# 12 Topics in adjectival meaning in Kamya

by Keras Saryan

# From wild seas to dark plans

In this article, I present brief discussions of selected adjectives from Kamya, a language of south-eastern Europe, with the aim of providing an interesting, albeit limited, window on the lexicon of the language. Many of these words display constellations of meanings which are not necessarily cross-linguistically uncommon, while others show semantic ranges more specific to Kamya.<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

From a cross-linguistic perspective, adjectives in Kamya are unremarkable with respect to their morphology and syntax: they form a major open lexical class which is distinct from nouns and verbs; when used attributively, they precede the noun they modify; and they do not agree with nouns for any feature in either attributive or predicative functions. For this reason, the main purpose of this paper is not to expound their morphosyntactic properties but rather to serve as a showcase of the semantic ranges covered by nine adjectives chosen from the language (though the semantic ranges described are not necessarily exhaustive).

## Varu 'wild'

Our tour of adjectival meaning begins with **varu**. The core sense of this word is to describe things as being untamed or uncontrolled by humans; it can therefore simply be glossed as 'wild'. **Varu** is most prototypically used to describe undomesticated animals, *e.g.* **varu zaşka** 'wild bear'.<sup>2</sup> This is further exemplified in (1) below.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ In this article, Kamya examples are presented only in the Latin-based orthography, which largely corresponds to standard IPA with the following exceptions:  $\langle c \rangle / d J / \langle c \rangle / t J / \langle dh \rangle / \delta / \langle gh \rangle / \gamma / \langle j \rangle / 3 / \langle th \rangle / \theta /$  and  $\langle y \rangle / j /$ . Regular primary stress is antepenultimate in non-compound words (and is word-initial in words of three or fewer syllables).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Morphologically unmarked nouns in Kamya may convey either singular or plural according to morphosyntactic and real-world context. In this article, in-line glosses for nouns generally provide only the singular. For more information on grammatical number in the language, see Saryan (2021).

#### (1) A co gazasot și varu hucuta!

```
a co gaza -so -t şi varu hucu -ta 3sg.nom mir attack -mdp -nr.pst indef wild goose -instr "(S)he was attacked by a wild goose!"
```

This use of **varu** in reference to animals may include those are descended from domestic stock, *e.g.* **varu gela** 'feral horse'. Note that the difference between the interpretations of 'wild' and 'feral' may depend on real-world context or even the noun **varu** is paired with. For example, in Kamya, there is a lexical distinction between **tişaç** 'domestic cat (typically small)' and **peri** 'wild cat (typically large)' and so 'feral' is the natural reading of **varu** with **tişaç** and, though **varu** could, in theory, mean 'feral' when applied to **peri**, it would more likely simply mean 'wild' in the sense 'not living in captivity'.

Relatedly, the word **varu** is found in the collocation **varu pereç** 'game meat', which refers to the flesh of a wild animal hunted as a source of food (this may also occasionally be used metonymically to refer to the animal itself rather than the meat).

As with English **wild** or Czech **divoký**, Kamya **varu** can be used to describe plants as well as animals, *e.g.* **varu ered** 'wild rose'. Furthermore, when used in the context of a garden or field cultivated by humans, **varu** may be used to describe plants which are undesirable, *i.e.* weeds. In such contexts, this sense is commonly found in the collocation **varu haç** 'wild plant, weed', <sup>3</sup> as illustrated by (2), but **varu** is also found alongside the names of particular plants, *e.g.* **varu şifaç** 'nettles' (as a weed)', where **şifaç** alone simply means 'nettles'.

#### (2) Şel varu haç vudhusor na tere tirnişa?

```
şel varu haç vudhu -so -r na tere tirn -işa Q wild plant.NOM push.PRS -MDP -PL DEF 2SG.GEN garden -LOC "Does your garden have weeds growing in it?"
```

It is not just animals and plants that may be described as **varu**, however; this word can also be used to refer to land which has not been cultivated by humans, chiefly in the collocation **varu zan** 'virgin land'. It is additionally used when referring to certain forces of nature, most especially of the wind or sea, *e.g.* **varu uvuç** 'tempestuous wind' and **varu taro** 'stormy sea'.

