lang₂

grammar of a constructed language

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Contents

1 Origins 2 Goals 3 Lore I PHONOLOGY 1 Segments 1.1 Consonants 1.2 Vowels 1.3 Allophony 2 Supersegments 2.1 Stress 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies II MORPHOSYNTAX 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems	Cor	Contents							
2 Goals 3 Lore	Intr	rodu	ction				v		
Phonology		1	Origins	ns			. v		
PHONOLOGY		2	Goals				. v		
1 Segments 2 1.1 Consonants 2 1.2 Vowels 2 1.3 Allophony 2 2 Supersegments 2 2.1 Stress 4 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 4 Phonotactics 4 4.1 Roots 4 4.2 Frequencies 5 II MORPHOSYNTAX 8 5 Nouns 5 5.1 Stems 5 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10		3	Lore .				. v		
1.1 Consonants 1.2 Vowels 1.3 Allophony 2 Supersegments 2.1 Stress 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies II Morphosyntax 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems	I	Рн	ONOLO	OGY			1		
1.1 Consonants 1.2 Vowels 1.3 Allophony 2 Supersegments 2.1 Stress 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies II Morphosyntax 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems	1	Segr	nents				2		
1.3 Allophony 2 Supersegments 2.1 Stress 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies II MORPHOSYNTAX 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems				onants			. 2		
2 Supersegments 2.1 Stress 3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies 11 MORPHOSYNTAX 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems		1.2	Vowels	S			. 3		
2.1 Stress		1.3	Allopho	nony			. 3		
3 Morphophonology 3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems	2	Supe	ersegm	nents			4		
3.1 Consonants 3.2 Vowels 4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems	:	2.1	Stress			•	. 4		
3.2 Vowels	3	Mor	phopho	onology			5		
4 Phonotactics 4.1 Roots 4.2 Frequencies II MORPHOSYNTAX 5 Nouns 5.1 Stems 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10		3.1	Consor	onants			. 5		
4.1 Roots		3.2	Vowels	s			. 6		
4.2 Frequencies 5 II MORPHOSYNTAX 8 5 Nouns 9 5.1 Stems 9 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10	4	Pho	notactio	ics			7		
II MORPHOSYNTAX 8 5 Nouns 9 5.1 Stems 9 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10		4.1	Roots				. 7		
5 Nouns 9 5.1 Stems 9 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10	•	4.2	Freque	encies		•	. 7		
5.1 Stems 9 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10	II	Mo	ORPHO	DSYNTAX			8		
5.1 Stems 9 5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10	_	N I					0		
5.1.1 Vocalic stems 9 5.1.2 Neuter stems 10							9 . 9		
5.1.2 Neuter stems		5.1							
J.2 DEIXIS		5.2							
5.2.1 Generic	•	3.2							
		5 3							
	,	J.J							
·				•					

	5.4	Gender	13
	5.5	Apposition	14
		5.5.1 Inalienable possession	14
		5.5.2 Reducing syntactic complexity	14
	5.6	Phrasal syntax	15
6	Pron	ouns	16
7	Verb	s	17
	7.1	Stems	17
		7.1.1 <i>t</i> -stems	17
		7.1.2 <i>r</i> -stems	17
		7.1.3 <i>m</i> -stems	18
	7.2	Agreement	18
		7.2.1 Polypersonal	18
		7.2.2 Deictic	19
	7.3	Negation	19
	7.4	Converb	19
	7.5	Transitivity	20
	7.6	Aspect and mood	20
		7.6.1 <i>ot</i>	21
		7.6.2 sesam	21
		7.6.3 <i>nenat</i>	21
		7.6.4 het	22
		7.6.5 <i>pit</i>	23
8	Adn	ositions	24
•	пар	8.0.1 <i>im</i>	24
		8.0.2 <i>ez</i>	24
		8.0.3 <i>te</i>	24
		8.0.4 <i>ah</i>	24
			24
		8.0.5 osc	25
9	Adje	ectives	26
10	Part	icles	27
	10.1	Imperative	27
11	Clau		29
		Fronting	29
	11.2	Extraposition	29

Ш	Appendix	30
Α	Culture	31
	A.1 Metaphors	31
В	Registers	32
	B.1 Poetry	32
c	Lexicon	33
	A	34
	A	34
	C	34
	E	34
	E	35
	H	35
	1	35
	K	35
	L	36
	M	36
	N	36
		37
	0	
	Q	37
	P	37
	R	38
	S	38
	T	38
	U	39
	V	39
	Υ	39
	Z	39

Introduction

1 Origins

lang₂ is an *a priori* artlang originally conceived to fulfill a speedlang challenge, then modified to handle a relay, then finally molded into its own project. Although I had no clear motivations in mind when beginning it, I found that the confluence of random decisions—the Gleb-generated inventory, challenge stipulations, the early translation choices—made the project into something I really enjoyed.

1 Origins v 2 Goals v 3 Lore v

2 Goals

The overarching goal is to create something that is cool to me. The project is meant to be naturalistic, but when naturalism conflicts with aesthetic, aesthetic will be prioritized.

A primary way to grow this language and develop new ideas will be through translation of poetry and scientific journals. I hope that these will push the limits of my syntactical rules while also developing an interesting corpus. I'll also try to use 5moyds and hopefully at some point a journal to expand my ability to speak the language and get an intuitive sense for what constructions it prefers.

As I develop this conlang, my goals will be to explore analytic constructions and syntactic minutiae, write in-depth documentation of how information structure manifests in the language, and produce a robust dictionary and corpus.

3 Lore

lang₂ is set in a worldbuilding project I create as a hobby. The language is an isolate spoken on the eastern coast of a peninsula, once the language of city-states and now a common language throughout a number of coastal countries. It is heavily influenced by East Cape, the *de jure* language of the peninsula, and other languages of trade. The world the speakers know is analogous to our 1930s.

Part I PHONOLOGY

Segments | 1

1.1 Consonants

lang₂ has 14 consonant phonemes, although some newer analyses also analyze voiced stops as phonemic as wells. There are four distinguished places of articulation: labial, plain alveolar, sibilant alveolar, and dorsal. There are four distinguisheds manner of articulation: stops, fricatives, approximants, and nasals.

	Lab	ial	Alve	eolar	Sibil	ant	Dor	sal
Stop	р	р	t	t	\widehat{ts} (\widehat{dz}) s	С	k	k
	(b)	b	(d)	d	(\widehat{dz})	j	(g)	g
Fricative	f	f	4	l	S	S	X	h
Nasal	m	m	n	n	\widehat{nz}	Z		
Approximant	w	V	,	r			j	y

1.1 Consonants . . . 2 1.2 Vowels 3 1.3 Allophony 3

The *sibilant* place of articulation is a sprachbund feature, present in other Peninsular languages including East Cape.

Table 1.1: Consonants

Nasal Sibilant The nasal sibilant /nz/ is a typologically odd segment. The prototypical representation of this sound is $[\tilde{z}]$, a voiced fricative with simultaneous nasal release; however, phonetic research suggests that true fricatives cannot be fully nasalized. Thus, this segment's typical realization may be better represented as a slightly fricated approximant $[^n\tilde{z}]$, although some speakers may realize it as a weakly nasalized $[^nz]$ or a fully nasalized approximant $[^n\tilde{z}]$. Nevertheless it patterns as a nasal sibilant in both distribution and allophony and is thus phonemically represented as /nz/.

