# conn <br> Bakóy, a language of Tówjá 

## M.M.N.H.

A descriptive grammar

Dedicated to Jacob

Class: artlang
Version: 0.3
Date: 13 March. 2021
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## Glossing abbreviations

| Gloss | Term |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\varnothing$ | null |
| - | morpheme separation |
| - | affix |
| CMP | complementizer |
| IND | inductive |
| DEC | declarative |
| SIM | simple |
| EMP | emphatic |
| NEG | negative |
| S | singular |
| NS | non-singular |
| MIN | minimal |
| AUG | augmented |
| CNJ | conjunct |
| DSJ | disjunct |

## 0 | Introduction

In this book I shall explore and describe the Bakóy language of the Tów people.

## 0.1 | Overview

In Ch. 0, I shall introduce the language, the conventions used in this book, and the history/context of the language (both internal and external).

## 0.2 | Conventions

In this book, I shall use blue text for Bakóy words, whether they be in orthographic transcription or non-bracketed phonemic transcription (common).

Forward slashes with blue text (/example/) are used for phonemic transcription, square brackets ([example]) are used for phonetic transcription, blue-text pipes (|example|) are used for morphemic transcription (except in glosses), and blue-text angle brackets (lexample)) are used for orthographic transcription.

Underlined text (which may sometimes be enclosed by 'single quotes') is used for translations, sans-serif text is used for important terms, italicized text is used for normal emphasis, and small CAPS is used for glossed terms. "Scare quotes" are used for non-standard, ironic, or otherwise deviant usages of terms; and «chevrons» are used for certain notations.

Glosses are structured as follows:
(0.1) phonemic transcription
(native script)
morphemic transcription (object language)
morphemic transcription (metalanguage)
translation
LIT. optional literal translation
Ungrammatical, unfelicitous, or otherwise "bad" glosses are preceded by an asterisk (*) on each line.

When used as examples to demonstrate a particular grammatical feature, the morphemic metalanguage transcription will usually only contain the relevant information.

## 0.3 | External history

The Bakóy language is a speedlang (a conlang created within a time restraint) created by me, Mareck (M.M.N.H.). It was created within the timeframe of Monday, March 1, 2021, to Sunday, March 14, 2021. The challenge was proposed by miacomet, a.k.a. u/roipoiboy a.k.a. Jacob.

The following creative restraints have been made:

- some sort of quantity distinction in the phonology
- multiple glide/semivowel segments may not phonemically contrast by rounding or PoA
- a suprasegmental feature that is not tone or stress
- an open pronoun class
- insubordination
- asymmetrical negation
- marking of indefinites, but not definites

As well as the following tasks:

- document and showcase the language
- translate five "syntax test" sentences, as provided by Zephyrus or some other acceptable source
- showcase at least 15 possible pronominals

The quantity distinction requirement is satisfied by the presence of long vowels; the glide restriction is adhered to, as the phonetic "glides" are taxophones of voiced obstruents; and the nontone/stress suprasegmental requirement is satisfied by the process of glottalization (§ 1.4).

The open pronoun class, including the required pronominal examples, and insubordination requirements are detailed in their own sections as well as others (§ 6.2 and § 3.3.2.3); the asymmetrical negation requirement is satisfied in that negation must be accompanied by (in)subordination; and the marked indefiniteness requirement is satisfied by the process of serialization (§3.2.1), in which an indefinite non-privileged argument is incorporated into the verbal complex.

This document in of itself documents and showcases the language, satisfying the related task; and acceptably-sourced example sentences are found in App. C.

## 0.4 | Internal history

The Bakóy language is spoken.

## 1 | Phonology

In this chapter and the following two chapters, I explore the sounds and related phenomena of Bakóy. This includes abstract (phonemic ${ }^{1}$ ) and concrete (phonetic) forms, as well as suprasegmental units and orthographic conventions. I shall use (a modified) ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ f}$ IPA for phonemic transcription, and ${ }^{c a n}{ }_{I P A}{ }^{2}$ for phonetic transcription.

## 1.1 | Consonants

There are seventeen phonemic consonants in Bakóy:

|  | labial | dental | alveolar | dorsal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voiceless obstruent |  | t [t] | s [s] | k [k] |
| voiced obstruent | b [b m w, ] |  | d [¢ n l, ] | j [f n j] |
| sonant | v [v] | ð [ [ ] | $r$ [r] | $h$ [G] |
| voiceless dejective |  |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ ! [¢¢] | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}} \ddagger$ [ [¢t ] |
| nasal dejective |  |  | ๆ! [ [ $¢ ¢$ |  |
| voiced dejective |  | \& [ [^dð] | 8! [^d] |  |

Figure 1.1: Consonant phonemes \& taxophones

- /b/ is bilabial; /v/ is labiodental
- /t $\partial^{k}{ }^{\mathrm{g}}{ }^{\mathrm{q}} /$ / are laminodental
- /s d r ${ }^{\mathrm{k}!}$ ! p ! ! / are apicoälveolar
- /k/ is velar; $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is dorsopalatal; $/ \mathrm{h} /$ is glottal; $/^{\mathrm{k}} \neq \mathrm{\square} \neq /$ are laminoprepalatal

This inventory is notable for the systematic variation of nasality and glottalization in voiced obstruents, and the presence of click consonants (dejectives).

### 1.1.1 | Consonant taxophony

- /b d j/ surface as nasals [m n j] in non-glottalized syllable codas; they surface as glottalized sonorants [w, 1 j] in glottalized syllable codas (§ 1.4)



## 1.2 | Vowels

There are three phonemic vowels in Bakóy:

[^0]

Figure 1.2: Vowel phonemes \& taxophones

### 1.2.1 | Vowel taxophony

- /i o a/ surface as [ז̦ ọ a ą] in glottalized syllables
- otherwise, /i o a/ surface as [l o a]
- word-initially, an epenthetic glottal stop [?] is inserted before vowels (i.e., if the vowel is not already preceded by consonant)


## 1.3 | Phonotactics

Phonotactics describes the way phonemes are organized in relation to each other and within words.

