SODNA-LENI: THE LANGUAGE OF MOTION
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Introduction

I am fascinated by the function of verbs. This may seem strange coming from someone known for creating a “verbless” language, but Kêlen’s relationals were inspired by the different valence configurations of verbs. Sodna-îeni, on the other hand, was inspired by the ideas of motion and direction.

Motion is one of the primary things we (and many other animals) notice. With sodna-îeni, eight verbs denote various configurations of subject (the thing in motion), source or point of origin, and destination. Three other verbs, denoting configurations, complete the inventory of verbs.

I have also taken this opportunity to experiment with other things that are currently on my mind: evidentials, purposive and other Australian language constructions, animacy hierarchies, and multiple noun classes.

Even though I find it boring, I will start with phonology because it is traditional, and then go on to the really cool stuff—clause structure, verbs, nouns, what can appear in the different argument slots, and adverbs. I will finish with two texts to show how the language works.

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1  http://phenomena.nationalgeographic.com/2012/12/19/the-where-of-what-how-your-brain-represents-thousands-of-objects/ is the blog post that started me on this path.
2  Jeff Jones says he awaits my next language, which ought to have 2 dozen or more verbs at the rate I am going. :-p
3  See appendix for the original emails, which mentioned noun classes.
### Abbreviations Used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>subject of the verb</td>
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<td>ABL</td>
<td>ability modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>affix, either prefix or suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMD</td>
<td>imperative mood marker</td>
</tr>
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<td>CND</td>
<td>conditional modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO, co</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVS</td>
<td>non-visual/sensory evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL, pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfect aspect</td>
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<td>PRV</td>
<td>privative marker</td>
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<td>reported evidential</td>
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<td>RFL</td>
<td>reflexive suffix</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>source or point of origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEP</td>
<td>separate</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG, sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>SS</td>
<td>sessile</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anı</td>
<td>anı</td>
</tr>
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<td>dała</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>evi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ɛmemeɛ</td>
<td>ɛmeme</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>ono</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesi</td>
<td>pesi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>sɛde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tende</td>
<td>tende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti njı</td>
<td>ti njı</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Phonology

Sodna-lenı has 15 consonants and 7 vowels. Syllable structure is generally CV, though VC is also seen, and medial consonant clusters are allowed.

There are 6 stops, 3 nasals, 4 fricatives, 1 lateral, and 1 glide:

| p, b | t, d | k, g |
| m   | n   | η   |
| v   | l   | s   | h   |
| l   | y   |

The following consonant clusters are special: ky, gy, ηy, sy, and ly. These clusters can appear initially and medially. When appearing finally or before another consonant, the y becomes the vowel i. This is not to say that y might not appear with other consonants.

Any pair of stops are allowed to cluster medially. Some assimilation happens with two stops in the same place of articulation, namely the first stop takes on the voicing of the second. Nasal + nasal assimilates to mm, nn, and ηη, based on the second nasal. Consonant + h or h + consonant go to CC.

There are three front vowels: high, upper-mid, and lower-mid; two central vowels: high and low; and 2 back vowels: high and upper-mid.

| i   | i   | u |
| e   | o   |
| ε   | a   |

Vowels do not cluster. Only one vowel is allowed per syllable. h is often used to separate two vowels that would otherwise cluster.

Words are generally CVCV, VCV, VCCV, and sometimes CVC or VC. Words are then suffixed to add more syllables. Stress is on the first syllable in two and three syllable words, and is otherwise on every other syllable after that, with some exceptions, currently not marked in the romanization. And that’s all I have to say about the phonology. I am bored by phonology. If you have any questions, feel free to make up your own pronunciations.
Clause Structure

The basic structure of the clause is (S) A V (D) (ADV) (M), and yes, I will explain these abbreviations.

The core of the clause is the verb (V) and the “subject” of the verb is the thing that is moving. I have abbreviated this with A for actor or absolutive (or anything else that starts with an A, because I am using S for something else.) While A is the subject of a sodna-lesi sentence, A will not necessarily be the subject of the English sentence translation. For example, in the sentence, “I went home”, “I” is the subject of the English sentence. Since “I” is also the thing in motion, “I” is also the subject of the sodna-lesi sentence.

1. lene otni ko.
   - A: otni
   - V: ko
   - D: home
   - Source: 1P.MTsg
   - Destination: home

   I went home.

However, in “I sent her home”, “I” is still the subject of the English sentence, but “her” would be the subject of the equivalent in sodna-lesi, because “her” refers to the person moving. The equivalent of “I” in sodna-lesi in this sentence is the source (S) or point of origin.

2. lene mava otni ko.
   - S: mava
   - A: otni
   - V: ko
   - D: home
   - Source: 1P.MTsg
   - Destination: home

   I sent her home.

Source (S) is often optional in sodna-lesi. Some verbs require it, but others do not. The source can refer to the causer of the motion, like “I” in “I sent her home”, the purpose of the motion, like “fish” in “I went to the market for fish”, or to the point of origin of the motion, like “market” in “I went home from the market”. The most obvious difference between causative and purposive is that causatives are generally motile (moving, animate) and purposives are generally sessile (non-moving, inanimate). Locations, of course, are also sessile and inanimate.

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4 With one verb, ememe, the source can also be the end-point, but only if the end-point is animate. Generally ememe takes only a destination, which is what the end-point is, but animate end-points can be moved to the source slot in the sentence, so the source in this case is really a displaced destination.
I went home from the market.

The destination (D) is naturally the end-point of the motion. Verbs that do not take destinations may have a location (L) in the destination slot. The location is then where the motion takes place rather than the end-point.

A note here on how animacy interacts with this system. I mentioned motile and sessile as equivalents of animate and inanimate. That is not necessarily so. Nouns inflect for motility and number. So animate nouns are naturally motile, and inanimate nouns are naturally sessile. This means that animate nouns are simplest in form in the singular motile inflection, while inanimate nouns are simplest in the singular sessile inflection. Nouns in the destination slot are always sessile, since locations are inanimate. This means that even an otherwise animate noun, if it is used as a destination, is inflected as sessile. Source nouns (locations and purposives) are usually sessile, but are motile if the source is of equal to or higher animacy than the subject (usually a causative). Subjects of verbs of motion are always motile.

There are also three verbs of stance (basically “to be” in three versions). Which of the three verbs to use is based on the shape or configuration of the subject, namely point (sitting), vertical (standing), or horizontal (laying). Here the subject can be sessile, but only if the subject is inanimate. Verbs of stance also have a destination slot, but it is always either a location (as opposed to an actual destination) or an adjective. Adjectives are inflected to match the subject, so they might have a motile inflection despite being metaphorical destinations or locations.

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5 I mentioned in an earlier footnote that one of the verbs will displace the destination to a source if and only if the original destination is of equal or higher animacy than the subject. Another verb, duso, will displace a source to the destination if the source is lower on the animacy scale. So there is the general notion here that sources are sometimes as animate or more animate than the subject.
After the destination, there is space for adverbs, which include evidentials and modals—evidentials because I think they’re cool; modals because as a native English speaker I can’t really imagine doing without them. Adverbs also includes a set of directional adverbs that can be prefixed to the verb. Some combinations of adverb + verb produce essentially a different verb by requiring or disallowing S or D.

The clause ends with a mood (M) particle. I marked this as optional, though one could argue that indicative is zero-marked and therefore M is actually required. The mood particles are imperative, negative imperative, and hortative. Interrogative constructions take the indicative mood (no mood marker), and are formed with one of the modality adverbs instead.

One final note on clausal conjunctions. There are only two (so far):

- na   and, and then, when
  CLAUSE na CLAUSE happening during the first clause.
- nensi so, and so, therefore
  CLAUSE nensi CLAUSE reason or purpose of the first clause.
  nensi CLAUSE for summing up.
Verbs

Aspectual Distinctions

In coming up with verbal inflections, I decided that I didn’t want to do boring old past and non-past, so I looked to aspect to make the appropriate distinctions. But the more I thought about it, the more I realized that the traditional aspectual distinctions (imperfective, perfective, continuous, habitual, etc.) seemed to be more than I really needed. So, I thought, if all the verbs mean ‘go’, what really is important to know, the state of the journey. And so I have IMP, a sort of imperfective, for being in an ongoing journey, ITR (iterative) for multiple journeys of the same or similar type, INC (inceptive) for the beginning of the journey, PRF (perfective and cessative) for finishing the journey successfully, and FRS (frustrative) for the failed or unrealized journey.

