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Bakóy, a language of Tówjá

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A descriptive grammar

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Dedicated to Jacob

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| Glossing abbreviations

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Term</i>
∅	null
.	morpheme separation
-	affix
:	inherent/non-concatenative
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 (**<example>**) 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 meta-language 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, Marek (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 non-tone/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.

- \circ^* zero or more
- Q glottalization (§ 1.4)
- C_1 a consonant
- C_2 one of /b d 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 / $\tilde{\circ}$ / (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:

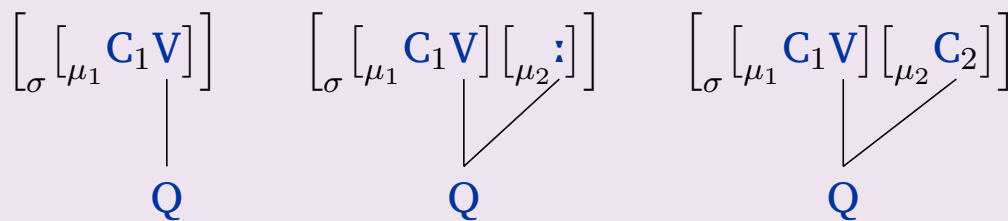


Figure 1.4: Syllable glottalization

The emphatic text-beginner (↗) is largely used to indicate that a new topic has begun, while the reintroduitory text-beginner (↖) is used to indicate that an old topic has been reinstated.

2.2 | Latin

	labial	laminal	apical	dorsal
voiceless obstruent		t ⟨t⟩	s ⟨s⟩	k ⟨k⟩
voiced obstruent	b ⟨b m w⟩		d ⟨d n l⟩	j ⟨j ñ y⟩
sonant	v ⟨v⟩	ð ⟨z⟩	r ⟨r⟩	h ⟨h⟩
voiceless dejective		k̥ ⟨c⟩	k̥! ⟨q⟩	k̥‡ ⟨x⟩
nasal dejective			ŋ! ⟨nq⟩	ŋ‡ ⟨nx⟩
voiced dejective		g̥ ⟨gc⟩	g̥! ⟨gq⟩	

Figure 2.4: Consonants (latin)

Wherein:

- /b d j/ [m n ɲ] ⟨m n ñ⟩, and [w ɹ j] ⟨w l y⟩
- otherwise, /t s k b d j v ð r h k̥ k̥! k̥‡ ŋ! ŋ‡ g̥ g̥!/ ⟨t s k b d j v z r h c q x nq nx gc gq⟩

i o a	⟨i o a⟩
ō ó ȳ ú	⟨ō ó ȳ û⟩

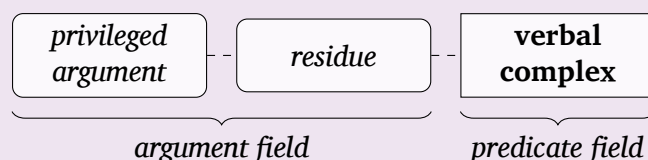
Figure 2.5: Vowels (latin)

Wherein long vowels are indicated by a macron (̄), and long glottalized vowels are indicated by a circumflex (̂).

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

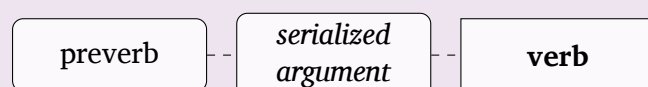
The argument field constitutes the area directly preceding the predicate field, and contains the arguments, if any, of the predicate. The first argument in the argument field is always the privileged argument, which usually holds some sort of topical significance: it is most often old or established 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 (§ 3.3.2.2 and § 5.4).

3.2 | Predicate field

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



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/non-familiar.

(3.1) táb hij tíva tikóoro
 ⟨ᠲᠠᠪ ᠬᠢᠵ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣ⟩
 táb hij tíva tikóoro
 yak grass eat eat
the yak ate the grass

(3.2) táb tíva hij tikóoro
 ⟨ᠲᠠᠪ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠢᠵ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣ⟩
 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 in subordinate 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 preverb-verb 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^kaa tibaa
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳ ᠬᠠ ᠬᠣᠵ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠴᠣᠷᠣ ᠰᠢᠠᠠ ᠲᠢᠪᠠᠭᠠᠨ⟩
 tód ka hoj tíva kóoro si^kaa 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 preverb-verb 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 (§§ 4.3.5 and 4.3.6).