Returning to living beings, **varu** can also be applied to humans and, when used in this way, it may take on certain additional senses. Not only can it be used akin to **varu** with animals, as in **varu sosa** 'feral child', but it can also express the notions of 'uncivilised' or 'savage'—naturally with pejorative connotations—when referring to groups of humans, e.g. **şi varu spar** 'an uncivilised people'. When used in reference to individuals or their behaviour, **varu** may express that someone is impolite, discourteous or rude, e.g. **varu posumda** 'uncouth behaviour', but it may also describe someone who is easily irritated or angered, e.g. **varu vaş** 'cantankerous husband', as in (3). It does not, however, usually connote unruliness or ferocity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Though there does also exist the dedicated lexeme **prija** 'weed' which may be used to provide disambiguation if necessary.

#### (3) Na duma valis pahot ceş hericin varu.

na duma valis pah -o -t ceş her -icin varu DEF DIS policeman.NOM seem -MDP -NR.PST 1SG.DAT small -ADVZ wild "That policeman seemed pretty grouchy to me."

This use of **varu** to mean 'ill-tempered' brings us to our next word, **vila**.

# Vila 'spicy'

**Vila** is an adjective which, despite having an altogether different primary sense to **varu**, nevertheless displays a certain degree of overlap in one of its secondary senses. That is, it can be used in relation to people who are dispositionally quick to anger. However, **vila** differs slightly from **varu** as this meaning is encompassed within a broader secondary sense meaning generally emotionally unstable, *e.g.* **vila samazam** 'temperamental pupil'. This is further illustrated by the example in (4).

#### (4) Ceş usi şi şideyam, na sidh gara vila.

ceş usi şi şideyam na sidh Ø gara vila 1sg.dat exist.prs indef patient.nom def rel cop.prs very spicy "I have a patient who is very [emotionally] unstable."

A similar sense of **vila** to the above can be found with non-human animals; however, in such cases, this typically caries the implication that, not only is the animal irascible or temperamental, but that it is potentially dangerous if not dealt with appropriately, *e.g.* **vila laska** '(potentially) dangerous monkey'. This meaning is in turn extended and applied beyond animals to situations which are potentially perilous if not handled correctly, *e.g.* **vila yumda** 'tinderbox-like situation'. This is also exemplified in (5) below.

#### (5) Na kalara cerot hiç hiç vila.

na kalara cer -o -t hiç hiç vila DEF *strike*.NOM *become* -MDP -NR.PST *again* RDP *spicy* "The strike grew tenser and tenser."

Another meaning for **vila** to express is certain types of pain. It is used to describe pain that stings, stabs or burns, especially in the phrase **vila dag** 'shooting pain', such as the discomfort that might follow from banging one's ulnar nerve (*i.e.* funny bone), as in (6) below.

#### (6) Cen co larga bukit na gerşetozaz va danaç kina aşa vila.

larga buk - it gerşetoz danç co na -az va **MIR** funny\_bone - ACC 1sg.nom strong *hit* -NR.PST DEF and now kina Ø aşa vila PROX.NOM COP.PRS really spicy

"I banged my funny bone hard and now it really stings."

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This can be thought of as being related to what appears to diachronically have been the original sense of **vila**, which is to describe pungent smells. As pungent odours often cause an undesirable stinging sensation, over time, usage of the word **vila** drifted such that it came to be associated with irritation that may derive from physical injury and not just unpleasant smells. Note that the use of **vila** in reference to smells, as illustrated in (7), is nowadays regarded as being rather dated.

#### (7) Na kina zayapaş usi şi gara vila şumuç.

```
na kina zayapa-ş usi şi gara vila şumuç
DEF PROX garlic -DAT EXIST.PRS INDEF very spicy smell.NOM
"This garlic has a very pungent smell."
```

In turn, this meaning is related to what has become the primary sense of **vila**, namely to describe tastes as being 'hot' or 'spicy', such as in **vila çinza** 'chilli pepper'. This is further exemplified by the example sentence in (8) below.

#### (8) Şel na handa sahan vila, mana?

```
şel na handa sahan Ø vila mana Q DEF MED sauce.NOM COP.PRS spicy or "Is that sauce you've got there spicy?"
```

Of course, if one wants to describes something as 'hot' in terms of temperature and not piquancy, one does not use the word **vila** but rather **vora**.

## Vora 'hot'

If something is hot in temperature, as seen in (9), this is described in Kamya as being **vora** 'hot' (and this applies equally to weather as it does to tangible objects).<sup>4</sup>

#### (9) Na bovoşa han çegere vora.

```
na bovo-şa han Ø çegere vora DEF kettle-LOC water.NOM COP.PRS extremely hot "The water in the kettle is extremely hot."
```

However, **vora** has an additional sense relating to emotional states. Specifically, it is used of people who are agitated, angry or annoyed, as in (10) below.

