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# A Grammar of Hiutsaθ

Jessie Sams

How astonishing it is that language can almost mean,  
and frightening that it does not quite....

from “The Forgotten Dialect of the Heart”  
by Jack Gilbert

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# A GRAMMAR OF HIUTSAØ

# Chapter 1

## Introduction to Hiutsaθ

Hiutsaθ is an invented language that appears in a series of novels written for young adults. The goal of this grammar is to investigate not only the language itself but also the speakers of Hiutsaθ, integrating the language with the speakers' culture. As an invented language, there are only fictional speakers of Hiutsaθ; however, throughout the grammar, the language will be explored as if it and its speakers actually exist in order to bring the readers into the fictional world of the language. Throughout the grammar, when words in Hiutsaθ are written, they be written with a spelling based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for the readers' convenience (a guide to pronouncing IPA is in Appendix I).

This introductory chapter first focuses on the speakers of Hiutsaθ (Section 1.1) before outlining key characteristics of the language and providing the overall organization of the grammar (Section 1.2). The information on the grammar is meant to provide readers with a broad understanding of how Hiutsaθ is classified as a language in comparison with other world languages; therefore, it will cover such features as lexicon and language family, morphological type of language, and syntactic structure.

### 1.1 Speakers

Hiutsaθ is a language spoken by the Xiφaθeho ('Gifteds'), a race of women who, though they look human in appearance, have special abilities (or Gifts). There are 12 families of Xiφaθeho, and each family has a designated xiφaθ ('Gift'), such as the xiφaθ of Finding (the ability to find anything, no matter how hidden) or of Making (the ability to make any object from an existing, but different one). Each family has four generations at all times, so the number of Xiφaθeho always remains 48. By most standards, having only 48 speakers would classify Hiutsaθ as an endangered language; however, the population has held steady at 48 speakers for well over a millinium without the language losing its linguistic status, despite the fact that the Xiφaθeho do not willingly allow their language to be shared with human speakers (which makes collecting data for written grammars quite difficult). In the unlikely event that the number of speakers should dwindle, Hiutsaθ could quickly become a dead language.

The Xiφaθeho—along with their language—first appeared in the seventh century in Europe and parts of northern Africa, where they remained until the 16th century. During those 900 years, they were a nomadic tribe that traveled individually or, in some cases, in pairs or small groups. They used their Gifts to help the humans they came in contact with as they journeyed. All Xiφaθeho are able to speak and understand human languages but use only Hiutsaθ to communicate with one another. Any fluctuations in their language occurred during that time when they borrowed or calqued terms from the continental languages to fill any lexical gaps; although, the amount of borrowing and calquing remained rather limited even during that period of fluctuation. The languages with the biggest effect on Hiutsaθ are the ancient languages of Europe—primarily Latin and ancient Greek.

After near persecution in the 16th century when women were being burned for witchcraft and religious persecution was at its height, the Xiφaθeho began questioning their purpose of helping humanity and banded together to flee Europe for the isolation of the American “New World” continent, where they once again became nomadic and mingled with the indigenous people of the land for nearly 100 years. However, with the influx of European settlers, they feared that another time of persecution was near. After witnessing the Salem witch trials in the late 17th century, they shunned humans and isolated themselves in a settlement they simply called ‘ekonila’ (‘the colony’). They currently live—and have lived for over 300 years—in a rural (and otherwise uninhabited) area of the Ozarks in Missouri. The approximate location of ekonila is marked on the map below:



Figure 1. Location of ekonila on Google map: 37.242765,-91.225233

Figure 1 shows the isolation of ekonila—all roads end before the outer boundaries. No human knows exactly how large ekonila is, nor has any

human been inside its boundaries. Based on information from a Xiφaθe informant, though, ekonila has at least 13 structures: 12 buildings house the different families, and one building is their Assembly Hall (functioning as both a temple and courthouse for the Xiφaθeho). Unpaved paths run between the buildings, and the outer area of ekonila is wild forest land. While the Xiφaθeho can travel outside their confines, their borders are guarded against intruders (other than animals, which can come and go freely).

The Xiφaθeho typically resist change, which is evident in their language—a language with little to no irregularities, even in the morphology of common nouns and verbs. Their resistance to change is also reflected in borrowing: If a word or term is borrowed from another language, it often takes years (or, in some cases, centuries) for the word to be entrenched enough in Hiutsaθ to be considered a part of the language. If a lexical gap exists, the Xiφaθeho are more likely to create an entirely new word in their own language than they are to borrow one.

One change that occurred internally is a change in the name of their language. When they isolated themselves in ekonila, they changed their language name to Hiutsetsaθeiθo (or ‘Hiutsaθ’), which literally means ‘superior language.’ While the language itself is not linguistically superior to any other language, its name portrays the attitude of the Xiφaθeho toward other languages or, more specifically, toward speakers of other languages. The Xiφaθeho view humans as inferior and, therefore, are often disdainful when referring to humans or the things they hold important, and they resist filling any lexical gaps caused by human invention over the past 300 years (e.g., they have no specific word for car or computer).

## 1.2 Language

In its recognizable roots, Hiutsaθ is primarily Indo-European with cognates for many common terms, such as those in the following table. In Table 1 below, the Greek column is Ancient Greek, and the dashes represent entries that are either not available or are not cognates.

IE Root	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	German	Russian	Hiutsaθ	English
mater-	matar	mētēr	māter	Mutter	mat’	maθane	mother
pāter-	pitar	patēr	pater	Vater	pápa	paθane	father
swesor-	svasar	—	soror	Schwester	sestrá	ʃuθano	sister
bhrāter-	bhratar	—	frater	Bruder	brat	faθano	brother
nek <sup>v</sup> -t-	—	nyx	nox	Nacht	noch	nuθne	night
ster-	—	aster	stella	Stern	—	atseli	star
mūs-	—	—	mus	Maus	myš’	muʃe	mouse
trei-	tri	treis	trēs	drei	tri	θele	three

Table 1. Indo-European cognates

A common pattern, which is seen in Table 1, is that when the IE root has a [t], Hiutsaθ uses a [θ]; for example, the ‘mater-’ from IE is ‘maθane’ in Hiutsaθ. Another common pattern is that the [s] in an IE root is an [ʃ] in Hiutsaθ; an example is that the IE root ‘mūs-’ becomes the Hiutsaθ ‘muʃe’. The exception listed in Table 1 to both of those generalizations is the IE root ‘ster-’, which is ‘atseli’ in Hiutsaθ—a form of metathesis (reversing the [s] and [t] sounds). Because Hiutsaθ does not have an [r] in its phonemic inventory, anytime an [r] carries through to Hiutsaθ, it is realized as an [l]; an example is the IE root ‘trei-’ becoming the Hiutsaθ ‘θele’. Based on cognates in the lexicon—like those in Table 1—Hiutsaθ is classified as an Indo-European language. Beyond its lexicon, though, Hiutsaθ is an outlier of Indo-European languages with features reminiscent of languages around the world.

In inflecting words, Hiutsaθ is primarily an agglutinating language—it has a variety of prefixes and suffixes that attach to a base with clear boundaries. For example, in (1) below, the word ‘itaalihoma’ is broken down into its individual morphemes:

- (1) i-taali-ho-ma  
 DEF-animal-PL-ACC  
 ‘the animals’

The base for (1) is ‘taali’ (‘animal’); the prefix ‘i-’ is a definite marker that attaches directly to the base. Furthermore, the plural suffix ‘-ho’ is distinct

from the accusative suffix ‘-ma’. As an agglutinating language, the majority of the prefixes and suffixes have a single meaning or grammatical function, like those in (1). While Hiutsaθ is primarily agglutinating, it has some fusional characteristics, especially in the verbal inflections:

- (2) tsɑθe-keme  
 say-1p,INCL,PAST  
 ‘we said’

In the example in (2), the suffix ‘-keme’ indicates multiple grammatical features: person, number, inclusiveness, and tense. In this case, the suffix is first-person, plural, inclusive, and past tense. Unlike most fusional languages, though, the suffix is still easily separable from its base, ‘tsɑθe’ (‘say’). Hiutsaθ also shares some characteristics with analytic languages; for instance, Hiutsaθ has prepositions:

- (3) mexo e-konila-haθ  
 around DEF-colony-LOC  
 ‘around the Colony’

Example (3) demonstrates that Hiutsaθ has function words (like prepositions) that stand alone. Even with these features, though, Hiutsaθ is still primarily an agglutinating language.

In general, the expected (i.e., ‘unmarked’) sentence structure is VSO, which is not entirely uncommon in world languages but is less common than SVO or SOV word orders. Examples of the typical word order are below:

- (4) a.       alikaθito iutseka  
               V       S  
               ‘the bird is flying’  
 b.       ʃinaka elelune menikoʃiama  
               V       S       O  
               ‘the girl saw a cat’

If a sentence only has a subject and a verb, as in (4a), the verb will generally precede the subject. If a sentence has a subject, object, and verb, as

in (4b), the typical order is VSO. If a sentence has more constituents than VSO, the typical sentence structure is the following:

(Neg) (Aux) V S O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> ADJUNCT

An example of a sentence with more constituents is in (5):

(5) ηαι μιφνε ηυεκα εμαθανε ασυνεομα εχαλυνεφισ τσυφο θεχοχαθ  
 NEG AUX V S O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> ADJUNCT  
 ‘No, the mother should not give her daughter the stone in front of  
 me’

The sentence in (5) demonstrates the typical order for sentences with negation, an auxiliary, two objects, and an adjunct. Because the language inflects nouns, and to some extent adjectives, in the sentence to show their grammatical roles (which will be further discussed in a later chapter), the word order can vary from the typical one without resulting in any major misunderstandings. Therefore, the sentence in (5) could be reworded like the following:

(6) τσυφο θεχοχαθ ασυνεομα ηαι μιφνε ηυεκα εμαθανε εχαλυνεφισ  
 ADJUNCT O<sub>1</sub> NEG AUX V S O<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘No, the mother should not give her daughter the stone in front of  
 me’

Even with the constituents in a different order, the overall meaning of the sentence does not change. However, with a different word order, the emphasis shifts—the sentence in (6) might be better translated into English as ‘In front of me, the stone the mother should not give to her daughter.’ The wording sounds awkward in English, but it reflects the fact that in HiutsaØ any constituent placed at the beginning of the sentence (that would not typically appear there) is brought into focus. Emphasis—focus or topicalization—is the primary reason sentences appear in a different word order. However, a different word order could also reflect strong emotion.

### 1.3 Organization of the grammar

The following grammar of HiutsaØ is organized into eight chapters, each one exploring a different feature of the language and building on the general information provided above.

Chapter 2 focuses on the sounds of Hiutsaθ, examining both the phonemes and the phonological processes present in the language. Chapter 3 builds on the sounds by providing the native writing system of Hiutsaθ, as well as alternate spelling systems for writing Hiutsaθ words

Chapter 4 begins the investigation of the morpho-syntax of Hiutsaθ by describing the noun and pronoun usage in the language. Chapter 5 builds on the morpho-syntax by describing verb usage, and Chapter 6 provides information on adjectives and adverbs. Chapter 7 finishes the section on morpho-syntax with descriptions of the use of negatives in utterances and complex clauses, including subordinate clauses, questions, and reported speech.

Chapter 8 focuses on the semantic categories within the Hiutsaθ lexicon, tying in key information about the Xiφaθe culture. Chapter 9, then, builds on that by providing information about discourse and narrative structure in Hiutsaθ.

After the written grammar, two dictionaries are provided: an English-Hiutsaθ Dictionary and a Hiutsaθ-English Dictionary.

# Chapter 2

## Sounds of Hiutsaθ

In order to cover the full range of sounds in Hiutsaθ, this chapter has three sections: phonemic inventories, syllabic concerns, and phonological processes.

### 2.1 Phonemic inventories

Hiutsaθ was originally called the “whispered language” (Huφelihtsaθeiθo, or Huφetsaθ for short) because it was only spoken in wisps in passing when the Xiφaθeho crossed paths while living among humans; the language was spoken primarily in whispers to keep humans from deciphering the language through any sort of frequent exposure. Because it was primarily whispered, there are no voiced/voiceless distinctions (as they are all lost when whispered) in any of the sounds. In other words, while there are voiced phonemes (e.g., [m] or [e]), there are no voiceless counterparts to those phonemes.

The consonants in the phonemic inventory are largely voiceless to provide maximal distinctions between consonants and vowels when the language is spoken aloud; furthermore, there are more fricatives than any other type of consonant, which gives the language a whispered (or hissing) feel. Table 2 below provides the phonemic inventory of Hiutsaθ consonants (Table 2 is an IPA chart; refer to Appendix I for further tips on pronouncing IPA):

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p			t			k	
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	φ	f	θ	s	ʃ		x	h
Affricate				ts				
Lat. app.				l				

Table 2. Phonemic consonants of Hiutsaθ

Many of the consonants in Table 2 are familiar to English speakers; however, some of the consonants are unfamiliar or pronounced differently than those in English:

- (a) All three voiceless plosives (or stops) are unaspirated (e.g., [p] is pronounced as the initial [p] in Spanish *perro*).
- (b) The palatal nasal [ɲ] is pronounced like the medial sounds in Spanish *piña*, and the velar nasal [ŋ] is pronounced like the final sound in English *sing*.
- (c) The two fricatives not found in English are the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the voiceless velar fricative [x]; the [x] is pronounced like the final sound of German *ach*.
- (d) The voiceless glottal fricative [h] is fully pronounced as a glottal fricative, not as a voiceless vowel counterpart as it is in English, and when [h] appears at the end of a syllable, it is still fully pronounced.
- (e) The voiceless alveolar affricate [ts] is not found in English but is easily produceable by most English speakers (as it is like the end of common words like *cats* [kæts]); it helps make *Hiutsaθ* feel exotic that the [ts] appears in the onset of syllables, something that would not naturally occur in English.

The IPA symbols for the consonants (found in Table 2) are used throughout this grammar to spell out *Hiutsaθ* words.

*Hiutsaθ* is a typical language in that it has the three voiceless stops [p], [t], and [k] that are found most frequently in languages, and it has the most sounds produced in the alveolar region than any other, which is a typical pattern for languages. Furthermore, the most frequent three nasals are all present ([n], [m], and [ŋ]) along with the less frequent [ɲ]. The language is a bit atypical in that it has the dental fricative [θ], which is not a common world sound, and it has no voicing distinctions. According to Maddieson, *Hiutsaθ* has a moderately small consonant inventory with 16 consonants, where the typical inventory is 19-25. Having a moderately small consonant inventory is one way that *Hiutsaθ* differs from other Indo-European languages, as the highest concentrations of languages with moderately small consonant inventories are “in the Pacific region (including New Guinea), in South America and in the eastern part of North America” (Maddieson, Chapter 1).

Table 3 provides the vowels in the phonemic inventory of *Hiutsaθ*:

	Front	Back	
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open		ɑ	

Table 3. Phonemic vowels of Hiutsaø

The vowels in Table 3 are the classic five vowels that often show up in natural languages (and invented languages). While most English speakers will produce the close-mid tense vowels [e] and [o] as diphthongs, they are monophthongs in Hiutsaø. The vowels are balanced and are typical for world languages: According to the Maddieson, the average vowel inventory is 5-6 vowels, and languages with average-sized vowel inventories appear throughout the world (Chapter 2).

The phonemic inventory, when considered together, falls into the average size for phonemic inventories (20-37 phonemes) with 21 phonemes. Its consonant-vowel ratio (3.2) is average when compared across world languages (Maddieson states that the average ratio is between 2.75 and 4.5); several other Indo-European languages share this average ratio, including Spanish, Modern Greek, and Romanian (Maddieson, Chapter 3).

## 2.2 Syllabic concerns

The syllable structure of Hiutsaø is theoretically (C)V(C); however, due to phonological constraints, it is really a CV(C) language because any vowel without a C onset is automatically preceded by a glottal stop. While the onset can be any consonantal sound, the coda can only be a fricative, and the nucleus can only be a vowel (i.e., Hiutsaø has no syllabic consonants). There are no consonant clusters in the language, so when a syllable is CVC, the coda is always produced as its own sound (i.e., the coda C never blends with the onset C of the next syllable). Thus, /mosta/ is pronounced [mɔs-tɑ] and not [mɔ-stɑ], as many English speakers would typically do, or [mɔst-ɑ]. (The hyphen in the pronunciation is only used to show where the syllable boundary occurs for ease of reference.) Furthermore, when the coda C is the same as the onset C of the following syllable, the two consonants are still fully produced; therefore, /mosse/ is pronounced [mɔs-se] (with an elongated, or geminated, consonant) and not [mɔse].

Accent in Hiutsaθ is realized with a pitch accent on the initial syllable: If the word is polysyllabic, the pitch is a rising one; if the word is monosyllabic, the pitch is a falling one. For instance, the word [halaθa] has a rising pitch on the first syllable [ha] while the word [se] has a falling pitch on its only syllable. All other syllables are produced with a neutral pitch. The pitch accent remains on the initial syllable of the root word so that even if a prefix is added, the accent remains on the same syllable; thus, when the verb [halaθa] ('need') becomes part of an interrogative construction and receives the prefix [tsi-] to become [tsihalaθa], the rising pitch accent remains on the [ha]. For words that have four or more syllables, a secondary pitch accent with a rising pitch that is not quite as high as the primary accent is placed on the fourth syllable (so that no more than two unaccented syllables occur in a row); proper compounds in Hiutsaθ ignore word boundaries and place the secondary pitch accent on the syllable it typically falls on, regardless of where the second word begins. For example, [ʔifepaʔiθo] 'belief' receives the following pitch accents: [ʔí fe pa ʔí θo], where the initial syllable [ʔi] receives the primary accent (´) and the fourth syllable [ʔi] receives the secondary accent (ˆ). The compound [ʔifepaʔiθoloφəs] 'religion' (literally 'belief system') receives the accents on those same syllables with the addition of a falling accent on the final syllable: [ʔí fe pa ʔí θo lo φəs]. Having the initial syllable receive the stress is common to Indo-European languages: Goedemans and van der Hulst state that many European systems have initial stress (Chapter 14).

### 2.3 Phonological processes

As previously stated, the theoretical V syllable structure in Hiutsaθ is never pronounced as such because of an obligatory glottal stop insertion.

glottal stop insertion: When a vowel occurs without a consonant onset in its syllable, a glottal stop is inserted as the onset.

For instance, consider the following examples:

- (7) a. fahale → [fahale]      'different'  
 b. aηela → [ʔaηela]      'to cook'  
 c. eola → [ʔeʔola]      'empty'

In all three examples, any vowel with a specified syllable onset is produced as is; however, in examples (7b) and (7c), a glottal stop is inserted in front

of the vowels that have no specified onset, which is why the initial [a] of ‘aŋela’ is pronounced [ʔa] in example (7b) and why the [eo] of example (7c) is pronounced [ʔeʔo]. Thus, any V syllable automatically becomes a CV syllable.

Another phonological process deals with vowels in closed syllables (those with a coda); the vowels in closed syllables become lax.

**vowel laxation:** Any vowel in a closed syllable becomes a lax vowel.

The following five examples demonstrate the obligatory vowel laxation in each of the vowels:

- (8) a. hemiθ → [hemiθ]      ‘blood’  
 b. leθlo → [lɛθlo]      ‘baby’  
 c. uʃte → [ʔuʃte]      ‘rotten’  
 d. meoʃ → [meʔoʃ]      ‘to sit’  
 e. tsaθma → [tsaθma]      ‘word’

Examples in (8) show the four tense vowels becoming lax when the syllable structure is CVC: the close front tense vowel [i] becomes the lax [ɪ] in example (8a), the close-mid back tense vowel [o] becomes the lax [ɔ] in example (8b), and so on. Because the open back vowel [a] is already lax, it undergoes no outward change, which can be seen in example (8e).

Another phonological process in Hiutsaθ is a type of assimilation called palatalization, which is an optional process:

**[x] palatalization:** When the voiceless velar fricative [x] is followed by the close front vowel [i], the [x] is optionally palatalized to become the voiceless palatal fricative [ç].

The following two examples demonstrate [x] palatalization:

- (9) a. jixes → [jixes]      ‘breakfast’  
 b. xila → [xila]/[çila]      ‘to laugh’

In (9a), the [x] is produced as a velar fricative because the [i] does not follow it; however, in (9b), the verb ‘to laugh’ can be pronounced either with the [x] or with the [ç].

If a suffix is added onto a morpheme that exactly reduplicates the last syllable of the root, the final syllable of the root undergoes a vowel change.

**dissimilation:** When a suffix causes a reduplicated syllable, the vowel of the first syllable shifts.

For any vowel besides [a], the shift is to [a]; if the vowel is [a], it shifts to [e]. For example:

- (10) a. tsathē ‘speak’  
 b. -thē ‘one who...’  
 c. tsathathē ‘speaker’
- (11) a. itsima ‘idea’  
 b. -ma acc  
 c. itsimema ‘idea-acc’

‘Speaker’ should be ‘tsathēthē’; however, due to the dissimilation rule, it becomes ‘tsathathē’, as seen in (10). Also, the accusative form of ‘idea’ should be ‘itsimama’; example (11) demonstrates, though, that it is ‘itsimema’.

When considering these phonological processes, the following phones would need to be added to the preceding phonemic inventories to create phonetic inventories: the voiceless glottal stop [ʔ], voiceless palatal fricative [ç], and lax vowels [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʊ], and [ɔ]. So while Hiutsath has 21 phonemes, it has 27 phones. The only phonological process that changes the spelling of the word is the dissimilation of final syllables (e.g., ‘speaker’ is spelled ‘tsathathē’, not \*‘tsathēthē’); all other types of phonological processes are not reflected in the spelling of the word. As such, the IPA representations do not reflect those process either. Therefore, even though ‘blood’ has the spelling ‘hemiθ’, it is pronounced [hemiθ]. This spelling convention follows the orthography (as outlined in chapter 3) and is the reason Chapter 1 states that the spelling throughout this grammar is “based on IPA” and not an actual IPA representation. The spelling convention could also be described as a phonemic one (as opposed to a phonetic one).

## Chapter 3

# Orthography

The Xiφaθeho do not generally write their language—written language provides lasting records of the language that could be intercepted by humans, and, as stated in Chapter 2, the Xiφaθeho guard their language from humans. However, they still have a writing system for their language because they are able to read each other’s thoughts (as written ribbons of thought that they see appear above the thinker’s head). As such, the writing system is meant to quite literally represent ribbons—the letters look like what scraps of ribbons might do if they fell onto the floor. While it is partially (and very loosely) based on the Greek alphabet, the system is actually an abjad (or a ‘consonant alphabet’) and is written horizontally from left to right (like English). Figure 1 below presents the Hiutsaθ abjad, with the names of the letters (which are heavily influenced by Ancient Greek), in the order used to organize Hiutsaθ dictionaries:

Α	Α	Ε	Ε	Φ	Η	Ι	Ι	Κ	Λ
[ʔa]	[a]	[ʔe]	[e]	[f]	[h]	[ʔi]	[i]	[k]	[l]
alef		eta		fe	ha	iota		kapa	lama
Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ξ	Ο	Ο	Π	Φ	Σ	Σ
[m]	[n]	[ɲ]	[ɲ]	[ʔo]	[o]	[p]	[φ]	[s]	[ʃ]
mu	nu	eɲa	eɲa	omeka		pe	phi	sima	eʃa
Τ	Χ	Υ	Υ	Ξ	Θ				
[t]	[ts]	[ʔu]	[u]	[x]	[θ]				
ta	otse	uselo		xi	theta				

Figure 2. Abjad of Hiutsaθ

While the order presented in Figure 2 represents the organization of Hiutsaθ dictionaries, the Xiφaθeho do not have a set order for their abjad. Because the Xiφaθeho naturally pick up the ability to produce and comprehend the ribbons of thought much like they do spoken language, they do not have to learn an alphabet or recite letters. The names of the letters are used to

refer to the letters themselves but are not often used in education or even conversation.

As seen in Figure 2, the vowels have two different orthographical representations: The first, their “true” form, is only used when the syllable has no onset (i.e., when the glottal stop is inserted); the second, their “reduced” form or diacritic form, is only used when the syllable is CV. For example, the following are words in Hiutsaθ:

- (12) a. kaθa        ‘head’  
 b. aθu        ‘to help’  
 c. meoʃ        ‘to sit’  
 d. laiθe        ‘wide’  
 e. elia        ‘space’

The examples in (12) demonstrate the differences in vowel representation. Because all “true” forms of the vowels are pronounced with a glottal stop in front of the vowel sound (e.g.,  [ʔa] but  [a]), the glyphs representing those “true” vowels are actually syllabic representations. The “reduced” or diacritic forms are called ‘tiakaleθo’ forms in Hiutsaθ. To refer to a particular tiakaleθo, the letter represented by the diacritic is compounded with ‘tiakaleθo’; for instance, <  > is called ‘aleftiakaleθo’, and <  > is called ‘uselotiakaleθo’. Examples (12b-e) demonstrate that though the glottal stop is pronounced, it does not appear in the Hiutsaθ written form; due to its absence in Hiutsaθ, spelling conventions based on IPA also omit the glottal stop (i.e., ‘wide’ is written as ‘laiθe’, not ‘laʔiθe’). Because there are no diphthongs in Hiutsaθ, the omission of the glottal stop in written form rarely causes ambiguities. An example where it does cause an ambiguity is in (13):

- (13) meoʃiθo    ‘sitting’ (n.)

The syllables of (13) are as follows: [me-ʔoʃ-ʔi-θo]. The spelling in (13), though, could lead to the following misparsing: [me-ʔo-ʃi-θo]. Speakers familiar with the language would not have this problem, as the ‘-iθo’ suffix is a common suffix that turns a verb into a noun. Because morpheme boundaries are represented in the majority of the examples provided in this grammar, even beginning speakers will be able to differentiate the syllable breaks; the example in (13) can be represented as ‘meoʃ-iθo’, which indicates that the [i] from ‘-iθo’ begins a new syllable and, thus, is pronounced

with a glottal stop preceding it.

The glyphs of written HiutsaØ can be organized to show that sounds with similar manners have similar features; thus, the abjad could be broken down into manners of production, as in Table 4 below.

Manner	Representation	Feature
stop	ᵀ ᵀᵀ	straight line with attached curved line
nasal	ᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐ	line that changes vertical direction
fricative/affricate	ᶜ ᶜᶜ ᶜᶜᶜ	curved line with a single small loop
liquid	ᶝ	a large loop
vowel	ᵛ ᵛᵛ ᵛᵛᵛ	curved line with a “near” loop

Table 4. Glyphs by manner

The first column in Table 4 breaks the sounds of HiutsaØ into five manners; the single affricate [ts] is considered a part of the fricatives for this table. The second column provides the written glyphs that correspond to the manners listed in the first column, and then the third column provides the feature the glyphs share. If new sounds were introduced to the language, they would most likely follow these feature guidelines. For instance, if the language were to create letters to correspond to the lax vowels, they would most likely be curved lines with near loops.

The only phonetic consonant that has its own written representation is the voiceless glottal stop [ʔ], which is represented by ‘uta’ < ᵀ >. The uta does not appear in any orthographic representations of HiutsaØ, so it does not appear even when a word has a glottal stop (as indicated by examples such as those shown above). The written representation of uta exists solely as a way to speak about the sound that occurs so frequently in the HiutsaØ language yet does not appear in written form.