(3.4) táb tód kod
 ⟨ooonŋa⟩
 táb tód kod
 yak ego take
my yak
the yak I have

(3.5) táb ráða ðóo
 ⟨oooŋŋ⟩
 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
 ⟨ŋŋonooŋŋŋ⟩
 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 (§ 3.4) and negated clauses (§ 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
 ⟨ŋŋooŋŋ⟩
 kóoro -bá
 eat:IND -EMP
eat!

With a complementizer, imperatives become softer and more akin to suggestions.

(3.8) ka kóorobá
 ⟨ŋŋŋooŋŋ⟩
 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
 ⟨ကံကောဝိက⟩
 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
 ⟨တပ်တိဿာဟိဗိကောဝိက⟩
 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 ($|\sim o, o\sim|$) indicates that (a part of) the root word is copied and affixed at the designated area. Reduplication may consist of a segment ($|C, V|$), a mora ($|\mu|$), a syllable ($|\sigma|$), or the entire root word ($|\omega|$).

4.1.3 | Tightening

Tightening ($|^?|$) 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	ᵛ	see
isíd	ᵛᵛ	sense
kóoro	ᵛᵛ	eat
obti	ᵛᵛᵛ	say
vad	ᵛᵛ	carry
ḍiirá	ᵛᵛ	put
ajób	ᵛᵛᵛ	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|aa táb tibaa
 ⟨တဝဲယိုဝတဝဲဃ်⟩
 tód si^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.

- (4.2) tód ʰóðì kohi jisíd
 ⟨တဝဲယိုဂီၤကဝဲဃ်⟩
 tód ʰóðì 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.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(4.3) táb tíva híj tikóoro
 ⟨တဝဲယိုတဝဲဃ်တဝဲဃ်⟩
 táb tíva híj tikóoro
 yak eat grass eat
 <u>the yak ate grass</u></p> | <p>(4.4) tód táb ðój tikóoro
 ⟨တဝဲယိုတဝဲဃ်တဝဲဃ်⟩
 tód táb ðój tikóoro
 ego yak hit eat
 <u>I hit the yak</u></p> |
|--|--|

It is also used for persistent internal states.

- (4.5) tód ^k!óobi tikóoro
 ⟨တဝဲယိုတဝဲဃ်တဝဲဃ်⟩
 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
 ⟨တဝတဂူကတံ့⟩
 tód bakój jobti
 ego speak say
 I speak Bakóy

(4.7) tód kohi ḁab jobti
 ⟨တဂူဟ်ဂတကတံ့⟩
 tód kohi ḁab jobti
 ego flatbread throw say
 I threw the flatbread

It is also used for persistent external states.

(4.8) tód bito jobti
 ⟨တဝတဂူကတံ့⟩
 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) tód ḁ|adi tivad
 ⟨တဝတဂူကတံ့⟩
 tód ḁ|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 jiḁó tivad
 ⟨တဝတဂူကတံ့⟩
 tód jiḁó 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
 ⟨တဝတဂူကတံ့⟩
 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
 ⟨တဂူကတံ့ဝတူကတံ့⟩
 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.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(4.13) tód ^{k!}róobi tivad
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳᠤᠷᠣᠪᠢᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 tód ^{k!}róobi tivad
 ego be hungry carry
 <u>I am becoming hungry</u></p> | <p>(4.14) tód bito tivad
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳᠤᠪᠢᠲᠤᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 tód bito tivad
 ego be fat say
 <u>I am becoming fat</u></p> |
|--|--|

In a similar vein, it is used to derive stative positions from positional PUT preverbs.

- (4.15) kóo ^{s|}ovo tivad
 ⟨ᠬᠣᠣᠰᠣᠪᠣᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 kóo ^{s|}ovo tivad
 yak meat hang carry
the yak meat is hung up

4.3.6 | Put

Put **ᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠ** (PUT) is the verb of position. It is used for all manner of putting, positioning, and arranging.

