cheeks

sa-	*mf*
$2s_{U}$-	

[| $2s_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathbf{d}\alpha$]; [s| DA s $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathbf{d}\alpha$];

-hnoskw-	-a-	-hnont-
cheek.cavity-	-n/v-	*-have.full.cheeks-*

[k^{π}| k^{π} *cheek.cavity.of* DA]; $^{\mathrm{P}}$[| $d\kappa^{\pi}$ *cheek.cavity.of* DA]; [| $d\sigma$: $d\beta$ *fill*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\kappa^{\pi}$];

-e'
-STA
[| $\mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\sigma$];

? (end of question intonation) " (end bear's voice)
[| $\mathbf{d}\ni \subseteq \vartheta$RS $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$]; [**e**| **e** = $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon_1$]

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$	(p_0-story worlds)
⋮	⋮
:	$ee'_3 = \{\langle e_3, ee'_3(e_3)\rangle, \langle ee'_3(e_3), e_3\rangle\}$
	fox a_1 and k^{α}_3-bear a_3 come upon each other
‖	$t'_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ ee'_3$: ee_3'-meeting result time
•	$^{(\top)}e_4$: k^{α}_3-bear a_3 speaks, requesting $\mathscr{E}_4$-answer
‖	$t_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-result time
‖	$t'_4 = \vartheta_{w0}\ e_4$: e_4-request time
…=…	s_4: e_4-dat has his cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}_4$-stuff b_4
‖	${}^{\top}t''_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time

~~~~~~

$w_4 \in$ Dom $\mathscr{E}_4$	(e_4-requested worlds)
‖	${}^{\top}t''_4 = \vartheta_{w4}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time
•	${}^{\top}\mathscr{E}_4 w_4$: e_4-requested ans, e_4-dat specifies ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}_4$
~~~~~~

1.5[1] The fox said:

wa- *mf*
IND-
[e|]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\varepsilon$ < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

hèn-
3sm-
[| $3sm_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathbf{d}\alpha$]; [| AG $d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\alpha$];

-ron-
-say-
[p| $d\varepsilon$: AG $say_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ p]; $^{\mathrm{I}}$[| $d\varepsilon =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\ni$];

-'
-EVT
[| $d\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\tau$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS $d\varepsilon$];

ne tsitsho *ff*
$\mathrm{D}_\top$ fox
[| $\mathbf{d}\alpha =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\kappa^\alpha\{d\varepsilon\}$]; [| *fox* $d\kappa^\alpha$]

$w_0 \in {}^\top p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)
⋮ ⋮
: $ee'_3 = \{\langle e_3, ee'_3(e_3)\rangle, \langle ee'_3(e_3), e_3\rangle\}$
fox a_1 and k^α_3-bear a_3 come upon each other
|| $t'_3 = \vartheta_{w0}\ ee'_3$: ee_3'-meeting result time
• e_4: k^α_3-bear a_3 speaks, requesting $\mathscr{E}_4$-answer
|| $t_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-result time
|| $t'_4 = \vartheta_{w0}\ e_4$: e_4-request time
…=… s_4: e_4-dat has his cheeks full of ${}^\top k^\beta_4$-stuff b_4
|| $t''_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time
• $e_5 = {}^\top\mathscr{E}_4 w_0$: e_4-requested answer, fox a_1
specifies ${}^\top k^\beta_4$, by claiming to be in p_5
|| ${}^\top t_5 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS$_{w0}$ e_5: e_5-answer result time

~~~~~~

$w_4 \in$ Dom $\mathscr{E}_4$ (e_4-requested worlds)
|| ${}^\top t''_4 = \vartheta_{w4}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time
• ${}^\top\mathscr{E}_4 w_4$: e_4-requested ans, e_4-dat specifies ${}^\top k^\beta_4$

~~~~~~

$w_5 \in p_5$ (e_5-claim worlds)

1.5[2] " (shift to fox's voice)
[**e**| **e** = *d*ε]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑ**d**ε]; [**p**$_{\omega}$| **p**$_{\omega}$ = λ*w* ∈ **d**Ω.*d*Ω];

[There is] a mare…
ko- *if*: *if*
3s.3s-
^{P}[*h*$^{\varepsilon}$| *3s* AG{*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$}, *3s* DA{*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$}]; [**k**$^{\alpha}$| DA{*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$} = **k**$^{\alpha}${*d*η$^{\varepsilon}$}];

hsaten- -s
ride.astride -DUR
[| *d*η$^{\varepsilon}$: AG *ride.astride* DA]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*η$^{\varepsilon}$];