### 1.3.1 | Phonological profile

The profile of the phonological word is as follows ${ }^{3}$ :

$$
\#\left[{ }_{\omega}\left[Q_{\sigma}^{?}\left[{ }_{\mu_{1}} \mathrm{C}_{i}^{?} \mathrm{~V}\right]\left[{ }_{\mu_{2}}: \mid \mathrm{C}_{2}\right]^{?}\right]\left(\sigma \mid \mu_{1}\right)^{*}\right] \#
$$

Figure 1.3: Phonological profile

Wherein:

- \# a word boundary
- $\omega$ a phonological word
- $\sigma$ a syllable
- $\mu$ a mora
- [] a domain
- ? zero or one

[^1]- $0^{*}$ zero or more
- Q glottalization (§ 1.4)
- $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ a consonant
- $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ one of $/ \mathrm{bdj} \mathrm{j} /$
- V a vowel
- : a long vowel

All consonant clusters are allowed, but only identical vowel sequences /ii oo aa/ (i.e., long vowels) are permitted. Dejectives often appear root-initially, but can occur word-internally; additionally, clusters with dejectives are uncommon, but do occur.

## 1.4 | Glottalization

Nasalization is the process by which a syllable is marked as being glottalized /ó/ (marked on the vowel of the first mora, i.e., /í ó á/). Glottalization primarily affects the nucleus and coda of a syllable, in which the relevant components are accompanied by creaky voicing or otherwise some form of laryngeal tightening.

This may be modeled as such:


Figure 1.4: Syllable glottalization

## 2 ｜Orthography

The native orthography of Bakóy is an alphabet，wherein each glyph encodes only a single segment． Furthermore，it is an abjad，wherein consonants take most of the orthographic load．

|  | labial | laminal | apical | dorsal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voiceless obstruent |  | $t \quad\langle 0\rangle$ | s $\langle$ ग $\rangle$ | k 〈口〉 |
| voiced obstruent | b $\langle\infty\rangle$ |  | d $\langle$ ¢ | $j \quad\langle n\rangle$ |
| sonant | v 〈の〉 | ð 〈و〉 | $r\langle 0\rangle$ | $h$ 〈ø |
| voiceless dejective |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$｜$\langle\mathrm{y}\rangle$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ ！$\langle\eta\rangle$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}} \neq\langle\infty\rangle$ |
| nasal dejective |  |  | ग！$\langle\mathrm{u}\rangle$ | ${ }^{\square} \neq\langle\omega\rangle$ |
| voiced dejective |  | g｜$\langle q\rangle$ | $g!\langle g\rangle$ |  |

Figure 2．1：Consonants（native）

| i | （0） 0 ） |
| :---: | :---: |
| 0 |  |
| a | $\langle\bigcirc\rangle$ |

Figure 2．2：Vowels（native）
〈 $\circ \circ \cap \cap \eta\rangle$ ，and 〈 $\rangle$ is used on $\langle\mathrm{yqg}\rangle$ ．

Only long vowels and word－peripheral（i．e．，word－initial and word－final）vowels are overtly indi－ cated；short，word－internal vowels are not written．Full vowel glyphs are used for word－initial vowels in the presence of a null onset．Otherwise，the vowel diacritics are used，which indicate word－internal long vowels．

Full indication of vowels may be used for texts intended for foreigners and／or children，such as learning material（in which case all vowels are marked appropriately for length）．

Spaces（i．e．，some sort of word separator or word boundary marker）are not commonly used，al－ though may appear in texts intended for foreigners and／or children．Word－peripheral vowel indication helps to distinguish word boundaries（somewhat）．Glottalization（§ 1．4）is not indicated．

## 2.1 ｜Punctuation

| - | beginning of a text |
| :--- | :--- |
| ＂ | beginning of a text（emphatic） |
| $=$ | beginning of a text（reintroductory） |
| $\cdot$ | end of a sentence |
| $:$ | end of a text |

Figure 2．3：Punctuation（native）

The emphatic text－beginner $\langle 川\rangle$ is largely used to indicate that a new topic has begun，while the reintroductory text－beginner $\langle<\rangle$ is used to indicate that an old topic has been reinstated．

## 2.2 ｜Latin

|  | labial | laminal | apical | dorsal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voiceless obstruent |  | t 〈t， | s 〈s ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | k 〈k〉 |
| voiced obstruent | b 〈b m w $\rangle$ |  | d $\langle\mathrm{d} \mathrm{n} 1\rangle$ | j $\mathrm{j}_{\text {j }} \mathrm{n}$ y |
| sonant | v 〈v $\rangle$ | ð 〈z） | $\mathrm{r}\langle\mathrm{r}\rangle$ | h 〈h） |
| voiceless dejective |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$｜$\langle\mathrm{c}\rangle$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ ！$\langle\mathrm{q}\rangle$ | $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{k}} \ddagger \mathrm{<} \mathrm{x}\right\rangle$ |
| nasal dejective |  |  | ท！〈nq〉 | ${ }^{\square} \neq\langle\mathrm{nx}\rangle$ |
| voiced dejective |  | ${ }^{8}$｜$\langle\mathrm{gc}$ 〉 | 8！〈gq） |  |

Figure 2．4：Consonants（latin）
Wherein：



$$
\begin{array}{r|l}
\text { i o a } & \langle\mathrm{i} \text { o a }\rangle \\
\text { o ó o: ó: } & \langle\mathrm{o} \text { ó } \bar{\sigma} \text { ó }\rangle
\end{array}
$$

Figure 2．5：Vowels（latin）
Wherein long vowels are indicated by a macron $\langle\bar{\zeta}\rangle$ ，and long glottalized vowels are indicated by a circumflex 〈人彡〉．

## 3 | Syntax

Syntax describes how constituents are ordered and how they relate to one another.
The order and structure of constituents in a clause is as follows:


Syntax is largely separated into two distinct fields.