In written HiutsaØ, the boundaries between words are indicated by spaces. The end of a sentence is marked by an ‘apole’ < ᵀ >, which should not be confused with a period—the apole is used to show the end of any sentence, whether it is a statement, question, or exclamation. There is also an ‘imute’ < ᵐ >, which indicates mid-punctuation of a sentence and is generally represented in English as either a comma or colon. No strict punctuation “rules” exist for HiutsaØ, and so these two punctuation marks can be liberally applied and used in a variety of situations. The best transla-

tions for the *apole* and *imute* are ‘final punctuation’ and ‘middle punctuation’, respectively: the *apole* indicates the current sentence is finished while an *imute* indicates that the sentence will continue.

The written numbers in *Hiutsaθ* are borrowed from the Arabic numerals. Originally, *Hiutsaθ* had no written form for numerals, and so any written representation was either a system of slashes (much like keeping score, where the fifth slash crosses through the first four slashes) or a written form of the name of the number. Neither forms are efficient for dealing with larger numbers, though, and the *Xiφaθeho* adopted the Arabic numeral system well over a millineum ago. The numbers are presented in Figure 3 below:

0	1	2	3	4
neaφθe	mone	solu	θele	φale
5	6	7	8	9
φiφlu	sixa	sife	ahne	neni

Figure 3. Numbers in *Hiutsaθ*

Because of their strong similarity to other Arabic numeral systems (such as the one used in English), these numbers are recognizable by speakers of many languages.

All words but one in the *Hiutsaθ* language are written according to their sounds (i.e., written using the writing system presented above). The exception is the word ‘*ximala*’, which most closely translates as ‘the mark of the *Xiφaθe*’. When *ximala* is represented in writing, it looks like the symbol in (14a) and is never written out, as in (14b):

- (14) a.   
 b. \*

The asterisk next to the form in (14b) indicates that the written form is never used for the word ‘*ximala*’.

While this grammar uses a spelling system based on IPA that most closely matches the *Hiutsaθ* writing system, *Hiutsaθ* also has a Romanized form of spelling, used in works for people unfamiliar with IPA. The Romanization differs from the IPA representation slightly; Table 5 below provides the *Hiutsaθ*, IPA, and Romanized equivalents for those sounds represented differently in the IPA and Romanized conventions:

Hiutsa᠐	IPA	Romanization
ᠠ	ɑ	a
ᠡ	ɑ	a
ᠢ	ɲ	ñ
ᠣ	ŋ	ng
ᠤ	ɸ	ph
ᠶ	ʃ	sh
ᠳ	ts	ts
ᠴ	x	ch or x
ᠱ	θ	th

Table 5. Romanization versus IPA

The sounds not present in Table 5 are represented the same in IPA and Romanized conventions. For example, ᠰᠢᠸᠠᠳᠤ in IPA conventions is represented as ‘Hiutsa᠐’ but is represented as ‘Hiutsath’ in Romanized conventions. The primary difference is that the Romanized conventions represent some of the single sounds as a combination of two letters. The majority of those two-letter combinations do not cause any misunderstandings; the only exception is the ‘sh’ representation of the [ʃ] sound. For example, the word ‘laʃa’ (‘do’) is represented as ‘lasha’ in Romanized conventions. However, in Hiutsa᠐, ‘lasha’ could indicate [laʃa] (‘do’) or [lasha] (‘lick’).

Of the three methods used to represent Hiutsa᠐ in written form, the Hiutsa᠐ abjad is the most reliable, as it most directly reflects the pronunciation. If the Hiutsa᠐ abjad is not used, the IPA conventions for spelling are the second best at reflecting the actual pronunciation. However, if a speaker is unfamiliar with both conventions, the Romanized form is a good indicator of how the majority of the words will be pronounced.

# Chapter 4

## Nouns and Pronouns

Hiutsaθ nouns can be modified with both inflectional and derivational affixes. Nouns inflect for number, case, and determinacy, which are discussed in the first three subsections. Nominal derivations are discussed in the fourth subsection, and pronouns, which also inflect for case, are discussed in the final subsection.

### 4.1 Number

Nouns in Hiutsaθ have two possible numbers: singular and plural. Singular is the unmarked form (i.e., a bare noun indicates it is singular) while plurality is marked with the suffix ‘-(h)o’.

- (15) a. leθlo      ‘baby’  
       b. leθloho    ‘babies’

The plural suffix is generally fully pronounced as ‘-ho’, as in (15); however, the [h] can be optionally deleted in the plural suffix. That occurs most often when the noun ends in a consonant; when the ‘-o’ is added, the syllable breaks change (this is the only instance when the syllables blend).

- (16) a. saox      ‘leg’  
       b. saoxho    ‘legs’  
       c. saoxo     ‘legs’

In example (16a), the noun ‘saox’ ends in a fricative; the plural ‘-ho’ can be fully pronounced, as in (16b), or it can delete the [h], as in (16c). When the [h] is deleted, the syllables shift so that the final fricative is a part of the plural affix:

- (17) sa-o-xo

This syllable break that is demonstrated in (17) only occurs with the ‘-o’ plural. When the fricative is taken from the previous syllable, the vowel goes back to its tense pronunciation (i.e., the laxing process is undone

because the syllable is now an open one). Therefore, (17) is pronounced [sɑoxo] and not [sɑoxo].

## 4.2 Case

Hiutsaø is an active-stative language and has nine cases, all of which are provided in Table 6 below. Widely used terms for case will be used to describe the case system, along with full descriptions of how those cases are applied in the language.

nominative (NOM)	—
accusative (ACC)	-ma
genitive (GEN)	-su
dative (DAT)	-ϕis
locative (LOC)	-haθ
comitative (COM)	-xa
instrumental (INST)	-xaϕ
ablative (ABL)	-lof
vocative (VOC)	-i

Table 6. Nominal cases

As can be seen in Table 6, the unmarked case is the nominative; if a bare noun occurs, it is not only singular but also in the nominative case. All other cases are marked with agglutinating suffixes, with the case marking occurring after plurality:

- (18) a. lotɛʃi-lof  
road-ABL  
b. lotɛʃi-ho-lof  
road-PL-ABL

Example (18) demonstrates the order of bound morphemes: NOUN-plural-ity-case.

As an active-stative language, the subject of a transitive verb is in the nominative case, and the subject of an intransitive verb is either nominative

or accusative, depending on the verb. The nominative case is perhaps better termed the “agentive” and “copulative” case, as it marks subjects that either think/do something or are being described as something, as in the following examples:

- (19) a. *fela-to*            *e-leθelune*            *a-meŋo-ma*  
           hit-3s,PRES    DEF-child,NOM    DEF-chair-ACC  
           ‘The child is hitting the chair’
- b. *lusi-to*            *e-leθelune*  
           dance-3s,PRES DEF-child,NOM  
           ‘The child is dancing’
- c. *maθo-to*            *e-leθelune*            *iϕune-teϕ*  
           be-3s,PRES    DEF-child,NOM    good-PRED  
           ‘The child is good’

In the examples in (19), ‘*eleθelune*’ (‘the child’) is the subject of the verb; all instances are marked as the nominative case.

The accusative case is used to mark objects of transitive verbs, subjects of some intransitive verbs, and grammatical subjects of passive verbs; it could perhaps be better termed the “patientive” case because it typically marks entities that are undergoing some change, as in the examples below:

- (20) a. *fela-to*            *e-leθelune-ma*  
           hit-3s,PRES    DEF-child-ACC  
           ‘She is hitting the child’
- b. *oŋeθ-to*            *e-leθelune-ma*  
           fall-3s,PRES    DEF-child-ACC  
           ‘The child is falling’
- c. *pe-fela-to*            *e-leθelune-ma*  
           PASS-hit-3s,PRES DEF-child-ACC  
           ‘The child is being hit’

In example (20a), ‘*eleθelune*’ is the object of the transitive verb ‘*fela*’ and so carries the accusative suffix, ‘*-ma*’. In (20b), ‘*eleθelune*’ is the subject of an intransitive verb; however, the subject is not an agentive subject (the falling is happening to the child rather than the child doing the falling out of volition). Then, in (20c), it is the grammatical subject of a passive verb.

Furthermore, the accusative case is used with objects of prepositions that mark movement; generally, that movement is toward something, but

other times, it simply denotes movement regardless of the goal.

- (21) a. *filoθ opele-ma*  
           to       river-ACC  
           ‘to/toward a river’  
       b. *xiuθ opele-ma*  
           along river-ACC  
           ‘(move) along the side of a river’

The example in (21a) provides the most prototypical usage of an accusative object with a preposition: movement toward a goal. While ‘*filoθ*’ can have other meanings (e.g., ‘into’), it means ‘to/toward’ when used with an accusative object. As (21b) demonstrates, though, the movement does not necessarily have to be toward its goal; ‘*xiuθ*’ can mean ‘beside’ but with an accusative object means ‘(to move) along the side of’.

The genitive case is primarily used to mark possession; the suffix is attached to the noun indicating the possessor, as in (22):

- (22) *ekafela e-tinofiθe-su*  
       strength,NOM DEF-teacher-GEN  
       ‘strength of the teacher’ / ‘the teacher’s strength’

When used alone, the genitive can be translated as ‘of NOUN’, as in (22). Also, some verbs require their objects to be in the genitive case. The typical word order shifts when the object is genitive so that the object appears directly after the verb.

- (23) a. *axisanahe-to θexo-su ekafela e-tinofiθe-su*  
           awe-3s,PRES 1s-GEN strength,NOM DEF-teacher-GEN  
           ‘The teacher’s strength awes me’  
       b. *axisanahe-to θexo-su*  
           awe-3s,PRES 1s-GEN  
           ‘She awes me’

In both examples in (23), the one being awed, ‘*θexo*’ (‘I’), is in the genitive case; the genitive object, then, occurs directly after the verb instead of the subject, as would typically be expected.

The dative case is used to mark the “recipient” (or intended recipient) of ditransitive verbs—it marks the second object in dual object sentences;

it could also be translated with ‘due to’ or ‘on account of’ when it is not the second object of a verb. Some (albeit very few) prepositions can take dative objects.

- (24) a. *ɲue-to*            *mena-etaφe-ma*    *e-leθelune-φis*  
          give-3s,PRES   INDEF-stick-ACC   DEF-child-DAT  
          ‘She is giving a stick to the child’
- b. *ulefate-to*        *α-seɲeiθo-ma*        *e-leθelune-φis*  
          listen-3s,PRES   DEF-song-ACC        DEF-child-DAT  
          ‘She is listening to the song on account of the child’ (i.e., for  
          the benefit of the child)
- c. *mexo*    *e-leθelune-φis*  
          about    DEF-child-DAT  
          ‘concerning/about the child’

The recipient of the verb ‘*ɲue*’ (‘give’) in (24a) takes a dative recipient (or second object); in this case, the child is receiving the stick and so has the dative suffix. In (24b), though, there is no direct recipient; instead, the child could be understood as a metaphorical recipient: the child is receiving satisfaction or pleasure from the subject listening to the song. Example (24c) demonstrates that some prepositions can take dative objects; ‘*mexo*’ can be translated several ways, depending on the case of its object. In (24c), it is translated as ‘about’ or ‘concerning’ because the object is in the dative case.

Some verbs require dative objects, such as ‘*lusia*’ (‘to please’):

- (25) a. *lusia-to*            *e-tinofiθe*            *e-halosne-φis*  
          please-3s,PRES    DEF-teacher,NOM   DEF-student-DAT  
          ‘The student likes the teacher’ (lit. ‘The teacher pleases the  
          student’)
- b. *xila-to*            *e-halosne-φis*  
          laugh-3s,PRES   DEF-student-DAT  
          ‘She is laughing at the student’

In all cases where the verb requires a dative object, there is an implied reading that the object is receiving something, whether it be concrete or abstract; for instance, the student is “receiving” pleasure in (25a), and the student is “receiving” laughter in (25b).

The locative is used for nouns marking the location and can often be translated as ‘in/at NOUN’:

- (26)     $na\phi\theta e$ -to         $a$ - $ha\int ose$ - $ha\theta$   
           swim-3s,PRES DEF-water-LOC  
           ‘She is swimming in the water’

The locative suffix on ‘ $ha\int ose$ ’ indicates that the swimming takes place in the water; no preposition is needed to show that relationship between the verb and noun. The locative can also be used to mark the objects of some prepositions, denoting the goal for movement:

- (27)     $filo\theta$      $a$ - $ha\int ose$ - $ha\theta$   
           into    DEF-water-LOC  
           ‘into the water’

While ‘ $filo\theta$ ’ was translated as ‘to/toward’ in (21a) with an accusative object, it is translated as ‘into’ with a locative object, as in (27); the locative indicates that the movement resulted in an ending location (in this case, the water) while the accusative simply indicates movement toward a goal.

The comitative case denotes accompaniment and is best translated as ‘with NOUN’:

- (28)     $pe\int ne$ -to         $e$ - $tinofi\theta e$ - $xa$   
           walk-3s,PRES DEF-teacher-COM  
           ‘She is walking with the teacher’

The comitative in (28) is distinct from the instrumental case, which can also be translated as ‘with NOUN’:

- (29)     $axikile\int na$ -to     $a$ - $esa$ - $ma$          $ha\int ose$ - $xa\phi$   
           wash-3s,PRES DEF-wall-ACC water-INST  
           ‘She is washing the wall with water’

If the comitative is used, it is understood that the noun in question was “along for the ride” while the instrumental indicates that the noun in question is being used to achieve some goal:

- (30) a. fela-to            α-εσα-μα            e-leθelune-xa  
 hit-3s,PRES    DEF-wall-ACC    DEF-child-COM  
 ‘She is hitting the wall with the child’ (they are hitting the wall together)
- b. fela-to            α-εσα-μα            e-leθelune-xαφ  
 hit-3s,PRES    DEF-wall-ACC    DEF-child-INST  
 ‘She is hitting the wall with the child’ (she is using the child to hit the wall)

As the examples in (30) demonstrate, using one case versus another results in a different meaning even though both can be translated as ‘with NOUN’ in English.

The ablative case most generally marks the source. When the ablative case is used without a preposition, it can be translated as ‘from’ or ‘by means of’ or ‘caused by’; when it is used with a preposition, it indicates movement away from some source.

- (31) a. पेfne-to            α-οπεle-lof  
 walk-3s,PRES    DEF-river-ABL  
 ‘She is walking from the river’
- b. οπεθ-to            sela    μερo-lof  
 fall-3s,PRES    off    chair-ABL  
 ‘She is falling off (of) a chair’

In both examples in (31), the ablative most generally marks the noun indicating the origin of the action; in (31a), the walking began in or at the river, and, in (31b), the falling started on a chair. Sensory verbs can take ablative or accusative objects, depending on the intended meaning:

- (32) a. ηεο-to            α-φιθε-ho-μα  
 smell-3s,PRES    DEF-flower-PL-ACC  
 ‘She smells the flowers’ (she is purposefully smelling the flowers)
- b. ηεο-to            α-φιθε-ho-lof  
 smell-3s,PRES    DEF-flower-PL-ABL  
 ‘She smells the flowers’ (the smell of flowers is in the air, and she happens to smell them)

The difference in interpretation of sensory verbs is that with an accusative

object, as in (32a), the verb indicates that the subject has volition while with an ablative object, as in (32b), the verb indicates that the sensory information is involuntarily being processed.

The vocative “case” is used to indicate the addressee(s) of an utterance.

- (33) θaliha-i        nefi-to  
 Thaliha-VOC go-3s,PRES  
 ‘Thaliha, she is going’

In (33), Thaliha is the addressee, not the subject of the verb. The speaker is letting Thaliha know that someone else is going. The vocative is most typically used with a proper name and often occurs at the beginning of the utterance.

### 4.3 Determinacy

Nouns in Hiutsaθ are also inflected for determinacy; the determiner used depends on two features: definite/indefinite and animacy of the noun. Inanimate nouns are objects with no ability to move or think on their own (e.g., stone, water). Animate nouns are then divided into two categories: those with volition and those without. Animate nouns with volition are humans (and Xiφaθeho) while animate nouns without volition are animals and plants. Placing plants into an animate category reflects the Xiφaθeho belief that plants are living beings but, like animals, have no volition.

DEF (vol.)	e-
DEF (no vol.)	i-
DEF (inani.)	α-
IND (vol.)	(mone-)
IND (no vol.)	(meni-)
IND (inani.)	(mena-)

Table 7. Determiners

Table 7 provides the six determiners in Hiutsaθ; the indefinite determiners are in parentheses because they are optional. While definite determiners are required (unless the noun in question is a proper name), indefinite determiners are not required. The definite determiners are most closely trans-

lated as ‘the’, and the indefinite determiners are most closely translated as either ‘a/an’ or ‘any’.

- (34) a.  $\alpha$ -haʃose  
 DEF-water  
 ‘the water’  
 b. mena-haʃose or haʃose  
 INDEF-water water,INDEF  
 ‘any/some water’ (there is some undefined body of water)

As the examples in (34) demonstrate, Hiutsaθ determiners are prefixes, attaching directly to the noun.

Taking determinacy into consideration with the above information, the overall structure for inflections on nouns is the following:

Det.NOUN.Pl.Case

Those three features are the inflectional possibilities for nouns; the next subsection covers some possible derivations.

#### 4.4 Derivations on nouns

The nominal derivations in Hiutsaθ are prefixes, and the most common derivational prefixes are listed in Table 8.

PROPER	(heθ-)
DIM	le-
pejorative	$\alpha\phi$ -
NEG	je-
adjectivalize	eθa-

Table 8. Nominal derivations

All derivational prefixes follow the determiner prefixes but precede the noun (i.e., Det-Derivation-NOUN). When prefixes are used, the pitch accent remains on the first syllable of the base word (in this case, the noun). The first prefix in Table 8 is an optional one that can replace the determiner for proper names:

- (35) a. elena  
Elena  
b. heθ-elena  
PROP-Elena

Using the ‘heθ-’ prefix is like saying ‘the NAME’; it is most useful when the name, like ‘elena’ in (35) is also a common noun or verb. In HiutsaØ, ‘elena’ is the word meaning ‘to lead’. When it is used with ‘heθ-’, though, the only meaning it can have is as a proper name. The prefix ‘heθ-’ can also be used to indicate respect or to bring emphasis to the name.

The ‘le-’ diminutive means ‘little’ and can be combined with basically any noun:

- (36) a. iŋos  
‘insect’  
b. le-iŋos  
DIM-insect  
‘little insect’

For (36b), the pitch accent would fall on the [i] of ‘iŋos’. Some words have diminutive forms as part of the basic vocabulary; for those words, the diminutive fuses with the base to become a new, single word.

- (37) a. θelune  
‘person’  
b. leθelune  
‘child’ (lit. ‘little person’)  
c. le-θelune  
DIM-person  
‘little person’ (as in, a short person or otherwise small person)

The accent in (37b) is on the initial [le]: ‘léθelune’. The accent on the diminutive shows that the word is more of a compound and that the diminutive has become part of the base itself. That is distinguished, then, from the non-compounded form, in which the accent would not fall on the ‘le-’. The accent in (37c) is on the [θe]: ‘leθé lune’. Any compounded forms could then have the diminutive added:

- (38) a. le-leθelune  
 DIM-child  
 ‘little child’  
 b. \*le-le-θelune  
 DIM-DIM-person

As the examples in (38) show, the compounded form can take the diminutive, but the non-compounded forms can only take one diminutive, making (38b) ungrammatical.

The pejorative ‘αφ-’ can only be used with nouns that denote animate nouns with volition; the root ‘ΑΦ’ literally means ‘thing’ or ‘object’, and so using it with an animate, volitional noun indicates that the speaker thinks the person being denoted is little more than a thing.

- (39) a. e-elenaθe  
 DEF-leader  
 ‘the leader’  
 b. e-αφ-elenaθe  
 DEF-PEJ-leader  
 ‘the (disliked) leader’

The pejorative prefix, as in (39b), shows extreme dislike and has no exact translation in English. If the diminutive and pejorative are used together, the diminutive precedes the pejorative:

- (40) a. e-le-αφ-θelune  
 DEF-DIM-PEJ-person  
 ‘the little (disliked) person’  
 b. e-αφ-leθelune  
 DEF-PEJ-child  
 ‘the (disliked) child’

The examples in (40) demonstrate, again, the distinction between the diminutive as a prefix and as a compounded form.

Nouns can be turned into adjectives with the prefix ‘εθα-’.

- (41) a. φεhe  
 ‘wind’

- b. eθa-φehe  
 ADJ-wind  
 ‘windy’

As adjectives, no other nominal markings are necessary; therefore, words with ‘eθa-’ do not inflect for determinacy, number, or case. The only form that has been fused and has a shifted accent is ‘éθasola’ (‘everyday’). In all other forms, like the example in (41b), the pitch accent falls on the initial syllable of the base: ‘eθa-φéhe’.

#### 4.5 Pronouns

Pronouns behave similarly to nouns by inflecting with the same case markings and appearing in the same sentential positions (with the exception of pronominal subjects, which are indicated on the verb and are thus deleted); however, there are different distinctions made for pronouns in terms of formality, animacy, and inclusiveness.

	Singular		Plural	
	Informal	Formal	Informal	Formal
First	θexo		θeeme (incl.)	
			θeome (excl.)	
Second	θesu	θesea	θeume	θesuta
Third	θeto (vol.)	θelea	θeata (vol.)	θeluta
	tsito (no vol.)		tiata (no vol.)	
	αφto (inani.)		αφata (inani.)	

Table 9. Personal pronouns

The first-person pronouns are the only pronouns to not have an informal/formal distinction, but they do have an inclusive/exclusive distinction for the plural pronouns. In Hiutsaø, two versions of ‘we’ are made explicit: The inclusive form of ‘we’ includes the speaker and the person being addressed while the exclusive ‘we’ includes the speaker but not the addressee.

- (42) a. ifepa-to            θeeme-ma  
           believe-3s,PRES 1p,INCL-ACC  
           ‘She believes us’
- b. ifepa-to            θeome-ma  
           believe-3s,PRES 2p,EXCL-ACC  
           ‘She believes us’

In (42a), the addressee and speaker are part of the ‘θeeme’ while, in (42b), the ‘θeome’ does not include the addressee (i.e., ‘us’ indicates the speaker and at least one other person, but that other person is not the person being spoken to).

The second-person pronouns have informal/formal distinctions in both the singular and plural. The social hierarchy is determined by age so that any Χιφαθε in an older generation than the speaker is addressed with the formal ‘you’ (‘θesea’). If there is a group of Χιφαθεho being addressed that has at least one elder in it, the plural formal ‘you’ (‘θesuta’) is required. Regardless of age, the Χιφαθεho never use the formal pronouns to refer to humans.

The third-person pronouns carry the same informal/formal distinction as the second-person pronouns, and they also carry animacy markers. The formal third-person pronoun is only used for animate, volitional nouns (and can be further narrowed to only being used for fellow Χιφαθεho). If a speaker chooses to show disrespect for an elder Χιφαθε, she can use the informal third-person pronoun ‘θeto’ to refer to the elder Χιφαθε (but not when speaking to her directly). This disrespect through pronoun selection can only be in third-person; it is a social taboo to show disrespect when directly addressing the Χιφαθε in question.

The indefinite pronouns are like the personal pronouns in that they inflect for case, but they do not carry distinctions for person, number, inclusiveness, animacy, or formality. The most common indefinite pronouns (which also double as interrogative and relative pronouns) are the following:

θe	one (pronoun for ‘person’)
osθe	some, any (unknown entity)
meloosθe	someone (lit. ‘who some’)
monaosθe	something (lit. ‘what some’)
mepiosθe	sometime (lit. ‘when some’)
maleosθe	somewhere (lit. ‘where some’)
mose	which

Table 10. Indefinite (and other) pronouns

As indefinite pronouns, the pronouns in Table 10 occur where their nominal counterparts occur in sentences—including subjects, which must be expressed if indefinite.

- (43) a. tsathē-to      meloosθe      θexo-ma  
           call-3s,PRES    someone,NOM 1s-ACC  
           ‘Someone is calling me’
- b. tsathē-to      θexo-ma  
           call-3s,PRES 1s-ACC  
           ‘She is calling me’

As seen in (43a), the majority of the indefinite pronouns are considered third-person singular (and informal). The only exception to that classification is ‘osθe’, which is third-person plural (also informal) for verb agreement. If the subject is deleted, it is assumed that the subject is known, which is why (43b) cannot be translated as ‘someone is calling me’.

Other uses of the pronouns (i.e., interrogative and relative uses) in Table 10 will be discussed in a later section.

# Chapter 5

## Verbs

The Hiutsaθ verbs inflect for voice, mood, aspect, evidentiality, tense, person, and number (the last three are included in the same inflectional morpheme). The ordering for these inflections is the following:

Voice-Mood-Aspect-Evidential-VERB-Tense,Person,Number

While all those inflections are possible, all except the suffixed tense, person, and number have an unmarked form, so not every finite verb has all five inflections. When a verb appears in its bare form, it is in its infinitival form:

(44) ʃone ‘to begin’

The verb ‘ʃone’, provided in (44), is translated as the infinitival ‘to begin’ when it carries no inflections. The inflections discussed below begin with the suffix (tense, person, number) and then move to the prefixes, beginning with the prefix placed closest to the verb and moving out (i.e., beginning with evidentials and then moving out toward voice).

### 5.1 Person, number, and tense

The inflectional suffixes on verbs are all fusional suffixes that mark tense, person, inclusive/exclusive distinctions on first-person plural forms, and formality distinctions on second- and third-person forms. The five tenses in Hiutsaθ are present, past (near- to mid-past), remote past, future (near- to mid-future), and remote future.

		Present		Past		Remote Past		Future		Remote Future	
		Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural
1	incl.	-xo	-eme	-ko	-keme	-kaxo	-kaeme	-so	-seme	-saxo	-saeme
	excl.		-ome		-kame		-kaome		-same		-saome
2	inf.	-su	-ume	-ku	-kome	-kasu	-kaume	-sau	-some	-sasu	-saume
	form.	-sea	-suta		-ke		-kota		-kae		-kauta
3	form.	-lea	-luta								
	inf.	-to	-ata	-ka	-kata	-kato	-kaata	-sa	-sata	-sato	-saata

Table 11. Verbs: Tense, Person, Number

In Table 11, the first-person suffixes are divided into inclusive and exclusive for the plural forms; this distinction is the same one made for pronouns—it determines whether or not the addressee is being included in the ‘we’. The second- and third-person suffixes both have informal and formal distinctions. The third-person rows have formal and informal backwards so that the second-person formal row can be directly above the third-person formal row. That shifting in rows makes it easier to see that all formal forms, outside of the present tense, are the same. When a verb shows formal inflection for any tense but the present tense, its meaning is ambiguous as to whether the speaker is saying, for example, ‘you (formal) began’ or ‘she (formal) began’. The third-person informal suffixes are for all third-person subjects, including inanimate, animation non-volitional, and animate volitional subjects. The formal third-person suffixes, however, are only for animate volitional subjects, which can be further narrowed to include only Xiϕaθeho subjects (i.e., humans are animate volitional subjects but would not merit the formal suffixes).