See Ohala et al. (1998) for further discussion of nasal fricatives.

Labial Fricative The fricative /f/ has a marginal distribution, mostly appearing in loan words and onomatopoeia. Most instances of historical /f/ underwent debuccalization and were subsequently lost. Although /x/ also appears frequently in onomatopoeia, its distribution is more widespread and it is not considered marginal.

Sibilant Affricate Although the phone [ts] is rather common in the corpus, its underlying form is not always the phoneme /ts/. The underlying phoneme is usually elucidated by inflection. For example, both *tsekla* "steering wheel" and *cekla* "great uncle" share the same surface form, ['tsek+a]. However, when inflected for the plural, the former becomes [tasək+azə] and the latter [tsək+azə]. As such

Affrication of stop-fricative clusters and pre-[s] schwa deletion are common processes that yield [ts], discussed further in §3.1.

tsekla is analyzed as /tasekła/, whereas cekla is analyzed as /tsekła/. This analysis parallels liason in some languages.

1.2 Vowels

lang₂ has 8 vowel phonemes, 5 plain and 3 nasalized.

		Fre	ont			M	id			Ba	ck	
High Mid Low	i	i							u	и		
Mid	e	e	ẽ	ę	(ə)	а	(\tilde{a})	ą	0	0	õ	Q
Low					a	a	ã	ą				

Table 1.2: Vowels

TODO:

This section about vowel neutralization probably belongs in morphophonology? It also has to do with the supersegment stress.

Vowel Neutralization Mid and low vowels /e a o/ and their nasal counterparts are reduced to [ə ə̃] in unstressed syllables. Schwa is not phonemic, but neutralization is common, so it appears frequently throughout the corpus. In speech, the underlying vowel becomes evident when stress is shifted due to morphological processes.

The surface form is typically romanized a even for underlying /e o/. Dictionaries typically denote the shadow vowels as nbm., an abbreviation of nabam "shadow."

1.3 Allophony

2.1 Stress 2.1 Stress 4

Stress in **lang**₂ is lexically and morphologically productive. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable of a word. Atypical vowel stress, most common in loan words, is marked with an acute. Stress is also morphologically productive, distinguishing between unmarked and distal deixis in nouns. Affixation, compounding, and other stress-shifting processes often cause stress-based minimal pairs to become homophones.

Stressed vowels have three phonetic differences from unstressed vowels. First, they typically have a rising pitch. Second, they are typically longer than unstressed vowels. Third, onsets before long vowels have a longer VOT than other onsets, a manifestation of slight aspiration or breathiness.

Secondary stress falls on alternating syllables starting from primary stress and spreading left. For example, kagesa "army" has regular stress on the penultimate syllable, but when inflected in plural form, it surfaces as kegasazar [ke.gəˈsa.zəɹ]. Secondary stress prevents the reduction of /e a o/ to [ə], but, unlike primary stress, does not cause length or VOT increase.

For example, *tąka* "tree" has typical stress and is unmarked, but *tąká* "reindeer" has atypical ultimate stress and is thus marked.

TODO:

This all just got recently moved from allophony because it's better analyzed as a morphophonological phenomenon, probably. So some of it will have to be re-written with that framing in mind. Probably means a lot more double slashes and "it only occurs across morpheme boundaries" type stuff.

3.1 Consonants . . . 5 3.2 Vowels 6

3.1 Consonants

Voicing Nasal and stop clusters are realized as voiced stops, occasionally prenasalized. The resulting phones $[^{(m)}b^{(n)}d^{(n)}dz^{(n)}g]$ are romanized b d j g. Clusters where the nasal is the onset of a syllable, not a coda, do not assimilate, so /pn/ is still realized [pn].

Although the assimilation process is most common across morpheme boundaries or in loan words, voiced plosives can be found in some native morphemes. However, since these phones only occur word-medially in limited and predictable distribution, they are not tradtionally considered phonemic. Most native words with voiced plosives are transparent compounds, such as *ebar* "below" ($\leftarrow ez + par$) or *kagęsa* "army" (\leftarrow reduplication of *kęsa*).

Some words, especially some conjugations of m-stem verbs, are spelled with a word-final voiced stop, but the stop is still typically realized as a medial cluster. For example, sed "they tell me" is underlying /semt/ and realized [$se^{(n)}d(a)$]. For some speakers, especially younger speakers or those in informal contexts, the final schwa is elided.

These clusters assimilate in place to the stop, so /np/surfaces as [b], not as [d].

Some scholars argue that voiced plosives are phonemic or becoming phonemic because of their presence in loan words and verb conjugations.

TODO:

Affrication and assibiliation would make more sense if it was only accross morpheme boundaries, but I have some words that I like where it's morpheme-internal. How should I handle that? It could be reworked as a diachronic process, made phonemic, a morphophonemic process—but it needs more thought.

Affrication Alveolar plosive and fricative clusters are realized as a sibilant affricate. Clusters of /ts/, /tf/, /t $\frac{1}{4}$ / and /tx/ all neutralize to [$\frac{1}{1}$ s], romanized as c. The / $\frac{1}{1}$ nc cluster likewise affricates, but is realized as [$\frac{1}{1}$ s], romanized as cz.

The voiceless nasal affricate is notoriously hard for non-native speakers to pronounce and is often used as a shibboleth. **Assibilation** Sibilant and non-sibilant fricative clusters are realized as sibilants. Unvoiced sibilants /ts s/ clustering with /f x $\frac{1}{2}$ / are realized as [s:], romanized as $\frac{1}{2}$ c or $\frac{1}{2}$ s depending on the underlying phoneme. The voiced sibilant $\frac{1}{2}$ instead is realized as [$\frac{1}{2}$:] in such clusters, romanized as $\frac{1}{2}$ z.

3.2 Vowels

Schwa Deletion The reduced vowel [\mathfrak{d}] is often deleted between consonants, especially non-alveolar stops, and the sibilants f is f in f. For example, f is commonly realized as [ksau \mathfrak{d}], and spelled accordingly. The elision process results in word-final or word-initial [\mathfrak{s}] or [$\tilde{\mathfrak{z}}$] being the only syllable-internal clusters. However, these clusters are not consistently realized, and occasionally have an epenthetic schwa, especially word-finally.

Nasalized schwa [ã] rarely undergoes deletion as it is typically longer than [a].

Note that f(s) surfaces [s] in these environments.

TODO:

Something here about word-final clusters. I haven't been consistent about when it's spelled as a cluster or when it's spelled with the vowel, and I need to either commit to the inconsistency, or figure out how that works.

TODO:

There might end up being an isogloss map of schwa deletion: most dialects delete ahead of sibilants, some ahead of sibilants and approximants, and others in all environments?

Phonotactics

4.1	Roots	4.1 Roots	7
		4.2 Frequencies	7

Nouns Most nominal roots are of the form CV(C)CV. Nominal roots infrequently end in a consonant, typically /s/ or /r/ for neuter nouns. Rarely, nominal roots end in /m n/ or /k/.