…over there…
ise- *if*: *ib*
there-
[*s*| **d**ε: AG *point.to*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *s*]; [| *d*α$_1$ =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*σ}]; [*a*| *a* = *d*α$_1$];

-nekwa
-direction
[*ll*| Π*d*σ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ^{1}*ll*, Π**d**ε ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{f}*ll*];

…sleeping, …
k- *if*: *mf*
XX-
[| *d*σ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*ππ];

yó-
3sf$_{U}$-
^{P}[| *3sf*$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*σ}]; [| DA *d*σ =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**κ$^{\alpha}${*d*σ}];

-tá'- -s
-sleep- -DUR
[| *d*σ: DA *sleep*$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*σ];

1.5[3] I have sucked milk from her. *mf*
y- a'-
X**X**- IND-
[*ee*| *d*σ$_1$ =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ RS ^{f}*ee*]; ^{I}[*e*| *e* = ^{f}*d*εε]; ^{P}[| ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*ε < ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**ε];

ke-
1s.3s-
^{P}[| *1s* **d**α, *3s d*α]; [| AG *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**α, DA *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*α];

non'- ké:ra-
milk.of- *drink.from-*
[| **d**κ$^{\beta}$ *milk.of* **d**κ$^{\alpha}$]; [*h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$| *h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$: AG *drink* **d**κ$^{\beta}$ *from* **d**κ$^{\alpha}$]; [| *d*εε ∈$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$];

-'
-EVT
^{P}[| *d*ε = ^{f}*d*εε]; [| **d**τ ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ RS *d*ε]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε]

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)

⋮

• e_4: bear a_3 asks fox a_1 for $\mathscr{E}_4$-ans ('what's $k^{\beta}{}_4$?')

⋮

====… s_4: e_4-dat (fox a_1) has cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-stuff b_4

|| $t''_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time

• ${}^{\top}e_5 = {}^{\top}\mathscr{E}_4 w_0$: e_4-requested answer,
fox a_1 specifies ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$ by claiming to be in p_5

|| $t_5 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS_{w0} e_5: e_5-answer result time

| $t'_5 = \vartheta_{w0}$ e_5: e_5-answer now

~~~~~~

$w_5 \in p_5 = \text{Ran}\ {}^{\top}p_{\omega.5}$ (e_5-claim worlds)

…==… s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg of ll_5-path (pointed at by ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt = fox a_1), leading to ${}^{\top}e_5$-here

••• ee_5: ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt (fox a_1) $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2

====… $s_4 = \text{RS}_{w5}\ {}^{f}ee_5$: fox a_1 has cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk

||||||||||… ${}^{\top}t''_5 = \text{RS}_{w5}\ {}^{f}ee_5$: ee_5-sucking result time

1.5^f " (end fox's voice)
[**e**| **e** = **d**ε_1];

1.6^1 " (shift to bear's voice)
[**e**| (**e**: AG *speak*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$), AG **e** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA $d\varepsilon$, DA **e** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG $d\varepsilon$]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑ**d**ε];

Gosh!
owá! *if*
gosh (admiring tone)
[| **d**ε: AG *exclaims.with.admiration for*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA];

" (end bear's voice)
[**e**| **e** = **d**ε_1];

…said the bear.
wa- *mf*
IND-
[*e*| *e* = **d**ε_1]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\varepsilon$ < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

hèn-
3sm-
P[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $d\alpha_1$]; [**a**| **a** = $d\alpha_1$]; [| AG $d\varepsilon$ $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

-ron- -'
-*say*- -EVT
P[| $d\varepsilon$: AG *speak*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$]; [| $d\varepsilon \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS $d\varepsilon$];

ki' o-hkwari *ff*
N sg-*bear*
[| **d**α $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**$\kappa^{\alpha}{}_1\{d\varepsilon\}$]; [$k^{\alpha}$| k^{α} = **d**$\kappa^{\alpha}{}_1$]; [| *bear* $d\kappa^{\alpha}$]
~~~~~~