#### (10) Ceş tabrit şi daçaz, ilay a cerot vora vora.

```
ceş tabr -it şi daç -az ilay a cer -o
1SG.DAT smash -NR.PST INDEF plate -ACC and_then 3SG.NOM become -MDP
-t vora vora
-NR.PST hot RDP
```

<sup>&</sup>quot;I [accidentally] smashed a plate and (s)he got very angry."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In addition to **vora** 'hot', Kamya possesses an additional property-concept lexeme to refer to a lower but still relatively high temperature, namely **hoçi** 'warm', just as is found in various other languages (e.g. English **hot/warm**, Ingush дайха/мела, Vietnamese **nóng/âm**).

Note that, unlike **varu** and **vila**, **vora** typically refers only to someone who is angry at a particular moment and is not used to describe a person as having a propensity to get angry readily or often.

Our next word, which can be used to describe something which might well cause one to become **vora** in the figurative sense, is the adjective **pişa** 'ruined'.

## Pişa 'ruined'

The word **pişa** has the primary meaning of conveying that an object no longer functions as it should or is no longer fit to serve its purpose because it has become damaged in some way, as is demonstrated by the example in (11).

#### (11) Na cere layişa çoro pişa; kinaş usi şi çoça luda.

```
na
     cere
               layi -şa
                          çoro
                                              pişa
                                                      kina -ş
                                                                  usi
               back - LOC
                          bag.NOM COP.PRS ruined
DEF
     1sg.gen
                                                      PROX - DAT
                                                                  EXIST.PRS
          çoça luda
  Şİ
  INDEF big
                hole.NOM
```

This sense of an object no longer being able to fulfil its purpose is extended to being used in reference to a wide range of comestible items in order to express that they have lost their freshness (which may potentially include no longer being edible), such as in the collocations pişa ala 'addled eggs', pişa çiran 'stale beer', pişa erşanya 'wilted vegetables', pişa spulu 'stale cake', pişa ulun 'rancid butter', pişa uş 'off/sour milk' and pişa venu 'stale bread'.

This sense of **pişa** contrasts with **poş** 'rotten', which necessarily further entails physical degradation of some kind that is typically noticeable without thorough inspection using touch or taste, such as an unpleasant smell (e.g. **poş pereç** 'rotten meat'), the visible loss of integrity (e.g. **poş emel** 'rotten apple') or the growth of mould (e.g. **poş koru** 'rotten cheese'). Note also that that **poş** is not typically used with liquids (e.g. **#poş uş** 'off/sour milk').

The use of **pişa** to express a lack of freshness is further extended from food and drink to water which is not necessarily potable, as in (12).

#### (12) Na gelare çabak bruçi pişa hanta.

```
na gela -re çabak \emptyset bruçi pişa han -ta DEF horse - GEN trough.NOM COP.PRS full ruined water - INSTR "The horse's trough is full of stagnant water."
```

Similarly, **pişa** is able to be used in a figurative manner when discussing, for example, particular situations or relationships, *e.g.* **pişa şun** 'ruined day', **pişa çudha** 'spoilt party' or **pişa koçira** 'soured relationship'. In these cases, something could be thought of as being **pişa** if it can also be described as having become in some sense **fofofula**.

<sup>&</sup>quot;My rucksack is broken; it's got a big hole in it."

# Fofofula 'stuffy'

Our next word, **fofofula**, may be used to describe inter-personal relationships—and also, for example, atmospheres—as being fraught or tense, such as is illustrated by the example in (13) below.<sup>5</sup>

#### (13) Cen sara, na waş na hayire muşuruda ceromca fofofula.

```
hayi-re
                                                muşuruda
cen
          sara
                     na
                          waş
                              na
                                                              cer
                                                                     -0
1sg.nom
          believe.PRS
                     DEF
                          C
                                DEF 3PL -GEN
                                                marriage.NOM
                                                              become - MDP
           fofofula
   -mca
   -FR.PST stuffy
```

However, this is only an extension of another sense, which is to describe something as being overpowering or oppressive in some way. This may be emotionally overwhelming but also more generally sensorily overwhelming, such as a cacophony of noise or flashing lights.