Historically, the verbal inflectional suffixes in Table 11 were agglutinating suffixes so that tense was a separate suffix from person/number. The present tense was the unmarked form and so took no extra suffix. The past tense suffix was ‘-ka’ and the future tense suffix was ‘-sa’. Over time, the ‘-ka’ and ‘-sa’ suffixes blended with the person/number suffixes to form the past and future tenses while the “pure” forms retained their status as the remote past and remote future tenses. The personal suffixes (seen most clearly in the present tense column) are shortened forms of the personal pronouns; thus, ‘θexo’ is the first-person singular pronoun, and ‘-xo’ is the suffix indicating a first-person singular subject. It is possible that at

one point in the language's history, the verbal suffixes were more like compounded forms that eventually dropped the first syllable of the forms marking person and number.

Examples of the verb 'ʃone' inflected for tense, person, and number are in (45):

- (45) a. ʃone-xo  
begin-1s,PRES  
'I begin/I am beginning'
- b. ʃone-kome  
begin-2p,INFORM,PAST  
'you (pl. informal) began (in the near- to mid-past)'
- c. ʃone-saeme  
begin-1p,INCL,REM.FUT  
'we (inclusive) will begin (in the remote future)'

The present tense in Hiutsaθ can be translated either as the simple present tense or as the present progressive, as in (45a). The labeling conventions used in this grammar for the past and future tenses are provided in (45b-c): If the label simply reads past or fut, the near- to mid- past/future is indicated; if the remote past or future are being used, the label will read rem. past or rem.fut.

## 5.2 Evidentials, aspect, mood, and voice

There are seven layers of evidential markings in Hiutsaθ, which only appear on declarative utterances: speaker's firsthand knowledge of the statement's truth, heresy (neutral), heresy (speaker has reason to believe it), heresy (speaker has no reason to believe it), speaker believes its truth through reasoning, speaker believes it to be a possibility, and speaker is doubtful about its truth.

speaker knowledge	—
heresy	atse-
heresy/reason	ɑ-
heresy/no reason	ane-
belief/reasoning	lo-
possibility	i-
doubted	tsu-

Table 12. Evidential prefixes

The unmarked form indicates that the speaker has first-hand knowledge of the event; as the unmarked form, it is indicative of the expectations audiences have of their speakers to provide primarily information that the speaker knows—without a doubt—to be true.

- (46) a. xije-to  
smile-3s,PRES  
'she is smiling' (and I know because I see her right now)
- b. atse-xije-to  
HERE-smile-3s,PRES  
'I heard she is smiling' (neutral heresy)
- c. ɑ-xije-to  
HERE,R-smile-3s,PRES  
'I heard she is smiling, and I have reason to believe it'
- d. ane-xije-to  
HERE,NR-smile-3s,PRES  
'I heard she is smiling, but I have no reason to believe it'
- e. lo-xije-to  
BEL-smile-3s,PRES  
'I believe she is smiling through reasoning' (e.g., I know her, and this would cause her to smile)
- f. i-xije-to  
POSS-smile-3s,PRES  
'she could be smiling' (it is entirely within the realm of possibility)

- g. tsu-xije-to  
 DOU-smile-3s,PRES  
 ‘I doubt she is smiling’ (but she could be)

The most common forms of lying in Hiutsaθ rely on the misuse of these evidential prefixes. If, for instance, a speaker says ‘xijeto’ in (46a) but does not actually have first-hand knowledge of the smiling (i.e., the speaker cannot see her and so does not know for sure that she is smiling), that is considered a lie. The neutral heresy form, provided in (46b) is the speaker’s way of simply saying, “I heard it” without making a comment on its believability, thus leaving it up to the addressee to decide if she believes the statement. That neutral form, along with the first-hand knowledge form, are the only forms available to speakers that do not indicate the speaker’s stance—all other forms indicate how the speaker feels about what is being discussed (in terms of believability). When the subject is a first-person subject (either singular or plural), the unmarked evidential form is the only option.

The four distinctions of aspect on verbs are aorist/simple, perfective, imperfective, and habitual:

AOR/SIMP	—
PERF	ni-
IMPERF	ϕα-
HABITUAL	ʃα-

Table 13. Aspect prefixes

The unmarked form for aspect is the simple or aorist reading; examples of aspectual prefixes are provided in (47):

- (47) a. seje-ko  
 sing-1s,PAST  
 ‘I sang’  
 b. ni-seje-ko  
 PERF-sing-1s,PAST  
 ‘I had sung’  
 c. ϕα-seje-ko  
 IMPERF-sing-1s,PAST  
 ‘I had been singing’/ ‘I was singing’

- d. ʃa-sepe-ko  
 HAB-sing-1s,PAST  
 ‘I used to sing’ / ‘I would sing’

The imperfective, like the example in (47c), only appears in the four past and future tenses; in the present tense, the unmarked (simple) form, as in ‘sepexo’, can be translated either as ‘I sing’ or ‘I am singing’. The unmarked present tense would not, though, be translated as a habitual because habitual present tense would carry that marking: ʃasepexo ‘I sing (every day)’.

The five possible moods of HiutsaØ verbs are declarative, interrogative, imperative/hortative, subjunctive, and optative.

DEC	—
INT	(tsi-)
IMP/HORT	xe-
SUBJ	ta-
OPT	lu-

Table 14. Mood prefixes

Table 14 shows that the declarative form is the unmarked form and that the interrogative is an optional marker. The interrogative prefix is only attached to the verb when the verb is in question—questions and interrogative markers will be discussed more fully in a later section. The examples in (48) provide the mood prefixes with the verb ‘nefi’ (‘to go’):

- (48) a. nefi-su  
 go-2p, PRES  
 ‘you go’ / ‘you are going’  
 b. tsi-nefi-su  
 INT-go-2p, PRES  
 ‘are you going?’  
 c. xe-nefi-su  
 IMP-go-2p, PRES  
 ‘go!’

- d. ta-neʃi-su  
SUBJ-go-2p, PRES  
'if you were to go'
- e. lu-neʃi-su  
OPT-go-2p, PRES  
'may you go'

The translations provided in (48) for the moods are typical. One difference between the moods is that the imperative/hortative and optative moods can only be used in present and future tenses; neither can be combined with the past tenses. All other moods, though, can combine with any of the tenses. While most of the moods are more straight-forward, the imperative mood is the exception.

When the imperative is used with a second-person informal subject (singular or plural), it is a command form, as in (48c); when it is used with a second-person formal subject (singular or plural), though, it is rendered as encouragement or urging rather than a command:

- (49) xe-neʃi-sea 'you should go'

When the imperative/hortative is used with first-person or third-person, it is the hortative 'let...' construction:

- (49) a. xe-neʃi-ata 'let them go'  
b. xe-neʃi-eme 'let's go'

In very rare cases, the imperative/hortative could be construed as an imperative with the first-person singular:

- (50) xe-neʃi-xo 'go!' (I ordered myself) / 'let me go'

All these instances will be glossed as IMP for simplicity's sake; however, in that label, all the above readings are possible—the subject and context will determine which reading is best in a particular situation.

As mentioned earlier, the interrogative marker is only used when the verb is being questioned; otherwise, there is a separate interrogative particle that goes before the verb to indicate that a question is being asked.

- (51) a. tsah tsi-laʃa-su  
 INT INT-do-2s, PRES  
 ‘what are you doing?’ (where the expected answer is a verb)
- b. tsah laʃa-su tsi-mona  
 INT do-2s,PRES INT-what  
 ‘what are you doing?’ (where the expected answer is a noun)

In (51a), the speaker wants to know what action/verb the addressee is doing (e.g., singing, dancing, thinking) while the speaker wants to know what the addressee is doing in (51b) (e.g., homework, the dishes). These distinctions (and more like them) will be more thoroughly discussed in a later section.

While Hiitsaø utilizes both active and passive voices on verbs, the passive voice is restricted in its usage, and the grammatical subject is marked differently than it is in English.

ACT	—
PASS	pe-

Table 15. Voice prefixes

As Table 15 shows, the active voice is the unmarked form, and the passive voice is the marked form. Examples of active and passive sentences are in (52):

- (52) a. fela-ko e-lelune-ma  
 hit-1s,PAST DEF-girl-ACC  
 ‘I hit the girl’
- b. pe-fela-ka e-lelune-ma  
 PASS-hit-3s,PAST DEF-girl-ACC  
 ‘the girl was hit’
- c. fela-ka e-lelune-ma  
 hit-3s,PAST DEF-girl-ACC  
 ‘she hit the girl’
- d. pe-fela-ka  
 PASS-hit-3s,PAST  
 ‘she was hit’

The examples in (52a) and (52c) show the active constructions in which the girl ‘lelune’ is the object of the transitive verb ‘fela’ and is marked with

the accusative case. The example in (52b), however, demonstrates that the grammatical subject of a passive verb is also marked with the accusative case, and the example in (52d) demonstrates that the grammatical subject of a passive verb does not need to be outwardly expressed. Passive verbs agree in person and number with the grammatical subject (in this case, ‘*lelune*’).

The passive voice in *Hiutsaθ* is restricted in that it can only be used to indicate one of the following four situations: (1) the source is unknown or is one of many possibilities; (2) the source does not matter; (3) the source is known, but the speaker is keeping it to herself; or (4) the source is obvious through verb selection. Due to these restrictions, the “doer” of the action is never represented in a passive structure (i.e., *Hiutsaθ* has no way of saying ‘she was hit by the girl’—it would have to be rendered as either simply ‘she was hit’ or ‘the girl hit her’). Moreover, some verbs cannot be passivized or can only be passivized for particular meanings:

- (53) a. *paofθamo*  
 ‘to burn’ (when active, indicates someone is burning some one/something (transitive); when passive, indicates that fire is responsible (intransitive))
- b. *pe-paofθamo-sa θeto-ma*  
 PASS-burn-3s,FUT 3s-ACC  
 ‘she will be burned’ (she is standing close to the fire, and the flames could reach her); cannot be used to indicate that someone will burn her with fire
- c. *paofθamo-sa θeto-ma*  
 burn-3s,FUT 3s-ACC  
 ‘she will burn her’

For verbs like ‘*paofθamo*’, where the passive is not allowed or where it is restricted, the speaker can still express that the subject (i.e., the person doing the burning) is unknown through the use of indefinite pronouns: ‘*paofθamosa meloosθe θetoma*’ (‘someone will burn her’).

It is not possible for marked forms of all five inflections to appear on the same verb since the declarative is the only mood that can take evidential markings (and the declarative is the unmarked mood); therefore, the most marked inflections a verb can have at once is four:

- (54) pe-lu-ʃɑ-lisune-sau  
 PASS-OPT-HAB-bless-FUT  
 ‘may you always be blessed’

When examples like (54) occur, the pitch accent remains on the initial syllable of the verb base (in this case, the ‘li’ of ‘lisune’); all prefixes are spoken with a neutral pitch—even with a string of three prefixes.

### 5.3 Derivations on verbs

Verbs are the basis of many other words formed in HiutsaØ and, thus, have a large number of derivations possible. The majority of the derivations are attached directly to the verb root, with the exception of negation:

(NEG-)Voice-Mood-Aspect-Evidential-(verbal.derivation-)VERB-  
 Tense,Person,Number

All verbal derivations—derivations that do not change the verb’s part of speech—are prefixes. All deverbal derivations—those that change the verb’s part of speech to another category—are suffixes attached directly to the root:

VERB-deverbal.derivation

Because deverbal derivations change a verb into another part of speech, no other verbal derivations or inflections are possible with those suffixes; instead, the inflections will be those of the noun or adjective (depending on the deverbal derivation used). Table 16 provides the most common derivations:

self ('alone')	moθe-	
DIM	lei-	
spec. Gift	xi-	see vs. See
NEG	ŋɑ-	dec./int.
NEG	nei-	imp./subj/opt
NOM	-θe	for 'one who...'
NOM	-iθo	
NOM	-ɑθ	for 'thing used to...'
PARTICIPLE (adj)	-lih	for 'thing/one that is...'
PARTICIPLE (adj)	-laθ	for 'thing/one used for...'

Table 16. Derivations

The first five entries in Table 16 are the verbal derivations (all of which are prefixes) that change the meaning but not the part of speech category of the verb. The first three entries are the verbal derivations attached directly to the verb root; if more than one is used, they are attached in the order presented in Table 16 (i.e., SELF-DIM-GIFT-verb). The final four entries in Table 16 are the deverbal derivations (all of which are suffixes) that change the meaning and part of speech category for the verb.

- (55) moθe-tsaŋpe-ko      θeto-ma  
 SELF-ask-1s,PAST      3s-ACC  
 'I alone asked her' / 'I asked her myself'

As the example in (55) demonstrates, there are two possible readings of any verb that takes the 'moθe-' prefix: The subject acted alone, or there is emphasis on the subject doing it (in English, that emphasis is shown through the reflexive, which has no other grammatical role in the sentence).

In Hiutsɑθ, nouns are not the only category that can take diminutive forms: Verbs can also take diminutive forms, as in (56):

- (56) a. hitse      'to freeze'  
 b. lei-hitse      'to (little) freeze'

The verb ‘hitse’ in (56a) can take the diminutive ‘lehitse’ (56b) to mean something like ‘to frost’ or ‘to freeze but with a thin layer of ice’.

The derivational ‘xi-’ denotes that the verb is in its Xiφaθ (‘Gift’) form and not the common form of the verb:

- (57) a. ʃina           ‘to see’  
       b. xi-ʃina       ‘to See’

When the common form of ‘ʃina’ is used, as in (57a), it indicates that the subject is using her physical eyes to see something; when the Xiφaθ form is used, as in (57b), it indicates that the subject is using her Xiφaθ to See something (in all cases, capitalization in the English form will be used to indicate these distinctions in translations). The ‘xi-’ prefix takes a slightly different meaning when it receives the pitch accent:

- (58) a. xi-ʃina  
       b. xí-ʃina

The example in (58a) indicates that a Xiφaθe is performing the Seeing, but that Xiφaθe may not be specifically Gifted with Sight. The form in (58b) indicates that one of the Seers is performing the Seeing. All Xiφaθeho, to some extent, can perform all the Xiφaθho (‘Gifts’) for their own benefit (i.e., not to help others) while only those Xiφaθeho with the specific Gift can perform that Gift for anyone’s benefit. In other words, a Seer can help others See things while any other Xiφaθeho can only See certain things for themselves.

Verbs have two negations possible: ‘ηα-’ is used for declarative and interrogative moods while ‘nei-’ is used for all others (imperative, subjunctive, and optative).

- (59) a. ηα-φα-peʃne-ku  
           NEG-IMPERF-walk-3s,PAST  
           ‘She wasn’t walking’  
       b. nei-xe-peʃne-to  
           NEG-IMP-walk-3s,PRES  
           ‘Don’t let her walk’

The examples in (59) demonstrate the placement of the negative markers: They precede all other verbal prefixes.

The derivational suffixes for verbs change the verb's part of speech; three are nominal suffixes, and two are adjectival suffixes (often labeled as 'participials'). The three nominal suffixes are in (60):

- (60) a. alexo 'to work'  
 b. alexo-θe 'worker'  
 c. alexo-iθo 'work'  
 d. alexo-aθ 'machine'

The verb 'alexo' can take all three nominal suffixes to become the nouns in (60b-d). The '-θe' suffix is best translated as 'one who...', which means 'alexoθe' in (60b) is literally 'one who works'. The '-iθo' suffix changes a verb to a noun, so 'alexoiθo' in (60c) is translated as 'work' in its nominal sense. Finally, the '-aθ' suffix can be translated as 'thing used to...', which makes the literal translation of 'alexoaθ' in (60d) 'thing used to work' (i.e., a machine).

The two adjectival suffixes for verbs are in (61):

- (61) a. xomelaʃ lisune-lih  
 location bless-ADJ  
 'blessed place/location'  
 b. leθuloʃ alexo-laθ  
 room work-ADJ  
 'working room'

The '-lih' adjectival suffix is used to indicate 'thing/one that is...', so 'xomelaʃ lisunelih' in (61a) could be translated as 'place that is blessed'. The '-laθ' suffix, on the other hand, is used to indicate 'thing/one used for...', so 'leθuloʃ alexolaθ' in (61b) could be translated as 'room used for working', which could be applied to any room used for working such as an office, studio, or workshop.

#### 5.4 Copula and prepositional verbs

All the prepositions double as copula-like verbs, meaning 'be prep'; for instance, 'I am in the water' would be realized as 'in I the water', where the preposition 'in' means 'be in'. In other words, 'maθo' ('be') is simply dropped out.

- (62) a. *haθes-xo*            *α-haʃose-haθ*  
 (be.)in-1s,PRES    DEF-water-LOC  
 ‘I am in the water’
- b. *naφθe-xo*        *α-haʃose-haθ*  
 swim-1s,PRES DEF-water-LOC  
 ‘I am swimming in the water’

The preposition ‘*haθes*’ doubles as a verb meaning ‘to be in’; the noun in the sentence takes the case the preposition requires (in this case, ‘*haθes*’ requires the locative). When acting as a verb, the preposition inflects like a verb. Many prepositions are only expressed in these copulative expressions; for example, ‘*haθes*’ is not outwardly expressed in (62b) but is understood through the use of the bare locative.

The copula ‘*maθo*’ (‘to be’) is only used with predicative nouns, adjectives, and some adverbs like those in (63).

- (63) a. *maθo-to*        *xiφaθe*  
 be-3s,PRES    Gifted  
 ‘She is a Gifted’
- b. *maθo-to*        *ʃoθemo-teφ*  
 be-3s,PRES    beautiful-PRED  
 ‘She is beautiful’
- c. *maθo-to*        *pala*  
 be-3s,PRES    here  
 ‘She is here’

When the copula ‘*maθo*’ connects two nouns, both are in the nominative cases; the generally expected order is ‘Copula Subj PredN’.

- (63) *maθo-to*        *e-lelune*        *mone-xepoleθaθe*  
 be-3s,PRES    DEF-girl        INDEF-outcast  
 ‘The girl is an outcast’

The example in (63) is most typically translated as ‘The girl is an outcast’ and not ‘An outcast is the girl’.

### 5.5 Auxiliary verbs

Hiutsaθ has a relatively low number of auxiliary verbs, as many of the meanings expressed by auxiliary verbs can be expressed through mood and

aspect markers directly on the verb. The four most common (and possibly only) auxiliary verbs are the following:

θalu	can
paφe	may
hasana	must
mifne	should

Table 17. Auxiliary verbs

The first, ‘θalu’, expresses an ability—the subject is able to perform or do the action indicated in the main verb. That is in opposition to the next auxiliary, ‘paφe’, which indicates that the subject is allowed to perform or do the action indicated in the main verb. The third, ‘hasana’, is most closely translated as ‘must’ (e.g., ‘I must go’) and should not be translated as ‘need to’ or ‘have to’ (e.g., ‘I need to go’ or ‘I have to go’), as those translations lose some of the urgency of the Hiutsaθ ‘hasana’. Finally, the last auxiliary in Table 17, ‘mifne’ can be translated as ‘should’ or ‘might’ or even ‘would’—it indicates a realm of possibility that cannot be expressed by the moods and does not have a direct translation into English.

When an auxiliary is used, it typically precedes the main verb:

- (64) a. θalu neʃi-to  
 can go-3s,PRES  
 ‘She can go’ (she is capable of going)
- b. paφe neʃi-to  
 may go-3s,PRES  
 ‘She may go’ (she is allowed to go)
- c. hasana neʃi-to  
 must go-3s,PRES  
 ‘She must go’
- d. mifne neʃi-to  
 should go-3s,PRES  
 ‘She should go’ (or ‘She might go’ or ‘She would go’)

The examples in (64) are all valid utterances in Hiutsaθ; however, there is typically a specific reason a speaker chooses to rely on an auxiliary rather than other means of expressing the same idea. Usually, when an auxiliary

is used, the meaning of the auxiliary is being emphasized. For example, if one person says, “She wants to go,” another might answer, “She may go,” emphasizing the fact that no one is holding her back from going. Thus, auxiliaries are often emphatic in HiutsaØ.

# Chapter 6

## Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs share one derivational prefix and one inflectional prefix; these shared prefixes are the only two typically seen with adverbs:

NEG	ɲa-
INT	tsi-

Table 18. Shared adjectival and adverbial prefixes

Both the negative and interrogative markers attach directly to what is being negated or questioned.

- (65) a. xɲe-to            ɲa-soʃoθemo  
 smile-3s,PRES NEG-beautifully  
 ‘She is smiling not beautifully’ (she is smiling, but it isn’t pretty)
- b. xɲe-to            e-lelune            ɲa-ʃoθemo  
 smile-3s,PRES DEF-girl            NEG-beautiful  
 ‘The not beautiful girl is smiling’ (she is smiling, but she isn’t beautiful)
- c. tsah    xɲe-to            tsi-soʃoθemo  
 INT    smile-3s,PRES INT-beautifully  
 ‘Is she smiling beautifully?’ (she is definitely smiling, but is it beautifully done?)
- d. tsah    xɲe-to            e-lelune            tsi-ʃoθemo  
 INT    smile-3s,PRES DEF-girl            INT-beautiful  
 ‘Is the girl who is smiling beautiful?’

Every major element in an utterance can be questioned or negated, and the examples in (65) demonstrate how negation and interrogative markers work with adjectives and adverbs. The examples in (65) can be contrasted with examples of nouns and verbs that are negated and/or questioned.

### 6.1 Attributive and predicative adjectives

The two major types of adjectives in HiutsaØ are attributive and predicative. When adjectives are attributive, they generally follow the noun they modify:

- (66) a. (meni-)utseka ufte  
 (INDEF-)bird strange  
 ‘a strange bird’  
 b. i-utseka ufte  
 DEF-bird strange  
 ‘the strange bird’  
 c. i-utseka ufte ∫oθexame-a∫  
 DEF-bird strange beautiful-and  
 ‘the strange and beautiful bird’

As in the example in (66c), if more than one attributive adjective modifies a noun, the adjectives are listed after the noun, with each subsequent adjective taking the ‘a∫’ conjunction.

Predicative adjectives primarily occur with copulas (though, to some extent, may also occur with other linking verbs), and an inflectional suffix, ‘-teϕ’, marks the adjective’s status as predicative.

- (67) maθo-to pupeo-teϕ  
 be-3s,PRES foolish-PRED  
 ‘She is foolish’

The ‘-teϕ’ suffix distinguishes which adjective is the predicative adjective when other boundaries are not clearly marked:

- (68) maθo-to so-eθa-pofte lelune  
 be-3s,INFORM,PRES ADV-ADJ-frequency girl  
 ∫oθemo pupeo-teϕ  
 beautiful foolish-PRED  
 ‘A beautiful girl is often foolish’

In (68), the attributive adjective ‘∫oθemo’ is distinguished from the predicative adjective ‘pupeo’ by the predicative marker.

## 6.2 Comparative and superlative forms

Along with interrogative and predicative forms, adjectives can also carry inflections to indicate comparisons:

COMP	utse-
SUPER	hiutse-

Table 19. Comparative and superlative forms

Adjectives in their comparative form are similar to adjectives with the ‘-er’ suffix in English (e.g., ‘taller’), and adjectives in their superlative form are similar to adjectives with the ‘-est’ suffix in English (e.g., ‘tallest’). The comparative and superlative prefixes are directly based on the adjectives meaning ‘better’ (‘utse’) and ‘best’ or ‘superior’ (‘hiutse’). The forms in Table 19 can be added to any gradable adjective:

- (69) a. utse-nisθu            ‘newer’ or ‘younger’  
       b. hiutse-ʃoθemo       ‘most beautiful’

The adjectives ‘good’ and ‘bad’ take a new meaning in their comparative and superlative forms:

- (70) a. hiutse-fæ  
       SUPER-bad  
       ‘abominable’  
       b. hiutse-iϕune  
       SUPER-good  
       ‘holy, sacred’  
       c. utse-fæ  
       COMP-bad  
       ‘inferior’ (describes someone the speaker looks down on)  
       d. utse-iϕune  
       COMP-good  
       ‘uppity’ (describes someone who thinks they are better than everyone else)

The comparative and superlative forms meaning ‘better/best’ and ‘worse/worst’ are suppletive forms; ‘utse/hiutse’ have already been provided, but ‘worse/worst’ is ‘fase/hofase’.

Yet other adjectives cannot take the comparative or superlative forms:

- (71) a. \*utse-iϕote  
 COMP-right  
 \*‘more right, true’  
 b. \*hiutse-fahote  
 SUPER-wrong  
 \*‘most wrong, false’

Adjectives like those in (71) are not gradable and so cannot be compared by degrees.

### 6.3 Animacy and adjectives

For clarity or emphasis, adjectives have optional animacy inflections, with the three distinctions made for determiners and pronouns: animate and volitional, animate and non-volitional, and inanimate.

Ani. with vol.	(oθe-)
Ani. no vol.	(etsi-)
Inani.	(aϕa-)

Table 20. Animacy markings on adjectives

The prefixes in Table 20 can be used with any adjective; however, some adjectives distinguish among the categories in Table 20 without the prefixes:

- (72) a. fae  
 ‘bad’ (of people)  
 b. faaϕne  
 ‘bad’ (of objects)

When adjectives are inflected for animacy, it can clarify the range of the adjectival meaning as it is being used in the sentence. For example, the adjective ‘fahote’ (‘false, wrong’) has a stronger and more negative connotation if it is modifying a noun that is animate and has volition—it indicates that the noun had a choice in being false or wrong. Therefore, the form ‘oθefahote’ carries more weight than ‘fahote’ alone or even ‘aϕafahote’ (which indicates an object or idea is simply wrong). Using ‘oθefahote’ also



## 6.5 Derivations and adjectives

Along with the inflections described in previous sections, adjectives can also take the following derivational prefixes:

DIM	li-
nominalize	teʃ-
NOM ('one who')	αθe-
verbalize	αxi-
adverbialize	so-

Table 22. Derivational prefixes

The derivations for adjectives, provided in Table 22, are all prefixes. The first prefix in Table 22 is the only derivational prefix that does not change the adjective's part of speech: the diminutive 'li-'.

- (74) li-ispesajelo  
 DIM-smart  
 'little smart'

The diminutive, when added to an adjective, means 'to a lesser degree' or 'little bit', so the example in (74) could be translated as 'smart to a lesser degree' or 'a little bit smart'. In other words, the person or animal in question is not smart, per se, but is a 'little smart'.

The other prefixes in Table 22 change the adjective's part of speech:

- (75) a. teʃ-fahote  
 NOM-wrong  
 'sin' (lit. 'thing that is wrong' or 'quality of being wrong')
- b. αθe-luφitos  
 NOM-stupid  
 'stupid person' (lit. 'one who is stupid')
- c. αxi-hao  
 VER-big  
 'swell' (lit. 'make big')
- d. so-seli  
 ADV-sweet  
 'sweetly'

The nominal prefix in (75a) turns an adjective into a noun that is generally some type of idea like ‘sin’; other examples include ‘teʃisnesaŋelo’ (‘intelligence, smartness’) and ‘teʃeola’ (‘emptiness’). However, sometimes the ‘teʃ-’ prefix can indicate a physical object, especially when used with colors: ‘teʃxaolisθa’ (‘thing that is green’—a green object). The ‘teʃ-’ prefix can be contrasted with the ‘aθe-’ prefix, which also nominalizes the adjective; however, it changes the adjective into a noun meaning ‘one who is...’, like the example in (75b).