Verbs Most verbal roots are of the form (C)VC or CV(C)CVC. /t/ is the most common root-final phoneme, although there are some /m/ and /r/ stems as well.

Affixes A smaller set of phonemic segments are allowed in affixes. Neither the labials /p f m w/ nor the high vowel /u/ appear in true affixes. In the fossilized partial reduplication process, the reflexes of labial are either /k/ (\leftarrow /p f/) or /n/ (\leftarrow /m w/). The high vowel /u/ lowers to /o/, often simply realized as [ə].

Because /u/ and /w/ pattern similarly, some phonemic analyses conflate them.

4.2 Frequencies

```
WIP Lexifer file
with: std-ipa-features coronal-metathesis
letters: a ą b c d e ę f g h i k l m n o ǫ p r s t u v y z
C = tsknyhrcmzlpvf
N = s r m n k
P = t m r
V = a e i ą o ę ę u
random-rate: 40
words: CVC?CVN? C?VC?CVP C?VP C?VN?
filter: mt > d; nt > d; zt > d; mc > j; nc > j; zc > j; mk > g; nk > g; zk > g; mp > b; np > b; zp >
```

Part II Morphosyntax

The lang₂ noun phrase is largely analytic, but nouns do inflect for deixis and number. Nouns have three broad inflection patterns, largely related to the way they inflect for plurality.

5.1	Stems 9
5.2	Deixis 10
5.3	Number 12
5.4	Gender 13
5.5	Apposition 14
5.6	Phrasal syntax 15

5.1 Stems

Nouns are broadly divided into three stems based on their inflectional patterns: *vocalic*, *s-stems*, and *r-stems*. Rarely noun stems will end in other consonants, but these have no discernible shared patterns and often comprise newer loans.

Most noun stems are vocalic stems; typically these end in mid vowels, although some do end in a high vowel. Vocalic stems are usually common gender, excluding loanwords, which are prescriptively assigned neuter gender even if they end in a vowel.

Neuter nouns, on the other hand, are often either *r*-stems or *s*-stems, the latter being more common. Although no longer morphologically productive, the endings on *s*-stems and *r*-stems derive from historical derivation processes. Many roots are reflected in both endings, but the shared meaning between them is not always transparent.

S-stems can end in any sibilant, typically -*s* but also -*c* or -*z*.

5.1.1 Vocalic stems

Vocalic stems have fairly regular, agglunative inflection patterns. However, the proximal plural is shortened to *-rran* for most speakers.

	Generic	Proximal	Distal
SG	metka	metkan	matkó
PL	matkozar	matkorran	matkazár

All vocalic forms share the same endings, but many will have an unpredictable final vowel due to stress-based mid vowel neutralization. There is no way to predict the final vowel from the uninflected lemma, so learners often resort to memorization.

Table 5.1: Inflection of vowel-stem *metka* "bowl"

5.1.2 Neuter stems

Neuter stems share a common inflection pattern. For both neuter stems, the proximal surfaces as /on/ instead of /n/. The proximal plural also shortens for neuter stems, but takes the form *-zza-*, influenced by the assibilation morphophonological process. The shared plural form for both stems can create homophones.

	Generic	Proximal	Distal
		ratusan	
PL	ratuzzar	ratuzzan	ratuzzár

	Generic	Proximal	Distal
SG	pebar	pabaran	pabár
PL	pabazzar	pabazzan	pabazzár

Some strategies to resolve homophones are covered in §5.3.1.

Table 5.2: Inflection of *s*-stem *retus* "blade"

Table 5.3: Inflection of *r*-stem *pebar* "garden"

5.2 Deixis

Nominal deixis has a variety of uses, including evidentiality, distance, familiarity, and topicality. Verbs and adjectives exhibit agreement for deictic reference. There are three deictic categories: *generic*, *proximal*, and *distal*.

I had this idea, then found out that, as usual, a natural language had it first. Read Huijsmans, Reisinger, and Matthewson (2020) for more about the Salishan languages.

5.2.1 Generic

The unmarked or dictionary form of a noun is used when the noun is widely understood or well-known, for immaterial referents that cannot be deictically located, or if evidence of the referent is not known. If direct or reported evidence exists, it's infelicitous or questionably grammatical to use unmarked form.

5.2.2 Proximal

The proximal form of a noun is used when the speaker is certain, nearby, or familiar with the noun. This form most commonly denotes direct evidence, meaning the speaker has personal experience with the marked noun. It is marked with the suffix -n.

-n is morphophonemically // on//, where // o// doesn't surface for vocalic stems.

Direct evidence The canonical meaning of the proximal form is direct evidence, often translated as "I saw."

TODO:

The definiteness constructions probably need to be reworked to square better with (a) the stuff I've learned about definiteness and (b) the use of the deictic forms for topic/focus.

Definiteness Proximal forms can be used to describe the definiteness of a referent. This construction is only used for weak, uniquenessbased definiteness (eg. "the Moon"), never for strong, anaphoric definiteness (eg. "the book"). For strong definitess, the noun sin "???" is used alongside distal form, as in (1b).

- (1) Nassoin kąstecik su kagęsa su kagęstapa.
 - nassoi-n kastecik su kagęsa su king-PROX command and army and navy "The king (that we know) commands both army and navy."
 - b. sah ez-Rosam pít ató sín.

sah te=rosam pit sín soon prep=cook hold\dist grain\dist ???\dist "The rice (that you mentioned) is about to be cooked."

(5MOYD #1381)

5.2.3 Distal

The distal form of a noun is used when the speaker is uncertain, far, or unfamiliar with the noun. This form typically denotes indirect evidence, including inference, meaning the speaker has heard of or can make an educated guess about the existence of the marked noun. Reported deixis is marked by shifting stress to the ultimate syllable of the word.

Indirect Evidence The prototypical meaning of the distal form is indirect evidence, often translated as "heard about" or "they said." As in (2), this evidence is encoded into the clause via the subject and the predicate that agrees with it.

(2) egi Matkó aczé sém lar tę-het.

egi matkó aczé sém lar te=het just basket\dist two\dist will:be\dist there PREP=be:at "(She said) there will be just two baskets."

(5MOYD #1314)

5.3 Number

Nouns inflect morphologically for an additive plural, but there is also a syntactic construction used to form associative plurals. The unmarked form of a noun encodes expected number, *e.g. parsa* "eyes" which defaults to a pair and must be modified by a numeral or apposotive to specify a singulative.





(a) matkozar

(b) ezzu metka

Figure 5.1: Additive vs. associative plurals

The primary difference in the two plurals is the composition of the set: additive plurals refer to largely homogenous referents, whereas associative plurals refer to largely heterogenous referents.

5.3.1 Additive plurals

Additive plurals are used for a set of homogenous referents and never heterogenous referents; *e.g. matkozar* is "a set of the same (or similar) bowl" and never "a set of diverse bowls."

Additive plurality is indicated through the suffix *-zar*. Morphological marking is optional and a noun can be inferred additively plural from context. As such marking is less common for small, discrete or easily countable sets or when a referent has been established plural in prior conversation. However, speakers are not always consistent with marking.