- (4.16) tód ^{s|}ovo kóo tiᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠ
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳᠤᠰᠣᠪᠣᠬᠣᠲᠢᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 tód ^{s|}ovo kóo tiᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠ
 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 ráᠳᠠ táa tiᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠ
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳᠤᠷᠠᠳᠠᠲᠠᠲᠢᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 tód ráᠳᠠ táa tiᠳᠢᠶᠢᠷᠠ
 ego forest stand put
I am in/at the forest

4.3.7 | Break

Break **ᠠᠵᠣᠪ** (BREAK) is the verb of division and separation. It is used for events of cutting and breaking.

- (4.18) tód kóo ikaj jajób
 ⟨ᠲᠣᠳᠤᠬᠣᠣᠢᠶᠠᠵᠠᠵᠠᠪᠣᠪᠠᠳᠤ⟩
 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 sábjá jajób
 ⟨οαδωάηηηω⟩
 tód sábjá jajób
 ego fall break
 I fell

(4.20) ráða kójvi jajób
 ⟨σθγηθγηηω⟩
 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	-ʔ
V	~σ 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 highly-transitive natures. The fourth derivation -ʔ, sometimes called the glottalic derivation, derives punctual and momentane events; and the fifth derivation ~σ₁ 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.

- (5.7) tód tíva táb tikóorobá
 ⟨onoč̣oocoŋiɔč̣o⟩
 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
 ⟨onŋʌonŋŋiɔč̣oɔč̣oŋiɔŋɔ⟩
 tód ka hoj jiðó 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
 ⟨ŋiɔč̣o⟩
 kóoro -bá
 eat:IND -EMP
eat!

It may also be used for hopes and wishes, as well as desires.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(5.10) hoj bito obtibá
 ⟨ʌonɔŋŋiɔč̣oɔč̣o⟩
 hoj bito obti -bá
 cousin be healthy say:IND -EMP
 <u>may you be healthy!</u></p> | <p>(5.11) tód bito ðiirábá
 ⟨onɔŋŋiɔč̣o⟩
 tód bito ðiirá -bá
 ego be healthy carry:IND -EMP
 <u>I want/wish to be(come) healthy</u></p> |
|---|---|

The presence of a complementizer (§ 4.5) strengthens desire to necessity.

- (5.12) ka tód bito ðiirábá
 ⟨ŋʌonɔŋŋiɔč̣o⟩
 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 ^{k!}íóobi kóorobá tíva tikóoroto
 ⟨oɔŋŋiɔč̣oɔč̣oŋiɔŋɔ⟩
 táb ^{k!}íóobi kóoro -bá tíva tikóoroto
 yak be hungry eat:IND -EMP eat eat
if the yak was hungry, it would eat

When tracking a non-singular argument, it indicates a paucal amount, or a less-than-expected amount.

- (5.17) táb tíva jákóorod
 ⟨○○○ǝǝǝǝ⟩
 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-than-expected amount. When tracking a singular argument, it indicates a plural amount, or more than one.

- (5.18) táb tíva tikóorod
 ⟨○○○ǝǝǝǝ⟩
 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
 ⟨○○○ǝǝǝǝ⟩
 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:

CNJ	-tó, -ó
DSJ	-ki, -i

Wherein the affixes surface as |**-tó, -ki**| after a vowel, and as |**-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 §|adi tivadó
 (ᠲᠣᠳᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣ ᠰᠢᠳᠢ ᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠣ)
 tód tíva tikóoro §|adi tivad -ó
 ego eat eat walk carry -CNJ
 I ate and walked
 I ate while walking
- (5.21) táb ^{k!}lóobi kóorobá tíva tikóoroto
 (ᠲᠠᠪᠤ ᠬᠡᠯᠣᠪᠢ ᠬᠣᠷᠣᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣᠲᠣ)
 táb ^{k!}lóobi 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 ráḁa ḁóo tiḁiirátó
 (ᠲᠣᠳᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣ ᠷᠠḁᠠ ḁᠣ᠎ᠠ ᠲᠢḁᠢᠢᠷᠠᠲᠣ)
 tód tíva tikóoro ráḁa ḁóo tiḁiirá -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 §|adi tivadi
 (ᠲᠣᠳᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠲᠢᠴᠣᠷᠣ ᠬᠣᠵᠢ ᠰᠢᠳᠢ ᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠢ)
 tód tíva tikóoro hoj §|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
 (ᠲᠣᠳᠤ ᠪᠠᠠ ᠲᠠᠪᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠤ ᠬᠣᠵᠢ ᠬᠣᠳᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠᠳᠢ)
 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:

