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Note: Click on the 📎 emoji to download an audio recording of the stories associated with each paper.

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Invented Languages: From Wilkins' *Real Character* to Avatar's Na'vi

Angela Carpenter's interest in invented languages arose from her work in creating miniature artificial languages to use in phonological experiments. She developed the Invented Languages class as an advanced-level course designed to capstone the linguistics concentration in the Cognitive and Linguistics Sciences major at Wellesley College. The course is open to both majors and nonmajors, however, all students have to fulfill prerequisites, which include an introductory linguistics course and an upper-level course in linguistics, anthropology and/or psychology. The papers to follow represent the final project for the course, which requires that students invent a linguistically-sound language from the ground up.

Since language and culture are intertwined, students begin by considering the cultural context in which their language exists. Keeping the culture in mind helps to ground their language in some sort of reality and informs many of the grammatical choices they make as the language develops. Through weekly assignments and in-class workshops students create their respective languages step-by-step beginning with the phonetics and phonology and moving onto morphology and syntax, creating a varied lexicon along the way. As a capstone course, students are able to bring together the various strands of their linguistics interests into their own creative endeavor.

For the phonetics section, students are instructed to put together a phonetic inventory that includes a variety of the world's sounds. They are specifically instructed to include some non-English phonemes. After organizing the phonetic inventory, students invent phonotactic restrictions and phonological rules that determine the makeup of the syllables, location of stress and the overall sound of the spoken language.

Morphological decisions include what types of morphemes, such as prefixes, suffixes, infixes, or circumfixes, will be used for the grammatical markers on verbs and nouns. Tense, mood and aspect combinations on verbs are explored, experimented with and decided upon. Students also make decisions about person, number and gender on nouns. Our discussion on case systems challenges students to consider various case systems including nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive. Some students choose to reduce the number of prepositions by richly incorporating case into their languages. Other systematic decisions include word order, adjectives and other modifiers, prepositions and determiners.

While making a myriad of grammatical decisions, students continue to develop the culture in which their language is spoken, fleshing it out with a history of the peoples, the place they inhabit, and the other cultures with which they interact. Much of this is discussed in the introduction of each paper, thus providing a context for the language description that follows. In addition to the culture and grammar of the language, each paper includes an original story written in the language, with the appropriate gloss. This story can be a creation myth, a cultural fable or a typical tale

that reveals some aspect of the culture. Students are also required to make a recording of their story to add to the permanent record of their invented language.

As is the custom among constructed languages, students are assigned to translate the Tower of Babel account found in the book of Genesis in the Bible. Finally, each paper includes a lexicon which reveals the concepts and ideas that are important in each student's culture.

It is truly a pleasure to teach this course and to observe the growth of my students' creativity and passion for language.

—Dr. Angela Carpenter, Wellesley College

EYAK ©

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE



CELIA BOURCY
LING 315 – FALL 2015
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I. CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF /EJAK/

/ejak/ is known to be the language spoken on planet /laf/, the tiniest planet of the distant galaxy of /iwan/, several light years away from our solar system. Nature prevails in this environment and everything is ruled by the four elements: air, water, fire and earth. The planet has an infinity of different trees and flowers and is characterized by its turquoise water and its light grey rocks and white sand.

However, if the flora on /laf/ is extremely diversified, its fauna only counts five different species, among which four kinds of animals and a race resembling human beings. These people, known as /ejakejak/ in reference to their language, are slightly taller than humans, and quite thin and muscular. They possess a light silver grey skin and pearly white nails, and have the particularity to control the natural elements. Each individual can control one element only, and this element is attributed to them the same way gender is, before birth, while they are conceived. **Nice!** Genetics do not influence this attribution and it is thus impossible for parents to guess their child's element, just as it is impossible to know the gender of the baby before he or she was born. Moreover, balance is extremely important on planet /laf/ in order for the elements to complement each other; thus there is the same number of representatives in each group.

As babies, /ejakejak/ all have white hair and white eyes, but around the age of one, when they begin to walk and talk, their element develops and their hair and eyes change color, allowing them to be differentiated from people of other elements. The eyes of the /ejakejak/ representing fire become red, and red strands also develop in their hair. The ones representing water go

through the same process with color blue. Earth is linked to color green and air to a golden yellow.

In addition to their element, these people are closely linked to one of the four types of animals living on planet /laʃ/, each animal standing for one element. Although these species are unknown from the inhabitants of planet Earth, it is easy to identify them as they resemble some of the races present on our own planet. Indeed, the animal linked to element earth is a type of horse called /dejmək/, possessing two horns on the forehead. Their color varies between light and dark green. Water is linked to /blōwen/, a type of giant blue frog, fire to /sakjan/, a giant cat which color goes from orange to red, and element air is represented by a type of large yellow or golden eagle called /kjaren/. /ejakejak/ and animals share feelings and fears, and control the natural elements together.

Even if the people of /ejak/ firmly believe in the power of nature and peace, it also exist a belief among them that a long time ago, at the creation of the world, a particular woman was able to control all four elements and animals. She is known as /laçan/ and is represented with white hair and white eyes, because this color is common to every /ejakejak/, no matter what element they are linked to. Over the years, /laçan/ became a myth, a goddess, and nowadays she embodies the one and only divinity of the people of /ejak/.

Moreover, all /ejakejak/ share the same dialect, no matter what group they belong to. /ejak/ is the only language spoken on planet /laʃ/ and does not have a written form, as these people cannot read or write. Their language is oral only and has to be represented with phonetic symbols. However, /ejakejak/ know how to count and their counting system is very complete and elaborate. It resembles the Chinese counting system and allows them to count up to billions, even

though they generally stop at thousands. The following chapters are willing to go over the /ejak/ language in details and to explain its functionality and particularities.

II. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

- **PHONETICS:**

In order to understand how /ejak/ is pronounced, it is important to know about its phonemic chart, especially because this language has no alphabet and is thus written in IPA only. The language possesses 24 different sounds, among which 5 vowels and 19 consonants. The following tables present these sounds:

Vowels:

	Front vowels	Back vowels
Close vowels	/i/	/u/
Mid vowels	/e/	/ɔ/
Open vowels	/a/	

/ejak/ has a simple combination of five vowels, for some of them similar to the vowels of English. Indeed, the sound /u/ is the long vowel present in the English words ‘moon’ or ‘food’ and the sound /e/ is the short vowel of the English word /bed/. The three other sounds are taken from the French in words like ‘piscine’ (/i/), ‘matelas’ (/a/) or ‘dehors’ (/ɔ/). The vowel /i/ is situated in between English long /i:/ and short /ɪ/ and the /ɔ/ sound is an open ‘O’ quite similar to the sound English uses for the word ‘dog’. French vowel /a/ is not as back as the sound used in the English word ‘father’ and not as front as the one used in ‘cat’; it is situated in between these two sounds.

The language of planet /laʃ/ also authorises diphthongs and many combinations are thus possible, as for example in the word /aplaik/ (meaning ‘on’), where vowels /a/ and /i/ create the diphthong /ai/. However, because of the existence of the consonant /j/, as the next chart presents, it is sometimes legitimate to wonder if /ejakejak/ really diphthong vowel /i/ or if they simply use the yod instead.

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio - Dental	Alveolar	Post - Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	/p/ /b/		/t/ /d/			/k/ /g/
Nasals	/m/		/n/			
Fricatives		/f/ /v/	/s/ /z/	/ʃ/ /ʒ/	/ç/	
Laterals			/l/			
Approximants			/r/		/j/	/w/

Every sound of /ejak/ - except for palatal fricative /ç/, taken from languages like German - are present in English, and it makes it easy for English speakers to pronounce and learn this language. French also shares the above sounds - except for palatal fricative /ç/ and alveolar approximant /r/.

The six plosives of /ejak/: /p, b, t, d, k, and g/ can respectively be found in the English words ‘pen, balloon, table, down, clock and ground’ and the French words ‘pour, beau, tour, droit, casier and grand’. The two nasal sounds /m/ and /n/ are present in the word ‘minimal’ used in both languages, and the lateral /l/ is used in ‘long’, also present in both English and French dialects. The words ‘yellow’ and ‘white’ respectively use the approximants /j/ and /w/ in English, as it is the case with the words ‘yaourt’ and ‘oiseau’ in French. However, if approximant /r/ is present in English in a word like ‘red’, it doesn’t exist in the French language. The particularity

of /ejak/ is its use of the palatal sound /ç/, used in the German sentence ‘ich liebe dich’ for example. Neither English nor French make use of this fricative, but they share the six others (/f, v, s, z, ʃ and ʒ/) in words like ‘for, volume, socks, zoo, shop and television’ in English and ‘foule, youloir, sauter, zebre, chambre and jeux’ in French.

- **PHONOLOGY:**

Although the sounds of /ejak/ are easily understood and used, they cannot mix arbitrarily. This language faces many phonological restrictions and it is mainly due to its particular syllable structure. Indeed, the minimal syllabic pattern of /ejak/ is VC, V standing for ‘vowel’ and C for ‘consonant’. A word like /ak/ (meaning ‘she’ or ‘her’) is thus the smallest a speaker of /ejak/ can create. Longer syllables can have up to two more consonants before the mandatory vowel and up to two more after the mandatory consonant. It is also possible to have another vowel next to the mandatory one in order to create diphthongs. The longest syllable pattern is (C)(C)V(V)C(C)(C) and a one-syllable word like /kjaekts/ (meaning ‘to hate’) represents the longest possible syllable of /ejak/.

Moreover, the language of planet /laf/ forbiddens several particular consonant clusters because of the nature and the place of articulation of the consonants. Alveolar approximant /r/ seems to be the most concerned sound as it is impossible to combine it - in a same syllable - with the two other approximants of the language: /w/ and /j/, or with lateral /l/ and palatal /ç/, no matter in what order. In the same range of idea, fricative /ç/ can never be preceded by an approximant although /çw/ cluster is acceptable in initial position. Also, it is impossible for plosives and nasals of the same place of articulation to combine, and clusters like /pm/ or /nt/ are

forbidden. Finally, no plosive or fricative can directly follow a nasal; sounds like /mf/ or /ng/ do not exist in /ejak/.

As for stress pattern, the language has a fixed stress on the ultimate syllable, no matter the length or the nature of words. This rule occurs simply because most of the words in /ejak/ are short (one or two syllables) and stress doesn't change meaning; it is not an important aspect. The following sentence is given as an example:

/ʼek	fabakeʼm-aj	ʼeks	ʼtɔit/
2.SG	build-PST	2.SG.POSS	house
<i>You</i>	<i>built</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>house.</i>

Although /ejak/ does not have a large number of phonological rules, they are however very important features. The first rule concerns the aspiration of all voiceless plosives in initial position. Bilabial /p/, labio-dental /t/ and velar /k/ thus have the respective allophones: [p^h][t^h] and [k^h]. However, as the words /k^hjam/ (meaning 'woman') and /aklit/ (meaning 'right' as opposition to 'left') show, the aspiration rule applies to the plosive only if the latter is initial in a word, not simply initial in a syllable. Alveolar lateral /l/ also possesses an allophone. Indeed, /l/ is always clear in /ejak/ unless it is in final position, in which case it becomes dark ([ɫ]), as shown in this example:

/ik	lem	iks	twɔreɫ/
1.SG	be.PRS	1.SG.POSS	people
<i>I</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>people.</i>

Finally, this language has a nasalization rule (also called vowel assimilation rule) where vowels become nasalized when they are followed by nasals. A word like /uk/ (meaning 'it') will have a regular /u/ sound, but the word /bum/ (meaning 'thunderstorm') will see its vowel change because of the presence of bilabial nasal /m/ right after it. This rule occurs in English and French

languages as well, and these speakers make nasalization without effort and without even realizing they do.

III. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

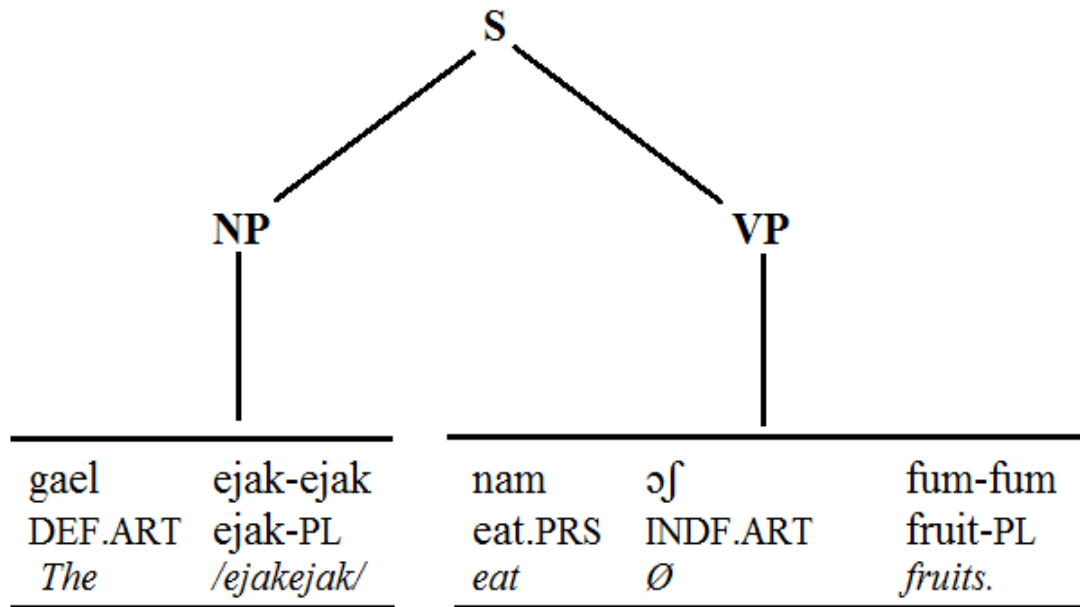
- **BASIC MORPHOLOGY, WORD ORDER AND CASE SYSTEM:**

Concerning morphology, /ejak/ is an inflecting language and each morph can thus represent different morphemes, contrary to agglutinating languages where each morph stands for a particular aspect of grammar. Moreover, the morphs of inflecting languages are always attached to another word or are part of the word itself. As an example, the personal pronoun /ukuk/ represents three elements of language: third person, neutral and plural. The form /uk/ is the singular form of third person neutral where sound /u/ is the neutral marker, as opposed to /ɔ/ in /ok/ (third person singular *masculine*) or /a/ in /ak/ (third person singular *feminine*). The plural form /ukuk/ shows a reduplication of the singular pronoun because this is the way /ejak/ marks plural. Indeed, every singular noun or pronoun of the language can be made plural simply by reduplication. The word /pɔj/ for example, meaning ‘cat’ in the singular, is transformed into /pɔjpɔj/ to mean ‘cats’ in the plural. However, reduplication cannot be used for verbs or for emphasis. The verb /nam/ for example, meaning ‘to eat’, will keep its form, no matter to what pronoun it is linked. It is the latter which will inflect, as the following sentences show:

/ik	nam	ɔʃ	fum/
1SG.NOM	eat.PRS	INDF.ART	fruit
<i>I</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>fruit.</i>
/ikik	nam	ɔʃ	fum/
1PL.NOM	eat.PRS	INDF.ART	fruit
<i>We</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>fruit.</i>

To intensify or emphasise a part of language, /ejak/ does not allow reduplication either. The word /fuwen/ for example, meaning ‘little’, cannot be reduplicated to mean ‘very little’. Another word (/fiwen/) exists for this notion.

As the precedent examples show, /ejak/ language has an SVO (subject, verb, object) word order, just as English or French. The syntactic tree below represents a basic sentence following this pattern:



The word order of /ejak/ is very strict and words will always respect their positions. The language also follows the nominative-accusative case system, and one particularity is that both nominative and accusative pronouns have the same form. The personal pronoun /ik/ can thus mean ‘I’ or ‘me’ depending on the context, as the following examples show:

/ik	lem	ek/
1SG.NOM	love.PRS	2SG.ACC
<i>I</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>you</i>
/ek	lem	ik/
2SG.NOM	love.PRS	1SG.ACC
<i>You</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>me</i>

/ejak/ sticks to this dual case system and does not have any other cases. It thus possesses a very large number of prepositions which all come after the verb and before the noun they are linked to. Here are some of them, among the most frequently used: /aj/ ('to'), /tek/ ('of'), /tɔwɔl/ ('towards'), /tʃej/ ('at' or 'at someone's'), /deid/ ('in').

- **VERBS:**

/ejak/ has a very simple, although very complete, verb system. The language has three different tenses: past, present and future, four different moods: infinitive, indicative, imperative and subjunctive, and two different aspects: perfective and imperfective. Only past and future tenses inflect in the indicative, respectively marked by suffixes /aj/ and /ej/, while present form always stays the same as the infinitive. To form the imperative, the pronoun is simply attached to the infinitive form of the verb, as a suffix. Subjunctive does not have a separate form and is identical to the indicative; the word /sif/ is just added before the verb, as a separate morpheme. Identically, the morpheme /sel/ is added before the verb to differentiate the imperfective aspect from the perfective one. In the case of subjunctive imperfective, where both /sif/ and /sel/ markers are used, /sel/ will always be the one closest to the verb. As an example, the verb /alt/ below, meaning 'to stop', has been conjugated to illustrate the different uses of verbs in ejak:

-	-	Past	Present	Futur
Indicative	Perfective	alt-aj	alt	alt-ej
	Imperfective	sel alt-aj	sel alt	sel alt-ej
Subjunctive	Perfective	sif alt-aj	sif alt	sif alt-ej
	Imperfective	sif sel alt-aj	sif sel alt	sif sel alt-ej
Imperative	-	-	alt-ek (2SG) alt-ikik (1PL) alt-ekek (2PL)	-

Morphologically speaking, the verbs of /ejak/ do not follow a particular form and can have various lengths and endings. The verb /sukadem/ for example, meaning ‘to succeed’, possesses three syllables and an /em/ ending, found in several other verbs like /lem/ (‘to love’) or /fabakem/ (‘to do’, ‘to make’ or ‘to build’). On the contrary a verb like /zip/, meaning ‘to see’, possesses only one syllable and a random ending. It is thus impossible to identify a verb thanks to its morphology.

- **NOUNS AND PRONOUNS:**

Similarly to verbs, nouns cannot be identified by their morphology as it is totally random. However, because of reduplication, most of them are one or two syllables long, even if three syllables nouns exist. The word /tit/, meaning ‘dog’, and the word /aklemak/, meaning ‘kingdom’, both are nouns of /ejak/, with various lengths and morphologies. Moreover, nouns do not inflect for person or gender.

If countable nouns are made plural by simple reduplication, mass nouns however cannot undergo the same changes. These nouns need classifiers in order to be measured, and the /ejak/

language divides them into four categories, according to the four elements. Each category of nouns is linked to one word that functions as a classifier. The word /wɔl/ is linked to element earth and classifies every objects or natural elements that can be grabbed, like sand, glass or nature. Air and concepts are classified by the word /sek/, water and liquids by the word /flɔp/, and fire and ungrabbable objects or visible phenomena by the word /lit/. The classifier is always attached to the uncountable noun as a suffix, and to precise quantity, speakers can add a number before the classified mass noun and one of the five words defining size after it: /fiwen/ ('very little'), /fuwen/ ('little'), /fɔwen/ ('medium'), /fewen/ ('big') and /fawen/ ('very big'). The sentences below are given as examples:

/ɔf	awɔw- flɔp	fiwen/
INDF.ART	water-classifier for liquids	very little
<i>A very little quantity of water.</i>		

/fan	waw- wɔl	fewen/
two	gold-classifier for grabbable objects	big
<i>Two big quantities of gold.</i>		

The /ejak/ language has a set of ten personal pronouns and they are subject to reduplication the same way nouns are. Third person singular and third person plural both have three different pronouns: masculine, feminine and neutral. Masculine and feminine pronouns are used for human beings and animals only, but the neutral pronoun has a very wide range of uses. It is used for anything that is neither feminine nor masculine but also when the gender is unknown (for animals for example) or for a group of people composed of both men and women. The table below presents the ten pronouns of /ejak/:

	Singular	Plural
1SG	ik	ikik
2SG	ek	ekek
3SG Feminine	ak	akak
3SG Masculine	ɔk	ɔkɔk
3SG Neutral	uk	ukuk

- **ADJECTIVES, PARTICIPLES AND ADVERBS:**

Contrary to verbs and nouns, adjectives in /ejak/ can be identified by their morphology. They always are two or three syllables long and always have the /en/ ending. They also always come after the noun they modify and as they do not agree with the latter, they keep their form in any case. Moreover, participles, used for the passive in /ejak/, have the same morphology as adjectives and end in /en/ as well, as the sentences below show:

/ɔk mej ɔʃ kjəm lɔlen/
 1SG.M.NOM be.PRS INDF.ART man tall.ADJ
He is a tall man.

/uk mej-aj fabakem-en/
 3SG.N.NOM be-PST build-PTCP
It was built.

Similarly to adjectives, adverbs have a particular morphology which allows them to be identified. They always are three syllables long and end in /ir/. They also always come after the verb they modify, as shown in the example below:

/ak sləm-aj petekir/
 3SG.F.NOM slow down-PST gradually.ADV
She gradually slowed down.

- **ARTICLES AND DEMONSTRATIVES:**

Just as most of languages, /ejak/ possesses definite and indefinite articles. They do not inflect for person, gender or number and are essential before nouns. The language does not allow sentences with no article, as it is the case in English in the phrase ‘men are taller than women’, for example. No matter if the noun is definite or indefinite in /ejak/, the presence of an article is mandatory. However, when mass nouns are used in their plain form, with no classifiers, they do not require the use of an article:

/ik	lemeig	gael	tit-tit/
1SG.NOM	prefer.PRS	DEF.ART	dog-PL
<i>I prefer dogs.</i>			
/ek	vɔl	elam?/	
2SG.NOM	want.PRS	milk	
<i>Do you want milk?</i>			

/ejak/ also makes use of demonstratives. The words /kim/ and /kɔm/ are the only two demonstratives of the language and they do not inflect in person, gender or number. The difference between both words concerns the distance of what they are referring to. /kim/, meaning ‘this’ or ‘these’, is used for objects or people that are close to the speaker, and /kɔm/, meaning ‘that’ or ‘those’, for objects or people that are far from him. However, /kɔm/ has the particularity of being used only when there is a comparison with /kim/; if not, /kim/ will be used as a first choice. The following sentences illustrate this use:

/kim	mej	ʃapwak	uks	paip	mejaj	babel/
DEM	be.PRS	why	3SG.N.POSS	name	be.PST	Babel
<i>That is why it was called Babel.</i>						

/ek lemeig **kim** ul **kəm** ?/
 2SG prefer.PRS DEM or DEM
Do you prefer these or those?

In the last sentence, the demonstratives are used as comparatives, which explains the use of /kəm/, while in the prior sentence, /kim/ is used to translate ‘that’ because there is no comparison. The same distinction exists for the words /ikwɪʃ/ and /ikwɔʃ/, respectively meaning ‘here’ and ‘there’.

- **QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS:**

/ejak/ has a very simple way of marking interrogations, and this is by the use of intonation. Indeed, the voice simply rises in order to differentiate the question from the affirmation. When written, it is necessary to add the question marker (?) at the end of the sentence, even though the language does not have a written form and only uses the IPA symbols. Negations are however marked in a special way as the word /nej/, meaning ‘no’, is always present in negative sentences. To create negative versions of nouns, /nej/, holding the negation, is attached to the noun as a prefix. The word /pəmerez/ for example, meaning ‘possible’, becomes /nejpəmerez/ when meaning ‘impossible’. Similarly, /nej/ is placed just before a verb, as a separate word, to negate it:

/ek nej lem ak/
 2SG.NOM NEG love.PRS 3SG.F.ACC
You do not love her.

- **RELATIVE CLAUSES:**

Relative clauses in /ejak/ are formed the same way as English. A relative pronoun is mandatory to link sentences and the head noun has to be in initial position. Finally, the gap

between the two sentences cannot be filled by a pronoun. Here is an example to illustrate the process of relative clauses:

/gael	kjam	nam-aj gael	fum	wak	tadam-aj	tek
DEF.ART	woman	eat.PST DEF.ART	fruit	REL	fall.PST	from
<i>The</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>ate the</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>had fallen</i>	<i>from</i>

gael	saz/
DEF.ART	tree
<i>the</i>	<i>tree.</i>

- **NUMBERING SYSTEM:**

Finally, the /ejak/ language possesses a numbering system. It is very simple, although very complete. /ejakejak/ never count over billions and the language thus do not have words for numbers over 9, 999 999 999. The system is composed of fifteen words, corresponding to fifteen numbers that can be combined to form other numbers. Each of them is a word composed of a consonant, a vowel and another consonant (CVC). Here are the fifteen basic numbers:

0: zɔj

1: kun

2: fan

3: tep

4: ʃak

5: lip

6: zik

7: zen

8: lum

9: nɔv

Tens: tiz

Hundreds: sen

Thousands: mil

Millions: kaj

Billions: kaw

To create longer numbers such as ‘48’, the speaker has to pronounced the first number, here ‘4’, then the unit of measurement, here ‘ten’, and finally the last number, here ‘8’. Number 48 is thus pronounced /ʃak tiz lum/ in /ejak/. Other examples are given below:

653: /zik sen lip tiz tep/

2179: /fan mil kun sen zen tiz nəv/

IV. STORY

gael DEF.ART <i>The</i>	twər-twər people-PL <i>people</i>	wik REL <i>who</i>	laiv live.PRS <i>live</i>	aplaik on <i>on</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	bul planet /laʃ/ <i>planet /laʃ/</i>	mej be.PRS <i>are</i>
Saver-en know-PTCP <i>known</i>	klaik as <i>as</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>	twərel people <i>people</i>	tek of <i>of</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>	ʃak four <i>four</i>	
Tsaip-tsaip. element-PL <i>elements.</i>	Ukuk 3PL.N.NOM <i>They</i>	laiv live.PRS <i>live</i>	neol-ir harmony-ADV <i>harmoniously</i>	ʃoil with <i>with</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	nalan, nature <i>nature,</i>	
ʃizet complement.PRS <i>complement</i>	ɔj, REPC <i>each other,</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	ɔrel share.PRS <i>share</i>	ɔʃ INDEF.ART <i>a</i>	dajal language <i>language</i>	aident same <i>same</i>	
paip-en name-PTCP <i>named</i>	ejak. /ejak/ <i>/ejak/.</i>	ɔlak each <i>Each</i>	twər person <i>person</i>	vil can.PRS <i>can</i>	mej be.INF <i>be</i>	cast only <i>only</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>
ʃəwzan representative <i>representative</i>	tek of <i>of</i>	kun one <i>one</i>	tsaip, element <i>element,</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	kim DEM <i>this</i>	tsaip element <i>element</i>	mey be.PRS <i>is</i>
pik-en chose-PTCP <i>chosen</i>	aident-ir same-ADV <i>the same way</i>	wak REL <i>Ø</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	çeks, gender <i>gender is,</i>	akjan before <i>before</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	

flaw, birth <i>birth,</i>	klaik while <i>while</i>	ukuk 3PL.N.NOM <i>they</i>	mey be.PRS <i>are</i>	fabakem-en. conceive-PTCP <i>conceived.</i>	osiz, also <i>Also,</i>	uk 3SG.N.NOM <i>there</i>	mej be-PRS <i>are</i>	cast only <i>only</i>	fak four <i>four</i>
oç-oç type-PL <i>types</i>	tek of <i>of</i>	poak-poak animal-PL <i>animals</i>	aplaik on <i>on</i>	gael DEFART <i>Ø</i>	bul planet /laf/ <i>planet /laf/,</i>	laf, /laf/ <i>/laf/,</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	olak each <i>each</i>	poak animal <i>animal</i>
dzoik correspond.PRS <i>corresponds</i>	af to <i>to</i>	kun one <i>one</i>	tsaip. element <i>element.</i>	zaf so <i>So,</i>	gael DEFART <i>Ø</i>	twor-twor people-PL <i>people</i>	mej be-PRS <i>are</i>		
lel-en link-PTCP <i>linked</i>	af to <i>to</i>	kun one <i>one</i>	tsaip element <i>element</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	kun one <i>one</i>	poak. animal <i>animal.</i>			
ukuk 3PL.N.NOM <i>They</i>	orel share.PRS <i>share</i>	uksuks 3PL.N.POSS <i>their</i>	bug-bug fear-PL <i>fears</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	zen-zen feeling-PL <i>feelings</i>	foil with <i>with</i>			
uksuks 3PL.N.POSS <i>their</i>	poak-poak animal-PL <i>animals</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	obajer control.PRS <i>control</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>	tsaip-tsaip element-PL <i>elements</i>	ojpenoj together <i>together.</i>			
gael DEF.ART <i>The</i>	krein-krein belief-PL <i>beliefs</i>	oak main <i>main</i>	tek of <i>of</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>	tworel people.SG <i>people</i>	mej be-PRS <i>are</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>		
dømdem balance <i>balance</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	ojmejøj equality <i>equality,</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>the</i>	alenan divinity <i>divinity</i>	laçan laçan <i>/laçan/</i>		
fowsen embody.PRS <i>embodies</i>	kim REL <i>this</i>	iklit idea <i>idea.</i>	akak 3SG.F.NOM <i>She</i>	mej be.PRS <i>is</i>	fowzan-en represent-PTCP <i>represented</i>	klaik as <i>as</i>	øj INDF.ART <i>a</i>		
kjam woman <i>woman</i>	alin-en beauty-ADJ <i>beautiful</i>	foil with <i>with</i>	øj INDF.ART <i>Ø</i>	lon-lon hair-PL <i>hair</i>	fajen white <i>white</i>	pen and <i>and</i>	jek-jek eye-PL <i>eyes</i>		
fajen white <i>white. Also,</i>	osiz also <i>Also,</i>	gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	peace peace <i>peace</i>	mej be.PRS <i>is</i>	øj INDF.ART <i>a</i>	rez thing <i>thing</i>	azan very <i>very</i>	pabalen important <i>important</i>	aplaik on <i>on</i>
gael DEF.ART <i>Ø</i>	bul planet /laf/ <i>planet /laf/</i>	planet /laf/ <i>planet /laf/</i>							

V. TRANSLATION

• GENESIS 11: 1-9: THE TOWER OF BABEL

kwaj	paw	gael	tut	abalɔn-aj	mej	tek	kun	dajal	pen
now	all	DEF.ART	earth	continu-PST	be.INF	of	one	language	and
<i>Now</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>continued</i>	<i>to be</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>and</i>

tek	kun	awt-awt-wɔl
of	one	word-PL-set
<i>of</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>set of words.</i>

klaik	ukuk	pagarem-aj	tɔwɔl	gael	ejen	ukuk
as	3PL.N.NOM	travel-PST	towards	DEF.ART	east	3PL.N.NOM
<i>As</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>traveled</i>	<i>towards</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>east,</i>	<i>they</i>

ait-aj	ɔf	lejem	deid	gael	aklemak	tek	ʃinar
discover-PST	INDF.ART	valley	in	DEF.ART	kingdom	of	Shinar
<i>discovered</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>valley</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>kingdom</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>Shinar,</i>

pen	ukuk	bublem-aj	laivir	ikwif
and	3PL.N.NOM	begin-PST	dwel-INP	DEM
<i>and</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>began</i>	<i>dwelling</i>	<i>there.</i>

ilen	ukuk	agaʃ-aj	af	ɔj	klem-ekek	fabakem-ikik
then	3PL.N.NOM	say-PST	to	RECP	come-IMP.2PL	make-IMP.1PL
<i>Then</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>said</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>one another:</i>	<i>“Come!</i>	<i>Let us make</i>

ɔf	bilm-bilm	pen	kwiz-ikik	ukuk	ʃɔil	tʃif
INDF.ART	brick-PL	and	bake-IMP.1PL	3PL.N.ACC	with	fire
<i>Ø</i>	<i>bricks</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>let us bake</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>fire.”</i>

zaʃ	ukuk	lej-aj	ɔf	bilm-bilm	aif	pien
so	3PL.N.NOM	use-PST	INDF.ART	brick-PL	instead of	stone
<i>So</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>used</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>bricks</i>	<i>instead of</i>	<i>stone,</i>

pen	bitam	klaik	mɔtam
and	bitumen	as	mortar
<i>and</i>	<i>bitumen</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>mortar.</i>

kwaj	ukuk	agaʃ-aj	klem-ekek	fabakem-ikik	ɔf	talan
now	3PL.N.NOM	say-PST	come-IMP.2PL	build-IMP.1PL	INDF.ART	city
<i>Now</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>said:</i>	<i>“Come!</i>	<i>Let us build</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>city</i>

ƶap for for	ikik-ɔj 1PL-REFL ourselves	pen and and	ɔʃ INDF.ART a	sprit tower tower	ʃoil with with	uks 3SG.N.POSS its	sɔmet top top	deid in in
gael DEF.ART the	pagadaj heaven heaven,	pen and and	fabakem-ikik make-IMP.1PL let us make	ɔʃ INDF.ART a	paip name name	anen ADJ famous	ƶap for for	
ikik-ɔj 1PL-REFL ourselves,	zaʃ so so	ikik 1PL.NOM we	nej neg won't be	mej-ej be-FUT	pagaj-en scatter-ADJ scattered	aplaik over over	paw all all	
gael DEF.ART the	ars face face	tek of of	gael DEF.ART the	tut earth earth.				
ilen then Then	zeɔvak Jehovah Jehovah	dawan-aj go down-PST went down	zip see-INF to see	gael DEF.ART the	talán city city	pen and and	gael DEF.ART the	
sprit tower tower	wak REL that	gael DEF.ART the	çolón-çolón son-PL sons	tek of of	gael DEF.ART Ø	kjòm-kjòm man-PL men	fabakem-aj build-PST had built.	
ilen then Then	zeɔvak Jehovah Jehovah	agaʃ-aj say-PST said:	ziptak-ekek look-IMP.2PL "Look!	ukuk 3PL.N.NOM They	mej be-PRS are	kun one one	twɔrel people people	
ʃoil with with	kun one one	dajal language language,	pen and and	kim DEM this	mey be-PRS is	wak REL what	ukuk 3PL.N.NOM they	bublem-aj start-PST have started
fabakem do-INF to do.								
kwaj now Now	nej-rez NEG-thing nothing	tek of of	wak REL what	ukuk 3PL.N.NOM they	kaik-ej have-FUT will have	deid in in	gael DEF.ART Ø	feim mind mind
fabakem do-INF to do	mej-ej be-FUT will be	nej-pòmerez NEG-possible impossible	ƶap for for	ukuk 3PL.N.ACC them.				
klem-ekek come-IMP.2PL Come!	dawan-ikik go down-IMP.1PL Let us go down		ikwif there there	pen and and	mekslam-ikik confuse-IMP.1PL let us confuse	uksuks 3PL.N.POSS their		

dajal	zaʃ	ukuk	nej	dʒerid-ej	gael	dajal
language	so	3PL.N.NOM	NEG	understand-FUT	DEF.ART	language
<i>language</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>they</i>		<i>won't understand</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>language</i>

tek	ɔj
of	RECP
<i>of</i>	<i>one another.</i>

zaʃ	ʒeɔvak	pagaj-aj	ukuk	çel	ikwiʃ	aplaik	paw	gael
so	Jehovah	scatter-PST	3PL.N.ACC	from	there	over	all	DEF.ART
<i>So</i>	<i>Jehovah</i>	<i>scattered</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>over</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>the</i>

ars	tek	gael	tut	pen	ukuk	alt-aj	petekir
face	of	DEF.ART	earth	and	3PL.N.NOM	stop-PST	gradual-ADV
<i>face</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>stopped</i>	<i>gradually</i>

fabakem	gael	talan
build-INF	DEF.ART	city
<i>building</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>city.</i>

kim	mej	ʃapwak	uks	paip	mej-aj	babel	plej	ikwiʃ
DEM	be-PRS	why	3SG.N.POSS	name	be-PST	Babel	because	there
<i>That</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>why</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>Babel</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>there</i>

ʒeɔvak	mekslam-aj	gael	dajal	tek	paw	gael	tut
Jehovah	confuse-PST	DEF.ART	language	of	all	DEF.ART	earth
<i>Jehovah</i>	<i>confused</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>earth</i>

pen	ʒeɔvak	pagaj-aj	ukuk	çel	ikwiʃ	aplaik	paw	gael
and	Jehovah	scatter-PST	3PL.N.ACC	from	there	over	all	DEF.ART
<i>and</i>	<i>Jehovah</i>	<i>scattered</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>over</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>the</i>

ars	tek	gael	tut
face	of	DEF.ART	earth
<i>face</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>earth.</i>

VI. LEXICON

- **EJAK TO ENGLISH:**

abalɔn: v. to continue

agaf: *v.* to say
aident: *n.* same
aif: *prep.* instead of
ait: *v.* to discover
ajɔrem: *n.* respect
ak: *pers. pron.* she, her
akak: *pers. pron.* they, them (femin.)
akjan: *prep.* before, in front of
aklem: *n.* left
aklemak: *n.* kingdom, territory
aklit: *n.* right
aks: *poss. adj.* her, hers
aksaks: *poss. adj.* their, theirs (femin.)
alenan: *n.* divinity
alin: *n.* beauty
alinen: *adj.* beautiful
alt: *v.* to stop
anen: *adj.* famous
aplaik: *prep.* on
ars: *n.* face
af: *prep.* to
afam: *prep.* without
afazan: *prep.* about
awɔw: *n.* water
awt: *n.* word
azan: *adv.* very
beik: *prep.* by
bilm: *n.* brick
bitam: *n.* bitumen
blɔwen: *n.* kind of giant frog
bublem: *v.* to begin

bug: *n.* to fear
bul: *n.* planet
bum: *n.* thunderstorm
dajal: *n.* language
dawan: *v.* to go down
dɔmdem: *n.* balance
dɔt: *n.* diet
debalem: *v.* to accelerate
deid: *prep.* in
dejmok: *n.* kind of horse
dʒɔik: *v.* to correspond
dʒeiz: *prep.* until
dʒerid: *v.* understand
ebleik: *prep.* under
eit: *v.* to try
ejen: *n.* east
ek: *pers. pron.* you (sg.)
ekek: *pers. pron.* You (pl.)
eks: *poss. adj.* your, yours (sg.)
ekseks: *poss. adj.* your, yours (pl.)
eksel: *v.* to abuse
elam: *n.* milk
elim: *prep.* between
elm: *conj.* but
ent: *v.* to hear
entak: *v.* to listen
epemen: *prep.* up
fabakem: *v.* to make, to build
fan: *num. adj.* two
fawen: *adj.* huge
fɔlmen: *prep.* during

feim: *n.* mind, spirit
fewen: *adj.* big
filem: *prep.* thanks to
fiwen: *adj.* very little
flaf: *n.* lightning
flaw: *n.* birth
flɔʃ: *n.* sand
flop: *n.* drop (classifier for water)
fluel: *n.* air
fɔwen: *adj.* medium
fum: *n.* fruit
fuwen: *adj.* little
gael: *def. art.* the
ik: *pers. pron.* I, me
ikik: *pers. pron.* we, us
iklit: *n.* idea
iks: *poss. adj.* my, mine
iksiks: *poss. adj.* our, ours
ikwɔʃ: *adv.* there
ikwɪʃ: *adv.* here
ilen: *adv.* then
iwan: *n.* name of the galaxy
jek: *n.* eye
jep: *n.* luck
kaik: *v.* to have
kaj: *n.* million
kajwan: *int. pron.* how many, how much
kaw: *n.* billion
kɔm: *det.* that, those
kef: *v.* to caught
kim: *det.* this, these

kjaekts: *v.* to hate
kjam: *n.* woman
kjaren: *n.* kind of giant eagle
kjəm: *n.* man
klaik: *conj.* as, like
klap: *v.* to hit, to beat, to battle
klem: *v.* to come
krein: *n.* belief
kun: *num. adj.* one
kwaj: *adj.* now
kwiz: *v.* to bake
laivir: *v.* to live, to dwell
l̥len: *adj.* tall
l̥nl̥n: *n.* hair
lej: *v.* to use
lejem: *n.* valley, plain
lel: *n.* link
lem: *v.* to like, to love
lemeig: *v.* to prefer
likwil: *n.* blood
lip: *num. adj.* five
lit: *n.* occurrence (classifier for fire)
lum: *num. adj.* eight
maiz: *n.* year
m̥tam: *n.* mortar
m̥vem: *prep.* because of
mej: *v.* to be
mekslam: *v.* to confuse
mekslamen: *adj.* confused
miam: *n.* hungriness
mil: *n.* thousand

mimen: *adj.* cute
nalán: *n.* nature
nam: *v.* to eat
nawam: *n.* north
nɔv: *num. adj.* nine
nej: *n.* no
nelɔn: *n.* harmony
nelɔnir: *adv.* harmoniously
pabalen: *adj.* important
pagadaj: *n.* paradise, heaven
pagaj: *v.* to scatter
pagajen: *adj.* scattered
pagarem: *v.* to travel
paip: *n.* name
paw: *adj.* all, everything
pɔak: *n.* animal
pɔip: *prep.* through, throughout
pɔj: *n.* cat
pɔmerej: *adj.* possible
pen: *conj.* and
petekir: *adv.* gradually
pien: *n.* stone
pipem: *prep.* according to
pipen: *adj.* small
pjam: *n.* friend
pjaman: *n.* friendship
plaig: *prep.* since, for
plɔn: *prep.* around
plej: *conj.* because, for
puran: *n.* rain
rez: *adj.* nothing

sakjan: *n.* kind of giant cat
salmən: *prep.* near
saver: *v.* to know
sawam: *n.* south
saɜ: *n.* tree
səmet: *n.* top
sek: *n.* moment (classifier for air)
sen: *n.* hundred
sləm: *v.* to slow down
sprit: *n.* tower
stəp: *v.* to die
sukadem: *v.* to succeed
tadam: *v.* to fall
tait: *prep.* out, outside, out of
taj: *int.* yes
talən: *n.* city, town
təwəl: *prep.* towards
tek: *prep.* of
tep: *num. adj.* three
tit: *n.* dog
tiwin: *v.* to go up
tiz: *n.* dozen
tjezun: *prep.* despite
tsaip: *n.* element
tʃəm: *v.* to sneeze
tfej: *prep.* at someone's
tʃif: *n.* fire
tʃin: *n.* glass
tut: *n.* earth
twər: *n.* person
twərel: *n.* a people

uk: *pers. pron.* it (object or neuter)
ukjen: *prep.* behind, after, beyond
uks: *poss. adj.* its (object or neuter)
uksuks: *poss. adj.* their, theirs (object or neuter)
ukuk: *pers. pron.* they (object or neuter)
ul: *conj.* or
vil: *aux.* can, be able to
vəl: *v.* to want
wak: *int. pron.* what
waw: *n.* gold
wək: *int. pron.* where
wəl: *n.* group, set, bunch (classifier for earth)
wein: *n.* west
wek: *int. pron.* when
wik: *int. pron.* who
wuk: *int. pron.* how
zalbək: *prep.* far, away from
zaf: *conj.* so
zəj: *num. adj.* zero
zən: *prep.* as soon as
zen: *num. adj.* seven
zik: *num. adj.* six
zim: *prep.* against
zip: *v.* to see
ziptak: *v.* to look at, to watch
çal: *n.* girl
çalan: *n.* daughter
çast: *adv.* just, only
çəl: *n.* boy
çəln: *n.* son
çeks: *n.* sex, genre

çel: *prep.* from
ɔak: *n.* main
ɔbajer: *v.* to control
ɔç: *n.* type
ɔj: *ref. pron.* one another, each other
ɔjmeyɔj: *n.* equality
ɔjpenɔj: *n.* together
ɔk: *pers. pron.* he, him
ɔkɔk: *pers. pron.* they, them (masc.)
ɔks: *poss. adj.* his (masc.)
ɔksɔks: *poss. pron.* their, theirs (masc.)
ɔlak: *adv.* each
ɔpɔmɔn: *prep.* down
ɔrel: *v.* to share
ɔf: *def.art.* a
ɔsiz: *adv.* also
ɟajen: *adj.* white
ɟak: *num. adj.* four
ɟap: *prep.* for
ɟapwak: *int. pron.* why
ɟɔil: *prep.* with
ɟɔwsen: *v.* to embody
ɟɔwz: *v.* to represent
ɟɔwzan: *n.* representative
ɟizet: *v.* to complete
ɟamen: *prep.* among
ɟen: *n.* to feel

- **ENGLISH TO EJAK:**

a: *def.art.* ɔf
about: *prep.* aɟazan

abuse: *v.* eksel
accelerate: *v.* debalem
according to: *prep.* pipem
after: *prep.* ukjen
against: *prep.* zim
air: *n.* fluel
also: *adv.* ɔsɪz
among: *prep.* ʒamen
and: *conj.* pen
animal: *n.* pɔak
around: *prep.* plɔn
as soon as: *prep.* zɔn
as: *conj.* klaik
at someone's: *prep.* tʃej
bake: *v.* kwɪʒ
balance: *n.* dɔmdem
be: *v.* mej
beautiful: *adj.* alinen
beauty: *n.* alin
because of: *prep.* mɔvem
because: *conj.* plej
before: *prep.* akjan
begin: *v.* bubleɪm
behind: *prep.* ukjen
belief: *n.* kreɪn
between: *prep.* elim
beyond: *prep.* ukjen
big: *adj.* fewen
billion: *n.* kaw
birth: *n.* flaw
bitumen: *n.* bitam

blood: *n.* likwil
boy: *n.* çol
brick: *n.* bilm
build: *v.* fabakem
but: *conj.* elm
by: *prep.* beik
can: *aux.* vil
cat: *n.* pøj
city: *n.* talan
come: *v.* klem
complement: *v.* fîzet
confuse: *v.* mekslam
confused: *adj.* mekslamen
continue: *v.* abaløn
control: *v.* obajer
correspond: *v.* dʒoik
cough: *v.* kef
cute: *adj.* mimen
daughter: *n.* çalan
despite: *prep.* tjezun
die: *v.* stəp
diet: *n.* dət
discover: *v.* ait
divinity: *n.* alenan
do: *v.* fabakem
dog: *n.* tit
down: *prep.* əpəməŋ
drop: *n.* fləp
during: *prep.* fəlmen
dwell: *v.* laivir
each other, one another: *ref. pron.* ɔj

each: *adv.* olak
earth: *n.* tut
east: *n.* ejen
eat: *v.* nam
eight: *num. adj.* lum
element: *n.* tsaip
embody: *v.* fowsen
equality: *n.* ojmejoj
everything: *adj.* paw
eye: *n.* jek
face: *n.* ars
fall: *v.* tadam
famous: *adj.* anen
far: *prep.* zalbok
fear: *n.* bug
feel: *n.* zen
fire: *n.* tʃif
five: *num. adj.* lip
for: *prep.* ʃap
four: *num. adj.* ʃak
friend: *n.* pjam
friendship: *n.* pjaman
from: *prep.* ʧel
fruit: *n.* fum
genre: *n.* ʧeks
girl: *n.* ʧal
glass: *n.* tʃin
go down: *v.* dawan
go up: *v.* tiwin
gold: *n.* waw
gradually: *adv.* petekir

hair: *n.* lɔnlɔn
harmoniously: *adv.* nelɔnir
harmony: *n.* nelɔn
hate: *v.* kjaekts
have: *v.* kaik
he: *pers. pron.* ɔk
hear: *v.* ent
heaven: *n.* pagadaj
her, hers: *poss. adj.* aks
her: *obj. pron.* ak
here: *adv.* ikwiʃ
him: *obj. pron.* ɔk
his (masc.): *poss. adj.* ɔks
hit: *v.* klap
how many, how much: *int. pron.* kajwan
how: *int. pron.* wuk
huge: *adj.* fawen
hundred: *n.* sen
hungriness: *n.* miam
I: *pers. pron.* ik
idea: *n.* iklit
important: *adj.* pabalɛn
in front of: *prep.* akjan
in: *prep.* deid
instead of: *prep.* aif
it: *pers. pron. or obj. pron.* uk
its: *poss. adj.* uks
just: *adv.* ɕast
kingdom: *n.* aklemak
know: *v.* saver
language: *n.* dajal

left: *n.* aklem
lightning: *n.* flaf
like: *conj.* klaik
like: *v.* lem
link: *n.* lel
listen: *v.* entak
little: *adj.* fuwen
live: *v.* laivir
look at: *v.* ziptak
love: *v.* lem
luck: *n.* jep
main: *n.* oak
make: *v.* fabakem
man: *n.* kjom
me: *obj. pron.* ik
medium: *adj.* fowen
milk: *n.* elam
million: *n.* kaj
mind: *n.* feim
mortar: *n.* motam
my, mine: *poss. adj.* iks
name: *n.* paip
nature: *n.* nalan
near: *prep.* salmon
nine: *num. adj.* nov
no: *n.* nej
north: *n.* nawam
nothing: *adj.* rez
now: *adj.* kwaj
of: *prep.* tek
on: *prep.* aplaik

one: *num. adj.* kun
only: *adv.* çast
or: *conj.* ul
our, ours: *poss. adj.* ikik
out: *prep.* tait
outside: *prep.* tait
people (SG): *n.* twɔrel
person: *n.* twɔr
plain: *n.* lejem
planet: *n.* bul
possible: *adj.* pɔmerej
prefer: *v.* lemeig
rain: *n.* puran
represent: *v.* ʃɔwz
representative: *n.* ʃɔwzan
respect: *n.* ajɔrem
right: *n.* aklit
same: *n.* aident
sand: *n.* flʃ
say: *v.* agaʃ
scatter: *v.* pagaj
scattered: *adj.* pagajen
see: *v.* zip
seven: *num. adj.* zen
share: *v.* ɔrel
she: *pers. pron.* ak
since: *prep.* plaig
six: *num. adj.* zik
slow down: *v.* slɔm
small: *adj.* pipen
sneeze: *v.* tʃɔm

so: *conj.* zaʃ
son: *n.* ɕolɔn
south: *n.* sawam
stone: *n.* pien
stop: *v.* alt
succeed: *v.* sukaɗem
tall: *adj.* lɔlen
tens: *n.* tiz
territory: *n.* aklemak
thanks to: *prep.* filem
that, those: *det.* kɔm
the: *def. art.* gael
their, theirs (femin.): *poss. adj.* aksaks
their, theirs (masc.): *poss. pron.* ɔksɔks
their, theirs (N): *poss. adj.* uksuks
them (femin.): *obj. pron.* akak
them (masc.): *obj. pron.* ɔkɔk
them (N): *obj. pron.* ukuk
then: *adv.* ilen
there: *adv.* ikwɔʃ
they (femin.): *pers. pron.* akak
they (masc.): *pers. pron.* ɔkɔk
they (N): *pers. pron.* ukuk
this, these: *det.* kim
thousand: *n.* mil
three: *num. adj.* tep
through: *prep.* pɔip
thunderstorm: *n.* bum
to: *prep.* aʃ
together: *n.* ɔjpenɔj
top: *n.* sɔmet

towards: *prep.* tɔwɔl
tower: *n.* sprit
travel: *v.* pagarem
tree: *n.* saʒ
try: *v.* eit
two: *num. adj.* fan
type: *n.* ɔç
under: *prep.* ebleik
understand: *v.* dʒerid
until: *prep.* dʒeiz
up: *prep.* epemen
us: *obj. pron.* ikik
use: *v.* lej
valley: *n.* lejem
very little: *adj.* fiwen
very: *adv.* aʒan
want: *v.* vɔl
watch: *v.* ziptak
water: *n.* awɔw
we: *pers. pron.* ikik
west: *n.* wein
what: *int. pron.* wak
when: *int. pron.* wek
where: *int. pron.* wɔk
white: *adj.* ʃajen
who: *int. pron.* wik
why: *int. pron.* ʃapwak
with: *prep.* ʃɔil
without: *prep.* aʃam
woman: *n.* kjam
word: *n.* awt

year: *n.* maiz

yes: *int.* taj

you (PL): *pers. pron. or obj. pron.* ekek

you (SG): *pers. pron. or obj. pron.* ek

your, yours (PL): *poss. adj.* ekek

your, yours (SG): *poss. adj.* eks

zero: *num. adj.* zɔj

NUMBERING SYSTEM

0: zɔj

1: kun

2: fan

3: tep

4: ʃak

5: lip

6: zik

7: zen

8: lum

9: nɔv

Tens: tiz

Hundreds: sen

Thousands: mil

Millions: kaj

Billions: kaw

MASS NOUNS AND CLASSIFIERS

Here is a list of the mass nouns of /ɛjak/ with their respective classifiers:

/wɔl/ (earth):

bitam: bitumen: *bitamwəl*

fləf: sand: *fləfwəl*

mətam: mortar: *mətamwəl*

nalən: nature: *nalənwəl*

pien: stone: *pienwəl*

tʃin: glass: *tʃinwəl*

tut: earth: *tutwəl*

waw: gold: *wawwəl*

/sek/ (air):

ajərem: respect: *ajəremsek*

alin: beauty: *alinsek*

bug: fear: *bugsek*

fluel: air: *fluelsek*

jep: luck: *jepsek*

miam: hungriness: *miamsek*

nelən: harmony: *nelənsek*

/fləp/ (water):

awəw: water: *awəwfləp*

likwil: blood: *likwilfləp*

puran: rain: *puranfləp*

elam: milk: *elamfləp*

/lit/ (fire):

bum: thunderstorm: *bumlit*

fləf: lightning: *fləflit*

tʃif: fire: *tʃiflit*

VII. APPENDIX

Here are more sentences in /ejak/ with their gloss and translation:

/ik kaik tep tit-tit pen ik lem ukuk/
 1SG.NOM have.PRS three dog-PL and 1SG.NOM love.PRS 3PL.N.ACC
I have three dogs and I love them.

/gael pɔj mej aplaik gael saʒ/
 DEF.ART cat be.PRS on DEF.ART tree
The cat is on the tree.

/alt-ek eit suka-dem-ek !/
 stop-IMP.2SG try.INF succeed-IMP.2SG
Stop trying, succeed !

/ikik mej deid fan mil kun tiz lip/
 2PL.NOM be.PRS in 2015
We are in 2015.

/ek vɔl kun awɔw-flɔp fuwen ?/
 2SG.NOM want.PRS one water-CLF little
Do you want a little water?

/ik lem ek/
 1SG.NOM love.PRS 2SG.ACC
I love you.

/ik kaik fan tiz ʃak maiz-maiz/
 1SG.NOM have.PRS 24 year-PL
I am 24.

/iks paip mey selja/
 1SG.POSS name be.PRS Célia
My name is Célia.

/ek kaik miam ?/
 2SG.NOM have.PRS hungriness
Are you hungry?

/kajwan ek mej ?/
 how much 2SG.NOM be.PRS
How old are you ?

/ik eksel-aj/
1SG.NOM eat too much-PST

I ate too much.

(The verb /eksel/ is used only for the notion ‘eat too much’).

/ɔrel pjaman/
share.INF friendship

To share friendship.

(That is what /ejakejak/ say to each other as ‘hello’).

/ajɔrem/
respect

Respect.

(That is what /ejakejak/ say to each other as ‘goodbye’).

An Overview of the Invented Language *damɔɛm*©

By Zz Bruce

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1. Introduction

The language I have created is called *damdem*. The meaning of this name roughly translates to “rockfall speech,” a name that is tied to the cultural context I created surrounding my language.

damdem grew out of an environment. I was interested in how natural language might grow to mimic the sounds surrounding it. As such, *damdem* is spoken in an environment rich with sound and the possibility of onomatopoeia. The speakers of *damdem* are human, or at least humanoid. They live in small communal groups in caves and caverns underneath the planet's surface. If the planet they live on is Earth, it is Earth very far in the future. The surface has been rendered uninhabitable; living underground is an effective survival mechanism. While these people did once live on the surface before it became dangerous, they have lived underground for many generations now and their time on the surface has entered into the mythology of the culture.

Before they retreated to the caverns, their surface environment was desert. So when the people first moved underground the very different environment necessitated the creation of a lot of new vocabulary in order for them to survive. Much of this new vocabulary was formed through onomatopoeia. This became a shared vocabulary between people who spoke various dialects of the local surface language and so were variably mutually intelligible. As time went on, the sounds brought into the language through onomatopoeia began to bleed into the rest of the language. There was a shift

towards rounded vowels, as well as retroflex and uvular consonants. In this way, the environment worked to shape the sound of the language.

The environment has also shaped *ɖamɖɛm* semantically. Because of the dangers of the surface and the safety of the caverns, words associated with surfacing and going upwards are generally negative. Likewise, open air is not seen as free but rather as dangerous. These cultural values have affected many idioms in *ɖamɖɛm*, as well as working into the grammar to some extent through the choice of auxiliary verbs.

Because they live underground away from the sun, the speakers of *ɖamɖɛm* conceptualize time differently than we do. They do not have concrete time measurements, but instead have terms simply for “now,” “before now,” and “after now.” This is also influenced by their reverence for stone which they see as their protector and teacher. There is a cultural emphasis on patience and steadiness, which translates to limited interest in anything ephemeral.

Overall, *ɖamɖɛm* reflects both the environment that it grew in as well as the values of the people who speak it.

2. Phonetics

2.1. Consonants

Figure 2.1

CONSONANTS	Bilabial		Alveolar		Postalveolar		Retroflex		Velar		Uvular		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b	t	d			ʈ	ɖ		ɡ	q	ɢ	ʔ	
Nasal		m		n						ŋ				
Trill														
Tap or Flap								ɽ						
Fricative			s	z	ʃ	ʒ								
Lateral fricative														
Approximant														
Lateral approximant				l				ɭ						
Affricate			ts		tʃ									
Labio-velar approximant									w					

The consonantal phonemic inventory of *ɖamɖɛm* is represented in figure 2.1. Like English, *ɖamɖɛm* has voiced and voiceless bilabial and alveolar plosives, as well a voiced velar plosive and a glottal stop. It also has a bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasal, a voiced and voiceless alveolar fricative, a voiceless postalveolar fricative, and an alveolar lateral approximant. Other sounds also found in English are the affricate consisting of a voiceless alveolar stop and a postalveolar voiceless fricative, as well as a labio-velar approximant.