Morphonologically, plural marking can be thought to precede deictic marking; plural distal nouns have accent placed on the plural suffix. As seen in Table 5.1, *matkozar* becomes *matkazár*, not **matkózar*.

Combating homophony Because the suffixes of *s*-stems and *r*-stems merge in the plural, some minimal pairs are rendered homphones when inflected. To combat this, speakers sometimes employ *tevi* "many" as an appositive modifier for the singular form.

The second meaning would use the associative plural.

Mandatory plural marking is stylistically preferred in formal contexts.

Explicit number When number is specified with a numeral, the noun is not marked for plurality, as in (3). This can also be used as another strategy to combat homophony.

(3) vęci ocza

vęci ocza
mercenary two
"two mercenaries"

(cf. *vacizar* "mercenaries")

5.3.2 Associative plurals

Unlike the additive plural, the associative plural is not marked morphologically; it is nonetheless rather prevalent. The preposition *ezzu* conveys the associative meaning.

The associative is used for a set of heterogenous referents. For animate (especially human) referents, the meaning is canonically "a person and their associates," as in (4). The focal referent (*i.e.* most important) is the marked noun.

(4) Sayanarnat otik ezzu Kanyi ez-laran.

sayenar-nat ot-ik ezzu Kanyi ez=lar-n be.ignorant-cvb be-prox assoc NAME PREP=EXPL-prox "For this, Kanyi and his friends won't be much help."

However, the associative can also have a number of idiomatic, context-specific meanings, usually referring to diverse groups.

5.4 Gender

Although nouns traditionally distinguish *common* and *neuter* gender, this has largely become a prescriptive convention. Loanwords, especially technical loanwords, are typically assigned neuter gender. Some words only distinguish gender for certain uses or contexts, thus dictionaries typically denote if a given usage is expected to require neuter gender.

Like *su*, *ezzu* can appear stranded. See §8.0.6.

Terminology in this section adapted from Daniel and Moravcsik (2007).

The gender distinction is more common in literature or academia.

5.5 Apposition

Apposition is fairly common due to the small adjective class present in **lang₂**. Apposition is used in a number of collocative constructions but is distinct from compounding largely because of stress patterns and morphophonological processes. Furthermore, appositive nouns shown agreement with the noun they modify, like adjectives.

Compounds can shift stress and also show cross-morpheme sound changes.

5.5.1 Inalienable possession

Apposition is a fairly common strategy for possession of all types, but inalienably possessed nouns require apposition, as in (5b).

Alienable possession via apposition is dispreferred in formal registers.

(5) a. ?hora im-kęsa

hora im=kęsa wrist of=soldier Intended: "soldier's wrist"

b. hora kęsa

hora kęsa wrist soldier "soldier's wrist"

The sentence in (5a) more readily lends itself to a reading indicating inalienable possession, such as "soldier's craftmanship" or "soldier's weaponsmithing."

5.5.2 Reducing syntactic complexity

Appositives are also used as a way of combating heaviness in complex noun phrases. This often occurs in noun phrases with multiple prepositional modifiers, especially when one of the modifiers is *im* "of." Other prepositions can be reduced this way as well.

When multiple prepositional phrases modify a head noun the phrase is syntactically heavy. For example (6) has three modifiers, an adjective and two prepositional phrases, one with its own adjective.

(6) rat Hecik pakné taá im-lalasan ez-helazzaran acoan.

rat hecik pakné taá im=lalasa-n ez=helazzaran acoan l be.at house\dist blue\dist of=auntie-prox prep=mountains tall "I'll be at auntie's blue house near the tall mountains."

To reduce the syntactic load of the sentence, a speaker might instead render it as (7). The phrase is clearly appositional; *lalasa* switches

from proximal marking (indicating the speaker has met her) to distal marking (to agree with its head noun).

(7) rat Hecik pakné taá lalasá ez-helazzaran acoan.

rat hecik pakné taá lalasá ez=helazzaran acoan l be.at house\dist blue\dist auntie\dist prep=mountains tall "I'll be at auntie's blue house near the tall mountains."

The new sentence has fewer function words and less disparate inflections, reducing some of its complexity.

5.6 Phrasal syntax

Noun phrases are predominantly head-initial. Generally speaking, syntactically simpler consituents occur before more syntactically complex ones, as shown in (8).

(8) head \rightarrow adjective \rightarrow number \rightarrow appositive \rightarrow prepositional phrase

Prounouns are morphologically and syntactically similar to other nouns—they share inflectional patterns and can be modified by adjectives. The notable differences are that pronouns rarely inflect for deixis, and some appositive constructions are ungrammatical.

TODO:

Settle on pronominal forms—right now it's *rat* 1, *a*(*f*) 2, *sec* 3c, and *moc* 3N. There's some isogloss map about whether 2 is *a* or *af*.

Possession Like nominal possession, pronominal possession can be expressed either through apposition or prepositional phrases. Thus both *lar im-sec* and *lar sec* can mean "his thing." However, apposition is more common in isolation for pronouns than it is for nouns.

Formal registers prefer the prepositional construction.

The lang₂ verb phrase is more inflectional than the noun phrase, but periphrastic constructions handle most temporal marking, with inflection largely reserved for agreement. Because verbs have fixed valency, prepositional adjuncts, periphrastic constructions, and dummy nouns are common.

7.1	Stems 17
7.2	Agreement 18
7.3	Negation 19
7.4	Converb 19
7.5	Transitivity 20
7.6	Aspect and
	mood 20

7.1 Stems

7.1.1 t-stems

T-stems are fairly predictable, although there is some affrication of /t/ in certain forms.

	GEN	PROX	DIST
\rightarrow 0	het	hetik	hét
\rightarrow 1	hetta	hettik	hattá
$\rightarrow 2$	hetca	hetcik	hatcá
\rightarrow 3c	hec	hecik	hacá
$\to 3\text{N}$	hetna	hetnik	hatná
$3N \rightarrow$	hecz	heczik	haczá
REFL	hetka	hetkik	hatká

Table 7.1: Conjugation of *t*-stem *het*

7.1.2 **r**-stems

R-stem verbs are generally predictable in most forms. However, they share morphology for both neuter forms agent and patient.

	GEN	PROX	DIST		
→ 0	par	parik	pár		
\rightarrow 1	parta	partik	partá		
$\rightarrow 2$	parca	parcik	parcá		
\rightarrow 3c	pars	parsik	parsá		
3N	paz	pazzik	páz		
REFL	parka	parkik	parká		

Table 7.2: Conjugation of *r*-stem *par*

7.1.3 m-stems

M-stems are notable for widespread voicing caused by /m/ clusters.

	GEN	PROX	DIST		
\rightarrow 0	sem	semik	sém		
\rightarrow 1	sed	sedik	sadá		
\rightarrow 2	sej	sejik	sajá		
\rightarrow 3c	sems	semsik	samsá		
$\rightarrow 3\text{N}$	semna	semnik	samná		
$3N \rightarrow$	semz	semzik	samzá		
REFL	seg	segik	sagá		

Table 7.3: Conjugation of *m*-stem *sem*

7.2 Agreement

Verbs agree with both the deictic position of the subject noun and the person of the two least oblique arguments of transitive verbs. Only the sole finite verb of a clause bears agreement.