5  
6  
7  
8  
9  

5 mava tiśni tasu
mava  tiśni  tasu
A   V   D
3P.MTsg → IMP market.SSsg
She is going to market.

6 mava tinna tasu
mava  tinna  tasu
A   V   D
3P.MTsg → ITR market.SSsg
She goes to market (over and over, habitually, etc).

7 mava tambi tasu
mava  tambi  tasu
A   V   D
3P.MTsg → INC market.SSsg
She is beginning to go to market.

8 mava otni tasu
mava  otni  tasu
A   V   D
3P.MTsg → PRF market.SSsg
She went to market.

9 mava tańji tasu
mava  tańji  tasu
A   V   D
3P.MTsg → FRS market.SSsg
She didn’t make it to the market.
FRS is not the same as NEG (negative), it is more like a special case of the negative, since FRS carries with it the idea that A intended to go, but for some reason failed to start or complete the journey.

10  mava votni tasu
  mava    v  -otni  tasu
  A  AF -V  D
  3P.MTsg NEG→.PRF market.SSsg
  She didn’t go to market.

Verbs of Motion

The eight verbs of motion are tigi, kili, anji, duso, ono, pesi, evi, and ememe. Tigi is the most basic, being simply → and allowing for optional source and destination.

(S) A V (D/ADJ)

Tigi’s subject is always motile. The source, if expressed, is motile if animate and causative, and sessile otherwise. The destination is sessile if a location, and motile if an adjective. An adjective as destination necessarily modifies the subject, is inflected like the subject, and causes tigi to have a resultative meaning.

8  mava otni tasu.
  mava    otni  tasu
  A    V  D
  3P.MTsg →.PRF market.SSsg
  She went to the market.

11  lene mava otni tasu.
  lene    mava    otni  tasu
  S A    V  D
  1P.MTsg 3P.MTsg →.PRF market.SSsg
  I sent her to the market.

12  mava otni kyaga tele.
  mava    otni  kyaga  tele
  A    V  ADJ  EVI
  3P.MTsg →.PRF sick.MTsg INF
  She got sick.

13  gyalba basona mava otni kyaga tele.
  gyalba  basona    mava    otni  kyaga  tele
  S A    V  ADJ  EVI
  fruit.SSsg bad.SSsg 3P.MTsg →.PRF sick.MTsg INF
  She got sick from bad fruit.
The full set of inflections for **tiği** and the other verbs of motion is in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>ITER</th>
<th>INCH</th>
<th>PERF</th>
<th>FRUS</th>
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<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>tiği</td>
<td>tinna</td>
<td>tambi</td>
<td>otni</td>
<td>taŋni</td>
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<tr>
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<td>emebi</td>
<td>omet</td>
<td>emeŋi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Inflections for the Verbs of Motion.

The next verb, **kili** (→), takes a motile subject and means to move past or beyond a required sessile destination. Source is optional, and follows the same rules as **tiği**.

(S) A V D

Also like **tiği**, the destination can be either a location or an adjective. Unlike **tiği**, the destination is always sessile, as the adjective becomes nominalized into a class IV (abstract) noun.

14 mava kitti tasu.
mava kiti tasu
A V D
3P.MTsg →.PRF market.SSsg
She went past the market.

15 mava kitti kyagat tele.
mava kiti kyagat tele
A V D EVI
3P.MTsg →.PRF sickness.SSsg INF
She avoided becoming sick.6

6 This sentence can also be expressed using frustrative **taŋni**: **mava taŋni kyaga tele**. With **taŋni**, the idea is that she didn’t necessarily do anything to avoid sickness, it just happened. Maybe she even tried to get sick.* With **kitti**, she probably did something to avoid sickness, like wash her hands, or avoid sick people.

* People used to do this: expose themselves or their kids to a mild form of an illness in hopes of avoiding a stronger, more debilitating form.
Aŋi (→) takes a motile subject and means to move around or in the vicinity of a required sessile destination.

(S) A V D

Again, the source is optional. Aŋi’s destination is actually or metaphorically vast and undefined, and aŋi does not imply an end of motion once the subject has reached the destination.

16 mava onnit tasu.
   mava onnit tasu
   A V D
   3P.MTsg → PRF market.SSsg
   She went around in the market.

17 mava onnit kyagat tælè.
   mava onnit kyagat tælè
   A V D EVI
   3P.MTsg → PRF sickness.SSsg INF
   She flirted with becoming sick.

Duso (↔) takes a motile subject and either two sources (if animate) or two destinations (if inanimate).

S A V (L) OR A V D

Duso means that the subject moves back and forth between two points. This is the usual metaphor for speech.

18 lenɛ mava sodna duso.
   lɛ -nɛ mava sodna duso
   S A V
   1P.MTsg-COM 3P.MTsg word.MTpl ↔ IMP
   She and I are talking.

19 leni dustɛ medi enni.
   leni dustɛ medi enni
   A V D
   1P.MTco ↔ PRF tree.SSp1 two.SSp1
   We went back and forth between the two trees.

When used for speech, duso can take a singular S as the one speaking if the listener is assumed. A can also be a placeholder (usually hana or deya) with the clause(s) spoken following duso.
She says she is sick.

Ono (←→) takes a motile subject and a required motile source of equal or higher animacy than the subject.

\[ \text{S A V (L)} \]

Ono means that the subject moves towards a required animate source. If the source is inanimate, then it is actually a destination, which changes the verb to tiṇi. Using ono is the default way to express ingestion, sensing, feeling, and thinking. When used for sensing, the source is often a body part: ‘eye’ for ‘seeing’, ‘ear’ for ‘hearing’, ‘mouth’ for taste and smell, ‘skin’ for feeling temperature, and so on. Since body parts are inherently possessed, they are considered to have the same grammatical animacy as a full person.

\[ \text{Come to me.} \]

Again, deya can be used as a placeholder, and a clause can follow ono.

Pesi (→) takes a motile subject and can take a sessile source if the source is a location, and a motile source if the source is of equal or higher animacy than the subject. It means that the subject moves away from a required source.

\[ \text{S A V (L)} \]

While pesi requires a source, it does not take a destination, since the destination is already an assumed direction ‘away’.
23
tasu mava peste.
tasu mava peste
S A V
market.SSsg 3P.MTsg ➔.PRF
She left the market.

24
nolava ndi pesi ka.
nolava ndi pesi ka
S A V M
fire.SSsg 2P.MTsg ➔.IMP CMD
Get away from the fire.

Evi (🗐) takes a motile subject and can take a motile source if the source is of equal or higher animacy than the subject.

S A V (L)

Evi means that a subject moves out from a source either out and around, or out in multiple directions. Somewhat like pesi, it disallows a destination, except for adjectives. Evi can take an adjective as a destination in the same way as tiŋi, though not all adjectives make sense with evi. Evi can also take a clause as a destination, with the appropriate placeholder in the A position.

25
loho logidiya evi.
loho logidiya evi
S A V
sun.MTsg light.MTpl ✗.IMP
The sun is shining.

26
lene ludiden tavi.
lene ludiden tavi
S A V
1P.MTsg cloak.MTsg ✗.PRF
I took off the cloak.

27
didenhada tavi dabniden.
diden -hada tavi dabniden
S/A V D/ADJ
it.MTsg-RFL ✗.PRF apart.MTsg
It blew up.7

Ememe (🗐) takes a motile subject and a sessile destination, which can become a motile source if of equal or higher animacy than the subject.

__________ A V D OR S A V (L)

7 Reflexive because A = S, and S is required.
It means that a subject moves in (and around) towards a destination (sessile) or source (animate, motile).