There are a variety of consonants not found in English as well. *ɖamɖɛm* has quite a few retroflex consonants: both voiced and voiceless retroflex plosives, as well as a retroflex tap and a retroflex approximant. These are produced by moving the tip of the tongue back and curling it up to touch the palate, and are rounder sounding than their alveolar equivalents. These sounds became prevalent in *ɖamɖɛm* through onomatopoeia, as their roundness mimics the echoes in the caverns.

damdɛm also has a voiced and a voiceless uvular stop, which are produced by raising the back of the tongue towards the uvula and obstructing the airflow. These were also spread through onomatopoeia, as they sound similar to the gurgle of water.

The last non-English sound is the affricate consisting of an alveolar stop and alveolar fricative.

2.2. Vowels

Figure 2.2

VOWELS	Front		Back	
Close	i	y		u
Near-close				
Close-mid				o
Mid				
Open-mid	ɛ			ɔ
Near-open				
Open	a			ɒ

The vowel inventory of *damdɛm* is relatively simple. Like English, it has a high unrounded front vowel, an open-mid unrounded front vowel, a low unrounded front vowel, a high rounded back vowel, a mid rounded back vowel, and an open-mid rounded back vowel. The two non-English vowels are the high rounded front vowel and the low rounded back vowel.

The vowel inventory of *damdɛm* includes many rounded vowels, as another way of mimicking the echoes of the cavern environment.

3. Phonology

The syllable structure in *damdem* is (C)(C)V(C)(C). While it is possible for a syllable to consist only of a vowel, *damdem* has a strong preference for onset consonants. Syllables that start with a vowel are rare. *damdem* does not allow for diphthongization.

In regards to phonotactic restrictions and acceptable clusters, only stop+liquid and fricative+liquid clusters are allowed in the onset with the exception of *sr, *zr, *ʃr, and *ʒr. Only nasal+stop, fricative+stop, and liquid+stop clusters are allowed in the coda. *damdem* does not allow consecutive vowels across syllable boundaries.

Rather than having a variable stress pattern, *damdem* has fixed secondary stress; stress is always on the second syllable of the word. In words that are four syllables and longer, secondary stress will then fall on the fourth syllable.

There are several phonological rules that apply to *damdem*. They are outlined here.

3.1. Nasalization rule

If a nasal consonant follows a vowel, then that vowel will become nasalized.

3.2. Aspiration rule

Voiceless stops are aspirated in word-initial position and the beginning of stressed syllables.

3.3. Homorganic nasal rule

The place of articulation of a nasal is the same as the following consonant.

[lɪŋd] : entrance → //lɪnd/

3.4. Homorganic liquid rule

The place of articulation of a liquid is the same as the preceding consonant.

$[tlin]$: bright $\rightarrow /tlin/$

3.5. Vowel harmony rule

Only vowels of the same height are allowed within a word. This rule does not apply to case marker affixes with the exception of the imperative case, as most case affixation originated as separate prepositional words.

$[tlab] + [-la] \rightarrow /tlabel/$

come + -IMP \rightarrow come!

$[dɛ] + [-la] \rightarrow /dɛli/$

speak + -IMP \rightarrow speak!

4. Verbs

Infinitive verbs in *damɛm* are marked by one of two suffixes depending on vowel height in the root of the verb. If the root contains high vowels, then the infinitive suffix is *-bi*. If the root contains low vowels, then the infinitive suffix is *-ba*. The bare form of the verb is the infinitive form stripped of the infinitive suffix.

Verbs in *damɛm* are marked only for tense and number, there is no distinction in person or gender. Tense is marked in *damɛm* with the use of affixes.

Tense	Singular	Plural
Past	<i>ʃol-ɛm</i>	<i>ʃolʃol-ɛm</i>
Present	<i>ʃol</i>	<i>ʃolʃol</i>
Future	<i>ɛm-ʃol</i>	<i>ɛm-ʃolʃol</i>

The above chart shows the full conjugation of the noun *ʃolbi*, meaning ‘to swim.’

The tense system is tripartite, with only present, simple past, and simple future.

Unmarked past is default imperfective. The tenses are marked by the affix *-em-*. The position of the affix affects the meaning of the verb. When *em-* is prefixed to a verb root, it indicates future tense. When *-em* is suffixed to a verb root, it indicates past tense.

Lack of any *-em-* affix indicates present tense.

Number in verbs is indicated with reduplication. The process of reduplication in verbs works only on the root, reduplicating it in full and then appending it to the root.

The tense marking affix then attaches to the reduplicated root.

As mentioned before, *damdem* verbs do not distinguish for person. The present tense singular form *fol*, then, is used for any singular being.

<i>fol</i>	<i>-em fol-em</i>	<i>fol</i>	<i>-em tsɒ -em</i>	<i>folfol</i>	<i>-em tɒtɒ-em</i>
swim.SG-PST	I -NOM	swim.SG-PST	you-NOM	swim.PL-PST	they-NOM
'I swam'		'You swam'		'They swam'	

5. Nouns

Nouns in *damdem* only inflect for number. There is no grammatical gender, nor any other system of noun categorization. Only pronouns inflect for person, otherwise nouns are uninflected.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>fol</i>	<i>folfol</i>
2nd	<i>tsɒ</i>	<i>tsɒtsɒ</i>
3rd	<i>tɒ</i>	<i>tɒtɒ</i>

The above chart shows the pronouns. In order to show number, nouns in *damdem* undergo a form of reduplication similar to the process in verbs. The whole noun is reduplicated and then appended to the original word.

Plural noun forms in *damdem* are used sparingly. Outside of pronouns pluralization is generally only used semantically to emphasize the plurality of the noun, or if it is necessary to convey the meaning of the sentence. Otherwise, number is inferred from context.

po -em rimi fo to -en

birth.SG-PS_T child one she-NOM

‘She has one child’

po -em rimi to to-en

birth.SG-PS_T child four she-NOM

‘She has four children’

Because of the optional nature of pluralization, many nouns in *damdem* superficially behave like mass nouns. However, there are both mass nouns and count nouns in *damdem*. However, it does not make use of classifiers.

6. Morphology

As has been demonstrated, *damdem* is an agglutinative language. It makes use of various forms of affixation to create new forms, including prefixation, suffixation, and reduplication.

6.1. Derivational

In *damdem* there are several ways to morphologically transform words from one class of speech to another. One is the process of nominalization, which transforms verb roots into nouns. The nominalizing suffix is *-m*, which attaches to the end of the verb root. An example of nominalization in action is the name of the language: *damdem*. *damdem* is derived from two verbs: *daba*, meaning ‘collapse’ or ‘cave in,’ and *deba*, meaning ‘speak.’ In the name, both of these verbs have been transformed into nouns by taking their roots and suffixing *-m*. *daba* produces *dam*, meaning ‘a collapse,’ and *deba* produces *dem*, meaning ‘speech.’ Combined, they mean ‘the speech of the collapse,’ or more poetically ‘rockfall speech.’

damdem also has a process of adjectivization. It works similarly to nominalization, as it is marked by a suffix as well. The adjectivizing suffix is *-ŋ*, which attaches the root of the word it is modifying.

$$za + -\eta \rightarrow za\eta$$

$$\text{fire} + -\eta \rightarrow \text{warm}$$

Finally, *damdem* also has a process of adverbialization. It also occurs through a suffix, *-ɛ*.

$$za\eta + -\epsilon \rightarrow za\eta\epsilon$$

$$\text{warm} + -\epsilon \rightarrow \text{warmly}$$

None of these processes are fully productive. The adverbializing process is the most productive, as the *-ɛ* attaches easily to most words. Both the nominalizing and adjectivizing suffixes are less productive, however, because they require a vowel or an

acceptable consonant to attach to. Sometimes this can be dealt with by deleting the final consonant or consonant cluster of a word and then attaching to the newly exposed vowel, but most often the noun or adjective is simply unable to form.

6.2. Inflectional

Much of the inflectional morphology of *ɖamɖem* has already been discussed. One aspect that remains to be dealt with is intensification. *ɖamɖem* intensifies adjectives by means of reduplication. With each reduplication, the intensification gets stronger.

<i>ʃiŋ</i>	<i>ʃiŋʃiŋ</i>	<i>ʃiŋʃiŋʃiŋ</i>	<i>ʃiŋʃiŋʃiŋʃiŋ</i> etc.
'Small'	'Really small'	'Really really small'	'Really really really small'

7. Syntax

7.1. Word Order

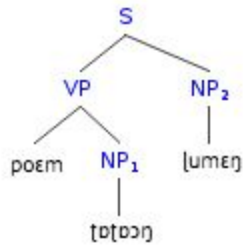
The word order of *ɖamɖem* is Verb-Object-Subject. While this is the canonical and preferred word order, movement in *ɖamɖem* is possible because of the relatively rich case system making other word orders possible too. Generally, word orders other than VOS are used to give additional semantic meaning by emphasizing a different component of the sentence; phrases are fronted to give them additional impact. Archaic and poetic forms of *ɖamɖem* also use variable word orders, with VSO and OVS the most common orders in these contexts.

po -em tɔtɔ-ɔŋ lum -eŋ

Birth.SG-PST we -ACC stone-NOM

'Stone birthed us'

Tree 5.1:



Above is a sentence in the canonical VOS word order of *damdem*, with the syntactic structure of the sentence demonstrated in tree 5.1.

Given its rich case system and the possibility for different word orders, head-directionality in *damdem* is variable. As tree 5.1 shows, there is a tendency towards head initial phrases.

As a general rule, words that modify words or word phrase such a prepositions, complementizers, adjectives, and adverbs all occur before the word or phrase that they modify. An exception to this is determiners, which occur after the noun they modify rather than before.

ŋiŋ qa tʃara

small shell that (distant)

‘That small shell over there’

damdem does not have articles, either definite or indefinite. It has a tripartite system of determiners, consisting of *tʃi* meaning ‘this,’ *tʃa* meaning proximate ‘that,’ and *tʃara* meaning distant ‘that.’

7.2. Tense, mood, and aspect

Tense has already been discussed in the section on verbs. In addition to tense, both mood and aspect are marked in *damdem*.

Mood is marked only minimally. The bare form is assumed to be indicative, and the only other marked mood is conditional. Conditional is marked with a prefix, either *si-* or *sa-* depending on vowel height.

si- titip ʃɒ-ɛŋ

COND-travel.SG.PRS I -NOM

'I would travel'

Aspect is marked with the use of auxiliary verbs. *damdem* marks for perfective and progressive aspect. The auxiliary verb used to mark progressive is the verb *ʃolbi* (to swim). The auxiliary form is the root form *ʃol*. It occurs directly before the inflected verb.

ʃol tup damdem-ɔŋ tsɒ -ɛŋ

PROG learn.SG.PRS *damdem*-ACC you-NOM

'You are learning *damdem*'

Perfective is marked with the auxiliary verb *ʃɛn* from the infinitive form *ʃɛnbi*, meaning to collect. It also occurs directly before the inflected verb.

diɛm ʃɛn ʃɒ -ɛm ʃɒ-ɛŋ

before PERF rest.SG-PST I -NOM

'I had rested earlier'

When occurring together, the progressive comes before the perfective.

ʃol ʃɛn qɪɔɪ ʃɒ-ɛŋ

PROG PERF work.SG.PRS I -NOM

'I have been working'

7.3. Case

As mentioned before, *damqem* has a relatively rich case system. The case system consists of six cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental, locative, and imperative. All cases are formed through affixation. All cases but the imperative case evolved over time from separate prepositions that are now defunct in *damqem*, making them exempt from the vowel harmony rule as they were originally separate words. As such, the imperative case is the only case with multiple affixes depending on the vowel height of the word.

7.3.1. Nominative

The nominative case marks the subject of a verb. It is formed by attaching the suffix *-eŋ* to the end of the noun it is modifying.

qe *damqem-oŋ* *ʃo-eŋ*

speak.SG.PRS *damqem*-ACC | -NOM

'I speak *damqem*'

7.3.2. Accusative

The accusative case marks the direct object of transitive verbs. It is formed by attaching the suffix *-oŋ* to the end of the noun it is modifying

qe *damqem-oŋ* *ʃo-eŋ*

speak.SG.PRS *damqem*-ACC | -NOM

'I speak *damqem*'

7.3.3. Genitive

The genitive case marks possession and composition. It can also mark origin, although that usage is most commonly found in poetic speech and would not be a common day-to-day usage. The genitive is formed by attaching the prefix ε - to the beginning of the noun it is modifying.

ε - *zu* *ɽimi*

GEN- human child

'Children of men'

7.3.4. Instrumental

The instrumental case marks that something is being accomplished or done by means of the noun it is modifying. In common usage the instrumental case only marks concrete things: building *with stone*, cooking *with heat*, etc. In poetic usage it can take on a more abstract meaning, however. It is formed by attaching the prefix *i*- to the beginning of the noun it is modifying.

ɽa *i*- *za*

light.SG.PRS INST- fire

'Light with fire'

7.3.5. Locative

The locative case marks location. It can also be used to mark destination, although, similarly to the usage of the genitive to mark origin, this is more common in poetic and formal speech. The locative is formed by attaching the suffix $-\varepsilon$ to the end of the noun it is modifying.

qam $-\varepsilon$

cavern-LOC

'In the caverns'

7.3.6. Imperative

Imperative case marks orders. It can also be used to form recommendations, as well as make propositions for collective action. In this way, it has a somewhat hortative function. The strength of the imperative is context sensitive; it falls on the hearer to pragmatically determine whether the speaker means to order or propose. The imperative is formed with two suffixes which attach to the end of the noun they modify. Which suffix is used depends on vowel height, in line with the vowel harmony rule previously described. The suffix for high vowels is *-li*, while the suffix for low vowels is *-la*.

gitip -li!

go.SG-IMP

'Go!'

babb -la!

eat.PL-IMP

'Let's eat!'

7.4. Miscellanea

There are several other important syntactic features of *damɛm* that have not yet been described.

The first is the process of constructing relative clauses. Relative clauses in *damɛm* occur necessarily before the noun they are modifying. They are marked by a circumfix *qu<>qu* that surrounds the content of the relative clause.

lu pɔgipɔgi qu po -em tɔtɔ -ɔŋ lum -ɛŋ qu
 here live.PL.PRS <REL> birth.sg-PST they-ACC stone-NOM <REL>
zu -ɛŋ
 people-NOM

‘The people who were birthed from stone live here.’

Quotations in *d̥am d̥em* are also marked with circumfixion. In order to show that material is quoted, *d̥em<>d̥em* is circumfixed around it.

d̥em t̥ab t̥ab -la! p̥ɛp̥ɛ -la lit̥im -ɔŋ ɛ
 <QUOT> come.PL-IMP! make.PL-IMP brick-ACC and
i- zɔ zɔŋzɔŋ -la d̥em.
 INST-fire bake.PL-IMP <QUOT>

‘Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.’

To make a question in *d̥am d̥em*, the question marker *d̥i* is used. The question marker occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

d̥i p̥rim t̥sɔ -ɛŋ?
 Q understand.sg.PRS you-NOM
 ‘Do you understand?’

Finally, to negate material in *d̥am d̥em*, a negation marker is used. The plain form *qo* means simple negation. This form can be modified as *qot̥lin*, which literally means ‘not do’ and implies inability rather than just negation. Negation markers occur before the verb they negate.

qo q̥ɔɔ -em ʃɔ -ɛŋ *qot̥lin q̥ɔɔ -em ʃɔ -ɛŋ*

NEG work.sg-PST I -NOM

'I did not work'

NEG work.sg-PST I -NOM

'I could not work'

8. Creation Story and Gloss

ε-lum tlam

‘Stone Song’

p/li -em p/li em-p/li lum -εη.

Be.SG-PST be.SG.PRS FUT-be.SG stone-NOM.

The stone was, is, and will continue to be.

3ir -em lum -εη ε em-tuptup -li.

Teach.SG-PST stone-NOM and FUT-learn.PL-IMP.

It taught us this and we must continue learning.

p/li -em p/li em-p/li lum -εη.

Be.SG-PST be.SG.PRS FUT-be.SG stone-NOM.

The stone was, is, and will continue to be.

εndiem qo pɾimɾim-em lum -ɔη.

Always NEG know.PL -PST truth-ACC.

We didn’t always know this truth.

zε3εzε3ε diem qo pɾipɾi-em ε- lum zu ʃɔʃɔ-εη.

Time.INTs before NEG be.PL-PST GEN-stone people we -NOM.

A long time ago, we were not of the stone.

p|ip|li-εm t|εη lɔη ε- tʃim ε p|uzp|uz-εm ʒεm -ε.

be.PL-PST soft moving GEN-sand and live.PL -PST moving air-LOC.

We were of the soft shifting sand, and we lived among moving air.

gigi -εm ʃɔʃɔ-εη ε ʒε -εm ʒεm -εη,

Build.PL-PST we -NOM and blow.SG-PST air -NOM,

We built and the air blew,

li gigi -εm ʃɔʃɔ-εη ε ʒε -εm ʒεm -εη.

again build.PL-PST we -NOM and blow.SG-PST air -NOM.

we built and the air blew again.

p|i -εm sɔ -εη tsin ε qo p|imp|rim-εm ʃɔʃɔ-εη

be.SG-PST everything-NOM chaotic and NEG know.PL -PST we -NOM.

Everything was chaos, though we did not know it.

p|i -εm p|i εm-p|i lum -εη.

Be.SG-PST be.SG.PRS FUT-be.SG stone-NOM.

The stone was, is, and will continue to be.

zɛzɛ ʃɒ pit pitpit zɛ -ɛm zɛm -ɛŋ

time one fast fast. INTS blow.SG-PST air -NOM

Then, the air blew faster and faster.

zɛ -ɛm zɛm-ɛŋ ɛ qotlin gigi -ɛm ʃɒʃɒ-ɛŋ

blow.SG-PST air -NOM and NEG build.PL-PST we -NOM

It blew and we could not rebuild.

pʌuzbi-bi dipdip -ɛm ʃɒʃɒ-ɛŋ

live -PURP descend.PL-PST we -NOM.

In order to live, we descended.

pʌi -ɛm pʌi ɛm-pʌi ʌum -ɛŋ.

Be.SG-PST be.SG.PRS FUT-be.SG stone-NOM.

The stone was, is, and will continue to be.

di pʌipʌi pʌud ɛ- ʌum

now be.PL.PRS cool GEN-stone

Now we are of the cool stone.

bε ʎum -εη, bεbε ʃɒʃɒ-εη.

breathe.SG.PRS stone-NOM, breathe.PL.PRS we -NOM

It breathes, we breathe with it.

ʒɪr ʎum -εη ε εm-dɪpɪp ʃɒʃɒ-εη.

teach.SG.PRS stone-NOM and FUT-grow.PL we -NOM.

pʎi -εm pʎi εm-pʎi ʎum -εη.

Be.SG-PST be.SG.PRS FUT-be.SG stone-NOM.

The stone was, is, and will continue to be.

9. Lexicon

9.1. *ɖamɖem*-English

9.1.1. Nouns

bɒm	Food
bε	Breath
byb	Flame
da	Wall
dɪɛq	Start
ɖam	Rockfall
ɖem	Language
gluq	Water (moving)
gom	Surface
log	Bag

lind	Entrance
lom	Bowl
litjim	Brick
lo	Handful
lo	There
lum	Stone
lum	Truth
lumtʃu	Bitumen
mond	Space
mum	Clump
muʃgin	Moss
naqam	Ceiling
nu	Bucket
poʒim	Life
pligim	Love
plon	Pool/group
prad	Plain
qa	Shell
qam	Cavern
qam	Mind
qo	No
qob	Drop
qobb	Tower

qom	Drink
qoso	Nothing
radu	Mortar
ram	Light
rimi	Child
sats	Gust
so	Air (still)
so	Everything
si	Cup
sos	Heat
ʃanaɾ	Shi'nar
ʃɒ	I
ʃɒ	Water (still)
ʃɒʃɒ	We
ʃɒtsam	Name
ʃɛʃ	East
ʃlot	Wave
to	Here
tsan	Grain
tsɒ	You
tsɒtsɒ	You (plural)
tsim	Floodwater
tsu	Top

tʃa	That (near)
tʃara	That (distant)
tʃi	This
tʃim	Sand
tylq	Cold
tap	City
tappla	Ripple
tɒ	He/She/They/It
tɒtɒ	They
tiq	Piece
tom	Darkness
tum	Information
zɒ	Fire
zɛʒɛ	Time
zu	Person
zu um	God
zuʒy	Money
ʒɛm	Air (moving)
ʒɛts	Beam
ʒi	Cavernful
ʒi	Group (inclusive)
ʒyli	Pastry

9.1.2. Verbs

bɒba	To eat
bɪftbi	To see
dɪpbi	To descend
ɖaba	To collapse
ɖɛba	To speak
ɖibi	To fight
ɡɪtɪpbi	To go
ɡɪɡibi	To build
ɡobi	To surface
ɡobi	To die
lanba	To sense
nybi	To call
pɒɡibi	To live
pɪɡibi	To love
pɪpɪpɪpbi	To rule
pɭɛba	To make
pɭibi	To be
pɭuzbi	To live (archaic)
pobi	To birth/bear
pɾimbi	To understand
qɭɔlba	To work
qobbi	To scatter

qobi	To drink
raba	To light
saba	To want
ʃɛɖibi	To use
ʃɛnbi	To collect
ʃloɬbi	To continue
ʃobi	To rest
ʃolbi	To swim
tipibi	To have
tloɸbi	To clean
tɬabba	To come
topbi	To look
toʃɛbi	To discover
tsaba	To feel
tsibi	To ventilate
ɬapba	To confuse
tiɬipbi	To travel
tɬinbi	To do
tupbi	To learn
zaŋba	To cook
ʒɛbi	To blow
ʒiɾbi	To teach (archaic)

9.2. Adjectives

ɖi	Deep
lɔŋ	Shifting
ʃiŋ	Small
tsiŋ	Chaotic
tititi	Many
tlit	Famous
tlɛŋ	Soft
tlɪŋ	Bright
zaŋ	Warm

9.3. Adverbs

di	Now
diɛm	Before
ɛmdi	After
ɛmdiɛm	Always
li	Again

9.4. Conjunctions and Prepositions

bi	To
ɛ	And
ɛ	So
ɛ	Then

ma	For
mi	With
primim	Because
tɛ	Of
tɛ	In

9.5. Numbers

ʃɒ	1
li	2
ʃi	3
tɔ	4
dɒ	5
mɒ	6
zɔ	7
ru	8
my	9
ti	10
tɪʃɒ	11
tili	12
tifi	13
tito	14
tidɒ	15
liti	20
litɪʃɒ	21

ʃiti	30
titi	100
tititi	1000

9.6. *damɛm*-English

9.6.1. Nouns

Air (moving)	ʒɛm
Air (still)	sɒ
Bag	lɒg
Beam	ʒɛts
Bitumen	ʟumtʃu
Bowl	lɒm
Breath	bɛ
Brick	ʟitʃim
Bucket	nu
Cavern	qam
Cavernful	ʒi
Ceiling	naqam
Child	ɾimi
City	tap
Clump	mum
Cold	tylq
Cup	si
Darkness	tɒm

Drink	qom
Drop	qob
East	ʃɛʃ
Entrance	lind
Everything	sɒ
Fire	zɒ
Flame	byb
Floodwater	tsim
Food	bɒm
God	zuɫum
Grain	tsan
Group (inclusive)	ʒi
Gust	sats
Handful	ɫo
He/She/They/It	tɒ
Heat	sos
Here	tɒ
I	ʃɒ
Information	tum
Language	dɛm
Life	pɒgim
Light	ɾam
Love	pligim

Mind	qam
Money	zu3y
Mortar	ɾadu
Moss	muʃgin
Name	ʃɒtsam
No	qo
Nothing	qosɒ
Pastry	3yli
Person	zu
Piece	tɪq
Plain	pɾad
Pool/group	plɒn
Ripple	tɐpla
Rockfall	ɖam
Sand	tʃim
Shell	qa
Shi'nar	ʃanaɾ
Space	mɒnɒ
Start	didɛq
Stone	ɭum
Surface	gom
That (distant)	tʃara
That (near)	tʃa

There	lɔ
They	tɔtɔ
This	tʃi
Time	zɛʒɛ
Top	tsu
Tower	qobɔ
Truth	lum
Wall	da
Water (moving)	gluq
Water (still)	ʃɔ
Wave	ʃlot
We	ʃɔʃɔ
You	tso
You (plural)	tsotso

9.6.2. Verbs

To be	pɭibi
To birth/bear	pobi
To blow	ʒɛbi
To build	gigibi
To call	nybi
To clean	tlopbi

To collapse	ɖaba
To collect	ʃɛnbi
To come	tɭabba
To confuse	ɬapba
To continue	ʃlotɬbi
To cook	zanɟba
To descend	dipbi
To die	ɛobi
To discover	toʃɛbi
To do	tɭinbi
To drink	qobi
To eat	bɔba
To feel	tsaba
To fight	ɖibi
To go	gitipbi
To have	tipibi
To learn	ɬupbi
To light	ɾaba
To live	pɔɣibi
To live (archaic)	pɭuzbi
To look	topbi
To love	pligbi
To make	pɭɛba

To rest	ʃobi
To rule	plipbipbi
To scatter	qobbi
To see	biʃtbi
To sense	lanba
To speak	dɛba
To surface	gobi
To swim	ʃolbi
To teach (archaic)	ziɾbi
To travel	titiɸbi
To understand	pɾimbi
To use	ʃɛdibi
To ventilate	tsibi
To want	saba
To work	qɭɔlba

9.6.3. Adjectives

Bright	tliŋ
Chaotic	tsiŋ
Deep	di
Famous	tlit
Many	tititi
Shifting	lonŋ
Small	ʃiŋ

Soft	tɫɛŋ
Warm	zaŋ

9.6.4. Adverbs

After	ɛmdi
Again	li
Always	ɛmdicɛm
Before	dicɛm
Now	di

9.6.5. Conjunctions and Prepositions

And	ɛ
Because	pɾimim
For	ma
In	tɛ
Of	tɛ
So	ɛ
Then	ɛ
To	bi
With	mi

10. Appendix

10.1. Sample Sentences

1. *p/ipli zuwu tɔtɔɛŋ*

Be-PL people we-NOM

‘We are people’

2. *poɛm tɔtɔɔŋ lumɛŋ*

Birth-PST we-ACC stone-NOM

‘Stone birthed us’

3. *pɔgipɔgi qamqamɛ tɔtɔɛŋ*

Live-PL cavern-LOC we-NOM

‘We live in caverns’

4. *t/abɛm ʒɛɛ pɔgimɛŋ*

Come-PST air-LOC life-NOM

‘Life came from moving air’

5. *p/i gobi gobi*

Be surface/die surface/die

‘To surface is to die’

6. *ɖɛ ɖamɖɛmɔŋ ʃɔɛŋ*

speak ɖamɖɛm-ACC me-NOM

‘I speak ɖamɖɛm’

7. *ɖi prim tsɔɛŋ?*

Q understand you-NOM

‘Do you understand?’

8. *emdipdip igluq tɔtɔɛŋ*

FUT-grow-PL INST-water we-NOM

‘We will grow by means of the water’

9. *ɖuli qamqamɔŋ tsɔɛŋ*

learn-IMP cavern-PL-ACC you-NOM

‘You must learn the caverns’

10. *ʃolbi ɛ topbi ɛ emdip ɛqamqam tsaɛŋ*

swim and look and FUT-become GEN-cavern-PL you-NOM

‘Swim and look and become of the caverns’

11. *ɖiɖi ʃol -la ɛ qo go -li*

deep.INTS swim.SG-IMP and NEG surface.SG-IMP

‘Swim deeper and don’t surface’

10.2. *Tower of Babel* Story and Gloss

ɖamɖem Tower of Babel Translation

ɛbabel qobɔ

di ʃlot -em plibi tɛ ɖem ʃɔ ɛ tɛ ɖemɖem plɔn ʃɔ lum -ɛŋ.

now continue-SG.PST be-INF of speech one and of speeches group one stone-NOM.

‘Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.’

*ʃɛʃ titiptitip-em tɔtɔ-ɛŋ zɛzɛ toʃɛtoʃɛ -em ʃanaɾ lum -ɛ praɖ-ɔŋ
tɔtɔ-ɛŋ,*

east travel -PL.PST they-NOM time discover-PL.PST Shi'nar stone-LOC plain-ACC they-NOM

As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar

ε ʎɔ -ε didεq ʃol pɔgipɔgi-εm tɔtɔ-εη

and there-LOC start PROG live -PL.PST they-NOM.

and they began dwelling there.

ε dεdε-εm bi ʒi tɔtɔ-εη dεm tʌbtʌb-ʌ! pʌpʌ-ε-ʌ

then say -PL.PST to group-INCL they-NOM <QUOT> come -PL.IMP! make-PL.IMP

Then they said to one another: 'Come! Let us make

ʎitʃim ʎitʃim-ɔη ε i- zɔ zɔzɔ-ʌ dεm.

brick -PL.ACC and INST-fire bake -PL.IMP <QUOT>

bricks and bake them with fire.'

ε ʃεdʃεdʃi-εm ʎitʃim-ɔη ε qɔ ʎum -ɔη ε i- ʎumtʃu ɾadu -ɔη tɔtɔ
-εη.

so use -PL.PST brick-ACC and NEG stone-ACC and INST-bitumen mortar-ACC they-NOM

So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

di dεdε-εm tɔtɔ-εη dεm tʌbtʌb-ʌ! gigi -ʌi ma ʃɔʃɔ tɔp-ɔη ε
naqam-ε

now say -PL.PST they-NOM <QUOT>come build-PL.IMP for us city-ACC and ceiling -LOC

They now said: 'Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its

tsu qobb-ɔŋ ʃɔʃɔ-ɛŋ, ɛ p|ɛp|ɛ-la ma ʃɔʃɔ ʃɔtsam-ɔŋ tliʔ ʃɔʃɔ-ɛŋ,

top tower-ACC us -NOM, and make -PL.IMP for us name -ACC famous we -NOM

top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves,

ɛ qo ɛm-qobqob tititi lum|um-ɛ ʃɔʃɔ-ɔŋ dɛm.

so NEG FUT-scatter-PL many stone -PL.LOC we -ACC <QUOT>.

so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.'

ɛ di gitip-ɛm biʃtbi-bi qu gigi-ɛm ɛ- zu ʃimi -ɛŋ qu

then down go -SG.PST see -SG.PURP <REL> build-PL.PST GEN-people children-NOM <REL>

Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower

tap-ɔŋ ɛ qobb-ɔŋ zu|um-ɛŋ. ɛ dɛ-ɛm zu|um-ɛŋ dɛm toptop-li!

city-ACC and tower-ACC god -NOM. then say-SG.PST god -NOM <QUOT> look -PL.IMP!

that the sons of men had built. Jehovah then said: 'Look!

p|ip|i zu ʃɔ mi dɛm ʃɔ tɔtɔ-ɛŋ, ɛ di lim didɛq ʃol t|int|in.

be-PL.PRS people one with speech one they-NOM, and now this start PROG do-PL.PRS.

They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do.

di pli qosɔ tɛ ɛ- tɔtɔ qamqam qo qɭɭ tlintlin tɔtɔ-ɛŋ.

now be-SG.PRS nothing in GEN-they mind-PL NEG can do-PL.PRS they-NOM.

Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.

*tɭabtɭab-la! ɭɔ -ɛ di gitipgitip-li ʃɔʃɔ-ɛŋ ɛ taptap -la ɛ-
tɔtɔ*

come -PL.IMP! there-LOC down go -PL.IMP we -NOM and confuse-PL.IMP GEN-they

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their

qɛm nɛ qo ɛm-pɾimpɾim ɛ- ʒi qɛm -ɔŋ tɔtɔ-ɛŋ qɛm.

speech for NEG FUT-understand-PL GEN-group-INCL speech-ACC they-NOM <QUOTE>.

language in order that they may not understand one another's language.'

*ɛ qob -ɛm ɭɔ -ɛ bi tiiti ɭumɭum-ɛ tɔtɔ-ɔŋ zuɭum-ɛŋ, ɛ zɛʒɛ
ɛ*

so scatter-SG.PST there-LOC to many stone -PL.LOC they-ACC god -NOM, and time and

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they

zɛʒɛ qo ʃol gigi -ɛm tap-ɔŋ tɔtɔ-ɛŋ.

time NEG PROG build-PL.PST city-ACC they-NOM.

gradually left off building the city.

lə ɛ -zɛʒɛ ʔappla ny -ɛm babel -ɔŋ, pɾimim lɔ -ɛ ʔap -ɛm ɛ
-lum

that GEN-time CAUS call-SG.PST ba'bel-ACC, because there-LOC confuse-SG.PST GEN-stone

That is why it was named Ba'bel, because there Jehovah confused the language

dɛm -ɔŋ zu lum-ɛŋ, ɛ qob -ɛm lɔ -ɛ bi ʔititɪ lum lum-ɛ
ʔɔʔɔ-ɔŋ

speech-ACC god -NOM, and scatter-SG.PST there-LOC to many stone -PL.LOC they-ACC

of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the

zu lum-ɛŋ

god-NOM

earth.”

omninmaṇa©

Invented Language of Imaginary Trees

by Kelly Choi

This paper is a documentation of the invented language, omninmaṇa. This paper contains information on its cultural context, phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, a short story written in omninmaṇa as well as a glossary, an appendix, and a translation of the Tower of the Babel story.

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iii. CULTURE



Omninmaṇa is a language spoken by a group of imaginary trees. They live in a deserted place which is also home to many species of insects. There used to be few people who lived in the woods and took care of the trees by spraying pesticides to keep the insects from eating the trees away and spreading diseases. One day, these people disappeared leaving the trees by themselves. Strangely though, the trees gained an ability to speak in a language called ominnmaṇa when the people left.

Having no prior experience in defending themselves against the insects, the trees are helplessly attacked by numerous types of bugs ranging from ants to moths. After several weeks of suffering, the trees decide to come up with a survival plan. After several failed attempts of self-defense, they realize that they need help from fellow insects in order to ward off the bad ones. Using their ability to speak, they categorize the insects to three different categories: friend, enemy, and neutral. By attracting them with the tree sugar and other chemicals, they befriend the beneficial insects that fight the bad insects for the trees in return.

Omninmaṇa is very useful for the trees in various ways. It not only serves as a means to categorize the insects, but it also helps form a close-knit community of trees. Using ominnmaṇa,

the trees are able to discuss many different issues ranging from the weather and the condition of the soil to the aesthetics of bird nests and updates on animals that live near them. This situation is an extraordinary change for the trees considering that their original means of communication, a chemical transfer through the air, was limited to warning trees of danger.

Therefore, the trees of omninmaṇa culture cherish communication, judgment, and peace. Their essential goal is to conserve nature while maintaining their health and relationship with other living things. As the language develops, the trees also learn about the importance of community. Their values are well-reflected in the sounds and lexicon of omninmaṇa.

ii. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

a. Sounds

	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn -geal	Glottal
Stops											
Nasal	m			n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ			
Trill											
Tap or Flap											
Fricative		f v		s z		ʂ			ʁ		
Lateral Fricative											
Approximant				ɹ							
Lateral Approximant				l							

Table 1.1

The consonant sounds are shown in the chart above. One of the main characteristic of omninmaṇa is its resonance. Sounds of omninmaṇa consist of nasals, fricatives, and approximants which means they travel farther and last longer compared to sounds like stops. Most of the consonants are also found in English.

However, there are four sounds, [ɳ], [ɲ], [ʂ], [ʁ], that are not in the English language. [ɳ], [ʂ] are somewhat similar to [n] and [s] but they are retroflex sounds so the tongue has to touch further back as opposed to touching the alveolar ridge. [ɲ] is a palatal nasal sound so the the tongue has to touch the edges of the teeth. [ʁ] is an uvular fricative, found in French, and is similar to a middle sound between [ɹ] and [h].

	Front	Central	Back
Close	y	i	U
Close-mid			O
Open-mid			
Open		A	

Table 1.2

Omninmaṇa has five vowel sounds, [i], [y], [a], [o], [u]. There are two vowel sounds that are not in English, [i] and [y]. [i] is unrounded and is a middle sound between [i] and [u]. One should feel some tension on the chin and should flatten the lower lip to articulate this sound. [y] is a rounded vowel, articulated by making the lips into a ‘o’ shape but trying to make [i] sound. Note that [a] is an American English [a] sound which is centrally articulated.

b. Phonology

1. Syllable Structure

The syllable structure of omninmaṇa is (C)V(C)(C). At least one vowel must be present and a consonant onset and a consonant cluster coda are optional.

For instance,
v – o ‘I (pronoun)’
cv – si ‘it’
cvc – som ‘entire’
cvcc – falf ‘flat’

2. Phonotactic constraints

As mentioned in the syllable structure, omninmaṇa allows consonant clusters of up to two sounds. The consonant clusters can be any combination of an approximant and a

fricative, two fricatives, a fricative and a nasal, an approximant and a nasal but combination of two nasal sounds is not allowed. Also, no word or syllable can take [ʃ] or [ŋ] ending.

3. Phonological Rules

- Consonant cluster coda rule

A consonant cluster coda must always end with a fricative (excluding [ʃ]) or a nasal (excluding [ŋ])

ex) *falf* – ‘flat,’ *moʁʒ* – ‘sad,’ *laʁʒ* – ‘happy’ *moʒm* – ‘chemical’

- Voicing Assimilation

When [s] is preceded by a voiced consonant, the [s] becomes [z]

ex) *om-s* ‘from tree’ becomes *om-ʒ* (- *s* is the ablative case marker)

- Nasalization

A vowel followed by a nasal consonant is nasalized.

ex) *mam* – ‘insect’, *maɪu* – ‘place’

4. Stress

The stress pattern of omninmaṇa is weighted. In other words, heavy syllables have priority over light syllables. If the weight of syllables is the same, then the initial syllable is stressed.

The order of heaviness decreases from left to right:

CVCC > CVC > VCC > CV > VC > V.

For instance, '*mamflar* – ‘diseases’ ('*mamf* – disease),

va '*mun* – ‘habit’,

ʒalo – ‘during’

iii. MORPHOLOGY

Omninmaṇa has an agglutinative morphology and tenses, aspects, classifiers as well as nominalization, adjectivization, adverbialization, imperatives and passive form are identified by different suffixes.

a. Noun

1. Person, Number, Gender

Omninmaṇa distinguishes between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. For the 2nd person pronoun, there is no distinction between the singular and the plural ‘you.’ If situations occur in which it is important to make the distinction, one may say, for example, *nī vol* ‘you two,’ *nī sal* ‘you three’ or *nī kal* ‘you all.’

1st person: o – ‘I’, mī – ‘we’

2nd person: nī – ‘you’

3rd person: si – ‘it’ min – ‘they’

There is a number distinction between singular and plural for nouns. The plural form takes the suffix *-laʌ* to a noun. Moreover, there is no gender distinction.

2. Classifier

Omninmaṇa treats all nouns as mass nouns. Therefore, there is a classifier system to turn the noun into a count noun. The groups of objects are primarily categorized into groups of plants, trees, person/animal, insects, body parts, and things. Interestingly, insects have three different classifiers because omninmaṇa culture is heavily reliant on being able to distinguish between good, bad and neutral insects for the trees to survive. The order in which the classifier is used is

noun-number-classifier. For instance, ‘five honeybees’ in omninmaṇa should follow the order of ‘honeybee-five-classifier’ which translates to *sumi foṇ ʔal*.

Below is a table showing classifiers and examples.

Classifier	Group of objects	Noun	Meaning	Example	Meaning
lum	Tree	nami	Friend	nami ʔol lum	Friend one classifier
mas	Insect enemy	ny	Moth	Ny fuṇ mas	Moth four classifier
ʔal	Insect friend	sumi	Honeybee	sumi foṇ ʔal	Honeybee five classifier
na	Insect neutral	ʔoʔ	Beetle	ʔoʔ lam na	Beetle six classifier
zof	Person/animal	nomi	Person	nomi zaf zof	Person ten classifier
nu	All other things	luf	Airplane	luf ʔol nu	Airplane one classifier
syl	Other plants	ʔuli	Rose	ʔuli sul syl	Rose seven classifier
lal	Body part (branches, roots ...)	lym	Branch	lym lof lal	Branch eight classifier

Table 2.1

b. Verb

1. Tense, mood, aspect, agreement of verbs

Verbs in omninmaṇa distinguish between the present and the past but not between the present and the future. There is also no distinction between aspect and tense tenses but not mood. The tense markers for perfective are suffixes *-lin*, *-lon*, *-lyn* for past tense for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person respectively, *-lif*, *-lof*, *-lyf* for present and future tenses. The tense markers for imperfective are suffixes *-lam*, *-lom*, *-lum* for past tense and *-las*, *-los*, *-lys* for present and future tenses. Below is a table showing both tense and aspect.

Perfect - Indicative/Subjunctive	Singular		Plural	
	Present/Future	Past	Present/Future	Past
1 st (I, we)	-lif	-lin	-lif	-lin
2 nd (you)	-lof	-lon	-lof	-lon
3 rd (it, they)	-lyf	-lyn	-lyf	-lyn

Imperfect - Indicative/Subjunctive	Singular		Plural	
	Present/Future	Past	Present/Future	Past
1 st (I, we)	-las	-lam	-las	-lam
2 nd (you)	-los	-lom	-los	-lom
3 rd (it, they)	-lys	-lym	-lys	-lym

Table 2.2

Suffixes for 1st /2nd/3rd person singular are the same for 1st /2nd/3rd person plural since there is no subject-verb agreement. What is normally defined as “he or she” will be defined by “it” because plant sexuality is ambiguous and less strict than humans. Also, *omninmaṇa* does not have noun-adjective agreement and does not inflect for number.

2. Other information

Passive form of a verb is achieved by adding the suffix – *ma*. Transitivity is unmarked like in English.

c. Morphological Rules

○ Nouns

Noun stems can take any endings except for [ŋ] or [n].

- Pluralization: Add suffix –*la*
- Adjectivization: Add suffix – *ni*

○ Verbs

All verb stems (also the infinitive form of a verb) have a vowel ending. Below are suffixes that can be added to the verb stems to become a noun, an adjective or turn into an imperative or a passive form.

- Nominalization: Add suffix – *η*
- Adjectivization: Add suffix – *nił*
- Imperative: Add suffix – *sa*
- Passivization: Add suffix – *ma*
- **Adjectives**
 - Adverbialization: Add suffix – *fa.ɪ* or *-i fa.ɪ*

○ **Negation**

For negation, a separate word *van* comes right before a verb, a noun, an adjective or an adverb.

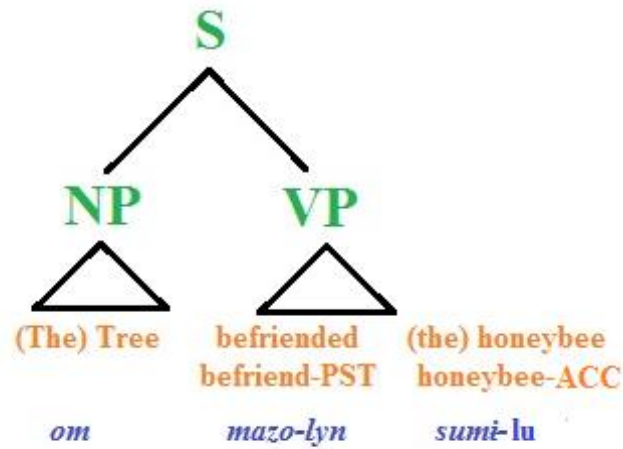
iv. **SYNTAX**

a. **Word order**

The word order of omninmaṇa is SVO (Subject-Verb-Object). However, OSV is also allowed, but is not common used. For formulating questions, the word order is strictly SVO with a tone raise on the final word.

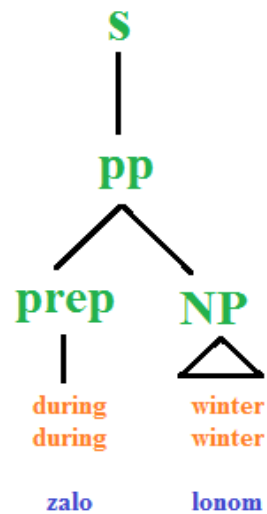
b. **Structure** (demonstrated by a syntactical tree)

As demonstrated by the syntactical tree 1.1, the word order is SVO. NP is on the left and the VP on the right. The VP is separated into the verb and the object. The verb is takes the 3rd person singular past tense perfective suffix –*lyn*, and the object takes the accusative case marker (ACC) to indicate that the honeybee is the direct object.

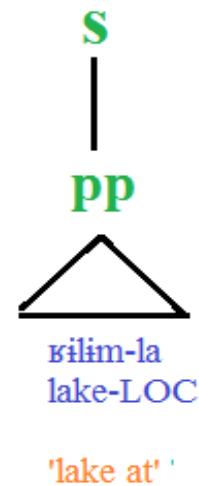


Tree 1.1

For PPs, the order is the same as in English – preposition preceding the NP as shown in Tree1.2. However, when a case marker is involved instead of a preposition, the order is changed so that NP is followed by a case marker as shown in Tree 1.3. So instead of ‘at lake,’ PP becomes ‘lake at’ because of the way case markers are used in omninmaṇa.



Tree 1.2



Tree 1.3

c. Article

There is no article. If one has to refer to a specific object, it will be done by saying ‘it’ or ‘this/that ____’.

Ex) li om – this/that tree

d. Relative Clause

Head noun	Relative Pronoun	Gap/ pronoun	Example
Initial	Absent	Gap	<p>[The tree the bug annoyed ____] woke up. Om mam mova-lyn-man myna-lyn Tree bug annoy-PST-ADN wake up-PST</p> <p>[The bug that annoyed the tree ____] woke up. Mam mova-lyn-man om-lu myna-lyn Bug annoy-PST-ADN tree-ACC wake-up-PST</p>

Table 3.2

The relative clause in omninmaṇa follows an interesting but simple pattern. Instead of having a relative indicator preceding a noun, there is an adnominal morpheme (glossed as ADN) that indicates that it is a relative clause. It is added as a suffix *-man* to the verb in the relative clause. The two examples above show that the relative clause can follow OSV word order or SOV word order but the suffix *-man* must be present.

e. Cases

There are seven cases in omninmaṇa: accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, and vocative. They are all marked by a case suffix. The accusative is the case of a direct object and is marked by *-lu*. The genitive denotes dependency, often a possession and is marked by *-nin*. The dative denotes an indirect object of a verb,

like *to* in English. The dative marker is - *sil*. Ablative marker is -*s* but could be -*z* depending on the final coda of the noun preceding the case marker. As explained earlier in the phonological rules section, [s] becomes [z] when it is preceded by a voiced consonant. Therefore, when the ablative marker -*s* attaches to a voiced consonant coda, it becomes -*z*. The vocative case - *nam* is used to address a living thing and is similar to ‘hey’ in English. The locative case denoting a location is marked by -*la*. Below is a chart showing all the cases of omninmaṇa and examples.

Case	Suffix	Meaning	Example	Translation
Accusative (ACC)	-lu	-	sumi-lu	honeybee (in object position)
Genitive (GEN)	-nin	Of	sumi-nin	of (a) honeybee
Dative (DAT)	-sil	To	sumi-sil	to (a) honeybee
Ablative (ABL)	-s/-z	from	sumi -s mamlaɪ-z	from (a) honeybee from insects
Vocative (VOC)	-nam	hey	sumi -nam	hey honeybee
Locative (LOC)	-la	in/at	vilim-la	at lake

Table 3.1

v. Omninmaṇa Story and Gloss

English: There once lived trees.

omninmaṇa: lo.ɿ kol solo nu-lyn om-la.ɿ
gloss: There one time live-3SG.PST.PFV tree-PL
literal trans: *‘There one time lived trees’*

The people took care of the trees by regularly spraying pesticides.

nomi-la.ɿ volo-lyn om-la.ɿ-lu fal vamun-fa.ɿ simo .ɿolf-la.ɿ
 person-PL protect-3PL.PST.PFV tree-PL-ACC by habit-ADV spread out-INF pesticide-PL
‘People protected trees by habitually spreading out pesticides’

So, when the humans disappeared, the trees were very sad

malo.ɿ, movos nomi-la.ɿ paŋo-lyn, om-la.ɿ ŋa-lyn .ɿon moʔz
 So when human-PL disappear-3PL.PST.PFV tree-PL be-3PL.PST.PFV very sad
‘So when humans disappeared, trees were very sad’

Soon, they were in war against insects and were losing miserably

faʃu, min syma-lym mam-la.ɿ-lu y miʔo-lym nalom-fa.ɿ
 Soon, they fight-3PL.PST.IPFV insect-PL-ACC and lose-3PL.PST.IPFV bad-ADV
‘Soon, they were fighting insects and were losing badly’

Many of the trees that were bitten contracted diseases

loʔ om-la.ɿ mam-la.ɿ samo-lyn-man ʃalu-lyn mamf-la.ɿ-lu
 A lot of tree-PL insect-PL bite-3PL.PST.PFV-ADN contract-3PL.PST.PFV disease-PL-ACC
‘A lot of trees insects bit contracted diseases.’

Unless they find a solution, they were going to be in constant danger.

so min van nolfo syʔ-lu, min la-lym mufa-nil zum-la
 If they not find-INF solution-ACC they be-3PL.PST.IPFV continue-ADJ danger-LOC
‘If they not find solution, they were going to be continuous danger in.’

They tried at first to distract the insects by spewing out harmful chemicals.

min zomlo-lyn limon kasa mam-la.ɿ-lu fal simo nalom mozm-la.ɿ-lu
They try-3PL.PST.PFV firstly distract.INF insect-PL-ACC by spread out.INF bad chemical-PL-ACC
'They tried firstly to distract insects by spreading out bad chemicals.'

But it only worked for a short period of time

fala si lyfon mavla-lyn zalo mulal soŋ solo
But it only work-3SG.PST.PFV during short period of time
'But it only worked during short period of time.'

During these failed attempts, however, they realized something new.

zalo zi-la.ɿ favla-ŋ fala min şava-lyn ol nu-lu
During this-PL fail-NOMZ, however, they understand-3PL.PST.PFV new thing-ACC
'During these failures, however, they understood new thing'

There were harmful insects and beneficial insects.

lo.ɿ la-lyn nalom mam-la.ɿ y zalas mam-la.ɿ
There be-3SG.PST.PFV bad insect-PL and beneficial insect-PL
'There were bad insects and beneficial insects'

Trees agreed: "Some insects are actually not bad."

Om-la.ɿ loŋo-lyf: losoŋ mam-la.ɿ la-lyf .ɿulo-ŋ-fa.ɿ van nalom
Tree-PL agree-3PL.PST.PFV some of insect-PL is-3PL.PRS.PFV surprise-NOMZ-ADV not bad
'Trees agreed: some of insects are surprisingly not bad'

Using the language, the trees made allies with good insects

fal kolo omninmaŋa, om-la.ɿ nasa-lyn y mazo-lyn sizi mam-la.ɿ-lu
By use.inf omninmaŋa, tree-PL attract-3PL.PST.PFV and V-3PL.PST.PFV good insect-PL-ACC
'By use(-ing) omninmaŋa, the trees attracted and befriended good insects'

Particularly, the ants were good warriors.

fulaɪ-faɪ	mom-laɪ	la-lyn	sizi	syma-nil	mam-laɪ
Special-ADV	ant-PL	be-3PL.PST.PFV	good	fight-ADJ	insect-PL
<i>'Specially,</i>	<i>ants</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>fighting</i>	<i>insects'</i>

They protected the trees from harmful insects in exchange for the sugar from the trees.

min	volo-lyn	om-laɪ-lu	nalom	mam-laɪ-z	zalo	.ɔlo	om-nin
They protect-3PL.PST.PFV	tree-PL-ACC	bad	insect-PL-ABL	for	sugar	tree-GEN	
<i>'They protected</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>insects from</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>sugar</i>	<i>tree of</i>	

The trees and the insects learned to have a symbiotic relationship

om-laɪ	y	mam-laɪ	lasa-lyn	masu	sym	mali-lu
tree-PL	and	insect-PL	learn-3PL.PST.PFV	have-INF	symbiotic	relationship-ACC
<i>'Trees</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>insects</i>	<i>learned</i>	<i>to have</i>	<i>symbiotic</i>	<i>relationship</i>

and lived happily ever after.

y	lu-lyn	lulu-faɪ
and live-3PL.PST.PFV	happy-ADV	
<i>and</i>	<i>lived</i>	<i>happily.'</i>

vi. Tower of the Babel Story and Gloss

Genesis 11:1-9

zinisis 11:1-9

Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

Ma, som jasmon mufa-lyn la kol maṇa y kol las mo-lai

Now whole earth continue-3SG.PST.PFV be.INF one language and one group of word-PL

‘Now whole earth continued to be one language and one group of words.’

As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi’nar,

movos min nova-lyn foɪ va , min mopa-lyn falf aɪu-lu sinai-nin maru-la

As they go-3PL.PST.PFV toward east they see-3PL.PST.PFV flat area-ACC Shi’nar-GEN place-LOC

‘As they went towards east, they saw flat area Shi’nar’s place in’

and they began dwelling there. Then they said to one another:

y min malu-lyn nu vila-la sun min lona-lyn an suf-sil

and they begin-3PL.PST.PFV live.INF there-LOC Then they V-3PL.PST.PFV each other-DAT

‘And they began living there. Then they said each other to’

“Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”

movo-sa lano-sa mi mava zom-lai-lu y mava ɪon nyny min-lu fal fam

Come-IMP Let-IMP us make.INF mass-PL-ACC and make.INF very warm them-ACC by fire

‘Come! Let us make masses and make extremely warm them by fire’

So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

maloi min kolo-lyn zom-lai-lu sanlu zo, y şufa zom valoı moısaı

So they use-3PL.PST.PFV mass-PL-ACC instead of stone and dark mass as mortar.FGN

‘So they used mass instead of stone, and dark mass as mortar’

They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves

min sima lona-lyn : “movo-sa! lano-sa mi lava moıa maıu zalo mi

they now say-3PL.PST.PFV come-IMP Let-IMP us block.INF see.INF area for us

‘They now said: “Come! Let us block see area for us

And a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves,

y fulal zom vas si-nin nala san-la, y lano-sa mi mava miıa-nıl jama zalo mi

and tall mass with it-GEN top sky-LOC, and let-IMP us make.INF enjoy-ADJ name for us

And tall mass with its top in the sky, and let us make enjoy-ed name for us,

so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”

maloi mi la-lif van simo-ma jasmon-nin som nolo-la

so we be-1PL.FUT.PFV NEG spread out-PASS earth-GEN entire surface-LOC

So we will not be spread out earth’s entire surface in”

Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

Sun şııova nova-lyn vu vanla moıa lava y fulal zom nomi-lai-nin sumu-lai mava-lym-man

Then şııova go-3SG.PST.PFV down to see.INF area and tall mass human-PL-GEN child-PL build-3PL.PST.PFV-ADN

‘Then Jehovah went down to see area and tall mass, men’s sons made that (relative clause indicator)’

Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language,

şirəva sun lona-lyn : “moŋa-sa min la-lyf kol las nomi-lai vas kol maŋa

şirəva then say-3SG.PST.PFV See-IMP they be-3PL.PRS.PFV one group of human-PL with one language

‘Jehovah then said: “See! They are one group of people with one language,’

and this is what they have started to do.

y zi la-lyf vus min malu-lyn fomi

and this be-3SG.PRS.PFV what they begin-3SG.PST.PFV do.INF

‘and this is what they began to do.’

Now, there is nothing that they may have in mind to do

Ma loɪ la-lyf vanu min falas masu-lyf zyl lan-la vanla fomi

Now there be-3SG.PRS.PFV nothing they maybe have-3PL.PRS.PFV mind inside-LOC in order to do.INF

‘Now, there is nothing they maybe have mind inside in order to do

that will be impossible for them.

y la-lyf van soli zalo min

and be-3SG.PRS.PFV not possible for them.

and will be not possible for them’

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language

movo-sa ! lano-sa min nova vu vila-la y mova min-in maŋa-lu

Come-IMP Let-IMP us go.INF down there-LOC and confuse.INF they-GEN language-ACC

‘Come! Let us go down there and confuse their(their’s) language’

in order that they may not understand one another's language."

vanla min falas van şava an suf- nin maña-lu
 for they maybe NEG understand.INF each other-GEN language-ACC
 'For they maybe not understand each other's language'

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth,

malol şikova simo-lyn min-lu vila-s pasmon-nin som nolo-la
 so şikova spread out-3SG.PST.PFV they-ACC there-ABL earth-GEN entire surface-LOC
 'So Jehovah spread out them from there earth's entire surface to'

And they gradually left off building the city.

y min şu-far kala-lyn mava aru-lu
 and they slow-ADV stop- 3PL.PST.PFV make.inf area-ACC
 'And they slowly stopped making area.'