## 3.1 | Argument field

The argument field constitutes the area directly preceding the predicate field, and contains the arguments, if any, of the predicate. The first argument in the argument field is always the privileged argument, which usually holds some sort of topical significance: it is most often old or established information. Residual (i.e., non-privileged) arguments are placed after the privileged argument.

When information structure is not important, such as in elicited speech, the privileged argument is usually the most-animate argument. Residual arguments are often ordered by animacy, but may also be ordered like the privileged argument: old information placed first, and new information placed last.

Core semantic/thematic roles are not indicated overtly in any way, morphologically or syntactically; the roles of agent, patient, and so forth are often left solely to context. However, relative preverbs and relationals may be used to specify the roles of oblique arguments ( $\S 3.3 .2 .2$ and $\S 5.4$ ).

## 3.2 | Predicate field

The predicate field constitutes the core of a clause, and always contains the verbal complex, structured as follows:

> preverb

## serialized <br> argument

## verb

Although verbs can stand alone, they are usually accompanied by a preverb, even when redundant. Bare verbs are generally reserved for discourse in which the associated preverb has already been stated or is understood by context.

An argument may sometimes be incorporated into the verbal complex; this is known as serialization.

### 3.2.1 | Serialization

Serialization is the process by which an argument is placed between the verb and its preverb. This serialized argument must be a residual argument, and is always indefinite, or non-unique/nonfamiliar.
(3.1) táb hij tíva tikóoro
(occonnoc̆oîg-)
táb hij tíva tikóoro
yak grass eat eat
the yak ate the grass
(3.2) táb tíva hij tikóoro
(ocroc̆cnnoîg.)
táb tíva hij tikóoro
yak eat grass eat
the yak ate some grass

Serialization may occur in dependent clauses; in relative clauses with only a preverb as the predicate, serialization surfaces as the serialized argument placed after the preverb, with no following verb.

## 3.3 | Independent \& dependent clauses

Clauses are divided into two syntactic types: independent and dependent clauses. These differ mainly in how the predicate is inflected and how it behaves.

### 3.3.1 | Independent

Independent clauses are those which may stand alone (disregarding insubordinate clauses, detailed in the next section). They take a predicate in the declarative state (§ 5.1.2).

### 3.3.2 | Dependent

Dependent clauses are those which modify a predicate or argument. They take a predicate in the inductive state (§5.1.1), or a bare preverb (§ 4.4).

### 3.3.2.1 | Content

Content clauses are dependent clauses that modify a predicate. They always take a verb or a preverbverb pair, but never a bare preverb; and they syntactically behave as an argument, usually residual. They are always introduced by a complementizer (§ 4.5).

Content clauses are often used to embed predicates within other predicates.
(3.3) tód ka hoj tíva kóoro si${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ aa tibaa
(onク̆cnnočĭgdy̆oč.)
tód ka hoj tíva kóoro sik ${ }^{\text {k }}$ aa tibaa
ego CMP cousin eat eat:IND see see
I saw (that) you ate

### 3.3.2.2 | Relative

Relative clauses are dependent clauses that modify an argument. They may take a verb, a preverbverb pair, or a bare preverb. The modified argument is always placed as the privileged argument.

Generally, bare preverbs are used to form headless relative clauses, in which they function more as event nominals.

However, preverbs such as kod take, have and posture preverbs may be used for adnominal relations derived from their uses with verbs ( $\S \S 4.3 .5$ and 4.3.6).
（3．4）táb tód kod
（осоопŋр）
táb tód kod
yak ego take
my yak
the yak I have
（3．5）táb ráða đóo
（оçoั̆9）
táb ráða ðóo
yak forest sit
the yak（sitting）in the forest

These may also be used to indicate the specific roles of oblique arguments，often when they are topical．
（3．6）ráða ðóo tód tíva tikóoro

ráða ðóo tód tíva tikóoro
forest sit ego eat eat
（sitting）in the forest，I ate

## 3．3．2．3｜Insubordination

Insubordination is the process of using a dependent clause as an independent clause．That is，an insubordinated predicate takes the inductive state（§5．1．1），but is used as an independent clause． Insubordination is used to form imperatives（ $\S 3.4$ ）and negated clauses（ $\S 5.2 .3$ ）．

They behave similarly to content clauses，in that they either take a verb or a preverb－verb pair， but not a bare preverb．However，complementizers（§ 4．5）are optional with insubordinated clauses； their specific usages are detailed in the relevant sections．

## 3．4｜Imperatives

Imperative clauses are those in which the speaker asserts that the listener perform an action．They are formed via insubordination，by pairing the inductive state（§5．1．1）with the emphatic mode（§5．2．2）．
（3．7）

```
kóorobá
(Дి|č.)
kóoro -bá
eat:IND -EMP
eat!
```

With a complementizer，imperatives become softer and more akin to suggestions．
（3．8）ka kóorobá
〈ク̆カ̊ссั•）
ka kóoro－bá
CMP eat：IND－EMP
I suggest you eat
While insubordinated negative clauses without a complementizer are used to form negative clauses，the presence of a complementizer turns such clauses into prohibitions．
(3.9) ka kóoroviko

〈ดัวิocci̊.)
ka kóoro -viko
CMP eat:IND -NEG
don't eat!

## 3.5 | Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses are those in which the speaker requests information from the listener. They are formed by pairing the declarative state (§5.1.2) with the negative mode (§5.2.3).
(3.10) táb tíva híj tikóoroviko
(осьос̆сппоஙิосかึ․)
táb tíva híj ti- kóoro -viko
yak eat grass DEC- eat -NEG
did the yak eat grass?