While the verbal ‘axi-’ prefix in (75c) is most generally translated as ‘make ADJ’ (e.g., ‘swell’ or ‘make big’), it does not denote causation. The ‘axi-’ verbs would not be used to mean ‘caused to become ADJ’; instead, they are used to indicate a change in states, with the adjective component denoting the final state. Thus, ‘axitsio’ means ‘make fast’ or ‘become fast’ but does not indicate that the subject did anything to cause the fastness—the subject became fast. Many of the ‘axi-’ verbs have become part of the vocabulary, like ‘axihao’, and the stress has shifted to the [a] in ‘axi-’ rather than remaining on the adjectival base (‘hao’). The accent location is generally marked in dictionaries on these ‘axi-’ verbs since they do not follow the typical pronunciation guidelines. Adjectives are the only words that can be turned into verbs—generally speaking, the verb base comes first and can be derived into other parts of speech.

Finally, the ‘so-’ prefix in (75d) turns an adjective into an adverb. Sometimes the adjective is a bare one, like ‘seli’ in (80d); other times, though, the adjective itself is a derived form: ‘soeθaʔofte’ (which breaks down to ‘so-eθa-pofte’—adv-adj-noun), meaning ‘frequently’ (its noun base means ‘frequency’, and its adjectival form means ‘frequent’).

## 6.6 Numbers

Numbers in Hiutsaθ behave like adjectives: When they are attributive, they are marked for case and typically follow the noun they modify, and when they are predicative, they carry the inflectional suffix to mark their predicative status.

- (76) a. sio-ata            a-leopele-ho            ʃolu    θeeme-haθ  
           near-3p,PRES    DEF-stream-PL        two    1p,INCL-LOC  
           ‘The two streams are near us’
- b. maθo-ata            ʃolu-teϕ  
           be-3p,PRES        two-PRED  
           ‘They are two’ (‘there are two’)

The number ‘folu’ is used attributively in (76a) and predicatively in (76b). The cardinal numbers 1-12 have unpredictable forms (the word for ‘zero’ is ‘neαϕθε’, which literally translates as ‘no thing’):

1	mone
2	folu
3	θεle
4	ϕale
5	ϕιϕlu
6	sixa
7	sife
8	ahne
9	neni
10	tona
11	eneso
12	θuneso

Table 23. Numbers 1-12

While ‘θuneso’ is the word for 12, it is a sacred word and used only in conjunction with the Xiϕαθεho families or Gifts. When referring to anything else, its common form is used, which is formed the same way as the numbers 13 and above.

After 12, the system becomes predictable, with the teens and the common form of 12 being named as < <ten + number over ten> >; for example, ‘thirteen’ is literally translated as ‘ten-three’.

12	tonaʃolu
13	tonaθele
14	tonaφale
etc.	

Table 24. Numbers 12-19

The sacred ‘θuneso’ is replaced with the common form ‘tonaʃolu’ in Table 24 when referring to anything not related to the Xiφaθeho. The numbers 20, 30, 40, and so on are derived from the numbers as they are divisible by ten; therefore, 20 is literally translated as ‘ten twos’, and 40 is literally translated as ‘four tens’. The plural marker is the suffix ‘-ho’.

20	ʃolutonaho
30	θeletonaho
40	φaletonaho
etc.	

Table 25. Numbers 20, 30, 40, etc.

The numbers in between those divisible by ten are named similarly to the teens; for example, 21 is literally ‘two tens and one’ (‘aʃ’ is ‘and’).

21	ʃolutonaho moneaʃ
22	ʃolutonaho ʃoluʃ
23	ʃolutonaho θeleaʃ
etc.	

Table 26. Numbers 21, 22, 23, etc.

The number 21 is also a sacred number and has a “pure” form: ‘moaʃonelo’. This form is used only when referring to the Xiφaθeho and their life cycles. The only other exception is the number 84, which is ‘iφotenosaiθo’ (liter-

ally ‘right/true number’). Again, the “common” forms of those numbers is used for all things not related to the Xiφaθeho.

The number 100 then has its own name, but the numbers higher than that are derived from 100; likewise, 1000 has its own designation with the higher numbers being derived from it:

100	xeno
101	xeno moneaf
120	xeno solutonahoaf
121	xeno solutonahoaf moneaf
200	soluxenoho
205	soluxenoho φiφluaφ
300	θelexenoho
1000	tafes
2000	solutaφesho
etc.	

Table 27. Numbers 100 and above

The Gifteds have yet to find a reason to count above 9,999 (nenitaφesho nenixenohoaf nenitonahoaf neniaφ). In fact, 1000 is more of a guesstimate rather than an actual counting number. For instance, if there are many people—too many to count—one would say the equivalent of ‘at least 1000’ to indicate how many there were. Since the Xiφaθeho have no money and find no benefits to counting everything around them, they tend to not use numbers even into the hundreds.

The above counting system is the current number system in Hiutsaθ; however, it was not the original number system. Historically, Hiutsaθ only had the numbers 1-12 (with the form of 12 being its “pure” form), and their counting system had a base of 12. So 13 was ‘θunesomone’ (lit. ‘twelve one’), and the next major number was 24, ‘soluθunesoho’ (lit. ‘two twelves’). It was not until the Xiφaθeho lived in Europe that they adopted a counting system based on tens. The modern word for ‘hundred’ (‘xeno’) historically meant ‘very many’, and the modern word for ‘thousand’ (‘tafes’) historically meant ‘too many to count’.

The ordinal numbers, with the exception of ‘noi’ (‘first’), are all directly derived from the cardinal number they are associated with, as in Table 28 below:

	cardinal	ordinal
1	mone	noi
2	ʃolu	ʃoluθa
3	θele	θeleθa
4	φale	φaleθa
etc.		

Table 28. Cardinal and ordinal numbers

The ordinal suffix ‘-θa’ makes a cardinal number into an ordinal one (e.g., ‘three’ becomes ‘third’). Like the cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers are treated as adjectives in Hiutsaθ (with predicative and attributive inflections).

### 6.7 Other adjective-like words

Demonstratives act similar to attributive adjectives in their placement; however, they do not receive the same inflections as adjectives, cannot co-occur with determiners, and must occur after the noun they modify. Unlike English, they cannot appear alone as demonstrative pronouns (i.e., they must occur with the noun they are modifying). In Hiutsaθ, there are three divisions for demonstratives:

- (77) a. ala ‘that’  
 b. aleo ‘that-there’ (or ‘that over there’)  
 c. esi ‘this’

An example of a demonstrative being used in an utterance is in (78):

- (78) okesa-ka      suneo-ma aleo  
 keep-3s,PAST stone-ACC DEM  
 ‘She kept that stone (over there)’

The utterance in (78) indicates that the stone is not nearby or, most likely, even in the speaker's line of sight. The stone is far away, but the speaker and addressee both know which stone is being discussed. When an adjective also modifies the noun, the typical word order is noun adj dem, as in (79):

- (79)    *ʃina-to*            *lelune-ma luθeli-amo*    *ala*  
           see-3s,PRES    girl-ACC    happy-ACC    DEM  
           'She sees that happy girl'

In (79), the adjective 'luθeli' ('happy') and the demonstrative 'ala' ('that') modify the noun 'lelune' ('girl'). Though the adjective 'luθeli' is inflected to match the case of 'lelune', the demonstrative does not inflect for case and is typically placed after the noun and adjective.

One of the interrogative pronouns also behaves like an attributive adjective:

- (80)    *tsah*    *okesa-ka*            *suneo-ma mose*  
           INT    keep-3s,PAST    stone-ACC    which  
           'She kept which stone?' or 'Which stone did she keep?'

Like the demonstrative, the interrogative pronoun 'mose' cannot stand alone and, thus, cannot act as a predicative adjective.

# Chapter 7

## Negation and Clauses

### 7.1 Negation

In previous chapters, negation of individual words was discussed (i.e., negation of the noun, verb, adjective, and adverb). When individual words are negated, there is a difference in meaning from when the entire sentence is being negated because when an individual word is negated, it indicates that only that specific word is receiving the negated reading. When an entire sentence is negated, though, it indicates that the entire sentence is not true:

- (81) a.  $\eta\alpha$ -nefi-ka                      sio  $\alpha$ -xaiφane-ħaθ  
 NEG-sing-3s,PAST near    DEF-Assembly.Hall-LOC  
 ‘she did not sing near the Assembly Hall’
- b.  $\eta\alpha$ i    nefi-ka                      sio     $\alpha$ -xaiφane-ħaθ  
 NEG    sing-3s,PAST    near    DEF-Assembly.Hall-LOC  
 ‘she did not sing near the Assembly Hall’

The example in (81a) indicates that she was, in fact, near the Assembly Hall, but she was not singing (perhaps she was simply speaking or standing there). While the English translation is the same for (81b), in Hiutsaθ, it indicates that she was neither singing nor was she near the Assembly Hall. The negation marker for all declarative and interrogative utterances is ‘ $\eta\alpha$ i’, and the negation marker for imperative, hortative, subjunctive, and optative utterances is ‘ $\eta\epsilon$ i’.

The examples in (81) can be compared with the following:

- (82) a. nefi-ka                       $\eta\alpha$ -sio                       $\alpha$ -xaiφane-ħaθ  
 sing-3s,PAST    NEG-near    DEF-Assembly.Hall-LOC  
 ‘she sang not near the Assembly Hall’
- b. nefika                      sio     $\alpha$ - $\eta\epsilon$ -xaiφane-ħaθ  
 sing-3s,PAST    near    DEF-NEG-Assembly.Hall-LOC  
 ‘she sang near not the Assembly Hall’

The example in (82a) indicates that she was, in fact singing, but she was not near the Assembly Hall (rather, she was far away from it). The example in (82b) also indicates that she was singing, and it also indicates that she was near something, but it was not the Assembly Hall (perhaps she was near the house instead). The examples in (81) and (82) demonstrate how every level of the sentence can be negated to get finely tuned distinctions among the different types of negation. The negative marker for adjectives and adverbs (‘*na-ʼ*’) is also the negative marker for prepositions.

## 7.2 Subordinate clauses

Hiutsaθ has three major types of subordinate clauses that will be discussed in this section: adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and nominal clauses. For all of the following types of clauses, the ‘*kie*’ marker plays a role in identifying the subordinate clause; for glossing purposes, ‘*kie*’ is typically considered a subordinator since its general role is to introduce some type of subordinate clause. The typical placement of subordinate clauses is after the main clause (i.e., S SubCl), with the subordinating conjunction introducing the subordinate clause (i.e., SubConj Clause). The expected word order within subordinate clauses is the same as that of main clauses (VSO).

### 7.2.1 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial conjunctions provide the relationship between the adverbial and main clauses; there are four primary types of relationships that are expressed in Hiutsaθ adverbial clauses: temporal, condition, causation, and contradiction.

Like the verb tenses, temporal adverbial conjunctions have five distinctions that can roughly be translated as the following: (1) when, at the same time; (2) before, just before, right before; (3) long before; (4) after, just after, right after; and (5) long after. All five are demonstrated in (83) below:

- (83) a. *neʃi-xo*            *kie-meʃi*    *alikaθi-to*        *i-utseka*  
           go-1s,PRES        SUB-when fly-3s,PRES    DEF-bird  
           ‘I go when the bird flies’
- b. *neʃi-xo*            *kie-φesta*    *alikaθi-ka*        *i-utseka*  
           go-1s,PRES        SUB-after fly-3s,PAST    DEF-bird  
           ‘I go after the bird flew’
- c. *neʃi-xo*        *kie-φeφesta*            *alikaθi-kato*        *i-utseka*  
           go-1s,PRES SUB-long.after        fly-3s,REM.PAST    DEF-bird  
           ‘I go long after the bird flew’

- d. *nefi-xo kie-tsufo alikaθi-sa i-utseka*  
 go-1s,PRES SUB-before fly-3s,FUT DEF-bird  
 ‘I go before the bird will fly’
- e. *nefi-xo kie-tsutsufo alikaθi-sato i-utseka*  
 go-1s,PRES SUB-long.before fly-3s,REM.FUT DEF-bird  
 ‘I go long before the bird will fly’

The subordinator ‘*kie*’ compounds with the Hiutsaθ words ‘*meji*’ (‘when’), ‘*φesta*’ (‘after’), and ‘*tsufo*’ (‘before’) to form a subordinating conjunction in (83a-b) and (83d). In a rare form of reduplication, the first syllable of ‘*φesta*’ and ‘*tsufo*’ are reduplicated in the compound to form the subordinating conjunctions that indicate the main clause occurred long before or long after the subordinate clause in (83c) and (83e).

The tenses in the clauses play an important role in temporal subordinate clauses. For this discussion, it is best to think of the five tenses of Hiutsaθ as a scale from 1-5: (1) remote past, (2) past, (3) present (neutral), (4) future, and (5) remote future. The subordinate conjunction ‘*kiemeji*’ requires that both clauses are in the same tense; in (83a), both the main and subordinate clauses are in the present tense. It would be ungrammatical to say, for instance, ‘\**nefiko* (past) *kiemeji* *alikaθi-to* (pres)’ because ‘*kiemeji*’ indicates that the verbs in both clauses occurred at the same time. ‘*Kieφesta*’, however, requires that the tense of the subordinate clause be *n-1* from that of the main clause when possible. In (83b), the main clause is in the present tense (‘*nefixo*’), thus requiring that the subordinate clause to be in the past tense (*n-1*). The only cases where the tense shift is not possible is when the main clause is in the remote past—in the remote past, there is no way of indicating a *n-1* tense because there is no tense further back than the remote past. So if two historical events are being chronologically ordered and spoken about, it would be appropriate to use ‘*kieφesta*’ with both the main and subordinate clauses in the remote past tense. The subordinating conjunction ‘*kieφφesta*’ requires that the tense of the subordinate clause be *n-2* from that of the main clause when possible; thus, in (83c), the main clause is in the present tense while the subordinate clause is in the remote past (the remote past being two steps down on the five-step tense scale for verbs). The *n-2* requirement is allowed to be violated when the main clause is in either the past or remote past tense: The *n-2* tense does not exist for either, so the appropriate tense for the subordinate clause in both cases is the remote past.

The subordinate conjunctions ‘tsuʃo’ and ‘tsutsuʃo’ work exactly like ‘ $\phi$ esta’ and ‘ $\phi\phi$ esta’, except in reverse. Therefore, ‘tsuʃo’ requires that the verb in the subordinate clause is  $n+1$  from that of the verb in the main clause when possible; in (83d), the main clause is in the present tense, and the subordinate clause is in the future tense because the conjunction is ‘tsuʃo’. This  $n+1$  step in tenses is not possible when the main clause is in the remote future tense, so the subordinate and main clause may both be in the remote future tense in that case. The subordinating conjunction ‘tsutsuʃo’ requires the the verb in the subordinate clause is  $n+2$  from that of the verb in the main clause when possible, which is why, in (83e), the main verb is in the present tense and the subordinate verb is in the remote future tense. For ‘tsutsuʃo’ the  $n+2$  step in tenses is not possible when the main clause is in either the future or remote future tenses, so the subordinate clause will be in the remote future tense in both cases.

Another type of adverbial clause is the conditional clause, indicating that ‘X will happen (main clause) if Y happens (subordinate clause)’:

- (84)   osa-so    kie-ule    osa-to  
          cry-1s,FUTSUB-if   cry-3s,PRES  
          ‘I will cry if she cries’

When ‘ule’ introduces a subordinate clause, it must be compounded with the subordinator ‘kie’. However, it can also be used to introduce a stand-alone clause (i.e., a main clause) indicating a condition necessary for the context of a particular conversation (unlike English, ‘if she cries’ is a grammatical, non-fragmented sentence in HiutsaØ, and it would be introduced by ‘ule’ alone). So while ‘kieule’ is generally recognized as a compounded form, it might be better represented as ‘kie ule’ to indicate that the two components do not have to occur together. When two clauses are tied together by ‘kieule’, the clauses can be in nearly any tense, as long as the tenses indicate the relationship between the verbs of the clauses. The only exceptions to that flexibility is that the main clause cannot be in either of the past tenses (if the verb already occurred in the main clause, the appropriate relationship between the clauses would be one of causation, not condition). The example in (84) is a typical example of the tense relationship between the main and subordinate clauses when the relationship is a conditional one.

Subordinate clauses indicating causation are much like those indicating condition:

- (85)   osa-ko           kie-aniso       osa-ka  
          cry-1s,PAST   SUB-because   cry-3s,PAST  
          ‘I cried because she cried’

The conjunction ‘aniso’ is like ‘ule’—it can occur on its own to introduce a main clause. When it does, it does not have the ‘kie’ subordinator attached to it. The only tense restriction on subordinate clauses introduced by ‘kieaniso’ is that the subordinate clause cannot be in either of the future tenses (if the verb in the subordinate clause has not yet occurred, the appropriate relationship is a conditional one). Other than that, any tense can be used in the main clause, and the present and either of the past tenses can be used in the subordinate clause, as long as the appropriate relationship between the clauses is being expressed through the tenses used. The example in (85) has both clauses in the past tense, indicating that both the causing factor and the resulting state occurred in roughly the same time frame in the past.

The final relationship that can be expressed with adverbial clauses is contradiction:

- (86)   xila-xo           kie-omos       osa-to  
          laugh-1s,PRES SUB-though   cry-3s,PRES  
          ‘I am laughing even though she is crying’

Like ‘ule’ and ‘aniso’, ‘omos’ can occur on its own to introduce a main clause; however, when it is used as a subordinating conjunction to tie two clauses together, it occurs with the subordinator ‘kie’. With ‘kieomos’, there are not tense restrictions—as long as the tenses in the clauses express the appropriate relationship between the two clauses, the verbs in both clauses can be in any tense. In (86), both clauses are in the present tense to indicate that both events are occurring (near) simultaneously.

### 7.2.2 *Relative clauses*

Relative clauses follow the noun they modify and require the introductory subordinator ‘kie’ and a relative pronoun in situ within the relative clause.

- (87)   a.   e-lune           kie   tsaθe-to       melo  
          DEF-woman   SUB   speak-3s,PRES who  
          ‘the woman who is speaking’

- b. e-lune            kie        ʃina-ko            melo-ma  
 DEF-woman    SUB    see-1s,PAST    who-ACC  
 ‘the woman who(m) I saw’
- c. e-lune        kie maθo-to    halone        melo-su    pala  
 DEF-woman    SUB be-3s,PRES    daughter    who-GEN    here  
 ‘the woman whose daughter is here’
- d. i-sopaŋu    kie        ʃina-ko            mona-ma  
 DEF-dog        SUB    see-1s,PAST    what-ACC  
 ‘the dog (that) I saw’
- e. α-θuloʃ    kie        malaʃa-xo        male-haθ  
 DEF-house    SUB    live-1s,PRES    where-LOC  
 ‘the house where I live’

In all the examples in (87) all the nouns being modified by relative clauses are the first words (i.e., ‘lune’, ‘sopaŋu’, and ‘θuloʃ’), followed immediately by ‘kie’ and the relative clause. Within the relative clauses, the relative pronoun (i.e., ‘melo’, ‘mona’, ‘male’) occurs where it would naturally occur if the relative clause were a main clause (following the typical VSO word order). While there is theoretical flexibility of word order in any clause, relative clauses tend to follow the expected VSO order. The relative pronouns, then, inflect for the appropriate case for the relative clause. For instance, in (87b), the relative pronoun ‘melo’ is the object of the verb ‘ʃina’ in the relative clause and so is inflected with the accusative case. All animate and volitional nouns take ‘melo’ (‘who’) as their relative pronoun; however, all animate, non-volitional and inanimate nouns take ‘mona’ (‘what’), as in (87d).

The noun being modified takes the appropriate case for the main clause:

- (88) ʃina-xo            e-lune-ma            kie        tsaθe-to            melo  
 see-1s,PRES    DEF-woman-ACC    SUB    speak-3s,PRES    who  
 ‘I see the woman who is speaking’

In (88), the noun being modified is ‘lune’ (‘woman’), which is the object of the main verb ‘ʃina’; therefore, ‘lune’ takes the accusative suffix ‘-ma’ while the corresponding ‘melo’ within the relative clause is the subject of the verb ‘tsaθe’ and so is in the nominative case.

### 7.2.3 Nominal clauses

Like the other subordinate clauses, nominal clauses require the introductory ‘kie’.

- (89) a. saŋa-xo            kie        maθo-to            pala  
           know-1s,PRES SUB    be-3s,PRES        here  
           ‘I know that she is here’
- b. ataxe-xo            kie        peŋne-to            e-lune            filoθ  
           want-1s,PRES SUB    walk-3s,PRES    DEF-woman        to  
           a-θuloŋ-ma  
           DEF-house-ACC  
           ‘I want her to walk to the house’ (lit. ‘I want that she walks  
           to the house’)

Most nominal clauses behave like those in (89)—they supply what someone knows, thinks, believes, or wants. However, some nominal clauses can fill the role as a nominal with a copula (similar to the English ‘That she cried is odd’ or ‘It is odd that she cried’) or as a subject (similar to the English ‘That she cried surprised me’). Because there is no case marking on the nominal clause, the word order for sentences with nominal clauses is not flexible and must be VSO.

- (90) tsomiŋe-ka        kie tsafeo-ka    e-lexapone-ma    θexo-ma  
           surprise-3s,PAST SUB hurt-3s,PAST DEF-boy-ACC        1s-ACC  
           ‘That she hurt the boy surprised me’

As in (90), when the nominal clause acts as the subject, the verb is third-person singular. If the word order of (90) were to be changed, it would be unclear if ‘I’ or ‘the boy’ had been hurt and if ‘I’ or ‘the boy’ had been surprised by her actions. With strict word order, though, it is clear that ‘tsafeoka elexaponema’ is working together while the ‘θexoma’ works with the main verb, ‘tsomiŋeka’.

## 7.3 Questions

There are four types of questions that can be formed in Hiutsaθ: yes/no, tag, wh- (content), and clarification questions. All types of questions are introduced by the general interrogative marker ‘tsah’, but each type has a different way of dealing with the content after the introductory ‘tsah’.

### 7.3.1 Yes/No and tag questions

Yes/No questions, in syntactic form, look like declarative utterances but are introduced by the interrogative ‘tsah’:

- (91) a. tsamano-su                      θeto-ma  
           remember-2s,PRES    3s-ACC  
           ‘You remember her’  
       b. tsah    tsamano-su                      θeto-ma  
           INT    remember-2s,PRES    3s-ACC  
           ‘Do you remember her?’

The declarative sentence in (91a) is the basis for the question in (91b)—the only difference is the introductory interrogative marker. Questions formed in this manner indicate that the optimal answer will either be a ‘ji’ (‘yes’) or a ‘ni’ (‘no’).

Tag questions are similar to yes/no questions in that the structure overall is the same as a declarative sentence; the only difference is that for tag questions, the sentence is followed by ‘tsah ni’:

- (92) tsamano-su                      θeto-ma    tsah    ni  
       remember-2s,PRES    3s-ACC    INT    no  
       ‘You remember her, don’t you?’

Like yes/no questions, the optimal response is either ‘ji’ or ‘ni’.

### 7.3.2 Wh- (content) questions

Wh-questions are formed by adding the interrogative particle in front of the sentence and then adding the wh-word in situ with an interrogative prefix (this process is similar to that of relative clauses, but the pronoun, in this case, has an interrogative prefix):

- (93) a. tsah    tsamano-su                      tsi-melo-ma  
           INT    remember-2s,PRES    INT-who-ACC  
           ‘Who(m) do you remember?’  
       b. tsah    ηjimas-su                      tsi-male-haθ  
           INT    stand-2s,PRES    INT-where-LOC  
           ‘Where are you standing?’  
       c. tsah    neji-to                      e-lune                      tsi-ako  
           INT    go-3s,PRES    DEF-woman    INT-why  
           ‘Why is the woman going?’

As in (93a) and (93b), any pronoun that fulfills a grammatical role within the sentence will receive the appropriate inflectional case marking. The pronoun ‘melo’ in (93a) is the object of the verb and so is marked with the accusative case; the pronoun ‘male’ in (93b) indicates the location of the verb and so is marked with the locative case. The ‘ako’ in (93c) fulfills no grammatical role, which is why it carries no case marking. The *wh*-questions are sometimes referred to as content questions because the optimal answer will fill in the “missing content” (i.e., the interrogative pronoun) from the question.

### 7.3.3 Clarification questions

Clarification questions—those that are asked to clarify what was said or heard—are formed by adding the interrogative particle ‘*tsah*’ and an interrogative prefix before the questioned entity:

- (94) a. *tsah*    *tsi-tsamano-su*                    *θeto-ma*  
           INT    INT-remember-2s,PRES    3s-ACC  
           ‘You remember her?’ (is that what you said?)
- b. *tsah*    *tsamano-su*                    *tsi-θeto-ma*  
           INT    remember-2s,PRES    INT-3s-ACC  
           ‘You remember her?’

The examples in (94) demonstrate that the basic structure is one of a sentence with an introductory ‘*tsah*’ and one prefixed element within the utterance to show what is being questioned. None of the elements are interrogative pronouns; instead, everything is provided, but the speaker is questioning whether she heard everything correctly, with emphasis on one particular element. If more than one element needs to be questioned, the speaker would say something like ‘What did you say?’ for the entire utterance to be repeated rather than using a clarification question like those in (94).

## 7.4 Reported speech

A direct quotation in *Hiutsaθ* indicates that the speaker is giving, as close as possible, a direct rendering of what was originally said. Direct speech is often used to allow the speaker to say something emphatic but attribute it to another speaker (i.e., lay blame elsewhere).

- (95)    *tsaθe-ka*            *e-lune*            *seje-ko*            *ɲa-kaŋa*  
           say-3s,PAST    DEF-woman    sing-1s,PAST    NEG-yesterday  
           ‘The woman said, “I didn’t sing yesterday”’

The direct quotation does not have any “trigger” like a subordinate marker to indicate that what follows is a direct quotation. Instead, the speaker’s voice will indicate that there has been a shift in voice from that of the reporter’s to that of the original speaker’s. The quoted speech, then, is in the same format as it was originally; thus, the verb in the quotation indicates a first-person subject even though the current speaker is saying that someone else said those words (i.e., the direct quotation uses ‘I’ instead of ‘she’ even though it is not the current speaker who didn’t sing yesterday). Furthermore, ‘*kaŋa*’ (‘yesterday’) may not refer to the day before the utterance in (95) was spoken. If, for instance, the woman said ‘*sejeko ɲakaŋa*’ on Monday, then ‘*kaŋa*’ refers to Sunday. If the speaker is reporting this statement that the woman said on a Thursday, though, ‘*kaŋa*’ still refers to Sunday. In other words, all tenses and references remain the same inside the quotation even if they do not match the current status. Furthermore, if the current speaker did not hear the original statement, the quoting verb (in this case, ‘*tsaθe*’) would have to be marked for some form of heresy. Direct quotations are only used to report what someone actually said, so the construction in (95) would not be used to report what someone might say in a given situation (in English, it is possible for someone to guess, using a direct quotation, what another speaker will say in a given context; in Hiutsaθ, that conjecture is impossible with a direct quotation).

It is a great responsibility to use direct speech in Hiutsaθ, so most speakers avoid it, instead using indirect speech reporting. Indirect speech can be doubly marked for heresy, which allows the speaker distance from the original quotation and allows the speaker to easily back out of what was being said (by outwardly indicating that what is being given is an imperfect rendering of the original). The double-marking of heresy can occur because the quoting verb and the verb within the indirect quotation can be marked for heresy, thus making it possible to say, ‘I heard that she heard X’.