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$	(p_0-story worlds)
⋮	⋮
•	e_4: bear a_3 asks fox a_1 for $\mathscr{E}_4$-ans ('what's $k^{\beta}{}_4$?')
⋮	⋮
====…	s_4: e_4-dat (fox a_1) has cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-stuff b_4
‖	$t''_4 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS e_4: e_4-request result time
•	$e_5 = {}^{\top}\mathscr{E}_4 w_0$: e_4-requested answer, fox a_1 specifies ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$ by claiming to be in p_5
|	$t_5 = \vartheta_{w0}$ e_5: e_5-answer now
‖	$t'_5 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS$_{w0}$ e_5: e_5-answer result time
•	e_6: bear a_3 exclaims with admiration for fox a_1
‖	${}^{\top}t_6 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS$_{w0}$ e_6: e_6-exclamation result time

~~~~~~

$w_5 \in p_5 =$ Ran ${}^{\top}p_{\omega.5}$	(e_5-claim worlds)
…==…	s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg of ll_5-path (pointed at by ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt = fox a_1), leading to ${}^{\top}e_5$-here
•••	ee_5: ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt (fox a_1) $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2
====…	$s_4 =$ RS$_{w5}$ ${}^{f}ee_5$: fox a_1 has cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk
||||||||||…	$t''_5 =$ RS$_{w5}$ ${}^{f}ee_5$: ee_5-sucking result time

1.6[2] " (shift again to bear's voice)
[**e**| (**e**: AG $speak_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$), AG **e** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG $d\varepsilon$, DA **e** $=_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA $d\varepsilon$]; [| $\mathbf{d}\tau =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \vartheta \mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

How about…[1]
ká- *if*
wh-
[$\mathscr{E}$| ($\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$: AG $request_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathscr{E}$), $\mathscr{E} \subseteq \vartheta$RS $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$];

-ti'
-how
[$\mathbf{p}_\omega$| $\mathbf{p}_\omega = \lambda w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega$. Dom $d\ni$];

---

[1] • In $\mathbf{d}\Omega$, $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$ is an action (speech act) whose agent (speaker) requests the realization of $\mathscr{E}$
($\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$: AG $request_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ $\mathscr{E}$) := $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega_i.\ request_w(\mathbf{d}\varepsilon_i$, AG$_w$ $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon_i$, Dom $\mathscr{E})$
• Any realization of $\mathscr{E}$ occurs during the result state of $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$
($\mathscr{E} \subseteq \vartheta$RS $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$) := $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in$ Dom $\mathscr{E}$: $\vartheta_w\ \mathscr{E}w \subseteq \vartheta_w$ RS$_w$ $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon_i$
~~~~~~

1.6[2] …showing me…[2]

en- *mf*
HYP-
$[\mathcal{T}|\ \mathcal{T} =_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega} \vartheta_{\mathrm{RS}}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; $^{\mathrm{I}}[|\ \mathrm{RS}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon\colon \mathrm{DA}\ \mathit{expect}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega]$

-ske
-2s.1s
$[\mathbf{a}\ a|\ \mathit{2s}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{a},\ \mathit{1s}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ a]$; $[|\ \mathrm{AG}\{d\text{ə}\} = \mathbf{d}\alpha,\ \mathrm{DA}\{\mathrm{RS}\ d\text{ə}\} = d\alpha]$;

-natón
-show
$[|\ d\text{ə}\colon \mathrm{AG}\ \mathit{show}\ \mathrm{DA}\ d\pi)]$;

-ha -hs-
-go.to *-dat-*
$[\mathcal{EE}|\ (\mathcal{EE}\colon \mathrm{AG}\ \mathit{go.along}\ d\pi\pi),\ d\text{ə} \subseteq \vartheta_{\mathrm{RS}}\ {}^{f}d\text{əə}]$; $[|\ \mathrm{DA}\{\mathrm{RS}\ d\text{ə}\} = d\alpha]$;

-e'
-EVT
$[|\ d\text{ə} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega} \mathbf{d}\omega\tau]$; $[\mathcal{T}|\ \mathcal{T} = \vartheta_{\mathrm{RS}}\ d\text{ə}]$;

…where…
ka'- -nón *ff*
wh- *-plc/tm*
$^{\mathrm{P}}[|\ (\mathbf{d}\varepsilon\colon \mathrm{AG}\ \mathit{request}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ d\text{ə}),\ d\text{ə} \subseteq \vartheta_{\mathrm{RS}}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon]$; $[|\ d\text{ə} \subseteq d\pi]$;

…she's sleeping…
ni- -yó
of- $-3\mathrm{sf}_{\mathrm{U}}$
$^{\mathrm{P}}[|\ d\sigma \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\pi]$; $[|\ \mathit{3sf}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\sigma\}]$; $[|\ \mathrm{DA}\ d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\kappa^{\alpha}\{d\sigma\}]$;