## 4 ｜Lexical classes

There are three lexical classes，or＂parts of speech＂：nouns，verbs，preverbs，and complementizers． Of these，only nouns and preverbs are open classes，or groups which readily accept new members； verbs and complementizers are a closed class．

## 4.1 ｜General morphology

General morphology describes the general form and function of morphemes．

## 4．1．1｜Affixes

Affixes（｜－o，o－｜）are segments or groups of segments simply concatenated before（｜－o｜）or after（｜o－｜） the point to which they are attached．

## 4．1．2｜Reduplication

Reduplication（ $|\sim 0, \circ \sim|$ ）indicates that（a part of）the root word is copied and affixed at the designated area．Reduplication may consist of a segment（ $|\mathrm{C}, \mathrm{V}|$ ），a mora $(|\mu|)$ ，a syllable（ $|\sigma|$ ），or the entire root word（ $|\omega|$ ）．

## 4．1．3｜Tightening

Tightening $\left({ }^{3} \mid\right)$ indicates that the target syllable is glottalized（§ 1．4）．It is applied as a normal affix （｜－：，：－｜），in which the direction indicates that the process is applied to the syllable closest to that direction．

## 4.2 ｜Nouns

Nouns are content words that denote entities．They are an open class，but do not take any inflection．

## 4.3 ｜Verbs

Verbs are content words that denote events．Verbs are a closed class of seven items，and are inflected （Ch．5）．

| baa | ¢ | see |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ว๐口 | sense |
| oro | 万39 | eat |
|  | ヘ๐วర | say |
|  | ¢๑ | carry |
| rá | ģ0 | put |
| ób | Unco | break |

### 4.3.1 \| See

See baa (SEE) is the verb of salient perception. It is used for sight and hearing, as well as actions that utilize those senses such as reading, listening, etc.
(4.1) tód si ${ }^{k} \mid a a \operatorname{táb}$ tibaa
(ondy̆ocsoc̆.)
tód sik ${ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ aa táb tibaa
ego see yak see
I see a yak

### 4.3.2 | Sense

Sense isíd (SENSE) is the verb of non-salient perception. It is used for all other senses, such as smell, taste, and touch.


tód ${ }^{\text {ºfóơi kohi jisíd }}$
ego taste flatbread sense
I taste flatbread

### 4.3.3 | Eat

Eat kóoro (EAT) is the verb of consumption and action. It is used for events in which an entity is consumed, as well as other highly-transitive events.

| táb tíva híj tikóoro (ocsoc̆cnnoâg.) | (4.4) | tód táb ðój tikóoro (onocsgnoñg.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| táb tíva híj tikóoro |  | tód táb ðój tikóoro |
| yak eat grass eat |  | ego yak hit eat |
| the yak ate grass |  | I hit the yak |

It is also used for persistent internal states.
(4.5) tód ${ }^{k!o ́ o b i ~ t i k o ́ o r o ~}$

tód ${ }^{k}$ !óobi tikóoro
ego be hungry eat
I am hungry

### 4.3.4 | Say

Say obti (SAY) is the verb of communication and expulsion. It is used for events in which information is shared or transmitted, as well as acts of displacement.
(4.6) tód bakój jobti
(onconnncob.).
tód bakój jobti
ego speak say
I speak Bakóy
(4.7) tód kohi ðab jobti

〈
tód kohi ðab jobti
ego flatbreat throw say
I threw the flatbread

It is also used for persistent external states.
(4.8) tód bito jobti
(oncogncos.).
tód bito jobti
ego be fat say
I am fat

### 4.3.5 | Carry

Carry vad (CARRY) is the verb of movement. It is used for all manner of movement and transportation, as well as events of holding and taking.
(4.9) $\quad$ tód ${ }^{g} \mid$ adi tivad
(onqñoçn.)
tód ${ }^{8}$ |adi tivad
ego walk carry
I walked
It is also used for temporary states, both internal and external; these are often derived from stative EAT/SAY preverbs, but some states are lexicalized only or primarily with CARRY.
(4.10) tód jiðó tivad
(onn乌̊oçn.)
tód jiðó tivad
ego be tired carry
I am tired
It is also used to indicate possession, usually in tandem with kod take, have.
(4.11) tód táb kod tivad
(опослŋnoçn•)
tód táb kod tivad
ego yak take put
the yak is mine
This construction is also used for identity and membership.
(4.12) tód kod vabtá tivad

tód kod vabtá tivad
ego take yak-herder put
I am a yak-herder

It is often used to derive inchoative/causative events (the beginning or causation of a state), usually from EAT/SAY preverbs.
(4.13) tód ${ }^{k}$ !óobi tivad

tód ${ }^{k}$ !óobi tivad
ego be hungry carry
I am becoming hungry
(4.14) tód bito tivad (oncogoçn.)
tód bito tivad
ego be fat say
I am becoming fat

In a similar vein, it is used to derive stative positions from positional PUT preverbs.
(4.15) kóo ${ }^{8} \mid$ ovo tivad
(ลิqsjoçn.)
kóo $\quad{ }^{8} \mid$ ovo tivad
yak meat hang carry
the yak meat is hung up

### 4.3.6 | Put

Put ðiirá (PUT) is the verb of position. It is used for all manner of putting, positioning, and arranging.
(4.16) tód ${ }^{\text {g }}$ ovo kóo tiðiirá

tód ${ }^{g} \mid$ ovo kóo tiðiirá
ego hang yak meat put
I hung up some yak meat
It is also used for existential and locational states, usually in tandem with a postural preverb (which describes the locator).
(4.17) tód ráða táa tiðiirá

tód ráða táa tiðiiirá
ego forest stand put
I am in/at the forest
4.3.7 | Break

Break ajób (BREAK) is the verb of division and separation. It is used for events of cutting and breaking.
(4.18) tód kóo ikaj jajób
(onฝెวŋnกnco.)
tód kóo ikaj jajób
ego yak meat cut break
I cut up the yak meat

It is often used to derive involuntary events from action preverbs, usually those which take EAT or CARRY; although there are some preverbs that are lexicalized solely with BREAK, which usually express a high degree of non-control.

```
(4.19) tód sábja jajób
    (on\partialcon̆nnco.)
    tód sábja jajób
    ego fall break
    I fell
```

ráða kójvi jajób
(oğ刀nçnnco.)
ráða kójvi jajób
forest burn break
the forest burned (down)

## 4.4 | Preverbs

Preverbs are a content words that denote events, and which cannot usually stand alone. In independent clauses, preverbs must be paired with a verb proper. Preverb-verb pairs are primarily lexical, with many preverbs taking only one corresponding verb. However, it is not uncommon for preverbs to alternate verbs for different meanings.