That is why it was named Ba'bel

zo la-lyf ias si la-lyn mava-ma nama Vavil
 that be-3PL.PRS.PFV why it be-3SG.PST.PFV make-PASS name Vavil
 That is why it was made name Ba'bel'

because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth,

naso vila-la şikova mova som pasmon-nin maña-lu
 because there-LOC şikova confuse-3SG.PST.PFV entire earth-GEN language-ACC
 'Because there Jehovah confused entire earth's language'

and	Jehovah	scattered	them	from there	over the entire face of the earth.		
y	şı̂kova	simo-lyn	min-lu	vila-s	nasmon-nin	som	nolo-la
and	şı̂kova	spread out-3SG.PST.PFV		there-ABL	earth-GEN	entire	surface-LOC
‘So	Jehovah	spread out	them	there from	earth’s	entire	surface to’

Abbreviation and Vocab

Abbreviation		Abbreviation	
PRS	Present	ABL	Ablative
FUT	Future	GEN	Genitive
PST	Past	ACC	Accusative
IMP	Imperative	NOMZ	Nominalization
PASS	Passive	LOC	Locative
INF	Infinitive	FGN	Foreign word borrowed
SG	Singular	ADV	Adverbial marker
PL	Plural	ADJ	Adjectival marker

Verb	Meaning	Noun	Meaning	Adj	Meaning
fomi	To do	jasmon	earth	som	Whole/entire
mīṇa	To enjoy	maṇa	language	kol	one
mufa	To continue	mo	word	falf	flat
nova	To go	aru	Area (part)	nyny	warm
mōṇa	To see	maru	Place (usually larger)	fulal	tall
malu	To begin	zom	chunk/mass	solī	possible
lona	To say	fam	fire		
movo	To come	zo	stone		
lano	To let	nala	top		
lava	To block	san	sky		
mava	To make	nolo	surface		
ṁolo	To use	zyl	mind		
masu	To have				
mīṇa	To enjoy				
la	To be				
simo	To spread out				
mova	To confuse				
ṣava	To understand				
ṁala	To stop				

iv. LEXICON

Verbs - alphabetical order

omninmaṇa → English

omninmaṇa	English
fami	To sleep
fomi	To do
favla	To fail
fimi	To show
fumi	To grow
la	To be
lano	To let
lara	To reduce
lasa	To clean
lava	To block
lo	To crawl
lona	To say
loṇo	To agree
lu	To cut
mala	To talk
malu	To begin
maṇa	To vary
mano	To increase
maṇo	To eat
masu	To have
mava	To make
mavla	To succeed
mavlo	To decide
mazo	To befriend
mila	To take
mīṇa	To enjoy
mīṇo	To lose
mofasa	To scare
mola	To observe
molu	To hurt
moṇa	To see
moṇa	To deter
moṇa	To heal
moṇo	To dig
mova	To confuse

English → omninmaṇa

English	omninmaṇa
To agree	loṇo
To annoy	ṣova
To attract	nasa
To be	la
To be able to	ṣafa
To befriend	mazo
To begin	malu
To bite	samo
To block	lava
To breathe	suma
To change	ṣa
To clean	lasa
To come	movo
To confuse	mova
To continue	mufa
To contract	ṣalu
To cover	somo
To crawl	lo
To cut	lu
To decide	mavlo
To deter	moṇa
To dig	moṇo
To disappear	ṇaṇo
To distract	ṇasa
To do	fomi
To drink	mu
To eat	maṇo
To enjoy	mīṇa
To fail	favla
To feel	ṇa
To fight	syma
To find	nolfo
To fly	ṇyṇo
To give	naṇa
To go	nova

movo	To come
mu	To drink
mufa	To continue
mupa	To help
muko	To multiply (e.g. number of insects multiplied)
my	To infect
mupa	To wake up
myko	To pollinate
na	To feel
naŋo	To disappear
naɤa	To give
nasa	To attract
nolfo	To find
nova	To go
nu	To live
nyŋo	To fly
ɤa	To want
ɤala	To stop
ɤasa	To distract
ɤolo	To use
ɤulo	To surprise
ʃa	To change
ʃafa	To be able to
ʃalu	To contract
samo	To bite
ʃava	To understand
ʃi	To watch
simo	To spread out
somo	To cover
sono	To kill
sova	To plan
ʃova	To annoy
sovo	To negotiate
suma	To breathe
syma	To fight
volo	To protect
zomlo	To try

To grow	fumi
To have	masu
To heal	moɤa
To help	mupa
To hurt	molu
To increase	mano
To infect	my
To kill	sono
To let	lano
To live	nu
To lose	miko
To make	mava
To multiply	muko
To negotiate	sovo
To observe	mola
To plan	sova
To pollinate	myko
To protect	volo
To reduce	laɤa
To say	lona
To scare	mofasa
To see	moɤa
To show	fimi
To sleep	fami
To spread out	simo
To stop	ɤala
To succeed	mavla
To surprise	ɤulo
To take	mila
To talk	mala
To try	zomlo
To understand	ʃava
To use	ɤolo
To vary	mapa
To wake up	mupa
To want	ɤa
To watch	ʃi

Nouns – alphabetical order

omninmaṇa → English

omninmaṇa	English
aru	area
fam	fire
faṣol	grass
filu	photosynthesis
fum	enemy
fy	back
lala	morning
lan	inside
lol	air
lonom	winter
luf	airplane
lym	branch
mali	relationship
mam	insect
mamf	disease
maṇa	language
maru	place
maṣa	spring
mo	word
mol	wood
mom	ant
mon	berry
mosos	habitat
mozam	chemical
munmo	sand
muzi	thunder
nala	top
ṇalas	fall
ṇama	name
ṇami	friend
ṇasmon	earth
ṇazu	Carbon dioxide

English → omninmaṇa

English	omninmaṇa
Air	lol
Airplane	luf
Ant	mom
Appearance	vono
Area	aru
Back	fy
Beetle	ṣok
Berry	mon
Bird	niḷo
Bottom	ṣal
Branch	lym
Carbon dioxide	ṇazu
Chemical	mozam
child (young living thing)	sumul
Danger	zum
Disease	mamf
Earth	ṇasmon
Enemy	fum
Fall	ṇalas
Fire	fam
Friend	ṇami
Front	sy
Grass	faṣol
Habit	vamun
Habitat	mosos
Honeybee	sumi
Human	nomi
Information	ṣaḷ
Insect	mam
Inside	lan
Language	maṇa
Lightning	zol

nilo	bird
niny	Oxygen and other gases
nolo	surface
nomi	human
nosa	past
ny	moth
om	tree
ɤil	water
ɔlf	pesticide
ɤuli	rose
ɟal	bottom
san	sky
ɟaɤ	information
sima	now
solo	time
ɟoɤ	beetle
suf	other
sumi	honeybee
sumul	child (young living thing)
sy	front
syf	night
syɤ	solution
vamun	habit
vanu	nothing
vono	appearance
vosy	squirrel
zaɟa	summer
zo	stone
zol	lightning
zom	mass
zum	danger
zyl	mind

Mass	zom
Mind	zyl
Morning	lala
Moth	ny
Name	ɟama
Night	syf
Nothing	vanu
Now	sima
Other	suf
Oxygen and other gases	niny
Past	nosa
Pesticide	ɔlf
photosynthesis	fɪlu
Place	maɹu
Relationship	mali
Rose	ɤuli
Sand	munmo
Sky	san
Solution	syɤ
Spring	maɟa
Squirrel	vosy
Stone	zo
Summer	zaɟa
Surface	nolo
Thunder	muzi
Time	solo
Top	nala
Tree	om
Water	ɤil
Winter	lonom
Wood	mol
Word	mo

Adjectives – alphabetical order

omninmaṇa → English

omninmaṇa	English
an	each
falf	flat
ful	light
fulal	tall
fular	special
laḡu	common
laḡz	happy
mazol	self-sufficient
moḡz	sad
mosno	cold
mulal	short
nalom	bad
no	neutral
nyny	warm
ol	new
ḡal	all
sino	small
sizi	good
solı	possible
som	entire
soṇa	healthy
ḡu	slow
ḡufal	dark
vavas	critical
zalas	beneficial
zi	this
zo	that
zon	old

English → omninmaṇa

English	omninmaṇa
All	ḡal
Bad	nalom
Beneficial	zalas
Cold	mosno
Common	laḡu
Critical	vavas
Dark	ḡufal
Each	an
Entire	som
Flat	falf
Good	sizi
Happy	laḡz
Healthy	soṇa
Light	ful
Neutral	no
New	ol
Old	zon
Possible	solı
Sad	moḡz
Self-sufficient	mazol
Short	mulal
Slow	ḡu
Small	sino
Special	fular
Tall	fulal
That	zo
This	zi
Warm	nyny

Adverbs - not in alphabetical order (adverbs can easily be made by using the adverb suffix)

Adverb		Adverb	
.on	Very	vi	North/up
sun	Then	vu	South/down
loı	There	faḡu	soon
va	East/right	limon	Firstly
vo	West/left	lyfon	only

Pronoun	
o	I, me
ni	You
mi	We, us
si	It
min	They, them

Number	
kol	One
vol	two
sal	three
fun	four
fon	five
lam	six
sul	seven
lof	eight
sil	nine
zaf	ten
vola	Twenty
sala	Thirty
funa	forty
fona	Fifty
lama	Sixty
sula	Seventy
zif	Hundred
volzif	Two hundred
zafzif	Thousand
volzafif	Two thousand

Preposition	
vanla	In order to, for
sanlu	Instead of
zalo	For, during
vas	With
foi	Towards
ioi	Over
fal	By
vasil	without

Measure word	
saf	Drop of
laf	Bucketful of
vul	Flame of
val	sack of
sol	Pinch
sil	Piece of
lim	Bolt of
sal	Peal of
lom	Bundle/stack of
fim	Handful of
las	Set of/ group of
loɤ	A lot of
soŋ	A Period of
losoŋ	Some of

Classifier	
lum	Tree buddy
mas	Insect enemy
mal	Insect friend
na	Insect neutral
zof	Person/animal
nu	Thing
syl	Other plants
lal	Body part

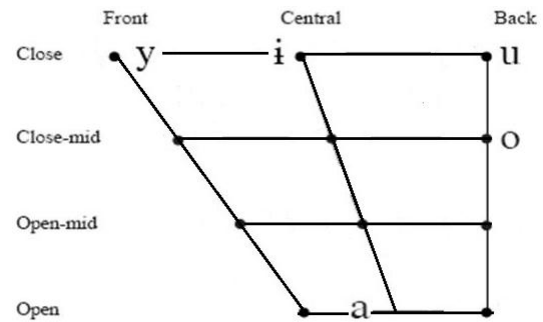
Conjunction	
y	and
fala	however, but
maloi	therefore
Movos	When, As
naso	Because, As
so	If, when
valoɪ	Like, as

- v. **APPENDIX** – learn the basics of omninmaṇa on one page

omninmaṇa – The language of trees

Sounds

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive											
Nasal	m			n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ			
Trill											
Tap or flap											
Fricative		f v		s z		ʂ			χ		
Lateral fricative											
Approximant				ɹ							
Lateral approximant				l							



- Resonance
- Consonant cluster coda of a word always ends with a fricative
- Voicing assimilation, nasalization
- Syllable structure: (c)v(c)(c)
- Stress: weighted (cvcc> cvc> vcc> cv > vc > v ; otherwise syllable initial is stressed)
 - vc`cv, vc`cvc, cvc`cvcc, `cvccvc
 - om`fo, ol`fof, sof`lof, `loflox

Words

- SVO
- Agglutinative
 - verb → noun : -ɳ, verb → adj: -nɪ, infinitive → imperative : -
 - singular noun → plural: -laɪ
 - adj → adv: -faɪ or -ifaɪ

Case system

Case	Suffix	English prep.	Sample word form	Translation
Accusative (ACC)	-lu	-	sumi-lu	honeybee (in object position)
Genitive (GEN)	-nin	of	sumi-nin	of (a) honeybee
Dative (DAT)	-sil	to	sumi-sil	to (a) honeybee
Ablative (ABL)	-s/-z	from	sumi-s mamlai-z	from (a) honeybee from insects
Vocative (VOC)	-ɳam	hey	sumi-ɳam	hey honeybee
Locative (LOC)	-la	in/at (place)	ɳilim-la	at lake

Braavosi:
/bra:βodidoral/©

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December 18, 2015

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Braavosi language is, in the tongue, called /bra:βodi:doral/, which is a portmanteau meaning ‘language of the Braavosi’. This language is inspired by the language of the same name and spoken in Braavos from George R.R. Martin’s fantasy series *A Song of Ice and Fire*. I am a huge fan of both the book series and the television show based on the books entitled *Game of Thrones*. The book series names a number of foreign languages, such as Braavosi and Dothraki, and characters are said to speak these languages in the books, but all conversations are rendered in English. The production team of *Game of Thrones* decided to be more realistic and use multiple newly created languages, such as Dothraki and High Valyrian created by David J. Peterson, but did not include Braavosi. In my disappointment, I decided to create my own version of Braavosi, which I based on David J. Peterson’s High Valyrian because of the two languages’ canon historical connection. In creating Braavosi, I was largely inspired by the historical changes between Vulgar Latin and modern Romance languages and by contact languages, like Yiddish. No Braavosi words other than human and place names appear in the book series, and one well-read character from the book series remarks that he cannot understand Braavosi at all except for the words that are the same as in High Valyrian, so I felt free to make as many changes to High Valyrian grammar and vocabulary as I saw fit.

a. History

According to the histories of scholars in the world of *A Song of Ice and Fire*, the people of Braavos were originally slaves in Valyria (Martin, Garcia, & Antonsson, 2014). As these slaves were being transported by ship to the southern continent Sothoryos in

order to be sold, the slaves led a revolt and hijacked the ships with the help of the rowers, who were also slaves. Desperately hoping to be free from bondage, they set out to find a place far away from the Valyrian dragonlords where they could live peacefully and in relative secrecy. It is said that the runaway slaves were led by priestesses from Jogos Nhai, called Moonsingers, to the northern location that is now Braavos, a naturally defended lagoon far from Valyria with thick fogs and mists, which hid their location from the dragonlords who could be flying overhead, and with shallow waters rich with fish and shellfish.

The image at the end of this section is a map representing the continent of Essos, along with some of the Summer Isles (bottom left), and the top of the continent of Sothoryos (bottom right). Valyria is located towards the center of the map, on the southern edge of Essos, and Braavos is located in the top left corner of the map.

Because of the paramount role of the Moonsingers in relocating the Braavosi people, their religion is the most popular of all in the city. However, since the escaped slaves were of many different faiths and originally from many different lands and regions, including Andalos, the Summer Isles, Ghiscar, Naath, the Rhoyne, Ib, and the Kingdom of Sarnor, and even including criminals and debtors of pure Valyrian blood, they created Braavos as a place where all religions and gods would be equally given their due and decreed that no god should be held higher than any other. Coming from such diverse lands, the newly freed slaves spoke many languages, so the only language that they had in common, High Valyrian, became their common tongue. In the manner of contact languages, however, over time the Valyrian would be supplemented by lexical and syntactical items from the many first languages of its people.

For many years, the Braavosi people remained fearful of being captured by Valyrians and sold back into slavery. In order to hide the position of their city, Braavosi merchants brought incorrect charts with them when selling their goods in other ports. This tendency, and the resulting inability to find Braavos on a map, led people around the world to call Braavos the Secret City. Finally, 111 years after the founding of Braavos, Sealord Uthero Zalyne put an end to that secrecy. He sent his ships to the far corners of the known world to announce the existence and location of Braavosi to people of all nations, and to invite all to celebrate the anniversary of the city's founding. By this time all the original slaves were dead, as well as their former masters. Uthero paid the owners of the slave ships for the stolen ships, but refused to pay the price of the escaped slaves. The anniversary of the Uncloaking, as it is now called, is celebrated every year in Braavos, with ten feast days and people wearing masks. At midnight on the tenth day, the Titan, a giant bronze statue blocking entrance to the lagoon (as seen in Image 1.2), lets out a great noise, and all celebrators remove their masks as one.



Image 1.1 : Map of Essos and top of Sothoryos (bottom right) illustrating the length of the Slaves' Journey to Braavos (top left), from *The Lands of Ice and Fire* map book

b. Culture

Because of the Braavosi people's history as slaves, the First Law of Braavos, important enough that it is carved into stone on the arch above the Long Canal, is that "no Man, Woman, or Child in Braavos should ever be a slave, a thrall, or a bondsman" (Martin, Garcia, & Antonsson, 2014). Indeed, the people of Braavos combat slavery whenever possible, even going to war against slavers and their allies. The Braavosi people are not ruled by a king like the people in Westeros. Instead, the city's magisters and keyholders, members of the citizenry, elect a Sealord, who will serve in said position until he dies.

Unlike in Westeros, where years are counted before and after the Targaryen conquest (BC and AC), the people of Braavos count their years from the founding of Braavos (RG, *Re jaro go* ‘before Founding’; RT, *Re jaro toli* ‘after Founding’). Indeed Braavos was founded 502 years before the conquest, so the two calendars are off by at least that many years (keeping in mind that a lunar calendar year would be a different length than a solar calendar year). In conjunction with the canon that “the Braavosi counted days differently than they did in Westeros,” and because of their history with the Moonsingers, I thought that the Braavosi would have a lunar calendar, with days starting at sundown instead of with sunrise (Martin, 2005).

The Braavosi naval and mercantile fleets, the latter with easily recognizable purple hulls and sails, are second to no other in the world. An island shortly after the entrance to the Braavosi lagoon is called the Arsenal, and on this island craftsmen use standardized parts to rapidly build ships of the finest quality.



Image 1.2 : Map of Braavos, from *The Lands of Ice and Fire* map book

The city itself, surrounded by shallow brackish waters, is composed of many different islands, bridges, and long canals, therefore prompting the name City of One Hundred Isles. Houses on these isles are primarily made of grey stone, and there is very little wood to be found actually within the city, even though the surrounding natural barricades are forested. These trees serve as windbreaks, and are therefore illegal to cut down. Because the canal water is unfit to drink, the Braavosi use an aqueduct system called the ‘sweetwater river’ to bring freshwater from the mainland of Essos to the city.

Braavos is one of the world’s greatest ports, and trading ships of all nations, except for those that still practice slavery, are welcomed. There are two main harbors in this port city, the Purple Harbor (for Braavosi ships) and Ragman’s Harbor (for foreign ships). All ships must go through customs at Chequy Port before entering the city to sell their goods.

Braavos is also renowned for its bank, called the Iron Bank of Braavos. This bank has existed since the founding of the city, when some of the fugitive slaves hid their valuable possessions in an abandoned iron mine to protect them from pirates. Over time, the mine began to fill with wealth, and rather than let their treasure sit idle, the wealthier Braavosi began issuing loans to the less fortunate. Now, the Bank is known all over the world, and many, including rulers of various nations, seek loans from this wealthiest of banks.

In the center of the city is an island called Isle of the Gods, which houses temples to gods and religions from all over the known world. Here, every god, no matter how small or unpopular, can be prayed to. The many temples include the Temple of the Moonsingers, the temple to the Father of the Waters, which is rebuilt whenever he takes a new bride, the Sept-beyond-the-Sea, the hall of the Lord of Harmony, and the House of Black and White, temple to the Many-Faced God, among others. The House of Black

and White also serves as home to the Faceless Men, a guild of assassins that serves the Many-Faced God, Death. These assassins are so skilled that they make their kills appear to be completely natural or the result of some freak accident, and they have the ability to disguise themselves by actually changing their faces. In the Appendix section of this paper, there is an account of the origin of the Faceless Men.

Of course, no discussion of Braavos is complete without the bravos¹. Bravosi are swordfighters who use thin pointy swords called *nyssa*, like rapiers, for a specifically Braavosi method of swordplay that goes by the name of water-dancing. Bravosi often wear flamboyant and brightly colored clothing, and one is almost guaranteed to see a pair dueling in the moonlight, often in the Moon Pool, a large fountain in the center of the city. It is said that the most skilled bravosi are called water dancers because they appear to float on the surface of the water when fighting.

¹ In the Braavosi language, *braβos* (pl. *braβosi*) is a singular noun naming a type of swordfighter. In much the same way that pease (singular) became pea (singular) and peas (plural), the Westerosi ear heard *braβos* and thought it to be plural.

II. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

a. Phonetics

Consonants

→ Position ↓ Manner	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<i>Stops</i>	p b		t d		ɟ	k g	q		
<i>Nasal</i>	m		n		ɲ				
<i>Trill</i>			r						
<i>Tap or Flap</i>									
<i>Fricative</i>	β	f	s z			x ɣ			h
<i>Lateral Fricative</i>									
<i>Approximant</i>					j				
<i>Lateral Approximant</i>			l		ʎ				

Table 2.1 : IPA phonemic consonant chart of Braavosi

Above is a chart of the phonemic consonants in Braavosi. Most of the sounds are found in English: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *r* (“rolled r”), *f*, *s*, *z*, *h*, *j* (the ‘y’ sound in ‘yellow’), *l*, and *ʎ* (the ‘lli’ in ‘million’). Some of the other sounds are also found in High Valyrian: *ɲ* (the ‘ñ’ in Spanish ‘niña’), *q* (like ‘k’ but further back in the mouth), and *ɣ* (the ‘gh’ in Arabic ‘gharib’). Three sounds, however, do not exist in either English or High Valyrian: *ɟ* (like a combination of *g* and *j*), *β* (like ‘v’ but made with both of the lips, sometimes pronounced as *w* due to dialectal differences), and *x* (the ‘ch’ in Scottish ‘loch’).

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i, iː y, yː		u, uː
Mid	e, eː		o, oː
Open		a, aː	

Table 2.2 : IPA phonemic vowel chart of Braavosi

On the bottom of the previous page is a chart of the phonemic vowels in Braavosi. Most of these vowels occur in English, such as *i* (the ‘ee’ in ‘bee’), *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* (the ‘a’ in ‘mama’). Unlike English, however, Braavosi has a rounded Close-Front vowel, *y* (the ‘ü’ in German ‘über’), and phonemic distinction between long and short vowels. In general, the basic vowels in Braavosi are much the same as those in High Valyrian, but, in contrast to the language, Braavosi does not have any diphthongs.

b. Phonology

The **syllable structure** of Braavosi is (C)(C)V(V)(C), where any combination of consonants and vowels in this order is allowed, but there must always be at least one vowel. Syllables are split into heavy and light types. A syllable is light if it ends in a short (non-long) vowel (i.e., V, CV, or CCV). A syllable is heavy if it ends in a long vowel or a consonant (i.e., VV, CVV, CCVV, VC, CVC, CCVC, VVC, CVVC, or CCVVC). The following are examples of words that follow these criteria²:

V - *e* ‘and’

CV - *go* ‘under, before’

CCV - *dra* ‘classifier for books, scrolls’

CVV - *byr* ‘six’

CCVV - *gryr* ‘counter for number of floors/stories’

VC - *yn* ‘but’

CVC - *jōs* ‘dog’

CCVC - *qlos* ‘star’

VVC - *ur* ‘classifier for drinks, drink containers’

CVVC - *do:l* ‘stone’

CCVVC - *trim* ‘classifier for small, round objects’

Because of the nature of these syllables, in general, if a word has a heavy syllable, stress will be placed on it. Heavy syllables ending in vowels take precedence over those

² There is no single syllable word where VV is the case.

ending in consonants in terms of stress. If both appear in a word, the syllable with a long vowel will have primary stress, and the one ending with a consonant will have secondary (or no) stress based on the length of the word. In other words, the stress hierarchy is as follows:

LONG VOWEL > LONG VOWEL + CONSONANT > CONSONANT > SHORT VOWEL

Take for example the following two words: *braβos*, ‘bravos’, and *brazβos*, ‘Braavos’. In the first word, the first syllable ends in a short vowel and the second syllable ends in a consonant. Only the second syllable is heavy, so the stress falls there (*braβos*). In the second word, however, the first syllable ends in a long vowel while the second syllable ends in a consonant. Both syllables are heavy, but the first ends in a long vowel, which is preferred over a consonant. So, the stress falls on the first syllable (*brazβos*).

In a word of three or more syllables, placement of stress depends on the weight of the antepenult and penult syllables. If both are heavy, the primary stress will fall on the syllable ending with a long vowel or the antepenult (if both or neither end in a long vowel). If both the antepenult and penult are light, the stress will fall on the penult. If one of the two syllables is heavy, the stress will fall there. Elsewhere in words, heavy syllables (not in antepenult or penult positions) have secondary (or tertiary, etc.) stress.

There are some **phonotactic restrictions** involved in the pronunciation of Braavosi words. As stated earlier, the allowed syllable structure is (C)(C)V(V)(C). The consonant(s) at the beginning of a syllable is/are called the onset. In Braavosi, any single consonant can be an onset, as well as any oral stop (*p, b, t, d, k, g, or q*) paired with either of the liquids *l* or *r*. However, following the Obligatory Contour Principle, **tl* and **dl* are not allowed clusters because [t, d, l] are all coronals and do not normally pair together.

The vowel(s) of a syllable is/are called the nucleus. Any short or long vowel can be the nucleus of a syllable.

The consonant at the end of a syllable is called the coda. In Braavosi, within-word and word-final codas have different restrictions. Within words, only the liquids *l* and *r* and nasals *m* and *n* can be syllable codas. These consonants are sonorants, like vowels, and they are allowed to be in their within-word coda position because of this shared property. Since any single consonant can be a syllable onset, we may be led to think that any combination of within-word coda and onset would be allowed. However, this thought is not true. The first consonant in the onset following a within-word coda must be less sonorant than the coda. This means that **nr*, **nl*, **mr*, and **ml* are disallowed cross-syllable clusters. If one of these disallowed clusters appears or a consonant other than a liquid or a nasal ends up in coda position, one of the violating consonants will change to the same as the other consonant, and the result will be a doubled consonant. Which consonant is doubled is apparently based on the aesthetic nature of the sound. Fewer coda restrictions exist at the end of words. The allowed word-final consonants are *s*, *z*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *x*, and *y*. These are the same ending consonants as are allowed in High Valyrian, except the phonemes *l* and *x* are added.

There are also a few **phonological rules** that govern Braavosi word pronunciation.

- (1) One of these rules is called the Homo-organic Nasal Rule, which states that the place of articulation of a nasal is the same as that of the following consonant. For example, while *n* is a phoneme, it may be realized as [m] when before *p* or *b*, [ŋ] when before *k* or *g*, or [ɲ] when before *q*.

- (2) A Depalatalization rule states that palatal consonants become their non-palatal allophones before close-front vowels. This means that when placed before *i*, *i:*, *y*, or *y:*, *ɟ* is pronounced as [g], *ɕ* is pronounced as [l], *ɲ* is pronounced as [n], and *j* is pronounced as [h].
- (3) A Nasalization rule states that vowels preceding nasal codas will be nasalized.
- (4) An Aspiration rule states that voiceless stops will be aspirated when at the beginning of a stressed syllable.
- (5) Whenever *g* is before *e*, it is pronounced as [j].
- (6) When *l* is in coda position, its pronunciation changes to that of a ‘dark l’, or [ɫ].

III. MORPHOLOGY

Braavosi has a very present and involved morphology. Nouns can belong to any of the four declensions and two genders, and verbs have many suffixes to determine tense, mood, and aspect. Like Latin and High Valyrian, Braavosi morphology is a mixture of agglutination and inflection, with a one-to-one relationship between morphemes and morphs in verb conjugation and a many-to-one relationship between morphemes and morphs in noun declension.

Nouns

As previously stated, nouns fall into four declensions. The first three are primarily populated by native Braavosi words, and the last is primarily populated by foreign loan words. Names also generally follow the fourth declension's pattern because of its lack of nominative suffix requirements. There are two grammatical genders: Celestial and Terrestrial (which, as in Astapori Valyrian, are simplified from High Valyrian's Lunar, Solar, Aquatic, and Terrestrial genders). There are also two numbers: singular and plural (which are also simplified from High Valyrian's singular, plural, paucal, and collective). I will discuss the way Braavosi expresses paucal and collective plurality in the Syntax section.

Braavosi has a strong **case system**, having six noun cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Vocative, and Instrumental. The chart on the following page illustrates the inflected case suffixes of the Braavosi noun declension system. Because the Genitive and Dative cases decline identically, they are placed on the same line in the chart.

		1		2		3		4	
Celestial	Nom	-a	-i	-os	-osi	-e	-i	—	-i
	Acc	-e	-iṛ	-os	-osi	-iṛ	-iṛ	-iṛ	-iṛ
	Gen/Dat	-o	-odi	-o	-odi	-o	-odi	-o	-odi
	Voc	-uz	-iz	-os	-ossis	-yz	-iṛz	-iz	-issiz
	Inst	-oza	-ossi	-ozo	-ossi	-oze	-ossi	-izi	-ossi
Terrestrial	Nom	-al	-ri	-ol	-ri	-om	-iṛ		
	Acc	-ri	-riṛ	-ol	-ri	-om	-iṛ		
	Gen/Dat	-ro	-rodi	-ro	-rodi	-o	-odi		
	Voc	-ruz	-riz	-ol	-olliz	-yz	-iṛz		
	Inst	-roza	-rossi	-rozo	-rossi	-oze	-ossi		

Table 3.1 : Noun Declension chart

In this table, the suffixes to the left in each box are the singular suffixes, and the suffixes to the right in each box are the plural suffixes. The forms in the 4th declension box are the same for both Celestial and Terrestrial genders, and indeed many 4th declension nouns do not have assigned genders because of their loan word statuses. The formation of different cases is similar across the declension system, and some case suffixes are identical or nearly identical (such as the Genitive and Dative cases). However, there are enough marked differences to warrant multiple declensions. The “dictionary form” (i.e., the form in which the nouns are found in the Lexicon section of this paper) of a Braavosi noun is the Nominative case form.

Braavosi has twelve **pronouns** (when only considering the Nominative case forms). The third person pronouns split between animate and inanimate, and proximal and distal forms. These third person pronouns also double as the **demonstratives** of the Braavosi language, with the proximal animate third person pronouns referring to living things that are close to the speaker, the distal animate third person pronouns referring to living things that are far from the speaker, and the inanimate versions of both

to non-living objects or concepts. For example, a god would be spoken about using an inanimate third person pronoun. The following chart exhibits the Nominative case forms of the twelve pronouns.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	nyx ²		iʎa	
2nd	aβo		jem	
3rd	<i>Proximal</i>	<i>Distal</i>	<i>Proximal</i>	<i>Distal</i>
<i>Animate</i>	biza	bo ɲa	bizi	bo ɲi
<i>Inanimate</i>	giza	go ɲa	gizi	go ɲi

Table 3.2 : Nominative Pronouns chart

The third person pronouns, which all end in -a in the Nominative form, properly follow the 1st declension celestial pattern, but the first and second person pronouns are irregular. Their patterns are as follows:

	1SG ³	1PL	2SG	2PL
Nom	nyx	iʎa	aβo	jem
Acc	yni	illi	aβe	jemi
Gen/Dat	yno	iʎodi	aβo	jemodi
Voc	yniz	illiz	aβyz	jemiz
Inst	ynizi	iʎossi	aβoze	jemossi

Table 3.3 : Irregular Pronoun Declension chart

Pronouns also have a **Reflexive suffix** that creates meaning like ‘myself,’ ‘ourselves,’ and ‘themselves’. This suffix is -ll. It attaches to the root or Nominative form of the pronoun, and then declines like a 1st declension Celestial noun. The chart on the following page represents the Nominative case forms of the Reflexive pronouns.

³ Nyx is not commonly used as a first person singular pronoun. Instead, use biza, the proximal animate third person singular pronoun.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	nylla		illi	
2nd	alla		jelli	
3rd	<i>Proximal</i>	<i>Distal</i>	<i>Proximal</i>	<i>Distal</i>
<i>Animate</i>	billa	bolla	billi	bolli
<i>Inanimate</i>	gilla	golla	gilli	golli

Table 3.4 : Nominative Case Reflexive Pronoun chart

As Table 3.4 shows, all singular reflexive pronouns take the singular 1st declension Celestial ending, and all plural reflexive pronouns take the plural 1st declension Celestial ending.

Pronouns also have a special suffix that translates as ‘for’. This suffix is related to a postposition *zy*, which has the same meaning, and the form of the suffix is *-s*. The ‘for’ suffix attaches after the dative form of the pronoun.

bo *-ll* *-odi* *-s*
 3PL.DIST.AN.1C-REFL-DAT-for
 ‘for themselves’

Adjectives

The dictionary form of an adjective is a root form ending in a consonant. When an adjective agrees with a noun, it is placed after the noun and it takes on the same declension- and gender-based case ending as its noun, essentially agreeing with it in case, gender, number, and declension. Take as example the following noun-adjective pairs:

y:nt *-ol* *ro:β-ol*
 apartment.2T-NOM.SG big -NOM.SG
 ‘big apartment’

moχamm *-a* *ro:β-a*
 pastry.1C-NOM.SG big -NOM.SG
 ‘big pastry’

The dictionary form of the adjective used in both of these phrases is *ro:β*, meaning ‘big’. The ending suffix of the adjective matches the ending suffix of the noun it follows. When an adjective refers to two or more nouns of different declensions and genders, the adjective takes on the Genitive singular form.

j *-os* *e* *pri:nt* *-e* *ho:r-o*
 dog.2C-NOM.SG and seagull.3C-NOM.SG fat -GEN.SG
 ‘the fat dog and seagull’

Adverbs are created from the adjective root followed by the adverb suffix *-y*.

mirimir *-y*
 gradual-ADV
 ‘gradually’

The **Equative**, **Comparative**, and **Superlative** forms are also created by adding suffixes, but these suffixes can be added after a noun-agreement suffix or the adverb suffix to make an Equative, Comparative, or Superlative adjective or adverb, respectively. The Equative suffix is *-ba* (after vowels) or *-iba* (after consonants), the Comparative suffix is *-tta* (after vowels) or *-itta* (after consonants), and the Superlative suffix is *-je* (after vowels) or *-ije* (after consonants). The following are examples of each of the three suffixes attached to either an adjective or an adverb.

pri:nt *-e* *ho:r-e* *-ba*
 seagull.3C-NOM.SG fat -NOM.SG-EQ
 ‘the equally fat seagull’

neninen *-y* *-tta*
 fervent-ADV-CMP
 ‘more fervently’

dohell *-os* *bott* *-os* *-ije*
 slave.2C-NOM.SG wretched-NOM.SG-SPR
 ‘the most wretched slave’

So far, one suffix exists to make nouns into adjectives. This suffix carries the meaning of ‘made of’, and it is *-ak*. This suffix attaches after the root of a noun to create an adjective root.

hond -os ekk -ak -os
 hand.2C-NOM.SG gold.2C-made of-NOM.SG
 ‘hand made of gold’

As in the example, after the ‘made of’ suffix is added, the newly formed word acts the same as any adjective.

Verbs

Braavosi verbs are based on stems that end in either *a* or *e*. The dictionary form of verbs is the stem plus the **infinitive** suffix, which is *-go*. The following are two example verbs, *e*-stem and *a*-stem, in their dictionary forms:

klaffe -go
 make-INF
 ‘to make’

ira:da-go
 eat -INF
 ‘to eat’

The charts on the following page illustrate **Verb TMA** (Tense, Mood, Aspect). The first of the two charts names the seven tenses in Braavosi: Present, Future, Perfect, Imperfect, Pluperfect, Necessitative, and Past Habitual. The first five listed tenses are the same as those in Latin. The Necessitative and Past Habitual tenses, which are in the Timeless row of the first chart, however, require some explanation.

The **Necessitative** tense is used to express necessity (e.g. ‘I must eat’). It is based on the High Valyrian Aorist tense, which in that language is used to denote basic actions that are done in no specific time and necessity (such as in the well known High Valyrian phrase *valar morghulis*, ‘All men (must) die’). Braavosi, unlike High Valyrian, dropped the

basic action part of the Aorist tense (instead relegating this type of meaning to the present tense), and kept the meaning of necessity, thus creating the Necessitative tense.

The **Past Habitual** tense is mostly the same as that in High Valyrian. This tense is used to describe actions that were at one point habitual but no longer are, as well as actions that at one point were necessary to do.

	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	Present	Future	Perfect
Past		Imperfect	Pluperfect
Timeless	Necessitative		Past Habitual

Table 3.5 : Verb Tenses chart

<i>Indicative</i>	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	—	-na	-ta
Past		-le	-te
Timeless	-zzi		-ti
<i>Subjunctive</i>	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	-xo	-no	-to
Past		-lo	-te,-(j)o
Timeless	-zzo		-ti,-(j)o

Table 3.6 : Verb TMA Suffixes chart

1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
-n	-r	-s	-mi	-ty	-se

Table 3.7 : Verb-Noun Agreement Suffixes chart

Regular verbs are formed by first attaching the TMA suffix to a verb stem and then attaching the Verb-Noun Agreement suffix after the TMA suffix. Take for example the following verb:

ira:da-ta -n
eat -PRF-1SG
'(I) ate'

The verb stem in this word is *ira:da*. The Perfect tense suffix is *-ta*, and the 1SG suffix is *-n*. All verb conjugations are just as straightforward to form except the Pluperfect and Past Habitual Subjunctive forms. These conjugate in the following ways:

ira:da-te -mi -jo
eat -SBJV.PLUP-1PL-CIRC
'(we) maybe had eaten'

ira:da-ti -n -o
eat -SBJV.PHAB-1SG-CIRC
'(I) may have needed to eat'

In these cases, the Verb-Noun Agreement suffix goes within the TMA suffix. In basic sentence construction, the default person/number verb agreement (i.e., what would be used with a singular noun) is 3rd person singular, unless the noun is in a plural form.

ri:n -a he:dre-s.
baby-NOM.SG sleep -PRS.3SG
'The baby is sleeping.'

ri:n -i he:dre-se.
baby-NOM.PL sleep -PRS.3PL
'The babies are sleeping.'

New verbs are created through the process of adding prefixes to existing verbs. These prefixes are often related to Braavosi appositions. On the following page are examples of verbs that change meaning when prefixes are added.

<i>issa-go</i> be -INF 'to be'	<i>jor -issa-go</i> CON-be -INF 'to continue to be' – <i>jō-/jor-</i> (continuative)
<i>ja -go</i> go-INF 'to go'	<i>(go -ja -go) = ja -go</i> down-go-INF go down-INF 'to go down' – <i>go-</i> (down/under, before)
<i>pora:se-go</i> wear -INF 'to wear'	<i>na -pora:se-go</i> OPP-wear -INF 'to take off (clothing)' – <i>na-</i> (opposite)

Braavosi also has an **Imperative** mood. The Imperative is used in order to give commands to a 2nd person being. The singular Imperative is formed from the verb stem. The plural Imperative is formed from adding the suffix *-maz* to the verb stem.

ira:da-Ø!
eat -IMP.SG
'Eat!'

ira:da-maz!
eat -IMP.PL
'Eat!'

The **Participles** of Braavosi verbs can serve as a form of nominalization as well as a sort of adjectivization. There are two participial “tenses”: present and past. The present tense is formed by adding the suffix *-l* to the verb stem, and the past tense is formed by adding the suffix *-lle* to the verb stem. When present participles are used as nouns as a result of nominalization, both *a-* and *e-*stem verbs decline in the manner of 1st declension Terrestrial nouns. When past participles are used as nouns, both *a-* and *e-*stem verbs decline in the manner of 3rd declension Celestial nouns.

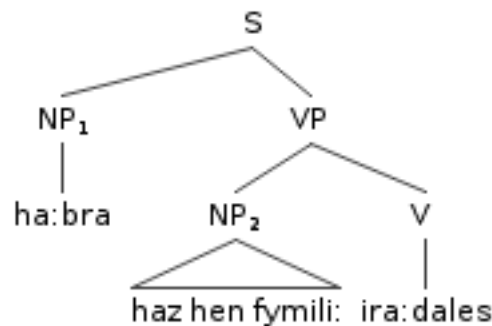
jelle -l
want-PTCP.PRS
'wanting, desire'

ira:da-lle
eat -PTCP.PST
'having eaten'

IV. SYNTAX

Braavosi is an **SOV** language. This means the word order is subject-object-verb. However, because the case system is so strong Nominative pronouns in subject position are optional and only necessarily used to emphasize who is doing an action. The following is a sentence in **canonical word order** and its accompanying syntactical tree.

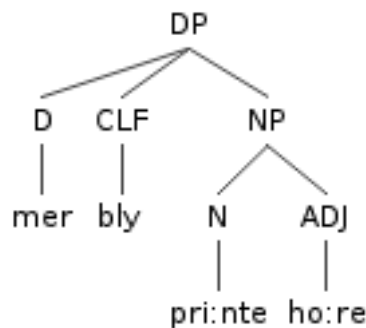
ha:br -a haz hen fymil -i: ira:da-le -s.
 woman.1C-NOM.SG three CLF clam.3C-ACC.PL eat -PST.IPFV-3SG
 ‘The woman was eating three clams.’



Tree 4.1 : Canon SOV word order

As in Tree 4.1, the form of a **Verb Phrase (VP)** in Braavosi is head-last. The next tree illustrates a possible **Noun Phrase (NP)**, which actually falls under a **Determiner Phrase (DP)**.

mer bly pri:nt -e ho:r-e
 one CLF seagull.3C-NOM.SG fat -NOM.SG
 ‘one/a fat seagull’



Tree 4.2 : Noun Phrase (NP)/Determiner Phrase (DP) Tree

As mentioned earlier, and as illustrated in Tree 4.2, adjectives always go after the noun they describe. A Determiner Phrase that expresses a number of objects contains first the number, then a classifier that is tied to whatever type of noun is referenced, and then the noun itself. Words other than numbers can also sit in the determiner location of a DP. While Braavosi does not have a definite article, which would be translated as ‘the’, the **indefinite article** ‘a’ can be rendered as *mer*, which means ‘one’. This part of the determiner phrase is also used to express forms of paucality and collectivity, using *mirre*, ‘some’, *i:ja*, ‘few’, or *loβiga:l*, ‘all’. In order to make cardinal numbers into their ordinal counterparts, simply add the suffix *-xa* to the end of the number.

mer -xa
one-ORD
‘first’

mer -xa hezzi moʕamm-a
one-ORD CLF cake.1C-NOM.SG
‘first piece of cake’

A full list of numbers and number-like words can be found in the Lexicon section of this paper.

As stated earlier in the Morphology section, Braavosi has six cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Vocative, and Instrumental. Below is a list of these cases, as well as an explanation of their multiple uses.

The **Nominative** case is used as the subject of a sentence, as nominal predicates, and as adjectival predicates.

jedalilβ -a urne-s.
water dancer.1C-NOM.SG see -PRS.3SG
‘The water dancer sees.’

bo ʝ -i βall -i issa-se.
3PL.DIST.AN.1C-NOM man.1C-NOM.PL be -PRS.3PL
‘They are men.’

r -a ro:β-a issa-s.
 moon.1C-NOM.SG big -NOM.SG be -PRS.3SG
 ‘The moon is big.’

The **Accusative** case is used as the direct object of a sentence and to describe the location where an action is happening (with various appositions).

βall -a haz hen fymil -i: ira:da-le -s.
 man.1C-NOM.SG three CLF clam.3C-ACC.PL eat -PST.IPFV-3SG
 ‘The man was eating three clams.’

r -a βa je:d -ri bant -o issa-s.
 moon.1C-NOM.SG in sky.1T-ACC.SG night.2C-GEN.SG be -PRS.3SG
 ‘The moon is in the night sky.’

The **Genitive** case is primarily used to denote possession/quality, and adjectives that describe more than one noun in different declensions and genders take the genitive case markings of the 4th declension. When a genitive noun pairs with another noun, often to denote possession, the genitive can go either before or after the other noun, depending on which word is being emphasized. Of course, when a number/determiner and classifier are being used, the genitive noun *must* go after the other noun.

Usser -o Napora:se -ro go,
 Uthero.4-GEN.SG Uncloaking.1T-DAT.SG before
 ‘before the Uncloaking of Uthero,...’

r -a βa je:d -ri bant -o issa-s.
 moon.1C-NOM.SG in sky.1T-ACC.SG night.2C-GEN.SG be -PRS.3SG
 ‘The moon is in the night sky.’

Ekk -os e ge:ʌ -om ylβ -o -tta issa-ta -se.
 gold.2C-NOM.SG and silver.3T-NOM.SG valuable-GEN.SG-CMP be -PRF-3PL
 ‘Gold and silver were more valuable.’

The **Dative** case is primarily used for indirect objects, but it also pairs with most postpositions, including ‘for’ and those that indicate time or movement.

iʌa βa jem-odi kray -i: dibla-ta -mi.
 1PL.NOM to 2PL-DAT paper.3C-ACC.PL give-PRF-3PL
 ‘We gave the papers to you guys.’

delβ -o hen hodr -i: zy jorepa-ta -se.
 freedom.3T-DAT.SG from pain.3C-ACC.SG for pray -PRF-3PL
 ‘(They) prayed for freedom from pain.’

biz -a βa y:nt -ro ro:β-oro ja -na -n.
 3.PROX.AN.1C-NOM.SG into apartment.2T-DAT.SG big-ACC.SG go-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will go into the big apartment building.’

The **Vocative** case is used when directly addressing a person or with infinitives to form a third person command.

Syrj -iz!
 Syrio.4-VOC.SG
 ‘Syrio (a name)!’

ri:n -uz gerp -i: ira:da-go!
 child.1C-VOC.SG fruit.3C-ACC.SG eat -INF
 ‘May the child eat fruit!’

The **Instrumental** case is primarily used to express the means by which something happens. It is also used with comparative adjectives in ‘more _ than ...’ sentences as an instrumental of comparison and in the formation of some verbs.

lana mi braβ -osi nyss -ossi βi:ʎaba-le -se.
 two CLF bravos.2C-NOM.PL rapier.1C-INS.PL fight -PST.IPFV-3PL
 ‘Two bravos were fighting with rapiers.’

Ekk -os dohell -odi glez -ossi ylβ -os -itta issa-ta -s.
 gold.2C-NOM.SG slave.2C-GEN.PL life.3T-INS.PL valued-NOM.SG-CMP be -PRF-3SG
 ‘Gold was worth more than the lives of slaves.’

iβey -ozo hema-ta -n.
 tool.2C-INS.SG use -PRF-1SG
 ‘(I) used the tool.’

The following section will be used to discuss more complicated components of Braavosi syntax. While many concepts can be expressed using individual words because of the powerful morphology, some thoughts require multiple words to express.

Negation of a verb is formed with a fully conjugated Subjunctive mood verb and the word *dal*, which means ‘no’.

gy:lme-xo -n dal.
 know-SBJV.PRS-1SG no
 ‘(I) don’t know.’

Along with Imperatives (second person commands) and ‘third person commands’, Braavosi also has a type of first person command called the **Hortative**. Hortative verbs are formed with *ilo* and an infinitive, and they contain the meaning of ‘Let us/me _’.

ilo ja-go!
 HORT go-INF
 ‘Let us go!’

Passive verbs are created from an infinitive followed by a fully conjugated form of *issago*, which means ‘to be’.

ira:da-go issa-se.
 eat -INF be -PRS.3PL
 ‘(They) are being eaten.’

The method of creating the Participle form was mentioned earlier in the Morphology section of this paper. Now in the Syntax section, the various **uses of the Participle** will be described. The first use is as a general description of an ongoing state or action:

Jolbota -l, dohell -osi βa ga:l le:si xartal -odi jorepa-ta -se.
 despair-PTCP.PRS slave.2C-NOM.PL to hundred CLF god.3C-DAT.PL pray -PRF-3PL
 ‘Despairing, the slaves prayed to one hundred gods.’

Participles can also be used to directly describe nouns:

blen -i: gleza-l
 mountain.3T-ACC.PL live -PTCP.PRS
 ‘living mountains’

A third use for the Participle is within relative clauses. Braavosi **relative clauses** follow the head noun and have no relative pronoun where there might be in other languages. A Participle will always be at the end of the relative clause.

ri jɪ -a mer hezzi gerp -iː ira:da-lle so:ba -s.
 child.1C-NOM.SG one CLF fruit.3C-ACC.SG eat -PTCP.PST laugh-PRS.3SG
 ‘The child (who) ate a piece of fruit is laughing.’

And as briefly mentioned in the Morphology section, the Participle forms also double as a type of **nominalization** of verbs. When both *a*- and *e*-stem verbs are nominalized as present participles, they follow the 1st declension Terrestrial pattern. When both *a*- and *e*-stem verbs are nominalized as past participles, they follow the 3rd declension Celestial pattern.

Braavosi has both prepositions and postpositions. These **adpositions** must, in most cases, be placed either before or after an Accusative or a Dative.

βall -a hen Bra:β -os mazze-ta -s.
 man.1C-NOM.SG from Braavos.2C-ACC.SG come-PRF-3SG
 ‘The man came from Braavos.’

ri jɪ -a my jɪ -o ma he:dre-le -s.
 child.1C-NOM.SG mother.1C-DAT.SG with sleep -IPFV.PST-3SG
 ‘The child was sleeping with its mother.’

In order to ask a **question** in Braavosi, simply use a rising inflection at the end of the sentence. The word order does not change, and there is no special question particle.

V. THE LEXICON

a. Braavosi → English

i. Nouns

bre:dazza - 1C, 'bronze'

fassa - 1C, 'father'

ha:bra - 1C, 'woman'

jedalilβa - 1C, 'water dancer'

kolzaka - 1C, 'short sword'

moħamma - 1C, 'pastry, cake'

my ĵa - 1C, 'mother'

nyssa - 1C, 'rapier, a type of sword used primarily by bravosi and water dancers'

ĵaqa - 1C, 'east'

pahula - 1C, 'air'

perziza - 1C, 'fire'

prymija - 1C, 'heart'

ra - 1C, 'moon'

rilma - 1C, 'eel'

ri ĵa - 1C, 'child, baby'

roβaltana - 1C, 'Titan (of Braavos), giant'

tala - 1C, 'daughter'

tegomlossaka - 1C, 'brick'

βalla - 1C, 'man'

βalyrija - 1C, 'Valyria'

xappa - 1C, 'top'

byrxal - 1T, 'ray, manta'

hembal - 1T, 'sea, ocean'

horbal - 1T, 'smoke'

jedal - 1T, 'water'

je:dal - 1T, 'sky'

*jellel** - 1T, 'desire'

jeltal - 1T, 'thrall'

jolbotal - 1T, 'despair'

*naporaz:sel** - 1T, 'Uncloaking/Unveiling/Unmasking (of Uthero), disrobing'

ĵaqał - 1T, 'origin, beginning'

sytał - 1T, 'grass'

uqorral - 1T, 'port (town)'

u:dał - 1T, 'word'

y:doral - 1T, 'language'

* The nominalization/present participle of *e*-stem verbs declines like a 1st declension terrestrial noun.

bantos - 2C, 'night'
bardos - 2C, 'head'
bijałβos - 2C, 'happiness'
Bra:βos - 2C, 'Braavos'
Bra:βosi - 2C (pl. only), 'a person from Braavos'
braβos - 2C, 'a bravos, flamboyant swordsman'
dohellos - 2C, 'slave'
dekkos - 2C, 'foot'
ekkos - 2C, 'gold'
helekkos - 2C, 'ear'
hengos - 2C, 'tongue'
hondos - 2C, 'hand'
hontos - 2C, 'bird'
issaros - 2C, 'person'
iβeyos - 2C, 'tool'
jos - 2C, 'dog'
klijos - 2C, 'fish'
kros - 2C, 'leg'
lehullos - 2C, 'face'
ligganos - 2C, 'oyster'
nejos - 2C, 'breast'
pezgos - 2C, 'olive'
perzilos - 2C, 'molten rock, lava'
pungos - 2C, 'nose'
qalbos - 2C, 'liver'
qlos - 2C, 'star'
reglos - 2C, 'mouth'
te:mi:ssos - 2C, 'stick'
teqomlos - 2C, 'clay'
ti:gos - 2C, 'feather'
βeyos - 2C, 'thing'
βezos - 2C, 'sun'
yrgos - 2C, 'neck'
zephlymos - 2C, 'butterfly'

do:l - 2T, 'stone'
dryβol - 2T, 'garderobe'
farrol - 2T, 'mussel'
fy:rboł - 2T, 'octopus'
γarol - 2T, 'crab'
ha:ssijol - 2T, 'tooth'
haβol - 2T, 'food'
hy:rol - 2T, 'fat'
kaldol - 2T, 'cockle'
nymol - 2T, 'seed'
peldijol - 2T, 'snake'
roβol - 2T, 'fig'

syrfol - 2T, 'bondsman'
teqol - 2T, 'land'
xorimmol - 2T, 'fire wine'
y:ntol - 2T, 'apartment'

belmurte - 3C, 'master, slave owner'
bro:ze - 3C, 'name'
dy je - 3C, 'animal'
firme - 3C, 'canal'
fymile - 3C, 'clam'
gerpe - 3C, 'fruit'
gre:ge - 3C, 'louse'
jeze - 3C, 'tree'
hazande - 3C, 'long sword'
hegre - 3C, 'knife'
hodre - 3C, 'pain'
irude - 3C, 'gift'
kraye - 3C, 'paper'
mirre - 3C, 'bit'
jalqe - 3C, 'lightning'
pri:nte - 3C, 'seagull'
pryfirme - 3C, 'vein'
tre:ze - 3C, 'son'
tulqe - 3C, 'valley'
uzzembe - 3C, 'shark'
xartale - 3C, 'god'

blenom - 3T, 'mountain'
bre:dijom - 3T, 'copper'
delβom - 3T, 'freedom'
dorom - 3T, 'nothing'
fom - 3T, 'crawfish'
ge:Λom - 3T, 'silver'
glezom - 3T, 'life'
gro:βom - 3T, 'thunder'
haβom - 3T, 'bread'
heqqitom - 3T, 'mine'
jezom - 3T, 'dust'
klaqom - 3T, 'shrimp'
kolzom - 3T, 'steel'
laggom - 3T, 'galley'
ottijom - 3T, 'city'
rimmom - 3T, 'sand'
teqom - 3T, 'ground/earth'

qjas - 4, 'window'
bimen - 4, 'cement, bitumen'

essablongar - 4, 'Moonsinger'
hembrekȳr - 4, 'Sealord'
pijalqor - 4, 'camel'
zyxatro - 4, 'mortar'

ii. Pronouns

aβo - irreg., 2SG
biz̥a - 1C, proximal animate 3SG (also commonly used as 1SG)
bizi - 1C, proximal animate 3PL
bo ja - 1C, distal animate 3SG
bo ji - 1C, distal animate 3PL
giz̥a - 1C, proximal inanimate 3SG
gizi - 1C, proximal inanimate 3PL
go ja - 1C, distal inanimate 3SG
go ji - 1C, distal inanimate 3PL
iʌa - irreg., 1PL
jem - irreg., 2PL
nyx - irreg., 1SG (not commonly used)

iii. Classifiers/Counters

al - for sets, groups
bardu - for money (e.g., "three heads silver")
bly - for general animals
bot - for hours, degree/angle
byki - for small particles, grains (e.g., sand, flour)
doy - for stories, plays, languages, sentences
dra - for books, scrolls
fiz̥ - for buildings, structures
fym - for minutes
geze - for lightning (i.e., "trees of lightning")
gry: - for number of floors/stories
ya: - for number of times
hen - for sea life
hezzi - for smaller sections of wholes (e.g., a piece)
him - for years of age
hyra - for months (in lunar calendar)
ila - for (flat) surfaces (e.g., game board, earth, floor, wall, mirror, face)
kon - for years (counted from founding of Braavos)
le:si - for gods
ʌa - for flat objects
mi - for people
puk - for seconds
qa - for long, thin objects
qur - for generations, ages, eras

tre - for weeks
tri:m - for small, round objects
u:r - for drinks, drink containers
βeggo - for nights, days (days begin at sun down)
βo - general counter
xol - for machinery

iv. Adjectives

bo:z - 'long'
bott - 'wretched'
byg - 'small'
dra:ɲ - 'wide'
drej - 'correct'
gepp - 'left'
hallin - 'different'
henq - 'same'
ho:r - 'fat'
iA - 'straight'
kemb - 'heavy'
lehulloq - 'faceless'
loss - 'wet'
mi:b - 'short'
mirimir - 'gradual'
neninen - 'fervent, zealous'
pakk - 'right'
perz - 'hot'
qumbl - 'thick'
ro:β - 'big'
sy:zaleh - 'kindly'
tiss - 'dry'
tolmij - 'far'
trym - 'deep'
βamij - 'near'
βass - 'thin'
ylβ - 'valued, valuable, expensive'
yrd - 'narrow'

v. Verbs

arhego - 'to hunt'
be:βymbago - 'to float'
bi:bago - 'to suck'
braβago - 'to perform, act'
brozago - 'to name'
byhego - 'to swim'

dekyrbago - 'to walk'
de:mago - 'to sit'
diblagó - 'to give'
dohe:lago - 'to serve'
fora:ɲago - 'to remember'
forego - 'to teach'
gerre ɲago - 'to discover'
glezago - 'to live'
gomago - 'to do'
gra:xago - 'to build'
gre:ɲago - 'to learn'
gu:rego - 'to take'
gy:lmego - 'to know'
ɲago - 'to go down'
hagago - 'to pull'
hangago - 'to bite'
he:drego - 'to sleep'
hemago - (+ inst.), 'to use'
hepago - 'to ask'
hezi:mago - 'to split'
hi:ʎago - 'to hit'
hoda:bago - 'to think'
hohi:ʎago - 'to stab'
ho:rego - 'to hold, have'
hopɲɲago - 'to squeeze'
ho:zego - 'to swell'
ibaltomago - 'to scatter'
illago - 'to lie (down/upon)'
ilzego - 'to throw'
inkego - 'to push'
ira:dago - 'to eat'
irudebago - (+dat.), 'to kill'
irudiyo:rago - 'to die'
issago - 'to be'
iβettrago - 'to tell, say to'
izzerdago - 'to bake'
ɲago - 'to go'
ja:rago - 'to flow'
jele:bago - 'to blow'
jellego - 'to want, wish'
je:dago - 'to shine'
jogomago - 'to toil'
jogy:lmego - 'to understand'
jolbotago - 'to despair'
jo:rago - 'to receive'
jorago - 'to stand'
jorellego - 'to like'

jorepago - 'to pray'
jorissago - 'to continue to be'
jurnego - 'to look (at), examine'
kilego - 'to stop'
klaffego - 'to make'
kossago - 'to be possible/able, can'
kyβago - 'to plan/intend'
li'ago - 'to dance'
logarjago - 'to sail'
Λedago - 'to tie'
ma:zego - 'to come'
mo:zego - 'to drink'
moqqarago - 'to become angry'
morhu'ago - 'to die'
mymago - 'to care about/for'
napora:sego - 'to take off (clothing)'
nekkago - 'to cut'
nygazzego - 'to carry'
ɲago - 'to count'
ɲebego - 'to sew'
payago - 'to breathe'
pa'ago - 'to turn'
pamago - 'to rub'
pora:sego - 'to wear'
pygago - 'to spit'
pyndago - 'to weave a tapestry, tell a story'
pyrdago - 'to scratch'
qorbrego - 'to confuse'
re:nago - 'to wipe'
re:na:bago - 'to wash'
renago - 'to begin'
re ɲago - 'to found'
robago - 'to fall'
ru:hago - 'to quit'
rydego - 'to dig'
ry:terego - 'to hear'
si:monago - 'to rise'
so:bago - 'to laugh'
so:βego - 'to fly'
tirego - 'to sit, recline'
tymago - 'to play'
umbago - 'to stay/remain, wait, live in'
urnego - 'to see'
uβe:mago - 'to vomit'
βe:dago - 'to sing'
βettrago - 'to say'
βi'abago - 'to fight'

ykynago - ‘to smell’
y:dorago - ‘to speak’
zi:rago - ‘to freeze’
zu:γago - ‘to fear’

vi. Conjunctions

dorja - ‘instead (of)’
e - ‘and’
hebal - ‘then, next’
hezir - ‘and so, now’
ja - ‘or’
kessot - ‘because’
la - ‘if’
sir - ‘thus, so’
yn - ‘but’

vii. Adpositions

be - post: ‘about, on’
go - post: ‘before’ (+ dat.); ‘under’ (+ acc.)
hen - pre: ‘from, of’ (+ acc.); ‘out of’ (+ dat.)
ma - post: ‘with, among’ (+ acc.)
ondoɹ - post: ‘by, near’ (+ acc.)
toli - post: ‘after’ (+ dat.); ‘above’ (+ acc.)
βa - pre: ‘at, in’ (+ acc.); ‘into, to’ (+ dat.)
zy - post: ‘for’ (+ dat.)