28  syele ya əmeme gyeleko.
syele ya əmeme gyele -ko
A V D
dark.MTsg  IMP woods.SSsg-CO
The dark is closing in on the woods.

29  leni syele ya əmeme.
leni syele ya əmeme
S A V
1P.MTpl cloak.MTsg  IMP
The dark is closing in on us.

30  lenada luiden omet.
lə -nada luiden omet
S/D A V
1P.MTsg-RFL cloak.MTsg  PRF
I put on the cloak.

Verbs of Stance

The three verbs of stance are tendə, sede, and dala. These three verbs are grouped together because they each essentially function as a copula and verb of existence. Each can take either a motile or sessile subject, whichever is basic to the noun class of the subject, and each allows for adjectives or locations in the destination slot.

(S) A V (L/ADJ)

These three verbs inflect for imperfective and perfective. The inflections are shown in Table 2. For all other aspectual distinctions, a verb of motion must be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMPF</th>
<th>PERF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tendə</td>
<td>tette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sede</td>
<td>sette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dala</td>
<td>datte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Inflections for the Verbs of Stance.

tendə will be glossed as ■, and takes a subject that can be conceived of as round, compact, or a point object, like a rock or a person sitting on the ground. sede will be glossed as |, and takes a subject that can be conceived of as having a vertical orientation, like a tree or a person standing
up. dała will be glossed as —, takes a subject that can be conceived of as having a horizontal orientation, like a river or a person lying down.

31 mava sede tasu.
   mava sede tasu
   A V L
   3P.MTsg | IMP market.SSg

She is at the market.

32 mava sede kyaga tele.
   mava sede kyaga tele
   A V ADJ EVI
   3P.MTsg | IMP sick.MTsg INF

She is sick.

33 gyalba tende basona tele.
   gyalba tende basona tele
   A V ADJ EVI
   fruit.SSg | IMP bad.SSg INF

The fruit is bad.

34 gada dała syele.
   gada dała syele
   A V ADJ
   water.MTsg — IMP dark.MTsg

The water is dark.

I mentioned earlier that verbs of stance only distinguish imperfective and perfective. To use other aspectual distinctions, use a verb of motion. In contrast to 34, above:

35 gada tambi syele.
   gada tambi syele
   A V D
   water.MTsg — INC dark.SSg

The water is beginning to be dark.
Nouns and Noun Phrases

Noun Classes

Nouns come in four basic classes with a smattering of subclasses.

The four basic classes are rational animate (I), animate (II), inanimate (III), and abstract (IV). Rational and regular animates are at their simplest in motile form, and inanimates and abstracts are at their simplest in sessile form. Rational and regular animates are suffixed to create sessile forms, and inanimates and abstracts are likewise suffixed to create projectile forms.

Animacy matters in that certain arguments are marked or unmarked based on animacy. The full animacy hierarchy is:

\[ 1P < 2P < 3P / I < II < III < IV \]

Animates are animals, and certain celestial bodies such as the sun and the various moons, the wind, and lightning. Animates also include body parts, words, sounds, thunder, the sea, and weather phenomena like rain. Inanimates are plants, liquids, and tangible thing. Abstracts are non-tangibles. Some social and/or mental phenomena like words and ideas are classed with animates.

Nouns come in singular and plural, with some formed with differing singulative and plural forms. Class I nouns have two patterns. Kinship terms have one pattern, and all other class I nouns follow the class II pattern, but still take the class I pronouns. Some nouns and their endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singulative</th>
<th>Motile SG</th>
<th>Motile PL</th>
<th>Sessile SG</th>
<th>Sessile PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>soba</td>
<td>sobna</td>
<td>sobeya</td>
<td>sobidiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traveler</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>dona</td>
<td>donna</td>
<td>donava</td>
<td>donnavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>keddê</td>
<td>keddêna</td>
<td>keddava</td>
<td>keddênavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>sode</td>
<td>sodna</td>
<td>sodava</td>
<td>sodnavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit type (apple)</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>gadidên</td>
<td>gadidi</td>
<td>gadba</td>
<td>gadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloak</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>ludidên</td>
<td>ludidi</td>
<td>lude</td>
<td>ludi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argument</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>teêteya</td>
<td>teêtidiya</td>
<td>teêt</td>
<td>teêtî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>logeya</td>
<td>logidiya</td>
<td>logatan</td>
<td>logi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many nouns have a singulative suffix in their simplest singular forms. For animate nouns, this is the motile form, for inanimates, the sessile form. These singulatives are discarded when the noun is inflected or suffixed.

-**-an** for naturally collective phenomena (motile and sessile)
-**-ba** for plants (sessile) and some other food items (sessile)
-**-da** for domesticated food animals (motile)
-**-dan** for some items (sessile)
-**-haga** for vapors and gasses (sessile)
-**-hɛdɛ** for trees (sessile)
-**-tan** for some liquids (sessile)

...and more as I think of them.

It is possible to make collectives by adding a collective suffix to the noun after the singular or plural is formed. For example **lala** is the sessile singular for ‘mountain’ with **lali** as sessile plural. The landscape collective **-ko** is added to form the word for mountain range (and mountain ranges): **laka** and **laliko**.

-**-has** for liquids and other non-solids in a container
-**-ko** for landscape forms and campfires
-**-din** for people

...and more as I think of them.

**Pronouns and Their Referents**

Pronouns exist in singular, collective, and plural number for animates, and singular and plural for inanimates forms. Class I rational animate pronouns retain collective number even in sessile forms, otherwise the collective is lost in sessile forms. See Table 3 for the complete paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MT</th>
<th>SS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P.sg</td>
<td>lene</td>
<td>leneya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P.co</td>
<td>leni</td>
<td>lenidiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P.pl</td>
<td>lenna</td>
<td>lennavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P.sg</td>
<td>njidi</td>
<td>njideya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P.co</td>
<td>njidiyi</td>
<td>njididiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P.pl</td>
<td>njidna</td>
<td>njidnavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.sg</td>
<td>mava</td>
<td>maveya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.co</td>
<td>mavi</td>
<td>mavidiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MT</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.pl</td>
<td>mavna</td>
<td>mavnavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.sg</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>hava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.co</td>
<td>hayi</td>
<td>hanavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.pl</td>
<td>hana</td>
<td>hanavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.sg</td>
<td>didën</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.pl</td>
<td>didi</td>
<td>dayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.sg</td>
<td>deya</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.pl</td>
<td>didiya</td>
<td>dayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Pronouns

The first person, second person, and class I third person MTsg forms are reduced to the first syllable whenever they are followed by a clitic or suffix, such as emphatic suffixes, and when they are used as possessives or relative pronouns. The single syllable forms are also used when renaming an argument in a previous clause.

When one is referring to something unspecified, a whole clause, or a mixed class noun phrase, the class IV pronouns are used.

36  ṉi sada deya ono ki

Hear this!

Pronouns can carry emphatic suffixes. These are used in vocative constructions and in reflexive constructions:

- **-nada**  1st person
- **-vanya**  2nd person
- **-hanit**  3rd person and all class I nouns
- **-hεde**   for class II animate nouns and pronouns
- **-hada**   all other nouns and pronouns

Reflexives are used where A is the same as S or D, or in some cases, where S = D.

A third person pronoun of the same form and number as the noun may precede the noun and act as a demonstrative ‘this, that’.
37  ha kędde
    ha  kędde
    DEM    N
    II.MTsg horse.MTsg
    this horse

38  dayi gadi
    dayi  gadi
    DEM    N
    III.SSpl apple.SSpl
    these apples

Pronouns are also used to build possessives. Inalienably possessed nouns (body parts for the
most part) take the form PN N, where the PN refers to the possessor. Even when the possessor
is explicitly named, the pronoun remains:

39  Mada ma ku
    Mada ma ku
    N    PS N
    Mada 3P hand
    Mada’s hand

40  kędde ha buda
    kędde ha buda
    N    PS N
    horse 3P mouth
    horse’s mouth

For alienable possession, on the other hand, the pronoun directly follows the noun, and the pos-
sessor can follow the pronoun. The referent and pronoun are always in the basic motile or sessile
form, depending on the noun. The possessed item, however, can be in a different form, depend-
ing on where it is in the clause.