A bare preverb may function as the predicate of a relative clause (§ 3.3.2.2), but not of other dependent clauses. When functioning alone as a headless relative clause, they essentially act as nouns with event-like meanings, although they cannot be serialized.

Many preverbs are transparently derived from or related to nouns, largely via now-fossilized derivational affixes and processes. In the modern language, there are only a few derivational strategies by which to transform nouns into preverbs.

### 4.4.1 | Preverbal derivation

Preverbal derivation is a process by which new preverbs are formed from existing nouns. There are a handful of strategies, primarily by affixation.

| I | -ta |
| :--- | :--- |
| II | bi- |
| III | -sob |
| IV | -2 |
| V | $\sim \sigma_{1}$ |

Wherein the fourth derivation surfaces as tightening of the final syllable in the root; and the fifth as reduplication of the first syllable in the root, which is then suffixed.

The first derivation -ta is the most general, and confers no specific details to the derived preverb. The second and third derivations bi- and -sob derive more-active events, of causative and highlytransitive natures. The fourth derivation - , sometimes called the glottalic derivation, derives punctual and momentane events; and the fifth derivation $\sim \sigma_{1}$ derives iterative, repeating, and/or pluractional events.

## 4.5 | Complementizers

Complementizers (CMP) are function words used to signal content dependent clauses (§ 3.3.2.1). There are four complementizers:

| CMP | MIN | AUG |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| S | ka | sá |
| NS | ði | dó |

Complementizers agree in number (detailed in § 5.3) for the embedded privileged argument. They are glossed as CMP or CMP: $x . y$, when specificity is needed, wherein $x$ is the atomicity and $y$ the minimality.

## 5 | Verbal morphology

Verbs take an assortment of inflections, for which the inflection profile is as follows:

| Slot \# | Category |
| ---: | :--- |
| -1 | state, agreement |
| 0 | verb |
| +1 | mode, agreement |
| +2 | relational |

State and mode (as well as the agreement that accompanies them) are mandatory, while relationals are optional. Agreement is encoded within the state and mode affixes, but is detailed in its own section.

## 5.1 | State

State describes the function of the verb as a predicate.

|  | S | NS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| IND | $\varnothing$ | vas-, o- |
| DEC | ti-, j- | kád-, já- |

Wherein the indicated affixes surface as |vas-, j-, kád-| before a vowel, and as |o-, ti-, já-| before a consonant.

### 5.1.1 | Inductive

The inductive state (IND) is used for dependent predicates (§ 3.3.2), including insubordinated predicates (§ 3.3.2.3).
(5.1) ka táb híj tíva kóoro
(ク̆ocscnnoc̆on̆g)
ka táb híj tíva kóoro
CMP yak eat grass eat:IND
that the yak ate grass
(5.2) táb híj tíva kóoro
(ocscnnoc̆ổg〉
táb híj tíva kóoro
yak eat grass eat:IND
the yak that ate grass

### 5.1.2 | Declarative

The declarative state (DEC) is used for independent predicates.
(5.3) táb tíva híj tikóoro
(ocsoc̆cกnoฎิon.)
táb tíva híj ti- kóoro
yak eat grass DEC- eat
the yak ate grass

## 5.2 | Mode

Mode expresses various aspectual and modal nuances, and interacts strongly with state.

|  | MIN | AUG |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SIM | $\varnothing$ | -soo, -d |
| EMP | -bá, -íj | -hó, -á |
| NEG | -viko, -oko | -ri, -ab |

Wherein the indicated affixes surface as |-bá, -hó, -viko, -ri| after a vowel, and as |-íj, -á, -oko, -ab| after a consonant.

### 5.2.1 | Simple

The simple mode (SIM) ascribes no special characteristics to a predicate. With the declarative state, it expresses that the event occurs without specifying any temporal or modal details.
(5.4) táb tíva híj tikóoro
(ocooc̆cnnoìg-)
táb tíva híj ti- kóoro
yak eat grass DEC- eat:SIM
the yak ate grass
the yak eats grass
With the inductive state, it forms dependent clauses (§ 3.3.2).
(5.5) táb tíva híj kóoro
(ocsoc̆cnnìg.)
táb tíva híj kóoro
yak eat grass eat:IND:SIM
the yak that ate grass

### 5.2.2 | Emphatic

The emphatic mode (EMP) indicates that a predicate has some sort of present relevance. It may be used to indicate an ongoing event, an event that is actually occurring at the indicated time, or a past event that has some sort of present relevance.
(5.6) táb tíva híj tikóorobá

táb tíva híj ti- kóoro -bá
yak eat grass DEC- eat -EMP
the yak is eating grass
the yak has eaten grass (recently)
It may also indicate that the event has relevance to the speaker. This may be experiential, in that the speaker has experienced the event before and that it is repeatable; or habitual, in that the speaker performs the event routinely.
(5.7) tód tíva táb tikóorobá
(овос̆осооฎิ๐с̆.)
tód tíva táb ti- kóoro -bá
ego eat yak DEC- eat -EMP
I have eaten yak
I (used to) eat yak
With the inductive state, it arranges the marked predicate as occurring within the timeframe of the matrix predicate.
(5.8) tód ka hoj jiðó kóorobá tíva tikóoro

tód ka hoj jió kóoro -bá tíva tikóoro
ego CMP cousin sleep eat:IND -EMP eat eat
I ate while you were sleeping
When insubordinated, it forms imperatives (§ 3.4).
(5.9) kóorobá

kóoro -bá
eat:IND -EMP
eat!
It may also be used for hopes and wishes, as well as desires.
(5.10) hoj bito obtibá
(concogacoosč.)
hoj bito obti -bá
cousin be healthy say:IND -EMP
may you be healthy!
(5.11) tód bito điirábá (oncogģocc.)
tód bito ðiirá -bá
ego be healthy carry:IND -EMP
I want/wish to be(come) healthy