- (96)    *tsaθe-to*            *e-lune*            *seje-ka*            *ɲa-kaŋa*  
           say-3s,PAST    DEF-woman    sing-3s,PAST    NEG-yesterday  
           ‘The woman said she didn’t sing yesterday’

In (96), ‘kaŋa’ has to refer to the day before the entire utterance was spoken; thus, the woman might have said, ‘I didn’t sing today’ on Sunday, but if the indirect quotation is being reported on Monday, then the ‘kaŋa’ is required instead of ‘esisola’ (‘today’). Furthermore, the verb in the indirect speech is inflected for the third person to show that what is being reported is indirectly being reported.

The example in (96) also shows that direct and indirect quotations are structurally ambiguous—there are no outward cues to indicate that (96) is an indirect speech act (in fact, if the woman reported that someone else didn’t sing, then (96) could easily be interpreted as a direct speech act). The distinction between the two is made using suprasegmental cues: intonation, pitch shifts, and even facial gestures indicate that a speaker is “switching voice” to portray someone else’s words.

### 7.5 Conjunctions and comparisons

Although subordinating conjunctions precede the clause they work with, coordinating conjunctions have a different placement: They are suffixed to the first word of the second constituent being conjoined.

- (97) a. *soŋa-to leθlo ala hukatso-to-aʃ leθelune aleo*  
 sleep-3s,PRES baby DEM play-3s,PRES-and child DEM  
 ‘That baby is sleeping and that child (over there) is playing’
- b. *atse-tsaŋpiθa-sa e-xaɸone-laʃe e-lexaɸone-laʃe*  
 HERESY-answer-3s,FUT DEF-man-or DEF-boy-or  
 ‘(I hear) either the man or the boy will answer’

In (97a), two sentences are joined by ‘aʃ’ (‘and’), with the ‘aʃ’ attaching to the end of the first word of the second sentence (‘hukatsoto’). In (97b), the ‘either ... or’ relationship is expressed by attaching ‘laʃe’ (‘or’) to all the constituents being considered (in this case, ‘exaɸone’ and ‘lexaɸone’).

Comparisons in Hiutsaθ require the comparative marker ‘tseŋa’ to be repeated so that the word order is the following: comp adj comp standard (where comp stands for ‘comparison marker’). That same pattern is used when the comparison is an equal one (e.g., ‘as happy as you’) but with a different comparative marker (‘tseθ’).

- (98) a. *maθo-to e-lune tseŋa aʃela-teʃ tseŋa θexo-ma*  
 be-3s,PRES DEF-woman COMP old-PRED COMP 1s-ACC  
 ‘The woman is older than me’

- b. maθo-to e-lelune tseθfolitsia-teφ tseθ halone-ma  
 be-3s,PRES DEF-girl as humble-PRED as daughter-ACC  
 θesu-su  
 2s-GEN  
 ‘The girl is as humble as your daughter’

In both examples, the comparative marker appears just before the quality being compared (‘aʃela’ in (98a) and ‘folitsia’ in (98b)) and then again just before the standard (‘θexo’ in (98a) and ‘halone θesusu’ in (98b)). The standard in both cases takes the accusative case (in some ways, the comparative markers are treated as prepositions).

In the same way, entire phrases or sentences can be compared:

- (99) a. luseŋa-xo tseŋa sopaŋu-ho-ma tseŋa koʃia-ho-ma  
 like-1s,PRES COMP dog-PL-ACC COMP cat-PL-ACC  
 ‘I like dogs more/better than cats’  
 b. luseŋa-xo tseθ sopaŋu-ho-ma tseθ koʃia-ho-ma  
 like-1s,PRES as dog-PL-ACC as cat-PL-ACC  
 ‘I like dogs as much as cats’  
 c. tseŋa halaθa-eme laŋena-ma tseŋa ataxe-xo  
 COMP need-1p,INCL,PRES rain-ACC COMP want-1s,PRES  
 mena-sola-ma eθa-soleʃ-amo  
 INDEF-day-ACC ADJ-sun-ACC  
 ‘We need rain more than I want a sunny day’  
 d. tseθ halaθa-eme laŋena-ma tseθ ataxe-xo  
 as need-1p,INCL,PRES rain-ACC as want-1s,PRES  
 mena-sola-ma eθa-soleʃ-amo  
 INDEF-day-ACC ADJ-sun-ACC  
 ‘We need rain as much as I want a sunny day’

When entire phrases are being compared, like in (99a-b), the constituents being compared take the required case for the sentence. In this case, both are required to be in the accusative because they are objects of the verb ‘luseŋa’. When entire clauses are being compared, like in (99c-d), the clauses appear as they normally would after the comparative markers.

# Chapter 8

## Semantic Categories

The first subsections cover areas of lexical semantics, focusing specifically on the following types of semantic categorization: color, kinship, and body part terminology (as well as terms that are related to those categories). The final subsections cover areas closely tied in with culture, including direction and time terminology, communication terms (including curses and blessings), and the Xiφαθεο organization of the spiritual world.

### 8.1 Colors and nature

The color terms in Hiutsαθ are based on the seven colors of the rainbow along with the colors black, white, and brown. In other words, the color terms are based directly on the colors nature provides. Table 29 below provides the terms for those 10 colors, as well as the words for ‘neutral’, ‘light’, and ‘dark’.

red	honesθa
orange	ʃenasθa
yellow	huleʃθa
green	xaolisθa
blue	xielasθa
indigo	koʃesiθa
violet (purple)	hamilaθa
black	xeisθa
brown	pahesθa
white	paisθa
neutral	ʃatsoske
light	pais
dark	xeis

Table 29. Color terms

The word for ‘neutral’ literally translates as ‘no color’—it is used for any colors that are not easily distinguishable (e.g., khaki, pale colors). The adjectives ‘light’ and ‘dark’ provided in Table 20 are only used in conjunction with colors; therefore, ‘dark blue’ would be ‘xielasθa xeis’. The word for ‘green’ (‘xaolisθa’) provides the root for many nature terms: xao. The xao root appears in words such as ‘xaoʃi’ (‘grass’), ‘xaoʃa’ (‘leaf’), ‘xaoʃeθ’ (‘nature’), and ‘xaoʃ’ (‘field’).

Color terms can be compounded for further modification. For example, ‘white’ and ‘red’ can come together as ‘paisθahonesθa’ (‘white red’) to express the color ‘pink’, which can then be further modified as ‘paisθahonesθa pais’ for ‘light pink’. When color terms are compounded, the “base” color goes last, so ‘huleʃθaxaolisθa’ is ‘yellow green’ (a yellowish shade of green) while ‘xaolisθahuleʃθa’ is ‘green yellow’ (a greenish shade of yellow). A mixture of black plus another color indicates the darkest shades of that color (i.e., navy blue or forest green would be examples of such possible compounded forms). Based on a survey of 119 word languages, Hiutsaø has a larger inventory of basic color terms (with an inventory of 10) than average (Kay and Maffi, WALS Chapter 133).

## 8.2 Kinship terms and family names

Because the Xiφaθeho are all women, there are more kinship terms for females than males; however, for both genders, there are basic terms for relationships:

woman/man	lune/xapone
wife/husband	lunea/xaponeo
mother/father	maθane/paθane
daughter/son	halone/xalone
sister/brother	∫uθano/faθano

Table 30. Female/Male kinship terms

The words for ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ are directly related to the terms for ‘woman’ and ‘man’—in fact, both terms were added solely to express the human relationships within the immediate family. The terms for ‘mother/father’ and ‘sister/brother’ are indirectly related to other Indo-European kinship terms (e.g., Latin ‘mater/pater’, ‘soror/frater’). For women, the following extended family terms exist:

great-grandmother	hilaθone
grandmother	laθone
granddaughter	lehalone
great-granddaughter	halea

Table 31. Extended female terms

The terms in Table 31 along with ‘mother’ and ‘daughter’ from Table 30 cover all the familial relationships of the Xiφaθeho families. If the Xiφaθeho need to reference a relationship for which they do not have a word, they simply rely on the term ‘θane’, which translates best as ‘relative’.

Xiφaθeho have first names but no middle or last (i.e., family) names. Instead, they are identified as a member of one of the 12 families based on their Xiφaθ (‘Gift’). Each family has a unique Xiφaθ that only their family members have, and each family determines their own traditions for coming up with names. For instance, the royal family has the Xiφaθ of

protecting, so they are known as the Xiḡileteḡeho (‘Protectors’) as a family, and their unique naming tradition is that when a new daughter is born, her mother uses part of her own mother’s name along with part of her great-grandmother’s name for her daughter. As a specific example, one Protector has a great-grandmother whose name is Loḡane and a mother whose name is Selaḡe; when her daughter was born, she named her daughter Lolaḡe (the ‘lo’ from Loḡane and the ‘laḡe’ from Selaḡe). Some families recycle whole names, passing names down among the generations, while others use more complex systems to create names for daughters. If someone wanted to specify who they were speaking about, they would use the first name alone with the identifying family names: ‘Heḡxiḡileteḡe Loḡane’ (lit. ‘prop-gift-protector Loḡane’ or ‘the Protector Loḡane’).

### 8.3 Body parts and human terms

Hiutsaḡ distinguishes among the following major body parts:

body	etsaf
head	kaḡa
neck	onise
chest/breast	setilo
belly/stomach	miate
back	ḡahilo
butt/hips	tuafmu
arm	tseḡa
wrist	meas
hand	ḡusa
leg	saox
ankle	xeah
foot	petas

Table 32. Body parts

As indicated in Table 32, Hiutsaθ has separate words for ‘arm’, ‘wrist’, and ‘hand’, but they do not have distinct words for ‘elbow’ or ‘shoulder’. In the same way, there are words for ‘leg’, ‘ankle’, and ‘foot’ but no distinct words for ‘hip’ (it is shared with ‘butt’) or ‘knee’. Having distinct words for ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ places Hiutsaθ in the majority of world languages, as roughly 63% of world languages make that distinction (Brown, *WALS* chapter 129). However, there is no distinct term for ‘finger’ (instead, ‘lepusa’, or ‘little hand’ with stress on the ‘le’ to show its compounded form is used), placing Hiutsaθ in the minority of world languages along with roughly 14% of world languages (Brown, *WALS* Chapter 130).

The Xiφaθeho have physical bodies that look, on the outside, the same as human bodies; however, their bodies do not have the same internal requirements or functions as human bodies. For instance, the Xiφaθeho do not need to eat or drink for nourishment. They do, however, have words for these activities, as they have, over time, incorporated cooking, eating, and drinking into ceremonies and, in some cases, into daily rituals. When the Xiφaθeho refer to ‘xeso’ (‘food’), they are often referring to something prepared ceremoniously for one of their rituals. Likewise, when they use ‘aηela’ (‘to cook’), it carries a deeper meaning than simply ‘to prepare food’—the term indicates that preparation for a ceremony or ritual is underway. Furthermore, the terms ‘time’ (‘to drink’) and ‘komaʃ’ (‘to eat’) indicate a depth of communion since eating and drinking are activities done together for a deeper purpose than nourishing the physical body. These same terms, when applied to humans, lose their significance. Furthermore, the Xiφaθeho do not write their language down, yet they have words for ‘book’ (‘tsameʃpoθu’), ‘letter’ (‘tsamaspoθu’), ‘paper’ (‘letsameʃpoθu’), and ‘pen’ (‘tsameaθ’) as they do speak about how humans communicate. Because the Xiφaθeho can send messages to each other in “written” thought form, their words for writing (‘tsame’) and reading (‘katsame’) mean something slightly different when referring to Xiφaθeho than when referring to humans.

#### 8.4 Directions and time

The Xiφaθeho recognize the four directions many Indo-European languages recognize (north, east, south, west), but they further recognize two more directions, best translated as ‘up’ and ‘down’ (i.e., up toward the heavens and down below the earth).

north	noliθ
east	hitsaθ
south	soliθ
west	toθmeθ
up	xieφoθ
down	tofahaθ

Table 33. Directions

The terms for ‘east’ and ‘west’ are related to the sun’s activities in those directions: ‘hitsaθ’ is related to ‘hitsa’ (‘to rise’), and ‘toθmeθ’ is related to ‘toθme’ (‘to set’). The term for the upward direction, ‘xieφoθ’, is directly related to ‘xieφo’, the word for ‘sky’ or ‘heavens’. These six directions play important roles in the daily rituals of the Xiφaθeho, as the morning rituals primarily acknowledge the east and request blessings for the coming day, daytime rituals tend to acknowledge the upward direction and request spiritual guidance, and evening rituals primarily acknowledge the west and request guidance during the hours of darkness. Any nighttime rituals are personal rituals and often acknowledge all six directions for pulling the most support from the universe during the dark hours.

The Xiφaθeho do not mark time as the majority of Indo-European languages do. For day-to-day awareness, they break the days into four major events: ‘jimaŋa’ (‘dawn’—pre-dawn and rising of the sun), ‘sola’ (‘day’—sun is out in full even if it is hidden by clouds), ‘nutsume’ (‘evening’—twilight and setting of the sun), and ‘nuθne’ (‘night’—the dark hours, the hours of the moon). Their seasons roughly correspond to the seasons of Western cultures; however, they do not have strict dates for seasons to begin. Instead, when the leaves start changing colors, it is ‘tsoskeposθo’ (‘color season’); when the leaves have all fallen and there is frost in the mornings, it is ‘sanaloeposθo’ (‘snow season’); when it begins getting warmer and buds appear, it is ‘φiθeniθueposθo’ (‘bloom season’); when the weather gets hot and remains hot, it is ‘soleŋeposθo’ (‘sun season’). One day they might say it is ‘φiθeniθueposθo’, but the next might bring a cold snap, so they could call it ‘sanaloeposθo’. Seasons do not have hard-and-true beginnings and ends.

They also do not divide their calendar into individual years; instead, they rely on an 84-year cycle, broken into 21-year increments. Roughly

every 7670 days, a new ‘malqelo’ (‘life cycle’) begins, in which every 30 days a family says goodbye to its eldest member and welcomes a new infant. There are 12 families of Xiφaθeho, so within 12 months, the oldest ‘eposθana’ (‘generation’) is gone, and a new one has begun. No Xiφaθe lives longer than 84 years, and every Xiφaθe becomes a mother at 21. This 21-year cycle also determines honorifics and their societal hierarchical system, which will be further discussed in the pragmatics section. Their time divisions also determine their “sacred” numbers: The number 4 is their “lucky” number—when things come in fours, it is a sign of good fortune—and the numbers 12 and 21 are sacred numbers—their true names can only be used in conjunction with life cycles and the Xiφaθeho families.

Individual months are only recognized only once every 21 years; however, the Xiφaθeho use their month names to indicate the passing of time according to the humans they most closely deal with (i.e., Americans/Indo-European cultures). The months of the year are named after the family the month is associated with, compounded with the word for ‘month’:

month		luθmes
January	Make	xinisliluθmes
February	Destroy	xioηeftsululuθmes
March	Provide	xieʃtaluθmes
April	Heal	xixilatsaluθmes
May	Interpret	xitsaθemeoluθmes
June	Protect	xiʃileteluθmes
July	See	xiʃinaluθmes
August	Find	xiʃinaʃoluθaluθmes
September	Mediate	ximitsaθeluθmes
October	Keep	xiokesaluθmes
November	Block	xiaʃθeηaluθmes
December	Move	ximoφuleluθmes

Table 34. Months

Alternatively, all the months can also be called ‘month of the X’; for example, July is either ‘xiʃinaluθmes’ as it is in Table 34 or ‘luθmes xiʃinaθehosu’ (‘month of the Seers’). Generally speaking, the names in Table 25 are used to indicate human passing of time while the longer, fuller names (i.e., the “pure” forms) are used to indicate the 12 months that initiate a new *malqnelo* (‘life cycle’). When speaking of human months, the introductory ‘xi’ can be dropped so that July could be either ‘xiʃinaluθmes’ or simply ‘ʃinaluθmes’. Because the month names are directly related to the *Xiʃaθho* (‘Gifts’), Table 34 also provides the 12 *Xiʃaθho*. The two that can be confused, especially for English speakers, are ‘xitsaθemeo’ and ‘ximitsaθe’. The *Xiʃaθ* ‘xitsaθemeo’ can be translated either as ‘to Interpret’ or ‘to Communicate’, which is in opposition to ‘ximitsaθe’ (‘to Mediate’ or ‘to Communicate’). The *Xitsaθemeoθeho* (‘Interpreters’) are able to use their *Xiʃaθ* to allow any two people, regardless of age, language, or mental disability, to fully communicate with one another while the *Ximitsaθeθeho* (‘Mediators’) allow any two people to find common ground, regardless of any prior arguments or disagreements. Both terms can be translated with the English ‘to communicate’, but their meanings are distinct in *Hiutsaθ*.

### 8.5 Communication terminology

One of the most robust semantic categories of *Hiutsaθ* words are those that fall into the communication category; words in the communication category share the root *tsa*. Examples of these categorical members are communication verbs, some of which are presented in Table 35.

answer	tsahɲiθa
ask	tsahɲe
call	tsaθhe
command, order	tsahlome
deliver (rel. to ‘say’, ‘carry’)	tsafima
draw	tsauɲe
interpret, communicate, translate	tsaθemeo
lie (accidental; e.g., telling a non-truth because unaware of the full story)	tsaθefah
lie (intentional) (lit. ‘say false’)	tsaθefahote
lie by withholding information	tsaθefahno
mediate, communicate	mitsaθe
pray, beseech	tsahɲema
read	katsame
record (keep track)	tsamelo
remember	tsamano
say, speak, tell	tsaθe
shout; (+ DAT) shout to/at; (ditransitive) shout X (to/at Y)	tsahaθe
speak out of turn, say wrong thing at the wrong time (lit. ‘fast speak’)	tsatsio
write	tsame

Table 35. Communication verbs

Some of the communication verbs are more typically associated with oral communication (e.g., ‘tsaθe’, ‘tsahɲema’), and others are more typically associated with written communication (e.g., ‘tsame’, ‘tsamelo’). Most (if not all), however, can be applied to either type of communication. For instance, a person could answer a question (‘tsahɲiθa’) orally or in written form (a human would write with pen and paper, a Xiφaθe with thoughts).

The three forms for ‘to lie’ in Hiutsaθ are indicative of the value placed on truth and knowing intentions of anyone who violates the truth. For the Xiφaθeho, volition is the dividing line between animate beings with souls and animate beings without souls (which will be discussed further in the next section), so understanding how a person chooses to use her volition is key in understanding that person. Many dichotomies exist in Hiutsaθ that reflect the volition of the person in question.

root of a problem (bad seed, bad apple); implies non-volitional or accidental (lit. ‘false tree’)	fahotetaφiha
root of a problem (bad seed, bad apple); implies volitional or purposeful (lit. ‘false tree’)	oθefahotetaφiha
imposter; implies non-volitional or accidental (lit. ‘false flower’)	fahoteφiθe
imposter; implies volitional or purposeful (lit. ‘false flower’)	oθefahoteφiθe

Table 36. Volition dichotomies

Table 36 presents two sets of terms that reflect how the person in question used her volition. The non-volitional or accidental examples (‘fahotetaφiha’ and ‘fahoteφiθe’) imply that the person in question is, without a doubt, either the root of the problem or an imposter; however, it is highly likely that the person does not know she is a problem. On the other hand, a person who willfully plays those same roles deserves a name that reflects that volitional status. The Xiφaθeho are very sensitive to these dichotomies and (try to) use the volitional terms only in the most extreme cases and only in the most obvious cases (i.e., it is a major social faux pas to use the more extreme version if the speaker doubts—at any level—that the person in question acted with volition).

There are several ways to express blessings and curses in Hiutsaθ. Blessings and curses are only permissible if speaking to a peer or a younger person. It is rude for a younger person to bless or curse an elder—blessings and curses alike indicate that the speaker has attained a social status that allows her to make such a statement. So even a blessing can be unacceptable if the speaker is in a younger generation than the audience. For this reason, all blessings and curses utilize the informal pronouns and verb agreements. Set examples of blessings are more difficult to provide because many bless-

ings are unique to families and/or to specific rituals; therefore, only the ones who perform the rituals know the blessings. However, there are a few that are documented examples of blessings:

- (100) a. ኮርካላኛ ፕካል ኅሱሱ ኮኮፕፕሎ ኮፕካልኛህ ግኮላህ  
luxakaθito taφiha θesusu luletotoaf letaφihahoma φaleamo  
‘may your tree grow and have four branches’
- b. ኮላኅሱ ለርካኅ ልኅፕፕግ  
lumaθosa axiφaθ hiutseteφ  
‘may your Gift be superior’
- c. ኮግኮህፕፕኮኅሱ ከኅኅኮ  
luφalejinajoluθasu soηaθale  
‘may you always be lucky’ (lit. ‘may you always find four’)

The Xiφaθeho often rely on the metaphorical image that their lives are trees—their roots are how they choose to grow and receive nourishment while their branches are how they choose to share their lives. The blessing in (100a) relies on that metaphor and also relates to the lucky number four (‘φale’); that blessing might also be translated as ‘may your life be strong and blessed’. The blessing in (100b) is something a mother might say to her daughter or a grandmother to her granddaughter—this type of blessing would never be said to a Xiφaθe outside of the family (no family member wants a Xiφaθe outside their family to have a superior Xiφaθ). Finally, the blessing in (100c) is the most typical example of a blessing in Hiutsaθ.

The curses are a bit more well documented and publicly accessible than blessings.

- (101) a. ኮኮፕፕ ፕካል ኅሱሱ ኮፕካልኛህ ኅኮላህ  
luletoto taφiha θesusu letaφihahoma θeleamo  
‘may your tree have three branches’
- b. ኮኮፕፕ ፕካል ኅሱሱ ኮፕካልኛህ ግካላህ  
luletoto taφiha θesusu letaφihahoma φiφluamo  
‘may your tree have five branches’
- c. ኮህፕፕሎህ ለርካህ  
lukufteasau axiφaθma  
‘may you lose your Gift’
- d. ኮላኅሱ ለርካኅ ህኅኅፕፕግ  
lumaθosa axiφaθ utsefaeteφ  
‘may your Gift be inferior’

- e.  $\text{ḷumathosau xepote}\phi$   
 ‘may you be outside’ (i.e., ‘abnormal’)
- f.  $\text{lutsathefahoteto ehalone}$   
 ‘may your daughter intentionally lie’
- g.  $\text{luxitsosa e}\theta\text{olita monemi}\theta\text{kelis}$   
 ‘may your soul become a spirit’
- h.  $\text{luxitsosa e}\theta\text{olita mone}\eta\text{xotso}$   
 ‘may your soul become a demon’

The curses in (101a-b) differ only in the number of branches that the metaphorical tree bears; cursing someone to only have three branches is like saying, ‘I hope you always feel you are missing something’, and cursing someone to have five branches is like saying, ‘I hope you live in paranoia that something needs to be destroyed’. The curses in (101c-d) are extreme curses, with (101c) being the stronger of the two. The  $\text{Xi}\phi\alpha\theta\text{ho}$  (‘Gifts’) are like sacred grounds for the  $\text{Xi}\phi\alpha\theta\text{eho}$  and so cursing another’s  $\text{Xi}\phi\alpha\theta$  is basically like condemning her to die. The curse in (101e) reflects the fear the  $\text{Xi}\phi\alpha\theta\text{eho}$  have of being different or outside the norm, and the curse in (101f) reflects the weight they place on having the people around them tell the truth (especially family members). Finally, the curses in (105g-h) reflect their spiritual beliefs, which will be outlined in the next section. Both curses are like saying, ‘may you always be in a state of unrest—even after death’.

The examples provided in (100) and (101) highlight another feature of Hiutsaθ: The possessive pronoun can be dropped if the pronoun is understood. In many of the blessings and curses, ‘ $\theta\text{esusu}$ ’ (the genitive form of ‘you’) does not appear but is instead replaced with the definite article. For example, in (100b), ‘ $\alpha\text{xi}\phi\alpha\theta$ ’ is translated as ‘your Gift’ even though ‘ $\theta\text{esusu}$ ’ does not appear in the utterance. The recipient of blessings and curses are clearly understood, as they are delivered directly to the recipient, thus making the possessive pronoun unnecessary.

## 8.6 Spiritual world

The  $\text{Xi}\phi\alpha\theta\text{eho}$  believe that each animate being with volition has a  $\theta\text{olita}$  (‘soul’) and a specific  $\text{malaflox}$  (‘purpose’) in life. If, during  $\text{malafai}\theta\text{o}$

(‘life’—a person’s life from beginning to end), the *θolita* realizes and fulfills its *malaflox*, it will be released from the *etsaf* (‘physical body’) and join the *Kaηimeθε* (‘Creator’) and other fulfilled *θolitaho* as a part of the *hiisporaxa* (‘universe’). If, however, the *θolita* does not fulfill its *malaflox* during its time in *haispo* (‘earth, world, planet’), the *θolita* will become one of two things: (1) it could become a *miθkelis* (‘spirit’), which has no form and is trapped in *haispo*, being forced to roam alongside with the living but without being able to take a shape and fulfill a *malaflox*; or (2) it could become a *ηaxotso* (‘demon’), which also has no form but can inhabit the bodies of the living. The *ηaxotsoho* are viewed as parasites even if they are “good” *ηaxotsoho*, so the fate of being condemned as a *ηaxotso* is viewed as a worse fate than becoming a *miθkelis*. Both the *miθkelisho* and *ηaxotsoho* can be positive or negative forces in *haispo*.

Opposite to the *Kaηimeθε* is the *Fahaψθε* (‘devil’), which is an evil being striving to thwart the *θolitaho* from realizing their *malaflox* (and thus causing the *θolitaho* to become either *miθkelisho* or *ηaxotsoho*). Both the *Kaηimeθε* and *Fahaψθε* have *tsafimaθεho* (‘messengers, angels’) who can deliver messages from them to the *θolitaho* still encased in living beings. While animals and plants are viewed as animate and have *malaxe* (‘life’), they do not have *θolitaho*; instead, they remain a part of the *hiisporaxa* (as a type of reincarnation) because without volition, they cannot do right or wrong.

According to their *ifepaiθoho* (‘beliefs’), *siψestoiθo* (‘death’) is not something to fear but is rather something to be prepared for. The *Xiψaθεho* try to live their lives preparing for the release of their *θolitaho* through daily *xulitsafeho* (‘rituals’) that honor the *Kaηimeθε*, *hiisporaxa*, *aθake* (‘greater good’), *malaxe*, and *malaflox*. Their *xulitsafeho* also often show deference to the *fahotsu* (‘evil’) that exists in *haispo* to show that they are not ignoring it but are instead choosing to honor *aθake*. How those *xulitsafeho* are done depends on individuals and their families. Most families have at least three *xulitsafeho* a day: *nixes* (‘morning ceremony’), *mexes* (‘midday ceremony’), and *nuxes* (‘evening ceremony’).

The *Xiψaθεho* distinguish among *ifepaiθoloψos* (‘religion’), *xaiφepaiθo* (‘organized religion’), and *oψaθεolisiθo* (‘spirituality’). For them, the strongest of the three is *oψaθεolisiθo*—it represents an awareness of the *Kaηimeθε* and *hiisporaxa* that the others do not. They view *ifepaiθoloψos* as an individual seeking to understand reason within the *hiisporaxa* and *xaiφepaiθo* as a group of individuals seeking to put order into the *hiisporaxa*. While they have no qualms with either type, they do not view the humans

who follow those principles as enlightened beings. Χιφαθεο are born with οφαθεολισιθο (an awareness of the spiritual realm), but most humans remain ignorant of the spiritual realm, focusing instead on their own understanding of the hiisποxa rather than letting the hiisποxa speak to them. The Χιφαθεο look down on humans because humans are not blessed with οφαθεολισιθο from birth.