7.2.1 Polypersonal

Transitive verbs exhibit polypersonal agreement via a suffix to the verb root. Intransitive verbs don't require person marking, but it can be used for emphasis or clarification; in such cases, either the reflexive or 3c patient morpheme is used.

		Patient							
		1 2 3c 3n							
	1	-	С	S	n				
	2 3c	t	-	S	n				
Agent		t	S	S	n				
	3N	n	Z	Z	Z				
	REFL	k							

Table 7.4: Person agreement

For the most part verb agreement is actually patient agreement, but some isolated cases are actually polypersonal. Because so many agreement suffixes share the same form, $lang_2$ is only occasionally prodrop.

7.2.2 Deictic

Generic noun forms do not have agreement morphemes, but proximal nouns demand the verbal suffix *-ik* and distal nouns shift stress to the final syllable. These suffixes are attached after polypersonal agreement suffixes.

The stress shifting on both nouns and verbs derives from the same, now elided, morpheme.

TODO:

Rework agreement with distal nouns: it should be more interesting, perhaps shifting stress in some places but not others. For example 3c.PAT forms might not shift stress because [s] is pretty cluster-happy.

7.3 Negation

Negation is handled with a verbal suffix *-res* which occurs before agreement affixes. Verbal negation is the primary form of negation in lang₂, so the forms are rather common. It has a number of allomorphs shown in Table 7.5.

	GEN	PROX	DIST
$\rightarrow 0/2/3c$	-ras	-réks	-rés
\rightarrow 1	-rac	-reks	-réc
ightarrow 3N	-rans	-régs	-réns
$3N \rightarrow$	-raz	-rékz	-réz
REFL	-raks	-rék	-réks

Because of the merger of the intransitive, second-person and third-person patient forms, **lang**₂ is considered to have assymetrical negation. As a consequence, explicit person marking via pronouns is more common with negated verbs, especially in the proximal, where all common persons shared the same phonetic form.

The affix's position is from its origin as an auxiliary which bore agreement.

Table 7.5: Negative suffixes

The affix is morphophonemically <code>// Jes//</code>.

7.4 Converb

The converb form of a verb is used for simultaneous action. The converb is commonly used to describe the manner of the main clause, and is also commonly used in periphrastic constructions. The converbial suffix is *-nat*, although some roots select *-os*.

TODO:

Work more on the converb and flesh this out with examples. Might change the morphophonemic form.

7.5 Transitivity

Transitivity is lexically fixed, but transitive verbs can still be functionally intransitive with the use of dummy objects.

Prescriptive convention holds that verbs exhibit polypersonal agreement with their dummy objects, but speakers commonly omit polypersonal marking in these constructions, as in (9b).

(9) a. sec Sasamsik tasa.

```
sec sesam-s-ik tasa
3c say-3c.p-prox letter
"He's saying something."
```

b. sec Semik lar.

```
sec sem-ik lar
3c say-prox exp
"He's talking." (Informal)
```

Informal constructions often use the more grammaticalized *lar* instead of the dummy collocative.

(Formal)

Not every verb has a collocated intransitive form. For these verbs, periphrastic constructions can also serve as valency-changing operations.

7.6 Aspect and mood

Periphrastic constructions handle most temporal marking in lang₂, covering aspects and moods. The core verb of the periphrastic construction is the only finite verb of a clause, bearing all agreement, and the semantic verb is demoted to an adjunct in converbial form or as a bare infinitive with an adpositional clitic.

TODO:

Flesh this section out with more examples and more specific uses.

7.6.1 ot

The verb *ot* "be" has two periphrastic constructions, a *perfective* and a *support* construction used for focus-fronting verbs.

Perfective In the perfective construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct with the preposition te. The perfective can be used in any time frame, although by default it does have a past-time connotation.

The perfective construction generally used for events that occured over a fixed time frame, especially when a duration is given. In contrast with an unmarked verb, the perfective emphasizes sequences of events or actions done a finite number of times.

Support In the support construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct as a converb. This construction is used for fronting verbs for emphasis, and does not convey any aspectual information.

7.6.2 **sesam**

The verb sesam "say" has one periphrastic construction, an irrealis.

Sesam is often shorted to sem informally.

Irrealis In the irrealis construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct with the preposition tq. The irrealis can be used in any time frame, although by default it does have future-time connotation.

The irrealis is used for all events that the speaker supposes might or might've occured. The construction is very general, and has broad semantic meaning—including conditional, jussive, and optative senses. In contrast with the unmarked verb, the irrealis emphasizes that the situation is not factual, but is hoped or posited to occur or have occured.

7.6.3 nenat

The verb *nenat* "crouch" has one periphrastic construction, a subjunctive.

Subjunctive In the subjunctive construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct with the preposition *ah*. The subjunctive construction has a more limited scope than the *sesam* irrealis construction, typically expressing counterfactuals or doubt.

7.6.4 het

The verb *het* "be at" has two periphrastic constructions, a *passive* and an *imperfective*, the latter typically restricted to narrative contexts.

Passive In the passive construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct as a converb. The *het* passive is not a true passive because the verb does not change valency (*i. e.* the A-like argument cannot be omitted). Instead of valency operations, the role of this construction is typically to change verbal agreement, as in (10).

(10) a. *Azzár hossusarsik nassoin.

as-zár hassusar-s-ik nassoi-n foreigner-pl.dist exalt-3c»3c-prox king-prox Intended: "(I see) the foreigners (I've heard about) praising the king."

b. Nassoin hecik azzár hossusarnat.

nassoi-n het-s-ik as-zár hassusar-nat king-prox be.at-3c»3c-prox foreigner-pl.dist exalt-cvb "(I see) the king being praised by the foreigners (I've heard about)."

In (10a), the hypothetical speaker intends to mark the verb as proximal to convey direct evidence, but the utterance is ungrammatical because the verb doesn't agree with its subject, *azzár*. To correct this, the construction in (10b) is used, which takes advantage of the passive to mark the verb phrase as proximal.

In addition to its role shuffling agreement, the *het* passive can also be used to clarify sentences that become ambiguous due to focus fronting, as in (11).

(11) a. Kanyin akakvatcik Arpatan.

Kanyi-n akekvat-s-ik Arpat-n NAME-PROX tag-3C»3C-PROX NAME-PROX "Kanyi tagged Arpat." or "Who Arpat tagged was Kanyi."

b. Kanyin hecik Arpatan akakvatnat.

Kanyi-n het-s-ik Arpat-n akekvat-nat NAME-PROX be.at-3c>3c-PROX NAME-PROX tag-cvb "Kanyi was tagged by Arpat." In (11a), it's not clear if Kanyi is the semantic agent or a semantic patient that's been fronted for focus. Without context, both interpretations are grammatical. The use of the passive in (11b) is less ambiguously interpreted, almost always meaning that Arpat was the semantic agent.

7.6.5 pit

TODO:

Rework the *pit* passive, which currently doesn't make a lot of sense—how is it demoting stuff, when semantically you'd expect "hold" to be transitive? Maybe *pit* means something else, maybe it will demote in a different way, maybe the valency is weirder...