The presence of a complementizer (§4.5) strengthens desire to necessity.
(5.12) ka tód bito ðiirábá

ka tód bito ðiirá -bá
CMP ego be healthy carry:IND -EMP
I need to be(come) healthy
It may also be used as the protasis of conditional clauses.
(5.13) táb ${ }^{\text {k!óobi }}$ kóorobá tíva tikóoroto

táb ${ }^{\text {k!óobi kóoro -bá tíva tikóoroto }}$
yak be hungry eat:IND -EMP eat eat
if the yak was hungry, it would eat

### 5.2.3 | Negative

The negative mode (NEG) negates a predicate. With the declarative state, it forms interrogatives (§ 3.5).
(5.14) táb tíva híj tikóoroviko

táb tíva híj ti- kóoro -viko
yak eat grass DEC- eat -NEG
did the yak eat grass?
When insubordinated, it forms negated clauses.
(5.15) táb tíva híj kóoroviko

táb tíva híj kóoro -viko
yak eat grass eat:IND -NEG
the yak did not eat grass

## 5.3 | Agreement

Agreement tracks the number of the privileged argument (§ 3.1). It is distributed between the state and mode affixes, and is encoded in two categories that interact with each other: atomicity and minimality.

### 5.3.1 | Atomicity

Atomicity describes the individuality of an amount. It is encoded with the state prefixes.

### 5.3.1.1 | Singular

The singular number (s) indicates an atomic grouping, usually of exactly one entity.

### 5.3.1.2 | Non-singular

The non-singular number (Ns) indicates a non-atomic grouping of two or more entities.

### 5.3.2 | Minimality

Minimality describes the expectedness of an amount. It is encoded with the mode suffixes

### 5.3.2.1 | Minimal

The minimal number (min) indicates that the tracked argument is comprised of the smallest expected amount. When tracking a singular argument, it indicates exactly one entity.
(5.16) táb tíva tikóoro
(ослос̆оスิo•)
táb tíva ti- kóoro
yak eat s- eat:Min
a yak ate

When tracking a non-singular argument, it indicates a paucal amount, or a less-than-expected amount.
(5.17) táb tíva jákóorod

táb tíva já- kóoro
yak eat Ns- eat:MIN
a few yaks ate

### 5.3.2.2 | Augmented

The augmented number (AUG) indicates that the tracked argument is comprised of a greater-thanexpected amount. When tracking a singular argument, it indicates a plural amount, or more than one.
(5.18) táb tíva tikóorod

táb tíva ti- kóoro -d
yak eat s- eat -AUG
yaks ate
When tracking a non-singular argument, it indicates exactly two entities.
(5.19) táb tíva jákóorod
(ocsoc̆ņิon.)
táb tíva já- kóoro -d
yak eat NS- eat -AUG
two yaks ate

## 5.4 | Relationals

Relationals arrange a predicate in relation to a directly preceding predicate. There are two relationals:

$$
\begin{array}{l|l}
\text { CNJ } & \text {-tó, -ó } \\
\text { DSJ } & \text {-ki, -i }
\end{array}
$$

Wherein the affixes surface as $\mid$-tó, -ki| after a vowel, and as $\mid$-ó, -i| after a consonant.
Relationals are generally used to arrange events concurrently or in sequence, or in other relationships, such as causation and conditionals. They may also be used without a preceding predicate by which to arrange the marked predicate, introducing the event in medias res.

### 5.4.1 | Conjunct

The conjunct relational (CNJ) indicates that the referent of the privileged argument of the marked predicate is the same as that of the preceding predicate.
(5.20) tód tíva tikóoro ${ }^{\text {g }}$ |adi tivadó

tód tíva tikóoro ${ }^{\text {T}}$ adi tivad -ó
ego eat eat walk carry -CNJ
I ate and walked
I ate while walking
(5.21) táb k!óobi kóorobá tíva tikóoroto

táb k!óobi kóorobá tíva tikóoro -to
yak be hungry eat eat eat -CNJ
if the yak was hungry, it would eat

It is may be used to introduce oblique arguments that are highly related to the privileged argument.
(5.22) tód tíva tikóoro ráða ðóo tiðiirátó

tód tíva tikóoro ráða ðóo tiðiirá -tó
ego eat eat forest sit put -CNJ
I ate, (I) was in the forest

### 5.4.2 | Disjunct

The disjunct relational (DSJ) indicates that the referent of the privileged argument of the marked predicate is the not same as that of the preceding predicate.
(5.23) tód tíva tikóoro hoj ${ }^{g} \mid$ adi tivadi

tód tíva tikóoro hoj ${ }^{\mathrm{g}}$ |adi tivad -i
ego eat eat cousin walk carry -DSJ
I ate and you walked
I ate while you were walking
It is may be used to introduce oblique arguments that are largely unrelated to the privileged argument.
(5.24) tód báa táb tivad hoj kod tivadi

tód báa táb tivad hoj kod tivad -i
ego give yak carry cousin take carry -DSJ
I gave you a yak
LIT. I gave a yak and you took (it)

## 6 | Semantics

Semantics are concerned with the meaning(s) of words.

## 6.1 | Kinship

Kinship terms are words that express familial relation, and are also the primary carriers of pronominal reference. There are ten basic kinship terms:


Figure 6.1: Kinship terms
All relevant kinship terms may be used for their corresponding in-laws, and all may be used to pronominally refer to human referents.