41  bedeya da onđęsę otni talsono...
    bedeya    da    onđęsę    otni    talsono
    A    PS    N    V    D
    name.MTsg IV.SSpl city.SSpl ➔.PRF Confusion
    The city’s name became “Confusion”...

Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun and agree in form and number with the nouns they modify. This
means that motile singular and sessile singular adjectives might have the same form.
Sodna-len: The Language of Motion

lude hëna red cloak (SSsg)
ludi hëni red cloaks (SSpl)
ludidën hëniden red cloak (MTsg)
ludidi hënidi red cloaks (MTpl)
amesan hëna red ant (MTsg)
amesna hënna red ants (MTpl)
amesava hënava red ant (SSsg)
amesnavi hënnavi red ants (SSpl)
logatan hëna red light (SSsg)
logi hëni red lights (SSpl)
logeya hënëya red light (MTsg)
logidiya hëndiyya red lights (MTpl)

Comparison of adjectives is handled by the prefixable directional adverbs. The adjective or adverb of ‘one’ is also used to mean ‘most’.

42  loho tende kité andaya dëste.
       loho   tende   kité   andaya   dëste
A     V     ADJ     ADV     EVI
sun.MTsg   IMP   strong.MTsg   first   REP
The sun is strongest.

Some adjectives can precede the noun. These adjectives then act as quantifiers and specifiers. Here are some that I am sure of:

amba         some, any
nada         the whole, all
nadna         all, every

Numbers are generally treated as adjectives and follow the noun. However, a number can precede the noun and act like a quantifier if referring to all of the nouns. The adjective nadna can be used to do the same. So,

kodna eñna two boys
eñna kodna both boys
kodna hadna three boys
hadna kodna all three boys
nadna kodna hadna all three boys
See Table 4 for a list of numbers to 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cardinal Numbers</th>
<th>Attributive Adjective</th>
<th>Multiplicative Adverb</th>
<th>Ordinal Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>and(a)-</td>
<td>iyanda</td>
<td>andayə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>amma</td>
<td>amm(a)-</td>
<td>iyə amma</td>
<td>amma go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>teha</td>
<td>teh(a)-</td>
<td>iyə teha</td>
<td>teha go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>onna</td>
<td>onn(a)-</td>
<td>iyə onna</td>
<td>onna go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>al(a)-</td>
<td>iyala</td>
<td>alayə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>hada</td>
<td>had(a)-</td>
<td>iyə hada</td>
<td>hadaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>nonda</td>
<td>nond(a)-</td>
<td>iyə nonda</td>
<td>nonda go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>adba</td>
<td>adb(a)-</td>
<td>iyə adba</td>
<td>adba go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>dadən</td>
<td>dadən-</td>
<td>iyə dadən</td>
<td>dadən go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>obiļ</td>
<td>obiļ-</td>
<td>iyə obiļ</td>
<td>obiļ go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eleven</td>
<td>adal</td>
<td>adal-</td>
<td>iyə adal</td>
<td>adal go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Numbers to 12

Adjectives can be nominalized to abstract nouns by adding the suffix -t and inflecting them as class IV abstract nouns. Adjectives can be turned into adverbs with the suffix -ya.

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are essentially adjectives, and can occur with any subject, source, or destination. The relative clause follows the argument, and is marked by any of the relative pronouns ma, ha, or da depending on the animacy of the argument. The relative pronoun maintains this form even if the number or motility of the argument is different from the main clause.

She who is tall went to the market.

Cardinal Numbers are one, two, three. Attributive numbers are one X, two X, three X. Multiplicative adverbs are once, twice, three times. Ordinal adverbs are first, second, third.
SODNA-lenii: THE LANGUAGE OF MOTION

44 mava ma sêde sijitto lêne otni tasu
mava ma sêde siĩi -tto lêne otni tasu
S V ADJ A V D
3P.MTsg REL IMP tall.MTsg-CS 1P.MTsg ➔ PRF market.SSsg
She who is tall sent me to the market.

45 lêne otni tasu da notênde tanan
lêne otni tasu da no -tênde tanava
A V D AF -V L
1P.MTsg ➔ PRF market.SSsg REL near-IMP river.SSsg
I went to the market that is by the river.

For example 45 above, that is the only allowable way to reference the location of a destination.
Core Arguments

Subject

Subjects are the people and things in motion. It’s simple enough when the subject is singular: just inflect it for motility and there you go. When the subject is multiple, things get a little more difficult, especially if there is also a motile source involved. In English, one can join multiple subjects with ‘and’. In sodna-leni, the clitic =nen is used, and is generally attached to the head of each noun phrase but the last.

46 ḽen’en man’en Mada otni tasu.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{le} & \text{=nen} & \text{ma} & \text{=nen} Mada otni \text{ tasu} \\
A & A & A & V \text{ D}
\end{array}
\]

1P.MTsg-COM 3P.MTsg-COM Mada \rightarrow PRF market.SSsg

Mada and she and I went to the market. (all together)

=nen also denotes that the arguments joined are all one group. =nen, therefore, also means ‘with’. The adverb liya modifies this, unjoining the otherwise joined arguments.

47 ḽen’en man’en Mada otni tasu liya.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{le} & \text{=nen} & \text{ma} & \text{=nen} Mada otni \text{ tasu} & \text{tele liya} \\
A & A & A & V & \text{ D}
\end{array}
\]

1P.MTsg-COM 3P.MTsg-COM Mada \rightarrow PRF market.SSsg INF SEP

Mada and she and I went to the market. (not together, maybe not even at the same time)

The evidential tele by itself is enough to negate the all-together interpretation of =nen in this particular context, and so liya could be dropped. In other contexts, however, it is not enough, and then liya is required.

=nen can also be used when the multiple parts of the subject are not of the same animacy. When this happens, =nen attaches itself to the arguments with lower animacy.

48 ḽene gadinen otni tasu.

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{lene} & \text{gadi} & \text{=nen otni} \text{ tasu} \\
A & A & V \text{ D}
\end{array}
\]

1P.MTsg apple.SSpl-COM \rightarrow PRF market.SSsg

I brought apples to the market. (I went to the market with apples).

Another particle that appears in multiple subject constructions is tepa. If =nen is a comitative particle, then tepa is privative (“without”). It follows whichever noun or noun phrase the subject is otherwise deprived of.
She and I went to the market without Mada.

Sometimes the subject can be a whole clause. This occurs primarily with *duso* and *ono*. In this situation, there is a placeholder subject as A, and the clause is put in the D slot.

She says she is sick.

The sun and the north wind were arguing over who was strongest.

I heard that Mada went to the market.

In the above examples, the placeholder is *deya*, which is the class IV motile singular pronoun, appropriate for referencing abstract, mixed, or inexact referents. When speech or words are being specifically referenced, the placeholder pronoun can be *hana*, which is the appropriate class II motile plural pronoun.

**Source**

As mentioned earlier, source is the point of origin of the motion undertaken by the subject. It is also used to denote the cause or purpose of the motion. Cause, if a person, is generally motile, because people are generally motile. Source is unmarked when it is sessile or when the motile source is of higher animacy than the subject. So in the following sentence, the source and subject cannot be flipped.
I sent her to the market.

But, third person arguments cause first person arguments to do something all the time. That is where the clitic =tto comes in. Below is the correct way to flip arguments.

She sent me to the market.

In the case of multiple animate sources, put =tto on the last source, and use =nen to join the noun phrases. Sessile sources do not get =tto, as they are considered purposive or locative and not causative. Animate nouns are inflected as sessile when they are not considered causative.

She and Mada sent me to the market.

Rain kept me from the market.
The phrase that corresponds to “please” is also a source, and motile because it is inherently possessed.

56  ṇi ṇi ganė leneya ṇi di tiņi tasu ki.