Although the spiritual beliefs of the Χιφαθεο are set up to promote unity, they often promote fear instead. The word for ‘different’ (‘fahale’) in Hiutsaθ is based on the same root as the word for ‘evil’ (‘fahotsu’), reflecting the Χιφαθεο ifepaiθoho (‘beleifs’) that differences should be feared rather than celebrated or even accepted. Those who are different would be cast out from their society—those xepoleθαθεο (‘outcasts’) would no longer be welcome among the Χιφαθεο. Fear of becoming a xepoleθαθεο is so great that the Χιφαθεο diligently work at fitting in and remaining the same as their peers. Also based on the same root as ‘fahale’ and ‘fahotsu’ is ‘fahote’ (‘wrong/false’). Humans who have a Χιφαθ are viewed as fahale and are called αφχιφαθεο (literally, ‘Gifted thing’, relying on the pejorative ‘αφ-’). A human Χιφαθ is then called a fahotexiφαθ (‘false Gift’). While the Χιφαθεο are content to ignore the majority of the human population, they believe it is their malaβlox to deplete haispo of these αφχιφαθεο.

# Chapter 9

## Discourse Structure

Some of the most pertinent aspects of discourse in Hiutsaθ are politeness, discourse markers and organization, and narrative structure. Politeness is discussed in the first section, as it plays an important role for discourse as a whole and is directly tied into the previous sections on semantics.

### 9.1 Politeness and social hierarchy

As previously mentioned, there are always four generations of Xiφaθeho, each generation 21 years apart. These four generations determine the societal—and, thus, the politeness—hierarchy:

great-grandmothers	Advisors	laʃetaθeho
grandmothers	Elders	elenaθeho
mothers	Teachers	tinofiθeho
daughters	Learners	seφmeθeho

Table 37. Societal hierarchy

The eldest generation of Xiφaθeho make up the laʃetaθeho (‘Advisors’), and the second eldest generation make up the elenaθeho (‘Elders’). These two generations rule the Xiφaθeho; the elenaθeho are responsible for making policies and decisions that affect the Xiφaθeho as a whole, and they, in turn, look to the laʃetaθeho for advice on those policies and decisions. The youngest two generations follow the decisions of the eldest two generations. The tinofiθeho (‘Teachers’) spend their 21 years teaching their daughters, the youngest generation, how to use their Xiφaθho. The seφmeθeho (‘Learners’), then, spend their first 21 years learning the ways of the Xiφaθeho.

The progression of the Xiφaθeho follows the hierarchy in Table 28: Every Xiφaθe spends 21 years at each generation level, so that by the end of her 84 years, she has filled every role in the societal hierarchy. The hierarchy also determines politeness: A Xiφaθe uses the informal forms with any Xiφaθe at her same societal level or below her level, so that all laʃetaθeho

use informal forms with other Xiφaθeho while seφmeθeho use informal forms with other seφmeθeho but formal forms with all other Xiφaθeho. If the informal cannot be used with the fellow conversant, then blessings and curses cannot be given. Furthermore, if the informal cannot be used, then certain hedging strategies (most particularly, with expressions of doubt) will be employed throughout the discourse to show deference to the recipient.

Combining the societal hierarchy with the strong sense of family of the Xiφaθeho provides the five terms to indicate the types of obligations every Xiφaθe has, which are given in Table 38:

obligation, duty (general)	ʃane
obligation, duty (to Colony/society)	ʃakone
obligation, duty (to family)	ʃaxane
obligation, duty (to role/title/job)	ʃanahe
obligation, duty (to self)	ʃamoθene

Table 38. Levels of obligation

The general term for any type of obligation/duty is ‘ʃane’, which provides the base (or, rather, outline) for the other terms. The four specific types of obligation are listed in Table 38 and indicate the pressures of following what is expected of the Xiφaθeho; the most important of those obligations is ʃaxane (‘obligation to family’), followed closely by ʃakone and ʃanahe (‘obligation to society’, ‘obligation to title’). The ʃamoθene (‘obligation to self’) is less evident in younger generations but becomes stronger in older generations (who are concerned with fulfilling their malaʃlox and preparing for siφestoiθo).

## 9.2 Discourse markers and interjections

In Hiutsaθ, there are a variety of discourse markers and interjections to indicate the speaker’s stance or to allow listeners the ability to show that they are following the conversation. Table 39 below provides some the most common discourse markers and interjections:

cry of anger/frustration	hoθe
cry of anger/strong emotion	fahoθe
cry of disbelief	fa
cry of happiness/joy	xɪɲa
no	ɲi
okay	kaɸi
signal of thinking or comprehension	ha
stall for time ('um')	tɕa
well, gee, let's see	ax
yes	ʃi

Table 39. Discourse markers and interjections

The Hiutsaθ cry of anger or frustration, 'hoθe', is borrowed from the Ancient Greek 'hoi theoi' ('O gods!'); 'fahoθe', then, is a form meaning something like 'bad gods' and indicates a much stronger negative emotion than 'hoθe'. 'Fahoθe' is one of the strongest words in Hiutsaθ, and a member of a younger generation would most likely never use that word in a conversation with someone from an older generation. While the cry of disbelief is related to the root 'FA' ('bad'), 'fa' does not always indicate that the disbelief is negative. Someone could shout 'fa' upon hearing good news that is difficult to believe (similar to 'No!' in English, when the speaker is indicating disbelief to something good). These three words are the closest examples of "swear words" or "cuss words" in Hiutsaθ.

The cry of happiness or joy, 'xɪɲa' is often repeated three times with the last syllable dropped (i.e., 'xɪɲaxɪɲaxi!'). 'Kaɸi' is the shortened form of 'kaɸiɲe' ('to understand') and indicates that the speaker is in line with what is being said in the conversation. The sound that indicates the speaker is stalling for time is 'tɕa', which is also the root meaning 'say' and can be roughly translated into English as 'um'.

When two or more members of the same social hierarchical status are speaking, there are often very few pauses—these discourse markers and interjections overlap with utterances being spoken by other participants. However, when a member of a lower (i.e., younger) social hierarchical status is speaking with members of a higher social hierarchical status, the

younger participant waits for a pause to provide input in the form of an interjection or minimal response (such as those listed in Table 30); moreover, the younger participant often waits for a signal from the elder participants before providing her input.

### 9.3 Structure: Discourse and narratives

The most common discourse structure in Hiutsaø could be called a “basic” conversation and begins with the greeting ‘ifone’ (‘hello’), which is related to the word ‘fone’ (‘to begin’). Common opening couplets that immediately follow the greeting to begin a conversation include the following examples:

- (102) A: tsah nefito sola θesusu elo  
           ‘How’s your day going?’  
       B: sotimaʃ tsah θesusuaʃ  
           ‘Normal. And yours?’
- (103) A: tsah luxatsaθexo θeseama  
           ‘May I speak with you?’  
       B: xetsaθesu  
           ‘Speak.’

The couplet in (102) is an informal one—both speaker A and speaker B are in the same social hierarchy. Speaker A’s opening line would still be acceptable if speaker B were in a lower social hierarchy, but then speaker B’s response would be inflected for formality (i.e., ‘tsah θeseaaʃ’). The expected (or phatic, even) response is ‘sotimaʃ’, which is an adverbial form of ‘normal’. If the speaker wishes to express that her day is only so-so, her response might be ‘nefito aʃto’, meaning ‘It goes’ (as in, ‘my day is neither good nor bad’). The couplet in (103) is a formal one—speaker A is in a lower social hierarchy than speaker B. Another response speaker B might use is simply ‘ji’ (‘yes’) or even ‘ni’ (‘no’).

The person who initiates the conversation is typically the one to close it (unless an older participant closes it). A simple way to close a conversation is to say ‘aʃθale’ (‘goodbye’); another method for ending a conversation—even if the speakers are in the middle of the conversation—is to say ‘maθotoaʃ seθo’ (‘and so it is’), which is a phatic way of saying, ‘Don’t question it’ or ‘That’s just the way it is’. The phrase is phatic because it can be uttered without needing something questioned before it. It can occur in conversational situations that do not flow logically with the phrase, yet it





said, “No one understands me, but I know you will.” The tree bent toward her but did not speak. She said, “I will do anything to be able to speak with you.”

The tree stretched out its branches and brought the girl closer and closer until it squeezed the malaʃlox out of her. And then the girl clearly heard the tree say, “To speak with a tree, you must become one.”

The girl’s feet turned into roots and burrowed beneath the ground. Her legs grew together, and her skin turned to bark. Her arms and hands turned into branches. From that day forward, she saw her mother but could not speak with her or follow her home. Her twenty-first birthday passed, yet she had no daughter. The tree wept every day because she forsook her family to become a part of the forest.

A Gifted who wants to be different is not a Gifted at all.

The morals are reusable; that is, the same moral can be used with different stories. Likewise, the same story can be told with a different moral. For instance, in the story above, the speaker could have focused instead on the importance of family, providing a moral about family rather than about wanting to be different. Many of the stories show how the Xiʃaʃeho feel about the separation between them and nature, the separation between them and humans, and the importance of remaining true to the Colony and other Xiʃaʃeho.

This grammar of Hiutsaʃ provides an overview of the language, which also provides insights into the Xiʃaʃeho culture. The data in this grammar is some of the most extensive data collected, as the Xiʃaʃeho do not willingly provide humans with information about their language. However, if possible, further research on everyday communications among the Xiʃaʃeho are necessary to glean more information about the language’s grammar and about the speakers themselves. Most humans will never see or speak with a Xiʃaʃe, yet understanding their language and ideals is an important first step in healing the relationship between the Xiʃaʃeho and humans.

# Appendix I: Guide to IPA

## Consonants

p	pat, apple
t	toe
k	kite
ʔ	sound at the begging of each vowel in uh-oh
ɸ	sound made by putting two lips close together and blowing air through them
f	five
θ	thin
s	sea
ʃ	shoe
x	sound made in German ach
h	hot
ts	cats
m	mom
n	night
ɲ	most similar to the sound in onion; Spanish piña
ŋ	sing
l	let

## Vowels

ɑ	father
e	eight
ɛ	met
i	elite
ɪ	pit
o	ode
ɔ	dawn
u	assume
ʊ	put

## Appendix II: Morpheme analysis of Hiutsaθ story

maθo-to mone-xiφaθe kie ataxe-to melo kie maθo-to  
be-3s,PRES INDEF-Gifted SUB want-3s,PRES who SUB be-3s,PRES

fahale-teφ mone-je-xiφaθe.  
different-PRED INDEF-NEG-Gifted

‘A Gifted who wants to be different is not a Gifted at all.’

asqa-ka mone-xiφaθe kie maθo-ka tseηa utse tseηa  
think-3s,PAST INDEF-Gifted SUB be-3s,PAST COMP better COMP

e-xiφaθe-ho-ma θaʃi-amo uleʃʃina-ka-aʃ a-moφule-iθo  
DEF-Gifted-PL-ACC other-ACC watch-3s,PAST-and DEF-move-NOM

i-soleʃ-su xaotaφ-haθ e-je-konila-haθ-ano.  
DEF-sun-GEN forest-LOC DEF-NEG-Colony-LOC-but

‘One Gifted decided that she was better than the other Gifteds and spent her time in the forest instead of the Colony.’

xalaθa-ka i-xaomeθ-xa e-je-xaθane-xa-ano.  
commune-3s,PAST DEF-nature-COM DEF-NEG-family-COM-but

‘She communed with nature instead of her family.’

ηa-xameli-ka-aʃ a-ʃakone-ho-ma.  
NEG-follow-3s,PAST-and DEF-societal.obligation-PL-ACC

‘And she did not obey her societal duties.’

peʃne-ka mena-nimaηa filoθ i-xaotaφ-haθ meoʃ-ka-aʃ tsuʃo  
walk-3s,PAST INDEF-morning into DEF-forest-LOC sit-3s,PAST-and before

i-taφiha-haθ.

DEF-tree-LOC

‘One morning, she walked into the forest and sat before a tree.’

tsahŋe-ka      kie      ta-xatsaθe-to                      i-taφiha      θeto-ma.  
 ask-3s,PAST    SUB    SUBJ-speak.with-3s,PRES    DEF-tree    3s-ACC  
 ‘She asked it to speak with her.’

tsahŋema-ka    kie      ta-xatsaθe-to                      θeto-ma.  
 pray-3s,PAST    SUB    SUBJ-speak.with-3s,PRES    3s-ACC  
 ‘She begged it to speak with her.’

tsaθe-ka:      kaφiŋne-to              ŋe-θe      θexoma      saŋa-xo-ano  
 say-3s,PAST    understand-3s,PRES    NEG-one    1s-ACC      know-1s,PRES-but

kie      kaφiŋnesau.  
 SUB    understand-2s,PRES

‘She said, “No one understands me, but I know you will.”’

moφule-ka      i-taφiha      filoθ      θeto-ma      ŋa-tsaθe-ka-ano.  
 move-3s,PAST    DEF-tree    toward    3s-ACC      NEG-speak-3s,PAST-but  
 ‘The tree bent toward her but did not speak.’

tsaθe-ka:      laŋa-so      mena-aφθe-ma      kie      θalu  
 say-3s,PAST    do-1s,FUT    INDEF-thing-ACC    SUB      can

ta-xatsaθe-xo                      θesu-ma.  
 SUBJ-speak.with-1s,PRES    2s-ACC  
 ‘She said, “I will do anything to be able to speak with you.”’

heleŋa-ka      i-taφiha      a-letaφiha-ho-ma      oseθme-ka-aŋ  
 push-3s,PAST    DEF-tree    DEF-branch-PL-ACC    pull-3s,PAST-and

e-lelune-ma    utse-siole    utse-siole-aŋ                      kie-filoθo    itsimaŋi-ka  
 DEF-girl-ACC    COMP-closeCOMP-close-and    SUB-until    squeeze-3s,PAST

a-malaŋlox-ma                      θeto-lof.  
 DEF-life.purpose-ACC    3s-ABL

‘The tree stretched out its branches and brought the girl closer and closer until it squeezed the malaŋlox out of her.’

ate-ka-aŋ                      eφesta      so-iθne      e-lelune      kie      tsaθe-ka  
 hear-3s,PAST-and    after.that    ADV-easy    DEF-girl    SUB      say-3s,PAST

i-taφiha: xatsaθe meni-taφiha-ma hasana xitso-su  
 DEF-tree speak.with,INF INDEF-tree-ACC must become-2s,PRES

θe.

one

‘And then the girl clearly heard the tree say, “To speak with a tree, you must become one.”’

xitso-kata petas-ho e-lelune-su malaφ-ho mehlekata  
 become-3p,PAST foot-PL DEF-girl-GEN root-PL dig-3p,PAST

sulo i-hapaθ-ma.

beneath DEF-ground-ACC

‘The girl’s feet turned into roots and burrowed beneath the ground.’

xitso-kata a-saox-ho mone-teφ xitso-ka-aφ a-pea  
 become-3p,PAST DEF-leg-PL one-PRED become-3s,PAST-and DEF-skin

pahe.

bark

‘Her legs grew together, and her skin turned to bark.’

xitso-kata a-tsefa-ho a-nusa-ho-aφ letaφiha-ho.  
 become-3p,PAST DEF-arm-PL DEF-hand-PL-and branch-PL

‘Her arms and hands turned into branches.’

fi-na-ka eφesta e-maθane-ma na-θalu-ano xatsaθe-ka  
 see-3s,PASTafter.that DEF-mother-ACC NEG-can-but speak-3s,PAST

θeto-ma xameli-ka-laφe θeto-ma filoθ a-θuloφ-ma.  
 3s-ACC follow-3s,PAST-or 3s-ACC to DEF-house-ACC

‘From that day forward, she saw her mother but could not speak with her

or follow her home.’

θale-ka a-malaφelo noi leto-ka-ano ne-halone-ma.  
 end-3s,PAST DEF-life.cycle first have-3s,PAST-but NEG-daughter-ACC

‘Her twenty-first birthday passed, yet she had no daughter.’

fa-osa-ka i-taφiha so-eθasola kie-aniso  
 HABIT-weep-3s,PAST DEF-tree ADV-daily SUB-because

lofaθne-ka e-xaθane-ma kie xitso-ka teʃliispole  
 leave-3s,PAST DEF-family-ACC SUB become-3s,PAST part

i-xaotaϕ-su.

DEF-forest-GEN

‘The tree has wept every day because she forsook her family to become a part of the forest.’

maθo-to mone-xiϕaθe kie ataxe-to melo kie maθo-to  
 be-3s,PRES INDEF-Gifted SUB want-3s,PRES who SUB be-3s,PRES

fahale-teϕ mone-je-xiϕaθe.

different-PRED INDEF-NEG-Gifted

‘A Gifted who wants to be different is not a Gifted at all.’

# Appendix III: Grammar Cheat Sheets

## Personal pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
	Informal	Formal	Informal	Formal
First	θexo		θeeme (incl.)	
			θeome (excl.)	
Second	θesu	θesea	θeume	θesuta
Third	θeto (vol.)	θelea	θeata (vol.)	θeluta
	tsito (no vol.)		tiata (no vol.)	
	αφτο (inani.)		αφατα (inani.)	

**Nominal affixes**

Inflectional pre- fixes	Interrogative	tsi-		
	Negation	je-		
	Definite deter- miners	volitional	e-	
		nonvolitional	i-	
		inanimate	a-	
		proper	(heθ-)	
	Indefinite deter- miners	volitional	(mone-)	
		nonvolitional	(meni-)	
		inanimate	(mena-)	
	Derivational prefixes	Nominal	Diminutive	le-
Pejorative			aφ-	
Denominal		Adjectivalize	eθa-	
Inflectional suf- fixes	Number	Singular	—	
		Plural	-ho/-o	
	Cases	Agentive	—	
		Patientive	-ma	
		Genitive	-su	
		Dative	-φis	
		Locative	-haθ	
		Comitative	-xa	
		Instrumental	-xaφ	
		Ablative	-lof	
Vocative	-i			

**Verbal affixes**

Infinitive		— (bare form)	
Inflectional prefixes	Interrogative		tsi-
	Negation	Declarative	ŋɑ-
		Interrogative	
		Imperative	nei-
		Subjunctive	
		Optative	
	Voice	Active	—
		Passive	pe-
	Mood	Declarative	—
		Imperative	xe-
		Hortative	
		Subjunctive	ta-
		Optative	lu-
	Aspect	Aorist/Simple	—
		Perfect	ni-
		Imperfect	φɑ-
		Habitual	ʃɑ-
	Evidential	speaker knowledge	—
		heresy	atse-
		heresy/reason	ɑ-
		heresy/no reason	ane-
		belief/reasoning	lo-
		possibility	i-
		doubted	tsu-

Derivational prefixes	Verbal		Diminutive	lei-
			Gift	xi-
Derivational suffixes	Deverbal	Nominal		-iθo
			('one who')	-θe
			('thing used to')	-aθ
	Adjectival	('thing/one that is')	-lih	
		('thing/one used for')	-laθ	

INT-NEG-VOICE-MOOD-ASP-EVID-DIM-GIFT-VERB-TENSE,PERS,NUM

### Verb tense, person, number suffixes

		Present		Past		Remote Past		Future		Remote Future	
		Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural
1	incl.	-xo	-eme	-ko	-keme	-kaxo	-kaeme	-so	-seme	-saxo	-saeme
	excl.		-ome		-kame		-kaome		-same		-saome
2	inf.	-su	-ume	-ku	-kome	-kasu	-kaume	-sau	-some	-sasu	-saume
	form.	-sea	-suta	-ke	-kota	-kae	-kauta	-se	-sota	-sae	-sauta
3	form.	-lea	-luta								
	inf.	-to	-ata	-ka	-kata	-kato	-kaata	-sa	-sata	-sato	-saata

### Adjectival affixes

Inflectional prefixes	Interrogative		tsi-
	Negative		ɲa-
	Animacy	Volitional	(oθe-)
		Nonvolitional	(etsi-)
		Inanimate	(aφa-)

Derivational prefixes	Adjectival	Comparative	utse-
		Superlative	hiutse-
		Diminutive	li-
	De-adjectival	Nominalize	teʃ-
		Nominalize (‘one who’)	aθe-
		Verbalize	axi-
		Adverbialize	so-
Inflectional suffixes	Case	Agentive	—
		Patientive	-amo
		Genitive	-es
		Dative	-ise
		Locative	-eϕ
		Comitative	
		Instrumental	
		Ablative	
		Vocative	-ita
	Predicate	-teϕ	

INT-NEG-ANIM-COMP/SUPER-DIM-ADJ-CASE







English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
because	conj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	aniso
become aware, awaken (lit. ‘eye wake’)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	oφaθeolis
become, change	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xitso
bed	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	neho
before, in front of (+ LOC)	prep	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsufo
begin	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fone
behind	adv	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	φesta
behind, after (+ LOC)	prep	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	φesta
belief	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ifepaiθo
believe	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ifepa
belly	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	miate
below, under (+ LOC); under (+ ACC); out from under (+ ABL)	prep	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	sulo
beseech, pray	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsahjema
beside, along, to the side, near (+ LOC); (go) along the side of (+ ACC)	prep	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xiuθ
best, superior	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hiutse
bestow, grant (rel. to ‘give’ and ‘answer’)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	jutsahme
better	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	utse
better than, more than, than (+ ACC)	prep	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tseŋa
big	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hao
bird	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	utseka
bite (rel. to ‘tooth’)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θiʃto
black	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xeisθa
bless	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lisune
block	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	aʃθeŋa

English	POS	Ἰῦτσαθ	Hiutsaθ
blood	n	ἡμῖθ	hemiθ
bloom (lit. ‘new/young flower’)	n	φῖθενῖςθου	φῖθενῖςθου
blow (rel. to ‘wind’)	v	φῆμῖθ	φehamo
blue	adj	χιελῖςθᾶ	xielasθa
boast	v	ἡσῖθελᾶμῖθ	hoʃkelame
body	n	εῖςαφ	etsaf
bone	n	πῖθον	poneθ
book	n	τῖςαμῖθ	tsameʃpoθu
border, boundary (rel. to ‘final’ and ‘edge’)	n	υῖθῖςαφ	utsinjaf
boring	adj	αῖθνο	axno
born	v	ἡμῖθ	hemala
both ... and	conj	αῖθ	af ... af
bottle	n	λοῖθιποῖς	lotipofe
boundary, border (rel. to ‘final’ and ‘edge’)	n	υῖθῖςαφ	utsinjaf
box (nom. of ‘hold’)	n	ῖθῖςαθᾶ	julaθoaθ
boy	n	λέξᾶπῖθον	léxapone
brain	n	νῖθον	nuleθ
branch (dim. of ‘tree’)	n	λέτᾶφῖθᾶ	létaφiθa
bread	n	μαῖθῖςκα	maʃkala
breakfast, morning ceremony	n	ῖθῖς	jixes
breast, chest	n	σεῖθῖθ	setilo
breathe (rel. to ‘air’)	v	αῖθμῖθ	atsomeli
brick	n	σοῖθᾶφ	soɲaf
bring	v	μαῖθᾶ	maʃa
brother	n	φᾶθᾶνο	faθano
brown	adj	παῖθῖςθᾶ	pahesθa

English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
bug (e.g., mite, lice, bed bug)	n	ᐱᐃᐱᐱ	fehota
build (rel. to ‘hand’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ijusθo
building	n	ᐱᐱᐱ	xape
burn (rel. to ‘fire’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	paofθamo
but	conj	ᐱᐱ	ano
butt	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tuaʃmu
butterfly	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	φioʃa
buy	v	ᐱᐱᐱ	espo
calendar, eighty-four-year cycle	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kalena
call	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsathe
can	aux	ᐱᐱᐱ	θalu
cane	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hifte
care (rel. to ‘careful’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱ	lifa
careful	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lifeo
carry	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fimale
carve, sculpt	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	uʃetsa
carver, potter, sculptor	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	uʃetsaθe
cat	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	koʃia
catch	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ixtole
cause	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ulef
certainty	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laθese
chair	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	meʃo
change, become	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xitso
charm, attract	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	paʃme
charm, attraction, magnetism	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	paʃo
cheap (metaphorical use: ‘no big-gie’)	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	itso
child (dim. of ‘person’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léθelune

English	POS	ἵῦῦῦῦ	Hiutsaθ
choose	v	ἡῦῦ	mefeo
circle (lit. ‘one line’)	n	ἡῦῦῦ	menalef
city (rel. to ‘together’ and ‘live’)	n	ῦῦῦῦ	xamala
class (nom. of ‘learn together’)	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦῦ	xaseφmeiθo
clay	n	ῦῦῦῦ	haluφne
clean	adj	ἡῦῦῦῦ	kileʃna
clique, team (dim. of ‘group’)	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	lépynela
clock	n	ῦῦῦῦ	anixo
close	v	ῦῦῦῦ	petsufi
clothes	n	ῦῦῦῦ	ʃimono
cloud	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	xifθelo
cold	adj	ῦῦῦ	xis
colony	n	ἡῦῦῦῦ	konila
color	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	tsoske
come (rel. to ‘to’)	v	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	filoθne
command, order	v	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	tsahlome
commune	v	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	xalaθa
communicate, interpret, translate	v	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	tsaθemeo
communicate, mediate	v	ἡῦῦῦῦῦῦ	mitsaθe
communion, community	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦ	xalaθaiθo
community, communion	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦ	xalaθaiθo
competence, ability	n	ἡῦῦῦῦῦῦ	meθalu
concerning, about (+ DAT); around (+ LOC); (go) around (+ ACC); out and around (+ ABL)	prep	ἡῦῦῦῦ	mexo
confuse	v	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	fiotsa
content	adj	ῦῦῦῦῦῦ	luθa
control	n	ῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦῦ	ηῖφaiθo

English	POS	ጸሐፊ	Hiutsaθ
control	v	ኃግ	ገባታ
conversation (nom. of ‘talk’)	n	ዕገገግግ	xatsaθeiθo
converse, talk (lit. ‘together speak’)	v	ዕገገግ	xatsaθe
cook	v	ባሃጌ	aገela
copy, duplicate (lit. ‘cause become two’)	v	ህጌጌዕገገግግ	ulefxitsofolu
corner	n	ሠገ	metsi
council (nom. of ‘advise together’)	n	ዕገገግግግ	xalefetaiθo
count	v	ሃጌ	nosa
cover	v	ሠጌ	kisne
crazy	adj	ባህጌ	aftaገa
create	v	ሠጌ	kaገime
crooked	adj	ገጌ	ijaጌ
cry	v	ዐጌ	osa
cup (nom. of ‘drink’)	n	ህጌ	timeaθ
cushion (dim. of ‘bed’)	n	ጌጌ	léገeho
cut	v	ዐጌጌ	oጋθule
cute (dim. of ‘beautiful’)	adj	ጌጌጌ	liጋθemo
daily	adv	ጌጌጌጌ	soéθasola
dance (rel. to ‘joy’)	v	ጌጌ	lusi
danger	n	ጌጌጌ	ileጋገe
dangerous	adj	ጌጌጌጌ	eθaíleጋገe
dark	adj	ዕገጌ	xeis
daughter	n	ጌጌጌ	halone
dawn; hours of the morning just before and as the sun rises	n	ሠጌ	ገገገገa
day; hours between dawn and twilight	n	ጌጌ	sola
debt	n	ጌጌጌ	ehioጋ