The term tód refers to either oneself or one's partner/spouse/significant other, and is commonly used pronominally to refer to first-person referents (i.e., the speaker). It is also used reflexively and reciprocally, referring back to an already-established coreferent within the clause.

The term vaba refers one's parents, while ${ }^{k}$ |iti refers to anyone of an older generation in one's family (usually grandparents and older, but may include parents); both may be used to refer to thirdperson referents of an older generation, or for people to which the speaker wishes to defer respect.

The term tádo refers to the sibling(s) of one's parent(s) (i.e., aunt/uncle, henceforth 'pibling'), as well as pronominally for older people. The term hoj refers to one's cousin(s), and is also used for other family members of the same generation as the speaker. Both are used for second- and third-person referents, the former for those of an older generation, and the latter for those of the same generation as the speaker.

The term kib refers to one's older sibling(s), while tóo refers to one's younger sibling(s); "\$iðo refers to the child or children of one's sibling(s), regardless of the sibling's age. Between partners, the sibling terms may be used pronominally as terms of endearment; the nibling term may likewise be used for stepchildren, as well as to refer to third-person referents of a younger generation.

The term kaðo refers to the child or children of one's cousin(s) (i.e., first cousin once removed, henceforth 'chibling'1). It is also used to refer to third-person referents of a younger generation, and competes with ${ }^{\text {}} \ddagger 1 ð 0$ in that regard. For some, the choice is arbitrary, but other speaks may distribute the two terms according to obviation, in which ${ }^{\square} \neq i \not i o$ is used for more-salient third-person referents, and kaðo for less-salient referents.

The term hii refers to one's child or children, or anyone of a younger generation in one's family. It is often used as a term of endearment for those of a younger generation, as well as to refer to second-person referents of a younger generation.

## 6.2 | Open pronominals

Bakóy possesses no distinct class of pronominal roots; pronominal references are either left to context or supplanted by various nouns. Kinship terms (§6.1) are a significant source of pronominals, especially for human referents.


[^2](6.9) kaðo tíva kohi tikóoro

kaðo tíva kohi tikóoro
chibling eat flatbread eat
they (younger generation) ate some flatbread
(6.10) hii tíva kohi tikóoro

hii tíva kohi tikóoro
child eat flatbread eat
you (younger generation) ate some flatbread

It is common to use a person's profession to pronominally reference them, or some salient (usually positive) characteristic.
(6.11) vabtá tíva kohi tikóoro

vabtá tíva kohi tikóoro
yak-herder eat flatbread eat
you/they (a yak-herder) ate some flatbread
(6.12) bito tíva kohi tikóoro
(cogoc̆กço๐ig.〉
bito tíva kohi tikóoro
be healthy eat flatbread eat
you/they (who is/are healthy) ate some flatbread

It is also common to use one's own name or nickname for first-person reference, especially within friend and family groups.
(6.13) asiró tíva kohi tikóoro

asiró tíva kohi tikóoro
Asiró eat flatbread eat
I ate some flatbread (spoken by Asiró)
General nouns referring to humans, such as dodí person, are also used, especially when one does not want to ascribe any distinguishing (or potentially offensive) characteristics to the referent. This is usually only done for third-person referents, but may be used for second-person referents with which the speaker is very unfamiliar.
(6.14) dodí tíva kohi tikóoro

dodí tíva kohi tikóoro
person eat flatbread eat
they (to whom I wish to be neutral) ate some flatbread
For non-human and inanimate referents, it is common to use other general nouns to pronominally refer, or even to drop overt pronominal reference altogether and let context supplant the meaning.

| (6.15) | táb tíva kohi tikóoro <br>  | (6.16) | tíva kohi tikóoro (oc̆クc̊onig-) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | táb tíva kohi tikóoro |  | tíva kohi tikóoro |
|  | yak eat flatbread eat |  | eat flatbread eat |
|  | it (a mammal) ate some flatbread |  | (it) ate some flatbread |

## Appendices

Appendices A and B are a lexicons of nouns and preverbs, respectively, and appendix C gives various example sentences.

Lemma entries are structured as follows:

- (native orthography) stem(s) (morphosyntactic categories) : definition(s)

Compounds, idioms, etc., are considered distinct lemmas.
The «morphosyntactic categories» portion consists of the pairing verb of a preverb. Additional paired verbs are structured as subentries to the preverb entry.

Definitions are separated by a double dagger $\uparrow \$$.

## A｜Nouns

## ｜People

－$\langle$ nñ〉 dodí ：person，human
｜Family
－$\langle o n\rangle$ tód ：ego，spouse
－〈のcั〉 vaba ：parent
－$\left\langle y{ }^{\circ}\right\rangle{ }^{k}{ }^{k} \mid i t i ~: ~ a n c e s t o r ~$
－〈ồ〉 tádo ：pibling，aunt／uncle
－$\langle$ ©n $\rangle$ hoj ：cousin
－〈๑す〉 kaðo ：chibling，first cousin once removed
－$\langle n \infty\rangle$ kib ：older sibling
－$\langle\mathrm{g}\rangle$ tóo ：younger sibling

－〈气〉 hii ：child，descendant
｜Professions
－〈cかऽŏ〉 vabtá ：yak－herder
｜Apparel
－$\langle\partial c o n$ ）sobjii ：hat $\ddagger$ any headwear

## Food

- 〈のஸ์〉 kohi ：flatbread；unleavened bread
- 〈ลె〉 kóo ：raw yak meat
- 〈๓กŋ̧〉 híjko ：animal food