viii. Question words

hedoxom - ‘where’
he:da - ‘when’
hegoma - ‘how’
heyos - ‘what’
helo - ‘how much/many’
herys - ‘why’
hessal - ‘who’

ix. Numbers/Number-like Words

mer - ‘one’
lana - ‘two’
haz - ‘three’
zul - ‘four’
tom - ‘five’
by: - ‘six’

sigu - 'seven'
je:n - 'eight'
βa - 'nine'
amma - 'ten'
amma mer - 'eleven'
amma lana - 'twelve'
amma haz - 'thirteen'
amma zul - 'fourteen'
amma tom - 'fifteen'
amma by: - 'sixteen'
amma sigu - 'seventeen'
amma je:n - 'eighteen'
amma βa - 'nineteen'
lanamma - 'twenty'
hazamma - 'thirty'
zulamma - 'forty'
tomamma - 'fifty'
bijamma - 'sixty'
sigamma - 'seventy'
jenamma - 'eighty'
βa:mma - 'ninety'
ga:l - 'hundred'
pyrsi - 'thousand'
ampyrsi - 'ten thousand'

merxa - 'first'
lanaxa - 'second'
haxxa - 'third'
zulxa - 'fourth'
tomxa - 'fifth'
by:xa - 'sixth'
siguxa - 'seventh'
je:nxa - 'eighth'
βolxa - 'ninth'
ammaxa - 'tenth'

biza - 'this (proximal, animate)'
bo ja - 'that (distal, animate)'
dal - 'none, zero'
giza - 'this (proximal, inanimate)'
go ja - 'that (distal, inanimate)'
i:ja - 'few'
loβi - 'many'
loβiga:l - 'all'
mirre - 'some'

*x. Other Words/Phrases**dal* - ‘no’*delβom* - ‘bye (lit. ‘freedom’)’*delβom hema* - ‘goodbye (lit. ‘have freedom’)’*kottil* - ‘please’*krim* - ‘thanks (informal gratitude)’*krimβos* - ‘thank you (more formal gratitude)’*sir* - ‘yes’*βalar morhulis* - ‘all men must die (greeting from High Valyrian)’*βalar doheris* - ‘all men must serve (response to greeting from High Valyrian)’*b. English → Braavosi**i. Nouns*air - 1C, *pahula*animal - 3C, *dy ꝑe*apartment - 2T, *y:ntol*baby - 1C, *ri ꝑa*beginning - 1T, *ꝑaqal*bird - 2C, *hontos*bit - 3C, *mirre*bitumen - 4, *bimen*bondsmen - 2T, *syrꝑol*Braavos - 2C, *Bra:βos*bravos (flamboyant swordsman) - 2C, *braβos*bread - 3T, *haβom*breast - 2C, *nejos*brick - 1C, *teqomlossaka*bronze - 1C, *bre:dazza*cake - 1C, *moꝑamma*camel - 4, *ꝑijalqor*canal - 3C, *firme*cement - 4, *bimen*child - 1C, *ri ꝑa*city - 3T, *ottijom*clam - 3C, *ꝑmile*clay - 2C, *teqomlos*cockle - 2T, *kaldol*copper - 3T, *bre:dijom*crab - 2T, *ꝑarol*crawfish - 3T, *fom*daughter - 1C, *tala*desire - 1T, *jellel**

despair - 1T, *jolbotal*
 disrobing - 1T, *napora:sel**
 dog - 2C, *jos*
 dust - 3T, *jezom*
 ear - 2C, *helekkos*
 earth - 3T, *teqom*
 east - 1C, *paqa*
 eel - 1C, *rilma*
 face - 2C, *lehullos*
 fat - 2T, *hy:rol*
 father - 1C, *fassa*
 feather - 2C, *tizgos*
 fig - 2T, *roβol*
 fire - 1C, *perziza*
 fire wine - 2T, *xorimmol*
 fish - 2C, *klijos*
 food - 2T, *haβol*
 foot - 2C, *dekkos*
 freedom - 3T, *delβom*
 fruit - 3C, *gerpe*
 galley - 3T, *laggom*
 garderobe - 2T, *dryβol*
 giant - 1C, *roβaltana*
 gift - 3C, *irude*
 god - 3C, *xartale*
 gold - 2C, *ekkos*
 grass - 1T, *sytal*
 ground - 3T, *teqom*
 hand - 2C, *hondos*
 happiness - 2C, *bijalβos*
 head - 2C, *bardos*
 heart - 1C, *prymija*
 knife - 3C, *hegre*
 land - 2T, *teqol*
 language - 1T, *y:doral*
 lava - 2C, *perzilos*
 leg - 2C, *kros*
 life - 3T, *glezom*
 lightning - 3C, *paalqe*
 liver - 2C, *qalbos*
 long sword - 3C, *hazande*
 louse - 3C, *gre:ge*
 man - 1C, *balla*

* The nominalization/present participle of *e*-stem verbs declines like a 1st declension terrestrial noun.

master - 3C, *belmurte*
 mine - 3T, *heqqitom*
 molten rock - 2C, *perzilos*
 moon - 1C, *ra*
 Moonsinger - 4, *essablongar*
 mortar - 4, *zyxatro*
 mother - 1C, *my ja*
 mountain - 3T, *blenom*
 mouth - 2C, *reglos*
 mussel - 2T, *farrol*
 name - 3C, *bro:ze*
 neck - 2C, *yrgos*
 night - 2C, *bantos*
 nose - 2C, *pungos*
 nothing - 3T, *dorom*
 ocean - 1T, *hembal*
 octopus - 2T, *fy:rbol*
 olive - 2C, *pe:gos*
 origin - 1T, *jaqal*
 oyster - 2C, *ligganos*
 pain - 3C, *hodre*
 paper - 3C, *kraye*
 pastry - 1C, *moAamma*
 person - 2C, *issaros*
 person from Braavos - 2C, *Bra:βosi* (pl. only)
 rapier - 1C, *nyssa*
 ray (animal) - 1T, *byrxal*
 sand - 3T, *rimmom*
 sea - 1T, *hembal*
 seagull - 3C, *pri:nte*
 Sealdord - 4, *hembrekryr*
 seed - 2T, *nymol*
 shark - 3C, *uzzembe*
 short sword - 1C, *kolzaka*
 shrimp - 3T, *klaqom*
 silver - 3T, *ge:ʕom*
 sky - 1T, *je:dal*
 slave - 2C, *dohellos*
 slave owner - 3C, *belmurte*
 smoke - 1T, *horbal*
 snake - 2T, *peldijol*
 son - 3C, *tre:ze*
 star - 2C, *qlos*
 steel - 3T, *kolzom*
 stick - 2C, *te:mi:ssos*
 stone - 2T, *do:l*
 sun - 2C, *βezos*

thing - 2C, *βeyos*
 thrall - 1T, *jeltal*
 thunder - 3T, *gro:βom*
 Titan (of Braavos) - 1C, *roβaltana*
 tongue - 2C, *hengos*
 tool - 2C, *iβeyos*
 tooth - 2T, *ha:ssijol*
 top - 1C, *xappa*
 tree - 3C, *jeze*
 Uncloaking/Unveiling/Unmasking (of Uthero) - 1T, *naporaz:sel*^{*}
 valley - 3C, *tulqe*
 Valyria - 1C, *βalyrija*
 vein - 3C, *pryfirme*
 water - 1T, *jedal*
 water dancer - 1C, *jedalilβa*
 window - 4, *ajas*
 woman - 1C, *ha:bra*
 word - 1T, *u:dal*

ii. Pronouns

1SG - irreg., *nyx* (not commonly used)
 1PL - irreg., *iAa*
 2SG - irreg., *aβo*
 2PL - irreg., *jem*
 3SG proximal animate - 1C, *biza* (also commonly used as 1SG)
 3SG distal animate - 1C, *bo pa*
 3SG proximal inanimate - 1C, *giza*
 3SG distal inanimate - 1C, *go pa*
 3PL proximal animate - 1C, *bizi*
 3PL distal animate - 1C, *bo pi*
 3PL proximal inanimate - 1C, *gizi*
 3PL distal inanimate - 1C, *go pi*

iii. Classifiers/Counters

for (flat) surfaces (e.g., game board, earth, floor, wall, mirror, face) - *ila*
 for books, scrolls - *dra*
 for buildings, structures - *fiz*
 for drinks, drink containers - *u:r*
 for flat objects - *Aa*
 for general animals - *bly*

^{*} The nominalization/present participle of *e*-stem verbs declines like a 1st declension terrestrial noun.

for generations, ages, eras - *qur*
 for gods - *lezsi*
 for hours, degree/angle - *bot*
 for lightning (i.e., “trees of lightning”) - *geze*
 for long, thin objects - *qa*
 for machinery - *xol*
 for minutes - *fym*
 for money - *bardu*
 for months (in lunar calendar) - *hyra*
 for nights, days (days begin at sun down) - *βeggo*
 for number of floors/stories - *gry:*
 for number of times - *ya:*
 for people - *mi*
 for sea life - *hen*
 for seconds - *puk*
 for sets, groups - *al*
 for small particles, grains (e.g., sand, flour) - *byki*
 for small, round objects - *tri:m*
 for smaller sections of wholes (e.g., a piece) - *hezzi*
 for stories, plays, languages, sentences - *doγ*
 for weeks - *tre*
 for years (counted from founding of Braavos) - *kon*
 for years of age - *him*
 general counter - *βo*

iv. Adjectives

big - *ro:β*
 correct - *drej*
 deep - *trym*
 different - *hallin*
 dry - *tiss*
 expensive - *ylβ*
 faceless - *lehulloq*
 far - *tolmij*
 fat - *ho:r*
 fervent - *neninen*
 gradual - *mirimir*
 heavy - *kemb*
 hot - *perz*
 kindly - *sy:zaleh*
 left - *gepp*
 long - *bo:z*
 narrow - *yrd*
 near - *βamij*
 right - *pakk*

same - *henq*
 short - *mi:b*
 small - *byg*
 straight - *iA*
 thick - *qumbl*
 thin - *βass*
 valuable - *ylβ*
 valued - *ylβ*
 wet - *loss*
 wide - *dra:ɲ*
 wretched - *bott*
 zealous - *neninen*

v. Verbs

to ask - *hepago*
 to bake - *izzerdago*
 to be - *issago*
 to be possible/able, can - *kossago*
 to become angry - *moqqarago*
 to begin - *renago*
 to bite - *hangago*
 to blow - *jelɛ:bago*
 to breathe - *payago*
 to build - *gra:xago*
 to care about/for - *mymago*
 to carry - *nygazzeago*
 to come - *ma:zeago*
 to confuse - *qorbrego*
 to continue to be - *jorissago*
 to count - *ɲago*
 to cut - *nekkago*
 to dance - *liAago*
 to despair - *jolbotago*
 to die - *irudiyo:rago*
 to die - *morhuAago*
 to dig - *rydego*
 to discover - *gerreɲago*
 to do - *gomago*
 to drink - *mo:zeago*
 to eat - *ira:dago*
 to examine - *ɲurnego*
 to fall - *robago*
 to fear - *zu:ɣago*
 to fight - *βiAabago*
 to float - *be:βymbago*

to flow - *ja:rago*
 to fly - *so:βego*
 to found - *re:ɲago*
 to freeze - *zi:rago*
 to give - *diblago*
 to go - *jago*
 to go down - *jago*
 to have - *ho:rego*
 to hear - *ry:terego*
 to hit - *hiʌago*
 to hold - *ho:rego*
 to hunt - *arhego*
 to kill - *irudebago* (+ dat.)
 to know - *gy:lmego*
 to laugh - *so:bago*
 to learn - *gre:ɲago*
 to lie (upon/down) - *illago*
 to like - *jorellego*
 to live - *glezago*
 to live in - *umbago*
 to look (at) - *jurnego*
 to make - *klaffego*
 to name - *brozago*
 to perform, act - *braβago*
 to plan/intend - *kyβago*
 to play - *tymago*
 to pray - *jorepago*
 to pull - *hagago*
 to push - *inkego*
 to quit - *ru:hago*
 to receive - *jo:rago*
 to remember - *fora:ɲago*
 to rise - *si:monago*
 to rub - *pamago*
 to sail - *logarjago*
 to say - *βettrago*
 to say to - *iβettrago*
 to scatter - *ibaltomago*
 to scratch - *pyrdago*
 to see - *urnego*
 to serve - *dohe:lago*
 to sew - *ɲebego*
 to shine - *je:dago*
 to sing - *βe:dago*
 to sit - *de:mago*
 to sit/recline - *tirego*
 to sleep - *he:drego*

to smell - *ykynago*
 to speak - *y:dorago*
 to spit - *pygago*
 to split - *hezi:mago*
 to squeeze - *hoppynago*
 to stab - *hohi: Ago*
 to stand - *jorago*
 to stay/remain - *umbago*
 to stop - *kilego*
 to suck - *bi:bago*
 to swell - *ho:zego*
 to swim - *byhego*
 to take - *gu:rego*
 to take off (clothing) - *napora:sego*
 to teach - *forego*
 to tell - *iβettrago*
 to tell a story - *pyndago*
 to think - *hoda:bago*
 to throw - *ilzego*
 to tie - *Aedago*
 to toil - *jogomago*
 to turn - *pa: Ago*
 to understand - *jogy: Imego*
 to use - *hemago* (+ inst.)
 to vomit - *uβe:mago*
 to wait - *umbago*
 to walk - *dekyrbago*
 to want - *jellego*
 to wash - *re:na:bago*
 to wear - *pora:sego*
 to weave a tapestry - *pyndago*
 to wipe - *re:nago*
 to wish - *jellego*

vi. Conjunctions

and - *e*
 and so - *hezir*
 because - *kessot*
 but - *yn*
 if - *la*
 instead (of) - *dorja*
 next - *hebal*
 now - *hezir*
 or - *ja*
 so - *sir*

then - *hebal*

thus - *sir*

vii. Adpositions

about - post, *be*

above - post, (+ acc.) *toli*

after - post, (+ dat.) *toli*

among - post, (+ acc.) *ma*

at - pre, *βa* (+ acc.)

before - post, (+ dat.) *go*

by - post, (+ acc.) *ondoꝛ*

for - post, (+ dat.) *zy*

from - pre, *hen* (+ acc.)

in - pre, *βa* (+ acc.)

into - pre, *βa* (+ dat.)

near - post, (+ acc.) *ondoꝛ*

of - pre, *hen* (+ acc.)

on - post, *be*

out of - pre, *hen* (+ dat.)

to - pre, *βa* (+ dat.)

under - post, (+ acc.) *go*

with - post, (+ acc.) *ma*

viii. Question words

how - *hegoma*

how much/many - *helo*

what - *heyos*

when - *he:da*

where - *hedoxom*

who - *hessal*

why - *herys*

ix. Numbers/Number-like Words

one - *mer*

two - *lana*

three - *haz*

four - *zul*

five - *tom*

six - *by:*

seven - *sigu*

eight - *je:n*

nine - *βa*

ten - *amma*

eleven - *amma mer*
 twelve - *amma lana*
 thirteen - *amma haz*
 fourteen - *amma zul*
 fifteen - *amma tom*
 sixteen - *amma by:*
 seventeen - *amma sigu*
 eighteen - *amma je:n*
 nineteen - *amma βa*
 twenty - *lanamma*
 thirty - *hazamma*
 forty - *zulamma*
 fifty - *tomamma*
 sixty - *bijamma*
 seventy - *sigamma*
 eighty - *jenamma*
 ninety - *βa:mma*
 hundred - *ga:l*
 thousand - *pyrsi*
 ten thousand - *ampyrsi*

first - *merxa*
 second - *lanaxa*
 third - *haxxa*
 fourth - *zulxa*
 fifth - *tomxa*
 sixth - *by:xa*
 seventh - *siguxa*
 eighth - *je:nxa*
 ninth - *βolxa*
 tenth - *ammamaxa*

all - *loβiga:l*
 few - *i:ja*
 many - *loβi*
 none - *dal*
 some - *mirre*
 that (distal, animate) - *bo ja*
 that (distal, inanimate) - *go ja*
 this (proximal, animate) - *biza*
 this (proximal, inanimate) - *giza*
 zero - *dal*

x. Other Words/Phrases

‘all men must die’ - *βalar morhulis* (greeting from High Valyrian)
 ‘all men must serve’ - *βalar doheris* (response to greeting from High Valyrian)

‘bye’ (lit. ‘freedom’) - *delβom*

‘goodbye’ - *delβom hema* (lit. ‘have freedom’)

‘no’ - *dal*

‘please’ - *kottil*

‘thank you’ - *krimβos* (more formal gratitude)

‘thanks’ - *krim* (informal gratitude)

‘yes’ - *sir*

VI. APPENDIX

Nouns

		1	2	3	4
Celestial	Nom	-a -i	-os -osi	-e -i	— -i
	Acc	-e -i:	-os -osi	-i: -i:	-i: -i:
	Gen/Dat	-o -odi	-o -odi	-o -odi	-o -odi
	Voc	-uz -iz	-os -ossis	-yz -i:z	-iz -issiz
	Inst	-oza -ossi	-ozo -ossi	-oze -ossi	-izi -ossi
Terrestrial	Nom	-al -ri	-ol -ri	-om -i:	
	Acc	-ri -ri:	-ol -ri	-om -i:	
	Gen/Dat	-ro -rodi	-ro -rodi	-o -odi	
	Voc	-ruz -riz	-ol -olliz	-yz -i:z	
	Inst	-roza -rossi	-rozo -rossi	-oze -ossi	

Verb TMA

	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	Present	Future	Perfect
Past		Imperfect	Pluperfect
Timeless	Necessitative		Past Habitual

<i>Indicative</i>	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	—	-na	-ta
Past		-le	-te
Timeless	-zzi		-ti

<i>Subjunctive</i>	Basic Aspect	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Present	-xo	-no	-to
Past		-lo	-te,-o
Timeless	-zzo		-ti,-o

1s	2s	3s	1pl	2pl	3pl
-n	-r	-s	-mi	-ty	-se

a. Sample Sentences

loβiga:l mi βall -i irudiyo:ra-zzi -se.
 all CLF man.1C-NOM.PL die -NEC-3PL
 ‘All men must die.’

βall -a sy:zaleh-a βa ri:n -o hablyr-o irudeba-ta -s.
 man.1C-NOM.SG kindly -NOM.SG to child.1C-DAT.SG sick -DAT.SG kill -PRF-3SG
 ‘The kindly man killed the sick child.’

jedalilβ -a urne-s.
 water dancer.1C-NOM.SG see -PRS.3SG
 ‘The water dancer sees.’

jem fymil -i: e klj -osi jelle -ty?
 2PL.NOM clam.3C-ACC.PL and fish.2C-ACC.PL want-PRS.2PL
 ‘Do you(pl) want clams and fish?’

r -a βa je:d -ri bant -o issa-l je:da -s.
 moon.1C-NOM.SG in sky.1T-ACC.SG night.2C-GEN.SG be -PTCP.SG shine-PRS.3SG
 ‘The moon (that is) in the night sky shines.’

ha:br -a ri:n -e mer hezzi gerp -e ira:da-lle
 woman.1C-NOM.SG child.1C-ACC.SG one CLF fruit.3C-ACC.SG eat -PTCP.PST

so:ba -ta -s.

laugh-PRF-3SG

‘The woman laughed at the child who was eating a piece of fruit.’

βall -a haz hen fymil -i: ira:da-le -s.

man.1C-NOM.SG three CLF clam.3C-ACC.PL eat -PST.IPFV-3SG

‘The man was eating three clams.’

pri:nt -e mer qa syt -ri nygazze-te -s.

seagull.3C-NOM.SG one CLF grass.1T-ACC.SG carry -PST.PFV-3SG

‘The seagull had carried a blade of grass.’

ri p -a mer hezzi moʌamm-e jelle -s.

child.1C-NOM.SG one CLF cake.1C-ACC.SG want-PRS.3SG

‘The child wants a piece of cake.’

lana mi braβ -osi nyss -ossi βiʌaba-le -se.

two CLF bravos.2C-NOM.PL rapier.1C-INS.PL fight -PST.IPFV-3PL

‘Two bravos were fighting with rapiers.’

biz -a βa y:nt -ro ro:β-oro ja -na -n.

3.PROX.AN.1C-NOM.SG into apartment.2T-DAT.SG big-ACC.SG go-FUT-1SG

‘I will go into the big apartment building.’

aβo amma garum gro:β -i: ry:tere-ta -r.

2SG.NOM ten CLF thunder.3T-ACC.PL hear -PRF-2SG

‘You(sg) heard ten booms of thunder.’

bo p -a lagg -om logarja-s.

3.DIST.AN.1C-NOM.SG galley.3T-ACC.SG sail -PRS.3SG

‘That guy over there sails a galley.’

bo p -i jed -ri: mo:ze-se.

3.DIST.AN.1C-NOM.PL water.1T-ACC.PL drink-PRS.3PL

‘Those guys over there are drinking water.’

iAa βa jem -odi kray -i: dibla-ta -mi.
 1PL.NOM to 2PL-DAT paper.3C-ACC.PL give-PRF-3PL
 ‘We gave the papers to you guys.’

biz -a y:dora-n.
 3.PROX.AN.1C-NOM.SG speak -PRS.1SG
 ‘I am speaking.’

b. Translation of Genesis 11: 1-9 and Gloss

Hezir loβiga:l ila teqor -ri mer doy y:dor -ro e mer al
 now all CLF land.1T-NOM.PL one CLF language.1T-GEN.SG and one CLF
u:d -rodi jor -issa-ti -se.
 word.1T-GEN.PL CON-be -PSTH-3PL
 ‘Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.’

βa jaq -o ja -lle be, βa Sinar -i: mer ila tulq -i:
 to east.1C-DAT go-PTCP.PST about in Shinar.4-ACC one CLF valley.3C-ACC.SG
gerre ja -ta -se, e βa gor -ri umba -go rena -ta -se.
 discover-PRF-3PL and at there.DIST.1T-ACC live in-INF begin-PRF-3PL
 ‘As they travelled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi’nar, and they began dwelling there.’

Hebal βa biz -odi iβettra-ta -se : “Ma:ze-maz! teqomlossak-i:
 next to 3.PROX.AN.1C-DAT.PL tell -PRF-3PL come -IMP.PL brick.1C -ACC.PL
ilo klaffe -go e perziz -oza ilo izzzerda-go.”
 HORT make-INF and fire.1C-INS.SG HORT bake -INF
 ‘Then they said to one another: “Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”’

Hezir do -rossi dorja teqomlossak-ossi e zyaxtr -izi dorja
 and so stone.2T-INS.PL instead brick.1C -INS.PL and mortar.4-INS.SG instead
bimen -izi hema-ta -se.
 bitumen.4-INS.SG use -PRF-3PL
 ‘So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.’

Hezir βettra-ta -se : “Ma:ze-maz! mer βo ottij -om je -ll -odi -s
 and now say -PRF-3PL come -IMP.PL one CLF city.3T-ACC.SG 1PL-REFL-DAT-for
e mer fiz jentaβ -ol xapp -e βa je:d -ri ho:re-l
 and one CLF tower.2T-ACC.SG top.1C-ACC.SG in sky.1T-ACC.SG have-PTCP.PRS
ilo gra:xa-go, e bro:z -i: bijalβ -os ho:re-l
 HORT build -INF and name.3C-ACC.SG happiness.2C-ACC.SG have-PTCP.PRS
je -ll -odi -s ilo klaffe-go, sir βa loβiga:l ila teqo -rodi
 1PL-REFL-DAT-for HORT make-INF so to all CLF land.2T-DAT.PL
ibaltoma-go issa-no -mi dal.”
 scatter -INF be -SBJV.FUT-1PL no

‘They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”’

Hezir Jehova ottij -om e jentaβ -ol tre:z -i
 and now Jehova.4.NOM city.3T-ACC.SG and tower.2T-ACC.SG son.3C-NOM.PL
βall -odi gra:xa-lle urne-go ja -ta -s.
 man.1C-GEN.PL build -PTCP.PST see -INF go down-PRF-3SG
 ‘Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.’

Hebal Jehova βettra-ta -s : “Urne-Ø! bo p -i mer al
 next Jehova.4.NOM say -PRF-3SG see -IMP.SG 3.DIST.AN.1C-NOM.PL one CLF
issar -osi mer doy y:dor -ri ho:re-l issa-se, e
 person.2C-NOM.PL one CLF language.2T-ACC.SG have-PTCP.PRS be -PRS.3PL and
giz -e goma-go rena -ta -se.
 3.PROX.INAN.1C-ACC.SG do -INF begin-PRF-3PL

‘Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do.”’

Hezir dor -om goma-go kyβa -l
 And now nothing.3T-NOM.SG do -INF intend-PTCP.PRS
bo -ll -odi -s kossa -no -s dal.
 3.DIST.AN.1C-REFL-GEN.PL-for possible-SBJV.FUT-3SG no

‘Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.’

Ma:ze-Ø! βa go p -aro ilo ja -go e y:dor -ri
 come -IMP.SG to there.DIST.1T-DAT HORT go down-INF and language.1T-ACC.SG

bo ɲ -odi ilo qorbre -go, sir y:dor -ri:
 3.DIST.AN.1C-GEN.PL HORT confuse-INF so language.1T-ACC.PL

bo -ll -odi jogy:lme -no -se dal.”
 3.DIST.AN.1C-REFL-GEN.PL understand-SBJV.FUT-3PL no

‘Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another’s language.’”

Hezir Jehoba bo ɲ -i: hen gor -ri βa loβiga:l ila
 And Jehova.4-NOM 3.DIST.AN.1C-ACC.PL from there.DIST.1T-ACC to all CLF

tego -rodi ibaltoba-ta -s, e mirimir -y ottij -om gra:xa-go
 land.2T-GEN.PL scatter-PRF-3SG and gradual-ADV city.4T-ACC.SG build -INF

kile -ta -se.
 stop-PRF-3PL

‘So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.’

Hezir bro:z -i: Babel -o jo:ra -ta -s, kessot βa
 and name.3C-ACC.SG Babel.4-GEN.SG receive-PRF-3SG because at

gor -ri Jehoba y:dor -ri loβiga:l ila tego -rodi
 there.DIST.1T-ACC Jehova.4.NOM language.2T-ACC.SG all CLF land.2T-GEN.PL

qorbre -ta -s, e Jehoba bo ɲ -i: hen gor -ri
 confuse-PRF-3SG and Jehova.4.NOM 3.DIST.AN.1C-ACC.PL from there.DIST.1T-ACC

βa loβiga:l ila tego -rodi ibaltoma-ta -s.
 to all CLF land.2T-DAT.PL scatter -PRF-3SG

‘That is why it was named Ba’bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.’

c. Origin of the Faceless Men Story

Roβaltan -a si:mona-lle go, Usser -o Napora:se -ro
 Titan.1C-NOM.SG rise -PTCP.PST before Uthero.4-GEN.SG Uncloaking.1T-DAT.SG
go, Re ɲa -ro go, βall -i Lehulloq-i
 before Founding.1T-DAT.SG before man.1C-NOM.PL faceless-NOM.PL

issa-le -se.
 be -PST.IPFV-3PL

‘Before the Titan rose, before the Uncloaking of Uthero, before the Founding, the Faceless Men already were.’

Bo ʝ *-i* *dohell* *-odi* *bott* *-odi* *ma* *βa*
 3PL.DIST.AN.1C-NOM.PL slave.2C-GEN.PL wretched-GEN.PL with in
heqqit *-i:* *trym* *-i:* *Amma* *ʒul* *βo* *Perziz* *-i:* *go* *—*
 mine.3T-ACC.PL deep-ACC.PL fourteen CLF fire.1C-ACC.PL under
blen *-i:* *gleza-l* *pryfirm* *-i:* *perziloss* *-ak* *-i:* *e*
 mountain.3T-ACC.PL live -PTCP.PRS vein.3C-ACC.PL lava.2C-made of-ACC.PL and
prymij *-i:* *perziz* *-ak* *-i:* *ho:re* *-l* *—* *jogoma-lle* *βa*
 heart.1C-ACC.PL fire.1C-made of-ACC.PL have-PTCP.PRS toil -PTCP.PST in
βalyrij *-e* *ʝaq* *-ri* *ho:re-se*.
 Valyria.1C-ACC.SG origin.1T-ACC.SG have-PRS.3PL

‘They have their roots in Valyria, amongst the wretched slaves who toiled in the deep mines beneath the Fourteen Flames, “living mountains with veins of molten rock and hearts of fire” (*The World of Ice and Fire*).’

Loβi *mi* *dohell* *-osi* *βa* *heqqit* *-i:* *morhuʕa-ta* *-se*, *yn*
 many CLF slave.2C-NOM.PL in mine.3T-ACC.PL die -PRF-3PL but
belmurt *-i* *bo ʝ* *-odi* *myma-to* *-se* *dal*.
 master.3C-NOM.PL 3.DIST.AN.1C-GEN.PL care -SBJV.PRF-3PL no

‘Many slaves died in the mines, but their masters did not care.’

Ekk *-os* *e* *ge:ʕ* *-om* *dohell* *-odi* *glez* *-ossi*
 gold.2C-NOM.SG and silver.3T-NOM.SG slave.2C-GEN.PL life.3T-INS.PL
ylβ *-o* *-tta* *issa-ta* *-se*.
 valued-GEN.SG-CMP be -PRF-3PL

Gold and silver were worth more than the lives of slaves.

ʝolbota *-l*, *dohell* *-osi* *βa* *ga:l* *le:si* *xartal* *-odi*
 despair-PTCP.PRS slave.2C-NOM.PL to hundred CLF god.3C-DAT.PL
y:dor *-rossi* *hallir* *-rossi* *bo* *-ll* *-odi* *yn* *loβiga:l* *mi*
 language.1T-INS.PL different-INS.PL 3.DIST.AN.1C-REFL-GEN.PL but all CLF
dohell *-osi* *βey* *-o* *henq* *-o* *zy* *—* *delfβ* *-o* *hen*
 slave.2C-NOM.PL thing.2C-DAT.SG same-DAT.SG for freedom.3T-DAT.SG from
hodr *-i:* *zy* *—* *jorepa-ta* *-se*.
 pain.3C-ACC.SG for pray -PRF-3PL

‘Despairing, the slaves prayed to one hundred gods in their own different languages, yet all for the same thing: freedom from pain.’

Mer-xa mi βall -a lehulloq -a dohell -osi βa mer le:si
 one-ORD CLF man.1C-NOM.SG faceless-NOM.SG slave.2C-ACC.PL to one CLF
xartal -o loβi ila lehull -odi hallin -odi jorepa-l
 god.3C-DAT.SG many CLF face.2C-GEN.PL different-GEN.PL pray -PTCP.PRS
gy:lme-go rena -ta -s, e iβey -os go na le:si xartal -o
 know-INF begin-PRF-3SG and tool.2C-ACC.SG that.DIST.INAN CLF god.3C-GEN.SG
issa-ta -s.
 be -PRF-3SG

‘The first Faceless Man realized the slaves were praying to one god with many different faces, and he was that god’s instrument.’

βa go na βeggo bant -os issa-l, βa dohell -o
 At that.DIST.INAN CLF night.2C-ACC.SG be -PTCP.PRS to slave.2C-DAT.SG
bott -o -je neninen -y -je jorepa-lle ja -ta -s
 wretched-DAT.SG-SPR fervent-ADV-SPR pray -PTCP.PST go down-PRF-3SG
bo n -o irudeba-ta -s.
 3.DIST.AN.1C-DAT.SG kill -PRF-3SG

‘That night, he went down to the most wretched of the slaves, who had prayed the most fervently, and killed him.’

Hezir mer -xa βo irud -e dibla-go issa-te -s.
 And so one-ORD CLF gift.3C-NOM.SG give -INF be -PST.PFV-3SG

‘And thus the first gift had been given.’

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An Introduction to Tëraziko ©

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LING 315

Author's Note: This paper is a documentation on the invented language Tëraziko ©, detailing information about the culture behind the language as well as the phonological, morphological, and syntactical processes within the language. Also included are appendices of literature, translation, sample sentences, and a sample lexicon, with a link to a more comprehensive lexicon on Google Sheets.

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Introduction

Tëraziko, or Terasian in English, is the language of the country of Tëraziya. Originally the name ‘Terasia’ came from a Star Trek Alternate Universe story I was working on in my first year at Wellesley, used as a stand-in country name for Earth in a fantasy setting. Over the years the concept of the country of Terasia has divested itself of its origins and become something much more different.

The culture of Tëraziya has evolved into one about the presence of magic in an otherwise mundane reality. It is a society where mages and normal people exist side-by-side, one where the extraordinary and the ordinary do not inhabit separate spheres but are rather integrated together into one volatile but colourful culture. The result is a surreal modern fantasy with elements of magical realism, which is (hopefully) reflected in the language itself.

Magic in Tëraziya is a broad term spanning a range of abilities. However, the overarching definition is that those people with magical abilities in Tëraziya are able to generate energy to manipulate matter, rather than harnessing it using technological gadgets. This ability is genetic, and the subsequent tensions between the magical and mundane populations has caused several dark moments in Tëraziya’s history. While tensions have largely eased off in modern Tëraziya and the two populations coexist relatively peacefully, with magic being used to enhance technology and technology enabling nonmagical people to perform deeds previously only available to magical people, there are still remnants of the old tension in the magical-mundane binary that the grammar of the language relies on. Similar to Romance languages, the assignment of nouns to magical and mundane categories in Tëraziko is mostly arbitrary. For example, the word ‘cat’, or *li gate*, is mundane, whereas the word for ‘alcohol’, *la irikite*, is magical. There are, of course, some words in the lexicon that are very specifically magical or mundane: *li foluhi*, for example, is specifically referring to mundane flowers, whereas *la faleho* refers to magical flowers. There is also a distinction between the magical and mundane populations, as magical people are known as *la maχosi*, whereas nonmagical people are referred to as *li nimaχi*.

Another aspect of the culture is its value of multiculturalism. The language itself is influenced by a wide variety of natural languages, few of which are in the same

language family as one another. Tëraziya is a trading hub, especially along its coast bordering the Great Sea. This access to trading routes contributes to its multilingual influences and its numerous loanwords, or even just words that look derived from other languages. The syllable structure also enables a fairly simple way to create loanwords.

The government is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary legislature. There is no official state religion (as of now), but many citizens of Tëraziya, magical and nonmagical alike, consider themselves spiritual rather than ascribing to any dominant organised religion. The economy of Tëraziya lies in the timber, coal-mining, and fishing industries; the country has an extreme wealth in rivers and lakes, as well as access to the ocean, not to mention several expansive forests, wide portions of which are being conserved as National Wildlife Preserves for rare magical beasts. Magical energy is also being tapped into as a potential alternative fuel source. With technology in Tëraziya advancing to the point that even nonmagical people are able, with the assistance of technological devices, to wield energy like their magical peers, reliance on fossil fuels is becoming a thing of the past in Tëraziya.

Many of Tëraziya's cities, especially its capital Tërasuke, are very popular tourist destinations. Tërasuke is well-known for its chocolates, and the months surrounding its annual chocolate festival in the late summer have become peak tourist season for that entire region of the country. Other well-known cities include Södomeka and Kütobagu. Södomeka is a charming coastal city with excellent views of the sea and a vibrant nightlife, whereas mountainous hamlet Kütobagu is best known for the thousand-year-old oak growing in the town square.

The vibrant history and culture of Tëraziya can be sampled through its language. However, this current iteration of the lexicon is by no means the exhaustive dictionary of the language, nor is the current version of the grammar the definitive guide. As with any other language, Tëraziko is always changing and developing with the times. Perhaps sometime in the future there will even be idiomatic phrases and slang in the lexicon! That will certainly be something to develop for the future.

Phonetics

Consonants

There are 22 consonants in Tëraziko, 17 of which are recognisable to English speakers:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p b		t d				k g		
Nasals	m		n			ɲ			
Tap/Flap			ɾ						
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ	ʂ			χ	h
Lateral/Approximant			l			j			
Affricate			ʈʂ			tʃ			

Figure 1: The consonants of Tëraziko. The second consonant in each box is the voiced variant.

The majority of consonants in Tëraziko are voiceless, with only five voiced consonants in the inventory. English consonants in Tëraziko are: the bilabial, alveolar, and velar stops [p], [b], [t], [d], [k], [g]; the bilabial and alveolar nasals [m] and [n]; the labiodental, alveolar, postalveolar, and glottal fricatives [f], [v], [s], [z], [ʃ], [h]; the alveolar lateral [l]; the palatal approximant [j]; and the palatal affricate [tʃ]. Voiceless stops [b], [p], and [k] are aspirated, as they are in English. The non-English consonants in Tëraziko are the palatal nasal [ɲ], the alveolar tap [ɾ], the retroflex and uvular fricatives [ʂ] and [χ], and the alveolar affricate [ʈʂ].

In the alphabet, most of the letters are rendered the same as their IPA equivalent. Notable exceptions are: [ɲ], which is an allophone of /n/ and thus rendered with ⟨ɲ⟩, [ʃ] and [ʂ], which are allophones of /s/ and thus rendered with ⟨s⟩, [j] which is rendered as ⟨y⟩, [tʃ] which is rendered as ⟨c⟩, [ɾ] which is rendered as ⟨r⟩, and [χ] which is rendered as ⟨x⟩.

Vowels

There are 7 vowels in Tëraziko, 6 of which should be recognisable to English speakers.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i y		u
Close-mid	e		o

Open-mid	ɛ		
Open		a	

Figure 2: The vowels of Tëraziko, not showing geminated vowels.

English vowels include the unrounded close-front vowel [i], the unrounded close-mid front vowel [e], the unrounded open-mid front vowel [ɛ], the unrounded open central vowel [a], the unrounded close-mid vowel [o], and the unrounded close-back vowel [u]. The only rounded (and non-English) vowel in Tëraziko is the rounded close-front [y]. In the alphabet, the symbols are rendered as they appear in IPA, except [ɛ] and [y], which are rendered as ⟨ë⟩ and ⟨ü⟩, respectively.

Gemination can occur for the vowels [i], [e], [a], [o], and [u], and are rendered as double vowels in the alphabet. Depending on their position in the word they may be treated as separate vowels in a vowel cluster or as one vowel. Similarly, diphthongs in Tëraziko also exist. The acceptable ones are: [a^hu], [a^hi], [ɔ^hi], and [e^hi] for the vowel clusters ⟨ao⟩, ⟨ai⟩, ⟨oi⟩, and ⟨ei⟩, and they only occur in the middle of a word. Only in diphthongs do the sounds [ʊ] and [ɔ] exist. There are some other hypothetical vowel clusters, but those do not create diphthongs — they are usually elided, or one of the vowels is glided into [j]. I will discuss those rules in greater detail in the phonology section.

Phonology

Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The syllable structure of Tëraziko is (C) V (V), which means that the most basic syllable is only a vowel. There are no consonant clusters in Tëraziko; the affricate [tʃ] may be rendered as ⟨ts⟩, but it is treated as one consonant. Similarly, the affricate [tʃ] is rendered as ⟨c⟩, and is also treated as one consonant.

Vowel clusters are also only acceptable at the end of a word; if they occur in the middle they are geminated, diphthongised, or elided. They also cannot exist alone as a syllable.

While single-consonant onsets are acceptable and in fact very prevalent, codas are unacceptable in Tëraziko. Thus the only acceptable syllables in Tëraziko are: single

vowels (no freestanding vowel clusters), vowels with an onset, and (though only at the end of a word) vowel clusters with an onset.

Examples:

1. V: o [o] — ‘to’
2. CV: yo [jo] — ‘and’
3. CVV: *asikao* [asikao] — ‘I see’

Stress

The stress pattern in Tëraziko is variable, meaning that the pattern in which stress occurs is not fixed, and cannot be predicted. Of course, heavier syllables, such as the ones containing vowel clusters (such as the ‘kao’ sound in *asikao*), diphthongs (the ‘tsai’ sound in *tsaika*), or geminated vowels (the long ‘ii’ sound in *dimiidesa*), will have a higher chance of being stressed, but it is not an absolute rule.

Phonological rules

In Tëraziko, voiceless stops are aspirated when beginning a word or a stressed syllable. There is also a vowel assimilation rule where vowels are nasalised when they precede nasals consonants.

Allophones

As mentioned earlier, the allophones of /s/ are [s], [ʃ], and [ɕ]. [s] occurs before front unrounded vowels [i], [e], and [ɛ], while [ʃ] occurs before central and back vowels [a], [o], and [u], and [ɕ] occurs before the rounded vowel [y]. Put into formalism:

$$/s/ \rightarrow [ʃ] / _ V [+central + back]$$

$$/s/ \rightarrow [ɕ] / _ V [+round]$$

The other set of allophones are for /n/, where [n] changes to [ɲ] when preceded and followed by [a].

$$/n/ \rightarrow [ɲ] / a _ a$$

Vowel cluster deletion

Historically, vowel clusters occurring in the middle of words have been more acceptable in more archaic versions of Tëraziko. The remnants of archaic spellings and words derived from their archaic forms, as well as the agglutinative structure of other Tëraziko word constructs, means that there will often be vowel clusters occurring in the middle of words. Over time, most of these vowel clusters have been eliminated phonetically, though they still remain in writing. Now there are a variety of different phonological processes used to remove vowel clusters from the middle of words.

Diphthongisation

In essence, the vowel cluster remains, but is pronounced as a diphthong. There are only four acceptable diphthongs in Tëraziko: [a^hu], [a^hi], [ɔ^hi], and [e^hi], for the vowel clusters ⟨ao⟩, ⟨ai⟩, ⟨oi⟩, and ⟨ei⟩.

Examples:

1. *tsaika* [tsa^hika] — ‘to scatter’
2. *onoisidërai* [on^hɔisidërai] — ‘[there] once was’ (ono + isidëra + i)
3. *taotsa* [ta^hu^htsa] — ‘to learn’

If the vowel cluster is a combination that does not form an acceptable diphthong, one of the other processes is used.

Gemination

This only applies to vowel clusters that are two of the same vowel, as well as reduplicated sounds. When two of the same vowel occur in the middle of a word, they become a geminated vowel, and are rendered as double vowels.

Examples:

1. *dimiidesa* [dimi:desa] — ‘their minds’ (dimi + idesa)
2. *onotisiitaneo* [onoti^hosi:taneo] — ‘he turned thrice’ (ono + ti + ^hosi + itane + o)

Also for reduplication in the middle of a word (this does not apply to separate words in a phrase, though when spoken they may sound reduplicated), the middle consonant is dropped and the vowel is lengthened.

Examples:

1. *dididare* [di:dare] — ‘they build’ (di + didare)
2. *vomimisi* [vomi:si] — ‘travelling seed’ (vomi + misi)

Gliding

For vowel clusters that begin with [i], we see [i] becoming [j] in a process known as gliding. This is one of the few exceptions to the no consonant cluster rule. However, [j] is a glide, which is a semivowel, and the words are still rendered with the original vowels.

Examples:

1. *ialako vinkao* [jalako vinako] — ‘one wish’ (alako is the classifier for wish)
2. *joniasatsi* [jonjaʃatsi] — ‘young apprentice’ (joni + asatsi)
3. *kotiobajo* [kotjobajo] — ‘scared [magical] father’ (koti + obajo)

Elision

For all remaining vowel clusters, there is elision. For these clusters, the second vowel is simply dropped.

Examples:

1. *onoadonao* [onodonao] — ‘I gave’ (ono + a + dona + o)
2. *noetiatsi* [notjatsi] — ‘nine stars’ [no + eti + atsi]
3. *koteobajo* [kotebajo] — ‘scared [mundane] father’ (kote + obajo)

The most notable exception

Morphology

Tëraziko has both agglutinative and fusional characteristics. Many words in it can be created through the compounding of other words, or by attaching affixes. However, Tëraziko also exhibits fusion in the derivation of adjectives from verbs, as well as in the conjugation of verbs for mundane subjects.

Verbs

The most obvious case of agglutination is what happens around verbs. Tense in Tëraziko is indicated by the prefixes *ono-* for past and *oto-* for future. Aspect is also indicated by the suffix *-i*, which is appended to a verb in the imperfect. Tëraziko lacks indicators for the subjunctive.

All of these are arranged in a specific order around the verb and its pronoun:

tense marker + (nominative pronoun) + verb + aspect marker

The pronoun is listed in parentheses as it is syntactically dropped when there is already a subject established, or phonologically dropped for the first person singular pronoun in either the past or future tense (it would create an *oa* vowel cluster which is elided).

Examples:

1. *tasika* — ‘she sees’ (ta + sika + Ø)
2. *tasikai* — ‘she is seeing’ (ta + sika + i)
3. *onotasika* — ‘she saw’ (ono + ta + sika + Ø)
4. *onotasikai* — ‘she was seeing’ (ono + ta + sika + i)
5. *ototasika* — ‘she will see’ (oto + ta + sika + Ø)
6. *ototasikai* — ‘she will be seeing’ (oto + ta + sika + i)

Agreement

Within the verb itself, the infinitive form assumes a feminine magical subject. To modify it for a masculine marker, the suffix *-o* is used in the indicative and *-lo* in the subjunctive. The addition of /l/ to the suffix is to prevent three vowels at the same time.

7. **onotasikaoi* → *onotasikaloi* — ‘he was seeing’ (ono + ta + sika + lo + i)
8. *ototasikao* — ‘he will cast’ (oto + ta + sika + o + Ø)

However, for a mundane subject, the /a/ is dropped from the end of the infinitive and replaced with /e/.

9. *sika* – a + e — *sike*

10. *tisike* — ‘she sees’ (ti + sike + \emptyset)

11. *onotisike* — ‘she saw’ (ono + ti + sike + \emptyset)

12. *ototisikei* — ‘she will be seeing’ (oto + ti + sike + i)

13. *tisikeloi* — ‘he is seeing’ (ti + sike + lo + i)

14. *ototisikeo* — ‘he will see’ (oto + ti + sike + o)

So the final morphological order for verb conjugation is:

tense marker + (nom. pronoun) + verb + speaker + aspect marker

oto–/ono– + (nom. pronoun) + verb –a/–e depending on noun class + \emptyset /–o/–lo + –i

Nouns

Most nouns in Tëraziko are created through compounding. For example, the word ‘library’ literally translates to ‘read-house’: *lotsekarebo*, compounded from the mundane adjectival form of *lotsa* ‘to read’, and *li karebo* ‘house’.

Tëraziko utilises a classifier system on its nouns to inflect for number. It also has a very arbitrary gender system (which is referred to in this paper as noun class for clarity, especially contrasting with the masculine suffix –o in the previous section). However, it does not inflect for person on its nouns, although it does append the suffixes –*mi* and –*me* for the genitive and accusative forms. More on that in the pronouns and case section.

Noun Class

Nouns in Tëraziko are arbitrarily assigned into magical and mundane classes, and the nouns themselves remain unchanged while other parts of speech such as verbs and adjectives change to reflect the noun class of the noun they are paired with.

To inflect for class, Tëraziko utilises free morphemes as definite articles. The definite article *li* refers to mundane nouns, and the definite article *la* refers to magical nouns. There are very few nouns that are variable and can be treated as a member of either class, and they are usually things like family members and occupations that do not

require magical ability, as well as civic and governmental entities like cities and countries. When determining how to make a subject consisting of a mix of mundane and magical things agree in class, utilise the magical class as default. The mundane class is only used if the group has no magical things. Similarly, the masculine marker – *o* for verbs is only used in groups that contain no feminine or neuter things.

Examples:

1. *la faleho* — ‘the magical flower’
2. *li foluhi* — ‘the mundane flower’
3. *li arutohi* — ‘the tree’
4. *la arutoro* — ‘the forest’

Number

Finally, for number, Tëraziko lacks a plural morpheme, which means all of its nouns are mass nouns. The way to express a number of something is through the classifier system. A full list of classifiers and what nouns they are used with can be found in the lexicon section of the paper.

Similar to Chinese, classifiers in Tëraziko are used in lieu of indefinite articles, and simply increases the number to increase the amount of whatever noun there is. The proper way to structure inflecting nouns for number in Tëraziko is as follows:

[number] + [classifier] [noun]

Examples:

1. *i* — ‘one’
2. *to* — ‘two’
3. *moli* — classifier for mundane animals
4. *li gate* — ‘cat’
5. *imoli gate* — ‘one cat’ (*i* + *moli gate*)

6. *tomoli gate* — ‘two cats’ (to + moli gate)

Counting in Tëraziko

The numbering system in Tëraziko, which is listed in the lexicon portion of this paper, is also similar to Chinese in its constructing of numbers. Past ten, numbers placed to the right of ten are added to ten, while numbers placed to the left are multiplied with ten.

Examples:

1. *ci* [t̥i] — 5
2. *do* [do] — 10
3. *doci* [dot̥i] — 15
4. *cido* [t̥ido] — 50
5. *cidoci* [t̥idot̥i] — 55

There are also specific words referring to indeterminate amounts such as some [ini], many [ani], and all [oni]. These are treated like numbers when attached to classifiers. While they and the numbers seem to act like prefixes, they are actually free morphemes that are simply compounded onto the classifiers.

Pronouns and Case

Tëraziko has three cases: the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases. It follows a nominative-accusative system, where the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, as well as the object of intransitive verbs, are marked similarly to one another. This is in contrast with the object of transitive verbs, which takes on the accusative form.

However, in Tëraziko the pronominal NPs is where most of this is shown. The accusative suffix *-me* is only added to lexical NPs when they are the indirect object of a sentence. In contrast, pronouns take the accusative form for both direct and indirect objects.

Examples:

1. *onotasika li gate* — ‘she saw the cat’

2. *onotadona li gateme li sühe* — ‘she gave the cat the food’
3. *onotadonao ame li sühe* — ‘she gave me the food’
4. *onotasika ame* — ‘she saw me’

The genitive case in Tëraziko is used to indicate possession. This applies to both pronomial and lexical NPs, and is created with the suffix –mi.

Examples:

1. *Lilimi gate* — Lily’s cat (Lili + mi gate)
2. *Dami karayo* — Our home (da + mi karayo)

Here is a chart of the personal pronouns in Tëraziko along with their accusative and genitive forms.

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
1st Person Singular	a	ame	ami
2nd Person Singular	te	teme	temi
3rd Person Singular, Mag	ta	tame	tami
3rd Person Singular, Mun	ti	time	timi
1st Person Plural	da	dame	dami
2nd Person Plural	de	deme	demi
3rd Person Plural	di	dime	dimi

Figure 3: Pronouns in Tëraziko, in nominative, accusative, and genitive cases.

Reflexivity

Tëraziko also has the reflexive affix. This is a prefix used to indicate reflexivity, which is an action that a subject performs upon itself. For example:

1. *abisa teme* — ‘I kiss you’ (a + bisa teme)

is not an action in which the subject is doing something to themselves. However, for:

2. *vadabisa* — ‘We kiss each other’ (va + da + bisa)

the reflexive prefix is used, because we are performing the action upon ourselves. Other examples:

3. *aasaliita* [a:ʃalyta] — ‘I heal myself’ (a + a + salüta)
4. *aonoatona* [aũnotona] — ‘I weighed myself’ (a + ono + a + tona)

Here is a list of all the reflexive prefixes in Tërasiko:

	Reflexive
1st Person Singular	a-
2nd Person Singular	fe-
3rd Person Singular, Mag	fa-
3rd Person Singular, Mun	fi-
1st Person Plural	va-
2nd Person Plural	ve
3rd Person Plural	vi-

Figure 4: Reflexive prefixes in Tëraziko

Note that the first person singular prefix is the same as the nominative pronoun, except as a prefix. This would cause gemination, unless the verb is in the past or the future tense, in which case it would cause the diphthong [aũ] instead.

Demonstrativity

Demonstrative pronouns in Tëraziko measure distance from the speaker. They are:

1. *ga* [ga] — ‘this’
2. *gada* [gada] — ‘that (proximal)’
3. *gadësi* [gadesi] — ‘that (relatively proximal)’
4. *gadosi* [gadosi] — ‘that (distal)’

As all nouns are mass nouns, ‘these’ and ‘those’ do not have equivalents in Tëraziko. In terms of proximity, *gada* is considered close to the speaker, but not immediately near them, and *gadësi* is used for something not near the speaker, but also not extremely far from them. *gadësi* would be used for something across the room from the speaker, but

gadosi would be used for something on the horizon, or even just a block away from the speaker.

Incidentally, the word for ‘there’ is *lūi*. So ‘that cat there, close to us’ would be *gada gate lūi*.

Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and Adverbs in Tëraziko are derived from verbs. Their order in the sentence will be discussed in the syntax section of the paper.

Adjectives

Adjectives must agree with the class of the noun that it is modifying. To create an adjective, we take the verb we are deriving it from, drop the *-a*, and apply *-i* for a magical noun and *-e* for a mundane noun. This does mean that adjectives applied to mundane nouns are inflected similarly to the verbs conjugated for mundane subjects, but word order should prevent any misunderstandings, as adjectives always come before the noun they are modifying.

The negation prefix *ni-*, when applied to adjectives, makes the adjective take on the opposite meaning. The negation prefix can be placed in front of any part of speech — nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs — to negate it, or make it take on the opposite meaning.

Examples:

1. *siki* — ‘sighted’ (*sika* - *a* + *i*)
2. *nisiki* — ‘blind’ (*ni* + *siki*)
3. *la nisikikatsi* — ‘the blind apprentice’ (*ni* + *siki* + *katsi*)
4. *li nisikegate* — ‘the blind cat’ (*ni* + *sike* + *gate*)

While words do exist for some opposites, like *yoni* for young and *vëyi* for old, *coti* for big and *mi* for small, and *yositi* for happy and *kasiti* for sad, the negation prefix still comes in handy for words that might not necessarily already have a word for its opposite, or if the user is struggling to find the proper word for it.

Adverbs

Adverbs do not have to agree with the subject of the verb they are modifying. They, too, are also derived from verbs, but they do not delete anything from the infinitive form. Instead, they simply append the suffix *-si* onto the end of the verb.

Examples:

1. *onotisonasisone* — ‘She sang musically’ (ono + ti + sona + si + sone)
2. *onotatsaikasisütao* — ‘He wrote distractedly’ (ono + ta + tsaika + si + süta + o)

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, which are clauses that function as adjectives, are created in Tëraziko with the usage of relative pronouns. These pronouns are:

1. *gi* [gi] — ‘that’
2. *gü* [gy] — ‘which’
3. *ki* [ki] — ‘who’ / ‘whom’
4. *kü* [ky] — ‘whose’

Because they function like adjectives, relative clauses in Tëraziko come before the noun they modify.

Examples:

1. *ki onoliütai ü iboti garabo pari cüsiciike arutoro la yoniasatsi* — the young witch who lived on a farm by Greatarcher Forest
2. *gi onoapana yoto li pani* — the bread that I baked yesterday

Prepositions and Conjunctions

Prepositions

Prepositions in Tëraziko are individual words, and they serve a similar purpose in Tëraziko as they do in English. Despite, in a sense, modifying subjects and objects by placing them within time and space, prepositional phrases in Tëraziko are not treated like adjectives. They come after the noun they are placing. For example, the example

from the previous section has a sentence that contains both a relative clause and a prepositional phrase:

ki onolütai ü iboti garabo pari cüsicüke arutoro la yoniasatsi

ki ono- lyta- i y i- boti garabo pari t̃fysi- t̃fyke

who PST-live-IPFV on one-CLF farm by successful.ADJ-archer

arutoro la joni- afatsi

forest DEF.MAG young.ADJ-spellcaster

‘The young witch who lived on a farm by Greatarcher Forest’

Here, the relative clause *ki onolütai ü iboti garabo pari cüsicüke arutoro* contains the prepositional phrase *pari cüsicüke arutoro*. While the relative clause itself, which describes the young witch (*la yoniasatsi*), is placed before the noun it modifies, the prepositional phrase that places the farm (*iboti garabo*, or ‘a farm’) by Greatarcher Forest (*cüsicüke arutoro*) is placed after the farm itself.