The verb *pit* "hold" has one periphrastic construction, the mediopassive.

riphrastic verbs, *pit* is rarely used outside periphrasis, having largely been replaced by *akrar*.

Unlike most other

Mediopassive In the mediopassive construction, the semantic verb is demoted to adjunct with the preposition *ez*. Unlike the *het* passive, the *pit* mediopassive is a true passive; the A-like argument does not appear.

Adpositions are syntactically bound morphemes that express some relationship (often spacial) between constituents. However, they are considered words, not affixes, because the stress pattern of the noun they bind to does not shift. Their phonological independence differentiates them from affixes.

Adpositions are a closed class, composed of only 6 members; finer distinctions can be made with *compound adpositions*, such as *tę-kamc im* "after, to the back of." Although many such constructions are common enough to be lexically set, they are not nearly as ubiquitous as lone prepositions.

Compare kąsazar "soldiers," marked via affix, to retus im-kęsa, "soldier's blade," marked via adposition.

8.0.1 im

The adposition *im* indicates possession, often alienable. It can also indicate origin.

8.0.2 ez

The adposition *ez* conveys location inside an object or large body. It can also be used for composition of manmade objects.

8.0.3 te

The adposition $t\varrho$ conveys motion relative to a location, either towards or away from.

8.0.4 ah

The adposition *ah* conveys location on the surface of another object. It can also be used for general location.

8.0.5 osc

The adposition *osc* conveys location surrounding another object. It is commonly used in a temporal sense to indicate a time frame, often translated as "around the time of."

8.0.6 u and su

U and *su* are more limited in semantic scope than other adpositions and are rarely used in compound prepositions to gain further nuance. However, they have similar syntactic distribution and are thus considered members of the preopsition class. They typically convey association alongisde.

While *u* is used largely to join two noun phrases as arguments of one head, such as *laran u lár* "this and that," *su* is used for emphasize or in some fixed constructions, such as *su kagęsa su kagęstapa* "both army and navy."

Stranded su Unlike other prepositions, *su* can appear *stranded*, *i. e.* without modifying. For example, while (12a) violates the valency of the verb, (12b) does not because the prepositional phrase functions as the argument of the verb.

(12) a. *Nassoin kąstecik tę-kagęsa.

nassoin kąstecik tę=kagęsa king commands prep=army Intended: "The king commands the army."

b. Nassoin kąstecik su kagęsa su kagęstapa.

nassoin kąstecik su kagęsa su kagęstapa king commands and army and navy "The king commands both army and navy."

TODO:

This "stranded" analysis is probably really sketchy, since it's clearly not fulfilling the role of other prepositions, but I don't feel like opening that can of worms just yet so take it at face value for now.

Adjectives are a small, closed class of noun-like morphemes that cannot be arguments of verbs or prepositions without some other constituent. There are approximately 20 adjectives. Adjectives agree with their head noun for deixis (but not number) and syntactically appear before appositives or prepositional modifiers in the noun phrase.

Particles 10

Particles are a small but open class of discourse markers that can appear at the beginning of a clause. The most common particles are ???, a polar question marker, ???, a content question marker, and *qm*, an imperative marker. They are syntactically privileged, able to occur before other constituents of a clause, including even fronted arguments or adjuncts.

10.1 Imperative . . . 27

10.1 Imperative

The imperative particle qm ...

For prohibitives, the most common construction is to negate the verb, as in (13).

(13) om af Itnatréks!

om af itnet-réks
IMP 2 fight-NEG.PROX
"Don't you fight me!"

(5MOYD #1440)

However, constructions with *kers* are also common, especially in the southwest. *Kers* has a more admonitive meaning in standard **lang**₂, often used in warnings or chidings, but wouldn't be used for commands or requests.

East Cape uses similar constructions for its prohibitives, likely influencing the increased modal force of *kers*

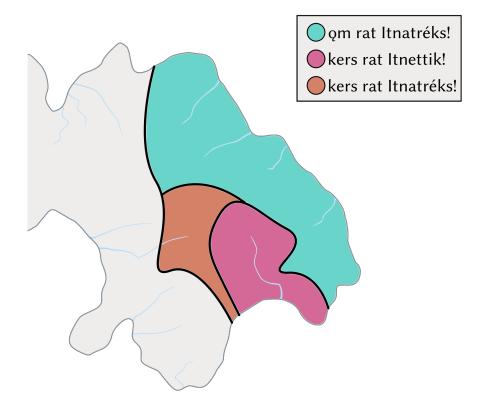


Figure 10.1: Isogloss map of prohibitives

Although the base-generated word order in **lang**₂ is SVO, this order rarely surfaces due to aggressive focus fronting. The most proximal, most newsworthy information is placed in the front of an utterance in first position. As a consequence, **lang**₂ is V2 order, mandating that a finite verb always be in second position. Adjuncts, including demoted verbal constructions, typically come after the core arguments of the verb. Often, however, the order of elements in a clause is determined by focality and evidentiality.

11.1 Fronting 2911.2 Extraposition . 29

In practice, the most common word order in declarative sentences is SXOV or VXOS.

11.1 Fronting

The most likely phrases to be fronted are proximal or directly evident noun phrases, followed by distal or indirectly evident noun phrases. Generic noun phrases are rarely fronted except in fixed constructions.

Often, the fronted element will be the conversational focus.

lang₂ doesn't have explicit role-marking, so it's not always clear if a fronted noun phrase is subject or object. Various structures, including verb agreement and passives, help provided redundancy when context is not enough.

11.2 Extraposition

When a content-heavy phrase needs to be fronted, a dummy noun is often used to allow right-branching extraposition. The dummy noun is lexically dependent, but the generic nouns *lar* or *manc* can also be used, although they may sound stilted for some verbs.

(14) osc Armé kirayamik isyusan ocoan im nassoi kestat ezzar veci.
osc armé kirayamik isyusan ocoan im nassoi kestat ezzar veci
PREP DMY investigate special:tribune PREP king lead Assoc mercenary
"What the special tribune is investigating is the king's use of mercenaries."

Part III APPENDIX

A.1 Metaphors

A.1 Metaphors ... 31

Some common conceptual metaphors in **lang**₂ are given below; most things are also noted in the dictionary.

WISDOM IS A TREE Trees are an important part of **lang**₂ culture, representing the emotional and intellectual lifespan of a person. Old, tall deciduous trees are a symbol of widsom and maturity; as a plant may *ossat* "grow," so too may a person *ossat* "become wiser." Young children attend a *pebar* "garden" for primary education. A student might lament that a former mentor *tąvat* "becomes senile (*lit.* loses leaves)," or that an elder has "thinning branches."

POLITICS IS A SHORE The coastline is a common conceptual metaphor for things involving governance. A common idiom for kingdom or state is *taspa u tesa* "sea and shore," its citizens are *adahés* "sands," its influence *almanizar* "waves." A tribune might *kirqyam* "investigate (*lit.* delve into)" an issue, or a *cunvarq* "columnist (*lit.* seagull)" may discuss it.