-ta'
-sleep
$^{\mathrm{P}}[|\ d\sigma\colon \mathrm{DA}\ \mathit{sleep}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}]$;

-s
-DUR
$[|\ \mathbf{d}\tau \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\sigma]$

---

[2]
- In any $\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega$-accessible world, $\mathcal{T}$ is the time of the result state of $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$
  $\mathcal{T} =_{\mathrm{d}\omega\Omega} \vartheta_{\mathrm{RS}}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon$:= $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega_i \forall w' \in \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega_i w\colon \mathcal{T}w' = \vartheta_{w'}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w'}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon_i$
- In $\mathbf{d}\Omega$, the experiencer of the result state of $\mathbf{d}\varepsilon$ expects $\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega$
  $\mathrm{RS}\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon\colon \mathrm{DA}\ \mathit{expect}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega$:= $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in \mathbf{d}\Omega_i \exists s\colon s = \mathrm{RS}_w\ \mathbf{d}\varepsilon_i \wedge \mathit{expect}_w(s, \mathrm{DA}_w\ s, \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega_i w)$
- Any realization of $d\text{ə}$ is an action whose agent shows the experiencer the place $d\pi$
  $d\text{ə}\colon \mathrm{AG}\ \mathit{show}\ \mathrm{DA}\ d\pi$:= $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in \mathrm{Dom}\ d\text{ə} \exists e\colon e = d\text{ə}_i w \wedge \mathit{show}_w(e, \mathrm{AG}_w\ e, \mathrm{DA}_w\ e, d\pi_i)$
- Any realization of $\mathcal{EE}$ is a walk along $d\pi\pi$-path
  $\mathcal{EE}\colon \mathrm{AG}\ \mathrm{go.along}\ \mathrm{d}\pi\pi$:= $\lambda i.$ process $\mathcal{EE}$
  $\wedge\ \forall \mathcal{E} \in \mathcal{EE} \forall w \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathcal{E}\colon \mathit{walk}_w(\mathcal{E}w, \mathrm{AG}_w\ \mathcal{E}w)$
  $\wedge\ \forall \mathcal{E} \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathcal{EE} \forall w \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathcal{E} \forall w' \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathcal{EE}(\mathcal{E})\ \exists l \in \mathrm{Dom}\ d\pi\pi\colon$
  $l \subseteq \Pi_w\ \mathcal{E}w \wedge d\pi\pi_i(l) \subseteq \Pi_{w'}\ \mathcal{EE}(\mathcal{E})w'$
- In any $\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega$-accessible world, $d\text{ə}$ is realized within $\mathbf{d}\omega\tau$-frame
  $d\text{ə} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega} \mathbf{d}\omega\tau$:= $\lambda i.\ \forall w \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega_i \forall w' \in \mathbf{d}\omega\Omega_i w\colon \vartheta_{w'}\ d\text{ə}_i w' \subseteq \mathbf{d}\omega\tau_i w'$

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$	(p_0-story worlds)
⋮	⋮
•	$e_5 = {}^{\top}\mathscr{E}_4 w_0$: e_4-requested answer, fox a_1 specifies ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$ by claiming to be in p_5
|	$t_5 = \vartheta_{w0}\ e_5$: e_5-answer now
||	$t'_5 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_5$: e_5-answer result time
•	e_6: bear a_3 exclaims with admiration for fox a_1
||	${}^{\top}t_6 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_6$: e_6-exclamation result time
•	${}^{\top}e'_6$: bear a_3 requests & expects $\mathscr{E}_6$ dur RS e'_6
…===…	s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg l_6 of ll_5-path

~~~~~~

$w_6 \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathscr{E}_6 = \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^{\top}p_{\omega,6}$	(e'_6-request/expectation of bear a_3)
|||||||	$\mathscr{T}_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ e'_6$: e'_6-request result time
••	$\langle {}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \ldots {}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \rangle$: fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_5-path
•	$\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: during ${}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-result, fox a_1 shows bear a_3 bg l_6 of ll_5-pth, plc of s_5-sleep of ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2
||	${}^{\top}\mathscr{T}'_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}$ RS $\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result time

~~~~~~

$w_5 \in p_5 = \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^{\top}p_{\omega.5}$	(e_5-claim by fox a_1)
…==…	s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg of ll_5-path (pointed at by ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt = fox a_1), leading to ${}^{\top}e_5$-here
•••	ee_5: ${}^{\top}e_5$-agt (fox a_1) $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2
====…	$s_4 = \mathrm{RS}_{w5}\ {}^{f}ee_5$: fox a_1 has cheeks full of ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk
||||||||||…	$t''_5 = \mathrm{RS}_{w5}\ {}^{f}ee_5$: ee_5-sucking result time