Destination

Destinations can be the end-points of motion, the location where all the motion has taken place, the recipient of the subject, an adjective describing the subject, or a clause of some sort. When the destination is an adjective describing the subject, the adjective is inflected to match the number and motility of the subject. Otherwise, the destination as end-point, location, or recipient is sessile. The example below shows a sessile recipient, even though “father” is animate and therefore generally motile.

57  diden kyutiden tiņi sobeya.

One can delineate a path as a series of destinations. This only works if A is constant.

58  leni alamotni tanava alamonnit gyeloko otni ko da atlan.

One can also have multiple destinations, joined by =nen.

59  lene otni tasunen ko.
While the use of =nen to conjoin subjects and sources implies simultaneity, it does not do so with destinations.

One can add =ke to a destination to render the subject non-volitional. I call this the “lurative”, though there is probably a better name for it.

60  lene otni tasuke.
    lene  otni  tasu  -ke
    S     V     D
    1P.MTsg ➔ PRF market.ISSg-LUR

The market pulled me in.

The destination slot can also be filled with a clause defining a placeholder noun or pronoun that can stand in for the clause in a subject slot.

20  mava deya duso ma sede kyaga deste.
    mava  deya  duso  ma  sede  kyaga  deste
    S      A      V      A      V      ADJ      EVI
    3P.MTsg IV.MTsg ➔ IMP 3P.MTsg | IMP sick.MTsg REP

She says she is sick.

61  lene kyesinen sede njidi tini ko dega.
    lene  kyesi  -nen  sede
    A      V
    1P.MTsg hope.ISSg-COM | IMP

    njidi  tini  ko  dega
    A      V     D     MDL
    2P.MTsg ➔ IMP home.ISSg FUT

I hope you will go home.
Adverbs

For the most part, adverbs appear after the destination slot. Some time words, especially ala ("now"), may be fronted to the source slot.

The particle go can follow a noun and turn it into an adverb in the sense of "like" or "as".

62  konod sède siŋi kẹlẹ go

A V ADJ N ADV
tower.SSsg  .IMP tall.SSsg sky.SSsg as

The tower is as tall as the sky.

Prefixing Adverbs

Nine adverbs can be optionally prefixed to the verb. One is the negating adverb voya and eight are directional adverbs: eya, meya, noya, danya, dupesya, alamya, olaya, and tadya. Table 5 shows the basic forms of the prefixes before vowels and consonants. The basic forms are subject to various phonological rules. Except for with voya, ememem loses a syllable when prefixed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-V</th>
<th>-C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voya</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>vu-, vo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eya</td>
<td>ey-</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meya</td>
<td>meh-</td>
<td>meh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noya</td>
<td>noy-</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danya</td>
<td>dan-</td>
<td>dan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupesya</td>
<td>dupes-</td>
<td>dupes-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alamya</td>
<td>alam-</td>
<td>alam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olaya</td>
<td>ol-</td>
<td>ola-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadya</td>
<td>tad-</td>
<td>tad-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Adverbial Prefixes.

Voya can accompany any verb and serves to negate the clause. Voya is prefixed as v- before vowels, vu- before consonants, and vo- before a syllable with ‘a’. Prefixing does not change the function or the meaning of the adverb. Examples 64 and 65 are identical in meaning.

63  mava vusede tasu bala.

mava  vu -sède  tasu  bala
A  AF -V  L  EVI
3P.MTsg NEG-  .IMP market.SSsg NVS

She is not at the market. (I don’t see her here)
64  gada vodala kyilede.
gada vu -dala kyilede
A AF -V ADJ
water.MTsg NEG IMP cold.MTsg
The water is not cold.

65  gada dala kyilede voya.
gada dala kyilede voya
A V ADJ ADV
water.MTsg IMP cold.MTsg NEG
The water is not cold.

**Eya** with a verb of stance means ‘in’ when the destination is a location. It means ‘most’ or ‘very’ when the destination is an adjective.

66  mava esede tasu.
mava e -sede tasu
A AF-V L
3P.MTsg in-.IMP market.SSsg
She is inside the market.

67  gada edala kyilede.
gada e -dala kyilede
A AF-V ADJ
water.MTsg in-.IMP cold.MTsg
The water is very cold.

With verbs of motion, **eya** has other functions. With **tiqi** and **kili** and **pesi**, it lowers the volitionality of A. With **ani**, **eya** makes D into a location, changing the meaning to ‘go around in L’. With **duso** and **ono**, again, whatever is in the destination slot must be interpreted as a location.

68  mava onnit gyelko.
mava onnit gyelko
A V D
3P.MTsg -.PRF woods.SSsg-CO
She went through the woods.

69  mava eyonnit gyelko.
mava ey-onnit gyelko
A AF-V L
3P.MTsg in-.PRF woods.SSsg-CO
She wandered around in the woods.

With **evi**, **eya** deletes the otherwise required source.
25 **loho logidiya evi.**

loho logidiya evi  
S A V  
sun.MTsg light.MTpl  IMP  
The sun is shining (light).

70 **logidiya eyevi.**

logidiya ey-evi  
A AF-V  
light.MTpl in-IMP  
Light is shining. (unknown or unexpressed source)

With *ememe*, *eya* denotes that the subject is made out of or from the destination.

71 **tebidén eyemé medi.**

tebidén ey-emé medi  
A AF-V D  
table.MTsg in-IMP wood.SSp1  
The table is made out of wood.

*Méya* with verbs of stance means ‘out’ when the destination is a location. It means ‘less’ or ‘a little bit so’ when the destination is an adjective.

72 **mava mesédé tasu.**

mava mëš-sédé tasu  
A AF -V L  
3P.MTsg out- IMP market.SSsg  
She is outside of the market.

73 **gada méddala kyílédé.**

gada mëš-dàlà kyílédé  
A AF -V ADJ  
water.MTsg out-. IMP cold.MTsg  
The water is (only) a little bit cold.

With verbs of motion, *méya* generally requires S and retains its directional meaning. It does not occur with *ememe*.

With *añi, méya* expresses the idea of making the subject into the destination, generally in a perjorative or dismissive sense.

---

9 Special thanks to Roger Mills for this suggestion.
With **duso**, it allows for a singular animate S.

75 mava deya duro ...
    mava deya duro
    S A V
    3P.MTsg IV.MTsg out--IMP
    She says .... (audience is known and unexpressed)

76 mava deya mëdduso ...
    mava deya meh-duso
    S A AF -V
    3P.MTsg IV.MTsg out--IMP
    She says .... (audience is nebulous or non-existent)

With **ono**, it lowers the volitionality of A when A is animate.

77 lene mava tono.
    lene mava tono
    S A V
    1P.MTsg 3P.MTsg out-PRF
    She came to me.

78 lene mava mettono.
    lene mava meh-tono
    S A AF -V
    1P.MTsg 3P.MTsg out-PRF
    She came to me (grudgingly or accidentally).

With **evi, meya** adds emphasis or a sense of completion.

27 didenhada tavi dabniden.
    diden -hada tavi dabniden
    S/A V ADJ
    it.MTsg-RFL PRF apart.MTsg
    It blew up.

79 didenhava mettavi dabniden.
    diden -hada meh-tavi dabniden
    S/A AF -V ADJ
    it.MTsg-RFL out-PRF apart.MTsg
    It blew up!
With verbs of stance, **noya** means ‘near’ when the destination is a location. It means ‘more’ or ‘mostly’ when the destination is an adjective.

80  

**mava nosede tasu.**

mava  no  -sede  tasu
A   AF   -V   L
3P.MTsg near-.IMP market.SSsg
She is near the market.

81  

**gada nodala kyilede.**

gada   no  -dala  kyilede
A   AF   -V   ADJ
water.MTsg near-.IMP cold.MTsg
The water is mostly cold.

**Noya** with verbs of motion has a similar meaning as with locations. It means that the destination is almost but not yet reached. With **anji**, that means ‘go to the edge of’. **Noya** does not occur with **pesi** or **evi**.

**Danya** means ‘along’ or ‘next to’ when the destination is a location. It means ‘like’ or ‘sort of so’ when the destination is an adjective.