Animals
－$\langle o \infty\rangle$ táb ：yak + mammal
－〈д̆̆〉 sáðá ：female yak

－$\langle\rho \cap\rangle$ vid ：cat

## Plants

- 〈 $\omega \infty\rangle$ báb：deciduous tree
- 〈ơ̆〉 ráða ：deciduous forest
- 〈cnn〉 híj ：dry grass $\ddagger$ animal feed，hay
｜Time
－$\langle\Delta \cap \cap$ గ̉ dikáji ：past $\ddagger$ place far away and to the east
－$\left\langle\right.$ nghŭ ${ }^{\text {johóora ：future } \ddagger \text { place far away and }}$ to the west


## Concepts

－$\langle\omega g\rangle^{\text {呐 }}$ ávó ：opinion，belief，dogma

## B｜Preverbs

## States

－$\langle\operatorname{cog}\rangle$ bito（SAY）：be fat，healthy
－CARRY ：：become fat，healthy

－CARRY ：：become hunger，begin to hunger
－〈ņ̧）jiðó（EAT）：be asleep
－CARRY ：：be tired，sleepy
－〈g）s！íi（SAY）：lack
－CARRY ：：disown，forfeit，surrender（of a belonging）
－〈90̊）ðórí（SAY）：neglect，ignore
－CARRY ：：forget，abandon，lose
－〈oñ）tidáa（SAY）：avoid
－CARRY ：：evade，escape，elude
－$\langle$ dosgo sabbó（EAT）：be interesting， stimulating，exciting

## Actions

－（gn）ðój（EAT）：hit，strike $\ddagger$ do，make $\ddagger$ work， perform an expected task

- 〈oc̆〉 tíva（EAT）：eat，consume（of food）
- 〈ら〉 báa（CARRY）：give，carry（to）
- 〈وم〉 kod（CARRY）：take，carry（from）$\ddagger$ have， possess
－〈oŋŋn〉 bakój（SAY）：speak，use language， communicate（usually verbally，but may be extended to other forms of communication）$\ddagger$ speak Bakóy
－〈وco〉 ðab（SAY）：throw，expel，cause to move away from oneself
－〈○nç〉 kójvi（BREAK）：burn，burn up／down， combust，immolate
－〈のñ）háda（SAY）：lie，tell lies／a lie； intentionally hide information
－〈و9ค〉 ðoðód（EAT）：know，acknowledge，be aware of（of information）
－CARRY ：：learn，come to know $\ddagger$ teach， cause to know


## Posture

－〈号〉 táa（PUT）：stand
－CARRY ：：stand up
－〈马〉 ðóo（PUT）：sit
－CARRY ：：sit down
－〈ŏ̆〉 todá（PUT）：lie（down）
－CARRY ：：become lying down

## Motion

$\cdot\left\langle\mathrm{q}^{\boldsymbol{0}}\right\rangle^{\mathrm{g}} \mid$ adi（CARRY）：walk，move（oneself）
－$\langle o o n\rangle$ tátod（CARRY）：move up，ascend
－〈Jcoñ〉 sábja（CARRY）：move down，descend
－BREAK ：：fall，trip，stumble

## Position

－〈وco〉 kób（PUT）：put in a more prominent position
－CARRY ：：be in a more prominent position
－$\langle\mathrm{qSO}\rangle^{\text {s }}{ }^{\text {ovo }}$（PUT）：hang up，hang or drape over／across a locus
－CARRY ：：be hanging
－$\langle\mathrm{ocs}\rangle$ tab（PUT）：lean against，put leaning against a locus
－CARRY ：：be leaning（against）
｜Sensory
－$\langle\partial \mathrm{y}\rangle$ si$^{\mathrm{k}} \mid$ aa（SEE）：see，look（at），sense visually
－$\left\langle\partial{ }^{\circ}\right\rangle$ sóji（SEE）：hear，listen（to），sense aurally
－〈ŋư〉 kon！aa（SENSE）：feel，touch
－$\left\langle\omega\right.$ ģ̉ ${ }^{\text {ロ }} \ddagger$ óði（SENSE）：taste，smell

## Division

－〈oŋn〉 ikaj（BREAK）：cut，divide cleanly or into equal parts
－$\langle\boldsymbol{\varrho} \hat{\rangle}\rangle$ vódi（BREAK）：cut，divide roughly or into unequal parts

## C | Example sentences

(3.1) "Someone has forgotten a hat here."
ðóri sobjii tivadíj

ðóri sobjii ti- vad -íj
neglect hat DEC.s- carry -EMP.MIN
(someone) has forgotten a hat
(3.2) "It turned out that the child was lying."
(5moyd \#1401)
hii háda jobtitó
(E̊cnกักcoog.)
hii háda j- obti -tó
child lie DEC.S- say -CNJ
(and so,) the child was lying
(3.3) "Here is the cat that doesn't eat its food."
(5MOYD \#1405)
vid híjko tíva kóoroviko táa tið̀iirá

vid híjko tíva kóoro -viko táa ti- ðiirá
cat food eat eat -NEG.min stand DEC.s- put
the cat that does not eat (its) food exists (here)
(3.4) "(In those days) if you didn't work, you would starve."
(5MOYD \#1421)
dikáji đój dodí kóoroviko ${ }^{\text {k!óobi tikóorotó }}$

dikáji đój dodí kóoro -viko k!óobi ti- kóoro -tó
past work person eat -NEG.MIN be hungry DEC.s- eat -CNJ
in the past, if a person did not work, they would be hungry
(3.5) "I am interested in your opinion."
${ }^{\text {ºfávó hoj kod ðoðód vadíj }}$

łávó hoj kod ðoðód vad -íj
opinion cousin take know carry -EMP.MIN
your opinion, (I) want to learn it


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Wherein a phoneme is a strictly contrastive unit that is abstracted to succinctly represent various but related phonetic surface forms.
    ${ }^{2}$ See canipa.net.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ I shall use a modified (i.e., in conjunction with regex-like conventions) version of Recursive Baerian Phonotactics Notation (RBPN), a non-standard but infinitely more useful notation; see Blumire \& Baer (2017).

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ A neologism, moreso than 'pibling', which can be found in other places.