1.6[3] …then it would be possible…[3]
aon-
OPT-
[$\mathbf{p}_{\omega}$ $\mathcal{S}$| BG $\mathcal{S} \subseteq_{\mathbf{p}\omega} \vartheta$RS *d*ə]; [I[| RS *d*ə: DA *want d*ωσ];

-∅
-3s$_{U}$
[| *3s* **d**ωΩ]; [| Dom *d*ωσ =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**ωΩ];

-to
-be.possible
[| *can*{*d*ωσ, RS *d*ə}];

-∅
-STA
[| **d**ωτ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*ωσ];

1.6[4] for <u>me</u> …
n= í'i *if*
D$_{\top}$= *me*
[| **d**α =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG{*d*εε}]; [**a**| AG{**d**ε} =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **a**];

…to suck [her] milk too.
a- *mf*
OPT-
[$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}$| [1]$\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega} \vartheta$RS *d*ə]; [I[| RS *d*ə: DA *want d*əə];

-ke
-1s
[P][| *1s* **d**α]; [| AG *d*əə =$_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**α];

-non' -kéra-
-milk.of *-drink.from-*
[| **d**κ$^{\beta}$ *milk.of* **d**κ$^{\alpha}$]; [P][| *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$: AG *drink* **d**κ$^{\beta}$ *from* **d**κ$^{\alpha}$]; [| *d*əə $\in_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]

-'
-EVT
[| [1]*d*əə $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega\Omega}$ **d**ωτ]; [$\mathcal{T}$| $\mathcal{T}$ = ϑRS [1]*d*əə];

óni *ff*
also
[P][| DA **d**ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ AG{*d*εε}, *d*εε $\in_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$];

1.6^{f} " (end bear's voice)
[**e**| **e** = **d**ε$_{1}$];

---

[3] • In any $\mathbf{p}_{\omega}$-accessible world, the beginning of $\mathcal{S}$ is realized during the result state of the realization of *d*ə
BG $\mathcal{S} \subseteq_{\mathbf{p}\omega} \vartheta$RS *d*ə := λi. $\forall w \in$ Dom $\mathbf{p}_{\omega} \forall w' \in \mathbf{p}_{\omega} w$: $\vartheta_{w'}$ BG$_{w'}$ $\mathcal{S} w' \subseteq \vartheta_{w'}$ RS$_{w'}$ *d*ə$_{i} w'$
• *d*ωσ is a possible realization of the result state of *d*ə
can{*d*ωσ, RS *d*ə} := λi. Dom *d*ωσ$_{i} \subseteq$ Dom *d*ə$_{i}$
$\wedge \forall w \in$ Dom *d*ωσ$_{i}$: *d*ωσ$_{i} w =$ RS$_{w}$ *d*ə$_{i} w$

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$	(p_0-story worlds)
⋮	⋮
•	$e_5 = {}^{\top}\mathscr{E}_4 w_0$: e_4-requested answer, fox a_1 specifies ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$ by claiming to be in p_5
I	$t_5 = \vartheta_{w0}\ e_5$: e_5-answer now
II	$t'_5 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_5$: e_5-answer result time
•	e_6: bear a_3 exclaims with admiration for fox a_1
II	${}^{\top}t_6 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_6$: e_6-exclamation result time
•	${}^{\top}e'_6$: bear a_3 requests ${}^{\mathrm{I}}$(and expects) $\mathscr{E}_6$ dur RS e'_6
…========…	s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg l_6 of ll_5-path
•••	ee_5: fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk frm ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2

~~~~~~

$\mathscr{S}_6 = \langle \mathrm{RS}_w\ \mathscr{E}_6 w$: $w \in \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^{\top}p'_{\omega,6}\rangle$	($\mathscr{E}_6$-result $p'_{\omega,6}$-desire of bear a_3)
$w'_6 \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathscr{S}_6 = \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^{\top}p'_{\omega,6}$	
IIIIIII	$\mathscr{T}_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ e'_6$: e'_6-request result time
••	$\langle {}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \ldots {}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6\rangle$: fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_5-path
•	$\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: during ${}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-result, fox a_1 shows bear a_3 bg l_6 of ll_5-pth, plc of s_5-sleep of ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2
IIIIII	$\mathscr{T}'_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ \mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result time
==	$\mathscr{S}_6 w'_6 = \mathrm{RS}\ \mathscr{E}_6 w'_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result state
•••	$\langle {}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6 \ldots {}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6\rangle$: bear a_3 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}{}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare ${}^{\mathrm{P}}$'also': $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \sim ee_5$ (fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks in ${}^{\top}p_0$)
II	${}^{\top}\mathscr{T}''_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ {}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w_6$: aft 1st $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6$-stage