English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
December (lit. ‘move month’)	n	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ximoφuleluθmes
delight	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tulaθle
deliver (rel. to ‘say’, ‘carry’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsafima
demon (spirit with ability to inhabit bodies)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ηaxotso
denoting Gift	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xi-
desire, want (rel. to ‘wish’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ataxe
desire, want, wish	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	sitaxe
destroy	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	oηeftsu
devil	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fahaʃθe
diablerie, reckless mischief, charismatic wildness	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θipule
diacritic (used for reduced form of vowels)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tiakaleθo
die (rel. to ‘after’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	siφesto
difference (impact)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsiamoiθo
different	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fahale
difficult	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	oʃe
dig	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	mehole
diminutive	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lei-
dinner, evening ceremony	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	nuxes
direction, way	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsetilo
dirt (rel. to ‘ground’, ‘earth’, ‘brown’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halus
dirty	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	soʃuθ
disappear	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	etinoη
do	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laʃa
do crafts, sew, draw, knit	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ηuθuo
dog	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	sopaηu



English	POS	ሕገግግ	Hiutsaፀ
eighty-four-year cycle (lit. ‘four life cycle’)	n	ግጌጠጠጠጠ	ፉalemalqnelo
eighty-four-year cycle, calendar	n	ጠጠጠ	kalena
either ... or	conj	ጠጠ	lafe ... lafe
Elder (nom. of ‘lead’)	n	ጠጠጠጠ	elenaፀe
eleven	adj	ጠጠጠጠ	eneso
empty	adj	ጠጠጠ	eola
end	v	ጠጠጠ	ፀale
endanger	v	ጠጠጠጠ	ileፀo
endure	v	ጠጠጠ	kafea
energy	n	ጠጠጠጠ	kafelo
enough	adj	ጠጠጠጠ	melufna
envy	n	ጠጠጠጠጠ	ፀomiiፀo
envy	v	ጠጠጠ	ፀomi
eternal (no beginning or end)	adj	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	selefsa
evening (hours just before and after the sun sets) (rel. to ‘night’, ‘before’, ‘moon’)	n	ጠጠጠጠ	nutsume
evening ceremony, dinner	n	ጠጠጠጠጠ	nuxes
event	n	ጠጠጠጠጠ	ፀeleፉa
every	adj	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	ጎupasla
everyday	adj	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	éፀasola
evil	n	ጠጠጠጠ	fahotsu
example (dim. of ‘idea’)	n	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	léitsima
expect	v	ጠጠጠጠ	lufne
expensive (metaphorical use)	adj	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	neፉፀali
experiment	n	ጠጠጠጠጠጠጠ	elixeiፀo
experiment	v	ጠጠጠጠጠ	elixe
express	v	ጠጠጠጠጠጠጠጠ	áxitsaፀelo



English	POS	Ἰουτσαῶ	Hiutsaθ
fight (for fighting's sake) (verbal or physical)	v	Ἰῶνῆ	peaʃke
fight (with good reason) (verbal or physical)	v	Ἰῶ	peφo
final, last	adj	Ἰῶ	utsima
find (lit. 'see again' (or 'see twice'))	v	Ἰῶνῆ	ʃinaʃoluθa
finish (lit. 'cause end')	v	Ἰῶνῆ	ulefθale
fire	n	Ἰῶ	paof
first	adj	Ἰῶ	noi
fish	n	Ἰῶ	peθsa
five	adj	Ἰῶ	φiφlu
float	v	Ἰῶ	selah
flow (rel. to 'water')	v	Ἰῶ	haʃelo
flower	n	Ἰῶ	φiθe
fly	v	Ἰῶ	alikaθi
fog (dim. of 'cloud')	n	Ἰῶ	léxifθelo
fold	v	Ἰῶ	ʃone
follow, obey (rel. to 'with')	v	Ἰῶ	xameli
food	n	Ἰῶ	xeso
foolish	adj	Ἰῶ	pujeo
foot	n	Ἰῶ	petas
for, on account of, due to (+ DAT)	prep	Ἰῶ	isθu
forest, woods	n	Ἰῶ	xaotaφ
forever (lit. 'no end')	adj	Ἰῶ	ηάθale
forget (rel. to 'lose' and 'memory')	v	Ἰῶ	kuʃetsama
forgive (+ DAT)	v	Ἰῶ	hiφe
four	adj	Ἰῶ	φale
free	adj	Ἰῶ	ηulafe

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
free, release	v	ᐃᐃᐃ	ηulo
freeze (rel. to ‘ice’)	v	ᐃᐃᐃ	hitse
frequency	n	ᐃᐃᐃ	pofte
frequent	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	eθapofte
frequently, often	adv	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	soeθapofte
friend	n	ᐃᐃᐃ	ameli
from, away (+ ACC); out of (+ ABL)	prep	ᐃᐃᐃ	lofa
fruit (rel. to ‘life’ and ‘flower’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	malaφiθ
fulfill	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	mesafo
full	adj	ᐃᐃᐃ	ʃateʃ
funny	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xilaso
game (nom. of ‘play’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hukatsoiθo
generation (rel. to ‘year’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	eposθana
get	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xelota
Gift	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xiφaθ
gift, present	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	helotase
Gifted	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xiφaθe
girl	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	lélune
give	v	ᐃᐃᐃ	ɲue
glad, happy	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	luθeli
glass	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	kiηafo
glove, net (nom. of ‘catch’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ixtoleaθ
go	v	ᐃᐃᐃ	neʃi
go around (+ ACC); around (+ LOC); concerning, about (+ DAT); out and around (+ ABL)	prep	ᐃᐃᐃ	mexo
God (‘Yahweh’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	aηφeh
God (lit. ‘creator’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	kaηimeθe

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
god, lord	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θeus
good (for people)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	iφune
good (of objects)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	iaφne
goodbye (rel. to ‘end’)		ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	afθale
goof up, mess up	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	isolate
government (nom. of ‘together lead’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xaelenaiθo
grain	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	kala
grand, great	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	siqe
granddaughter (dim. of ‘daughter’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	léhalone
grandmother	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	laθone
grant, bestow (rel. to ‘give’ and ‘answer’)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	jutsahme
grass (rel. to ‘green’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xaoli
great-granddaughter	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	halea
great-grandmother	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hilaθone
great, grand	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	siqe
greater good	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	aθake
green	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xaolisθα
greet (lit. ‘cause begin’)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ulefθone
ground (rel. to ‘earth’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hapaθ
group	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	pupela
grow (intransitive only)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xakaθi
grunt worker	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	aφle
guts	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	seθ
hair	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ᶑaule
half (rel. to ‘two’)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ᶑoluθle
hand	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	jusa

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
happen, occur	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	efeni
happiness	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaluθe
happiness (at another's expense), schadenfreude	n	ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	moluθna
happy, glad	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	luθeli
hard	adj	ᐅᐅᐅ	tsato
hat	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ᐅeis
hate	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	noᐅte
have	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	leto
head	n	ᐅᐅᐅ	kaθa
heal	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xilatsa
healthy (rel. to 'live')	adj	ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	malasᐅti
hear	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	ate
heart	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xiuᐅ
heavens, sky	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xieᐅθo
heavy	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	hepaθ
hello (rel. to 'begin')		ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	iᐅsone
help	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	aθu
here	adv	ᐅᐅᐅ	pala
hide	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	noleᐅ
hierarchy (social)	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	peᐅsatsone
hilarity, humor	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ᐅuxile
hill	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	hilotse
hit	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	fela
hold (rel. to 'hand')	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ᐅulaθo
holy	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	iᐅᐅᐅna
holy, sacred (lit. 'most good')	adj	ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	hiutseiᐅᐅune
honor, respect	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	heᐅθaiθo







English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
leave (rel. to ‘away’)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lofaθne
left	adj	ᐃᐱᐱ	efθo
leg	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	saox
lesson (nom. of ‘teach’)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tinofiθo
let go, spill, let loose	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	olaxe
let loose, let go, spill	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	olaxe
letter (correspondence)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsamaspoθu
lick	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	lasha
lie (accidental; e.g., telling a non-truth because unaware of the full story)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsaθefah
lie (down)	v	ᐃᐱᐱ	noθa
lie (intentional) (lit. ‘say false’)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsaθefahote
lie by withholding information	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsaθefahno
life (a person’s life from birth to death) (nom. of ‘live’)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	malaʃaiθo
life (general--no beginning and end)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	malaxe
life cycle	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	malajelo
light	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	supeleφ
light (as in ‘I see light’)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	supeleφiθo
light (as in ‘turn on the light’)	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	supeleφaθ
light (for shades/hues)	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	pais
light (for well-lit areas)	adj	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	supeleφlih
like (used generally with objects or clauses; expresses preference)	v	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	luseŋa
line	n	ᐃᐱᐱ	nef
lip	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	liφe
list	n	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	imuθ



English	POS	ᐃᓴᐅᓴ	Hiutsaθ
manner	n	ᐅᐅᐅ	talitso
many	adj	ᐃᓴᐅ	maipo
map	n	ᐃᓴᐅᓴᐅ	kaliθoŋa
March (lit. ‘provide month’)	n	ᐅᓴᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xieʃtaluθmes
marry	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	omeli
marvel (at) (+DAT) (used only for negative marveling: ‘I marveled at her stupidity’) (lit. ‘bad’ and ‘see’) (cannot be passive)	v	ᐅᐅ	faʃi
marvel (at) (+DAT) (used only for positive marveling: ‘I marveled at her courage’) (lit. ‘good’ and ‘see’) (cannot be passive)	v	ᐅᐅᐅ	iʃʃi
masculine, male	adj	ᐅᐅ	xane
may	aux	ᐅᐅ	paʃe
May (lit. ‘interpret month’)	n	ᐅᓴᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xitsaθeluθmes
maybe, perhaps (rel. to ‘probable’)	adv	ᐅᐅ	ifto
mean	adj	ᐅᐅᐅ	neʃafo
mean	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	istaŋe
measure	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eŋenosɑ
meat	n	ᐅᐅᐅ	xɑθo
mediate, communicate	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	mitsaθe
meet (lit. ‘together come’)	v	ᐅᓴᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xafiluθne
memory	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	tsamas
mess up, goof up	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	isolate
message	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	tsaθmas
method, way	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	mekuse
mid-day break; lunch	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	mexes
middle	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	meθao
miracle, natural wonder	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	tsuimane

English	POS	Ἰουτσαῖον	Hiutsaθ
mission	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	φesio
mold, shape, train	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	kesme
month (rel. to ‘moon’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	luθmes
moon	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	lume
more than, better than, than (+ ACC)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	tseŋa
morning ceremony; breakfast	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	ɲixes
mother	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	maθane
mountain	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	mosɲe
mouse	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	muɟe
mouth	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	miφa
move	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	moφule
mud (lit. ‘wet dirt’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	laɲehalus
muscle	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	xaθ
music (rel. to ‘joy’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	lisulɲa
must	aux	Ἰουτσαῖον	hasana
name, label (nom. of ‘call’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	tsaθheiθo
narrow	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	leno
natural wonder; miracle	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	tsuimane
nature	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	xaomeθ
near	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	siole
near (to) (+ LOC)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	sio
neck	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	onise
need	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	halaθa
neither ... nor	conj	Ἰουτσαῖον	ɲalaɟe ... ɲalaɟe
net, glove (nom. of ‘catch’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	ixtoleaθ
neutral (lit. ‘no color’)	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	ɲátsoske
new, young	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	nisθu



English	POS	Ἰουτσαῖον	Hiutsaθ
October (lit. ‘keep month’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	xiokesaluθmes
of course	adv	Ἰουτσαῖον	natsulix
off of (+ ABL) (‘jump off the table’); on, over (+ LOC); over (+ ACC)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	sela
offer	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	ufjesne
often, frequently	adv	Ἰουτσαῖον	soeθapofte
old	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	aſela
on, over (+ LOC); over (+ ACC); off of (+ ABL) (‘jump off the table’)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	sela
one	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	mone
one (pronoun for ‘person’)	pro	Ἰουτσαῖον	θe
only	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	moneθo
open	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	nomaxa
oppose (rel. to ‘against’, ‘idea’)	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	hiſtsima
or	conj	Ἰουτσαῖον	laſe
orange	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	ſenasθa
order	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	loofne
order (put in order)	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	loxma
order, command	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	tsahlome
organizaed religion (lit. ‘together religion’)	n	Ἰουτσαῖον	xaiſepaiθo
ostracize, throw out	v	Ἰουτσαῖον	xepoleθa
other	adj	Ἰουτσαῖον	θaſi
out and around (+ ABL); around (+ LOC); (go) around (+ ACC); concerning, about (+ DAT)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	mexo
out from under (+ ABL); under, below (+ LOC); under (+ ACC)	prep	Ἰουτσαῖον	sulo

English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
out of (+ ABL); away, from (+ ACC)	prep	ᐆᐱ	lofa
outcast	n	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xepoleθaθe
outside (metaphorical sense of ‘abnormal’)	adj	ᐅᐱ	xepo
outside (of) (+ LOC)	prep	ᐅᐱ	xepθ
over, on (+ LOC); over (+ ACC); off of (+ ABL) (‘jump off the table’)	prep	ᐱᐱᐱ	sela
page, paper (dim. of ‘book’)	n	ᐆᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	létsamejpoθu
pants	n	ᐱᐱᐱ	finelo
paper, page (dim. of ‘book’)	n	ᐆᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	létsamejpoθu
parable, fable (lit. ‘teach story’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tinofitsasθelos
part (nom. of ‘partial’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tejliispole
part of (+ GEN), partial (dim. of ‘all/whole’)	adj	ᐆᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	líispole
partial, part of (+ GEN) (dim. of ‘all/whole’)	adj	ᐆᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	líispole
path (dim. of ‘road’)	n	ᐆᐱᐱᐱ	lélotef
peace	n	ᐱᐱᐱ	elija
pen (nom. of ‘write’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsameaθ
perfect	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hifomejne
perhaps, maybe (rel. to ‘probable’)	adv	ᐱᐱᐱ	ifto
person	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θelune
person known for being dubiously vague	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsaθefahnoθe
person known for speaking out of turn or saying the wrong thing at the wrong time	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsatsioθe
person known for speaking without knowing all the facts	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsaθefahθe

English	POS	ἡῦτῶν	Hiutsaθ
person who cannot be trusted	n	ἄῶνῶνῶν	tsaθefahoteθe
person who states the obvious	n	ἄῶνῶν	axθeno
picture (nom. of ‘copy’)	n	ἄῶνῶνῶνῶνῶν	ulefxitsofoluiθo
picture (nom. of ‘draw’)	n	ἄῶνῶν	tsaυpeιθo
place	v	ἄῶνῶν	aniφte
planet, earth, world	n	ἄῶνῶν	haispo
plate (nom. of ‘eat’)	n	ἄῶνῶν	komaφαθ
play	v	ἄῶνῶν	hukatso
please (+ DAT) (‘it pleases me’)	v	ἄῶνῶν	lusia
please (lit. ‘with hope’)		ἄῶνῶν	xamotaheθa
point	v	ἄῶνῶν	ulifame
pond (dim. of ‘lake’)	n	ἄῶνῶν	léalelo
potter, sculpter, carver	n	ἄῶνῶν	υῦnetsaθe
pray, beseech	v	ἄῶνῶν	tsahpema
presence	n	ἄῶνῶν	xolaθo
present, gift	n	ἄῶνῶν	helotase
price (metaphorical use)	n	ἄῶνῶν	ehi
pride	n	ἄῶνῶνῶνῶν	hoʃkelaʃti
prison	n	ἄῶνῶν	tuomoʃa
probable (rel. to ‘maybe’)	adj	ἄῶνῶν	iftoγa
probably	adv	ἄῶνῶν	ifto
protect	v	ἄῶνῶν	ʃilete
proverb, saying, anecdote (dim. of ‘fable’)	n	ἄῶνῶνῶνῶνῶν	létinofitsasθelos
provide	v	ἄῶνῶν	eʃta
puddle	n	ἄῶνῶν	alitsa
pull	v	ἄῶνῶν	oseθme
pulsation, pulse, rhythm	n	ἄῶνῶν	litsumuiθo

English	POS	Ἰῶν	Hiutsaθ
pulse	v	Ἰῶ	litsumu
pulse, pulsation, rhythm	n	Ἰῶν	litsumiθo
purple	adj	Ἰῶν	hamilaθa
purpose (life's purpose)	n	Ἰῶν	malaflox
push	v	Ἰῶ	helefa
put	v	Ἰῶ	niφ
quarter (rel. to 'four')	adj	Ἰῶν	φaleθle
queen (nom. of 'reign')	n	Ἰῶν	pefameθe
quiet	adj	Ἰῶ	φaliηe
rain (downpour)	n	Ἰῶ	hafa
rain (gentle rain)	n	Ἰῶ	laηena
read	v	Ἰῶ	katsame
real	adj	Ἰῶν	miθoliηne
reason	n	Ἰῶ	loxos
record (e.g., list of past events)	n	Ἰῶν	tsameloiθo
record (keep track)	v	Ἰῶ	tsamelo
red	adj	Ἰῶ	honesθa
regret	v	Ἰῶ	ηexi
reign	v	Ἰῶ	pefame
relative (often used when no specific term is in the language: 'uncle', 'step-sister', etc.)	n	Ἰῶ	θane
release, free	v	Ἰῶ	ηulo
religion (lit. 'belief system')	n	Ἰῶν	ifepaiθoloφos
remain, stay	v	Ἰῶ	mesei
remedy, solution	n	Ἰῶ	tisana
remember	v	Ἰῶ	tsamano
respect	v	Ἰῶ	leseφe

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
respect (rel. to verb form)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	lesupe
respect, honor	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	heφθaiθo
respected one; term of respect	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	iʃto
rhythm, pulse, pulsation	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	litsumuiθo
right	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	lexθo
right (correct), true	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	iφote
ripe	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	maleʃ
rise	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hitsa
ritual (rel. to ‘tradition’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xulitsaʃe
river	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	oʃele
road	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	loteʃi
roll	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	moφkuse
room (dim. of ‘house’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	léθuloʃ
root (rel. to ‘life’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	malaf
root of a problem (bad seed, bad apple); implies non-volitional or accidental (lit. ‘false tree’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	fahotetaφiha
root of a problem (bad seed, bad apple); implies volitional or purposeful (lit. ‘false tree’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	oθefahotetaφiha
rope	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	losneku
rotten	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	uʃte
rough	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xoif
royal (rel. to ‘queen’)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	peʃa
rub	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	peʃle
run (rel. to ‘foot’)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	petsali
s/he (animacy with volition)	pro	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θeto
s/he (formal)	pro	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θelea
sacred, holy (lit. ‘most good’)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hiutseiφune









English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
stone	n	ᐱᐱᐱ	suneo
Stone (memory)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsamassuneo
storm (rel. to ‘weather’ and ‘confuse’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fiomeθ
story	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsasθelos
straight	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	satole
strange	adj	ᐱᐱᐱ	ufte
stream (dim. of ‘river’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léoηele
strength (mental, ability to last; rel. to ‘stamina’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ekafela
strong (muscular strength)	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xaftsa
student (rel. to ‘daughter’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halosne
study (lit. ‘cause learn’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ulefseφme
stupid	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	luφitos
succeed	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	polisko
suck	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lasna
summer (lit. ‘sun season’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	solejēnosθo
sun	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	solej
superior, best	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hiutse
support (rel. to ‘together’, ‘idea’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xatsima
surprise, amaze	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tsomijsē
sweet	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	seli
sweetheart (term of endearment for a small boy)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	jikato
sweetheart (term of endearment for a small girl)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	jikape
sweetheart; term of endearment	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	pūje
swell (ver. of ‘big’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	áxihao
swim	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	naφθe



English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
then (opposite of ‘now’)	adv	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	nespo
there	adv	ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	nesi
they (animacy with volition)	pro	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θeata
they (animacy without volition)	pro	ᐱᐱᐱ	tsito
they (formal)	pro	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θeluta
they (inanimate)	pro	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	aφata
thick	adj	ᐱᐱᐱ	θαγο
thin	adj	ᐱᐱᐱ	tixo
thing (deh. of ‘one’)	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	άφθε
think	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	asana
this	dem	ᐱᐱᐱ	esi
though	conj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	omos
thought	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	asanaioθa
thousand	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	tafes
three	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θele
through, across (+ ACC); across (+ LOC) (e.g., ‘she is across the river’)	prep	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	θahno
throw	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	maef
throw out, ostracize	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xepoleθa
thus	adv	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	seθo
tie (rel. to ‘together’ and ‘hand’)	v	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xarue
time	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	utsimaθ
tired	adj	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	haʃθe
to, toward (+ ACC); into (+ LOC); until (+ DAT)	prep	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	filoθ
today	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	esisola
together (rel. to ‘with’)	adv	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	xa
tomorrow	n	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hasuna

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
tongue	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	kolasa
too	adv	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	islu
tool	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	aθne
tooth	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θita
tornado (lit. ‘superior wind’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	hiutseφehe
touch	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ijes
toward, to (+ ACC); into (+ LOC); until (+ DAT)	prep	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	filoθ
trade	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	tsilaŋo
tradition	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xulitse
train, mold, shape	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	kesme
translate, interpret, communicate	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	tsaθemeo
treasure	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θesali
tree	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	taφiha
trick	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	xoli
trip, journey, vacation	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	someŋa
true, right (correct)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	iφote
trust	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	eleθo
truth	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	seleθ
try	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	nile
turn (metaphorical: ‘go bad’)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	fahotsoli
turn (physical direction)	v	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	tsoli
twelve (lit. ‘two ten’)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ŋolutona
twelve (sacred form; only used when referring to the families or Gifts)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	θuneso
twenty-one (sacred form; used only when referring to life cycles)	adj	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	moaŋopelo
twins (lit. ‘twos’)	n	ᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃᐃ	ŋoluho

English	POS	ᐃᐃᐃᐃ	Hiutsaθ
two	adj	ᐅᐅ	ʃolu
ugly (of nature)	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	okexame
ugly (of objects)	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	okeaφma
ugly (of people)	adj	ᐅᐅᐅ	okepa
um	inter	ᐅ	tsa
under, below (+ LOC); under (+ ACC); out from under (+ ABL)	prep	ᐅᐅ	sulo
understand	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	kaφiʃne
universe (collective unit of Creator, world, spirits, souls)	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	hiisproxa
until	conj	ᐅᐅᐅ	filoθo
until (+ DAT); to, toward (+ ACC); into (+ LOC)	prep	ᐅᐅᐅ	filoθ
up (as a direction)	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xieφoθ
upper (rel. to ‘above’)	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	selaθ
uppity (used to describe someone who thinks they’re better than ev- eryone else) (lit. ‘more good’)	adj	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utseiφune
use	v	ᐅᐅ	mujnu
vacation, journey, trip	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	someʃa
value, worth (rel. to ‘expensive’)	n	ᐅᐅᐅ	neφθa
vehicle (nom. of ‘move’)	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	moφuleaθ
very (rel. to ‘superior’)	adv	ᐅᐅᐅ	hiuʃ
volition (lit. ‘self do’)	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	moθelaʃe
vomit	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	oskeote
wagon	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	falia
wail, lamentation, threnody	n	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	θenotia
wake	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	olis
walk (rel. to ‘foot’)	v	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	peʃne



English	POS	ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ
wide	adj	ᐅᐱᐱ	laiθe
wife	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	lunea
will	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	θileme
will	v	ᐅᐱᐱ	θileta
wind	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	φehe
window (rel. to ‘see’ and ‘through’)	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	ʃiθah
wing	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	aηeʃa
winter (lit. ‘snow season’)	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	sanaloeposθo
wipe	v	ᐅᐱᐱ	kise
wire	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	tsjɪ
wise	adj	ᐅᐱᐱ	soφia
wish	v	ᐅᐱᐱ	taxaηa
wish, want, desire	n	ᐅᐱᐱ	sitaxe
with (+ COM)	prep	ᐅᐱᐱ	xamo
with (+ INST)	prep	ᐅᐱᐱ	xaφe

# Hiutsaθ-English Dictionary

ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	afθale		goodbye (rel. to ‘end’)
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ahne	adj	eight
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ahφeh	n	God (‘Yahweh’)
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ako	int	why
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ala	dem	that
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alef		alef
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alelo	n	lake
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aleo	dem	that-there
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alexo	v	work
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alexoaθ	n	machine (nom. of ‘work’)
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aleθe	v	love
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aleθia	n	love (rel. to verb form)
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alikaθi	v	fly
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	alitsa	n	puddle
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ameli	n	friend
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aniφte	v	place
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aniso	conj	because
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	anixo	n	clock
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	ano	conj	but
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aηela	v	cook
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aηefa	n	wing
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	apole		period, final punctuation
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aφata	pro	they (inanimate)
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aφle	n	grunt worker
ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	aφto	pro	it (inanimate)



ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	áxitsaθelo	v	express
ᐃᐸᐸᐸ	axno	adj	boring
ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸ	axofa	v	sin, wrong (+ GEN)
ᐃᐸᐸᐸ	axtsi	adj	sick
ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	axθeno	n	person who states the obvious
ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸ	aθake	n	greater good
ᐃᐸᐸᐸᐸ	aθne	n	tool
ᐃᐸᐸᐸ	aθu	v	help
ᐸᐸᐸᐸ	efeni	v	happen, occur
ᐸᐸᐸᐸ	efθo	adj	left
ᐸᐸᐸᐸ	ehi	n	price (metaphorical use)
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	ehiof	n	debt
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	ekafela	n	strength (mental, ability to last; rel. to ‘stamina’)
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elasa	v	judge
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elasaiθo	n	judgment
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elasaθe	n	judge
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elena	v	lead
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elenaθe	n	Elder (nom. of ‘lead’)
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elenaθe	n	leader (nom. of ‘lead’)
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	eleθo	n	trust
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elia	n	space
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elijna	n	peace
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elitsa	v	add
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elixe	v	experiment
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elixeíθo	n	experiment
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	elo	int	how
ᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸᐸ	eloxo	n	fact

ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eneso	adj	eleven
ᐅ	eᑎa		eᑎa
ᐅᐅ	eᑎo	n	year
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎosθana	n	generation (rel. to ‘year’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎosθo	n	season
ᐅ	eᑎa		eᑎa
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎenosa	v	measure
ᐅᐅᐅ	eola	adj	empty
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎaosᑎi	n	ashes
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎali	adj	secret (rel. to (n) & (v) forms)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎeᑎsta	adv	next, after that (rel. to ‘after’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	esa	n	wall
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	esi	dem	this
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	esisola	n	today
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	espo	v	buy
ᐅᐅ	eᑎa		eᑎa
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eᑎsta	v	provide
ᐅᐅ	eta		eta
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	etaᑎe	n	stick
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	etinoh	v	disappear
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	etsaf	n	body
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	etsima	n	symbol
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eθaíleθᑎe	adj	dangerous
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eθapofte	adj	frequent
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	éθasola	adj	everyday
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	eθmaθo	v	seem
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	fa	inter	cry of disbelief
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	faaᑎe	adj	bad (of objects)



ᐃᐱᐃᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐱᐱᐱ	filoθ	prep	to, toward (+ ACC); into (+ LOC); until (+ DAT)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	filoθne	v	come (rel. to ‘to’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	filoθo	conj	until
ᐱᐱᐱ	fimale	v	carry
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fimaleaθ	n	bag (dev. of ‘carry’)
ᐱᐱᐱ	finelo	n	pants
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fiomeθ	n	storm (rel. to ‘weather’ and ‘confuse’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	fiotsa	v	confuse
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	folite	n	humility
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	folitsia	adj	humble
ᐱ	ha		ha
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	haispo	n	earth, world, planet
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halaθa	v	need
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halea	n	great-granddaughter
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	haleθo	v	terrify
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	haleθoiθo	n	terror
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halone	n	daughter
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halosne	n	student (rel. to ‘daughter’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	haluφne	n	clay
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	halus	n	dirt (rel. to ‘ground’, ‘earth’, ‘brown’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hamilaθa	adj	purple
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hane	n	shirt
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hao	adj	big
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hapaθ	n	ground (rel. to ‘earth’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hasana	aux	must
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	hasuna	n	tomorrow

မိယဝ်	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
မိယဝ်	haʃa	n	rain (downpour)
မိယဝ်	haʃelo	v	flow (rel. to ‘water’)
မိယဝ်	haʃose	n	water
မိယဝ်	haʃθe	adj	tired
မိယဝ်	haθes	prep	in, at (+ LOC)
မိယဝ်	heleʃa	v	push
မိယဝ်	helotase	n	gift, present
မိယဝ်	hemala	v	born
မိယဝ်	hemiθ	n	blood
မိယဝ်	hepaθ	adj	heavy
မိယဝ်	heφθaiθo	n	honor, respect
မိယဝ်	hifte	n	cane
မိယဝ်	hihaʃa	n	ocean
မိယဝ်	hiispoxa	n	universe (collective unit of Creator, world, spirits, souls)
မိယဝ်	hilaθone	n	great-grandmother
မိယဝ်	hilotse	n	hill
မိယဝ်	hiφe	v	forgive (+ DAT)
မိယဝ်	hiφtaʃa	n	side (opposition) (rel. to ‘against’)
မိယဝ်	hiφtsa	prep	against (+ DAT)
မိယဝ်	hiφtsaθe	v	argue (rel. to ‘against’)
မိယဝ်	hiφtsima	v	oppose (rel. to ‘against’, ‘idea’)
မိယဝ်	hiseφθo	adj	special
မိယဝ်	hiʃomeʃne	adj	perfect
မိယဝ်	hitsa	v	rise
မိယဝ်	hitsaθ	n	east (rel. to ‘rise’)
မိယဝ်	hitse	v	freeze (rel. to ‘ice’)
မိယဝ်	hitsepa	n	ice

ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiusme	adj	important (rel. to ‘superior’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiuf	adv	very (rel. to ‘superior’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiutse	adj	best, superior, superlative
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiutsefae	adj	abominable (lit. ‘most bad’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiutseiϕune	adj	holy, sacred (lit. ‘most good’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiutseϕehe	n	tornado (lit. ‘superior wind’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hiutsetsaθeiθo	n	language of Gifteds (lit. ‘superior language’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hofase	adj	worst
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	honesθa	adj	red
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hoŋea	adj	warm
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hoŋkelame	v	boast
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hoŋkelaŋti	n	pride
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hoŋte	adj	hot
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hoθe	inter	cry of anger or frustration (borrowed from Greek ‘hoi theoi’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hukatso	v	play
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	hukatsoiθo	n	game (nom. of ‘play’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	huleŋθa	adj	yellow
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	huϕe	v	whisper
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	iaϕne	adj	good (of objects)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	iesu kalisto	n	Jesus Christ
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifepa	v	believe
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifepaaϕθe	n	talisman (lit. ‘believe thing’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifepaiθo	n	belief
ᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifepaiθoŋoϕos	n	religion (lit. ‘belief system’)
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifpa	adj	fat
ᄃᄂᄃᄂ	ifto	adv	perhaps, maybe (rel. to ‘probable’)



ᲑᲗᲗᲗ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᲗᲗᲗ	ifto	n	respected one; term of respect
ᲗᲗᲗ	itsima	n	idea
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	itsimaᲗi	v	squeeze
ᲗᲗ	itso	adj	cheap (metaphorical use: ‘no biggie’)
ᲗᲗᲗ	itsuka	v	scratch
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ixtole	v	catch
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ixtoleaθ	n	net, glove (nom. of ‘catch’)
ᲗᲗᲗ	iθne	adj	easy
ᲗᲗ	kafe	v	last (rel. to ‘stamina’, ‘endure’, ‘durability’)
ᲗᲗᲗ	kafea	v	endure
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kafeispeθ	n	durability (rel. to ‘endure’)
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kafeispo	adj	long-lasting
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kafelih	adj	lasting
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kafelo	n	energy
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kafeno	n	stamina
ᲗᲗᲗ	kala	n	grain
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kalena	n	eighty-four-year cycle; calendar
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kaliθoᲗa	n	map
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kanef	n	iron
ᲗᲗᲗ	kaᲗa	n	yesterday
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kaᲗime	v	create
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kaᲗimeθe	n	God (lit. ‘creator’)
ᲗᲗ	kaᲗa		kaᲗa
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	kaᲗiᲗne	v	understand
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	katsame	v	read
ᲗᲗᲗ	kaθa	n	head

ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐱᐱᐱ	kepeŋ	n	land (singular only--mass noun)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kesme	v	mold, shape, train
ᐱᐱᐱ	kie	sub	(marker)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kileŋna	adj	clean
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kiŋaŋso	n	glass
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kipoθ	adj	dry
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kise	v	wipe
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kisne	v	cover
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kitsa	adj	sharp
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kolasa	n	tongue
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	komaŋ	v	eat
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	komaŋaθ	n	plate (nom. of ‘eat’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	konila	n	colony
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kopesiθa	adj	indigo
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	koŋia	n	cat
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kupeŋne	adj	lazy
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kufetsama	v	forget (rel. to ‘lose’ and ‘memory’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	kuftea	v	lose
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laiθe	adj	wide
ᐱᐱ	lama		lama
ᐱᐱᐱ	laŋe	adj	wet
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laŋehalus	n	mud (lit. ‘wet dirt’)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laŋena	n	rain (gentle rain)
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lase	v	taste
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lasha	v	lick
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lasna	v	suck
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laŋa	v	do
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	laŋakaθ	adv	already



ᐃᐱᐃᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léxapone	n	boy
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lexespo	v	annoy
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léxifθelo	n	fog (dim. of ‘cloud’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	lexθo	adj	right
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léθelune	n	child (dim. of ‘person’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	leθlo	n	baby
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	leθola	adj	soft
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	leθoʃa	v	scare
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	léθuloʃ	n	room (dim. of ‘house’)
ᐃᐱᐱ	lifa	v	care (rel. to ‘careful’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	lifeo	adj	careful
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	líispole	adj	partial, part of (dim. of ‘all/whole’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	liku	adj	weak
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	liʃe	n	lip
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lisulaŋa	n	music (rel. to ‘joy’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lisune	v	bless
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	líʃoθemo	adj	cute (dim. of ‘beautiful’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	litsumu	v	pulse
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	litsumuiθo	n	pulse, pulsation, rhythm
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	lofa	adv	away
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	lofa	prep	away, from (+ ACC); out of (+ ABL)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lofaθne	v	leave (rel. to ‘away’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	looʃne	n	order
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	loʃos	n	system
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	losneku	n	rope
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	loteʃi	n	road
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	lotipoʃe	n	bottle

ጌህጊኛ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ኮረጢ	loxma	v	order (put in order)
ኮሮሎ	loxos	n	reason
ኮ	lu-	v	optative mood
ኮፍ	lue	adj	feminine, female
ኮሊኑ	lufne	v	expect
ኮሊ	lume	n	moon
ኮሃ	lune	n	woman
ኮሃባ	lunea	n	wife
ኮዐጎ	luoጎo	n	dress
ኮጎጉሎ	luፀitos	adj	stupid
ኮሎጂ	luseጎa	v	like (used generally with objects or clauses; expresses preference)
ኮሎ	lusi	v	dance (rel. to ‘joy’)
ኮሎባ	lusia	v	please (+ DAT) (‘it pleases me’)
ኮሎኮ	lusile	n	joy
ኮጎ	luθa	adj	content
ኮጎኮ	luθeli	adj	happy, glad
ኮጎሊሎ	luθmes	n	month (rel. to ‘moon’)
ሊፍጊ	maeጎ	v	throw
ሊጎጎ	maipo	adj	many
ሊኮሊኮ	malጎnelo	n	life cycle
ሊኮጎኃ	malጎፀiθ	n	fruit (rel. to ‘life’ and ‘flower’)
ሊኮጊ	malጎጎ	n	root (rel. to ‘life’)
ሊኮጊ	malጎfa	v	live
ሊኮጊኃ	malጎጎaiθo	n	life (a person’s life from birth to death) (nom. of ‘live’)
ሊኮጊኮፍ	malጎጎlox	n	purpose (life’s purpose)
ሊኮጊገ	malጎጎti	adj	healthy (rel. to ‘live’)

Ἰουτσαθ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ἄβῆ	malaxe	n	life (general--no beginning and end)
ἄβ	male	int	where
ἄβῶρῶ	maleosθe	pro	somewhere (lit. ‘where some’)
ἄβῆ	malef	adj	ripe
ἄβ	mafa	v	bring
ἄβῆ	mafkala	n	bread
ἄβῆ	maθane	n	mother
ἄβ	maθo	v	be
ἄβῆ	meas	n	wrist
ἄβῆ	mefeo	v	choose
ἄβῆ	mehole	v	dig
ἄβῆ	mekuse	n	way, method
ἄβ	melo	int	who
ἄβῶρῶ	meloosθe	pro	someone (lit. ‘who some’)
ἄβῆ	melufna	adj	enough
ἄβῆ	menalef	n	circle (lit. ‘one line’)
ἄβ	meni	int	when
ἄβῶρῶ	meniosθe	pro	sometime (lit. ‘when some’)
ἄβ	meηo	n	chair
ἄβῆ	meof	v	sit
ἄβῆ	mefalitsa	n	secrecy
ἄβῆ	mesafo	v	fulfill
ἄβῆ	mesei	v	stay, remain
ἄβ	metsi	n	corner
ἄβῆ	mexes	n	mid-day break; lunch
ἄβ	mexo	prep	around (+ LOC); (go) around (+ ACC); concerning, about (+ DAT); out and around (+ ABL)



ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᲛᲗᲗᲗᲗ	moθelafe	n	volition (lit. ‘self do’)
Მ	mu		mu
ᲛᲗᲗᲗ	mupeka	v	interest (+ DAT)
ᲛᲗᲗᲗᲗ	mupekalih	adj	interesting (part. of ‘interest’)
ᲛᲗ	muru	v	use
ᲛᲗᲗ	muje	n	mouse
ᲛᲗᲗ	muṣti	adj	sour
ᲗᲗ	naḟi	n	feather
ᲗᲗᲗ	naḟθe	v	swim
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	natsulix	adv	of course
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	neḟθe	adj	zero, nothing, none (lit. ‘no thing’)
ᲗᲗ	nef	n	line
ᲗᲗ	neni	adj	nine
ᲗᲗᲗ	neḟθa	n	worth, value (rel. to ‘expensive’)
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	neḟθali	adj	expensive (metaphorical use)
ᲗᲗᲗ	nesi	adv	there
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nespo	adv	then (opposite of ‘now’)
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	neṣafo	adj	mean
ᲗᲗᲗ	neṣi	v	go
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	neθah	n	door (rel. to ‘go’ and ‘through’)
ᲗᲗᲗ	nile	v	try
ᲗᲗ	niḟ	v	put
ᲗᲗ	niḟe	v	take
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nisli	v	make
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nisθu	adj	new, young
ᲗᲗ?	noi	adj	first
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nolef	v	hide
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	noliθ	n	north

ᲑᲗᲗᲗ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᲚᲗᲗ	nomaxa	v	open
ᲚᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nomaxaαθ	n	key (nom. of ‘open’)
ᲚᲗᲗ	nosa	v	count
ᲚᲗᲗᲗᲗ	nosaiθo	n	number (nom. of ‘count’)
ᲚᲗᲗ	noᲗte	v	hate
ᲚᲗᲗ	noθa	v	lie (down)
Ლ	nu		nu
ᲚᲗᲗ	nuleθ	n	brain
ᲚᲗᲗᲗ	nutsume	n	evening (hours just before and after the sun sets) (rel. to ‘night’, ‘before’, ‘moon’)
ᲚᲗᲗᲗ	nuxes	n	dinner, evening ceremony
ᲚᲗᲗᲗ	nuθne	n	night (hours between twilight and dawn)
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ᲗᲗᲗᲗe ... ᲗᲗᲗᲗe	conj	neither ... nor
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ᲗᲗᲗᲗoske	adj	neutral (lit. ‘no color’)
Თ	Თe-	n	negation
ᲗᲗᲗ	Თeho	n	bed
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	Თeis	n	hat
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ᲗeᲗᲗila	n	faith
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	Თesika	n	loyalty
Თ	Თi		no
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ᲗimaᲗa	n	dawn; hours of the morning just before and as the sun rises
ᲗᲗᲗ	Თime	adv	indeed
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	Თixes	n	morning ceremony; breakfast
ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ	ᲗoᲗeli	n	lizard
ᲗᲗ	Თue	v	give
ᲗᲗᲗᲗ	Თulaθo	v	hold (rel. to ‘hand’)

Ἰουτσαθ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
Ἰουτσαθ	julaθoaθ	n	box (nom. of ‘hold’)
Ἰουτσα	jupasla	adj	every
Ἰουσα	jusa	n	hand
Ἰουτσαμῆ	jutsahme	v	grant, bestow (rel. to ‘give’ and ‘answer’)
Ἰουξίλη	juxile	n	humor, hilarity
Ἰουθῶ	jutho	v	do crafts, sew, draw, knit
Ἰαί	jai	neg	not (dec.)
Ἰαλεῖ	jale	adj	long
Ἰαλί	jaf	n	edge
Ἰάχαμο	jáxamo	prep	without (lit. ‘not with’) (+ COM)
Ἰάχαφε	jáxafe	prep	without (lit. ‘not with’) (+ INST)
Ἰάχο	jaxo	v	worry
Ἰάχοτσο	jaxotso	n	demon (spirit with ability to inhabit bodies)
Ἰάθαλε	jáθale	adj	forever (lit. ‘no end’)
Ἰεῖ	jei	neg	not (imp.)
Ἰελαίλο	jelailo	n	law
Ἰεο	jeo	v	smell
Ἰεξι	jexi	v	regret
Ἰίμας	jimas	v	stand
Ἰίφα	jifá	v	control
Ἰίφαιθο	jifaiθo	n	control
Ἰιλαφε	jilafe	adj	free
Ἰιλο	julo	v	free, release
Ἰίτα	oftafu	v	allow
Ἰοκαφμα	okeaφma	adj	ugly (of objects)
Ἰοκα	okepa	adj	ugly (of people)



မူလအက္ခရာ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ဝားဗ်	oθale	n	ear
ဝားလဲမံဇ်ဂံဇ်	oθefahoteφiθe	n	imposter; implies volitional or purposeful (lit. ‘false flower’)
ဝားလဲမံဇ်ဇ်ဂံဇ်	oθefahotetaφiha	n	root of a problem (bad seed, bad apple); implies volitional or purposeful (lit. ‘false tree’)
ပဲခဲ	pahe	n	bark (rel. to ‘brown’)
ပဲခဲမံဇ်	pahesθa	adj	brown
ပဲခဲဇ်	pahta	n	wood
ပဲခဲမံ	pais	adj	light (for shades/hues)
ပဲခဲမံဇ်	paisθa	adj	white
ပဲခဲ	pala	adv	here
ပဲခဲဇ်	paof	n	fire
ပဲခဲဇ်မံဇ်	paofθamo	v	burn (rel. to ‘fire’)
ပဲခဲဇ်	paφe	aux	may
ပဲခဲဇ်မံ	paφme	v	attract, charm
ပဲခဲဇ်	pafo	n	attraction, charm, magnetism
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်	pafole	n	magnet (rel. to ‘attract’)
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်ဇ်	pafoliθo	adj	attractive, sexy (unexplainable attractiveness or magnetism)
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်	paθane	n	father
ပဲ	pe		pe
ပဲခဲ	pea	n	skin
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်	peaφke	v	fight (for fighting’s sake); verbal or physical
ပဲခဲဇ်ခဲ	pelia	n	squirrel
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်	pelife	v	tempt
ပဲခဲဇ်ဗ်ခဲ	pelifeaθ	n	temptation
ပဲခဲဇ်	peφo	v	fight (with good reason); verbal or physical

ጌህጂጎ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ጊህጂ	pefa	adj	royal (rel. to ‘queen’)
ጊህጂጠ	pefame	v	reign
ጊህጂጠጎ	pefameθe	n	queen (nom. of ‘reign’)
ጊህጂጠሃ	pefatsone	n	hierarchy (social)
ጊህጂጎ	pefle	v	rub
ጊህጂሃ	pefne	v	walk (rel. to ‘foot’)
ጊህጂጎ	petas	n	foot
ጊህጂጎ	petsali	v	run (rel. to ‘foot’)
ጊህጂጎ	petsufi	v	close
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	petsufiaθ	n	lock (nom. of ‘close’)
ጊህጂጠ	peθme	v	appear
ጊህጂጎ	peθsa	n	fish
ጊህጂጎ	poftē	n	frequency
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	polisko	v	succeed
ጊህጂጎ	poneθ	n	bone
ጊህጂጎ	pupe	n	sweetheart; term of endearment
ጊህጂጎ	pupeጎ	n	group
ጊህጂጎ	pupeo	adj	foolish
ጊህጂጎ	φale	adj	four
ጊህጂጎጠጎጠጎ	φalemalaጎpeጎ	n	eighty-four-year cycle (lit. ‘four life cycle’)
ጊህጂጎጠጎጠጎጠጎ	φaleጎጎጎጎጎጎ	v	be/get lucky (lit. ‘four find’; 4 is a lucky/blessed number)
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	φaleθጎ	adj	quarter (rel. to ‘four’)
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	φaliጎpe	adj	quiet
ጊህጂጎጠጎጠጎ	φaliጎጎጎጎ	n	square (rel. to ‘four’ and ‘same’)
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	φaliጎfe	v	secret
ጊህጂጎጠጎ	φalitso	n	secret

ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φasile	n	kingdom
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φaθsino	v	fascinate
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φehamo	v	blow (rel. to ‘wind’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φehe	n	wind
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φesio	n	mission
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φesta	adv	behind
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φesta	prep	behind, after (+ LOC)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φestalo	adj	next (rel. to ‘after’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φi		φi
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φioʃa	n	butterfly
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φiφlu	adj	five
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φiθe	n	flower
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φiθenisθu	n	bloom (lit. ‘new/young flower’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φiθeniθueposθo	n	spring (lit. ‘bloom season’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	φula	n	table
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	safela	n	drink
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	saftune	v	accept
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	saftunelih		you’re welcome (lit. ‘accepted’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	sanafio	adj	silent out of turmoil (shocked/confused into silence) (rel. to ‘snow’ and FIO)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	sanahe	adj	silent (rel. to ‘snow’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	sanalo	n	snow
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	sanaloeposθo	n	winter (lit. ‘snow season’)
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	saŋa	v	know
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	saŋaiθo	n	knowledge
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	saox	n	leg
ᄃᆞᆫᆯᆞᆫ	satole	adj	straight





ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃamoθene	n	obligation, duty (to self)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃanahe	n	obligation, duty (to role/title/job)
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃane	n	obligation, duty (general)
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃateʃ	adj	full
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃaule	n	hair
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃaxane	n	obligation, duty (to family)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ʃenasθa	adj	orange
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃetso	n	sand
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃi		yes
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃiaŋe	v	hunt
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃikape	n	sweetheart (term of endearment for a small girl)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃikato	n	sweetheart (term of endearment for a small boy)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃilete	v	protect
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃima	v	dress
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃimono	n	clothes
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃina	v	see
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ʃinaʃoluθa	v	find (lit. ‘see again’ (or ‘see twice’))
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃiθah	n	window (rel. to ‘see’ and ‘through’)
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃolu	adj	two
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃoluho	n	twins (lit. ‘twos’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ʃolutona	adj	twelve (lit. ‘two ten’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱ	ʃoluθa	adv	again (lit. ‘twice’)
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ʃoluθle	adj	half (rel. to ‘two’)
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃone	v	begin
ᐃᐱᐱ	ʃope	v	fold
ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ʃoθeaϕle	adj	beautiful (of objects)

ጻህፊት	Hiutsaፀ	POS	English
ጌኅህ	joፀemo	adj	beautiful (of people)
ጌኅህ	joፀemu	n	beauty (of people; often metaphorical)
ጌኅፅህ	joፀexame	adj	beautiful (of nature)
ጌኅህ	juፀano	n	sister
ፐ	ta		ta
ፐላሌ	taali	n	animal (large classification label)
ፐላህ	taheno	n	hope (rel. to ‘hope’ (v.))
ፐላኅ	taheፀa	v	hope
ፐላፅ	talitso	n	manner
ፐላሌ	tamali	n	animal (forest (i.e., native) animal)
ፐላሌ	tqali	n	animal (wild (i.e., exotic/non-native) animal)
ፐላሌ	taፀiha	n	tree
ፐላሌ	taፀali	n	animal (farm animal)
ፐላሌ	taፀes	adj	thousand
ፐላሌ	taፀki	prep	far (from) (+ LOC)
ፐላሌህ	taፀkime	adj	far
ፐላሌ	taxali	n	animal (house animal (i.e., pet/domesticated))
ፐላሌ	taxaፀa	v	wish
ፐላሌ	tefale	adj	alive
ፐላሌፅፐ	teፀfahote	n	sin (nom. of ‘wrong’)
ፐላሌፅፐላሌ	teፀliispole	n	part (nom. of ‘partial’)
ፐላ	tia	adj	short
ፐላሌፅፐ	tiakaleፀo	n	diacritic (used for reduced form of vowels)
ፐላሌ	tiata	pro	it (animacy without volition)
ፐላሌ	timaፀi	adj	normal



မိူဝ်ႈ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ၵူ	tsame	v	write
ၵူဝ်	tsameaθ	n	pen (nom. of ‘write’)
ၵူၼ်	tsamelo	v	record (keep track)
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsameloiθo	n	record (e.g., list of past events)
ၵူၼ်ႈၵူ	tsameŋpoθu	n	book
ၵူၼ်	tsaŋaφ	n	fear (related to ‘fear’ (v.))
ၵူၼ်	tsaŋaφo	v	fear
ၵူၼ်ႈၵူ	tsasθelos	n	story
ၵူၼ်	tsato	adj	hard
ၵူၼ်	tsatsio	v	speak out of turn, say wrong thing at the wrong time (lit. ‘fast speak’)
ၵူၼ်ဝ်	tsatsioθe	n	person known for speaking out of turn or saying the wrong thing at the wrong time
ၵူၼ်	tsauŋe	v	draw
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsauŋeiθo	n	picture (nom. of ‘draw’)
ၵူၼ်	tsaθe	v	say, speak, tell
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefah	v	lie (accidental; e.g., telling a non-truth because unaware of the full story)
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefahno	v	lie by withholding information
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefahnoθe	n	person known for being dubiously vague
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefahote	v	lie (intentional) (lit. ‘say false’)
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefahoteθe	n	person who cannot be trusted
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθefahθe	n	person known for speaking without knowing all the facts
ၵူၼ်ႈ	tsaθeiθo	n	language (nom. of ‘say’)
ၵူၼ်	tsaθemeo	v	interpret, communicate, translate
ၵူၼ်	tsaθhe	v	call





ᐃᐅᐅᐅ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utsefae	adj	inferior (used to describe someone the speaker looks down on) (lit. ‘more bad’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utseiφune	adj	uppity (used to describe someone who thinks they’re better than everyone else) (lit. ‘more good’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utseka	n	bird
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utsima	adj	last, final
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utsimaθ	n	time
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	utsiηaf	n	border, boundary (rel. to ‘final’ and ‘edge’)
ᐅᐅ	uθ	n	side (of a shape or area; physical location)
ᐅᐅ	xa	adv	together (rel. to ‘with’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaelenaiθo	n	government (nom. of ‘together lead’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xafilοθne	v	meet (lit. ‘together come’)
ᐅᐅᐅ	xaftsa	adj	strong (muscular strength)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaiφepaiθo	n	organizaed religion (lit. ‘together religion’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaiφape	n	temple, Assembly Hall (rel. to ‘holy’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xakaθi	v	grow (intransitive only)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xalaθa	v	commune
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xalaθaiθo	n	community, communion
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaleφetaiθo	n	council (nom. of ‘advise together’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xalone	n	son
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xaluθe	n	happiness
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xamala	n	city (rel. to ‘together’ and ‘live’)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xameli	v	follow, obey (rel. to ‘with’)
ᐅᐅᐅ	xamo	prep	with (+COM)
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	xamotaheθa		please (lit. ‘with hope’)







ጎህጎህ	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ኃ	θe	pro	one (pronoun for ‘person’)
ኃላግሊ	θeaφma	adj	nice (of objects)
ኃላፕ	θeata	pro	they (animacy with volition)
ኃላሊ	θeeme	pro	we (inclusive)
ኃሌ	θele	adj	three
ኃሌላ	θelea	pro	s/he (formal)
ኃሌግ	θeleφa	n	event
ኃሌሎ	θelese	adj	kind (nice)
ኃሌ	θelu	n	self
ኃሌሃ	θelune	n	person
ኃሌፕ	θeluta	pro	they (formal)
ኃሊ	θema	adj	nice (for people--character trait)
ኃሃፕላ	θenotia	n	lamentation, wail, threnody
ኃላሊ	θeome	pro	we (exclusive)
ኃሎሌ	θesali	n	treasure
ኃሎላ	θesea	pro	you (formal)
ኃሎሊጎህሌ	θesmeθsola	n	afternoon (rel. to ‘after’ and ‘noon’)
ኃሎ	θesu	pro	you
ኃሎፕ	θesuta	pro	you (formal, pl)
ኃ	θeta		theta
ኃፕ	θeto	pro	s/he (animacy with volition)
ኃላሊ	θeume	pro	you (pl.)
ኃላሎ	θeus	n	god, lord
ኃሌ	θexo	pro	I
ኃሌሊ	θileme	n	will
ኃሌፕ	θileta	v	will
ኃሌሌ	θipule	n	diablerie, reckless mischief, charismatic wildness

Ἰουταῖο	Hiutsaθ	POS	English
ἴσῃ	θiʃto	v	bite (rel. to ‘tooth’)
ἴσῃ	θita	n	tooth
ἴσῃ	θolita	n	soul (inner being released upon death)
ἴσῃ Ἰουταῖο ἴσῃ	θolitaaxitsaθelo	v	express intense emotion (lit. ‘soul express’)
ἴσῃ	θomi	v	envy
ἴσῃ ἴσῃ	θomiiθo	n	envy
ἴσῃ	θoφaηe	n	shoe
ἴσῃ	θuloʃ	n	house
ἴσῃ	θuneso	adj	twelve (sacred form; only used when referring to the families or Gifts)