82  

**mava dansede tasu.**

mava  dan  -sede  tasu
A   AF   -V   L
3P.MTsg along-.IMP market.SSsg
She is next to the market.

83  

**gada dandala kyilede.**

gada   dan  -dala  kyilede
A   AF   -V   ADJ
water.MTsg next-.IMP cold.MTsg
The water is sort of cold.

**Danya** with verbs of motion turns D’s into L’s. That is, with **tiñi** and with **duso**, anything in the destination slot must be interpreted as a location.

84  

**lene tiñi tonat.**

lene  tiñi  tonat
A   V   D
1P.MTsg →.IMP road.SSsg
I was walking to the road.
I was walking along the road.

With *kili*, *danya* implies paralleling the destination for a time, and with *anji* it means to bypass or go around D. With *evi*, it means that A did not go far, and with *ememe* it means that A is surrounding D. Danya is not used with *ono* or *pesi*.

**Dupesya** means ‘far from’ when the destination is a location. It means ‘not at all’ when the destination is an adjective. Otherwise it adds an emphatic meaning to *pesi* and to *evi*, and does not occur with *duso*, *ono*, or *ememe*. With the other verbs of motion, it adds a sense of ‘far’ or ‘more’ to the equivalent meaning with *danya*.

She is far from the market.

The water is not at all cold.

**Alamy**a means ‘across’ or ‘athwart’ when the destination is a location and it makes semantic sense to use this adverb. Always accompanied by the adverb *nadya*, it means ‘completely so’ when the destination is an adjective, and completely filled when the destination is a location.

The bridge crosses the water.

The water is completely cold.
Alamya does not occur with kili, ono, or pesi. With tiği and anj, it means to cross a destination. With tiği, that destination is a metaphorical point, with anj, it is an area. Alamya with evi and ememe adds a destination and a source respectively, and contains the idea that the destination is now filled with A.

90  ḑbe gada alamevi gyide.
 ebē  gada  alam  -evi  gyide
 S   A   AF  -V  D
 lake.SSsg water.MTsg across-IMP valley.SSsg
 The lake water is filling the valley.

91  tadinavi gadna alamemey gyide.
 tadinavi  gadna  alam  -ememey  gyide
 S   A   AF  -V  D
 rain.SSpl water.MTpl across-IMP valley.SSsg
 The rain water is filling the valley.

With verbs of stance, olaya means ‘above’ and tadya means ‘below’ or ‘under’ when the destination is a location. These two adverbs have no special meaning with adjectival destinations. Olaya and tadya also have directional meaning with verbs of motion, and can be used with tiği and kili to express height and depth. They do not occur with duso.

92  kyëvdidi olakili le gyolnavi.
 kyëvdidi ola-kili  le gyolnavi
 A      AF  -V   PS  D
 mud.MTpl up  IMP  1P knee.SSpl
 The mud is up to my knees.

Table 6 summarizes how the directional adverbs interact with verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>eya</th>
<th>mëya</th>
<th>noya</th>
<th>danya</th>
<th>dupesya</th>
<th>alamya</th>
<th>olaya</th>
<th>tadya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiği</td>
<td>low-vol A</td>
<td>out of required S</td>
<td>towards D</td>
<td>no D, only L</td>
<td>go far towards D</td>
<td>cross point D</td>
<td>up to D and over</td>
<td>down to D and below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kili</td>
<td>low-vol A</td>
<td>out of required S</td>
<td>close to D</td>
<td>parallel D</td>
<td>parallel D from a distance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>down to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anj</td>
<td>no D, only L</td>
<td>A becomes D</td>
<td>edge of D</td>
<td>bypass D</td>
<td>bypass D from a distance</td>
<td>cross D</td>
<td>above D</td>
<td>below D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Directional adverbs plus verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>eya</th>
<th>meya</th>
<th>noya</th>
<th>danya</th>
<th>dupësya</th>
<th>alamyä</th>
<th>olaya</th>
<th>tadya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>duso</strong></td>
<td>low-vol A; no D, only L</td>
<td>allows single S</td>
<td>towards each D</td>
<td>no D, only L</td>
<td>between two D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ono</strong></td>
<td>low-vol A; no D, only L</td>
<td>low-vol A</td>
<td>close to D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go up to S</td>
<td>go down to S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>peši</strong></td>
<td>lowers evolition of A</td>
<td>out of required S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>go up from S</td>
<td>go down from S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>evi</strong></td>
<td>removes S</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>eméme</strong></td>
<td>A is made out of D</td>
<td>close to D</td>
<td>surround D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adds D, filled with A</td>
<td>go up from S</td>
<td>go down from S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tendë, sëde, data</strong></td>
<td>inside L; most/very ADJ</td>
<td>outside L; less/little ADJ</td>
<td>near L; much/most ADJ</td>
<td>next to L; like ADJ, ADJ-ish</td>
<td>far from L; not at all ADJ</td>
<td>across L; wholly ADJ</td>
<td>above L</td>
<td>below L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Evidentiality**

Despite the example sentences above, the prefixing adverbs generally don’t become prefixes when the adverb slot is otherwise empty. And usually the adverb slot is filled by either an evidential adverb, modal adverb, or both.

The evidential adverbs form a four-way system. 10 The visual evidential, however, is zero-marked. The non-visual/sensory (NVS) evidential is bala, the inference (INF) evidential is tele, and there are three hearsay or reported evidentials: đeste, maste, and tena.

The visual evidential is used for things that the speaker has directly witnessed or experienced. It can also be used for generally known and observable facts, i.e. the things that are certain. Bala is used for things the speaker has heard, smelled, tasted, and felt inside, i.e. emotions, thoughts, and physical states like hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and illnesses. It is also used for neg-

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10 This makes sodna-šeni a C1 system according to Dr Aikhenvald. See *Evidentiality*, published by Oxford University Press 2004.
ative visual evidence, as in example 63. It can also be used where the visual evidential would normally be used in order to convey non-volitional actions by the speaker.

63 mava vusede tasu bala.
    mava   vu-  sede   tasu   bala
    A       AF  -V   L     EVI
    3P.MTsg NEG- .IMP market. SSsg NVS
    She is not at the market. (I don’t see her here)

93 lene tiŋi tadya.
    lene   tiŋi   tadya
    A       V     ADV
    1P.MTsg ➔ .IMP down
    I went down/jumped down.

94 lene tat tiŋi bala.
    lene   tad -tiŋi   bala
    A       AF  -V   EVI
    1P.MTsg down- ➔ .IMP NVS
    I fell down.

Tēle is used for inferences (INF) based on sensory evidence, including the sense of touch. It is also used to comment on other people’s mental and physical states. Contrast example 32 with #95 below.

32 mava sede kyaga tēle.
    mava   sede   kyaga   tēle
    A       V     ADJ     EVI
    3P.MTsg . IMP sick.MTsg INF
    She is sick.

95 lene sede kyaga bala.
    lene   sede   kyaga   bala
    A       V     ADJ     EVI
    1P.MTsg . IMP sick.MTsg NVS
    I am/feel sick.

Dēste is the basic hearsay/reported material (REP) evidential. It is used when the speaker knows something based on hearing it from someone else, learning it from a teacher or a book, or reading it somewhere.
It is also used in indirect quotation, whereas **maste** (QT) is used exclusively for direct quotation.

She says she is sick.

The last reported evidential, **tena** (REP), is used in storytelling only. See the text section for examples.

**Modality**

The modality adverbs number five: **giya, geya, dega, deme**, and **kyel**. When used with evidential adverbs, the modal adverb comes first. **Giya** (ABL) is used with the visual and non-visual evidentials to denote ability.
Geya (HYP) is used to signal hypothetical, counterfactual, and uncertain future utterances, as well as for wishful thinking.

Dega is used for the imminent or certain future, and cannot be used with the visual and non-visual evidentials.