~~~~~~

$w_6 \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathscr{E}_6 = \mathrm{Ran}\ p_{\omega,6}$	(e'_6-request/expectation of bear a_3)
IIIIIII	$\mathscr{T}_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ e'_6$: e'_6-request result time
••	$\langle {}^{1}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \ldots {}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6\rangle$: fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_5-path
•	$\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: during ${}^{f}\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-result, fox a_1 shows bear a_3 bg l_6 of ll_5-pth, plc of s_5-sleep of ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}{}_5$-mare a_2
IIIIII	$\mathscr{T}'_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}\ \mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result time

1.7 So… *if*$_1$
sok
so
^{P}[| *d*əə$_1$ ⊆ **d**ωτ$_2$]; [**t** *ee*| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**ωτ$_2$, *ee* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*əə$_1$];

…the two of them turned around…
s- -a *mf*$_1$
^{n}EE- -IND
[*h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$| *d*εε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{2}*h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [| ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*εε < ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

hy-
33m-
^{P}[| *33m*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ {**d**α + *d*α}]; [**a**| **a** = **d**α + *d*α]; [| AG *d*εε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

-áhket
-go.there
[| *d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$: AG *go.along d*ππ]; [| ^{f}*d*εε ⊆ ^{1}*d*ππ];

-e'
-EVT
[| ^{1}*d*εε ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS ^{1}*d*εε]

…and went back to…
tanon' *if*$_2$
and
[*e*| *e* ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ RS ^{1}*d*εε];

y- on.s.a- *mf*$_2$
XX- ^{n}EE- (s-) IND- (-wa)
[| *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{f}*d*εε]; ^{P}[| *d*εε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{2}*d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [| ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*ε < ϑ$_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

n-
33m-
^{P}[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]; [| AG *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

-ew-
-arrive-
^{P}[| *d*εε: AG *go.along*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*ππ]; [| *d*ε = ^{f}*d*εε];

-'
-EVT
[| *d*ε ⊆$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε];

áre' *fb*$_2$
again
^{P}[| *d*εε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{2}*d*η$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$];

1.7$_{ff}$ …the place…

tsi-	-nón	ff_2
D$_\perp$-	-*place/time*	

$[k^\pi|\ {}^1 d\pi\pi = d\kappa^\pi\{d\varepsilon\}];\ [|\ \Pi\{\varepsilon\} \subseteq d\kappa^\pi\{\varepsilon\}]$

…where the mare was sleeping.

ne
D$_\top$
$[|\ d\alpha =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\kappa^\alpha\{d\sigma\}];$

ko-
3s.3s-
$^{\mathrm{P}}[|\ 3s\ \mathrm{AG}\ d\eta^\varepsilon,\ 3s\ \mathbf{d}\kappa^\alpha\{d\eta^\varepsilon\}];\ [|\ \mathrm{DA}\{d\eta^\varepsilon\} = \mathbf{d}\kappa^\alpha\{d\eta^\varepsilon\}];$

hsaten-	-s
ride.astride	-DUR

$[|\ d\eta^\varepsilon\text{: AG } \textit{ride.astride}\ \mathrm{DA}];\ [|\ \mathbf{d\tau} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\omega} d\eta^\varepsilon];$

ni	yó-
of-	3sf$_U$-

$[|\ d\pi =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\kappa^\pi\{d\sigma\}];\ ^{\mathrm{P}}[|\ 3sf_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}\ \mathbf{d}\kappa^\alpha\{d\sigma\}];\ [|\ \mathrm{DA}\ d\sigma =_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} \mathbf{d}\kappa^\alpha\{d\sigma\}];$

-tá'-	-s
-*sleep*-	-DUR

$[|\ d\sigma\text{: DA } \textit{sleep}_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}];\ [|\ \mathbf{d\tau} \subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega} d\sigma];$