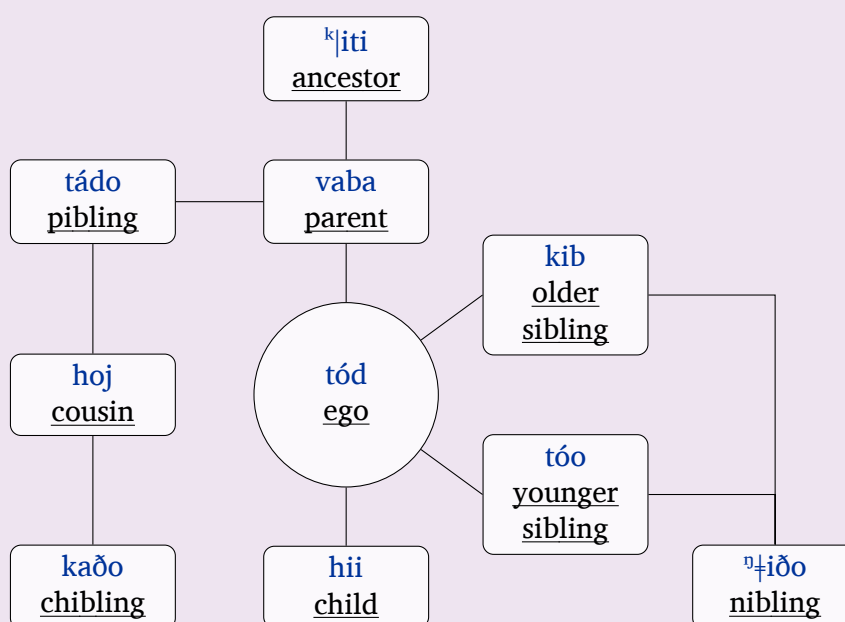


Figure 6.1: Kinship terms

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 **kʲiti** 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 third-person 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); **ʰiðo** 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.

- (6.9) *kaðo tíva kohi tikóoro*
 ⟨*ᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
kaðo tíva kohi tikóoro
chibling eat flatbread eat
they (younger generation) ate some flatbread
- (6.10) *hii tíva kohi tikóoro*
 ⟨*ᠬᠢᠢ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
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*
 ⟨*ᠪᠠᠪᠲᠠ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
vabtá tíva kohi tikóoro
yak-herder eat flatbread eat
you/they (a yak-herder) ate some flatbread
- (6.12) *bito tíva kohi tikóoro*
 ⟨*ᠪᠢᠲᠤ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
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*
 ⟨*ᠠᠰᠢᠷᠣ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
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*
 ⟨*ᠳᠣᠳᠢ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
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*
 ⟨*ᠲᠠᠪ ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
táb tíva kohi tikóoro
yak eat flatbread eat
it (a mammal) ate some flatbread
- (6.16) *tíva kohi tikóoro*
 ⟨*ᠲᠢᠪᠠ ᠬᠣᠬᠢ ᠲᠢᠬᠣᠷᠣ*⟩
tíva kohi tikóoro
eat flatbread eat
(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 †.

A | Nouns

| People

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠢ⟩ **dodí** : person, human

| Family

- ⟨᠋ᠨ⟩ **tód** : ego, spouse
- ⟨᠋ᠪᠠ⟩ **vaba** : parent
- ⟨᠋ᠪᠢ⟩ **^kiiti** : ancestor
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠢ⟩ **tádo** : pibling, aunt/uncle
- ⟨᠋ᠨ⟩ **hoj** : cousin
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠢ⟩ **kaḏo** : chibling, first cousin once removed
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠ⟩ **kib** : older sibling
- ⟨᠋ᠨ⟩ **tóo** : younger sibling
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠢ⟩ **[᠋]iḏo** : nibling
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠢ⟩ **hii** : child, descendant

| Professions

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **vabta** : yak-herder

| Apparel

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **sobjii** : hat † any headwear

| Food

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **kohi** : flatbread; unleavened bread
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **kóo** : raw yak meat
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **híjko** : animal food