#### (14) N' ezekazen yet eşek fofofula, çazen cen telzit.

```
n' ezek -azen yet eşek fofofula çazen cen telz-it
DEF music -ABL COP.NR.PST too stuffy therefore 1SG.NOM exit -NR.PST
"It was too noisy because of the music so I left."
```

This is itself an extension of the primary sense of **fofofula** which has a literal meaning that an enclosed space, or that the weather in general, feels stuffy and, typically, unpleasantly humid and warm, which may make it feel more difficult to breathe or generally go about one's business.<sup>6</sup>

#### (15) Kişun gara gara fofofula, çazen ceş be calo id bidez.

```
kişun Ø gara gara fofofula çazen ceş be cal -o today COP.PRS very RDP stuffy therefore 1SG.DAT NEG want.PRS-MDP id bide -z do.SUP nothing -ACC
```

"It's really muggy today so I don't feel like doing anything."

If a room, for example, is **fofofula** then the air within its confines is likely to feel somewhat **pusta**.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I think their marriage became strained."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Note that **fofofula** is preferentially used predicatively, though it may occasionally also be employed in an attributive function (or even less commonly in an adverbial one).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>This is the original sense of **fofofula**, which is seemingly ideophonic in origin (though it does bear the common adjectival suffix **-ula**).

# Pusta 'heavy'

The primary meaning of **pusta** is simply 'heavy' (i.e. having a large weight), as exemplified by (16) below.

#### (16) Buka emdit na kina pusta kudiz?

```
buka em -dit na kina pusta kudi -z who.NOM bring -NR.PST DEF PROX heavy book -ACC "Who brought this heavy book?"
```

When used with an adjunct in the instrumental case, this can express a sense of being overloaded or overladen, as in **pusta cuteçeta** 'overloaded with clothes'. However, the semantic space of this word also encompasses several other meanings. Firstly, as is common cross-linguistically (e.g. Russian тяжёлый, Swahili -zito, Mongolian хүнд), the lexeme meaning 'heavy' is also used to describe something as difficult, e.g. **pusta towri** 'hard problem'. Relatedly, **pusta** may be used to describe something requiring a lot of physical effort, mental concentration or time dedication, e.g. **pusta poru** 'onerous task', or to express that something is important or serious, particularly with more sombre overtones, e.g. **pusta veṣa** 'grave matter' or **pusta cerim** 'grave error'.

**Pusta** can also be applied to the taste of food and, in this case, it describes flavours as being strong, **pusta falak** 'strong flavour'. However, it is also used in a specialised way with respect to the taste of wine, expressing a much dryer than sweeter flavour, e.g. **pusta şampanya** 'brut champagne'.

Away from food and drink, an additional specialised usage of **pusta** is to describe fonts or typefaces as bold, as in (17).

#### (17) Cen dhim, na waş n' odot dayi tayna şi pusta sorbiz.

```
cen dhim na waş n' odot dayi tayna şi pusta 1SG.NOM think.PRS DEF C DEF title.NOM ought.PRS use.SUP INDEF heavy sorbi - z letter - ACC
```

"I think the title should be in bold."

A yet further use of **pusta** is in reference to sound, in which case it describes low-pitched noises, *e.g.* **pusta kişi** '*low sound*'. It is additionally used to describe sleep as particularly deep, *e.g.* **pusta demkeç** '*deep sleep*' (*cf.* English **heavy sleeper**).

A more colloquial additional sense of **pusta** is 'pregnant', which is illustrated by the example in (18) below.

#### (18) Şel na bata rulardit, na waş a pusta?

```
şel na bata rular -dit na waş a \emptyset pusta Q DEF parent.NOM know.PL-NR.PST DEF C 3SG.NOM COP.PRS heavy "Did her parents know she was pregnant?"
```

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Note, however, that this use is generally only found when the word is used predicatively rather than attributively. The example in (19) shows the infelicitous reading of **pusta** as 'pregnant' when used attributively.

#### (19) #Şi pusta çera surdit na daraçazuri.

```
şi pusta çera sur -dit na daraça-zuri INDEF heavy woman.NOM enter -NR.PST DEF bus -ALL "A heavy woman got on the bus."

Intended: "A pregnant woman got on the bus."
```

Finally, a now antiquated use of **pusta** is to mean 'rich' or 'wealthy', though even when this was still in use, it was very frequently accompanied by **yilanya** 'riches, wealth' in the instrumental case to provide disambiguation, as in (20).<sup>7</sup>

#### (20) Na sala yumca gara pusta yilanyata.

```
na sala yumca gara pusta yilanya-ta
DEF king.NOM COP.FR.PST very heavy riches -INSTR
"The king was very wealthy."
```

The usual antonym for **pusta** 'heavy' is **hamad** 'light'; however, as we shall see, though the two words stand in a broad antonymic relationship, this does not hold for all meanings of the rather polysemous **pusta**.