$w_0 \in {}^\top p_0$ ⋮	(p_0-story worlds) ⋮
•	e'_6: bear a_3 requests $^{\mathrm{I}}$(and expects) $\mathscr{E}_6$ dur RS e'_6
…========…	s_5: $^\top k^\alpha{}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg l_6 of ll_5-path
•••	ee_5: fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks $^\top k^\beta{}_4$-milk frm $^\top k^\alpha{}_5$-mare a_2
IIIIIII	$\mathscr{T}_6 w_0 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e'_6$: e'_6-request result time
••	$ee_7 = \langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 w_0, \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 w_0\rangle$: p_0-realization of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$
II	$t_7 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}\ {}^1 ee_7$: aft. 1st stg of ee_7-walk to l_6
•	$e_7 = {}^f ee_7$ (= $^2 ee_7$): fox a_1 & bear a_3 arrive at l_6
IIIIII	$^\top t'_7 = \vartheta_{w0}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\ e_7$: aft. e_7-arrival

~~~~~~

$\mathscr{S}_6 = \langle \mathrm{RS}_w\ \mathscr{E}_6 w\text{: } w \in \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^\top p'_{\omega,6}\rangle$	($\mathscr{E}_6$-result $p'_{\omega,6}$-desire of bear a_3)
$w'_6 \in \mathrm{Dom}\ \mathscr{S}_6 = \mathrm{Ran}\ {}^\top p'_{\omega,6}$	
IIIIIII	$\mathscr{T}_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ e'_6$: e'_6-request result time
••	$\langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6\rangle$: fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_5-path
•	$\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: during $^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-result, fox a_1 shows bear a_3 bg l_6 of ll_5-pth, w. $^\top k^\alpha{}_5$-mare a_2 is s_5-sleeping
IIIIII	$\mathscr{T}'_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}\ \mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result time
==	$\mathscr{S}_6 w'_6 = \mathrm{RS}\ \mathscr{E}_6 w'_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result state
•••	$\langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6 \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6\rangle$: bear a_3 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_5$-sucks $^\top k^\beta{}_4$-milk from $^\top k^\alpha{}_5$-mare
II	$^\top\mathscr{T}''_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\ \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\ {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w_6$: aft 1st $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6$-stage
~~~~~~

1.8[1] The bear… *if*$_1$

ki o- -hkwári
N sg- *-bear*
[**a**| **a** = **d**α_1]; [| **d**α = *d*κ^{α}{*d*ε}]; [| *one*(**d**α, *d*κ^{α})]; [| *bear d*κ^{α}];

…right-away… *ib*$_1$

kwak- -óksak
just- *-immediately*
[*e*| *e* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ BG{RS *d*ε}]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑ*d*ε];

…set to…

t- -a *mf*$_1$
EE- -IND
^{P}[| *prc d*əə]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*əə < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\omega}$ **d**ε];

h-
3sm-
^{P}[| *3sm*$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α]; [| AG *d*əə =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

-at
-se
[| AG *d*əə =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ DA{RS *d*əə}];

-áhsaw
-start
[| *d*ε =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*əə];

-en'
-EVT
[| *d*ε $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε];

1.8[2] …and sucked milk… *mf*$_2$

wa-
IND-
[*ee*| *ee* =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*əə]; [| $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ^{1}*d*$\varepsilon\varepsilon$ < $\vartheta_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**ε];

ha-
3sm-
^{P}[| *3sm* **d**α]; [| AG *d*$\varepsilon\varepsilon$ =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**α];

non'- -ké:ra-
milk.of- *-drink.from-*
[| **d**κ^{β} *milk.of* **d**κ^{α}]; [| *d*$\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_1$: AG *drink* **d**$\kappa^{\beta}$ *from* **d**κ^{α}]; [*h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$| *h*$^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$ = *d*$\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}{}_1$];

-'
-EVT
[| *d*$\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $\in_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ *d*$\eta^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}$]; [| ^{1}*d*$\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $\subseteq_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{\mathbf{d}\Omega}$ ϑRS ^{1}*d*$\varepsilon\varepsilon$]

1.8[3] …until *if*$_2$

tsi=
$D_{\perp}$=
[*e*| *e* = ^{f}*d*εε];

ni- yó-
of- $3s_{U}$-
[k^{τ}| *d*εε: k^{τ}{ε} =$_{d\Omega}$ ϑ{ε}]; ^{P}[| *3s* **d**τ]; [| *d*κ$^{\tau}${^{1}*d*εε} =$_{d\Omega}$ **d**τ];

re- -'
distance- -CL
[| ^{1}*d*εε <$_{d\Omega}$ *d*ε]; [**t**| **t** =$_{d\Omega}$ *d*κ$^{\tau}${*d*ε}]