| Animals

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **táb** : yak † mammal
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **sáḏá** : female yak
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **^kiivi** : male yak
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **vid** : cat

| Plants

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **báb** : deciduous tree
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **ráḏa** : deciduous forest
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **híj** : dry grass † animal feed, hay

| Time

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **dikáji** : past † place far away and to the east
- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **johóra** : future † place far away and to the west

| Concepts

- ⟨᠋ᠨᠠᠳᠠ⟩ **[᠋]ávó** : opinion, belief, dogma

B | Preverbs

| States

- ⟨**ᓃᑭ**⟩ **bito** (SAY) : be fat, healthy
 - ▶ CARRY :: become fat, healthy
- ⟨**ᑲᓴ**⟩ **ᑲ!óobi** (EAT) : be hungry, hunger
 - ▶ CARRY :: become hunger, begin to hunger
- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **jiðó** (EAT) : be asleep
 - ▶ CARRY :: be tired, sleepy
- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **ᑲ!fi** (SAY) : lack
 - ▶ CARRY :: disown, forfeit, surrender (of a belonging)
- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **ðórí** (SAY) : neglect, ignore
 - ▶ CARRY :: forget, abandon, lose
- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **tidáa** (SAY) : avoid
 - ▶ CARRY :: evade, escape, elude
- ⟨**ᑲᓃᑭ**⟩ **sabbó** (EAT) : be interesting, stimulating, exciting

| Actions

- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **ðój** (EAT) : hit, strike † do, make † work, perform an expected task
- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **tíva** (EAT) : eat, consume (of food)
- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **báa** (CARRY) : give, carry (to)
- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **kod** (CARRY) : take, carry (from) † have, possess
- ⟨**ᓃᑭᑲ**⟩ **bakój** (SAY) : speak, use language, communicate (usually verbally, but may be extended to other forms of communication) † speak **Bakóy**
- ⟨**ᑲᓃᑲ**⟩ **ðab** (SAY) : throw, expel, cause to move away from oneself
- ⟨**ᑲᑭᑲ**⟩ **kójvi** (BREAK) : burn, burn up/down, combust, immolate

- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **háda** (SAY) : lie, tell lies/a lie; intentionally hide information
- ⟨**ᑲᑭᑲ**⟩ **ðoðód** (EAT) : know, acknowledge, be aware of (of information)
 - ▶ CARRY :: learn, come to know † teach, cause to know

| Posture

- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **táa** (PUT) : stand
 - ▶ CARRY :: stand up
- ⟨**ᑲᑭ**⟩ **ðóo** (PUT) : sit
 - ▶ CARRY :: sit down
- ⟨**ᓃᑲ**⟩ **todá** (PUT) : lie (down)
 - ▶ CARRY :: become lying down

| Motion

- ⟨**ᑲᑲ**⟩ **ᑲ!adi** (CARRY) : walk, move (oneself)
- ⟨**ᓃᓃᑲ**⟩ **tátod** (CARRY) : move up, ascend
- ⟨**ᑲᓃᑲ**⟩ **sábja** (CARRY) : move down, descend
 - ▶ BREAK :: fall, trip, stumble

| Position

- ⟨**ᑲᓃᑲ**⟩ **kób** (PUT) : put in a more prominent position
 - ▶ CARRY :: be in a more prominent position
- ⟨**ᑲᑲᑲ**⟩ **ᑲ!ovo** (PUT) : hang up, hang or drape over/across a locus
 - ▶ CARRY :: be hanging
- ⟨**ᓃᓃᑲ**⟩ **tab** (PUT) : lean against, put leaning against a locus
 - ▶ CARRY :: be leaning (against)

| Sensory

- ⟨ðy̆⟩ si^k!aa (SEE) : see, look (at), sense visually
- ⟨ðñ̃⟩ sóji (SEE) : hear, listen (to), sense aurally
- ⟨ɠy̆⟩ ko^ɔ!aa (SENSE) : feel, touch
- ⟨w̃y̆⟩ ɔ̃róði (SENSE) : taste, smell

| Division

- ⟨ɔ̃ɠɠ⟩ ikaj (BREAK) : cut, divide cleanly or into equal parts
- ⟨ɔ̃ɠñ̃⟩ vódi (BREAK) : cut, divide roughly or into unequal parts