# Hamad 'light'

The primary use of **hamad** is to described something as having a low weight, as demonstrated by the example in (21) below.

#### (21) Nazen na kunyare çemkebak co hiz hamad?

```
nazen na kunyare çemkebak co \emptyset hiz hamd how_come DEF 2PL.GEN suitcase.NOM MIR COP.PRS such light "Why on earth is your suitcase is so light?"
```

In one of its secondary senses, **hamad** is used in reference to tasks or duties which are not physically or mentally demanding, *e.g.* **hamad curuç** '*easy job*'. However, where **pusta** can also have the sense of '*time-consuming*', **hamad** is not typically employed as an antonym of this meaning. It is though used to describe something as not being particularly noteworthy or insignificant, *e.g.* **hamad puvoç** '*frivolous question*', in similar contexts to where **pusta** is used to mean the opposite (compare *e.g.* **pusta veşa** '*grave matter*' and **hamad veşa** '*unimportant matter, triviality*').

Additional uses of **hamad** which are closely antonymic to **pusta** describe sleep as not being deep, **hamad demkeç** '*light sleep*', and flavours as not being strong, **hamad falak** 'weak flavour'. Likewise, just as **pusta** can mean 'rich', **hamad** is sometimes used to mean 'poor'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>This is subtly different to the sense of 'overladen' mentioned above as it does not necessarily imply that the wealth is excessive.

However, a key register difference between the uses of these two words in this semantic space is that using **pusta** to mean 'rich' is seen as outdated in contemporary Kamya whereas using **hamad** 'light' to mean 'poor' is not only still current but also considered colloquial (and therefore perhaps more idiomatically translated into English as 'broke' or 'skint'). Furthermore, where **pusta** was often accompanied by **yilanyata** 'with riches' or **laydata** 'with money', this is not usually the case with **hamad**.

An additional colloquial use of **hamad**, exemplified in (22), is to describe a person who is quick to change their values, opinions or associations. Note that **hamad** and **pusta** are not antonyms as far as this meaning is concerned.

#### (22) Şel ta dhim, na waş a hericin hamad?

```
şel ta dhim na waş a \emptyset her -icin hamd Q 2SG.NOM think.PRS DEF C 3SG.ACC COP.PRS little - ADVZ light "Do you think (s)he's bit fickle?"
```

Returning to core meanings, not only can **hamad** describe something as being light in weight but this can be metaphorically extended to describe things as subtle, *e.g.* **hamad mizudaman** 'subtle difference, fine distinction', and, especially with respect to pressure, as gentle or soft, *e.g.* **hamad hadhaç** 'gentle touch'. It cannot be used, however, to describe fabric or other such items as being 'soft' to the touch, for this **sedha** would instead be used.

#### Sedha 'smooth'

The primary meaning of the adjective **sedha** is to refer to the smooth—as opposed to grainy—consistency of a liquid or, more typically, a paste, as in (23).<sup>8</sup>

#### (23) Na tembora be paho sedha nazen?

```
na tembora be pah -o sedha nazen
DEF mixture.NOM NEG seem.PRS-MDP smooth how_come
"Why doesn't the mixture look smooth?"
```

It is also commonly used to characterise objects or textures as being smooth to the touch, as demonstrated by the example in (24) below.

#### (24) Na handa ezef gara sedha; şel mitasuç?

```
na handa ezef Ø gara sedha şel mitas - uç DEF MED scarf.NOM COP.PRS very smooth Q silk - ADJZ "Your scarf is very smooth; is it made of silk?"
```

These senses of **sedha** in reference to the lack of graininess or roughness are extended to describe the crispness—*i.e.* lack of pixelation or blurriness—of a picture or image.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Note that this is orthogonal to the thickness or viscosity of the substance in question.

#### (25) Na mere caz dhurisak reçucuz şi sedha sedha deraz.

na me -re caz dhurisak reç-ucuz şi sedha sedha dera -z DEF 1PL-GEN *new television*.NOM *give*-FUT INDEF *smooth* RDP *image*-ACC "Our new TV will have a really crisp image."