Deme is used to signal doubt. Deme with any evidential can form an interrogative statement. Coupled with geya it signals disbelief. Contrast examples 102 and 103 below with the previous example 22.

kyel marks conditionals, and is often used with geya. kyel always comes at the end of the clause, no matter what. The general pattern for kyel goes like so:
CLAUSE-1 *geya kyei* CLAUSE-2 *geya*
IF CLAUSE-1, then CLAUSE-2 (maybe)

CLAUSE-1 *geya kyei* CLAUSE-2 *dega*
IF CLAUSE-1, then CLAUSE-2 (predicted future)

**Mood particles**

There are three mood particles: *be* for negative imperatives, *ka* for imperatives, and *ki* for exhortation.

**24**  
*nolava njidi pesi ka.*  
nolava njidi pesi ka  
S A V M  
fire.SSsg 2P.MTsg → IMP CMD  
Get away from the fire.

**104**  
*nolava njidi pesi ki.*  
nolava njidi pesi ki  
S A V M  
fire.SSsg 2P.MTsg → IMP HRT  
You should get away from the fire.

**105**  
*nolava njidi pesi be.*  
nolava njidi pesi be  
S A V M  
fire.SSsg 2P.MTsg → IMP NEG.CMD  
Don’t go away from the fire.

There is no specific interrogative particle. Interrogatives usually involve the modal adverb *dee me.*
Texts

The North Wind and the Sun

The sun and the north wind were arguing over who was strongest, when a traveler with a warm cloak came along. They agreed that he would be strongest who was able to make the traveler take off the cloak.
The north wind blew and blew.

The more the breath went at the traveler, the more the traveler drew the cloak around himself.

The sun started to try.

And the traveler removed the cloak.
115 aludan ṯyehe məddustə loho tənde kitlə andaya tena.
S A AF -V
north-wind.MTsg agreement.SSsg out↔.PRF

loho tənde kitlə andaya tena
A V ADJ ADV EVI
sun.MTsg fieldset.IMP strong.MTsg first REP

The north wind agreed that the sun was strongest.

The Babel Text

ala tasyoneya andeya alantavi madu tena. na ᵀ_clone aši sandiši aši mese da edala Sinad, da məhambi dəspə tena. məvnahanit hana dustə lenna kyləmədi məhənji yutətə dəga ki məstə. nənəsi kidi kyləmə tətte, gedmi sikhəvdi tətte tena. məvnahanit hana dustə lenna onəsəpəya konodnən da sətte sini kele go yəyme dəga ki məstə. məvnahanit hana dustə lennanada bədeya yəyme dəga, lenna kəpolina dupəsevi nada madu voya dəga ki məstə. na anda etlə hana məddustə eəna səde andana, tasyonən anda; məvna dəya yəyməbî; məvna amba dəle onə dəga, məvna ha məhənji gənət giya məstə. məvna hana məddustə lenna tatənə dəga ki, lenna talsoneya ey-əyme tasyon məvna dəga ki, nənəsi məvnahanit sodna vudəso giya məstə. nənəsi anda etlə məvna kəpolina dupəsevi nada madu, nənəsi məvna onəsəpəya ey-əyme tena. nənəsi bədeya da onəsə otni talsono, anda etlə talsoneya eyoət tasyon da madu susi. anda etlətto sota məvna kəpolina dupəsevi nada madu tena.

116 ala tasyoneya andeya alantavi madu tena.
ADV A AF -V D EVI
now language.MTsg one.MTsg across ↔.PRF world.SSsg REP

Now one language filled the world.

117 na ᵀ_clone aši sandiši aši mese da edala Sinad, da məhambi dəspə tena.
CNJ A V D V D
and person.MTpl ->.IMP east.SSsg ->.IMP plain.SSsg

da e -dała Sinad da məh-ambi dəspə tena
AF-V D AF -V D EVI
REL in-→.IMPF Sinad REL out→.INC settlement.SSpl REP
And the people went eastwards, and came to a plain in Sinad, and made a settlement.
They said to each other, “Let us make bricks from baking.”

And so there were bricks for rocks and tar for mortar.

They said to each other, “Let us make a city with a tower that is tall as the sky.”
They said to each other, “Let us make a name for ourselves; let us not become scattered over the whole world.”

And the one god came down, and saw the people building the city with the tower.
And he said, “Let us go down, let us make confusion of their language, and so they will not be able to speak with each other.”
And so the one god scattered them abroad over the whole world, and they did not build the city.

And so the name of the city became Confusion, because the one god made confusion from the world’s language there.

From there the one god scattered them abroad over the whole world.
Appendix

Emails

Date: Wed, 19 Dec 2012 13:10:35 -0800
Subject: Weird conlanging ideas
From: Sylvia Sotomayor
To: David Peterson

So I was reading this:
http://phenomena.nationalgeographic.com/2012/12/19/the-where-of-what-how-your-brain-represents-thousands-of-objects/

and had the thought that what I needed was a language (without verbs, probably related to Kelen) that had a special noun class for things in motion. That would be one way to deal with the verbs of motion issue in a verbless language.

Sharing because I am bored at work.
-S
--
Sylvia Sotomayor

The sooner I fall behind the more time I have to catch up.

Subject: Re: Weird conlanging ideas
From: David Peterson
Date: Wed, 19 Dec 2012 13:19:35 -0800
To: Sylvia Sotomayor

Well, the funny thing is, if you have a language that makes absolutely no distinction between nouns and verbs (that is it treats them as identical manipulable units), there’s no reason that it couldn’t classify verbs as a separate noun class. After all, in noun class systems, there are systems that treat animate things as different from inanimate, or plants different from animals, different from weapons, etc. Actions, then, are something that can be grouped (i.e. actions are more similar to each other than they are to animals, let’s say), and so could be classified as a noun class. I was doing something along these lines the first time I tried to create an alien language (never finished; was too difficult). That one didn’t have verbs as separate from nouns, but had different elements that took one and applied it to another or multiple others and also an inverse marker. Anything could fit in any slot. But if you have that system, there’s no reason why the users couldn’t treat actions differently or different groups of actions.

Anyway, that’s a fascinating article! I swear, they’re going to have the brain all figured out like 20 years after we die...

David Peterson
LCS President
president@conlang.org
www.conlang.org
Yes. The part about motion vs not in motion, then social interactions, man-made (I have a suffix for that), and biological made me think of some of the elaborate noun class systems. Anyways, I will think on how to implement such a noun class system with verbs of motion or objects in motion taking a certain inflection or something. It is all still very vague.

-S
--
Sylvia Sotomayor

The sooner I fall behind the more time I have to catch up.

Version 1

Date: Mon, 24 Dec 2012 13:17:30 -0800
Subject: A New Language
From: Sylvia Sotomayor <terjemar@gmail.com>
To: Constructed Languages List <CONLANG@listserv.brown.edu>

Language Name*: 
hslo
*subject to change, of course.

Quick phonology:
p b t d k g m n ŋ l v s ñ h y
i ɪ u e o ø ò a

A story:
sleya edrdeh evi ndo. myetan saludeya suloyea dan meneya lokodyande.adoneya muludan lakalya tian dilo. smeneya umutan dan meyalokodyandegi meste sadoneya muludrden abet. aiudeya megekan dilannio. aludeya modrdeh ono nrlno. modrdeh lokodyanden adoneya muludrden lopomyanden. aiudeya megekan heloto. uloeya megekan dilannio. suloyea mlurden evi nrlno. sadoneya muludrden abet desteha. smeneya umutan dan uloeya lokodyandegi dilha.