…he was full *mf*$_2$

wa-
IND-
[| ϑ$_{d\Omega}$ *d*ε < ϑ$_{d\omega}$ **d**ε];

hó-
$3sm_{U}$-
^{P}[| *3sm* **d**α]; [| DA {RS *d*ε} =$_{d\Omega}$ **d**α];

-hkwi'-
-be.full-
^{P}[| (*d*εε: AG *feed*$_{d\Omega}$), *d*ε = ^{f}*d*εε]; [| RS *d*ε: DA *feel.full*$_{d\Omega}$];

-ne'
-EVT
[| *d*ε ⊆$_{d\Omega}$ **d**τ]; [**t**| **t** =$_{d\Omega}$ ϑRS *d*ε];

$w_0 \in {}^{\top}p_0$ (p_0-story worlds)

⋮ ⋮

• e'_6: bear a_3 requests ${}^{\mathrm{I}}$(and expects) $\mathscr{E}_6$ dur RS e'_6

…============… s_5: ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare a_2 sleeps at beg l_6 of ll_5-path

••• ee_5: fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}_4$-milk frm ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare a_2

|||||||| $\mathscr{T}_6 w_0 = \vartheta_{w0}\, \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\, e'_6$: e'_6-request result time

•• $ee_7 = \langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 w_0, \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 w_0 \rangle$: p_0-realization of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$
fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_6-path (to beg. l_6,
where ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare a_2 is s_5-sleeping)

|| $t_7 = \vartheta_{w0}$ RS ${}^1ee_7$: aft. 1st stg of ee_7-walk to l_6

• $e_7 = {}^f ee_7$ (= ${}^2ee_7$): fox a_1 & bear a_3 arrive at l_6

|||||| $t'_7 = \vartheta_{w0}\, \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\, e_7$: aft. e_7-arrival

|| $t_8 = \vartheta_{w0}\, e_8$: right after e_7-arrival

• $e_8 = \mathrm{BG}_{w0}\{\mathrm{RS}_{w0}\, e_7\} = {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w_0$:
beg of e_7-res state, bear a_3 starts $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-sucking

|| $t'_8 = \vartheta_{w0}\, \mathrm{RS}_{w0}\, e_8$: aft. 1st stg of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6$-sucking

••• $ee_8 = \langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_0 .. {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_0 \rangle$: p_0-realization of $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6$
bear a_3 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare

• $e'_8 = {}^f ee_8$: end of ee_8-sucking,
in e'_8-result state bear a_3 feels full

|| $t''_8 = \vartheta_{w0}\, e'_8$: e'_8-now

||| ${}^{\top}t'''_8 = \vartheta_{w0}\, e'_8$: aft. e'_8-end of ee_8-sucking

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$\mathscr{S}_6 = \langle \mathrm{RS}_w\, \mathscr{E}_6 w : w \in \mathrm{Ran}\, {}^{\top}p'_{\omega,6} \rangle$ ($\mathscr{E}_6$-result $p'_{\omega,6}$-desire of bear a_3)

$w'_6 \in \mathrm{Dom}\, \mathscr{S}_6 = \mathrm{Ran}\, {}^{\top}p'_{\omega,6}$

|||||||| $\mathscr{T}_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\, \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\, e'_6$: e'_6-request result time

•• $\langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \rangle$: fox a_1 & bear a_3 go along ll_5-path

• $\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: during ${}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6$-result, fox a_1 shows bear a_3
bg l_6 of ll_5-pth, w. ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare a_2 is s_5-sleeping

|||||| ${}^{\top}\mathscr{T}'_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}$ RS $\mathscr{E}_6 w_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result time

== $\mathscr{S}_6 w'_6 =$ RS $\mathscr{E}_6 w'_6$: $\mathscr{E}_6$-showing result state

••• $\langle {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6 \ldots {}^f\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w'_6 \rangle$:
bear a_3 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}_5$-sucks ${}^{\top}k^{\beta}_4$-milk from ${}^{\top}k^{\alpha}_5$-mare
${}^{\mathrm{P}}$'also': $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}_6 \sim ee_5$ (fox a_1 $h^{\varepsilon\varepsilon}_5$-sucks in ${}^{\top}p_0$)

|| ${}^{\top}\mathscr{T}''_6 w_6 = \vartheta_{w6}\, \mathrm{RS}_{w6}\, {}^1\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6 w_6$: aft 1st $\mathscr{E}\mathscr{E}'_6$-stage