BODY PARTS ARE SKILLS Traditional lang₂ culturual and spiritual beliefs posit that the person is divided into two parts, a perfect body and an imperfect mind. As such many body parts are sacred to certain skills or traits—hora "wrist" represents craftmanship; ahka "foot" represents wisdom or learnedness; kamc "back" represents labor; makra "chest" represents responsibility. Someone with poor skill may be orra "feeble" or ??? "uncoordinated," while someone unresponsibile may be oca "thin."

Registers B

B.1 Poetry B.1 Poetry 32

The common structure of a classical **lang₂** poem has nine lines, with alternating pairs of short lines and long lines. Short lines are two trochees between two amphibrachs, and long lines are four amphibrachs. The middle three lines of the verse share a central, interrelated metaphor, and the first and last lines feature repitition. Common poetic features also include alliteration across lines and rhyming of stress syllables. Syncope is often used to fit the meter.

Lexicon C

A lang₂-to-English dictionary is provided below.

How to use

Entries for lexical items are listed by their spelling in generic form, ignoring morphophonological alterations. Derived words are listed as separate entries, but their source word is given. On the other hand, idiomatic or fixed expressions are given under the lexical item.

Each sense of a word has three basic parts: a quick, single-word translation for ease-of-use; a more detailed explanation of the concept; and an example sentence. The sentences are usually designed to help the reader figure the word's meaning out from context, particularly for lang₂ speakers and learners.

Pronunciations are given dictionary-style in a phonetic alphabet more intuitive to native **lang**₂ speakers.

A	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	34
Ą													34
C													34
E													34
Ę													35
Н													35
١.													35
K													35
L													36
M													36
Ν													36
o													37
Q													37
P													37
R													38
S													38
Т													38
U													39
V													39
Y													39
Z													39

Α

adahés • n. ← Classical Cape dahēs "pee" • 1 uncountable sand; cf. countable sifa "grain of sand" 2 idiom. citizens (of a nation, state), subjects, followers (of a leader, celebrity) 3 ez-adahés the public, the people of a place: Natra ez-adahés "the Natran indigenous peoples"

af • pronoun • 1 you, your, yours

agaré • n. ← Classical Cape gamrī • **1**SAILING star

agatka • n. ← Classical Cape gamrka "navigator" • 1 cartographer

ahka • n. • 1 2 feet

akakvat • *v. tr.* ← redup. of *akvat* • 1 (in a game) tag

akakvazi • *n.* ← *akakvat* + -zi • 1 tag-player (usually professional)

almani • *n.* • **1** wave **2** *idiom.* influence **3** *POLITICS* soft power

akrar • v. tr. • 1 give 2 (reflexive) hold, have

as • n. ← Classical Cape as "man" • 1 foreigner

assoi • *n.* • **1** weeb for Classical Cape culture

azyam • n. • 1 plant, sow (crops) 2 idiom. give birth to

Ą

C

cam • v. tr. • 1 put (smn.) to sleep 2 refl. go to bed 3 mediopassive nap, snooze: piran picik camnat tę-kamc im-pebar "the child napped after school." 4 idiom. calm (smn.) down, soothe 5 coll. bore (an audience): ah-turya cad nakraran orran im-remaczi "the comedian's subpar performance last night bored me."

coca • n. • 1 daytime sky

cunvarą • n. • Q • 1 seagull 2 POLITICS columnist, writer (in newspaper, magazine): cunvarozar hazeklam tę nassoin kesaratnik lar orra "writers critiqued the king's subpar response." 3 idiom. arch. court jester; a traditional storyteller who served as a royal advisor representing the general public 4 satat cunvarą pej. feign interest for attention, virtue signal

E

eccut • v. tr. • 1 hurt (smth.) physically; note: more severe than *ervat* 2 reflexive get in an accident 3 idiom. surprise (smn.)

egi • particle • **1** (expressing disagreement or disbelief) just, only: *egi Matkó aczé sém lar tę-het* "she said there'll be just two baskets."

emas • n. • 1 ntr. plot of land

ennat • n. • ę • 1 develop into, become
2 change into (a pair of clothes) 3 move to (another place)

esyi • adj. • 1 good 2 correct, appropriate

Ę

ervat • v. tr. • often errat for younger speakers
• 1 hurt (smn.) physically or emotionally

Н

hakra • *n.* • 1 battle, skirmish 2 *pl.* conflict, campaign 3 *pl.* semester, trimester, school year

hassusar • v. tr. ← redup. of husar "shout" •
1 (esp. of a leader) exalt
2 adj. famous, well-known

hazeklam • *v. in.* • 1 give criticism to *tę* something

helas • n. • 1 ntr. mountain

het • *v. tr.* • **1** be at **2** be, exist

hora • *n.* • 1 wrist 2 *idiom.* craftmanship, handiness

husar • v. tr. • 1 shout at 2 praise, compliment

I

ihaiha • n. • 1 donkey, mule 2 adj. pej. dumb

isyus • n. • 1 ntr. shield 2 CULINARY ntr. apron 3 MILITARY pl. elite, highly trained soldiers; royal guard, special forces, black ops: pursé im-okassoi ksarac isyuzzar "the special forces respond to bank robberies."

K

kamc • *n.* • underlying /kama͡s/, often [kams] but [kad͡z(ə)] for some speakers • 1 back; the part of the body opposite the face below the neck and above the thigh, including the buttocks 2 *tę-kamc im* after

kagęsa • n. ← redup. of kęsa "soldier" • 1 battalion, unit 2 (as a branch of the military) army

kagę́stapa • n. ← analogy with kagę́sa and kę́stapa • 1 (as a branch of the military) navy

kęsa • *n.* • **1** soldier **2** *ACADEMIC* (of a literary work) protagonist, hero **3** *archaic* slave, conscript

katakz • *n.* ← *kat* "pull" + -*akz* • **1** *katakz im-saycezzar* butterfly effect

kęsasoi • *n.* ← *kęsa* "soldier" + -soi • 1 high-ranking general 2 (with specifier) military officer: *kęsasoi* ??? "field officer," *kęsasoi* ??? "medical officer"

kę́stapa • n. ← kę́sa "soldier" and taspa "sea"
• 1 navy officer, sailor (on a military ship)

kęstat • v. tr. • e • 1 lead 2 military be in command of: nassoin kąstecik su kagęsa su kagęstapa "the king commands both army and navy." 3 train (an apprentice) in tę a skill: tę-caradá kąstettik rat lalasa "auntie's teaching me to sew." 4 formally teach, school (a student) in ez a discipline: rabahan picik kąstetnat ez-latya "the minister was brought up in the faith." 5 pej. indoctrinate

kipira • *n.* ← partial reduplication of *pira* "child" • 1 adolescent; someone around or older than 8 years old who has not yet been ritually scarred

kotus • n. • 1 divinity

kotussoi • *n.* ← *kotus* + -*soi* • **1** body part; soul; the perfect implements wielded by an imperfect mind

kirqyam • v. in. • 1 delve 2 descend deeper with forward motion into osc some terrain (water, caves) to search for tę something: tę-rasar kirqyamik osc-taspa "he's swimming into the sea to search for rare fish." 3 POLITICS conduct an investigation into osc a topic: osc lar kirqyamik isyusan ocoan im nassoin kęstat ezzar vęci "the special tribune is investigating the king's use of mercenary forces." 4 kirqyam osc saycer wish for good luck for tę someone: tę-af kirqyam osc saycer tę-makra im-hakra "good luck this semester!"