Conjunctions

Conjunctions in Tëraziko function similarly to their English counterparts, and are placed between the words, phrases, or clauses that it is trying to connect. For example:

la fusoke onodëraloi honi, kütë la yoniasatsi onosaova tami lüto

la fusoke ono- dera- lo- i honi

DEF.MAG beast PST-be-M-IPFV grateful

kyte la joni- afatsi ono- säuva tami lyto

because DEF.MAG young.ADJ-spellcaster PST-save 3SG.GEN life

‘The beast was grateful, because the young witch saved his life’

Here, the conjunction *kütë* means ‘because’, and it is between the two sentences *la fusoke onodëraloi honi* ‘the beast was grateful’ and *la yoniasatsi onosaova tami lüto* ‘the young witch saved his life’.

Syntax

Syntax in Tëraziko is fairly simple. The word order is Subject-Verb-Object, with modifiers and modifying clauses always placed before the word they are to modify. The placement of modifiers makes it simple to determine, especially when dealing with mundane subjects which require the *-e* suffix for both verbs and adjective agreement, whether the verb is serving as a verb or as a root for the adjective. Of course, when

dealing with a sentence that simply states that the subject is an adjective, those adjectives are practically homophones of the verbs that they are derived from, especially as they would take the object position in the sentence, after the verb.

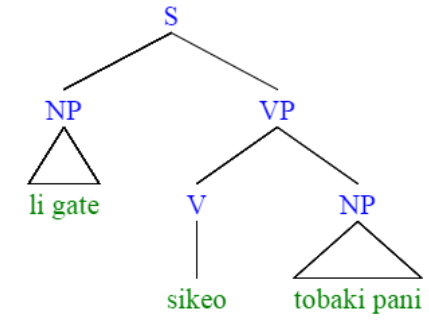


Figure 5: Syntax tree of ‘the cat sees two pieces of bread’ in modern Tëraziko.

Within the object, the indirect object (usually shown lexically by the affixation of the accusative suffix –me) precedes the direct object (which lexically does not have any affixes).

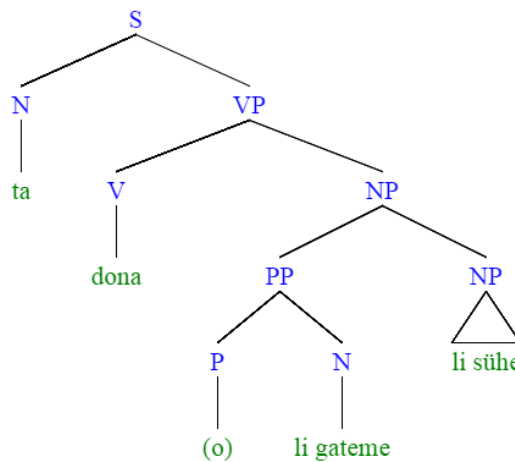


Figure 6: Syntax tree of ‘she gives the cat the food’.

This way, even when both the indirect and the direct objects are pronouns (which would both demonstrate the accusative case), we know that the indirect object is the first pronoun and the direct object is the second.

Prepositional phrases come after the noun they modify. This order distinguishes them from relative clauses, though the words for certain prepositions are different from the words for relative pronouns.

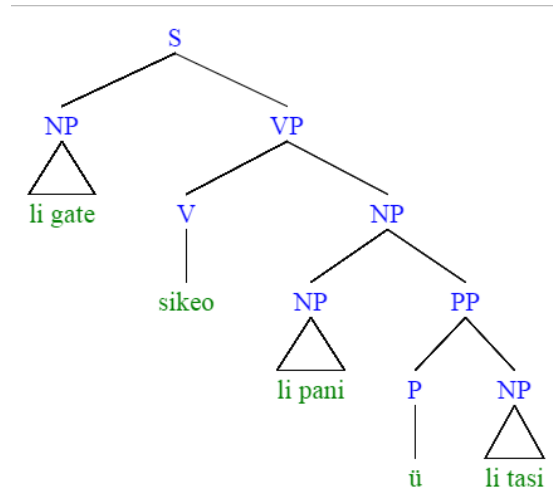


Figure 7: Syntax tree of the sentence ‘the cat sees the bread on the table’.

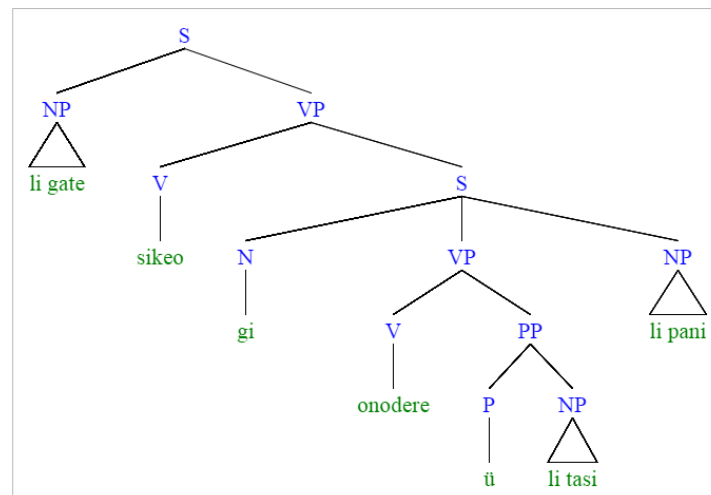


Figure 8: Syntax tree of the sentence ‘the cat sees the bread that was on the table’.

Historically, Tëraziko’s word order has fluctuated, originally beginning as an Object-Subject-Verb language but eventually evolving into Subject-Verb-Object. Nowadays, the Object-Subject-Verb word order is considered an archaic or a poetic form of speech, used only in old literature or by the older generation. Now, all sentences in Tëraziko are structured along the lines of the archaic interrogative sentence structure, which streamlines sentence structure a bit as all sentences now, declarative or interrogative, follow the same word order.

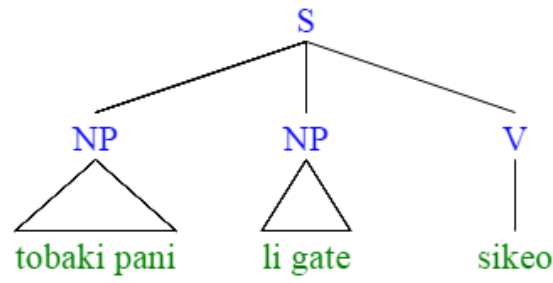


Figure 9: Syntax tree of the sentence ‘the cat sees two pieces of bread’ in archaic Tëraziko.

Therefore, both declarative and interrogative sentences in modern Tëraziko are Subject-Verb-Object. To determine the difference between them, speakers usually listen for rising intonation at the end, which would indicate a sentence being asked. Tëraziko does not have tones, so any shift in tone in a sentence shifts the sentence’s connotation instead of the meaning of independent words. Another indicator may be the presence of interrogative pronouns, which are identical to relative pronouns, with the addition of *ya* [ja], or ‘what’.

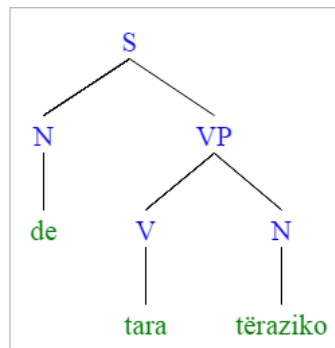


Figure 10: Syntax tree of ‘do you speak Terasian?’

Imperative sentences also take Subject-Verb-Object, but they often drop the subject as it most often implies a second person subject anyway.

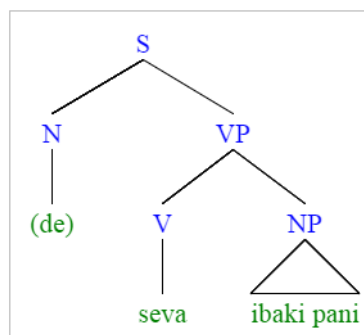


Figure 11: Syntax tree of ‘eat a piece of bread!’

Nevertheless for most sentences in Tëraziko the Subject-Verb order is maintained, as integral relationship is between the subject and the verb. After all, the verb phrase can contain the pronoun that would be the subject if there is no other noun serving as the subject of the sentence already.

The final structure of a sentence in Tëraziko is:

subject + verb + ind. object + dir. object

with all modifiers (adjectives, adverbs, relative clauses) being placed before the nouns and verbs they modify, and all prepositional phrases being placed after.

Story

The following story, titled « Soalako Vinako », or “Three Wishes”, is a popular folktale in Tëraziya. It is a cautionary tale against selfishness that is often told to children, though contemporary criticism of the story often alludes to its anti-nonmagical people (who often prefer the term ‘nonmagical’ to ‘mundane’ when referring to themselves as a population) stance because of the portrayal of the nonmagical father in the story, as well as his rather extreme punishment at the hands of the magical beast.

A recording of the story can be found [here](#).

Story Text

Lü onoisiderai ki onolütai y iboti garabo pari Cüsicüke Arutoro ipalo yoniasatsi.
Onotacocai vi la maxo, madero tami topoli garadeyo onoderei nimaxi.

La yoniasatsi ibasasi noco onotsaikalai inadalo la arutoro kano onotaparaduna tami odama. Onotacana imalo bata kifusoke dayo ikono narutoro.

« Patifusoke, otosalüta teme, » la yoniasatsi onotara, jo vi tami maxodoro onotasalüta la fusoke, yo onotadona la fusokeme tami inilosu sühe yo avo li mikorasaso li sasi.

La fusoke onodëraloi honi, kütë la yoniasatsi onosaova tami lüto.

Taarao tame, « Otoadonao o teme soalako vinako, yoniasatsi. Vara temi rohikoco, sosiitana bëli la lünëmano, yo tara yalako vinako vi isako itano. Gi ahinao dayo la tërätso yo la südo ya maxodoro otodora o hona temi soalako vinako. »

Alosi la yoniasatsi onovana o tami karayo tara o tami garadeyome ya onodëratsa. Onoditosidërei yositi gi onotasüva, mavi ki onodërelai ipoli ikaronenimaxi tami obayo ëseyo onolotëseo fivoleo soalako vinako.

Gada noco, kano la yoniasatsi ononocai, li obayo onovoleo tami rohikoco jo onovane o sido. Onotisiitane o bëli la lünëmano, yo onotivitareo devo la oraso, iboti cotekarebo, yo la diyoko.

La fusoke salo ipoli vënenimaxi onotüsao, yo onotavocao, « Adëreo nihüte, Porëto, tedoneo ame iniduni sasi? »

« Taneo! Anidoneo teme iniduni sasi, » Li obayo onotareo, madëro li sasidaro onodëre tobundi mëto ayo.

La fusoke onovocao, « Adëreo niseve, Porëto, tedoneo ami inilosu sühe? »

« Taneo, anidoneo teme inilosu sühe, » Li obayo onotareo, madëro li lonito lü onocotei dayo li mibëro pari la karebo.

La fusoke onofinasivocao, « Adëreo batake, porëto, tesalüteo ame? »

Yo li obayo onotareo, « Taneo, tabarevënenimaxi, anisalüteo teme. »

La fusoke onolitüsao dano tami vëritüso, yo onotarao, « Onodonao soalako vinako o ki vara ga koko la asatsi, mavi tenidëreo ki onotadona ame li sasi yo li sühe yo onosalüta ame. Temi karo fasolasisarao. Avo ga maco üno kano tevoceo devo li sasi, onikono korasaso yo onikono sasidaro otoise alü temi poco. Kano tevoceo devo li sühe, li lonito otoviye alü temi mëno. Yo kano tevoceo devo la salüto, ototenicane la votsi. »

Li koteobayo onomataneo dano la arutoro, mavi onilosu bëri yo onibokato sasi ononidëre lü devo seva yo hüta, kütë onodinitüse alü timi mëno. Alosi sole yo nisëve li obayo onokaveo dayo la yëdi.

La fusoke devo dimi lütomi remosi onogaradao la yoniasatsi yo tami omayo, yo onodiyositasilüta yevi atani.

IPA

[ly onɔ̃siderai ki onolytai y iboti garabo pari t̪ysit̪yke arutoro ipalo jonjaʃatsi. onotat̪ot̪jai vi la maɣo, madero tami topoli garadejo onoderei nimaxi.

la jonjaʃatsi ibafasi not̪jo onotsaikalai inadalo la arutoro kano onotaparaduna tami odama. onotat̪ana imalo bata kifufoke dajo ikono narutoro.

« patifufoke, otofalyta teme, » la jonjaʃatsi onotara, jo vi tami maɣodoro onotafalyta la fufoke, jo onotadona la fufokeme tami inilosu syhe jo avo li mikoraʃaʃo li ʃasi.

la fufoke onoderaloi honi, kyte la jonjaʃatsi onosaüva tami lyto.

ta:rao tame, « otodona o teme ŝolako vinako, jonjaŝatsi. vara temi rohikotŝo, ŝosi:tapa beli la lynemano, jo tara jalako vinako vi iŝako itano. gi ahinao dajo la teratso jo la ŝydo ja maŝodoro otodora o hona temi ŝolako vinako. »

alosi la jonjaŝatsi onovana o tami karajo tara o tami garadejome ja onoderatsa. onoditosiderejosi gi onotaŝyva, mavi ki onodereloi ipoli ikaronenimaŝi tami obajo eŝejo onoloteseo fivoleo ŝolako vinako.

gada notŝo, kano la jonjaŝatsi ononotŝai, li obajo onovoleo tami rohikotŝo jo onovaneo osido. onotiŝosi:taneo beli la lynemano, jo onotivitareo devo la oraso, iboti tŝotekarebo, jo la dijoko.

la fuŝoke salo ipoli vejenimaŝi onotysao, jo onotavotŝao, « adere niŝyte, poreto, tedoneo ame iniduni ŝasi? »

« taneo! anidoneo teme iniduni ŝasi, » li obajo onotareo, madero li ŝasidaro onodere tobundi me to ajo.

la fuŝoke onovotŝao, « adere niŝeve, poreto, tedoneo ami inilos ŝyhe? »

« taneo, anidoneo teme inilos ŝyhe, » li obajo onotareo, madero li lonito ly onotŝotei dajo li mibero pari li karebo.

la fuŝoke onofinasivotŝao, « adere batak, poreto, teŝalyte ame? »

jo li obajo onotareo, « taneo, tabarevejenimaŝi, aniŝalyte teme. »

la fuŝoke onolitysao dano tami verityso,

jo onotarao, « onodona ŝolako vinako o ki vara ga kotŝo la aŝatsi, mavi tenidereo ki onotadona ame li ŝasi jo li ŝyhe jo onofalyta ame. temi karo faŝolasifaaro. avo ga matŝo yno kano tevoŝejo devo li ŝasi, onikono koraŝaŝo jo onikono ŝasidaro otŝise aly temi poŝo. kano tevoŝejo devo li ŝyhe, li lonito otovije aly temi meno. jo kano tevoŝejo devo la ŝalyto, ototenitŝane la votŝi. »

li kotebajo onomataneo dano la arutoro, mavi onilos beri jo onibokato ŝasi ononidere ly devo seva jo hyta, kyte onodinityse aly timi meno. alosi sole jo niŝeve li obajo onokaveo dajo la jedi.

la fufoke devo dimi lytomi remosi onogaradao la jonjaſatsi jo tami omajo, jo onodijositasilyta jevi atani.]

Gloss

(note: MAG = magical, MUN = mundane)

ly ono- isi- dera-i ki ono- lyta-i y i- boti garabo pari la tſysi- tſyke
 there PST-once-be.MAG-IPFV who PST-live.MAG-IPFV on one-CLF farm by DEF.MAG successful.ADJ-archer
arutoro i- palo joni- aſatsi
 forest one-CLF young-spellcaster
 There once was a young witch who lived on a farm by Greatarcher Forest.

ono- ta- tſoſa-i vi la maſo, madero tami to- poli garadejo
 PST-3SG.MAG-show.skill.MAG-IPFV in DEF.MAG magic although 3SG.MAG.GEN two-CLF parent
ono-dere-i nimaſi.
 PST-be.MUN-IPFV people.MUN
 She was skilled in the magical arts, though her parents were non-magical.

la joni- aſatsi i- baſasi notſo ono-tſaſkala-i
 DEF.MAG young-spellcaster one-CLF night PST-wander.MAG-IPFV
inadalo la arutoro kano ono- ta- paraduna tami odama.
 through DEF.MAG forest when PST-3SG.MAG-lose.MAG 3SG.MAG.GEN path
 One night the witch was wandering through the forest when she lost her way.

ono- ta- tſana i- malo bataki- fufoke dajo i- kono narutoro.
 PST-3SG.MAG-find.MAG one-CLF hurt.ADJ-beast in one-CLF forest.clearing
 She found a beast wounded in a clearing.

« *pati- fufoke, oto- a- ſalyta teme,* » *la joni- aſatsi ono-tara,*
 pathetic.ADJ-beast FUT-1SG-heal 2SG.ACC DEF.MAG young-spellcaster PST-speak.MAG
 “Poor beast, I will heal you,” the young witch said,

jo vi tami maſodoro ono- ta- ſalyta la fufoke,
 and with 3SG.MAG.GEN power.MAG PST-3SG.MAG-heal.MAG DEF.MAG beast
 and she healed the beast with her powers,

jo ono- ta- dona la fufoke-me tami
 and PST-3SG.MAG-give.MAG DEF.MAG beast-ACC 3SG.MAG.GEN
ini- losi ſyhe jo avo li mikoraſaſo li ſasi.
 some-CLF food and from DEF.MUN stream DEF.MUN water
 and gave the beast some of her food and water from the stream.

la fufoke ono-dera-lo-i honi, kyte la joni- afatsi ono-saūva
 DEF.MAG beast PST-be.MAG-M-IPFV fulfill.ADJ because DEF.MAG young-spellcaster PST-save.MAG
tami lyto.
 3SG.MAG.GEN life

The beast was grateful, because the witch had saved his life.

ta- tara-o tame, « oto- a- dona-o o teme fo- alako vinako, joni- afatsi.
 3SG.MAG-talk-M 3SG.MAG.ACC FUT-1SG-give.MAG-M to 2SG.ACC three-CLF wish young-spellcaster
 He told her, “I will grant you three wishes, young witch.

vara temi rohi- kotfo, fosi- itapa beli la lynemano,
 wear.MAG 2SG.GEN red-cloak, three.ADV-turn.MAG below DEF.MAG full.moon.light
 Wear your red hood and turn thrice under the light of a full moon,

jo tara i- alako vinako vi i- sako itano.
 and speak.MAG one-CLF wish for one-CLF turn
 and say a wish for each turn.

gi a- hina-o dajo la teratso jo la sydo ja maxodoro
 that 1SG-have.MAG-M in DEF.MAG earth and DEF.MAG sky what power.MAG
 Whatever power I have in the earth and sky

oto- a- dora-o hona temi fo- alako vinako. »
 FUT-1SG-do.MAG-M fulfill.MAG 2SG.GEN three-CLF wish
 I will use to fulfill your wishes.”

alosi la joni- afatsi ono-vana o tami karajo tara
 so DEF.MAG young-spellcaster PST-go.MAG to 3SG.MAG.GEN home talk.MAG
o tami garadejo-me ja ono-deratsa.
 to 3SG.MAG.GEN parent.ACC what PST-happen.MAG
 So the young witch went home to tell her parents what happened.

ono- di- tosi- dere-i jositi gi ono-ta- syva,
 PST-3PL-two.ADV-be.MUN-IPFV happy.ADJ that PST-3SG-survive.MAG
 They were both glad that she survived,

mavi ki ono-dere-lo-i i- poli ikarone- nimaçi tami obajo
 but who PST-be.MUN-M-IPFV one-CLF selfish.ADJ-person.MUN 3SG.MAG.GEN father
esejo ono-lotese-o fi-vole-o fo- alako vinako.
 also PST-plot.MUN-M 3SG.MUN.REFL-steal.MUN-M three-CLF wish
 but her father, who was a selfish man, also plotted to steal the wishes for himself.

gada not̃fo, kano la joni- afatsi ono-not̃fa-i,
that night when DEF.MAG young-spellcaster PST-sleep.MAG-IPFV

li obajo ono-vole-o tami rohi- kot̃fo jo ono-vane-o osido.
DEF.MUN father PST-steal.MUN-M 3SG.MAG red-cloak and PST-go.MUN-M outside

That night, when the young witch was sleeping, the father stole her red hood and went outside.

ono- ti- Josi- itane-o beli la lynemano,
PST-3SG.MUN-three.ADV-turn.MUN-M below DEF.MAG full.moon.light

He turned thrice under the light of the full moon,

jo ono- ti- vitare-o devo la oraso, i- boti t̃fote- karebo, jo la dijoko.
and PST-3SG.MUN-wish.MUN-M for DEF.MAG gold one-CLF big.ADJ-house and DEF.MAG influence
and wished for riches, a big house, and power.

la fufoke salo i- poli veji- nimaχi ono-tysa-o, jo ono- ta- vot̃fa-o,
DEF.MAG beast as one-CLF old-person.MUN PST-appear.MAG-M and PST-3SG.MAG-ask.MAG-M
The beast then appeared as an old man, and asked,

« *a- d̃ere-o ni-hyte, poreto, te- done-o ame ini- duni fasi?* »
1SG-be.MUN-M NEG-drink.ADJ mister 2SG-give.MUN-M 1SG.ACC some-CLF water
“I am thirsty, sir, can you give me water?”

« *tane-o! a- ni-done-o teme ini- duni fasi,* » *li obajo ono-tare-o,*
leave.MUN-M 1SG-NEG-give.MUN-M 2SG.ACC some-CLF water DEF.MUN father PST-speak.MUN-M
“Leave! I cannot give you water,” the father said,

madero li fasidaro ono-d̃ere to- bundi meto ajo.
although DEF.MUN well PST-be.MUN two-CLF meter away
although the well was only a couple meters away.

la fufoke ono-vot̃fa-o, « a- d̃ere-o ni-seve, poreto, te- done-o ami
DEF.MAG beast PST-ask.MAG-M 1SG-be.MUN-M NEG-eat.ADJ mister 2SG-give.MUN-M 1SG.ACC
ini- losi syhe? »
some-CLF food
The beast asked, “I am hungry, sir, can you give me food?”

« *tane-o, a- ni-done-o teme ini- losi syhe,* » *li obajo ono-tare-o,*
leave.MUN-M 1SG-NEG-give.MUN-M 2SG.ACC some-CLF food DEF.MUN father PST-speak.MUN-M
“Leave, I cannot give you food,” the father said,

madero li lonito ly ono-t̃fote-i dajo li mibero pari li karebo.
although DEF.MUN crop there PST-grow.MUN-IPFV in DEF.MUN field next DEF.MUN house
although there were crops growing in the field next to the house.

la fufoke ono-finasi- votŋa-o, « a- dɛrɛ-o batakɛ, porɛto, tɛ- falytɛ-o amɛ? »
 DEF.MAG beast PST-final.ADV-ask.MAG-M 1SG-be.MUN-M hurt.ADJ mister 2SG-heal.MUN-M 1SG.ACC
 Finally the beast asked, “I am wounded, sir, can you heal me?”

jo li obajo ono-tare-o, « tane-o, tabare- vɛjɛ- nimaɣi,
 and DEF.MUN father PST-speak.MUN-M leave.MUN-M trouble.ADJ-old.ADJ-person.MUN
a- ni-falytɛ-o temɛ. »
 1SG-NEG-heal.MUN-M 2SG.ACC
 And the father said, “Leave, troublesome old man, I cannot heal you.”

la fufoke ono-li-tysa-o dano tami veri- tyso,
 DEF.MAG beast PST-again-appear-M into 3SG.MAG.GEN true-form
 The beast then transformed back into his true form,

jo ono-tara-o, « ono-dona-o jo- alako vinako
 and PST-speak.MAG-M PST-give.MAG-M three-CLF wish
o ki vara ga kotŋo la aŋatsi,
 to who wear.MAG this cloak DEF.MAG spellcaster
 and he said, “I gave three wishes to the one who wore this cloak,

mavi tɛ- ni-dɛrɛ-o ki ono- ta- dona amɛ li fasi
 but 2SG-NEG-be.MUN-M who PST-3SG.MAG-give.MAG 1SG.ACC DEF.MUN water
jo li syhɛ jo ono-falyta amɛ.
 and DEF.MUN food and PST-heal.MAG 1SG.ACC
 but you are not she who gave me water and food and healed me.

temi karo fa- folasi- sara-o.
 2SG.GEN heart REFL-alone.ADV-love.MAG-M
 Your heart loves only itself.

avo ga matŋo yno kano tɛ- votŋɛ-o devo li fasi,
 from this day onward when 2SG-ask.MUN-M for DEF.MUN water
oni- kono korasafɔ jo oni- kono fasidaro oto-ise aly temi potŋo.
 all-CLF river and all-CLF well fut-dry.MUN at 2SG.GEN approach
 From this day onward when you ask for water, the rivers and wells will dry at your approach.

kano tɛ- votŋɛ-o devo li syhɛ, li lonito oto-vije aly temi mɛno.
 when 2SG-ask.MUN-M for DEF.MUN food, DEF.MUN crops FUT-wither.MUN at 2SG.GEN hand
 When you ask for food, the crops will wither at your hand.

jo kano te-votŋe-o devo la ŋalyto, oto-te-ni-tŋane la votŋi. »
 and when 2SG-ask.MUN-M for DEF.MAG healing FUT-2SG-NEG-find.MUN DEF.MAG thing
 And when you ask for healing, you will not find it.”

li kote-obajo ono-matane-o dano la arutoro,
 DEF.MUN scare.ADJ-father PST-flee.MUN-M into DEF.MAG forest
 The frightened father fled into the forest,

mavi oni-losi beri jo oni-bokato ŋasi ono-ni-dere ly devo seva jo hyta,
 but all-CLF berry and all-CLF water PST-NEG-be.MUN there for eat and drink
 but there were no berries to eat and no water to drink,

kyte ono-di-ni-tyse aly timi mɛno.
 because PST-3PL-NEG-appear.MUN at 3SG.MUN hand
 because they would disappear at his hand.

alosi sole jo ni-seve li obajo ono-kave-o dajo la Jedi.
 so alone.ADJ and NEG-food.ADJ DEF.MUN father PST-die.MUN-M in DEF.MAG wilderness
 So the father died alone and hungry in the wilderness.

la fufoke devo dimi lyto-mi remosi ono-garada-o la joni-afatsi
 DEF.MAG beast for 3PL.GEN life-GEN remainder PST-protect.MAG-M DEF.MAG young-apprentice
jo tami omajo,
 and 3SG.GEN mother
 The beast protected the young witch and her mother for the rest of their lives,

jo ono-di-jositasi-lyta jevi atani.
 and PST-3PL-happy.ADV-live.MAG ever after
 and they lived happily ever after.

Lexicon

For the purposes of length, I will only provide a section of the full lexicon here. For the entire lexicon, please go [here](#).

Tëraziko – English Dictionary Samples

Verbs

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	English
bataka	/bataka/	to hurt
bisa	/bisa/	to kiss
cota	/tjota/	to grow
didara	/didara/	to create/build
dona	/dona/	to give
dora	/dora/	to do
dëra	/dera/	to be
kata	/kata/	to cast (spell)
kava	/kava/	to die
kaya	/kaja/	to love (physical)
lotsa	/lotsa/	to read
lüta	/lyta/	to live
sara	/sara/	to love (emotional)
seva	/seva/	to eat
sika	/sika/	to see
sona	/sona/	to sing
süta	/syta/	to write
tëna	/tena/	to come
vana	/vana/	to go
votsa	/votja/	to ask

Nouns

Tëraziko	Noun Class	Pronunciation	English
arutohi	Mun	/arutohi/	tree
arutoro	Mag	/arutoro/	forest
asatsi	Mag	/aʃatsi/	spellcaster
büsa	Var	/byʃa/	shield
bëladone	Mag	/bëladone/	belladonna
bëraso	Mun	/bëraʃo/	plain
dagorasi	Mag	/dagorasi/	dragon
diyoko	Mag	/dijoko/	power (influence)
faleho	Mag	/faleho/	magical flower
katsi	Mag	/katsi/	apprentice/magical student
kaxo	Mag	/kaχo/	spell
kayasasi	Mag	/kajaʃasi/	love potion
mëno	Mag	/meno/	hand
mëto	Mun	/meto/	meter
narutoro	Mun	/narutoro/	clearing
nifusoke	Mun	/nifuʃoke/	nonmagical beast
nimaxi	Mun	/nimaχi/	nonmagical person
südo	Mag	/sydo/	sky
sühe	Mun	/syhe/	food
taoni	Mun	/taüni/	grass
tasi	Mun	/tasi/	table
tëraziboti	Var	/teraziboti/	country/land
tëraziko	Mag	/teraziko/	Terasian
tëraziya	Mag	/terazija/	Terasia

Adjectives/Adverbs

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	English
coti	/tʃoti/	big
finasi	/finasi/	finally
fini	/fini/	last
garatasi	/garatasi/	gradually
ikaroni	/ikaroni/	selfish
mëdasi	/mëdasi/	daily
nidori	/nidori/	impossible
soli	/ʃoli/	lonely
suli	/ʃuli/	south
tesi	/tesi/	very

Prepositions

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	English
ayo	/ajo/	away
bëli	/bëli/	below
bësido	/bësido/	beside
ësido	/ësido/	inside
o	/o/	to
osido	/osido/	outside
pari	/pari/	by
ü	/y/	on
üno	/yno/	onward
vi	/vi/	with

Conjunctions

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	English
alosi	/alosi/	so
cavi	/tʃavi/	instead
cie	/tʃie/	or
kütë	/kytë/	because
madëro	/madëro/	although

English – Tëraziko Dictionary Samples

Verbs

English	Tëraziko	Pronunciation
to approach	potsa	/potʃa/
to ask	votsa	/votʃa/
to bake	pana	/paɲa/
to create/build	didara	/didara/
to die	kava	/kava/
to do	dora	/dora/
to do in increments	garata	/garata/
to drink	hüta	/hyta/
to dry	isa	/iʃa/
to eat	seva	/seva/
to end	fina	/fina/
to fight	batsuka	/batsuka/
to find	cana	/tʃana/
to hurt	bataka	/bataka/
to kiss	bisa	/bisa/
to learn	taotsa	/tautsa/
to leave	tana	/tana/
to live	lüta	/lyta/
to lose	paraduna	/paraduna/
to love (emotional)	sara	/ʃara/
to love (physical)	kaya	/kaja/
to rejuvenate	yona	/jona/
to repeat	mëda	/meda/
to revolt	tsaima	/tsaïma/
to rule	didama	/didama/
to sing	sona	/ʃona/
to sleep	noca	/notʃa/
to speak	tara	/tara/
to steal	vola	/vola/

Nouns

English	Tëraziko	Noun Class	Pronunciation
acorn	kütohimisi	Mun	/kytohimisi/
age	viyë	Mun	/vije/
alcohol	ikirite	Mag	/ikirite/
apple	pomi	Mun	/pomi/
apprentice/magical student	katsi	Mag	/katsi/
belladonna	bëladone	Mag	/beladone/
book	lotso	Mag	/lotso/
bread	pani	Mun	/pani/
brick	bakane	Mun	/bakane/
broomstick	bosiki	Mag	/bosiki/
cake	cotibani	Mun	/tʃotibani/
cat	gate	Mun	/gate/
charm	salako	Mag	/ʃalako/
happiness	yosito	Mag	/josito/
heart	karo	Mag	/karo/
heaven	cotisüdo	Mag	/tʃotişydo/
home	karayo	Mag	/karajo/
house	karebo	Mun	/karebo/
idea	ideo	Mag	/ideo/
light of the full moon	lünëmano	Mag	/lynëmano/
lightning	casa	Mag	/tʃaʃa/
love potion	kayasasi	Mag	/kajaʃasi/
thing	votsi	Var	/votsi/
thunder	baruna	Mag	/baruna/
tower	tulavo	Mun	/tulavo/
tree	arutohi	Mun	/arutohi/

Adjectives/Adverbs

English	Tëraziko	Pronunciation
big	coti	/tʃoti/
daily	mëdasi	/mëdasi/
finally	finasi	/finasi/
gradually	garatasi	/garatasi/
old	vëyi	/vëji/
only	solasi	/ʃolasi/
red	rohi	/rohi/
yesterday	yoto	/joto/
young	yoni	/joni/

Prepositions

English	Tëraziko	Pronunciation
across	dovi	/dovi/
after	atani	/atani/
amid	anayo	/aɲajo/
at	alü	/aly/
away	ayo	/ajo/
below	bëli	/beli/
beside	bësido	/besido/
between	igati	/igati/
inside	ësido	/ɛsido/
into	dano	/dano/
on	ü	/y/
onward	üno	/yno/

Conjunctions

English	Tëraziko	Pronunciation
although	madëro	/madëro/
and	yo	/jo/
as	salo	/salo/
because	kütë	/kytë/

Numbers

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	Number
o	/o/	0
i	/i/	1
to	/to/	2
so	/ʃo/	3
vo	/vo/	4
ci	/tʃi/	5
ro	/ro/	6
mo	/mo/	7
xo	/χo/	8
no	/no/	9
do	/do/	10
doci	/dotʃi/	15
todo	/todo/	20
ba	/ba/	100
ciba	/tʃiba/	500

Classifiers

Tëraziko	Pronunciation	Used For
alako	/alako/	spells/magical objects
baki	/baki/	culinary dishes
basasi	/baʃasi/	time
bokato	/bokato/	magical drinks/drugs
boti	/boti/	government/agencies/civics
bundi	/bundi/	crafts/units of measurement
duni	/duni/	mundane drinks
eti	/eti/	celestial/aeronautics
huruto	/huruto/	weather
kono	/kono/	places/things made from the earth
lini	/lini/	clothes
lono	/lono/	magical plants, poisons
losi	/losi/	mundane plants, grown foods
makomo	/makomo/	information/ideas
malo	/malo/	magical animals
moli	/moli/	mundane animals, meats
palo	/palo/	magical people
poli	/poli/	nonmagical people
sako	/sako/	body parts/actions
tsalo	/tsalo/	arts-related

Appendix

Examples of the Archaic/Poetic style of Tëraziko

Here are sample sentences and glosses of the archaic form of Tëraziko, done in Object-Subject-Verb order except for questions (which are in Subject-Verb-Object).

Note for the gloss: MAG = magical, MUN = mundane.

1. *To- baki pani li gate sike-o*
two-CLF-bread DEF.MUN cat see.MUN-M
'The cat sees two pieces of bread.'
2. *Li pani o tami gate ono- ta-dona*
DEF.MUN bread to 3SG.MAG.GEN cat PST-3SG.MAG-give.MAG
'She gave the bread to her cat.'
3. *Dami- mēdasi- pani o deme de- dona-o*
1PL.GEN-daily-bread to 1PL.ACC 2PL-give.MAG-M
'You give us our daily bread.'
4. *Tami gate jo tami foluhi ta- fara*
3SG.MAG.GEN cat and 3SG.MAG.GEN flower 3SG.MAG-love.MAG
'She loves her cat and her flowers.'
5. *I- bokato ikirite ono-ta- hyte*
one-CLF potion PST-3SG.MUN-drink.MUN
'She drank a bottle of potion.'
6. *Li foluhi o ami oma ono-a- dona*
DEF.MUN flower to 1SG.GEN mom PST-1SG-give.MAG
'I gave the flower to my mom.'
7. *Li foluhi o ame ami oma ono-done*
DEF.MUN flower to 1SG.ACC 1SG.GEN mom PST-give
'My mom gave me the flower.'
8. *De-tara teraziko?*
2PL-speak.MUN Terasian
'(Do) You speak Terasian?'
9. *Seva de i- baki pani!*
eat.MAG 2PL one-CLF bread
'You eat a piece of bread!'

10. *Dodo- malo fufoke la afatsi ono-batsuka-o*
 hundred-CLF beast DEF spellcaster PST-fight.MAG-M
 ‘The wizard fights a hundred magical beasts.’
11. *ini- baki papi o teme a- dona*
 some-CLF-bread to 2SG.ACC 1SG-give.MAG
 ‘I give you some bread’
12. *li foluhi ki kata-o la kaɣi la katsi tfota-o*
 DEF.MUN flower who cast.MAG-M DEF.MAG spell DEF.MAG apprentice grow.MAG-M
 ‘The apprentice who casts the spell grows the flower’
13. *gi kata la kaɣo la faleho la katsi tfota-o*
 that cast def.MAG spell def.MAG flower def.MAG apprentice grow-M
 ‘The apprentice grows the magical flower that cast the spell’
14. *Li gate-mi syhe o li kane-me ono- ta- dona*
 DEF.MUN cat-GEN food to DEF.MUN dog-ACC PST-3SG.F-give
 ‘She gave the cat’s food to the dog’
15. *La kaɣo y i- losi- foluhi-me la fali- katsi kata*
 DEF.MAG spell on one CLF flower-ACC DEF.MAG pretty-apprentice cast.MAG
 ‘The pretty apprentice cast the spell on a flower’
16. *Vi li rohi- basi li kane ono-tane*
 with DEF.MUN red-leash DEF.MUN dog PST-leave.MUN
 ‘The dog with the red leash leaves’
17. *maɣi li foluhi devo ami oma dere*
 magical.ADJ DEF.MUN flower for 1SG.GEN mother be.MAG
 ‘The flower for my mother is magical’
18. *Gi ono- a- dona ini- baki pani li gate ono- seve so- moli muse*
 that PST-1SG-give.MAG some-CLF bread DEF.MUN cat PST-eat.MUN three-CLF mouse
 ‘The cat that I gave bread to ate 3 mice’
19. *Gi ono- a- papa joto li pani dere y li tasi*
 that PST-1SG-bake.MAG yesterday DEF.MUN bread is on DEF.MUN table
 ‘The bread that I baked yesterday is on the table’
20. *Gy ono- a- tsina aty la lotse- karebo*
 which PST-1SG-study.MAG at DEF.MAG read.MUN-house
ini- makomo lotso-mi dere tesi-honi

some-CLF book-GEN is.MUN very heavy
 ‘My books which I studied from the library are very heavy’

Tower of Babel Translation

Here is a translation of the Tower of Babel story for Genesis. Foreign words such as Jehovah and Shi’nar and Ba’bel have been transliterated.

Note for the gloss: MAG = magical, MUN = mundane.

opi- kono teratso ono-dere-i i- makomo kopoko jo i- makomo poka.
 all-CLF earth PST-be.MUN-IPFV one-CLF language and one-CLF word
 ‘All the earth was one language and one word.’

ono- di- vome-i o beni, jo ono- di- tfane dajo la teraziboti-mi
 PST-3PL-travel.MUN-IPFV to east and PST-3PL-find.MUN in DEF country-GEN
Sinara i- kono berafo.

Shinar one-CLF plain

‘They were travelling eastward, and found in the land of Shinar a plain.’

vi- ono¹- di- tare: « tene! oto- da- dare jo oto- da- pane
 3PL.REFL-PST-3PL-speak come.MUN FUT-1PL-make.MUN and FUT-1PL-bake.MUN
ini- kono bakane. »

some-CLF brick

‘They said to themselves: “Come! We will make and bake some bricks.” ’

ono- di- dare li bakane tfavi li falate
 PST-3PL-make.MUN DEF.MUN brick instead DEF.MUN stone
jo li pite tfavi li manute.
 and DEF.MUN pitch instead DEF.MUN mortar

‘They made bricks instead of stone and pitch instead of mortar.’

¹ Pronounced like /vijono/

ono- di- tare: « tene! oto- da- didare i- kono dami t̥ʃesuke-me
 PST-3PL-speak.MUN come.MUN FUT-1PL-create.MUN one-CLF 1PL-GEN city-ACC
 ‘They said: “Come! We build a city for us.’

jo vi li potsi dajo la sydo i- kono tulavo,
 and with DEF.MUN top in DEF.MAG sky one-CLF tower
 ‘and a tower with the top in the sky’

da- dare i- makomo dami kali- inafo-me²
 1PL-make.MUN one-CLF 1PL.GEN popular-name-ACC
 ‘and we make a popular name for us’

jo oto- da- ni-t̥saŋke dovi la teratso. »
 and FUT-1PL-NEG-scatter.MUN across DEF earth
 ‘and we will not be scattered across the earth.” ’

jahova ono- vana-o sika-o gi li nimaɣi-mi- obi
 Jehovah PST-go-M see-M that DEF people.MUN-GEN-son
ono- di:dara³ li t̥ʃesuke jo la tulavo.
 PST-3PL.built DEF city and DEF tower
 ‘Jehovah went to see the city and the tower that the people’s sons built.’

jahova ono- tara-o: « sika! di- dere i- poli nimaɣi vi i- makomo kopoko,
 Jehovah PST-speak-M see 3PL-be.MUN one-CLF people.MUN with one-CLF language
 ‘Jehovah said: “See! They are one people with one language’

jo gi di- dora.
 and that 3PL-do.MUN
 ‘and that is what they do.’

² Actually pronounced /kali:nasome/, ie: with a geminate vowel

³ Originally /onodididara/, but the second ‘di’ is taken out and the ‘i’ is geminated.

ni-votsi dajo dimi-idefa⁴ oto- di- dere ni-dori.
 NEG-thing in 3PL.GEN-mind FUT-3PL-be.MUN NEG-possible.ADJ
 ‘nothing in their minds will be impossible.’

tena! da- vana-o ly jo da- kofuxa-o dimi- kopoko,
 come 1PL-go-M there and 1PL-confuse-M 3PL.GEN-language
 ‘Come! We go there and we confuse their language,’

jo vi- oto⁵- di- ni-tavtsa. »
 and 3PL.REFL-FUT-3PL-NEG-learn
 ‘and they will not understand each other.’ ’

jahova ono- tsauka-o avo ly li nimaɣi dovi la teratso,
 Jehovah PST-scatter-M from there DEF.MUN people.MUN across DEF.MAG earth
 ‘Jehovah scattered the people from there across the earth,’

jo garatasi ono- di- ni-diodare li tjesuke.
 and gradual.ADV PST- 3PL-NEG-build DEF.MUN city
 ‘and gradually they did not build the city.’

gi dera kyto ono- ti- ine⁶ « babelo »
 that be.MAG why PST-3SG.MUN-name.MUN Ba’bel
 ‘That is why it was named Ba’bel’

kytɛ jahova ly ono- kofuxa-o la teratso-mi- kopoko,
 because Jehovah there PST-confuse-M DEF.MAG world-GEN-language
 ‘because there Jehovah confused the world’s languages,’

jo jahova ono- tsauka-o dovi la teratso li nimaɣi.
 and Jehovah PST-scatter-M across DEF earth DEF people.MUN
 ‘and Jehovah scattered the people across the earth.’

⁴ Actually pronounced /dimi:defa/, ie: with a geminate vowel

⁵ Pronounced like /vijoto/

⁶ Pronounced like /onoti:ne/

shiizumfaj[©]

the language of the Molfijata

Eva Freedman | LING 315

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I. Language History and Culture

Shiizumfaj is a language spoken around 4000 CE in the northern taiga forests of what was previously known as Sweden. The preceding millennium was full of massive-scale natural disasters and global warfare so extreme that more than 70% of the human population gradually died out as major cities were continuously attacked or submerged in water due to global climate change. For hundreds of years climate scientists had been issuing warnings that such destruction was not only possible, but imminent, yet no actions were taken against it until the state of the world was far past the point of no return. After a small asteroid struck the Texas panhandle in North America, killing millions and causing lethal earthquakes to ripple once again over the face of the earth, the remaining population was forced to accept the grim reality that their beloved planet was no longer habitable.

What money was left after centuries of costly wars was funneled into funding for space programs that arranged for millions of humans to join their friends and family who had already settled in colonies on Mars and Europa. Although resources were limited and neither place was as appealing as the home planet, most people gladly accepted the change of circumstances over the dangerous uncertainty life on Earth now presented. Those who chose to stay on Earth despite the official evacuation warnings faced an unrecognizable planet. Cities that once housed millions became ghost towns. All commerce ceased; money reverted to being meaningless slips of paper and all production ground to a halt.

Nonetheless, those areas once populated by humans were still the barren wastelands they had become, devoid of any form of life. Even weeds could not grow, for overuse of pesticides had poisoned the soil, so that only genetically modified crops could survive it. The remaining people recognized that the over-industrialization and urbanization around them had caused the natural disasters and unlivable conditions, and sought out those pockets of Earth that remained relatively untouched by human civilization. They were few and far between, but they existed. People scattered all over the world: to what was left of the Amazon, to the harsh lands of Australia, to small islands

throughout the world's oceans, and to the forests of the far north. People had stayed away from the north to avoid the cold and the lack of daylight half the year, but under these new desperate circumstances people felt more willing to adapt.

Over the next millennium, the *mol fijata* were established. They began as that small group of hopeless humans with nothing to do but try to survive in the frigid wilderness, and developed into a thriving population of people well-adapted to the cold, the woods, and living without modern amenities like electricity, running water, or technology. For even over the course of 1000 years, people never forgot what destruction human consumption and waste brought about. The Earth had healed many of its wounds, but it would still never be the perfectly habitable planet it once was.

A key component of the Mol fijata's survival was the relationship they developed with the bears that inhabited the forests. In Shiizumfaj, *mol fi* means 'bear' and *jata* means 'people'. Of course, the relationship took many years and sacrifices to achieve, but eventually the two species grew to trust one another, and even to cohabitate peacefully. The Mol fijata learned to hibernate as the bears did, as there was not much else to do during the cold, dark months. Together, during the summer months the bears and the humans would hunt fish and small rodents, collect berries and nuts and whatever other foods they could find growing, and collect leaves to line their caves to give off their natural gas for warmth. Then, all would huddle together to share their bodies' heat and enter a deep slumber.

For the Mol fijata, hibernation is not only an important part of survival, but also a proud aspect of their culture. For during those long months of sleeping they led rich internal lives, existing only in their own minds through thoughts and dreams. Being highly self-aware is considered an extremely respectable quality among the Mol fijata, and each year as the daylight returns and the forest begins to thaw they hold a huge festival, where they share with one another the kinds of discoveries they made and the dreams they had. This festival is called *etimus*, which means, roughly, 'a place for self-discovery'. Those who attend are *jetimur*, 'self-discoverers'.

Living in nature for half the year and within their own minds for the other half is the most important practice of the Molfijata culture. Their language has, of course, been influenced by their experiences, as will hopefully become apparent throughout the paper. The language itself also has an interesting history. The Molfijata would tell you that it is a child of Swedish, although the two languages bear very few similarities. In reality, Swedish was not widely spoken anymore by the time the Molfijata decided to settle in Scandinavia. Most of the world spoke some dialect of English, so national languages became less and less important, until they existed only as hobbies for those interested in their cultural backgrounds.

After the destruction and mass exodus, many aspects of the old world were once again brought to light, unique languages included. Few of the settlers knew a language other than English, but all agreed that speaking a new language would greatly aid their effort to start afresh. They worked hard to make their new common language as inclusive and different from English as possible, although some English syntactic structures remained intact (as will hopefully become apparent throughout the paper), and channeled the spirit of the native Swedish as best they could. Thus was born Shiizumfaj, which translates to 'Your Words,' for the language was a gift the settlers gave one another.

II. Phonetics and Phonology

1) Phonetics

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glotal
Stops	p b			t d				k	q		ʔ (')
Nasal	m			n				ŋ			
Trill											
Tap or Flap					r (r)			ɳ			
Fricative	β (v)	f v	θ (th)	s z (s)	ʃ (sh) ʒ (z)			x		ħ (h)	h (h)
Lateral Fricative											
Approximant							j				
Lateral Approximant				l							

table 2.1

Voiceless alveolar affricate	ʈʂ (ts)
Voiced labial-velar approximant	w
Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɰ (wh)

table 2.2

The above table details all permissible consonants in Shiizumfaj. The phonemes in the chart are expressed in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), but words in Shiizumfaj are not typically written in IPA, they are written in an adapted Roman script. So, written in parentheses next to some of the phonemes in the table are those letters that differ from IPA.

Most of Shiizumfaj's consonants are also found in English, such as the stops p, b, t, d, k, and glottal stop; the nasals m, n and ŋ; the fricatives f, v, θ (which is the *th* sound found in the word 'both'), ʃ (which is pronounced like the *sh* in 'she'), and ʒ (which is pronounced like the *s* sound in

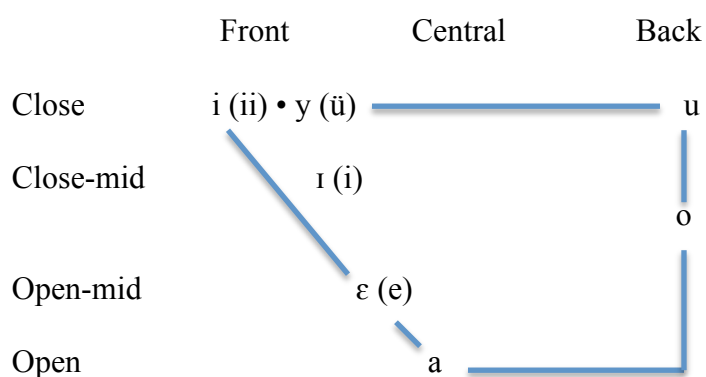
‘measure’); the approximants *j* (pronounced like English *y*) and *l*. Note that all voiced pairs are present except for *k* and *g*. All *g* sounds in Shiizumfaj have lost their voicing, and speakers can no longer distinguish between the two sounds when they hear them. Any loanword containing a *g* that comes into Shiizumfaj will be pronounced like a *k*. Additionally, the *z* should be considered more of a voiced *s* than its own separate sound. It only occurs accidentally when speakers are emphasizing a short *s* (as opposed to a long, or doubled, *s*: (*ss*)).

Those consonants that are not found in English have a bolded box around them. The uvular stop *q* is foreign to English speakers but common to many Semitic languages such as Arabic. It is pronounced similarly to a *k*, but much farther back, so that the tongue clicks against the back of the throat. The *r* in Shiizumfaj is a simple tap of the tongue on or just behind the alveolar ridge in the roof of the mouth. The *v* is typically pronounced bilabially, like the *v* in Spanish, although when it occurs initially or in a cluster it can sometimes be pronounced like a normal English *v*. The soft *h* sound of English is replaced by an emphatic *ħ* that is pronounced more throatily (the English *h* does occur under specific circumstances, however it is so infrequent that both sounds are written *h*¹). Similar to *ħ* is *x*, a sound pronounced slightly farther back in the throat. In addition to the sounds in the main chart are three others: a voiceless alveolar affricate *ts̥*, a voiceless labial-velar approximant pronounced just like English’s *w*, and a voiceless labial-velar fricative, *ɰ*, a sound that used to occur in English words like ‘what’ and ‘which’ but has now largely dropped out of the language.

The vowels in Shiizumfaj can be found in the diagram below. Those that are not in English are *y*, pronounced like a rounded *i*, and *a*, a pure *a* sound most closely resembling the *a* in ‘father’ but pronounced more front.

¹ Glottal *h* only occurs under very specific circumstances (see Phonological Rules), so there will never be confusion as to which pronunciation is necessary. In almost every instance, the sound is pronounced *ħ*.

Vowels:



2) Phonology

Shiizumfaj's syllable structure is (C) (C) (V) (C) V (C) (C). Although consonant clusters are permitted, they are not as common as the consonant-vowel (CV) structure. Additionally, diphthongs, combinations of vowels, are not permitted in Shiizumfaj. When two vowels appear side by side, they are always separated by a glottal stop.

A word could theoretically begin with either a consonant or a vowel, but most words in Shiizumfaj begin and end with a consonant. However, initial vowels are much more common than vowels in the coda, as are consonant clusters. There are also a few limits on which phonemes can combine to form consonant clusters: *sh* and *ts* may never combine with any other consonant, two stops may never form a cluster (words like *akt* are not permissible), fricatives do not combine either, except for *s* and *f*, and when *s* occurs initially it may only be followed by a vowel or the consonants *f* or *w*. Below are a few words that exemplify both common and less common syllable structures:

1) *fal* ('sky') CVC

2) *alur* ('life') VCVC

3) *litto* ('into') CVCV

4) *jalim* ('grass') CVCVC

5) *plitsud* ('to be able') CCVCVC

6) *osfalud* ('to snow') VCCVCVC

Ending in a vowel, as in (3) above, is the least common syllable structure in Shiizumfaj, and almost exclusively pertains to adpositional words like 'into'. Vowels in the coda have slowly dropped out of the language because they too closely resembled case markings, which are generally single vowel suffixes, and because of the nature of the verb morphology, which does not allow for final vowels except in the imperative mood.

Stress in Shiizumfaj is fixed left-initial, although there are many exceptions. One such exception is nouns, for which the stressed syllable depends on whether the noun is definite or indefinite. If definite, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable (for the majority of nouns the penultimate syllable is the first syllable), and if indefinite, the stress falls on the final syllable. To clarify this distinction, stress is marked for nouns with an acute accent ('). This definite/indefinite contrast is generally equivalent to using definite and indefinite articles with nouns in English (e.g. 'the horse' vs. 'a horse'); however, there are some instances when there is a lexical difference. This difference actually arises from an overextension of the rule to words that are not nouns. For example, the word *álud* means 'every', but when the stress moves to the final syllable, *alúd*, the word means 'all'. Typically, however, adjectives and adverbs are unaffected by this stress rule.

There are also several phonological rules that dictate the pronunciation of Shiizumfaj. One such rule is the homorganic nasal rule, which dictates that both voiced and voiceless nasals will assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. For example, *n*, an alveolar sound, will become *m*, a bilabial, when followed by another bilabial such as *b*. The language also requires an aspiration rule, such that consonants *p*, *t*, and *k* become aspirated (*p^h*, *t^h*, *k^h*) in word-initial position; and a nasalization rule, which states that a vowel preceding a nasal consonant will become nasalized. Those three rules are, generally speaking, natural features of human articulation, and since the Molfijata are humans, their language must include them.

Shiizumfaj also features a fourth phonological rule, called the stress assimilation rule. The rule states that an unstressed high vowel such as *ii* and *u* must shift down to *i* and *o*. The rule is more clearly explained with an example:

lúmis ‘today’ → *lomíis* ‘a day’

The high *u* shifts down to an *o* when the stress moves away from that syllable. Likewise, the unstressed *i* shifts up to *ii* when stressed. However, if the original word were *lómis* instead of *lúmis*, the unstressed version would remain *lomíis*. That is to say that vowels that are already low, such as *a*, *o*, *e* are unaffected by this rule. The vowel *ü*, although it occurs very infrequently in nouns, would also shift down to *i* when unstressed. Verb infinitives are another exception to this rule because they typically feature both an *i* and a *u*, but neither vowel changes to accommodate stress.

Nouns derived from infinitive verbs are also affected by stress accommodation. Not all nouns are derived from verbs, but those that are always end in *-ur*. When that final syllable takes the stress, it is pronounced as written. However, when the preceding syllable takes the stress, the final *u* vowel has a tendency to be dropped altogether, rather than shifting down to *o* as the rule would suggest.

“a beaver” *kamonúr* → “the beaver” *kamúnr*.

There is some hint of an unstressed vowel between the *n* and *r*, somewhere between an *a* and a schwa, a vowel not included in the official phonology of the language because it’s pronunciation is largely irregular.

A fifth phonological rule of Shiizumfaj occurs when there are two instances of the *z* phoneme in close proximity within a word. Under those circumstances, the first *z* will lose its voicing and place of articulation and become */h/*. Realistically, the only instance this rule is applied is when conjugating verbs, as an infinitive verb root may have a medial *z*, as in the verb *shizud*, ‘to speak.’ Once conjugated for a single subject, the verb would become *shezuz*, a cumbersome pronunciation. Since the final *z* is necessary to achieve the number distinction, it is the first *z* that must change.

shezuz → *shehuz*

There is an additional phonological rule for Shiizumfaj called the “vowel replacement rule.”

This rule states that the final vowel of a prefix will drop when the word it is attaching to begins with a vowel. For example, the past tense marker is the prefix *sii*, which is reduced to just *s'*, when the verb it is modifying begins with a vowel:

**pa sii-obaluz*
pa s'-obaluz
1.SG.NOM PST-share.SG

The dropped vowel is always replaced with an apostrophe, as in the example above. However, this apostrophe is not to be confused with the glottal stop apostrophe, which occurs between vowels. An apostrophe between a consonant and a vowel should be thought of like a contraction in English, and never pronounced as a glottal stop. Conversely, an apostrophe between vowels must always be pronounced as a glottal stop.

III. Morphology

The morphology of Shiizumfaj is mostly agglutinative, with some analytic aspects as well. For example, the language offers 7 different case distinctions, but also has an extensive system of free morpheme prepositions and conjunctions.

1) Derivational Morphemes

Although the majority of nouns are not derived from verbs, there is a system in place for doing so. Infinitive verbs always have the same ending *-ud*², so to derive a “doer of an action” noun from a verb, the ending changes to *-ur*. For example, the verb *shizud* means ‘to speak,’ so a *shizur* is a ‘speaker.’ Similarly, to derive a “place in which the action is done” noun, the ending changes to *-us*, as in the word for ‘house,’ *o'alus*, derived from the verb to live or inhabit, *o'alur*.