In addition to these senses, just as **pusta** 'heavy' and **hamad** 'light' can be used in reference to strong and weak flavours respectively, **sedha** is able to be used to describe a taste as being subtle, *e.g.* **sedha falak** 'subtle flavour'. This is similar to the flavour-related use of **hamad** but does not typically carry any of the negative connotations that **hamad** often does.

Again, as with our previous word **hamad**, **sedha** can be used to impute a certain characteristic to people; in this case, being easy-going or laid-back, as in (26).

#### (26) Na cere yukiş şi sedha hiri.

na cere yukiş  $\emptyset$  şi sedha hiri DEF 1SG.GEN *physician*.NOM COP.PRS INDEF *smooth person*.NOM "My doctor is a chilled-out person."

Finally, a much less common, now slightly antiquated, usage of **sedha** is to describe colours as being light or pale. However, this is generally limited to the collocation **sedha uçul** '*light colour*' and, as can be seen in (27), an adverbial function modifying adjectives denoting colours. Note that the more typical contemporary word for this sense is **hala** '*light, bright*', in addition to which there also exists the more uncommon word **selu** 'pale, wan, faint'.

#### (27) Na zita yet guşayad va sedha oyi.

na zita yet guşa-yad va sedha oyi DEF *sky*.NOM COP.NR.PST *cloud*-PRIV *and smooth blue* "The sky was clear and pale blue."

This final outmoded sense of **sedha** brings us to our final word of the series, namely the antonym **roko**.

## Roko 'dark'

The Kamya adjective **roko** has as its primary meanings 'dark' in both the sense of lacking light and regarding colours, as in (28) and (29) respectively.

#### (28) Na kina roko temtişa cen be mal bidez.

na kina roko temt -işa cen be mal bide -z DEF PROX *dark room* -LOC 1SG.NOM NEG *see*.PRS *nothing* -ACC "I can't see anything in this dark room."

#### (29) Şel ta be bel na tere roko sopekaz?

şel ta be bel na tere roko sopek-az Q 2SG.NOM NEG *find*.PRS DEF 2SG.GEN *dark shirt* -ACC "Can you not find your dark shirt?" These senses relating to darkness are extended in a common use of **roko** in Kamya to describe the weather as being gloomy or overcast.

#### (30) **Kişun gara roko.**

kişun Ø gara roko today COP.PRS very dark "It's very gloomy today."

This is often further metaphorically extended to describe something as 'sombre' or 'melan-cholic', as in the example provided in (31).

#### (31) Na layarta da yet şi hericin roko tekeç.

na layarta da yet şi her -icin roko DEF funeral.NOM indeed COP.NR.PST INDEF small -ADVZ dark tekeç occurrence.NOM

"Naturally, the funeral was a rather sombre affair."

Such uses also lead to an association of the word **roko** with sadness or even depression, as demonstrated by the collocation **roko tuv** 'sudden wave of sadness' (lit. 'dark gust') in (32) below.

#### (32) Ruluş ruluş şi roko tuv vatat ceş.

rulş rulş şi roko tuv vata -t ceş suddenly RDP INDEF dark gust.NOM arrive-NR.PST 1SG.DAT "All of a sudden, a depressive feeling came over me."

This may be extended yet further to encompasses meanings such as 'sinister', 'ominous', 'baleful' or 'foreboding', as seen in (33).

#### (33) Şel teş yuş, na waş a kere şi roko yurmaz?.

şel teş yuş na waş a kere şi roko yurm-az Q 2SG.DAT *think*.PRS DEF C 3SG.NOM *make*.PRS INDEF *dark plan* -ACC "Do you reckon (s)he's hatching some sinister plan?"

Finally, **roko** may correspond to English **black**, French **noir** or Russian **чёрный** in certain set compounds or phrases, *e.g.* **roko halab** 'black magic', **Roko Sagha** 'Black Death' (lit. 'Dark Plague') or **Roko Taro** 'Black Sea'.

## **Summary**

In this article, I have provided brief descriptions of the semantic ground covered by nine adjectives from Kamya. Though many of the patterns of polysemy discussed—such as the use of **pusta** 'heavy' in the sense of 'difficult'—are found frequently in languages of the world, others—like the extension of **fofofula** 'stuffy' to mean 'sensorily overwhelming'—are more particular to Kamya. In any case, it is my hope that the thought put into the exposition here will have been appreciated and will have been of interest to readers.

# Kamya

# Reference

Saryan, Keras. 2021. The exponence of grammatical number in Kamya. Talk given virtually at the Digital Language Creation Conference, 6-7 March.

Video: https://youtu.be/NEINfK5rm04.

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