Vocabulary:
abet “away”
adon “traveler”
akal “warm”
an-an IN inanimate and (sessile or incorporeal)
anni INCH inchoative, starting
aiud the North Wind
d- “this”, third person inanimate
dil this time, now
evi “out in all directions”
eye AW animate and motile
ed “story”
este CAUS causative
gsk “attempt”
-gi MOST highest rank
-ha INFER inference evidential
hel “some time”
in “path”
-rden IN/MOT inanimate and motile
l- EVAL evaluative
lu “light”
le/-l- 1P first person
myet “argument”
me/-m- 3P third person, can only refer to animates
-n comparatively higher rank
-n- PL plural
-n demeanor RANK ranked evaluation
nrl “many times”
-o HEARSAY hearsay evidential
od “breath”
ono “in a single direction”
ot CESS cessative, finishing
ɔkod “strong”
ɔpom “near”
s- SRC source
t- DEST destination
ulo the Sun
ulud “cloak”
umut “agreement”
-ya POS positive (evaluation)

Interlinears with intermittent grammar rules:
sleya ed ru evi ndo.
s- l- eya ed- rden evi n -d -o.
SRC-I P-AN story-IN/MOT out.in.all.directions PL-this-HEARSAY
I am telling a story: it is all hearsay.

If the sentence has a direction word, there needs to be a source.
Volitional beings are generally in motion, unless specifically not.
Speech to a large or unknown audience takes the direction word ‘evi’.
Therefore, speech requires a source.
Evidentials are required on all time/tense/aspect words

myetan saiuyeya suloeya dan meneya lokedyande.
myet -an s- alud -eya s -ulo-eya d -an me-n -eya l -ɔkod -ya -nde.
argument-INC SRC-north.wind-AN SRC-sun-AN REL-IN 3P-PL-AN EVAL-strong-POS-RANK
The North Wind and the Sun are having an argument about who is stronger.

‘myet’ requires multiple sources because it is speech.
While sources generally precede whatever is being sourced, it is not a hard rule.
Relative pronouns agree in animacy/motility with their antecedents.
Evaluations come after whatever they evaluate.
Comparisons in evaluation use a RANK particle.
A rank particle without a ranking means the ranking is unknown.
Evaluations are either positive or negative.
The plural particle comes before an inanimate ‘d’, but after any other pronoun.

adoneya muludan lakalya tinan dil.
adon -eya m -ulud -an l -aial-ya t -in -an dil -o.
traveler-AN 3P-cloak-IN EVAL-warm-POS DEST-path-IN this.time-HEARSAY

Now a traveler and/in his warm cloak are moving on a path.

Destinations do not require sources. They do require something that is motile.
Destinations come after whatever it is that is moving to that destination
Possessed/associated items are prefixed with a pronoun marker.
Possessed/associated items come (directly) after their possessor.
I am not sure about ‘tiran’ but I couldn’t think of a better way to express this.

smeneya umutan dan meya lokooyandegi meste sadoneya muludiren abet.
s -me-n -eya umut -an d -an m -eya l -okod -ya -nde -gi
SRC-3P-PL-AN agreement-IN REL-IN 3P-AN EVAL-strong-POS-RANK-MOST

m -est`e s -adon -eya m -ulud -rden abet.
3P-CAUS SRC-traveler-AN 3P-cloak-IN/MOT away.
They agree that he is strongest who makes the traveler remove his cloak.

‘umut’ requires a plural source because it is speech.
‘abet’ like ‘evi’ is a direction word and requires a source.
If ‘abet’ were a mere location word, it’d have a suffix.

aiudeya megskan dilannio.
aiud- eya me-gsk- an dil- anni-o.
north.wind-AN 3P-attempt-IN this.time-INCH-HEARSAY.
The North Wind starts his attempt.

Did I mention that tense/aspect/evidence comes at the end of a clause?

aiudeya modrden ono nIno.
aiud -eya m -od -rden ono nnil -n -o
north.wind-AN 3P-breath-IN/MOT in.a.single.direction many.times-PL-HEARSAY
The North Wind blows and blows.

That plural in the tense/aspect/evidential denotes repetition.

modrden lokooyanden adoneya muludiren lopomyanden.
m -od -rden l -okod -ya -nde -n
3P-breath-IN/MOT EVAL-strong-POS-RANK-more

adon -eya m -ulud -rden l -opom-ya -nde -n.
traveler-AN 3P-cloak-IN/MOT EVAL-near-POS-RANK-more.
The stronger his blowing, the nearer to the traveler is his cloak.

aiudeya megskan heloto.
aiud -eya me-gsk -an hel -ot -o.
north.wind-AN 3P-attempt-IN some.time-CESS-HEARSAY.
The North Wind eventually finishes his attempt.

uloeya megskan dilannio.
ulo-eya me-gsk -an dil -anni-o.
sun-AN 3P-attempt-IN this.time-INCH-HEARSAY.
The Sun starts his attempt.
It is ‘hel’ not ‘dil’ because some time has passed. Then it is ‘dil’ because it is a single point in present time. ‘dil’ can also be glossed as “now”.

suloeya mlurden evi nrino.
s -ul-oya m -lu -rden evi nrl -n -o.
SRC-sun-AN 3P-light-IN/MOT out.in.all.directions many.time-PL-HEARSAY.
The Sun shines and shines in all directions.

sadoneya muludirden abet desteha.
s -adon -eya m -ulud -rden abet d -este-ha.
SRC-traveler-AN 3P-cloak-IN/MOT away this-CAUS-INFER.
The traveler removes his cloak because of this.

Look, a new evidential! I wonder how many there are? I guess conclusions, even in a story, are inferences.

smeneya umutan dan uloeya lokodyandegi dilha.
s -me-n -eya umut -an d -an ulo-eya l -okod -ya -ndi -gi dil -ha
SRC-3P-PL-AN agreement-IN REL-IN sun-AN EVAL-strong-POS-RANK-MOST this.time-INFER
They agree that the Sun is the strongest.

Now to work on Gary Shannon’s list of sentences to test conlang syntax and such.

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Sylvia Sotomayor

The sooner I fall behind the more time I have to catch up.

**History**

1. Original concept: verbs of motion, motility, volitional = motile, animate and inanimate noun classes, ranked comparison, types of alienable possession, verbs not inflected, repetition/iteration marked on aspect/evidential. See previous section.

1.1 Lots of vocabulary changes. Soem phonological changes. Expanded to 7 noun classes. 8 verbs of motion, though not the same 8, with the idea that certain noun classes took certain verbs only, and inflections for start, finish, repeated, and interrupted on 6 (țiņi, pesi, ono, dus, tudi, tand), and start and finish only on 2 (evi, ememe). Thought about having articles.

2. Added su and ya as verbs ‘to be’. Have eight verbs of motion, with negative prefix vu-, 5 aspectual distinctions (IMP, PRF, INC, cessative, ITR); the evidentials, giya (ABL), dega (FUT), and deme (DUB), all suffixed to the verb. 4 noun classes. Directional adverbs, prefixable to other adverbs. Purposive and durative clause types. Used this version for LCC5 relay text. Thought about having articles.
2.1 Added noun subclasses, animacy hierarchy, singulative and collective suffixes. The idea of using pronouns before the N to act as demonstratives. Different types of alienable possession. Quantifiers and numbers. 3 conditionals (kyel, geya, lenva). Clausal conjunctions. Thought about having articles. Vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives.

2.3 Started using arrows as glosses. Dropped ya as a verb. Added stance on demonstratives. Thought about having articles. Vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives.

3 Dropped su and added verbs of stance. Dropped demonstratives, using pronouns instead. Prefix directional adverbs to verbs. Thought about having articles, but decided I didn’t need them. Vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives. Used for Relay 21 text.

3.1 Dropped types of alienable possession, and simplified. Thought about having articles, even though I probably don’t need them. Vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives.

3.3 Added =ke on destinations, worked out the volitionality of subjects and how to change that. Continued thinking about purposives. Vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives.

4 Changed aspect types, adding frustrative and conflating perfective and cessative. Figured out how peripheral arguments, especially the purposive, worked in phrases and clauses. Changed some numerical forms. Still vaguely dissatisfied with the adjectives.

4.1 This document. Regularized some verb conjugations. Removed forms of quantifiers and modals that I don’t have examples for. Added eya + evi and figured out what it does. Changed the inflections of class I kinship terms and therefore also the class I SSsg pronouns. Thinking about adding some irregularities in verb paradigms and some noun inflections. :-)

Future Developments: More vocabulary. Think about modality, quantifiers, adjectives. Work through Gary Shannon’s list of sentences.