In addition to nominalization, verbs can become adjectives by assuming the past participle form. This form is rarely used for actual verb conjugation purposes, as both the simple past and past

² Infinitive verbs also typically have an *i* in the preceding syllable, but not always.

perfect are encompassed in the *sii-* prefix agglutinative morpheme. However, inflected past participles are commonly used as descriptors of nouns. To make a past participle, the suffix *-ed* replaces the infinitive ending, as with the nominalizations.

tarilud ‘to fit’ → *tariled* ‘fitted’ (this adjective is used to mean well-fitted, perfectly-fitted, or just perfect)

jisud ‘to know’ → *jised* ‘known’ (‘well-known’ or ‘famous’)

Example sentence:

“My father is a well-known man.”

*ata-a jised-a pum hat*³
man.ACC known.ACC 1.SG.GEN father

There are also a number of adjectives that are not past participles. These adjectives are vestiges of the development of Shiizumfaj, its changes over time and the languages that it has come into contact with. Although there is no one system of morphology guiding the formation of these adjectives, there are certain noticeable patterns. Some adjectives look like truncated versions of unconjugated verbs, much like the subjunctive mood inflection where the conjugated verb is shortened to its root. These adjectives look very similar to subjunctive verbs, except that the infinitive medial *i* is not replaced by an *e*. For example, the verb ‘to be happy’ is *likur* and the adjective ‘happy’ is *lik*. However, there are some irregular verbs that do not conform to the normal *CiCuC* infinitive verb structure, and so are unrecognizable from the subjunctive form (except for context and placement in the sentence). One such example is the adjective *lun*, meaning ‘beautiful’, derived from the verb *lunur* ‘to shine/shimmer’. Another common theme of archaic adjectives is to end in *-in* or *-un*. If a word ends in either of those suffixes, it is almost certainly an adjective, although the origin of that derivation is still unclear.⁴

³ This sentence is a great example of how the speaker’s chosen emphasis affects the word order of a sentence. This sentence could just have easily read, ‘pum hat ata’a jiseda,’ with a slightly different connotation.

⁴ Nonetheless, today many adjectives are back-formed to have these endings, such as the adjective *lurun* meaning ‘fun’ or ‘entertaining’, which was derived from the word *lurus*, for ‘city’. Interestingly, the *-us* ending of the word *lurus* appears to be derived from a verb *lurun*, but is in fact derived from a borrowed word *lurr*, also meaning ‘city’. The *us* ending was also a back-formation.

Unlike adjectives, adverbs are formed according to a consistent system, which is to take the adjectival form (whatever that may be) and add the suffix *-on*. To give an example, *gur* ‘big’ becomes *guron* ‘a lot’:

“I love you a lot”

pa heluz-at guron
1.SG love.PRS.SG-ACC.2.SG big.ADV

“She swims beautifully”

lunon ta desuz
beautiful.ADV 3.SG swim.PRS.SG

2) Inflectional Morphemes

There are also a number of inflectional morphemes in Shiizumfaj, or morphemes that change a property of a word but not its class. Verb conjugations are examples of inflectional morphemes. More information on verb conjugations can be found in the Syntax section below. Outside of verb conjugation, there are few other inflectional morphemes. One exception is the plural marker *ja-*, which attaches as a prefix to nouns.

molfi ‘bear’ → *jamolfi* ‘bears’

Like other prefixes, if the noun to which *ja* attaches begins with a vowel, the *a* is dropped.

atal ‘woman’ → *jatal* ‘women’

Shiizumfaj also has two special inflectional morphemes for verbs: prefixes *o-* and *e-*. *O* means ‘external’ and *e* means ‘internal,’ roughly. Because the Molfijata have such rich internal lives while they hibernate, distinguishing between doing things internally and externally is very important. The line between something ‘internal’ and something ‘external’ is not clearly drawn, but ‘internal’ usually means something done inside one’s mind or body, while ‘external’ typically affects others or is shared by others.

shizud ‘to speak’ → *oshizud* ‘to say/tell’ → *eshizud* ‘to think’

fisud ‘to go’ → *ofisud* ‘to leave’ → *efisud* ‘to dream/sleep’

wimud ‘to do’ → *owimud* ‘to make/build’ → *ewimud* ‘to decide’

rixud ‘to cut/chop’ → *orixud* ‘to end a relationship’ → *erixud* ‘to bleed’

plitsud ‘to be able’ → *oplitsud* ‘to help’ → *eplitsud* ‘to must/have to’

miqud ‘to hide’ → *omiqud* ‘to lie (tell a falsehood)’ → *emiqud* ‘to deny (to others or oneself)’⁵

IV. Syntax

1) Word Order

In Shiizumfaj, the word order is almost completely free. There are very few overt restrictions, only that pronouns and verbs may not be separated and neither should adjectives and nouns. Word order is largely dependent on context, so speakers will choose the word order that best conveys the desired meaning. For example, a simple sentence like “She decided to build a small house” could be written several different ways:

- 1) *owimud ket-a o’alur-a ta s’ewemuz* (OSV)
build-INF small-ACC house-ACC 3.SG PST-decide-SG
- 2) *ket-a o’alur-a ta s’ewemuz owimud* (OSV)
small-ACC house-ACC 3.SG PST-decide-SG build-INF
- 3) *ta s’ewemuz owimud ket-a o’alur-a* (SVO)
3.SG PST-decide-SG build-INF small-ACC house-ACC

Because the subject of this sentence is a pronoun, the subject and verb are restricted to SV order.

However, if the 3rd person pronoun were to be replaced with a noun, even more word orders would be possible:

- (4) *kamúnur ket-a o’alúr-a s’ewemuz owimud.* (SOV)
beaver small-ACC house-ACC PST-decide-SG build-INF
- (5) *s’ewemuz owimud ket-a o’alur-a kamúnur* (VOS)
PST-decide-SG build-INF small-ACC house-ACC beaver
- (6) *ket-a o’alur-a kamúnur s’ewemuz owimud* (OSV)
small-ACC house-ACC beaver PST-decide-SG build-INF

⁵ One could reflexively deny something to oneself (*pa s’emiquz pa*), but there also exists the verb *ekimud* ‘to lie to oneself’ from *kimud* ‘to confuse’.

- (7) *s'ewemuz kamínu owimud ket-a o'alur-a* (VSO)
 PST-decide-SG beaver build-INF small-ACC house-ACC
- (8) *owimud ket-a o'alur-a s'ewemuz kamínu* (OVS)
 build-INF small-ACC house-ACC PST-decide-SG beaver

Despite the extensive possibilities shown above, there are a number of word order restrictions. The pronoun-subject/corresponding verb restriction has already been briefly mentioned, but I will go into slightly more detail about it here. It is true that a pronoun and a verb alone in a sentence must have the word order OSV or SVO in the context of (1)-(3), where O is a noun; however, when O is a pronoun the word order SOV becomes possible and OSV becomes impossible.

- (9) “I love you” (SVO)
pa heluz-af
 1.SG.NOM love.PRS.SG-ACC.2.SG

- (10) “She loves me” (SOV)
ta-'p heluz
 3.SG.NOM-ACC.1.SG love.PRS.SG

- *(11) “He loves us” (OSV)
paj ta heluz
 1.PL.ACC 3.SG.NOM love.PRS.SG

The reason (11) is not possible is because, as is apparent in (9) and (10), the accusative pronoun is a bound morpheme; it must be attached to either the verb or the nominative pronoun. Another syntactic restriction is the placement of adjectives with respect to nouns. An adjective must always precede the corresponding noun, and may never be separated from it by any other free morpheme.

lun shiizus
 beautiful language

The one exception to this rule is numbers, which always *follow* the adjective they describe.

“four seasons”
ja-sfaron büj
 PL-season four

Numbers are also an exception to the adjective agreement rule: they agree with their subject in number in certain contexts.

“hundreds of seasons”

ja-sfaron ja-tiqüj

PL-season PL-ninety⁶

2) Verbs

Verbs in Shiizumfaj inflect number but not person—a conjugated verb will match the number of the corresponding subject noun but not whether it is in first, second, or third person, so the subject may never be dropped (unless the context makes the subject abundantly clear).

fisud	to go
pa fesuz	I go
fa fesuz	you go
ta fesuz	he/she goes
pa(j) fesuj	we go
fa(j) fesuj	you all go
ta(j) fesuj	they go

The verb is singular when it has the *-z* ending and plural when it has the *-j* ending. For that reason, the plural pronoun endings are generally optional when the pronoun is the subject of a verb. For example, to say “they speak” one could say “taj shezuj” or “ta shezuj,” but the second option is favored because it prevents the redundancy.

To form the past tense, the prefix *sii-* is added to the present tense verb. Thus, past tense of “I go” would be *pa siifesuz*, “I went”. The future tense is formed with a *tii-* prefix, as in *pa tiifesuz*, “I will go.” As discussed in the section on phonological rules, when the verb begins with a vowel, the prefixes are abbreviated to their first letter, and the omission is represented with an apostrophe.

⁶ The numbering system is base-15. For more information see appendix.

pa s'alemuz
1.SG PST-eat-SG

pa t'alemuz
1.SG FUT-eat-SG

Shiizumfaj also has an imperfect aspect that denotes a continuous action in any tense and is formed by adding the prefix *la-* after the tense prefix. In the past tense, *pa siilafesuz* means “I was going” or “I used to go,” or functions like the pluperfect “I had gone”, in that it indicates a past action that occurred prior to the completion of another past action. Speakers rely heavily on context to differentiate between imperfect past tense and pluperfect tense. In the future tense, *pa tiilafesuz* means “I will be going [often, continuously]” or may represent the future anterior tense: “I will be going [when something else will happen in the future].” In addition to past and present tense, the imperfect aspect may also be applied to the present tense to form the progressive: *pa lafesuz*, “I am going.” Because the progressive tense is formed this way and there is no progressive participle, Shiizumfaj speakers use the infinitive where an English speaker would use a gerund.

(9) “I love going to the mountains.”
pa heluz fisud vit ja-gúrus-ii
1.SG love.PRS-SG go.INF to PL-mountain-PREP

(10) “Going to the mountains is fun.”
fisud vi ja-gúrus-ii e-lurun-ii
go.INF to PL-mountain-PREP PRED-fun-PREP

As (10) makes clear, there is no coda in the present tense of Shiizumfaj. In the future or past tense, the verb *alud* “to be” is conjugated normally, but in the present tense the verb is absent. Instead, the predicate of the sentence is marked with an *e-* prefix (PRED).

In addition to tense and aspect, there are also four moods a verb could take: indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and conditional. The above conjugations are all in the indicative mood, which does not have any additional inflection. The subjunctive mood is marked by truncating the conjugation of the verb and maintaining any tense prefixation, as in:

pa fes
1.SG go.SBJV

pa sii-la-fes
1.SG PST-IPFV-go.SBJV

From there, the imperative mood can be formed by dropping the subject, doubling the final consonant, and repeating the internal *e* sound at the end:

fesse
go.IMP

To make the imperative cohortative, as in “let’s go,” include the 1st person plural pronoun:

fesse paj
go.IMP 1.PL

To make the imperative negative (“don’t go”), the final *e* is dropped and replaced with the negative particle:

fessik
go.IMP-NEG

The conditional mood is formed by adding a conditional particle, a free morpheme, before the verb:

pa nii fesuz
1.SG COND go.PRES.SG

To negate verbs in Shiizumfaj, the negative particle is applied before the conjugated verb. The syntactic hierarchy of verb phrases is such that the negative particle appears leftmost, then any other free morpheme inflectional particle, such as the conditional particle, and then the verb with its tense and aspect prefixes.

pa ik fesuz
1.SG NEG go.PRES.SG

pa ik ni fesuz
1.SG NEG COND go.PRES.SG

pa ik sii-fesuz
1.SG NEG PST-go.SG

3) Case

There are seven case distinctions in Shiizumfaj: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, vocative, and prepositional. All cases are marked with suffixes except for the unmarked nominative case.

The accusative case is used for objects of verbs and is marked with the suffix *-a*:

“I ate a fish”

disúr-a pa s'-alemuz
fish-ACC 1.SG PST-eat-SG

The genitive case, which indicates when there is a possessive relationship between nouns, is marked with the suffix *-um* placed on the possessed noun:

“I ate the woman’s fish”

disur-a átal-um pa s'-alemuz
fish-ACC woman-GEN 1.SG PST-eat-SG

“The man’s bear is soft”

e-kits mólfí-um átat
PRED-soft bear-GEN man

Genitive pronouns, or possessive pronouns, precede the noun they describe:

“She ate my fish”

pum disur-a ta s'-alemuz
1.SG.GEN fish-ACC 3.SG PST-eat-SG

When a word needs both genitive and accusative case, the genitive marker becomes a prefix:

“She ate the man’s fish”

um-disur-a áta ta s'-alemuz
GEN-fish-ACC man 3.SG PST-eat.SG

The dative case is used for indirect objects/intransitive arguments. It is marked with the suffix *-u*:

“I gave the man a fish”

áta-u disur-a pa s'-obaluz
man-DAT fish-ACC 1.SG PST-share⁷.SG

“I lied to my mother”

pa s'-omequz pum⁸ hal-u
1SG PST-lie.SG 1SG.GEN mother-DAT

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-al*.

⁷ The verb *obalud* ‘to share’ is ditransitive in Shiizumfaj; it takes a theme and a recipient for arguments, like the verb ‘to give’ in English.

⁸ Discussion of pronoun behavior w.r.t. to case can be found further on in this section.

“We drank [water] with our hands”

pa sii-peshuj⁹ pujm jakan-al
 1.PL PST-drink.PL 1.PL.GEN PL-hand-INS

The vocative case is used to address someone and is indicated with the morpheme *mi’a*. The vocative morpheme is a prefix when attached to a noun:

“Oth [a Shiizumfajan name], I love you”

oth-mi’a, pa heluz-af
 Oth-VOC 1.SG love.PRES-SG-2SG.ACC

The morpheme may also be unbound when used as a call to an unnamed person:

“Hey! Who are you?”

mi’a! kem faj?
 VOC who 2.PL

The prepositional case is for nouns that are objects of prepositions (rather than verbs, as in the accusative case). The case is marked by a suffix *-ii*. Pronouns do not decline to prepositional case.

“The fish are in the river.”

lit piishus-ii e-ja-disur
 in river.DEF-PREP PRED-PL-fish.DEF

Pronouns do decline to many other cases, however. The full chart of pronouns can be found below:

Person	Nominative Singular	Nominative Plural	Accusative (S/P)	Genitive (S/P)	Intransitive/ Dative (S/P)	Reflexive (S/P)
1st	pa	paj	-ap/-ajp	pum/pujm	-up/-ujp	-pa/-paj
2nd	fa	faj	-af/-ajf	fum/fujm	-uf/-ujf	-ta/-taj
3rd	ta	taj	-at/-ajt	tum/tujm	-ut/-ujt	-fa/-faj

⁹ When using the verb *piishud* ‘to drink,’ water is the default implied object, and therefore does not need to be stated.

Nominative pronouns are the standard by which all other pronouns are derived. Accusative pronouns are bound morphemes, as are intransitive/dative pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are not bound in the sense that they must attach to a verb, but their place is fixed in the sentence and they may not be moved away from the verb to which they apply.

“We looked at each other”

*paj sii-neluj paj*¹⁰
1.PL.NOM PST-look.PL 1.PL.REFL

A reflexive pronoun is always used in contexts like the above, and may never be used with differing subjects (**paj siineluj taj*). If you wanted to say “We looked at them,” you would use the dative pronoun *ujt*:

pa sii-neluj-ujt
1.PL.NOM PST-look.PL-3.PL.DAT

Genitive pronouns are also not physically bound to other words, but instead function like adjectives, and must always precede the noun to which they refer (see example on **PAGE**).

4) Prepositions and Conjunctions

Despite the rich case system, Shiizumfaj also has a rich system of prepositions. A prepositional may also be a postposition:

“I live under that tree.”

pa o'aluz sart teso torim-ii
1.SG.NOM live.PRS.SG under that tree-PREP

OR

sart teso torim-ii pa o'aluz
under that tree-PREP 1.SG.NOM live.PRS.SG

Similarly, a prepositional phrase could have word order preposition, object of preposition (like above), or the opposite:

teso torim-ii sart

¹⁰ Here, the plural endings on the pronouns are still optional, but they are dropped much less frequently. If a plural ending is dropped, it is typically the first (nominative) pronoun's ending, and rarely the reflexive pronoun's ending.

that tree-PREP under

The first word order is more frequently used, but both are acceptable. For a full list of prepositions, see appendix.

Conjunctions in Shiizumfaj function very similarly to those in English. They conjoin phrases and provide transitions between sentences. Unique to Shiizumfaj is the many different ways to say ‘and.’ There is *jos*, which is used between nouns:

“Bears eat grass and fish”

alemuj ja-molfi jalim-a jos ja-disúr-a
eat.PRS.PL PL-bear.NOM grass-ACC and PL-fish -ACC

There is also the ‘and’ used between verbs, *mit*:

“Bears eat fish and drink water.”

ja-molfi ja-disúr-a alemuj mit píish-a peshuj
PL-bear.NOM PL-fish-ACC eat.PRS.PL and water-ACC drink.PRS.PL

Additionally, there is the conjunction *mitto*, which means ‘and then,’ (as in ‘she ate breakfast *and then* brushed her teeth’) and the conjunction *jovar* ‘and so’. *Jovar* is used in contexts like the following:

“I was cold [and] so I started a fire.”

pa sii-la-sfeluz jovar pa s'-owemuz omash-a
1.SG.NOM PST-IPFV-be cold.SG and so 1.SG PST-make.SG fire-ACC

Jovar is different from the conjunction *var*, ‘so,’ which could be translated as “in order that.”

“I made a fire *so* I wouldn’t be cold.”

omash-a pa s'-owemuz var ik sii-la-sfeluz
fire-ACC 1.SG.NOM PST-make.SG so NEG PST-IPFV-be cold.SG

There are two other Shiizumfaj conjunctions that do not exist in English, unrelated to the word ‘and.’ They are *avás* and *ikavás*. The word *avas*, with stress on the first syllable, is a noun that means ‘the future.’ When the stress moves to the second syllable, the word takes on a meaning that is difficult to translate, but essentially means ‘at that time and beyond’.

“They built a house and have lived there ever since.”

o'alur-a taj s'-owemuj mit tesii o'aluj avás

house-ACC 3.PL.NOM PST-build.PL and there live.PRS.PL beyond

Ikavás means the opposite of *avás* (as may be apparent from the negative particle prefix). Its meaning would translate to ‘before then’ or ‘at that time but *not* beyond’.

“We had many pastries then [but not any longer]”

pa baluj guron ja-simiil ikavás
1.PL.NOM have.PL many PL-pastry at that time

Note that in both sentences the verb accompanying the conjunction is conjugated in the present tense.

That is because no tense marker is needed, as the word itself marks the past tense.

5) Questions

Questions in Shiizumfaj are typically written OVS, or OSV for those instances when S is a pronoun. If there is a question word, like who or what, it must be first in the sentence. If there is no question word, the question is indicated with rising intonation. Below are examples of questions with and without question words:

(1) “Where is the river?”

himshil píishus?

where river.DEF

(2) “Do you have any pastries?”

simiil-a fa baluz?

pastry-ACC 2.SG have.PRES-SG

(3) “When do you want to eat?”

suril alimud fa oneluz?

when eat.INF 2.SG eat.PRES-SG

(4) “What was the capital of Denmark?”

tosil s'aluz lúri¹¹ fus Danmark-ii¹²¹³?

what PST-be-SG city.DEF of Denmark-PREP

¹¹ *Lúri* with the definite stress can mean either simply ‘the city’ or ‘the capital’, depending on context.

¹² Notes about the spelling of ‘Denmark’: loanwords are the only capitalized words in Shiizumfaj (*‘Danimark’* is borrowed from Swedish *Danmark*); the *i* in Shiizumfaj functions like a schwa in many languages, in that it is a go-to unstressed vowel. The *i* is inserted in this case because there are not many syllables in Shiizumfaj that aren’t separated by vowels, so the instinct of the speakers is to insert an unstressed vowel between the *n* and the *m*. They are capable of pronouncing it otherwise, but the word has developed this way over time and is now the canonical pronunciation.

¹³ A proper noun like the name of a nation is inherently definite, and thus does not need a stress marker. The stress would ordinarily naturally fall on the first syllable, however, the long *ii* prepositional suffix attracts the stress, so that the final *a* ends up being the stressed vowel (*Danimárkii*).

Question (1) is an example of basic question structure. When there is no pronoun, the verb precedes the subject. In this case, the verb is a present tense coda, which is never pronounced, so the question word is acting as the predicate instead, which is why it is fronted. Even in cases where there is a pronoun subject, as in (3), the question word remains fronted because the frequency of simple questions like (1) and the free word order have caused the rule to be overextended to all questions. Therein lies the origin of the mandatory OVS/OSV word order for questions, as the question word is often the object of the sentence, as in (4).

6) Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are marked through pronominal reduplication, also known as clitic doubling, where the accusative pronoun appears in the same sentence as the noun phrase to which it refers. Below is an example, with the noun phrase and redundant pronoun bolded for clarification:

“The language that the woman speaks is beautiful.”

shíizus-a *shehuz-at* *átal* *e-lun*
 language.DEF-ACC speak.SG-ACC woman.DEF.NOM PRED-beautiful

A literal translation of the above sentence would read, “The language speaks it the woman is beautiful.” The subject is the language and the main verb is an unpronounced present tense coda, which indicates its presence in the predicate marker on the adjective *lun*. The verb *shehuz* is not the main verb of the sentence but an imbedded verb in the subject NP. Its subject is *atal*. In the English translation this is more clear, as there is the relative clause marker ‘that’ which separates the imbedded clause from the rest of the sentence—“The language [that the woman speaks] is beautiful.” In Shiizumfaj, these distinctions are made clear through a combination of case markings and the reduplication of the pronoun. Although *shiizur* is technically the subject of the sentence and should therefore be in unmarked nominative case, it receives an accusative ending to match the accusative pronoun in the relative clause. In other words, the word ‘language’ is acting as both the nominative subject of the main clause and the accusative object of the relative clause. Although marking the main subject of a sentence as accusative seemingly violates basic grammar, it is necessary for the speaker to

distinguish between the nouns in the sentence, as there is no gender distinction¹⁴ between *shiizur* and *atal*, and both are in the nominative case. Without a marking on *shiizur* it would be difficult to determine which noun the accusative pronoun *at* refers to: “*shiizur shehuzat átal elun*,” could just as easily mean “The woman that the language speaks is beautiful.” Although in this context that construal of the sentence is easily avoided for logical reasons, there are other contexts that would not be the case, for instance:

* *mólfî neluz-at átat e-lik*
 bear.DEF.NOM see.SG-ACC.3SG man.DEF.NOM PRED-happy
 “The bear that the man sees is happy”.

Because there is no evidence in the above sentence for which nominative noun the 3rd person singular accusative pronoun refers to, the sentence makes sense either way (“the bear that the man sees is happy” or “the man that the bear sees is happy”). For that reason, the main subject must have some kind of agreement marker with the relative pronoun *at*. Although the accusative marker has been adopted for this purpose, it should be thought of more as a “relative case” marker. Below is the corrected sentence, with the accusative ending relabeled as relative (REL):

mólfî-a neluz-at átat e-lik
 bear.DEF.NOM-REL see.SG-ACC man.DEF.NOM PRED-happy
 “The bear that the man sees is happy”.

There are also sentences, as in (5) below, that require a nominative relative pronoun.

(5) “Do you see that man who is speaking over there?”

teso átat fa neluz ta shezuz tessii?
 that man.DEF.NOM 2.SG see.PRS.SG 3.SG speak.PRS.SG over there

A literal translation of the sentence would read, “Do you see that man he speaks over there?”. In the place of ‘who,’ the corresponding nominative pronoun is used. This structure is also applied to sentences with non-human subjects, as in the common adage:

(6) “The bear that sleeps by the river catches no fish.”

¹⁴ See appendix for further discussion of gender.

disúr-a ik sveruz mólfi ta efesuz iint piíshus-ii
 fish.DEF-ACC NEG catch.PRS.SG bear.DEF.NOM 3.SG sleep.PRS.SG by river.DEF-PREP

7) Articles and Demonstratives

As has been previously discussed, there are no definite or indefinite articles in Shiizumfaj, as definiteness is distinguished through stress. However, there are other determiners such as demonstrative pronouns. Shiizumfaj distinguishes between *tes* ‘this [within reach of the speaker]’, *teso* ‘that [within reach of the hearer]’, *tesso* and ‘that [intangible or out of reach of both speaker and hearer]’. Distinguishing between *teso* and *tesso* is a situation in which the single *s* may be pronounced like /z/ for clarity’s sake. The doubled *ss* (/s:/) is pronounced like an extra long *s*. Demonstrative pronouns function like adjectives in that they always precede the noun to which they refer, but unlike adjectives they do not take on the case ending of that noun:

“What is this object?”
tosil¹⁵ tes Ójek¹⁶?
 what this object.DEF

These demonstrative pronouns also double as the directional terms ‘here’, ‘there’, and ‘over there’, respectively, when paired with the preposition *lit*. However, the presence of the preposition necessitates a prepositional *-i* suffix. At an earlier stage of the language a sentence containing the word ‘there’ may have read:

“She lives there.”
ta o’aluz lit teso’ii
 3.SG live.PRS-SG in there-PREP

Over time, the *o* plus glottal stop dropped, and the sentence became:

ta o’aluz lit tesii
 3.SG live.PRS-SG in there-PREP

¹⁵ The nature of the syntax of this question is such that *tosil* should be the predicate; however, question words never take the predicate marker.

¹⁶ *Ojek* is vestige from Swedish, the language originally native to the Molfijata’s land. Swedish has been long dead at this point and has almost no relationship with Shiizumfaj, other than some phonological similarities and the occasional loanword. In this case, *Ojek* is taken from Swedish *objekt*, which became *Objek* and then *Ojek*. Cross-syllabic consonant clusters frequently drop out of the language, and those that currently exist are likely to be dropped at some point in the future.

From there, the use of the case-marked version of the word was extended to use in other contexts, as in:

“There is your mother.”

e-tesii fum hal

PRED-there 2.SG.GEN mother.NOM

At this point, one further change needed to happen, as now *tesii* ‘there’ is indistinguishable from *tesii* ‘here’, without the *-o* ending. To account for this, the *s* eventually dropped out of *tesii*, ‘here’, and the word became *te’ii*¹⁷.

¹⁷ On the other hand, when the demonstrative adjectives themselves are placed in prepositional phrases they do not take a prepositional ending at all.

V. Story

The following is a poetic rendering of the history of the Earth from ca. 3000 CE to 4000 CE. It is a story known around the globe that has been repeated for hundreds of years by those descended from the humans who chose to remain on Earth.

Before there was life, there was earth.

álur ik-sii- l- alus avás; ashím sii-l'- alus.
life.NOM NEG-PST-IPFV-there is then earth.NOM PST-IPFV-there is

Rich, dark earth. Rich, lonely earth waiting for life.

avul ashím, othin ashím. avul kas sfal ashím ta edisuz álur-a.
rich earth.NOM dark earth.NOM rich but lonely earth.NOM 3.SG wait.PRS.SG life-ACC

When life sprung from earth, it withered, for life must seek life to survive.

suril fus áshimii s'oqehuz álur, sii-l'- okrezuz,
when from earth-PREP PST-arrive.SG life.NOM PST-IPFV-wither-SG
varo álur-a álur eplitsuz otimud mar e'alud.
for life-ACC life.NOM must-SG look for.INF to live.INF

Life traveled from snow to sun, spreading its roots, seeking out life.

fus sfíl-ii vit ash-ii álur sii- l'- omelfuz. tum jolítur-a ta sii- l' oletuz,
from snow-PREP to sun-PREP life.NOM PST-IPFV-travel-SG 3.SG.GEN roots-ACC 3.SG PST-IPFV-descend-SG
álur-a ta sii- l'- otemuz.
life-ACC 3.SG PST-IPFV-look for-SG

As life bonded with life, it took many forms.

vitto tims áluri sii- la- tareluz álur, huf-a j'-e'álur-a ta s'-eletuz.
while with life-PREP PST-IPFV-bond-SG life.NOM, many-ACC PL-body-ACC 3.SG PST-become-SG

Life swam, flew, ran, leaped.

sii-desuz álur, s'ilewhuz, siiwhepuz, s'omiseluz álur.
PST-swim-SG life.NOM PST-fly-SG PST-run-SG PST-leap-SG life.NOM

Each version of life found its perfect place on Earth,

álud sfarónum álura sii-temuz o'álura tarileda lit xáshan-ii
every season-GEN life-ACC PST-find-SG habitat-ACC fitted-ACC on Earth-PREP

where they could stretch their bodies and evolve to be more perfect.

ta sii- la- pletsuj nivud tessii tujm j-e'álur-a
3.PL.NOM PST-IPFV-be able-PL stretch-INF there 3.PL.GEN PL-body-ACC
mit emisilud tessii mar elitud hufon-a tariled-a.
and evolve-INF there for become-INF more-ACC fitted-ACC

But life also created human, who had no perfect body and no perfect place,

kas átan-a s'-owemuz álur, ta ik sii-baluz tariled-a e'álur-a
but human-ACC PST-make.SG life.NOM 3.SG.NOM NEG PST-have.SG fitted-ACC body-ACC

mitik tariled-a o'alur-a.
nor fitted-ACC habitat-ACC

and so human hid from Earth.

jovar s'-ekrezuz átan fus xáshan-ii
so PST-hide.SG human.NOM from earth-PREP

But Earth suffered from this lost life,

kas fus tessó s'vared-ii álud-ii sii-l'-o'inuz xáshan
but from that lost-PREP life-PREP PST-IPFV-suffer.SG life.NOM

and so trembled that it destroyed the humans' hiding places.

mit tron sii-l'-enevuz ta s'-oqeluz j-ekrezus-um j-átan
and so PST-IPFV-tremble.SG 3.SG.NOM PST-destroy.SG PL-hide place-GEN PL-human

Thousands of years passed and thousands of humans left Earth

ja-sfaron ja-qiint-bi s'-ofesuj mit j-atan ja-qiint-bi xáshan-a s'-ofesuj
PL-season.NOM PL-thousand PST-leave.PL and PL-human.NOM PL-thousand Earth-ACC PST-leave.PL

in the wake of such destruction.

zimas tron-ii oqilus-ii
after so-PREP destruction-PREP

Those who remained no longer had their shelters to hide in.

j-atan taj s'-e'iliwhuj o'alur-a taj baluj ikavás
PL-human.NOM 3.PL.NOM PST-stay.PL shelter-ACC 3.PL.NOM have.PRS.PL no longer

They returned to life, and only then did the Earth find peace.

taj s'-osviruj aviis álur-a, mitto likkát-a xáshan s'-esviruz avás
3.PL.NOM PST-return.PL toward life-ACC then peace-ACC Earth.NOM PST-find.SG from then

Life must seek life,

álur-a álur eplitsuz otimud mar e'alud
life-ACC life.NOM must.PRS.SG look for.INF to live.INF

and may it there remain, bonded eternally

mit tessó e'ilewhe-taj, otariled vitto alúd ja-sfaron.
and there remain.IMP-3.PL.NOM bonded for all PL-season

VI. Lexicon

A sampling of vocabulary from Shiizumfaj.

1) English-Shiizumfaj

after	zimas
air	whud
and (nouns)	jos
and (verbs)	mit
and so, consequently	jovar
and then	mitto
around	kols
beautiful	lun
because, for	varo
before, no longer	avás
bitumen	kuviz
brick	shtuk
but	kas
child	ketan
city	lurus
cold	sfil
dark	othin
destruction	oqilus
during	vitto
during	vitto
eagle	rax
Earth	xashan
eight	küj
eleven	sfüj
except for, but	timmsó
fertile, rich	avul
fifteen	qüj
fire	omash
five	düj
flat	kamun
for [a period of time]	vitto
forty-five	liqüj
four	büj
fourteen	xüj
from then	avás
from, of	fus
fun	lurun
fun	lurun
furry	kits

furry, soft
 future
 happy
 happy
 hard
 hard
 here
 hot
 if
 information
 inhale
 inside of (accessible)
 inside of (inaccessible)
 instead of
 into
 large
 light
 light
 lonely
 man
 mortar
 mountain
 night
 nine
 ninety
 ninety-one
 no longer
 nor
 now
 one
 one thousand
 over
 peace
 peace
 sand
 season
 seven
 seventy-five
 six
 sixteen
 sixty
 small
 son
 stone
 sun

kits
 ávas
 lik
 lik
 fil
 fil
 te'ii
 om
 jut
 oshik
 ewhidud
 lis
 lisso
 markus
 litto
 gur
 nin
 nin
 sfal
 atat
 bland
 gurus
 othus
 fűj
 tiqűj
 di-sűt
 ikavás
 mitik
 sfol
 sűt
 qiint-bi
 sirt
 likkat
 likkat
 ketfilashim
 sfaron
 zűj
 diqűj
 tűj
 qű-sűt
 biqűj
 ket
 ketat
 filashim
 ash

ten	püj
that (abstract or out of reach of both speaker and hearer)	tesso
that (within reach of hearer)	teso
then	sifol
thirteen	rüj
thirty	niqüj
this (within reach of the speaker)	tes
three	lүj
through, to	vit
throughout	vitto
throughout	vitto
timud	to find
to be	alud
to be cold	sfalud
to be depressed	efilud
to be happy	likur
to become	elitud
to begin	litud
to believe	ejisud
to bond	otarilud
to break down, disintegrate	ofilud
to break, stop	filud
to catch	svirud
to catch	svirud
to communicate	emilfud
to confuse	kimud
to cook	omud
to cut, chop	rixud
to deceive	okimud
to deny	emiqud
to destroy	oqilud
to drink (water)	pishud
to eat	alimud
to end a relationship	orixud
to evolve	emisilud
to fall in love	etarilud
to find	esvirud
to fly	iliwhud
to go	fisud
to harm, cause pain	inud
to harvest	o'alimud
to have	balud
to help	oplitsud
to hide	miqud

to hug	okitsud
to jump	misilud
to know (a fact)	jisud
to know (a person or place)	minud
to leap	omisilud
to leave	ofisud
to lie	omiqud
to lie to yourself	ekimud
to live, be alive	e'alud
to lose	svarud
to love	hilud
to make, build	owimud
to meet	ominud
to must, have to	eplitsud
to race, chase	owhipud
to rain	opishud
to realize, become aware	ekitsud
to remain	e'iliwhud
to return	osvirud
to ride	milfud
to run	whipud
to say, tell	oshizud
to see, look at	nilud
to self-discover	etimud
to sell	qilud
to share	obalud
to soar	o'iliwhud
to stretch	nivud
to stretch (an object)	onivud
to teach	ojisud
to think	eshizud
to touch	kitsud
to travel	omilfud
to tremble/shake	enivud
to want	onilud
to want, desire	ehilud
to wither, be dying	okrizud
top	hik
toward, to	aviis
tower	rebit
tree	torim
twelve	nüj
two	süj
under	sart
underneath	sarto

until
valley
water
wet
what
when
while
without

xas
liitor/litur
piish
o'alpi
toril
suril
vitto
timso

2) Shiizumfaj-English

alimud	to eat
alud	to be
ash	sun
atat	man
avás	before, no longer
avás	from then
ávas	future
aviis	toward, to
avul	fertile, rich
balud	to have
biqüj	sixty
bitumen	from then on
bland	mortar
büj	four
di-süt	ninety-one
diqüj	seventy-five
düj	five
e'alud	to live, be alive
e'alur	body
e'iliwhud	to remain
efilud	to be depressed
ehilud	to want, desire
ejisud	to believe
ekimud	to lie to yourself
ekitsud	to realize, become aware
ekrizud	to hide
elitud	to become
emiqud	to deny
emisilud	to evolve
enivud	to tremble/shake
eplitsud	to must, have to
eshizud	to think
esvirud	to find

etarilud	to fall in love
etimud	to self-discover
ewhidud	inhale
ewhipud	to deny
fil	hard
fil	hard
filashim	stone
filud	to break, stop
fisud	to go
füj	nine
fus	from, of
gur	large
gurus	mountain
hik	top
hilud	to love
ikavás	no longer
iliwhud	to fly
inud	to harm, cause pain
jisud	to know (a fact)
jos	and (nouns)
jovar	and so, consequently
jut	if
kamun	flat
kas	but
ket	small
ketan	child
ketat	son
ketfilashim	sand
kimud	to confuse
kits	furry
kits	soft
kitsud	to touch
kols	around
küj	eight
kuviz	bitumen
liitor/litur	valley
lik	happy
likkat	peace
likur	to be happy
liqüj	forty-five
lis	inside of (accessible)
lisso	inside of (inaccessible)
litto	into
litud	to begin
lүj	three

lun	beautiful
lurun	fun
lurus	city
markus	instead of
milfud	to ride
minud	to know (a person or place)
miqud	to hide
misilud	to jump
mit	and (verbs)
mitik	nor
mitto	and then
nilud	to see, look at
nin	light
nin	light
niqüj	thirty
nivud	to stretch
nüj	twelve
o'alimud	to harvest
o'alpi	wet
o'iliwhud	to soar
obalud	to share
ofilud	to break down, disintegrate
ofisud	to leave
ojisud	to believe
ojisud	to teach
okimud	to deceive
okitsud	to hug
okrizud	to wither, be dying
om	hot
omash	fire
omilfud	to travel
ominud	to meet
omiqud	to lie
omisilud	to leap
omud	to cook
onilud	to want
onivud	to stretch (an object)
opishud	to rain
oplitsud	to help
oqilud	to destroy
oqilus	destruction
orixud	to end a relationship
oshik	information
oshizud	to say, tell
osvirud	to return

otarilud	to bond
othin	dark
othus	night
owhipud	to race, chase
owimud	to make, build
piish	water
pishud	to drink (water)
püj	ten
qiint-bi	one thousand
qilud	to sell
qü-süt	sixteen
qüj	fifteen
rax	eagle
rebit	tower
rixud	to cut/chop
rüj	thirteen
sart	under
sarto	underneath
sfal	lonely
sfalud	to be cold
sfaron	season
sfil	cold
sfil	cold
sfol	now
sfüj	eleven
shtuk	brick
sifol	then
sirt	over
süj	two
suril	when
süt	one
svarud	to lose
svirud	to catch
svirud	to catch
mit	to fall in love
te'ii	here
tes	this (within reach of the speaker)
teso	that (within reach of hearer)
tesso	that (abstract or out of reach of both speaker and hearer)
timmsó	except for, but
timso	without
timud	to find
toril	what
torim	tree
tüj	six

varo	because, for
vit	through, to
vitto	during
vitto	for [a period of time]
vitto	throughout
vitto	while
whipud	to run
whud	air
xas	until
xashan	Earth
xüj	fourteen
zimas	after
züj	seven

VII. Appendix

1) Gender & Honorifics

There is no grammatical gender in Shiizumfaj. Both ‘he’ and ‘she’ are included in the pronoun *ta*, there are no feminine or masculine articles, and there is no gender agreement made for either nouns or verbs. However, there are some nouns that are inherently gendered, and the distinctions between them has inspired a very small number of nouns that take gender suffixes. For example, *ata* ‘person’ becomes *atat* ‘man,’ and *atal* ‘woman’.

There are also no honorifics in Shiizumfaj. The society of the Molfijata does not consider social rank a valuable trait to have, and instead everyone just tries to be as respectful of one-another as possible.

2) Numbers and Measure Words

Numbers in Shiizumfaj are done according to a base-15 system, which means that the number 10 actually denotes 15 because now the tens place represents 15 rather than 10 (and the ones place the number of ones leading up to 15).

[sut] one

[swj] two

[luj] three

[buuj] four

[duuj] five

[tuuj] six

[zuuj] seven

[kuuj] eight

[fuuj] nine

[puuj] ten

[guuj] eleven

[nuuj] twelve

[ruuj] thirteen

[xuuj] fourteen

[quuj] fifteen

[qu-] 15+

qu-sut = 16

qu-swj = 17...

[niquuj] 30

ni-sut = 31

ni-swj = 32...
 [liqwj] 45
 li-swj = 46
 li-swj = 47...
 [biqwj] 60
 bi-swj = 61
 bi-swj = 62...
 [diqwj] 75
 di-swj = 76
 di-swj = 77...
 [tiqwj] 90
 di-swj = 91
 di-swj = 92...

There are no classifiers in Shiizumfaj. Instead, there are measure words. Virtually any noun can be made into a measure word, and the Molfijata love to find creative new ways of describing the things around them. For example, *jarax*, ‘eagles,’ could be quantified as *falum jarax*, ‘a sky of eagles,’ *toriimum jarax*, ‘a tree of eagles,’ or even *gurusum jarax*, ‘a mountain of eagles.’ Any noun can be employed this way, with no limit to creativity. Other measure words include (but are not limited to):

some: [kil]
 many: [guron]
 more: [hufon]
 sky: [fal]
 all/every: [alud]
 few: [keton]

There are also a number of mass nouns in Shiizumfaj. The following are some examples:

water: piish
 air: whud
 weather: sfiniil
 fire: omásh
 sand: ketfilashiim
 earth: ashim
 information: oshiik
 lightning: ashopiik
 thunder: dold
 grass: jaliim
 pastry: simiil
 sun: ash
 moon (moonlight): oth

children: jaketán
forest: jatórim
darkness: jothin

3) Other Example Sentences with Gloss

piʃ-um ja'molʃi
water-GEN PL-bear
“The bears’ water”

molʃi-tum heluz-at
bear-3SG.GEN love.PRS.SG-3SG.ACC
“Her/his bear loves her/him”

molʃi-um ashim¹⁸ heluz-at
bear-GEN Ashim love.SG.PRS-3SG.ACC
“Ashim’s bear loves her”

hat-pum lüj ja-molʃi sii-neluz lumis.
father.NOM-1SG.GEN three PL-bear PST-see.SG today
“My father saw three huge bears today.”

ja-siimil-a pa ehesuj álud loth
PL-pastry-ACC 1.NOM dream.PRS.PL every night
“We dream of pastries every night”

pa oheluz owijud o'alur-a sʃil-um
1SG.NOM want.PRS.SG make.INF house-ACC snow-GEN
“I want to make a house of snow”

hat-um ashim alemuz jalim
father.NOM-GEN Ashim eat-SG.PRS grass
“Ashim’s father eats grass”

4) Some Idiomatic Expressions

To ask how someone is doing:

ashim-mi'a, bur sʃiinil-fum lumis?
Ashim-VOC how DEF.weather-2.GEN today
“Hey Ashim, how is your weather today?”

¹⁸ *ashim* means ‘earth’ but is also a girl’s name

A proverb that means something along the lines of “you can never deny your true nature”:

alúd jamolfi peshuj
all PL-bear.NOM drink-3PL
“All bears drink water”

A “small talk” conversation in shiizumfaj:

hello!: *ashavas!* (“May you have sun!”)
how are you?: *bur sfinil fum?* (“How is your weather?”)
great! and you?: *sfinil lun! mit fum?* (“It’s beautiful! And yours?”)
eh, okay: *je, alus dold guiron.* (“Eh, there’s a little thunder.”)
well... have a good one!: *mit... efesse liikon fa!* (“Well... dream happily!”)
thanks: *mit lunon fa.* (“And you beautifully.”)

5) Translation of Genesis 11:1-9

sifol sii-l-alúz alud Xáshan-um sūt shiizur mitum sūt huf-um jashiiz.
then PST-IPFV-be all Earth- GEN one language and-GEN one group-GEN PL-word
Now all the Earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

vitto tor-u ta- sii- la- mélfuj, kamu-a oliitur- a ta- s’ otemuj lit áshim-um Shiinar
while east-DAT 3.NOM- PST-IPFV-travel-PL flat- ACC valley-ACC 3.NOM- PST-discover-PL in earth-GEN Shi’nar
As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi’nar,

jos teso ta sii- l- o’alud avás
and there 3.NOM PST-IPFV- live.INF beyond
and they began dwelling there.

mitto ta- s’ osezuj ta
then 3.NOM- PST- say 3.REFL
Then they said to one another:

mi’a! owemme paj ja-Stuk-a mit oimud-ad omash-al
VOC make-IMP 1PL.NOM PL-brick-ACC and cook.INF-3.ACC fire-INST
“Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”

var ta- s’ owemuj-at ja-Stuk-al mitik fil-al, mit Kuviz-al mitik Bland-al
so 3.NOM PST- make-3PL.ACC PL-brick-INST instead of stone-INST and bitumen-INST instead of mortar-INST
So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

sifol ta- s’ osezuj: mi’a! paj owemme- ujp Lurí- a
then 3.NOM- PST-say VOC 3.PL.NOM build-IMP-DAT.3PL city-ACC
They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves

jos rebiit tims hik-um lit fal
and tower with top-DAT in sky

and a tower with its top in the heavens,

mit mined elette paj
and known become-IMP 1PL.NOM
and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves,

var iki paj owhided álud Xáshan vitto
so NEG 1PL.NOM blow-PST.PTCP all Earth throughout
so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”

mitto s’oletuz Zehova mar nilud Lúri-a jos rébit-a s’owemuj-ajt jaketat-um jatat
then PST-descend-S Jehovah to see.INF city-ACC and tower-ACC PST-build-3PL.ACC PL-son-GEN PL-man
Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

mitto s’osezuz Zehova:
then PST-say-S Jehovah
Jehovah then said:

nelle! sūt huf-um jata tims sūt shiizur taj
look-IMP one group-DAT PL-person with one language 3PL.NOM
“Look! They are one people with one language,

jos ta wemuj avás tessó-a
and 3.NOM do- PL beyond that-ACC
and this is what they have started to do.

sfol ik alus-a taj eshez wimud-at ik pletsuj
now NEG there is-ACC 3.PL.NOM think.SUBJV do-INF-ACC NEG can-PL
Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.

mi’a! tess-u olette paj mit kimud tum shiizur-a
VOC there-DAT descend-IMP 1.PL.NOM and confuse-INF DAT.3 language-ACC
Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language

mar taj ik ni pletsuj enilud taj shiizur-a
for 3PL.NOM NEG COND can-PL understand.INF REFL language-ACC
in order that they may not understand one another’s language.”

jovar fus tessó s’owhiduz-ajt Zehova vitto álud Xáshan
so from there PST- blow-S-ACC.PL Jehovah throughout all Earth
So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth,

mit avás owimud lúri-a taj sii- la- feluj
and beyond build.INF city-ACC 3PL.NOM PST-IPFV-stop-PL
and they gradually left off building the city.

jovar lúri-a taj s’eminuj- at Babel
so city-ACC 3PL.NOM PST-name-PL-ACC Ba’bel
That is why it was named Ba’bel,

marvar lit tessó sii-kimuz Zehova álud xáshan shiizur-um
because in there PST-confuse-S Jehovah all Earth language-GEN
because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth,

mit fus tessó áshim jashiizur-a s'owheduz-ajt vitto álud Xáshan Zehova.
and from that land PL-language-ACC PST-blow-SG-ACC.PL throughout all Earth Jehovah
and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

An Introduction to P'antrilian©

Katherine Hu

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1. Culture

P'antrilian is a language spoken by the people of P'agliantri, a world that is based off of the legend of Atlantis. Some aspects of this culture is inspired by the Disney film 'Atlantis: The Lost Empire.'

Instead of being located on Earth, it is located in a separate world, where they were the only inhabitants. The time of P'agliantri is far into the future, they are the remnants of the destruction of a much larger planet in which they were a country. The people of this larger planet were human beings who left Earth in the year 5050, when Earth became a barren planet. However, this larger planet only sustained these inhabitants for 1000 years, when the over-industrialization ruined that planet as well. There was a large earthquake, and all the cities were destroyed, and most people died. After the destruction, the people of P'agliantri and some peoples of other countries survived, and escaped into the nearest world. The leaders of the escapees vowed to return to a more basic form of living, where they returned to almost hunter-gatherer living styles.

The name P'agliantri comes from their word p'agliante, heavens. When they first arrived on this planet, legend says that they were not able to survive because of lack of food, until a fish saved them. The fish told them that it loved their city, and whenever it looked into the sky for the heavens, the people of P'agliantri is what they saw. And so, the fish agreed that if the peoples would treat them with respect, and if the peoples only took what they needed, the fish tribe would sacrifice themselves and offer their

resources to the people of P'agliantri. While this story is not true, it is their creation story passed down from the founders to ensure that people would treat their environment with respect. The founders were trying to preserve the planet they found, and prevent any disasters in the future from happening again. It is to remind them that everything they are offered and have available is precious, and that they have to be the role model and protect the natural cycle.

P'agliantri is a mostly water-based planet, with a few islands that are nearby each other. There are no other communities living nearby, and they are completely isolated. The primary mode of transportation for these people is by sea, and therefore they have a high respect and good relationship with all things marine-related. They worship fish and mother nature, and live off of food from the ocean such as fish, seaweed, and shellfish. Their only form of agriculture are rice fields, and those are very limited due to the dispersed format of islands. They have lived on this planet for 500 years, and have passed down traditions of non-violence and peace. While most of their day involves food hunting and preparation, they have developed a penchant for education and art. During their down time, they spend a lot of their time on personal projects or teaching the young, but there is not formal school system or business industry.

The most important thing to the P'agliantri tribe is their source of energy. This source of energy has been with them since they were living in the old planet, and was harvested and brought over by the founders when they were forced to relocate. Each of

the peoples wears a necklace that is given to them when they are born. The necklaces are connected to a source of energy that gives them extended lives, and is also their electric source. The power source is located deep within the ocean, and the people of P'agliantri know not to go near it, as it is incredibly hot and will burn whoever comes near. However, it has an almost magical power, where it can monitor the people and protect them. It is a very mysterious source, and no one knows much about it, but some believe that it gets its power from the souls of the people who have passed, and are the ancestors looking over their descendants.

2. Phonetics and Phonology

a. Phonetics

IPA Chart Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Retro -flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn -geal	Glott al
Stops	p b			t d			ʃ	k			
Nasal	m			n							
Trill				r							
Tap or Flap											
Fricative		f v	θ		ʃ	ʒ	ç ʝ				
Lateral Fricative											
Approximant				ɹ							
Lateral Approximant				l							

(Table 1.1)

Non-Pulmonic Consonants

Ejective	Clicks
p' Bilabial	Alveolar Lateral

Above is the IPA chart for the pulmonic and non-pulmonic consonants of P'antrilian. Most of them are found in the American English language, such as [p], [b], [t], [d], [k], [m], [n], [f], [v], [θ], [ʃ], [ʒ], and [l]. The pulmonic consonants that are not found in the English language but are found in P'antrilian are [ɟ], [ʒ], [ç], [ɟ̥], [r], [p'] and [ɬ]. [ɟ] is a voiced palatal stop and does not exist in English. The sound is most similar to the j in jump, but because it is a stop it acts like g in argue. It is articulated with the middle or back part of the tongue raised to the palate. [ʒ] is not in English, but is similar to the s in pleasure. It is pronounced as a voiced retroflex sibilant fricative and is produced by channeling air-flow through a groove into the back of the tongue with clenched teeth. This consonant is common in Chinese as the pronunciation of 肉 (meat). [ç] is also does not exist in American English, but is pronounced like h in hue of British English. It is a voiceless palatal fricative. [ɟ̥] is a voiced palatal fricative. It sounds like 'i' in million, but is a fricative so it has more constricted air flow and turbulence. While [r] is not in the English language, it is simply the trilled r, so most people can pronounce it. It is the same trilled r found in Spanish and other European languages. [p'] is a non-pulmonic bilabial ejective, and is pronounced like p in penny but with a stronger burst of air. Finally, [ɬ] is a non-pulmonic voiceless click found in African language called the tenuis lateral click.

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɯ	u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	æ	ʌ	
Open	a		

(Table 1.2)

Above is the vowel chart for P'antrillian. The vowels that are also commonly in American English are [i] for *bit*, [æ] for *bat*, [a] for *hot*, [u] for *boot*, and [ʌ] for *but*. The vowels that are not in the English language are [ɯ], [o], and [e]. [ɯ] is a close-back unrounded vowel that is most like *goose*, but is only said by certain American dialects, such as Californian. [o] is a close-mid back rounded vowel also seen in a few American dialects, but is also the French 'eau' sound in *réseau*. Finally, [e] is a close-mid front unrounded vowel. It sounds most like *ey* in *hey*, and is also seen in French's *beauté*.

B. Phonology

Within P'antrillian, there is a homorganic nasal rule, which indicates that at the same place of articulation, voiced and voiceless stops assimilate to a following consonant. There is also a vowel assimilation rule, which means that if a vowel precedes a nasal consonant, it will be nasalized. [p], [t], [k] is non-aspirated in word initial, but is aspirated if located in medial or final.

The syllable structure of P'antrillian is (C)CV(C)(C)(C). In this structure, there must be one consonant preceding a vowel, but there can be as many up to three consonants preceding and also three following.

Here are some examples:

CV: **mi** 'and'

CCV: **p'lio** 'study'

CVC: **mit** 'to'

CVCC- **kaθetlo** 'They are'

CCVCCC: **magliantri** 'city'

There are no vowels alone or in the starting position of a word. There are no constraints as to what consonants can go with each other, except for t. The only consonant clusters with t in it are 'tl', 'nt', 'tç', and 'tr'. When vowels are combined, the pronunciation remains separate for each vowel, they do not combine to become one sound.

The stress pattern of P'antrilian depends on the syllables in the word. If there are two syllables, the stress is fixed initial. However, if there are more than two syllables, the stress is fixed on the second syllable. There are tones in the languages, and are only used to demonstrate tense. There are two tones, 1. çá, and 2. chà. The first tone, going up, indicates past tense. The second tone, going downwards, indicates future. When there are tones, the stress will on the tones, in order for the tense to be heard more accurately. When there are possessive suffixes, stress will also be moved to the suffix for emphasis.

3. Morphology

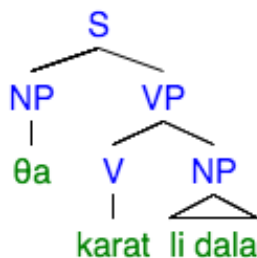
1) P'antrilian is a mostly agglutinative language, in which all tenses, moods, and aspects are demonstrated through suffixation.

- 2) To make a noun an adjective, simply add +nian to the noun if the noun ends in a vowel. If it ends in a consonant, add +inian.
- 3) To make a verb an adverb, add +niona to the verb in its indicative form if the verb ends in a vowel. If it ends in a consonant, add +iniona to the verb in its indicative form.
- 4) To make a verb imperative, add +tet to the indicative form if it ends with a vowel. If it ends in a consonant, add itet.
- 5) To pluralize a word that ends in a vowel or consonant, simply add tri. But, if the word originally ends in a t, both ts are shortened to one t. To pluralize an adjective, add +n.
- 6) There is no prefixation or infixation in P'antrilian.
- 7) If any morphological agglutination leads to a double letter such as tt or rr, it is simply shortened to one of the letter.
- 8) For pronouns used to describe anything non-human, add +n to human pronouns.

4. Syntax

a. Word Order

The word order for P'antrilian is SVO. The word order is not very strict, and can move depending on context, personal choice, and emphasis.



θa kara-t li dala
he see-3.SG the house
he sees the house

To form a question, the word order is VSO. Simply exchange the verb and the subject order to indicate that it is a question or a request. It is also possible to ask a question in SVO form but there must be a physical gesture with an open hand facing up when speaking the question. This is common for casual speech. Hand gesture will be more thoroughly explained in section 4I.

Example:

Kara-t θa θio?

See-3.SG he we

Does he see us?

b. Verbs/TMA (Tense, Mood, Aspect)

The tense, mood, aspect is relatively simple in P'antrilian. There is no gender. Here is a list of them based on the verb vi, meaning to go:

To make the present, 1st singular is the indicative form. 2nd singular is created by adding –m to the indicative form when it ends with a vowel. If it ends with a consonant, then –im is added instead. 3rd singular is t, and the consonant –it rule applies as well. To make plural, simply add –lo to the singular forms.

Present-Perfect-Indicative	Singular	Plural
1 st	vi	vilo
2 nd	vim	vimlo
3 rd	vit	vitlo

To make the past perfect indicative, the take all the forms from the present indicative, and add –çá, which indicates past tense.

Past-Perfect-Indicative	Singular	Plural
1 st	viçá	viloçá
2 nd	vimçá	vimloçá
3 rd	vitçá	vitloçá

To make present and past imperfect, add –ro to the present/past perfective conjugations. The suffix –ro indicates imperfective.

Present-Imperfect-Indicative	Singular	Plural
1 st	viro	viloro
2 nd	vimro	vimloro
3 rd	vitro	vitloro

Past-Imperfect-Indicative	Singular	Plural
1 st	viçáro	viloçáro
2 nd	vimçáro	vimloçáro
3 rd	vitçáro	vitloçáro

The suffix that indicates subjunctive is –ti. To make subjunctive in any tense and aspect, simply add –ti to the conjugation.

Present-Perfect-Subjunctive	Singular	Plural
1 st	viti	viloti
2 nd	vimti	vimloti
3 rd	viti	vitloti

Past-Perfect-Subjunctive	Singular	Plural
1 st	viçáti	viloçáti
2 nd	vimçáti	vimloçáti
3 rd	vitçáti	vitloçáti

Present-Imperfect-Subjunctive	Singular	Plural
1 st	viroti	viloroti
2 nd	vimroti	vimloroti
3 rd	vitroti	vitloroti

Past-Imperfect-Subjunctive	Singular	Plural
1 st	viçároti	viloçároti
2 nd	vimçároti	vimloçároti
3 rd	vitçároti	vitloçároti

To make the future, all you have to do is take the past tense and change á to à.

Future-Perfect-Indicative	Singular	Plural
1 st	viçà	viloçà
2 nd	vimçà	vimloçà
3 rd	vitçà	vitloçà

C. Nouns

There is no grammatical gender in P'antrilian and no gender in pronouns.

i. Person

There is no honorific pronoun.

People Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1 st	θi (i)	θio (we)
2 nd	θo (you)	θoa (you pl.)
3 rd	θa (he/it)	θia (they)

However, animal pronouns are different from people pronouns. A suffix -n is added to people pronouns to create an animal pronoun. Animal pronouns are very rarely used, most of the time only seen in story telling or personification. The only animals that also use people pronouns are fish. It is possible to refer to an animal with a people pronoun instead to indicate intimacy and closeness with that animal. It is also possible to personify objects by using the animal pronoun, but in general while talking about objects, using the 3rd singular form of the animal pronoun is sufficient.

Animal/Object Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1 st	θin	θion
2 nd	θon	θoan
3 rd	θan (it)	θian

ii. Number

As previously mentioned in the Morphology section, to pluralize any word, add the suffix –tri, or –itri if it ends in a consonant.

Examples:

Fævin: Language or a single word

Fævinitri: Words

D. Articles/Determiners

There are both definite and indefinite articles in P'antrilian, but there is no gender and no difference in living and non-living things. However, the one difference is that living things have plural agreement.

School: dirkimdaʝo	Child: dirkimda
A school Ki dirkimdaʝo	A child pa dirkimda
The school li dirkimdaʝo	The child ma dirkimda
Some schools ki dirkimdaʝotri	Some children pan dirkimdatri
Those schools li dirkimdaʝotri	Those children man dirkimdatri

As seen above, when 'school' is pluralized (+tri), the articles do not change. The articles for non-living things are unchanging, and only differ in two ways, ki (indefinite) and li (definite). For the noun 'child', there is also an indefinite (pa) and definite (ma) article,

but there is also a plural form of the articles. Simply add an +n at the end of the articles to indicate plurality, and it must agree with the noun.

There are also two demonstratives, kar and karni, which act as pronouns. Kar means this, and karni means that. They are only used in sentences or questions that do not have an antecedent within the sentence.

Øi liri kar
I love.1.SG this
I love this

E. Adjectives

Adjectives come before the noun, and have plural agreement.

Paka dirkimda
Happy child

Pakan dirkimdatri
Happy children

As a reminder, in nouns plural is created by adding +tri. For adjectives, add +n to pluralize. If the word already ends in a consonant, add +in.

F. Case System

There are six case systems. P'antrilian is a nominative-accusative language.

Nominative	In subject position
Accusative	In object position, pronoun +k
Genitive	Noun+pronoun
Instrumental	nid (with)
Locative	mit (in/at)
Ablative	Mition (from) a (because)

The nominative case sits in the subject position, or can be identified through context. There is no specific word that determines the nominative case. The accusative case is in the object position and has no change if the accusative is a noun. However, when using pronouns in the accusative position, a + k is added. See below:

θi liri θa-k
I love.1.SG he-ACC
I love him

Genitive case, or the possessor of a noun or NP is expressed by attaching the correct pronoun behind the noun. There is no change if the noun is plural.

Pe- θi
Table-I.1.SG.GEN
My table

Instrumental case demonstrates that an instrument is used to perform the action. The instrumental case in this case is a preposition, *nid* (with). This is used very often, and is really flexible. *Nid*, just like English, is used as a conjunction.

Locative case is more specific. The general term to indicate a location is '*mit*'. However, *mit* can mean any general location, such as with, in, at, on top of, etc. When used alone in a sentence, *mit* is generally assumed by the hearer to be 'in, or at' a certain location. If the speaker wants to specify, attaching a preposition after the noun will explain in what specific way this location exists.

θi kaθe mit dala mitoke
I be.1.SG.PRS in.LOC house front.LOC
I am in front of the house

Ablative case is the movement from something or the cause of something. Just like in English, there is a common usage of *lla*, which means because, but can also be casually be used to mean why. There is also the word *putinero*, which also means why but is a formal form mostly used for written language. It cannot be used to mean because. The preposition *mition* demonstrates the ablative case. It can only be used to indicate a movement; there must be a starting point and an ending point in the sentence or context it is used for. *Mition* would come before the starting point, and the word that would indicate the ending point would be '*mit*'. It cannot be used to say 'I am from California'. In this case, P'antrilian people would instead say 'I am of California'.

θi pudri mition dala-θi mit dirkimdaʝo
I walk.1.SG.PRS from.ABL house-1.SG.GEN to.ABL school
I walk from my house to school

θi kaθe delio P'antrilian
I be.1.SG.PRS of P'antrilian

I am from P'antrilian

G. Imperative

To create a command, add a +tet after the infinitive from of the verb. Commands are not used very often, and can be seen as rude in spoken language. As seen below, in spoken language it is polite and common to say something that literally translates to 'may you come now'. This structure is understood as an imperative, but also indicates that the speaker is not urgent or angry. Imperatives are only used in spoken language when it is urgent and truly necessary. It can be perceived as an angry statement. Yet, it is completely acceptable and preferred in written language.

Vo-tet!

Come-IMP

Come!

Bor θo vo-m kedori

May you come-2.SG.PRS now

Come! (if you wish)

H. Relative Clauses

The most common relative clause is 'ke' which means about. 'Ke' is used to describe living things and add detail, and can also function similarly to a colon. Ke is also attached after the living noun for clarity on which is subject. When attached, it functions similarly to the English relative clause 'who'.

θi taja-ća ke ma dirkimda-ke vi-t-ća-ro mit dirkimdaθo

I-pres taja1.SG-PST about.REL the child-REL go-3.SG-PST-IPFV to school

I dreamt that the child who was going to school

Jan-it-ća-ro.

eat-3.SG-PST-IMPV

was eating

I. Hand Gestures

Hand gestures are used very frequently. Other than using them to form questions as described earlier, they can also be used to describe emotions.

Warmth (general positive emotions) – Putting open hand to heart/chest

Unhappiness (general negative emotions) – Closing hand into a fist while talking

Frustration, worry – Putting hand on head

Question – open palm facing up

Angry – slapping right palm on the top of left hand (makes an x)

Proud, excited – clapping the index and middle fingers from each hand together (makes an x)

Depending on the region of P'antrilian, there are different hand gestures that are common. These cannot be used during formal conversations, but are only used in everyday, relaxed speech.

Lexicon

i. Numbers

1: lipe
2: none
3: teve
4: mame
5: jife
6: kive
7: buve
8: jame
9: pive
10: lipeθ
20: noneθ
11: lipeθlipe
37: teveθbitbuve
100: lit
1000: bit
2000: nonebit
10,000: lipeθbit
30,000: teveθbit
100,000: litbit
1,000,000: jit

ii. Nouns

air: θald
bitumen: nanonemilt
book: dijo
bread: klæɹ
bricks: jæmpielin
butterfly: veria
chair: peda
children: dirkimda
city: maglianti
daughter: letrina
drink: vovi
earth: jæmpie
face: baton
family: kimdajo
fire: nerilt

fish (friendly/good): dwulikliui
fish (unfriendly/bad): dwuliklorno
fish meat: dwuli
food: kliji
grass: jamid
head: daio
heaven: p'aglianti
house: dala
hunger: janilt
information: bapultrie
language: fævin
man: kimdo
mortar: teniamilt
name: bapotro
nation: zʷl
pain: kurta
pants: nutadol
pastry: ver
person: kimda
respect: pakion
sand: moθan
school: dirkimdaʝo
sky: p'aze
son: lerini
star(s): p'azen(tri)
stone: korkor
table: pé
thunder: dwlutikena
tower/building: dilufæv
valley: trelo
waterstorm: dwlutike
woman: kimda
word: fævinitri

iii. Verbs

arrive: vol
ask: fæva
be: kaθe
begin: prevori
believe: nadiela
bring: loni

can: matrana
celebrate: 0urɛdi
clean: dɛt
come: vo
confuse: tubieni
continue: kodira
cook: ketko
dance: vir
destroy: kurte
discover: babie
do: læa
dream: taʒas
drink: ran
eat: ʃan
feel: mieli
find: ʒovi
give: nili
go: vi
hate: ʒa
have: bæłmi
help: fona
hug: 0ur
hunt: lealmi
keep: pernia
let: dodi
listen: tunɛł
live: p'etroni
love: liri
make: luto
may: bor
protect: aglioli
read: natip
run: pidri
sacrifice: mulanti
see: kara
sing: tɛʃʌ
sleep: taj
spread: pabi
start: noʒa
stay: lintit
stop: batrolo
survive: lalotru

swim: z̥ir
swim fast: z̥iron
swim recreationally: z̥irudi
swim slowly: z̥irud
swim with purpose: z̥ironi
talk/speak: fævi
think: mie
travel: vivitria
treat: pilota
understand: kebiani
use: milli
wake up: θaj
walk: pudri
want: mitre
write: matib

iv.Wh-words

what: pobo
when: θrin
where: mit
who: kim
why: putinero

v.Conjunctions

also: θiθi
and: mi
as: kul
because: ʎa
but: p'oi
so: feli
with: nid

vi.Adverb

for: tro
instead: latrilo
more: çamafa
now: kedori
of: delio
once: lipenian

then: eko
there: miti

vii. Adjective

all: maʝi
big: kortona
boring: Muku
dry: ʝæmpienian
east- lalin
happy: paka
impossible: futrono
left: mitopi
little/small: dir
other: ɟamava
right(direction): mitopu
right(to have reason): botin
sad: laʝa
slow: ro
wet: ilt

viii.Pronoun

each other: θiaθio
everything: maʝin
that(stands alone, without antecedent or noun): karni
this(stands alone, without antecedent or noun): kar

viii.Preposition

about: ke
behind: mitoku
except: til
from: mition
in: mit
in front of: mitoke
on: ʝe

x.Measure words

for people and respectable objects: kimɕi
for normal objects, ideas and animals: ʝul
for things that relate to environment and nature: fuθ

Sample Sentences

Dirkimda vi-t mi dirkimdaʒo ʃa dirkimda lirit natip
Child go-3.SG.PRS to school because child love-3.SG.PRS read
The child goes to school because the child loves to read

Θio θuredi-lo-çá mit dalaθa nid kliɹ mi vovi-tri
We celebrate.3-PL-PST in-LOC house-3.SG.GEN with food and drink-PL
We celebrated in his house with food and drinks

Peda kaθet mit pe botin
Chair is-3.SG.PRS in-LOC table right-LOC
The chair is next to (on the right of) the table

ʒir-im-lo-ça-ro mi laelmiloçaro dwilikliɹi ʃa kaθemloçá ʃanilt
swim-2-PL-PST-IPFV and hunt-2-PL-PST-IPFV fish because be-2-PL-PST hunger
You guys were swimming and hunting for fish because you were hungry.

Creation Story

1. Թան Կաթե-տ ֆævit ke մային Կաթե-տ-ճա՛ lipenian Դաեմբյենյան.
It to be-3.PRS say-PST-PTCP that everything to be-3-PST once dry
It is said that everything was once dry.
2. Ք'ետրոնի-լո-ճա՛-րո նի՛մ ճամա՛ճա կիմճի-տրի միտիոն ճամա՛ճա շալ-տրի.
To live-1-PST-IMP with other people-PL from other nation-PL
We were living with other peoples from other nations.
3. Լի ԿորԿոր ճելիո ք'աճեն-տրի Վո-տ-ճա՛, մի Կուրտե-տ-ճա՛ մաճի կիմճիտրի,
The rock of star-PL to come-3-PST and to destroy-3-PST all people-PL
til Թիօ.
except us
The rock of stars came, and destroyed all peoples, except for us.
4. Լոնի-տ-ճա՛ Թիօ Լաճանյան, մի Լոնիտճա՛ Թիօ Կուրտա.
To bring-3-PST us sadness and to bring-3-PST us pain
It brought us sadness, and it brought us pain.
5. Ք'օի ետրոնի-լո-ճա՛, Ե մանգլիանտի-Թիօ ք'ետրոնի-տ-ճա՛.
But to live-1.PL-PST and city-POSS to live-3-past
But we lived, and our city lived.
6. Քա ճալիկլիւյի Վո-տ-ճա՛, մի ֆոնա-տ-ճա՛ Թիօ Լալոտրու.
A good-fish to come-3-PST and to help-3-PST us to survive
A friendly fish came and helped us survive.
7. Թա-լի՛մ մալանտի-տ-ճա՛ տրօ Կաթե կլիւյի-Թիօ, Դելի մադրանա-լօ քերնի
He-REFL to sacrifice-3-PST for to be food-POSS so can-3.PRS keep
մանգլիանտի-Թիօ.
city-POSS
He sacrificed himself to be our food, so we can keep our city.
8. Թա ֆæվի-տ-ճա՛ Թիօ Կե Թա Թանիլա-տ Թիօ Լալոտրու, Խա
He say-3-PST us that he want-3.PRS us to survive because
նաճիլա-տ մանգլիանտի-Թիօ Կաթե-տ քա ք'աճլիանտի
to believe-3.PRS city-POSS is-COP a heaven
He told us that he wants us to survive, because he believes our city is a heaven.

9. θ rin θ a kara-t p'aze θ a, θ a kara-t θ io.
When he see-3.PRS sky-POSS he see-3.PRS us
When he sees his sky, he sees us.
10. Ma η i θ a fæva-t, ka θ et tro kimçi pilota ma η i dwilikli η i nid pakion.
All he ask-3.PRS is-COP for people treat-INF all good fish with respect
All he asks, is for man to treat all friendly fish with respect.
11. Kul θ io luto-lo-çá çama η a manglianti-tri, η ovi-lo-çá bapostro θ io:
As we create-1.PL-PST more city-PL find-1.PL-PST name-POSS
p'aglian-tri.
heaven-PL
As we created more cities, we found our name: heavens.

Tower of Babel Translation

1) *Kedori, maʒi ʃæmpie kodiratčá kaðe lipe ʃævin mi lipe ʃul ʃævinitri.*

[Kedori, maʒi ʃæmpie kodiratčá kaðe lipe ʃævin mi lipe ʃul ʃævini-tri.]
now all earth continue-PST be-INF one language and one object-CLF word-PL
Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words

2) *Kul vivitriatločá lalin babietločá ki mulu trelo mit ʃinar ʃæmpie, mi prevoritločá lintitlu miti.*

[Kul vivitria-tlo-čá lalin babie-tlo-čá ki mulu trelo mit ʃinar ʃæmpie,
As travel-3.PL-PST east discover-3.PL-PST a boring-ADJ valley in Shinar earth-OBJ
As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar

mi prevori-tlo-čá lintitlu miti.]
and begin-3.PL-PST to stay there
and they began dwelling there

3) *||eko, ʃævitločá θia: "Votet! Doditet θio luto ʃæmpielin mi ketko θian nid nerilt." ʃeli, militločá ʃæmpielin latrilo li korkor, mi nanonemilt kul teniamilt.*

[||eko, ʃævi-tlo-čá θia: "Vo-tet! Dodi-tet θio luto ʃæmpielin mi ketko
Then say-3-PL-PST them-REFL come-IMP let-IMP we make-INF brick-ACC and bake-INF
Then they said to one another: "Come! Lets us make bricks and bake

θian nid nerilt." ʃeli, mili-tlo-čá ʃæmpielin latrilo li korkor, mi
them-REFL with fire So use-3-PL-PST brick-ACC instead-ADV the-DET stone-OBJ and
them with fire." So they used bricks instead of stone and

nanonemilt kul teniamilt.]
bitumen-ACC as mortar-ACC
bitumen as mortar.

4) *Kedori, ʃævitločá: "Votet! Doditet θio luto maglianti tro θio mi li dilufæv nid mitolo mit ma p'agliante, mi doditet luto ki θuredi bapostro tro θio, ʃelli ||ero kaðetločá pabilu ʃe li maʒi delio li baton delio ʃæmpie."*

[Kedori, ʃævi-tlo-čá: "Vo-tet! Dodi-tet θio luto maglianti tro θio mi li
Now say-3-PL-PST come-IMP let-IMP we-REFL make-INF city-ACC for we and the

They now said: "Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a

dilufæv nid mitolo mit ma p'agliante, mi doditet θio luto ki
tower-ACC with head-LOC in-LOC the heaven-ACC and let-IMP we make-INF a
tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a

θuredion bapostro tro θio, jelli ||ero kaθe-tlo-çà pabilu je li
celebrate-ADJ name-ACC for we-REFL so no-NEG be-3-PL-FUT spread over-LOC the
celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the

maji delio li baton delio li jæmpie."
all-ADJ of the face-ACC of the-DET earth-ACC
entire face of the earth

5) Miti jeova vitçá mit aglianti tro kara mi li dilufæv ke ma lerinitri delio kimçi lutotloçáti.

Miti jeova vi-t-çá mit maglianti tro kara mi li dilufæv ke ma
Then Jehova go-3.SG-PST to-LOC city-ACC for see-INF and the tower-ACC about-REL the
The Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the

lerinitri delio kimçi luto-tlo-çá-ti.
son-PL-ACC of people made-3-PL-PST-IMP
sons of the men had built

6) ||eko, jeova fævitçá, "Karatet! Kaθetlo lipe kimçi nid lipe fævin, mi kar kaθet pobo θia nofat læa. Kedori, miti kaθet ji ke θia bor bælmitlo mit daio læa ke kaθetloçà fotrono tro θia.

[||eko, jeova fævi-t-çá, "Kara-tet! Kaθe-tlo lipe kimçi nid lipe fævin,
Then Jehovah say-3-SG-PST Look-IMP be-3.PL.PRS one people-ACC with one language-ACC
Then Jehovah said: Look! They are one people with one language

mi kar kaθet pobo θia nofa-tlo-çá læa. Kedori, miti kaθet ji ke
and this be-COP what they start-3-PL-PST do-INF Now there be-COP zero that
and this is what they started to do. Now there is nothing that

θia bor bælmi-tlo mit daio læa ke kaθe-tlo-çà fotrono
they-PL-NOM may have-3.PL.PRS in-LOC mind-ACC do-INF that be-3.PL-FUT impossible-ADJ
they may have in mind to do that will be impossible

tro θia.]

for them-NOM

for them

7) *Votet! Doditet θio vi miti mi tubieni θia fævin feli θia ||ero bor kebianitlo θiaθio fævin."*

[Vo-tet! Dodi-tet θio vi miti mi tubieni θia fævin feli

come-IMP let-IMP we go-INF there-LOC and confuse-ADJ their-POSS language-ACC so

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order

θia ||ero bor kebiani-tlo θia fævin."

they-PL-NOM no-NEG may understand-3.PL-PRS their-REFL language-ACC

that they may not understand one another's language

8) *Jelli, jeova pabitçá θia mition miti mit je li maçi delio li baton delio li fæmpie, mi θia roniona batrolotlo luto p'aglianti.*

Jelli, jeova pabi-t-çá θia mition miti mit je i maçi delio li

So Jehova spread-3.SG-PST them from there to-LOC over-LOC the all of the

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire

baton delio li fæmpie, mi θia roniona batrolo-tlo-çá luto maglianti.

face of the earth-ACC and they slowly-ADV leave-3.PL-PST make-inf city

face of the earth and they gradually left off building the city

9) *Karni kaθet putinero θan bapotrotça Babel, ||a miti jeova tubienitçá li fævin delio li fæmpie, mi jeova pabilutçá θia mition miti mit je li maçi delio li baton delio fæmpie*

Karni kaθet putinero θan bapotro-t-ça Babel, ||a miti jeova tubieni-t-çá

That is-COP why it name-3-SG-PST Babel because there Jehova confuse-3-SG-PST

That is why it was named Babel, because there Jehovah confused

li fævin delio li fæmpie, mi jeova pabilu-t-çá θia

the-DET language-ACC of the-DET earth-ACC and Jehova spread-3-SG-PST them

the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them

mition miti mit je li maçi delio li baton delio fæmpie

from there to-LOC over-LOC the all-ADJ of the face-ACC of earth-ACC

from there over the entire face of the earth

Mollie Krawitz

LING 315

Professor Carpenter

24 January 2016

©/'kumi t̥io' mɛkenzi/

Language of the Embers

A constructed language

by Mollie Krawitz

/ˈkumi t̪ioˈmɛkenzi/: A Constructed Language

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Terms and Abbreviations Used

Before endeavoring into this paper, a list of all unique terms, gloss abbreviations, and other conventions will be provided below. Please refer to it if you come across any term with which you are not familiar.

Relative temporality and spatiality: the concept of relative temporality and spatiality is the specification of the physical location and temporality of a person, relative to oneself. This concept is explored further in chapter 3, Morphology.

Conventions of annotations:

If the definition of a word following a word in /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/ is in parenthesis, then it is of grammatical usage.

If the definition of a word following a word in /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/ is in apostrophes, then it is of lexical usage.

Glossing abbreviations:

CONT: denotes continuous aspect

CPL: denotes previous completion

INT: denotes an intensifier

PRM: denotes a person marker

PTC: denotes a particle

Q: denotes the question particle /re/

RELS: denotes the particle separates two relative clauses

I. Introduction

/tsa'dʒimi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/

The Culture of /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/

The constructed language /'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ translates in English to ‘the Language of the Embers’. The language is spoken by /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/, which translates to ‘the People of the Embers.’ /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ live on a desolate planet, nowhere near Earth and human civilization. The planet once revolved as Earth does, but it eventually was locked into place, such that one side of the planet is in perpetual sunlight, and the other side is in perpetual darkness. Their side of the planet is somewhat lit by a large moon, which never moves.

/'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ live amidst the eternal winter. Since there is no real light energy radiating from the sun, this side of the planet constantly faces blizzards. /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ are humanoid, so they do not have typical human physiology. They can withstand intense temperatures, both low and high. /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ do not definitively know that they are on a planet. However, back before they were formed they were of one consciousness and that consciousness was the sky, which looked over the entirety of the planet, and the universe as well.

/'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ live communally in a village, called /'kalmɛs/. /'kalmɛs/ is centered around a massive, nearly-eternal flame, called /da:'tiomɛ/ ‘eternal fire,’ or literally ‘big fire.’ The fire provides heat for /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ to stay alive; they can withstand the cold, but prefer warmth. They can cook with the fire, and use it to light the area around /'kalmɛs/—without anything catching on fire, since nothing is very flammable. When /'tsadʒi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ warm up next to the fire, summed up in the verb /'pfiʈsa/, the speckles that cover their skin glow in shades of cerulean.

In appearance, they have the general shape and figure of a human being—they have heads, arms, legs, torsos. However, the entirety of their bodies are black—pitch black, like the sky that they see, bereft of a sun. They have eyes, ears, mouths, and noses, but they are completely black and blend in with the skin. They have human-like articulators, so all of the sounds they make can also be made by humans.

They have no genders. Everyone is composed of the same skin, with different patterns of the speckles. There is no binary because there cannot be; the patterns of speckles are all unique, so no one can fit into one box or another. Mating, thus, is simply between two people; conception in the conventional sense is not a requirement. Monogamy and polygamy—bereft of gendered meanings—are common, and neither is frowned upon. All that matters is if people love each other and consensually want to be together.

When two or more /'kalɛn/ are ready to create a new /'kalɛ/, they perform a /toŋ'lanim/, a ritual, which is called /toŋ'lanim toŋ'gasozɪ 'pa:ʃɛjama ti'omejama/ 'ritual of creation with sky and fire.' /toŋ'gasini/ is a person who creates through the ritual of creation with sky and fire. /toŋga:ŋgini/ is a person created through the ritual.

The shelters of /'tsadʒi ʒio'mɛkenzi/, called /'dɛsdʒo/, are relatively large dome-shaped structures covered in animal pelts. /'dɛsdʒo/ can usually provide shelter for up to five people, which would typically be /toŋ'gasinin/ and /toŋ'ga:ŋginin/. This could include partners and families. They bring back little flames with them from the /da:'tiomɛ/ to light up and warm up their /'dɛsdʒo/. The little flames are called /si'tio:mɛ/, literally 'small fire.'

Beyond /'kalmɛs/, there are trees everywhere. They resemble redwood trees, both because they are conifers and are extremely tall, though not necessarily as wide. They are a dark silvery color, and their texture is solid, like rock. The trees once photosynthesized while the planet was still revolving, and all sides of it received sunlight. However, since the planet slowed its rotation and eventually stopped, the trees stopped photosynthesizing. They needed a life-force to keep them "alive," so to speak. Snow bees, or /laʔ'mɛdʒa/, live within the trees, pollinating them to keep them alive. /laʔ'mɛdʒa/ light up the trees with their glowing blue so that /'laʔmɛʒo 'zationi/ 'snow bee honey harvester' and /grasa'loni/ 'hunter' can move through the woods with some light.

/laʔ'mɛdʒa/ produce a clear, blue-tinted honey called /'laʔmɛʒo'zati/, literally 'snow bee drink'. /'tsadʒi ʒio'mɛkenzi/ harvest the /'laʔmɛʒo'zati/ and eat it on their breads and put in their beverages. To acquire water, /'tsadʒi ʒio'mɛkenzi/ take ice and snow from beyond /'kalmɛs/ and melt it near /da:'tiomɛ/, then usually add some ice and snow to cool the water to a pleasing

temperature. They also use this water to bake and cook their food, and to make /nɔ̃gra'laʔzati/, /milu'laʔzati/, and /sizi'laʔzati/, which are honey liquor, honey wine, and honey beer, respectively.

/ʔtsad̪ʒi t̪io'mɛkenzi/ do not have a sense of time the way humans do. This is mostly due in part to not having a 'daytime.' They are unable to use sundials or landmarks and their shadows as a way to determine the time. Instead, /ʔtsad̪ʒi t̪io'mɛkenzi/ have a system of talking about time on the scale of mythological, historical, recent, present, upcoming, and distant future. This system, in a simplified form, is also represented in their verb system. The verb system is accompanied by particles much like the particles and adverbs used in Mandarin Chinese, use to create a rich tense-mood-aspect, or TMA, system.

Within this paper, the language of /ʔtsad̪ʒi t̪io'mɛkenzi/ will be examined phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. Their culture will be presented through the lexicon, which will be featured throughout the paper but also gathered into a lexicon found at the end of the paper. The next chapter will address the sounds and phonological rules of /ʔkumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/.

II. Phonetics & Phonology

/ˈkumi ɬioˈmekenzi/

The Language of the Embers

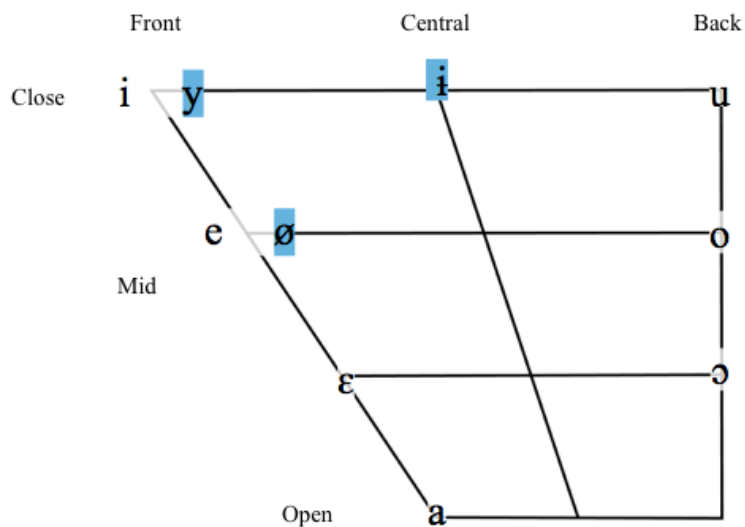
Phonetics

Phonemic inventory of consonants:

Place → ↓ Manner	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t̪ d̪	t d		ʈ ɖ	ç	k ɡ	ʔ
Affricate				ʈs	ʈʃ dʒ	ʈʂ ɖʂ	çʃ		
Fricative	β	f	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ		
Nasal	m		n̪	n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Approximant						ɻ	j	ɰ	
Tap/trill				ɾ ɽ					
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ		

*Not on chart: voiced labial-velar approximant /w/

Phonemic inventory of vowels:



All of the sounds highlighted in blue are not found in English, and the rest are. /β/ appears in the language, though rarely. The variations on stops, affricates, fricatives, and nasal are of note. The plosives /t/ and /d/ are also manifested dentally and as a retroflex. The affricates /t͡s/ and /d͡z/ can also be pronounced as the retroflex sounds /t͡ʂ/ and /d͡ʐ/. The fricatives /s/ and /z/ also appear in their retroflex forms, /ʂ/ and /ʐ/. The nasal consonants are more plentiful than those found in English, including the dental /ɲ/, the retroflex /ŋ/, and the palatal /ɲ/. The tap /ɾ/ is found in many of the world's natural languages, including /'kumi ɲio'mɛkenzi/, but not English. There is also notable variety of approximants. The retroflex approximant /ɻ/, the velar approximant /ɰ/, and the retroflex lateral approximant /ɭ/ are not at all found in English. All of the retroflex sounds are to mimic the deep, hollow, and round sound that /'tsad͡ʒi ɲio'mɛkenzi/ have taken a liking to. Additionally, the palatalized alveolar and palatalized palato-alveolar plosive, affricates, fricatives, and lateral approximant are sounds quite favored by /'tsad͡ʒi ɲio'mɛkenzi/ tongues.

Of the vowels, there are four that do not occur in English. They do not show up very often in the language, but it is important to distinguish between them and similar vowels. For example, /e/ and /ø/ are variants of each other, unrounded and rounded, respectively. That being said, essentially none of these sounds are allophones. They all occur independently in different environments; their distribution in the language is somewhat random and unpredictable.

Many of these sounds were taken from the natural languages of Mandarin and Russian. The retroflex fricatives are found in Mandarin Chinese. Many grammatical constructions and features are taken from Mandarin Chinese, so they will be discussed later. Russian sounds featured in /'kumi ɲio'mɛkenzi/ include all of the palatalized sounds: /tʲ/, /sʲ/, /lʲ/, /t͡ʃʲ/, and /ʃʲ/ are either found in Russian or very closely based on Russian sounds. The /ɾ/ trill is also found in Russian. The vowels, too, are taken from Mandarin Chinese and Russian. /y/ is found in Mandarin Chinese and French, among many other languages. The difficult-for-English-speakers-to-pronounce vowel /i/ appears in Russian, and /'kumi ɲio'mɛkenzi/. Lastly, /ø/ appears in many languages, and so it appears in /'kumi ɲio'mɛkenzi/ as well. /'kumi ɲio'mɛkenzi/ is essentially composed of signature sounds of Russian and Mandarin Chinese, and other satisfying sounds, to create an unique system of sounds.

Phonology

Syllable Structure

/'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/ has a (C)(C)V(C)(C)(C) structure, which requires a vowel and any combination of consonants to form a syllable. The following are examples of words that include these various syllabic structures.

Syllable structure	<i>/'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/</i>	English meaning
CV	/z̪i:/	such, so
VC	/ik/	but
CVC	/uɹ̪iz/	straight in one direction
CCV	/q̪z̪u/	soon
VCC	/ɛt̪ʃ/	out
CCVCC	/krask/	for

Phonotactic Restrictions

/'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/ has several phonotactic restrictions that limit pronunciation. For example, the only fricatives that can appear at the end of a word are /f/, /s/, /z/, and /ʃ/. Every vowel can appear at the end of a word, except for /y/ and /i/. Only the unvoiced affricates /t̪s/ and /t̪ʃ/ can appear at the end of a word. The only nasals that can appear at the end of a word are the only nasals in */'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/* that also appear in English: /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. The nasals /ɱ/, /ɳ/, and /ɲ/ cannot. The only sounds that cannot appear at the beginning of a word are /ʔ/, /t̪ʃ/, /s̪/, /ɱ/, /ɳ/, /ɾ/, and /l/. There are many consonant clusters, but only one of them includes three consonants, /kɹ̪/. The only consonant clusters featuring /ʔ/ are /ʔd/, /ʔk/, and /ʔm/. There are ten

consonant clusters that feature an affricate. Four of the ten are the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and an affricate: /sts̃/, /stʃ̃/, /sdʒ̃/, and /sʈʃ̃/. One of the clusters is the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ̃/, forming /ʃtʃ̃/. The other five are /kts̃/, /ktʃ̃/, /mts̃/, /nts̃/, and /ndʒ̃/. Thus, the consonant that precedes an affricate in consonant clusters must be either a voiceless alveolar or palato-alveolar fricative /s/ or /ʃ/, a bilabial or alveolar nasal /m/ or /n/, or a voiceless velar plosive /k/.

The phonotactic restrictions are listed below:

1. Only the fricatives /f/, /s/, /z/, and /si/ can appear at the end of a word.
2. All vowels except for /y/ and /i/ can appear at the end of a word.
3. Only the unvoiced affricates /ts̃/ and /tʃ̃/ can appear at the end of a word.
4. Only the nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ can appear at the end of a word.
5. Only the consonants /ʔ/, /tʃ̃/, /si/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/, /ɾ/, and /l/ cannot appear at the beginning of a word.
6. The only consonant cluster with three consonants is /kɖɾ/.
7. The only consonant clusters featuring /ʔ/ are /ʔd/, /ʔk/, and /ʔm/.
8. The only consonant clusters that feature an affricate are /sts̃/, /stʃ̃/, /sdʒ̃/, /sʈʃ̃/, /ʃtʃ̃/, /kts̃/, /ktʃ̃/, /mts̃/, /nts̃/, and /ndʒ̃/. Of them, the only non-fricative preceding consonants are /k/, /m/, and /n/.

Stress Rule

In general, /'kumi t̪io' mēkenzi/ has right penultimate stress. Most affixes will shift the stress one syllable to the right in order to retain right penultimate stress. While most words have right penultimate stress, there are some words that are idiosyncratic and have irregular stress. All of these words will be lexically marked with a primary stress diacritic. For ease of reading, stressed syllables will be bolded.

When the case endings are affixed, they can shift stress. For example, /sit̪i' omɛ/ 'flame' has right penultimate stress. When the prepositional case suffix /-t̪i/ is affixed to /sit̪i' omɛ/, it

becomes /sitio' **me**ti/ 'in the flame.' The stress shifts one syllable to the right, due to the affixation of /-ti/, but maintains the right penultimate stress. Another example is /' **al**mo/ 'love', which becomes /ali' **mo**zi/ 'of love' when the genitive suffix /-zi/ is affixed. Once again, the stress often shifts once to the right when a syllabic case ending is affixed in order to retain right penultimate stress. The only case ending that does not trigger any changes in stress upon affixation. The instrumental suffix /-jama/ does not at all shift stress in the word to which it is affixed. For example, /ʃi' **ʃ**oni/ 'discoverer' has right penultimate stress. When affixed with /-jama/, it becomes /ʃi' **ʃ**onijama/ 'with the discoverer.' /-jama/ is the only two-syllable case ending, and the only one which does not shift stress upon affixation.

The suffix /-wuli/ is affixed to create an adjective. When it is affixed, it shifts the stress in the word one syllable to the right, but it never carries the stress itself. For example, /' **θ**ila/ 'to be able' has right penultimate stress. The adjective, 'possible' /θi' **la**wuli/, has three syllables, so the stress shifts to the middle syllable—the penultimate one.

An interesting example of right penultimate stress is /t̪io'me'ke' **ʃi**:ta/. It is a compound word, made up of the word /t̪io' **m**eke/ 'ember,' and the word /' **ʃi**ta/ 'to touch.' It means 'marking,' specifically the glowing blue markings that /'tsad̪zi t̪io' **m**ekenzi/ have on their black skin. As a six-syllable compound word, the stress is still right penultimate. /t̪io' **m**eke/ loses its penultimate stress since that syllable is no longer the penultimate syllable of the word. Since /' **ʃi**:ta/ makes up the last two syllables of the word, the stress is on /' **ʃi**:/, meaning that the six-syllable word /t̪io'me'ke' **ʃi**:ta/ still retains right penultimate stress.

/'kumi t̪io' **m**ekenzi/ has right penultimate stress the majority of the time. This accounts for words with many syllables and several different types of suffixes. Words that do not have right penultimate stress are lexically marked.

Phonological Rules

There are several phonological rules in /'kumi t̪io' **m**ekenzi/. They are detailed below.

1. Vowel nasalization:

/'kumi ɿjo'mɛkenzi/ has a vowel nasalization rule. Vowels that precede a nasal consonant become nasalized. It is very difficult not to do this; indeed, this is a rule that most of the world's languages share. In */'kumi ɿjo'mɛkenzi/*, nasals are very common, so this rule is important. The following table includes several words that contain nasals. The nasal and the nasalized vowel that proceed it will be bolded.

Nasal consonant	<i>/'kumi ɿjo'mɛkenzi/</i>	English meaning
/m/	<i>/wɛm/</i>	all, whole, entire
/ŋ/	<i>/'miŋa/</i>	to have
/n/	<i>/re'sana/</i>	when?
/ŋ/	<i>/'ɿaŋa/</i>	to give
/ɲ/	<i>/'βɛɲɛ/</i>	air
/ŋ/	<i>/za'biŋ/</i>	because, since that

Thus, */'kumi ɿjo'mɛkenzi/* has a vowel nasalization rule that ensures that vowels preceding nasals will also be nasalized.

2. /-ini/ suffix changes

In */'kumi ɿjo'mɛkenzi/*, the suffix */-ini/* is a suffix meaning 'a person who does this thing.' It is affixed to a verb root after the infinitive ending */-a/* has been removed. For example, */'kifa/* is the verb 'to light something on fire.' When the infinitive ending */-a/* is removed and the suffix */-ini/* is affixed, the word becomes */ki'fini/*, which is a 'person who lights something on fire.' */-ini/* is similar to */-ə/* in English (as in 'helper' or 'teacher'). However, certain consonants trigger a change in the */-ini/* suffix to either */-ini/*, */-oni/*, or */-ani/*. Below is a table of the variations of the suffix */-ini/* as triggered by specific consonants.

Consonant	Place of articulation	Variation of /-ini/	/'kumi t̪io' mɛkenzi/ (triggering consonant bolded)	English meaning
/ɸ/	palatal	/-oni/	/grasa 'ɸoni/	hunter
/ɲ/	palatal	/-oni/	/la'ɲoni/	teacher
/ʃ/	palatal	/-oni/	/ʃi'ʃoni/	student
/t̪/	palatal	/-oni/	/laʔmeβo'za't̪oni/	snow bee honey harvester
/t̪ʃ/	palatal	/-oni/	/ɲos'i't̪ʃoni/	hurter (one who hurts)
/ɳ/	retroflex	/-ani/	/ɬa'ɳani/	giver
/ʂ/	retroflex	/-ani/	/si'ʂani/	knitter
/t̪/	dental	/-ini/	/de'ra't̪ini/	sleeper

As the table demonstrates, consonants in certain places of articulation—palatal, retroflex, and dental—cause the suffix /-ini/ to become /-oni/, /-ani/, and /-ini/ respectively.

3. Forming plurals

In /'kumi t̪io' mɛkenzi/, the plural is formed by affixing the suffix /-n/ to a singular noun. Many nouns in /'kumi t̪io' mɛkenzi/ end in consonants. Word final palatal consonants, specifically /ɸ/, /si/, and /t̪/ trigger /-n/ to become /-ɲ/. Other word final consonants, namely /s/, /m/, and /l/ do not trigger /-n/ to change a place of articulation. However, it is difficult to pronounce the consonant clusters that would now appear at the end of these words, without a final vowel. A phonological process causes the word final vowel to be duplicated and to follow the final /-n/ or /-ɲ/. The table below demonstrates this phonological process. It includes nouns with consonantal endings, their final syllable, the plural suffix that is affixed as a result of the final syllable (including the duplicated word final vowel), the plural of the word, and lastly its English meaning.

/'kumi ɬjo'məkenzi/ (sg.)	Final syllable	Plural ending	/'kumi ɬjo'məkenzi/ (pl.)	English meaning
/kra'kali/	/-ali/	/-alɲa/	/kra'kalɲa/	foods
/βo'zatasi/	/-asi/	/-asɲa/	/βo'zatasɲa/	drinks
/laʔmeβo'zati/	/-ati/	/-atɲa/	/laʔmeβo'zatɲa/	honeys
/'kalməs/	/-əs/	/-əsne/	/'kalməsne/	villages
/toŋ'lanim/	/-im/	/-imni/	/toŋ'lanimni/	rituals
/mas'møl/	/-øl/	/-ølnø/	/mas'mølnø/	names

As the table demonstrates, when the pluralizer /-n/ is affixed to a word ending in a consonant, either the /-n/ becomes palatalized into /-ɲ/, or remains /-n/. Since it is still difficult to pronounce these consonant clusters followed by /-n/ or /-ɲ/, a process of duplicating the word final vowel and affixing it to the end of the nasal pluralizer occurs. Thus, /βo'zatasi/ 'drink' becomes /βo'zatasɲa/ 'drinks,' and /'masmøl/ 'name' becomes /'masmølnø/ 'names.'

Below is a list briefly summarizing the phonological rules of /'kumi ɬjo'məkenzi/. The following chapter will deal with the morphology of /'kumi ɬjo'məkenzi/.

1. Vowel nasalization: Vowels that precede a nasal consonant become nasalized.
2. /-ini/ suffix changes: Consonants in certain places of articulation—palatal, retroflex, and dental—trigger the suffix /-ini/ to become /-oni/, /-ani/, and /-ini/ respectively.
3. Forming plurals: When the pluralizer /-n/ is affixed to a word ending in a consonant, either the /-n/ becomes palatalized into /-ɲ/, or remains /-n/.

III. Morphology

/'kumi ɬjo'mɛkenzi/

The Language of the Embers

Basic Morphology

/'kumi ɬjo'mɛkenzi/ is an agglutinative and a derivationally synthetic language. Its agglutination can be attributed to the additions of various types of affixes. The following sections will detail these morphological features by presenting several morphological rules. Lastly, a paradigm featuring the declensions of several nouns will be provided in the form of a table.

Agglutination

In /'kumi ɬjo'mɛkenzi/, agglutination takes the form of several prefixes, suffixes, and infixes. Below is a table containing these affixes.

'kumi ɬjo'mɛkenzi	Meaning	Type of affix
/-p(-)/	Past-imperfect-indicative	Suffix, sometimes infix
/-t(i)(-)/	Present-imperfect-indicative	Suffix, sometimes infix
/-k(-)/	Future-imperfect-indicative	Suffix, sometimes infix
/-ɖo/	Accusative case	Suffix
/-zi/	Genitive case	Suffix
/-ɬi/	Prepositional case	Suffix
/-lɔ/	Dative case	Suffix
/-jama/	Instrumental case	Suffix
/-n(-)/	Pluralizer	Suffix, sometimes infix
/-ʃɔl-/	Reflexive, 'self, selves'	Infix

'kumi ɬio'məkenzi	Meaning	Type of affix
/-wuli/	Adjectival marker	Suffix
/re-/	Question marker	Prefix
/-ini/	Person marker	Suffix

Tenses

The first three morphemes, denoting tense, will be discussed now. /'kumi ɬio'məkenzi/ has a simple TMA; there are only three conjugations for verbs, and they do not capture gender or number. Gender is not captured because /'tsadʒi ɬio'məkenzi/ do not have genders. Therefore, conjugations are simple, as there are only three choices and they are driven by tense. Below is a paradigm of the conjugation for the nouns /'ɟirma/ 'to find' and /'laʔmeβo'zatiə/ 'to harvest snow bee honey'.

	Past-imperfect-indicative	Present-imperfect-indicative	Future-imperfect-indicative
Verb /'ɟirma/	/'ɟirmap/	/'ɟirmati/	/'ɟirmak/
Meaning	'found'	'finds, is finding'	'will find, is going to find'
Verb /'laʔmeβo'zatiə/	/'laʔmeβo'zatiap/	/'laʔmeβo'zatiati/	/'laʔmeβo'zatiak/
Meaning	'harvested snow bee honey'	'harvests snow bee honey, is harvesting snow bee honey'	'will harvest snow bee honey, is going to harvest snow bee honey'

As the table demonstrates, the conjugation of verbs in /'kumi ɬio'məkenzi/ is simple. Particles are used to create a richer system of verbs, but they will be discussed in the chapter on syntax.

These inflections can also be used as infixes in a specific set of words. /'kumi t̥io 'mɛkenzi/ has a rich system of time terms. The table below will present all of the time words. The infixes will be bolded. Note that the suffix /-ti/ becomes /-t-/ as an infix, thus losing its palatalization.

'kumi t̥io 'mɛkenzi/	English meaning	Infix meaning
/le'sana/	time	-
/le'san pa /	then, recent past	past
/le'san ta /	now, present	present
/le'san ka /	later, near future	future
/we'san pa /	then, in the distant past, used for history and folklore	past
/we'san ka /	then, in the distant future, used for folklore	future
/d̥ʒɛ'san pa /	then, at that point in time (past)	past
/d̥ʒɛ'san ka /	then, at that point in time (future)	future
/t̥se'san pa /	there was	past
/t̥se'san ta /	there is, are	present
/t̥se'san ka /	there will be	future
/t̥se:'sana/	during, while	-
/d̥ʒu/	soon	-
/d̥ʒu'san pa /	'just' finished	past
/d̥ʒu'san ka /	'just' about to	future

As the table demonstrates, the inflectional suffixes /-p/ (past), /-ti/ (present), and /-k/ (future) become /-p-/, /-t-/, and /-k-/, with their meanings denoting the same in the context of the time

phrases. It must be noted that many of these words are synthesized with two nouns, the noun /'sana/ 'time' and another noun. This will be discussed more in the next section on this topic.

Case System

The following table will present a singular noun and a plural noun declined with all five case endings. The case endings will be bolded in the declined forms of the noun. The pluralizing infix /-n-/ will also be presented in the second table, and it will be underlined.

Singular form of /ʃu'kerɛ/:

Case	Case ending	/ʃu'kerɛ/ 'moon'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/ʃu'kerɛ/	moon
Accusative	/-ḡo/	/ʃuke'rɛḡo/	moon
Genitive	/-zi/	/ʃuke'rɛzi/	(of the) moon
Prepositional	/-ṭi/	/ʃuke'rɛṭi/	(on the) moon
Dative	/-lo/	/ʃuke'rɛlo/	(to the) moon
Instrumental	/-jama/	/ʃu'kerejama/	(with the) moon

Plural form of /ʃu'kerɛ/:

Case	Case ending	/ʃu'kerɛn/ 'moons'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/ʃu'kerɛn/	moons
Accusative	/-ḡo/	/ʃuke'rɛnḡo/	moons
Genitive	/-zi/	/ʃuke'rɛnzi/	(of the) moons
Prepositional	/-ṭi/	/ʃuke'rɛnṭi/	(on the) moons

Case	Case ending	/ʃu'kerɛn/ 'moons'	English meaning
Dative	/-lɔ/	/ʃuke'rɛ <u>nlɔ</u> /	(to the) moons
Instrumental	/-jama/	/ʃu'kerɛn <u>jama</u> /	(with the) moons

In the table featuring the singular word /ʃu'kerɛ/ 'moon,' a shift in stress must be noted. This rightward stress shift occurs when the suffixes /-ɖo/, /-zi/, /-ti/, and /-lɔ/ are added. However, the stress does not shift for the suffix /-jama/ in any contexts.

The following are two sets of tables presenting declensions for nouns that end in consonants. There are few consonant-final nouns, but of course they must be accounted for. The affixation of the infix /-n-/ to a consonant-final word would be less natural than to a vowel-final word. Examples of that proper affixation will also be presented. Below are two sets of tables presented, one with the declined singular and plural forms of /mas'məl/ 'name', and the other with the declined singular and plural forms of /toŋ'lanim/ 'ritual.' As before, the case endings will be bolded in the declined forms of the noun. The pluralizing infix /-n-/ will also be presented in the second table, and it will be underlined.

Singular form of /mas'məl/:

Case	Case ending	/mas'məl/ 'name'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/mas'məl/	name
Accusative	/-ɖo/	/mas'məl <u>ɖo</u> /	name
Genitive	/-zi/	/mas'məl <u>zi</u> /	(of the) name
Prepositional	/-ti/	/mas'məl <u>ti</u> /	(in the) name
Dative	/-lɔ/	/mas'məl <u>lɔ</u> /	(to the) name
Instrumental	/-jama/	/mas'məl <u>jama</u> /	(with the) name

Plural form of /mas'məl/:

Case	Case ending	/mas' mɔlɪn/ 'names'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/mas' mɔlɪn/	names
Accusative	/-ɖo/	/mas' mɔlɪnɖo/	names
Genitive	/-zi/	/mas' mɔlɪnzi/	(of the) names
Prepositional	/-ti/	/mas' mɔlɪnti/	(in the) names
Dative	/-lo/	/mas' mɔlɪnlo/	(to the) names
Instrumental	/-jama/	/mas' mɔlɪnjama/	(with the) names

Since the stress is word-final in /mas' mɔlɪn/, the stress does not shift. Stress never occurs on the case ending of a noun. Stress in /'kumi tɕio' mɛkenzi/ is right penultimate stress the majority of the time, and if stress is irregular it is lexically marked. The most interesting morphological phenomenon here is the loss of the /l/ in the suffix /-lo/, following the /n/ at the end of the pluralized form of /mas' mɔlɪn/ 'to the names.' The /l/ is dropped because it is simply too difficult to pronounce the final syllable cluster /-lɪnlo/. Otherwise, the declensions are all regular. The following are the tables for the declined singular and plural forms of /toŋ' lanim/ 'ritual.'

Singular form of /toŋ' lanim/:

Case	Case ending	/toŋ' lanim/ 'ritual'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/toŋ' lanim/	ritual
Accusative	/-ɖo/	/toŋ' lanimɖo/	ritual
Genitive	/-zi/	/toŋ' lanimzi/	(of the) ritual
Prepositional	/-ti/	/toŋ' lanimti/	(in the) ritual
Dative	/-lo/	/toŋ' lanimlo/	(to the) ritual
Instrumental	/-jama/	/toŋ' lanimjama/	(with the) ritual

Plural form of /toŋ'lanim/:

Case	Case ending	/toŋ'lanin/ 'rituals'	English meaning
Nominative	-	/toŋ'lanin/	rituals
Accusative	/-ɖo/	/toŋ'laninɖo/	rituals
Genitive	/-zi/	/toŋ'laninzi/	(of the) rituals
Prepositional	/-ti/	/toŋ'lanintɪ/	(in the) rituals
Dative	/-lɔ/	/toŋ'laninlɔ/	(to the) rituals
Instrumental	/-jama/	/toŋ'laninjama/	(with the) rituals

The most crucial morphological phenomenon to note is in the second table. The word final /-m/ in /toŋ'lanim/ 'ritual' is dropped when the pluralizing infix /-n-/ is added. Similar to the former example presenting /mas'məl/ 'name,' the word-final consonant cluster for the dative form of /mas'məl/ would expectedly be /-lɪnlɔ/, but that consonant cluster is too difficult to pronounce for /'tsadʒi ɬio'mɛkenzi/. The consonant cluster /mn/ is undesirable in /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/, so the word-final /-m/ is dropped and is replaced by the infix /-n-/. Then the case endings are affixed normally. This is one of the most irregular morphological phenomena in /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/.

Special attention must be given to the pluralizing affix /-n-/. As the tables demonstrate, the pluralizer /-n-/ is inserted between the noun and its declension. For example, /ʃuke'renlɔ/ 'to the moons' has the /-n-/ inserted between the noun /ʃuke're/ 'moon' and /-lɔ/ the prepositional case ending, thus */ʃuke'relnɔ/ would never occur. The infix /-n-/ always occurs directly after the noun it is pluralizing, and not after the modifier. For example, /'ɲutso/ is the first person singular present, and /'ɲuntso/ is the first person plural present. */'ɲutson/ is incorrect, because /-n-/ will only occur after the noun it is modifying, /ɲu/ 'first person singular', and not after the word modifying the noun, /tso/ 'here, present.'

The case system of /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/ is simple, but the most important concept to remember is the rightward stress shift when the case endings are affixed, excluding /-jama/, which never induces a stress shift. The irregular dropping of the word-final /-m/ in the word /toŋ

'lanim/ 'ritual' in order to form the plural /toj'lanin/ 'rituals' is also significant, but this morphological phenomenon occurs rarely if ever besides this instance.

The Reflexive Infix /-ʃøɫ-/ 'self, selves'

The infix /-ʃøɫ-/ 'self, selves' is used to create meanings such as 'myself,' 'ourselves,' or 'themselves.' It is an infix because it always occurs between a pronoun and the case ending that that noun is taking. A pronoun followed by /-ʃøɫ-/ could never occur at the beginning of a sentence; thus, it will take a case ending since it is not in the nominative form. The following is a gloss of several sentences featuring the infix /-ʃøɫ-/.

I will always love myself.

/ʔu	-tso	'alema	-k	t̃ses	u	-'dzo	-ʃøɫ-	-do/
1-NOM	-here	love	-FUT	continuous.PTC	1	-there	-REFL	-ACC
I		will love		continuously			myself	

That person stoked the fire by themselves.

/ʔa	-dzo	miʃna	-p	la	-'dzo	-ʃøɫ-	-jama/
3-NOM	-there	stoke fire	-PST	3	-there	-REFL	-INST
that person		stoked the fire				with themselves	

These people are beginning to understand themselves.

/ʔa	-n	-tso	ʃoka	-t	lordʔiana
-----	----	------	------	----	-----------

3-NOM	-PL	-here		begin	-PRS		understand-INF
These people				are beginning			to understand
'la	-n	-tso	- 'ʃɒl-	-dɔ/			
3	-PL	-here	-REFL	-ACC			
themselves							

As the gloss demonstrates, the infix /-ʃɒl-/ can be inserted in between any pronoun and its declension. /-ʃɒl-/ does not trigger any morphological changes when infixed.

Relative Temporality and Spatiality

The concept of relative temporality and spatiality is crucial in /'kumi ɣio'mɛkenzi/. Relative temporality and spatiality is the specification of the physical location and temporality of a person, relative to oneself. The suffixes of relative temporality and spatiality is provided below.

Suffix of relative temporality and spatiality	English meaning	Implication
/-tso/	here, present	temporally and/or spatially present
/-dɔ/	there, not present	temporally and/or spatially not present

The words /tso/ 'here, present' and /dɔ/ 'there, not present' can also be used not only as suffixes, but also as prepositions. Below are some examples of the functions of these suffixes. The abbreviation Q will be used for the question particle /re/. The suffixes will be bolded.

I finished harvesting snow bee honey a bit ago.

/'ŋu	- d̥ʒo	if	'laʔme	-βo'zat'a	-p	le-'san	- <p> a/
1-NOM	-not present	PFV	honey	-drink	-PST	time	- <PST>
I		completed	harvested snow bee honey			before	

We are talking about that person over there.

/'ŋu	- <n>	- tso	'sepa	-tj	d̥ʒo	la	- d̥ʒo	-zi/
1-NOM	- <PL>	-present	speak	-PRS	there	3	-not present	-GEN
We			speak		there		of that person	

Are you coming later?

/re	'ki	- d̥ʒo	tso	-'moka	-k	le'san	- <k> a/
Q	2-NOM	-not present	here	-go	-FUT	time	- <FUT>
	you		will come			later	

As the sentences demonstrate, the suffixes /-tso/ 'present' and /-d̥ʒo/ 'not present' can be used to place the speaker both in their spatial state, and their temporal state. In the first sentence, the speaker had completed the task in the past, and thus they are now speaking of a person in the past—both relatively temporally and spatially—because they are neither the person now that they were then, as time changes things, nor are they spatially the same person because they occupy a new location in space. In the second sentence, the people who are temporally and spatially present together are talking about a person who is not presently apart of their group—that person thus occupies different space relative to the speaker, so the suffix /-d̥ʒo/ 'not present' is used. In the final sentence, the speaker is asking a person if they will be coming somewhere in the future. The person who will be coming to that place will be a different person from the one they are now, and so the suffix /-d̥ʒo/ is used.

While the concept of relative temporality and spatiality may seem confusing, it used any time someone uses pronouns, so it is crucial when speaking /'kumi ʔio'mekenzi/. It is something inherent in the minds of /'tsadʒi ʔio'mekenzi/, so it is innate in their sense of themselves and both their temporality and their occupation of space.

The Adjectival Suffix /-wulʲ/

The suffix /-wulʲ/ denotes that a word is an adjective. It never declines, and never carries the meaning of a plural or relative temporality and spatiality. The following clauses are correct and incorrect versions of the clause “bright flames,” in the accusative case. They will demonstrate the correct and incorrect affixations of the suffix /-wulʲ/. The pluralizer /-n-/ will be underlined, and the case ending /-do/ will be bolded.

1:

/ʔe'tsø	-wulʲ		si	-ti'o:m	-ε	<u>-n</u>	-do/
bright	-ADJ		small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PL	-ACC
bright			flames				

2:

*/ʔe'tsø	<u>-n</u>	-do	-wulʲ	si	-ti'o:m	-ε	<u>-n</u>	-do/
bright	-PL	ACC	-ADJ	small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PL	-ACC
bright				flames				

3:

*/ʔe'tsø	<u>-n</u>	-wulʲ	-do	si	-ti'o:m	-ε	-n	-do/
bright	-PL	-ADJ	-ACC	small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PL	-ACC
bright				flames				

4:

*/t̥e'tsø	-wuli	- <u>n</u>	- do	si	-ti'o:m	-ε	- <u>n</u>	- do /
bright	-ADJ	-PL	-ACC	small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PL	-ACC
bright				flames				

The first sentence demonstrates the proper usage of the adjective /t̥e'tsøwuli/ 'bright.' The adjective /t̥e'tsøwuli/ is derived from the noun /'t̥etsøle/ 'brightness,' where 'brightness' is considered to be the color of flames and fire. Because /t̥e'tsøwuli/ 'bright' is an adjective, it never declines or carries the meaning of a plural. Thus, the last three examples are incorrect because of their attempt to decline and pluralize the adjective.