ksarat • v. tr. • 1 MILITARY handle, respond to

ksofa • *n.* • **1** deciduous tree **2** growth, development (of the mind, socially)

L

lalasa • *n.* • **1** *KINSHIP* great aunt **2** godmother **3** *affectionate* mentor

latya • n. • 1 religion

lar • n. • 1 ntr. thing; a generic dummy noun used in many constructions

loya • *n.* • **1** shin; the part of the body above the foot and below the thigh, including the knee and upper ankle **2** *archaic* moment, instance (of time)

M

makra • n. • 1 chest; the part of the body below the neck and above the groin, including the shoulders and upper arms 2 *idiom*. responsibility, maturity, calmness under pressure 3 te-makra im during, for the duration of

mas • n. • 1 ntr. hour 2 tę-kamc im-mas adv. in an hour:

metka • *n.* • o • **1** rounded semi-circle hollow container; bowl, basket, vessel **2** measure word for crops or farm animals

nakrar • *n.* ← *nakrat* "" + -*r* • 1 performance (on stage)

nassoi • n. ← naf"gem" + -soi • 1 king 2
royal family member, noble

Natra • n. • 1 the mountain range that runs down the middle of the continent

nenat • *v. tr.* • **1** crouch, squat **2** duck below (smth.) **3 nenat ah** might, possibly; dubtative irrealis construction

necta • n. ← Old East Cape • **1** MEDICAL lung

nik • n. • 1 flat surface, plane 2 adj. flat

nikhar • v. in. • o ← nik "flat" + hor "craft"
• 1 to create a map of ez a region

níkharkah • n. ← nikhar "make maps" + rabaha "minister" • 1 geography 2 archaic cartography

nikhorkassoi • n. ← níkharkah "geography" + -soi • 1 geographer 2 archaic cartographer

O

oca • adj. • o • underlying /otsoa/ • 1 deep 2 (of people) tall and thin, wiry, spindly

ocza • n. • e • 1 two

okva • n. • o • 1 valley

orra • *adj.* • **1** dry **2** (of food) stale **3** (of people) feeble, frail **4** (of man-made objects) subpar, fragile, poorly-made

armé • n. • o \leftarrow Classical Cape • 1 ocean

ossat • v. in. • 1 (of plants) to grow in size2 (of people) to develop emotionally, intellectually

ossaczi • n. • 1 nurterer, gardener 2 idiom. caretaker, guardian nanny, babysitter

ot • v. tr. • 1 be smth. 2 ot te have done te something; perfective construction 3 ot satatake do; support construction to move adjuncts

Q

Qkas • n. • 1 ntr. payment
Qkassoi • n. ← Qkas "payment" + -soi • 1
bank

qm • particle • 1 please; imperative particle

P

pakna • n. • e • 1 house, shelter

paltoja • n. • 1 winter 2 drought, dry spell 3 *POLITICS idiom.* lame-duck period

parka • n. • 1 rainstorm

parsa • n. • 1 a pair of eyes 2 idiom. open-mindedness, understanding

pebar • n. • 1 garden 2 orchard 3 primary school

pira • *n.* • **1** child; someone around or under 8 years old who hasn't yet been brought fishing

pit • v. tr. • 1 hold, have 2 own, possess3 maintain (a pose, viewpoint)

polars • n. • 1 evergreen tree

pursé • n. ← Old Cape purcī "plan" • 1
robbery, heist

R

rabaha • n. • 1 RELIGION minister 2 archaic ministry

rasar • n. • e ← Old East Cape raxir "fish" • sometimes spelled raxir, pronounced [ɹaʃεɹ], in elite circles or when exaggerating • 1 meat (food) 2 archaic fish delicacy

recam • *n.* • **1** ritual scar made by a ceremonial blade on the upper arm near the shoulder of the dominant hand (historically on only the right arm) which symbolizes adulthood; usually done around the age of 16

rat • pronoun • 1 me, l, my, mine

recaj • $n. \leftarrow recam + -c$ • 1 adulthood 2 the human condition, humanity, humanness

retus • n. • 1 ntr. blade 2 GEOGRAPHY canal

remaczi • n. ← remat "" + -zi • 1 comedian

rosa • n. • 1 three

S

samni • n. • 1 GEOGRAPHY horn

sapa • n. ← Classical Cape sapa "hunting dog"• 1 hunter

saska • n. ← Old East Cape • 1 MEDICAL heart

sayenar • *v. in.* • **1** be ignorant, uninformed, unknowledgeable about *ez* a topic: *sayanarnat ez-latya tahatresik asan ah-mas esyi* "ignorant of the religion, the foreigner didn't pray at the correct hour."

secyar • n. ← secyat "shine" + -r • 1 celestial object: sun, moon, star 2 sayceran imturya the Moon 3 saycer tea moon, satellite

sécyarkah • n. ← secyar "star" + rabaha "minister" • 1 astronomy

senva • n. • 1 eight

sesam • v. tr. • often shortened to sem • 1
say (smth.) 2 hope for, wish for (smth.) 3
sesam te may, might, possibly; irrealis construction

sifa • *n.* • **1** *countable* grain of sand **2** a tiny portion of *im* something **3** *name* girl given name

sofa • n. • 1 branch 2 *idiom.* skill, talent, specialty

T

tahat • v. in. • e • 1 stretch (one's limbs)

2 reach for ??? something above oneself 3
aspire to ??? an unreachable goal: ... akakvazi ... oca ... "he aspired to be a tagplayer,
but he wasn't tall enough." 4 RELIGION
pray

taspa • n. • 1 sea

tąka • n. • 1 (uncountable) tree 2 wood

tavar • *n.* • **1** fallen leaves, debris **2** senility **3** *pej.* drunken stupor **4** *adj.* rambling, incohorent

ter • particle • 1 thus, like so 2 because of this, therefore 3 continuing from earlier 4 anyways

tosra • *n.* • **1** adult; one who has been ritually scarred with *recam*; someone around or older than 16

tea • adj. • 1 dark color: blue, black, violet
tesa • n. • 1 shore, shoreline (near the sand) 2 hairline

turya • n. • 1 night

U

ukrak • n. ← unknown substrate language •1 shore near volcanic rock

V

vassa • *n.* • **1** tide **2** *idiom.* (of an event) historical, of great significance

vekkar • n. • 1 ntr. set, collection 2 adj.
(of individual items) complete, entire, whole
3 adj. (of people) organized

vęci • n. • 1 mercenary, hired blade 2 adj. greedy 3 pej. brat, unruly child 4 satat vęci pej. throw a temper tantrum: vęci satacik piran ihaihan af "your dumb kid is throwing a temper tantrum."

Y

yar • n. • 1 ntr. year; a time period generally consisting of 10 lunar cycles, but not standardized

yahyat • v. in. • 1 (of weather) occur, happen: parka yahyat "it's raining."2 haunt ah a person or place

yifar • n. \leftarrow *yifat* "punish" + -r • **1** robbery, theft (usually of small items)

Z

zalmik • *n.* • usually in proximal form • **1** the Sun