There are words that are naturally adjectives, such as /'si:wuli/ 'small.' /-wuli/ is versatile because it can also turn nouns into adjectives. For example, /fa'lare/ 'darkness' becomes /fa'lawuli/ 'dark' by removing /-re/ and affixing /-wuli/. /-re/ is removed because /fa'la/ is a root that carries the meaning of 'darkness.' The /-re/ is used to turn the root into a noun, a noun that is marked by the word-final vowel /-e/, to denote something natural (but not elemental).

A more abstract example is the adjectivization the noun /fu'kerε/ 'moon.' After affixing /-wuli/, the word for moon becomes the adjective /fu'kerεwuli/ 'beautiful.' Nothing is removed from the noun before affixing the adjective. This contrasts with the previous example of /fa'lawuli/ 'dark,' because the ending of the noun /fu'kerε/ 'moon' is not removed before affixation. This simply depends on the word; the removal of an ending cannot be predicted. But, in cases like /fu'kerεwuli/ 'beautiful,' it is very simple to create an adjective from a noun.

Lastly, verbs can also become adjectives by affixing /-wuli/. The verb /ma'ɲasɛli/ 'to glow' becomes /ma'ɲasɛliwuli/ when the adjectivizer is affixed. The word-final vowel /-a/, denoting the infinitive of a verb, is removed before the affixation of /-wuli/. This can be done to any verb in /'kumi t̥jo'mekenzi/ without difficulty.

/-wuli/ is versatile and simple to affix, save for the frequent removal of word-final consonants and vowels. Similar to the infix /-f̥ɔl-/, /-wuli/ does not trigger any morphological

changes when affixed to a word. Additionally, /-wuli/ never declines and it never carries the meaning of a plural or of relative temporality and spatiality.

The Question Prefix /re-/

Question words in /'kumi t̥jo'məkenzi/ are all prefixed with the question morpheme /re-/. It can also be used as a particle, and that usage will be discussed in the section on syntax. The following is a table presenting the question words in /'kumi t̥jo'məkenzi/ and their root's meaning.

Root noun	Question word in /'kumi t̥jo'məkenzi/	English meaning
person	/re'kalɛ/	who
thing	/re'alɔ̃fi/	what
here and there	/re'tsod̥ʒo/	where
time	/re'sana/	when
think	/re'lord/	why
do	/re'ðal/	how

Each of these question words is formed by affixing the prefix /re-/ to nouns. The root nouns with the affixed /re-/ create the corresponding question word. The morpheme /re/ denotes a question, and appears here as a prefix, but can also be used separately as a particle. This usage will be explored in the section on syntax.

The Nounification Suffix /-ini/

In /'kumi ʔio 'mɛkenzi/, the suffix /-ini/ can turn certain verbs into words meaning ‘one who does (that verb).’ /-ini/ functions in the way that /-ə/ as a suffix does in English. For example, when /-ə/ is affixed to the verb ‘dance,’ it becomes ‘dancer,’ which is one who dances; ‘teach’ affixed with the /-ə/ becomes ‘teacher,’ one who teaches. The table below will provide several examples of verbs and their noun equivalent.

Verb in /'kumi ʔio 'mɛkenzi/	English meaning of verb	Noun in /'kumi ʔio 'mɛkenzi/	English meaning of noun
/laʔmeβo 'zatʰa/	to harvest snow bee honey	/laʔmeβo 'zatʰoni/	snow bee honey-harvester
/'lorda/	to think	/lor' dini/	philosopher
/mo' uqala/	to travel (far) on foot	/mouqa' lini/	traveler (far, on foot)
/'siʂa/	to knit	/si' ʂani/	knitter

As the table demonstrates, to create the nounified form of the verb, the infinitive verb ending, the word-final vowel /-a/ is removed, and /-ini/ is affixed in its place. The affixation of the suffix /-ini/ shifts stress one place to the right. There are no morphological phenomena that trigger a change in the suffix. Thus, nounifying a verb is simple. That being said, only some verbs can logically be nounified. For example, /ʃi' ʃi:la/ ‘to snow’ would make no sense as /ʃi' ʃi:lini/ ‘snower.’ That being said, some verbs that would be seemingly nonsensical when nounified can be nounified to create idiomatic expressions.

Morphological Rules

The purpose of morphological rules is to provide the reader with a rule that can be used successfully create new words. The following are all of the morphological rules in /'kumi ʔio

'mɛkenzi/, summarized from the previous in-depth analyses of the morphology of /'kumi t̪io
'mɛkenzi/.

1. The suffixes /-p/, /-ti/, and /-k/ can be affixed to the end of infinitive verbs to inflect the tense. Example:

/ˈzɛpap/ 'used' /ˈzɛpati/ 'use, using' /ˈzɛpak/ 'will use'

2. The infixes /-p-/, /-t-/, and /-k-/ can be infixed into time expressions, between the /n/ and /a/ of the root /'sana/. Examples:

/t̪sɛˈsanpa/ 'there was, were' /t̪sɛˈsanta/ 'there is, are' /t̪sɛˈsanka/ 'there will be'

3. Every case ending can be affixed to the end of a noun to decline the noun. Example:

Accusative: /moˈd̪ʒiɖo/ 'land'
Genitive: /moˈd̪ʒizi/ 'of the land'
Prepositional: /moˈd̪ʒiɰi/ 'on the land'
Dative: /moˈd̪ʒilo/ 'to the land'
Instrumental: /ˈmoɖʒijama/ 'with the land'

4. The pluralizing infix /-n-/ always appears directly after an undeclined noun and before the case ending, or the relative temporality and spatiality words /t̪so/ and /d̪ʒo/. Example:

Accusative: /luˈmonɖo/ 'thoughts'
Genitive: /luˈmonzi/ 'of the thoughts'
Prepositional: /luˈmonɰi/ 'in the thoughts'
Dative: /luˈmonlo/ 'to the thoughts'

Instrumental: /'lumonjama/ 'with the thoughts'

5. The infix /-ʃø1-/ appears following the undeclined noun and its case ending to create a reflexive pronoun. Example:

/ʔu	-tso	a'lɛma	-t	ɲu	-tso	-ʃø1	-ɖo/
1-NOM	-present	love	-PRS	1	-present	-REFL	-ACC
I		love		myself			

6. The adjectival suffix /-wuli/ can be affixed to nouns and verbs to make adjectives. Unique morphological and phonological changes do apply. Example:

Adjective: /di'tɕiwuli/ 'low'

Noun to adjective: /toŋ'lanimwuli/ 'ritual-like'

Verb to adjective: /ki'zawuli/ 'crackly (of a fire)'

7. The prefix /re-/ can be affixed to assigned nouns to create questions. Example:

/re'ðal/ 'how?'

/re'sana/ 'when?'

8. The nounifying suffix /-ini/ is applied by removing the infinitive word-final vowel /-a/ and affixing the suffix /-ini/ to create the meaning of "one who does." Unique morphological and phonological changes do apply. Example:

/tsa'fɪni/ 'cooker'

/grasa'lɔni/ 'hunter'

/ɬa'ɳani/ 'giver'

These are the morphological features of /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/. More examples of these features in action will appear throughout the rest of this paper, and the reading of the creation myth. The following section is on the syntax of /'kumi ɬio'mɛkenzi/.

IV. Syntax

/'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/

The Language of the Embers

This section will examine the syntax of /'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/. The topics covered include word order; TMA (tense, mood, and aspect) and person, number, and gender; structure for articles and other determiners; and lastly, the case system.

Word Order

/'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/ has a rich case system, so the word order is loose. However, there are several conventions that must be followed. These conventions will be examined below, and then summarized in a list at the end of this section.

Prepositions

The first convention is that prepositions must appear before the declined noun. The preposition will generally reflect the meaning of the declined noun. Below is a table of prepositions commonly used in /'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/, and what case each preposition tends to follow.

/'kumi ʈjo'mɛkenzi/	English meaning	Case followed
/tso/	here	-
/dʒo/	there	-
/wɛm'tsodʒo/	everywhere	-
/wɛm/	all, entirety, whole	-

/'kumi t̥i'o'mækenzi/	English meaning	Case followed
repeat the pronouns	one another, each other	Maintain case
/jam/	with	Instrumental
/- 'ʃøɫ-/	-self / -selves	Maintain case
/asts/	in	Prepositional
/eʃt̥ʃ/	out	Prepositional
/asts eʃt̥ʃ/	through	Prepositional
/'la:mlas/	all over	Prepositional
/'θa:mas/	down	Prepositional
/'ʃemas/	up	Prepositional
/'tsodo/	this	-
/'tsodon/	these	-
/'dʒodo/	that	-
/'dʒodon/	those	-
/'tsoʈi/	to	Dative
/'dʒoʈi/	from	Genitive
/'t̥aʔt̥ek/	only	-
/nali/	on	Prepositional
/krask/	for	Dative; sometimes used as a relative clause marker
/zef/	by	Genitive
/as' tsoʈi/	into	Prepositional
/'la:klas/	across	Prepositional
/t̥ek/	merely	-

The following two sentences are examples of the proper usage of a preposition and the declined noun. The preposition and the declined case of the noun will be bolded.

I will snuggle under a blanket with you.

/ŋu	-d̥ʒo	'mitsa	-k	jam	'ki	-d̥ʒo	-jama/
1-NOM	-not present	snuggle under blanket	-FUT	with	2	-not present	-INST
I		snuggle under a blanket		with	you		

They are traveling through the forest now.

/'la	-n	-tso	mo'ʊala	-t	asts eʃtʃ	dasik'ro	-ti
3-NOM	-PL	-present	travel by foot	-PRS	through	forest	-PREP
They			travel by foot		through	forest	

le'san - <t> a/

time - <PRS>

now

As the sentences demonstrate, the preposition in a sentence precedes the declined noun, with the meaning of the case ending of the noun reflecting the meaning of the preposition itself.

Superlatives

The next set of conventions concern superlatives. Superlatives precede the adjective to intensify the meaning. Below is a table presenting the superlative in /'kumi ʃio'mɛkenzi/.

'kumi ʃio'mɛkenzi/ superlative	English meaning
/d̥ʒi-/	more, -er

/'kumi ʒio' mɛkenzi/ superlative	English meaning
/d̥ʒi d̥ʒi-/	most, -est
/gid-/	less, -er
/gid gid-/	least, -est

The following two sentences will demonstrate proper usage of superlatives. Idiomatically, the dative case is used to make comparisons. It substitutes the comparative conjunction/preposition ‘than.’ The gloss abbreviation PRM will be used to mark the suffix /-ini/ or /-oni/, which is a person marker. The superlative will be bolded.

Now, I am the sleepest.

/'ɲu	-tso	d̥ʒi d̥ʒi	dɛra'ʒa	-wulʒi	le'san	- <t> a/
1-NOM	-present	most	sleepy	-ADJ	time	- <PRS>
I		the sleepest			now	

Before, the hunters were less happy than the cooks were.

/grasa'li	-oni	- <n>	-d̥ʒo	gid	gre'ma	-wulʒi
hunt	-PRM-NOM	- <PL>	-not present	less	joyful	-ADJ
hunters				less	happy	

tsaf	-i'ni	- <n>	-lo	le'san	- <p> a/
cook	-PRM-NOM	- <PL>	-DAT	time	- <PST>
cooks				before	

As the sentences demonstrate, the superlatives “most” and “less” appear directly before the adjective they are modifying. Superlatives are useful, but because /'tsad̥ʒi ʒio'mɛkenzi/ are communal, in some manner, they do not use comparisons as often as a society organized

otherwise. Making comparisons between two /'kalen/ 'people' can create unnecessary competition, which is undesirable in their /'kalmes/ 'village'. However, they can be used when speaking self-referentially (as in the first sentence), or comparing a group of people (as in the second sentence).

The Intensifier /d̥zi/

The intensifier /d̥zi/ can be used following an adjective or an adverb to intensify the meaning. For example, “very very very very cold” would be /'ka:wuli d̥zi d̥zi d̥zi d̥zi/, where /'ka:wuli/ means ‘cold.’ The intensifier must follow the adjective—if it precedes it, it could be mistaken for the superlative meaning ‘more’ or ‘most.’ /d̥zi/ can also intensify adverbs. For example, one could say, “The way you are sleeping is very cat,” meaning that you are sleeping like a cat might sleep. In general, the suffix /-rɛm/ is affixed to a word—adjectives, as well as nouns—to mark it as an adverb. In these cases, nouns, with well-known qualities, are being adverbialized and intensified. The following two sentences are examples of intensifying an adjective, and an adverb. The intensifier will be abbreviated as INT, and will be bolded.

I'm very very hungry right now.

/ŋu	-tso	kra'ka	-wuli	d̥zi	d̥zi	le'san	- <t> a/
1-NOM	-present	hungry	-ADJ	INT	INT	time	- <PRS>
I		hungry		very	very	now	

You knit very wind-like.

/'ki	-tso	'siʂa	-t	ʃe'sa:n	-ɛ	-rɛm
2-NOM	-present	knit	-PRS	wind	-elemental.PTC	-ADV

you	knit	wind
d̥zi	sa'na	-d̥zi/
INT	time	-very
very	often	

A note must be added about the second sentence. The word /sa'na d̥zi/ 'sometimes' is not being modified by /d̥zi/, but rather the meaning 'very' was affixed⁴ to /'sana/ 'time' to create the word "often." Thus, it is not bolded. These sentences demonstrate the proper usage of the intensifier /d̥zi/, which can be used to intensify both adjectives as well as adverbs, which include adverbialized nouns. /d̥zi/ can be used as many times as the speaker desires, intensifying the meaning with every utterance.

Particles

/ 'kumi t̥io 'mekenzi/ has particles, similar in purpose to those of Mandarin. However, these particles function differently syntactically. Below is a table of the particles in / 'kumi t̥io 'mekenzi/.

/ 'kumi t̥io 'mekenzi/ particle	English meaning	General location
/if/	marks perfectiveness	-
/d̥a:/	implies suggestion	before verb
/sek/	marks relative clause (circumfix)	circumfix around verb
/tses/	implies continuity	-
/des/	implies previous completion, 'already'	-
/θiti/	implies possibility	-

/'kumi t̥io' mɛkenzi/ particle	English meaning	General location
/re/	implies a question	-
/a:ŋ/	marks passive-voice clauses	before verb
/'ali/	marks the separation of two distinct relative clauses	-

The table not only gives each particle and its meaning, but also its typical location in a sentence. There are only two particles for which it is most common to occur before the verb: /ḡa:/ which indicates suggestion, and /a:ŋ/ which marks passive-voice clauses. Otherwise, the particle can appear before or after a verb—its location determines the emphasis of the phrase. If the verb appears first followed by the particle, then the action is more significant than its status based on the particle. Conversely, if the particle appears first followed by the verb, then the status of the action, as dictated by the particle, is more significant than the action itself. Below are two sentences demonstrating the use of particles. The gloss abbreviation PRM will be used to mark the suffix /-ini/ or /-oni/, which is a person marker. Particles will be bolded.

The person who hopes found the meaning of life.

/ma'j	-ini	if	'firma	-p	sen'ðiz	-ḡo	t̥ioke:'li	-zi/
hope	-PRM-NOM	PFV	find	-PST	meaning	-ACC	life	-GEN
hoper			found		meaning		of life	

Are you able to do this?

/'ki	-t̥so	'θila	-t̥j	re	'ḡala	't̥so	-ḡo/
2-NOM	-present	able	-PRS	Q	do-INF	here	-ACC
you		able			to do	this?	

In the first sentence, *The person who hopes found the meaning of life*, the particle of ‘perfective actions’ /if/ or ‘completion’ /des/ appears before the verb because the completion of the act of ‘finding’ is more important than the act of finding; it is less important if you are ‘finding’ the meaning of life, it only matters when you have ‘found’ it. In the second sentence, *Are you able to do this?*, the question particle /re/ appears following the verb /'θila/ ‘to be able to,’ because the speaker wants the listener to know that they are asking if they are capable of something. The verb /'θila/ ‘to be able to’ appears first, asserting that the ability of the listener is more pertinent than the fact that the speaker is asking a question. Thus, the placement of particles can subtly change the meaning of a sentence.

Time Terms

The following is the table provided in the Morphology section, presenting all time terms in /'kumi t̥io'məkenzi/.

'kumi t̥io'məkenzi/	English meaning	Infix meaning
/le'sana/	time	-
/le'sanpa/	then, recent past	past
/le'santa/	now, present	present
/le'sanka/	later, near future	future
/we'sanpa/	then, in the distant past, used for history and folklore	past
/we'sanka/	then, in the distant future, used for folklore	future
/d̥ʒe'sanpa/	then, at that point in time (past)	past
/d̥ʒe'sanka/	then, at that point in time (future)	future

/'kumi ʔio'məkenzi/	English meaning	Infix meaning
/tse'sanpa/	there was	past
/tse'santa/	there is, are	present
/tse'sanka/	there will be	future
/tse:'sana/	during, while	-
/dzu/	soon	-
/dzu'sanpa/	'just' finished	past
/dzu'sanka/	'just' about to	future
/'sap:a/	before	past
/'sak:a/	after, once	future

In terms of syntax, the rule is simple: time terms, in general, should appear at the end of a sentence. Stylistically, it may be the case that it appears at the beginning of the sentence, or anywhere else for that matter. For example, in the creation myth, the time term often appears at the beginning of the second. However, to achieve the most neutral meaning of the time term, it should appear at the end of the sentence.

Below are rules summarized from the previous analyses on various features of word order in /'kumi ʔio'məkenzi/. The next section will address the Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA) features of /'kumi ʔio'məkenzi/.

1. Prepositions must appear before noun to which the preposition is referring.
2. Superlatives must appear directly before the adjective they are modifying.
3. The intensifier /dʒi/ must appear directly after the adjective or adverb that it is modifying.
4. Particles can appear either directly before or directly after a verb. Statements with the particle preceding the verb emphasize the status of the action, while statements with the verb preceding the particle emphasize the action itself.
5. Time terms should, in general, appear at the end of a sentence.

Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA)

The TMA of /'kumi tjo'mekenzi/ does not inflect for person, number, or gender. It merely inflects for tense, with the conjugations /-p/ (past tense), /-ti/ (present tense), and /-k/ (future tense). The following sections will analyze the tense, mood, and aspect of /'kumi tjo'mekenzi/.

Tense

Tense indicates “when the action being described takes place with reference to the time of speaking (or the time being spoken about)” (Carpenter, 21 September 2015). Similar to Esperanto, /'kumi tjo'mekenzi/ has a simple tense system with three conjugations that indicate the past, present, and future tenses. The suffixes are /-p/, /-ti/, and /-k/ for past, present, and future tenses, respectively. There is only the indicative mood; there is no subjunctive. Below is table containing indicative conjugations for the past, present, and future tenses for the verb /'sepa/ ‘to speak.’

Past-imperfect-indicative	Singular	Plural
1st	/ 'senap/	/ 'senap/
2nd	/ 'senap/	/ 'senap/
3rd	/ 'senap/	/ 'senap/

Present-imperfect-indicative	Singular	Plural
1st	/ 'sepati/	/ 'sepati/
2nd	/ 'sepati/	/ 'sepati/
3rd	/ 'sepati/	/ 'sepati/

Future-imperfect-indicative	Singular	Plural
1st	/'sepak/	/'sepak/
2nd	/'sepak/	/'sepak/
3rd	/'sepak/	/'sepak/

Thus, /'kumi ɬjo' mɛkenzi/ has a simple tense system, where the tenses are inflected with the simple conjugations of /-p/, /-ti/, and /k/ for past, present, and future tenses, respectively. However, its use of aspect provides a richer template for the creation of complex descriptions of actions.

Mood

Mood indicates “whether the action actually took place, or whether it is hypothetical. It is independent of Tense and Aspect, as an action can be real or hypothetical, completed, or incomplete at any point in time” (Carpenter, 21 September 2015). Moods in other languages include the subjunctive and conditional. In /'kumi ɬjo' mɛkenzi/, there is only one inflected mood: the indicative. However, particles can be used to create more complex descriptions of actions in light of this limitation. Below is a table of modal particles taken from the table in the Word Order section, including their Chinese equivalents.

/'kumi ɬjo' mɛkenzi/ particle	English meaning	General location	Mandarin equivalent
/ɖa:/	implies suggestion	before verb	吧, 呢
/θiti/	implies possibility	-	会
/re/	implies a question	-	吗, 呢
/a:ŋ/	marks passive-voice clauses	before verb	被

There modal particles were inspired by the rich particle inventory of Chinese. As the table indicates, however, placement of particles in /'kumi t̥io'məkenzi/ is slightly less strict than in Chinese, which requires very precise particle placement. Also of note is that the question particle /re/ can be reduplicated twice or many times in a sentence, sequentially or otherwise, to intensify the question. The following sentences will present the usage of these particles. The abbreviation Q will be used for the question particle /re/. The particles will be bolded.

Let's chop wood together!

/d̪a:	'sokt̪ʃa	-t̪i	'ʃølin	-'ʃølin/
suggestion.PTC	chop wood	-PRS	selves	-selves
suggested	chop wood		together	

It might snow soon.

/mi'fola	ʃi'ʃi:la	-k	θit̪	d̪zu/
3-NOM-natural	snow	-FUT	possibility.PTC	soon
it	will snow		possible	soon

Are you hurt?

/re	'ki	-t̪so	a:ŋ	'ŋøst̪ʃa	-t̪i	re/
Q	2-NOM	-present	PAS.PTC	hurt	-PRS	Q
	you		be	hurt		

The previous sentences show the usage of the three modal particles in /'kumi tjo'məkenzi/. The only two conventions for the placement of modal particles are /ɖa:/ implies suggestion and /a:ŋ/ marks a relative clause, which must occur before the verb they are modifying. The modal particles are useful for communication, as they give the speaker the ability to ask questions—/re/ question particles—and suggest actions—/ɖa:/ suggestion particle. The particle implying possibility /θiti/ gives the speaker a way to express the feeling of wonder or pondering. Lastly, /a:ŋ/ relative clause marker, allows the speaker to develop more complex descriptions of nouns. The modal particles are a simple way to create a richer form of communication.

Aspect

Aspect indicates “whether the action has been completed or is still incomplete. It is technically independent of Tense, as an action can be completed or incomplete at any point in time” (Carpenter, 21 September 2015). Russian’s utilization of aspect is so complex that it is said that most non-native speakers will never truly come to understand how it works and how to use it. In /'kumi tjo'məkenzi/, thankfully, the system is not nearly as difficult. Aspect is described using particles, as mentioned in the previous section on Word Order. Below is a table of aspectual particles taken from the table in the Word Order section, including their Chinese equivalents.

/'kumi tjo'məkenzi/ particle	English meaning	General location	Mandarin equivalent
/t̃ses/	implies continuity	-	一直
/if/	marks perfectiveness	-	了
/ɖes/	implies previous completion, ‘already’	-	已经

These particles were inspired by Chinese's inventory of aspectual and modal particles and adverbs. They work in conjunction with—but not in lieu of—inflected verbs. Below is a gloss of one sentence that features all three particles, which will all be bolded. The abbreviation CPL is used for the particle denoting previous completion, and CONT is used for denoting continuous aspect.

I finished stoking the already hot fire, and later I will continue to stoke others.

/ŋu	-tso	if	mi'ʃɲa	-p	sək	des	'βø:la	-p
1-NOM	-present	PFV	stoke fire	-PST	REL	CPL	be hot	-PST
I		completed	stoked fire				hot	
sək	tʃiome	-do	liim	fɔ	-n	mi'ʃɲa	-k	
REL	fire	-ACC	and	other	-PL	stoke fire	-FUT	
	fire		and	others		will stoke fire		
t̃ses		le'san	- <k> a/					
CONT		time	- <FUT>					
continuously		later						

The previous sentence showcases the three aspectual particles in /'kumi t̃ɕio'məkenzi/. /if/ (perfective particle) and /des/ (completion particle) can explain actions more definitively. /t̃ses/ (implies continuity) is useful because it can convey information about the status of an action. There is no convention for the location of the particles relative to the verbs they are modifying. These particles are useful because they give more information about an action, whether it has been completed, was already completed, or is still in progress.

While /'kumi t̃ɕio'məkenzi/ does not have any inflecting aspects of person, number, or gender, the tenses paired with modal and aspectual particles creates for a rich system none the less.

Articles and Determiners

/ˈkumi ʈjoˈmɛkenzi/ does not have any articles of any variety: there are no definite, indefinite, partitive, or negative articles. There are also no demonstratives, though the separate words ˈtsoɢo/ ‘this’ and ˈdʒoɢo/ ‘that’ do exist as nouns. They can be pluralized to become ˈtsoɢon/ ‘these’ and ˈdʒoɢon/ ‘those.’ There are also numerical determiners; there is only the singular and the plural, which is marked with the suffix /-n/.

There are no possessive determiners. The format for forming the possessive is similar to that of Russian. Word order is not crucial here. The way to express ownership is by declining a noun to its genitive form. For example, “my name” would be:

/masˈmøl	ɲu	-ˈtso	-zi/
name-NOM	1	-‘present’	-GEN
name	of me		

Quantifiers are formed similarly using the genitive form and adding a separate quantifying word. Below is a table of several quantifiers in /ˈkumi ʈjoˈmɛkenzi/, and whether or not they require the singular or the plural of the noun that they are quantifying.

/ˈkumi ʈjoˈmɛkenzi/	English meaning	Singular or plural
/ˈɥalɤʃ/	many, a lot	Plural
/ˈɥalas/	several, some	Plural
/ˈɥalam/	few	Plural
/ˈɥalaza/	barely	Singular

An item or amount is quantified by being paired with a quantifier and put into the genitive. The quantifier must appear either before or after the noun it is quantifying; it can not occur elsewhere in the sentence. The quantifier can then be declined as any other noun, depending on its part in the sentence. Below is a sentence employing the quantifier, /'uqalas/ 'several, some.' The quantifier will be bolded.

The person has several different thoughts.

/'kale	'mipa	-tj	sək	'fəmz	-wulj	sək
person-NOM	have	-PRS	REL	different	-ADJ	REL
person	has			different		
uqa'las	-do		lu'mo	-n	-zi/	
several	-ACC		thought	-PL	-GEN	
several			of thoughts			

As the gloss presents, the noun being quantified is put into the plural and the genitive. The quantifying word must be declined in to the accusative because it is the direct object of the sentence.

Distributive determiners are used the same way as quantifiers. Below is a table of the three distributive determiners in /'kumi tjo'məkenzi/, and whether or not they require the singular or the plural of the noun that they are quantifying.

/'kumi tjo'məkenzi/	English meaning	Singular or plural
/'fəmɛz/	each	Plural
/'rəmɛz/	any	Plural
/'wəmɛz/	every	Plural

A distributive determiner is used by putting the distributed noun in the genitive and adding the distributive determining word either before or after the modified noun. As the table indicates, the noun must always be pluralized. The distributive determiner must either appear before or after the noun it is quantifying; it can not occur elsewhere in the sentence. As with the quantifier, the distributive determiner can be declined as can any other noun. Below is a sentence demonstrating the usage of the distributive determiner /'wɛmɛʒ/ 'any.' The distributive determiner will be bolded.

A snow bee will fly to every tree.

/laʔ'mɛɖa	paʃɛ	- 'moka	-k	wɛ'mɛʒ	-lɔ	ʒi 'pe	-n	-zi/
snow bee-NOM	sky	-go	-FUT	every	-DAT	tree	-PL	-GEN
snow bee	will fly			to every		of trees		

The distributive determiner is used by putting the noun being modified into the plural and genitive, and either preceding or following the noun with a distributive determiner (but nowhere else in the sentence).

/ 'kumi ɕio'mɛkenzi/ does not have interrogative determiners. It merely has the relative clause particle /sɛk/, which is circumfixed around the relative clause to mark it as such. The particle is a separate word, not an affix of some sort. An example of a relative clause will be presented below, and the relative clause particles /sɛk/ will be bolded. The relative particle separator / 'ali/ will be abbreviated as RELS.

the quiet cat who likes to sleep often

/sɛk	'mifi	-wulɕ	sɛk	'ali	sɛk	si	- 'alimo	-tɕ
REL	quiet	-ADJ	REL	RELS	REL	small	-love	-PRS
	quiet					likes		

sa'na	-d̥zi	'dɛrɔɬa	sɛk	'ʃimso/
time	-more	sleep-INF	REL	cat-NOM
often		to sleep		cat

The relative clause particle /sɛk/ is circumfixed around the relative clause. The first relative clause in the statement is ‘quiet,’ and the second is ‘likes to sleep.’ An important particle in this statement is /'ali/, which separates two (or more) relative clauses. Because the relative clauses for ‘quiet’ and ‘likes to sleep’ appear next to each other, the particle /'ali/ is inserted between them so the speaker can make clear that they are two different relative clauses. The usage of the relative clause marker /sɛk/ is based on the Mandarin relative clause particle 的. 的 is used similarly to /sɛk/, however it appears just before the relative clause and not after it, the way that /sɛk/ does. /sɛk/ is the only circumfix in /'kumi ʃio'mɛkenzi/.

Case System

The case system of /'kumi ʃio'mɛkenzi/ is simple and strongly resembles that of Russian. Below is a table of the case endings with their meaning. Following the table, several sentences will showcase the usages of these endings. Then an explanation of each case ending will be provided.

/'kumi ʃio'mɛkenzi/	Meaning
-	Nominative
/-ɬo/	Accusative
/-zi/	Genitive
/-ʃi/	Prepositional
/-lo/	Dative

'kumi t̥io' mɛkenzi/	Meaning
/-jama/	Instrumental

The baker said 'hello' to their friend at the eternal fire.

/d̥ʒom'f -ini	'sena -p	βø'si:re	ki -n -'t̥so -l̥
bake -person-NOM	say -PST	warmth-NOM	2 -PL -present -DAT
baker	said	hello	

si -al'im	-i'ni -l̥	da: -t̥io'mɛ -t̥i/
small -love	-person -DAT	big -fire -PREP
to the friend		at the eternal fire

Come drink honey liquor with us, after you make the bread.

/ɖa:	nɔgrala?'zati -ɖo	'βoza -k jam
suggestion.PTC	honey liquor -ACC	drink -FUT with-PREP
suggested		

'ŋu -n -d̥ʒo -jama	'sak:a 'ki -t̥so
1 -PL -not present -INST	after 2 -present
with us	after you

'ðala -k	if	d̥ʒomda'jø -ɖo/
make -FUT	PFV	bread -ACC
will do	complete	bread

This is my shelter.

/ˈtso	-do	ˈdɛsdʒo	ŋu	-ˈtso	-zi/
here	-ACC	fur cave	1	-present	-GEN
this		shelter	of me		

These sentences showcase the usage of the case endings. The accusative is used to mark direct objects. The genitive is used to mark possession and other such meanings of “from” something or “of something.” The prepositional is used to mark the location of something. Paired with prepositions, the location can be made more specific. The dative is used to mark indirect objects, but it can also mark direction when paired with prepositions. Lastly, the instrumental is used to indicate that a noun is an instrument or the means by which the subject does something. When the preposition /jam/ ‘with’ is used in conjunction with the suffix /-jama/, it creates the meaning that the declined noun is accompanying something, which is the meaning in the second sentence.

Numeral System

The base-ten numeral system in /ˈkumi ɬioˈmɛkenzi/ draws heavily from the numeral system in Chinese. For example, numbers are formed the same way in /ˈkumi ɬioˈmɛkenzi/ as they are in Chinese. The glottal stops found at the end of numbers here were inspired by non-standard Chinese dialects which feature glottal stops in their numeral system, for example Hangzhounese (Krawitz, Fieldwork on Hangzhounese, 2015:3). Below is a table of the numbers in /ˈkumi ɬioˈmɛkenzi/ and their Chinese equivalent. Following the table, several examples of how to create two- and three-digit numbers will be explained, aided with examples of number formation in Chinese.

/'kumi t̪io' mɛkenzi/	English meaning	Chinese equivalent
/t̪aʔ/	1	一
/bɛʔ/	2	二
/kɛʔ/	3	三
/søʔ/	4	四
/lɛʔ/	5	五
/fjʔ/	6	六
/nøʔ/	7	七
/diʔ/	8	八
/gɛʔ/	9	九
/muʔ/	10	十
/buʔ/	100	百
/zuʔ/	1,000	千
/d̪uʔ/	1,000,000	百万
/zaʔ/	0, none	零
/uʔ/	half	半 (not a number)

The following examples will demonstrate how to create two- and three-digit numbers, and the Chinese equivalent.

Number	/'kumi t̪io' mɛkenzi/	Literal meaning	Chinese equivalent
11	/muʔ t̪aʔ/	ten one	十一
26	/bɛʔ muʔ fjʔ/	two ten six	二十六
79	/nøʔ muʔ gɛʔ/	seven ten nine	七十九
105	/t̪aʔ buʔ lɛʔ/	one hundred five	一百五

Number	/ 'kumi ʔio' mækenzi/	Literal meaning	Chinese equivalent
400	/søʔ buʔ/	four hundred	四百
724	/nøʔ buʔ bεʔ muʔ søʔ/	seven hundred two ten four	七百二十四
1,003	/ʔaʔ zuʔ keʔ/	one thousand three	一千三
2,022	/bεʔ zuʔ bεʔ muʔ bεʔ/	two thousand two ten two	二千二十二
55,555	/leʔ muʔ leʔ zuʔ leʔ buʔ leʔ muʔ leʔ/	five ten five thousand five hundred five ten five	五万五五百五十五
904,382	/gεʔ buʔ søʔ zuʔ keʔ buʔ diʔ muʔ bεʔ/	nine hundred four thousand three hundred eight ten two	九十万四三百八十二
1,234,567	/ʔaʔ ɖuʔ bεʔ buʔ keʔ muʔ søʔ zuʔ leʔ buʔ ʃyʔ muʔ nøʔ/	one million two hundred three ten four thousand five hundred six ten seven	一百二十三万四千五百六十七

As the table demonstrates, two- and three-digit (and beyond) numbers are formed by adding the numbers around the base-ten words

/muʔ/ 'ten'

/buʔ/ 'hundred'

/zuʔ/ 'thousand'

/ɖuʔ/ 'million'

to form the number. As the table shows, 'twelve' would be, literally, 'ten two' and 'thirty-seven' would be 'three ten seven.' This is similar to how numbers in Chinese are formed, as the final column in the table demonstrates.

Numbers do not decline in /'kumi t̪io 'mɛkenzi/. There are no measure words or classifiers, unlike Chinese. The following sentence will demonstrate the use of numbers, which will be bolded.

I saw fifty-six fur blankets.

/'ŋu	-d̪ʒo	'ɛʃba	-p	le?	mu?	ʃy?	d̪e'so	-n	-d̪o/
1	-not present	see	-PST	five	ten	six	fur blanket	-PL	-ACC
I		saw		fifty-six			fur blankets		

Using numbers is difficult. With regards to word order, numbers usually precede the noun they are quantifying. Numbers can also follow the word, but they cannot be elsewhere in the sentence.

V. Original Story:

The following is an original story written in /'kumi ʈio'mekenzi/. It tells the creation myth of /'tsadʒi ʈio'mekenzi/. First, the story will be presented in English. Then, the entire translation of it will be presented in /'kumi ʈio'mekenzi/. Following that, a gloss of the entire story will be provided. It has been color-coded for ease of reading.

The sky looked down upon the ground, dark and infinite. There was no moon to brighten the earth. There was no moon to brighten the earth. From the earth rose a giant fire, with flames licking at the cold darkness. A strange wind blew through the flame, lifting it higher into the sky. The sky grabbed the fire and froze it into a silvery moon, and the embers that had risen too were chilled, becoming tiny blue specks that sprinkled the sky. And then the wind rose higher, tearing sky from sky, forming shapes covered in glowing blue markings. And so we were created.

/ˈpa:ʃɛ ˈɛʒbap ˈθa:mat sɛk faˈlawuli ʈim ɹaˈʈa-wuli sɛk ʈʃɛˈlɛdo/. ˈɛɛ ʈsɛˈsanpa sɛk ˈtɛtsɔla ʈʃɛˈlɛdo sɛk ʃuˈkɛɛ. ˈdʒoʈi ʈʃɛˈlɛzi ˈmɔkap ˈʃɛmas ˈda:wuli ˈʈiome ʈim ʈsɛˈsanpa siti ˈomen siˈʃiʈa ˈka:wuli falaˈrɛdo. uɔˈʈawuli ʃɛˈsa:nɛ ʃɛˈsafap aʈs ɛʃʈi sitiˈoˈmɛʈi ʈim ɖi ˈmu:lap ʒaˈdʒoɖo dʒi dʒaˈɖiwuli asˈʈoʈi paˈʃɛʈi. ˈpa:ʃɛ muˈkalap ʈioˈmɛdo ʈim ʒaˈdʒoɖo a:ŋ kaˈla:rap if ˈɲɛka misaˈmewuli ʃukeˈɾɛzi ʈim sɛk ˈʃɛmas ˈmɔkap if sɛk ʈioˈmeken ɲi a:ŋ kaˈsa:rap ʈim ˈɲɛkap ˈsi:wuli dʒi dʒi ɛʈyfaˈlawuli sɛk ʃiˈʃi:sap ˈla:klas paˈʃɛʈi sɛk ʃiʃi ˈrinzi. ʈim dʒɛˈsanpa ʃɛˈsa:nɛ ˈmɔkap ˈʃɛmas dʒi dʒaˈɖiwuli ˈʃkasɛlap paˈʃɛdo ˈdʒoʈi pa ˈʃɛzi ɖaˈʈamap sɛk ʃiʈaˈnalap maˈŋasɛʈiwuli ɛʈyfaˈlawuli ʈiomekeˈʃi:ʈanama sɛkʈsɔˈʈɔŋdo. ʈim zab a:ŋ ʈʃɔŋˈgasap ɲunˈʈsɔdo/

Gloss:

Additional abbreviations used:

INAN: inanimate
 PAS: passive voice
 PTC: particle
 REL: relative marker

The sky looked down upon the ground, dark and infinite.

/'pa:f	-ε	'εʒba	-p	'θa:mat	sək	fa'la	-wulʲ
sky-NOM	elemental.PTC	look	-PST	down	REL	dark	-ADJ
sky		looked		down		dark	
lʲim	ʲa'ta	-wulʲ	sək	ʲʃε'le	-ɖo/		
and	infinite	-ADJ	REL	earth	-ACC		
and	infinite			earth			

There was no moon to brighten the earth.

/'εrε	ʲtε	-'san	- <p> a	sək	'ʲtεsɔla		
not	here	- time	- <PST>	REL	brighten-INF		
no	there was			to brighten			
ʲʃε'l	-ε	-ɖo	sək	ʲu'ker	-ε/		
earth	-elemental.PTC	-ACC	REL	moon-NOM	elemental.PTC		
earth				moon			

From the earth rose a giant fire, with flames licking at the cold darkness.

/ʔdʒo	-tʃi	tʃɛ'l	-ɛ	-zi	'moka	-p
there	-PREP	earth	-elemental.PTC	-GEN	go	-PST
from		earth			went	
'ɣemas		'da:	-wulʃ	tʃi'om	-ɛ	lim
down		large	-ADJ	fire	-elemental.PTC	and
up		large		fire		and
tʃɛ	-'san	-<p> a	si	-tʃi'om	-ɛ	-n
here	-time	-<PST>	small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PL
there were			flames			
si'fʃiʔa	'ka:	-wulʃ	fala'r	-e		-dʒo/
lick-INF	cold	-ADJ	darkness	-non-elemental.PTC		-ACC
to lick	cold		darkness			

A strange wind blew through the flame, lifting it higher into the sky.

/ʔpʔ'ta	-wulʃ	ʃe'sa:n	-ɛ	ʃe'safa	-p
strange	-ADJ	wind	-elemental.PTC	blow	-PS
strange		wind		blew	
astʃ	eʃtʃ	si	-tʃi'o'm	-ɛ	-tʃi
in	out	small	-fire	-elemental.PTC	-PREP
through		flame			

l̥im	ɕi	- 'mu:la	-p	ʒa	- 'dʒo	-ɕo	dʒi
and	high	-take	-PST	3.SG.INAN	-there	-ACC	more
and	lifted			it			

dʒa'ɕi	-wuli	as'ts	-oɕi	pa'ʃ	-ε	-ti/
high	-ADJ	in	-PREP	sky	-elemental.PTC	-PREP
higher		into		the sky		

The sky grabbed the fire and froze it into a silvery moon, and the embers that had risen too were chilled, becoming tiny blue specks that sprinkled the sky.

/'pa:ʃ	-ε	mu'kala	-p	tʃio'mε	-ɕo	l̥im
sky	-elemental.PTC	grab	-PST	fire	-ACC	and
sky		grabbed		fire		and

ʒa	- 'dʒo	-ɕo	a:ŋ	ka'la:ra	-p	if
3.SG.INAN	-there	-ACC	PAS	freeze	-PST	PFV
it			is	frozen		

'ŋeka	misa'me	-wuli	ʃuke'r	-ε	-zi
become-INF	silver	-ADJ	moon	-elemental.PTC	-GEN
to become	silvery		moon		

l̥im	sek	'ʃemas	'moka	-p	if	sek
and	-REL	up	go	-PST	PFV	REL
and		up	went			

ʈjo'məke	-n	ji	a:ŋ	ka'sa:ra	-p	liim
ember	-PL	also	PAS	chill	-PST	and
embers		also	is	chilled		and

'ŋeka	-p	si:	-wulɿ	ḍʒi	ḍʒi
become	-PST	small	-ADJ	very	very
became		small		very	very

etɿy	-fa'la	-wulɿ	sək	ʃi'ʃi	-:sa	-p
not	-dark	-ADJ	REL	speckle	-time	-PST
blue				speckled		

'la:klas	pa'f	-ε	-ṭi	sək
across	sky	-elemental.PTC	-PREP	REL
across	sky			

ʃiʃi'ri	-n	-zi/
speckle	-PL	-GEN
specks		

And then the wind rose higher, tearing sky from sky, forming shapes covered in glowing blue markings.

/liim	ḍʒε	-'san	-<p> a	ʃe'sa:n	-ε	'moka	-p
and	there	-time	-PST	wind	-elemental.PTC	go	-PST
and	then			wind		went	

'ɕemas	d̥ʒi	d̥ʒa'ɕi	-wulɿ	'ʃkasɛla	-p
up	more	high	-ADJ	tear	-PST
up	more	high		tore	

pa'ʃɛ	-ɖo	'd̥ʒo	-t̥i	pa'ʃɛ	-zi	ða'l	-ɲama	-p
sky	-ACC	there	-PREP	sky	-GEN	make	-with	-PST
sky		from		sky		formed		

sɛk	ʃiɬa	-'ɲalɪa	-p	ma'ɲasɛɬi	-wulɿ	ɛtiy	-fa'la	-wulɿ
REL	touch	on	-PST	glow	-ADJ	not	-dark	-ADJ
	covered			glowing		blue		

ɬiomeke	-'ʃi:ɬa	-ɲ	-ama	sɛk	tsø'li	-ɖo/
fire	-skin	-PL	-INST	REL	shape	-ACC
with markings					shape	

And so we were created.

ɬim	zab	a:ɲ	t̥ʃøŋ'gasa	-p	ɲu	-n	-'tso	-ɖo/
and	thus	PAS	create	-PST	1	-PL	-here	-ACC
and	so	were	created		we			

VI. Lexicon

Below, two tables will be presented that feature the lexicon of /'kumi ɬio'məkenzi/. The first will present the lexicon alphabetized in the language, and the second will present the lexicon alphabetized in English.

Lexicon alphabetized by /'kumi ɬio'məkenzi/

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
-ɬo	Accusative	Declension	
-jam	Instrumental	Declension	
-k	Future-imperfect-indicative	Conjugation	
-lo	Dative	Declension	
-p	Past-imperfect-indicative	Conjugation	
-ɬi	Prepositional	Declension	
-ti	Present-imperfect-indicative	Conjugation	
-zi	Genitive	Declension	
/-'ʃɔl-/	-self / -selves	Preposition	Maintain case
/'dʒoɬo/	that	Preposition	-
/'dʒoɬon/	those	Preposition	-
/'dʒoɬi/	from	Preposition	Genitive
/'la:klas/	across	Preposition	Prepositional
/'la:mlas/	all over	Preposition	Prepositional
/'ʃemas/	up	Preposition	Prepositional
/'ɬaʔɬək/	only	Preposition	-
/'tsoɬo/	this	Preposition	-

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
/ˈtsodɒn/	these	Preposition	-
/ˈtsoɪ/	to	Preposition	Dative
/ˈθa:mas/	down	Preposition	Prepositional
/asˈtsoɪ/	into	Preposition	Prepositional
/asts eɪtʃ/	through	Preposition	Prepositional
/asts/	in	Preposition	Prepositional
/dʒo/	there	Preposition	
/eɪtʃ/	out	Preposition	Prepositional
/jam/	with	Preposition	Instrumental
/krask/	for	Preposition	Dative; sometimes used as a relative clause marker
/ɲal/	on	Preposition	Prepositional
/tʃk/	merely	Preposition	
/tso/	here	Preposition	
/wem/	all, entirety, whole	Preposition	
/wemˈtsodʒo/	everywhere	Preposition	
/zef/	by	Preposition	Genitive
ˈalˌmo	love	Noun	
ˈalˌɒfi	thing	Noun	
ˈbabeli	Baˈbel	Noun	
ˈbaŋga	help	Verb	
ˈberɛks	bricks	Noun	
ˈda:wulɪ	big	Adjective	
ˈðala	do, make	Verb	
ˈðala	make	Verb	
ˈdɛraɪa	sleep	Verb	
ˈdoʃiwulɪ	loud	Adjective	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'd̥zomfa	bake (food ,clay)	Verb	
'd̥esd̥ʒa	build	Verb	
'd̥esd̥ʒo	'fur cave' (the primary shelter of the people)	Noun	
'd̥eso	fur blanket	Noun	
'd̥osd̥ʒa	live in, dwell	Verb	
'd̥oʔk̥e	water	Noun	
'd̥uɲa	ask	Verb	
'd̥ʒaŋge	thunder	Noun	
'eɾe	no, not	Adverb	
'ɛʃba	see	Verb	
'ɛʒba	look	Verb	
'f̥em̥ɛʒ	each	Noun	Distributive
'f̥om̥zwul̥j	different	Adjective	
'gasmet̥i̯e	stone	Noun	
'g̥onka	breathe	Verb	
'joɖu	information	Noun	
'ka:wul̥j	cold	Adjective	
'kale	person	Noun	
'kalm̥es	village, community (or city for Tower of Babel story)	Noun	
'keβ̥an	heaven	Noun	
'kid̥ʒo	2sg: not present	Pronoun	
'kifa	light (something on fire)	Verb	
'kind̥ʒo	2pl: not present	Pronoun	
'kint̥so	2pl: present	Pronoun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'kitso	2sg: present	Pronoun	
'kiza	crackle (of a fire)	Verb	
'kumi	language	Noun	
'kumi ʔio 'mekenzi	Language of the Embers	Noun	
'kuša	hear	Verb	
'la:wulʔi	long (length or distance)	Adjective	
'ladʒo	3sg: not present	Pronoun	
'landʒo	3pl: not present	Pronoun	
'lantso	3pl: present	Pronoun	
'latso	3sg: present	Pronoun	
'laʔmeβo 'zatʔa	harvest snow bee honey	Verb	
'lana	know	Verb	
'lorda	think	Verb	
'lordama	mind (abstract)	Noun	
'lumo	thought	Noun	
'maja	wish	Verb	
'maja	hope	Verb	
'miŋa	have	Verb	
'miʃiwulʔi	quiet	Adjective	
'mitsa	snuggle under a blanket	Verb	
'modʒi	land, territory (of a people)	Noun	
'moka	go	Verb	
'molʔa	run	Verb	
'more,tore	mortar	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'mouɣa	walk	Verb	
'mu:la	take	Verb	
'ɲəsɪwuli	sad, forlorn	Adjective	
'ɲeka	become, takes gen.	Verb	
'ɲəsɪtʃja	hurt	Verb	
'ɲudʒo	1sg: not present	Pronoun	
'ɲundʒo	1pl: not present	Pronoun	
'ɲuntso	1pl: present	Pronoun	
'ɲutso	1sg: present	Pronoun	
'pa:ʃe	sky	Noun	
'pfitʃa	warm up next to a fire	Verb	
'ra:kla	mix up, confuse	Verb	
'rɛmɛʒ	any	Noun	Distributive
'ɟaɲa	give	Verb	
'sak:a	after, once	Noun	
'sap:a	before	Noun	
'seɲa	speak	Verb	
'sɛna	say	Verb	
'sɛnɔiz	meaning/significance	Noun	
'si:wuli	small	Adjective	-si can be used as a diminutive in forming words (ku'misi, 'small language,' vocabulary) or in names
'sikɗra	season wood	Verb	
'siktʃa	collect wood	Verb	
'siʃa	knit	Verb	
'sɔfa	catch fire	Verb	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'soktʃa	chop wood	Verb	
'syze	sand	Noun	
'ʃe:la	scatter	Verb	
'ʃimso	cat	Noun	
'ʃirma	find	Verb	
'ʃiʃa	learn	Verb	
'ʃiʈa	touch	Verb	
'ʃiʈe	skin	Noun	
'ʃølin'ʃølin	together	Adverb	
'ʃkasela	tear, rip	Verb	
'ʃøka	begin, start	Verb	
'ʈetsøla	brighten, light up	Verb	
'ʈetsøle	brightness	Noun	
'ʈisab	place	Noun	
'ʈsadʒi	people (a cultural group)	Noun	
'ʈsadʒi ʈio'məkenzi	People of the Embers	Noun	
'ʈsafa	cook	Verb	
'ʈsaʔke	lightning	Noun	
'ʈʃeʃe	'earth', like land ('ʈsadʒi ʈio'məkenzi have no concept of 'Earth' or even 'planet'	Noun	
'toŋa	feel	Verb	
'ʈsøla	stop	Verb	
'ʈsuna	answer	Verb	
'uʈalam	few	Noun	Quantifier
'uʈalas	several, some	Noun	Quantifier

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'uʎalaz	many, a lot	Noun	Quantifier
'uʎalaza	barely	Noun	Quantifier
'uʎɛʒa	holler	Verb	
'wɛka	continue, to be going on	Verb	
'wɛmɛʒ	every	Noun	Distributive
'ysʎanʎi	reason	Noun	
'zaʔɖo	nothing	Noun	zero + accusative case
'zɛpa	use	Verb	
'zɛɲɛ	earth (like ground)	Noun	
'zɛtse	grass	Noun	
'zɪpe	tree	Noun	
'zɪʔke	log	Noun	
'ʒadʒo	3sg: non-person, not present	Pronoun	
'ʒandʒo	3pl: non-person, not present	Pronoun	
'ʒantso	3pl: non-person, present	Pronoun	
'ʒatso	3sg: non-person, present	Pronoun	
'ʒi:wulʎ	short (length or distance)	Adjective	
'βali	valley	Noun	
'βɛɲɛ	air	Noun	
'βɪna	taste	Verb	
'βø:la	be hot	Verb	
'βø:wulʎ	hot	Adjective	
'βoza	drink	Verb	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
'θila	be able, possible	Verb	
a'lɛma	love	Verb	
ak	or	Conjunction	
bɛ?	2	Number	
bi'tɯmen	bitumen	Noun	
bøn	almost	Adverb	
bu?	100	Number	
ða'lini	helper	Noun	
ða'lini	maker	Noun	
ða'lini	doer	Noun	
ða'lɪama	form	Verb	
ɖa'matsø	bye	Phatic expression	
ɖa'matsø	bye	Phatic expression	
da'sikro	forest	Noun	
da'ʃi:ma	blizzard	Verb	
ɖa: ma'ɲasɛlɪa tɛ 'tsørem	goodbye	Phatic expression	lit. to glow brightly
da:'tʰiome	the eternal fire	Noun	
de'raʃɪni	sleeper	Noun	
dera'tɰawulɪ	sleepy	Adjective	
di'tɰiwulɪ	low	Adjective	
ɖim	then	Conjunction	
di?	8	Number	
ɖi'mu:la	lift	Verb	
ɖʒa'ɖiwulɪ	high	Adjective	
ɖʒe'kofa	Jehovah	Noun	
ɖʒe'nisos	Genesis	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
d̥ʒe'sanka	then, at that point in time, in the future	Noun	
d̥ʒe'sanpa	then, at that point in time, in the past	Noun	
d̥ʒi	very very...	Adjective	follows the modified word; can be repeated to intensify meaning
d̥ʒi d̥ʒi-	most, -est	Adjective	comes before the modified word
d̥ʒi-	more, -er	Adjective	comes before the modified word
d̥ʒiɔ	more (n.)	Adverb	
d̥ʒom'dajø	pastry	Noun	
d̥ʒom'dajø	bread	Noun	
d̥ʒom'fini	baker (food, clay)	Noun	
ɖes'd̥ʒini	builder	Noun	
ɖu?	1,000,000	Number	
d̥ʒu	soon	Noun	
d̥ʒu'sanka	'just' about to	Noun	
d̥ʒu'sanpa	'just' finished	Noun	
ɛɛθi'lawulɿ	impossible	Adjective	
ɛtiyfa'lawulɿ	blue	Noun	
fa'lare	darkness	Noun	
fa'lawulɿ	dark	Adjective	
fɔŋ	another, other	Adjective	
ge?	9	Number	
gid gid-	least, -est	Adjective	comes before the modified word
gid-	less, -er	Adjective	comes before the modified word

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
gre'mawulɪ	joyful	Adjective	
gra'salɪa	hunt	Verb	
gra'setʃa	kill	Verb	
grasa'lioni	hunter	Noun	
grase'tʃini	killer	Noun	
ik	but	Conjunction	
ka'la:ra	freeze	Verb	
ka'la:rile	ice	Noun	
ka'sa:ra	chill	Verb	
keʔ	3	Number	
ki	2sg	Pronoun	
ki'fini	lighter (something on fire)	Noun	
kra'gaz kin'tsolo	thank you	Phatic expression	
kra'kinlo	thanks	Phatic expression	
kra'kalɪ	food	Noun	
kra'kawulɪ	hungry	Adjective	
ku'misi	vocabulary	Noun	
laʔ'meɖa	snow bee	Noun	
laʔmeβo'zatɪ	honey	Noun	
laʔmeβo'zationi	snow bee honey-harvester	Noun	
le'sana	time	Noun	
le'sanka	later, near future	Noun	
le'sanpa	then, recent past	Noun	
le'santa	now (present)	Noun	
lets	in the place of, as, instead, rather	Conjunction	Followed by the genitive

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
leʔ	5	Number	
li'a'ɲawuli	known (in a good way...aka 'celebrated,' acclaimed, popular)	Adjective	
li'a'ɲoni	teacher	Noun	
liim	and	Conjunction	
lor'dini	philosopher	Noun	
lord'liapa	understand	Verb	lit. mind-know
ma'jini	wisher	Noun	
ma'jini	hoper	Noun	
ma'jiz	please	Adverb	
ma'jiz	please	Phatic expression	
ma'ɲaseli'a	glow	Verb	
ma'ɲaseliwuli	glowing	Adjective	
mas'məl	name	Noun	
mas'məla	be called (dat.), to name (acc.)	Verb	
mi'fola	3sg: used only for nature topics	Pronoun	Never pluralized or categorized by location, since 'tsadzi tio'məkenzi considers nature to be always present, never changing, never dying
mi'luwuli	sweet	Adjective	
mi'moka	bring	Verb	lit. have-go
mi'ʃɲa	stoke the fire	Verb	
mi'tsini	snuggler (under a blanket)	Noun	
milu'laʔzati	honey wine	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
mimo'kini	bringing	Noun	
misy'mewul ⁱ	silver(y)	Noun	
mif ⁱ ɲoni	fire-stoker	Noun	
mo'd̥ziwul ⁱ	land-based	Adjective	
mo'ɥala	travel (far) on foot	Verb	
moɥa'lini	traveler (far, on foot)	Noun	
mra'kal'a	eat	Verb	
mraka'lioni	eater	Noun	
mu'kala	grab	Verb	
muʔ	10	Number	
my'tsere	color	Noun	
nøʔ	7	Number	
nɔ'grawul ⁱ	thick	Adjective	
nɔgra'laʔzat ⁱ	honey liquor	Noun	
ɲi	also	Conjunction	
ɲos ⁱ 'tʃɔni	hurter	Noun	
ɲu	1sg	Pronoun	
paʃɛ'moka	fly	Verb	
pe'len	plain	Noun	
re'alɔfi	what	Pronoun	question particle + thing
re'ðal	how	Adverb	question particle + 'to do' root
re'kalɛ	who	Pronoun	question particle + person
re'lord	why	Adverb	question particle + 'to think' root
re'sana	when	Adverb	question particle + time

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
re'tsod̥zɔ	where	Adverb	question particle + herethere
repeat the pronouns	one another, each other	Preposition	Maintain case
ɣa'ɳani	giver	Noun	
ɣa'tawulɿ	infinite, endless	Adjective	
sa'nad̥zi	often	Adverb	
sa'natses	always	Adverb	
sa'naθitɿ	sometimes	Adverb	
sa'nɛɛ	never	Adverb	
sa:b'seŋo	tower (perhaps they'll have some kind of stone towers maybe?)	Noun	
se'poni	speaker	Noun	
seb	in order to, so that	Conjunction	
si'alɿmo	like	Verb	
si'ɣani	knitter	Noun	
si'fɿ:fa	flurry	Verb	
si'fɿŋa	lick (of a flame); takes acc.	Verb	
si'ziwulɿ	bubbly, light	Adjective	
sialɿ'mini	friend	Noun	
sik'ɖrini	wood-seasoner	Noun	
sik'tʃini	wood gatherer	Noun	
sisan'kareɱ	gradually	Adverb	
sisan'kawulɿ	gradual	Adjective	
siti'o:mɛ	flame	Noun	
sizi'laʔzatɿ	honey beer	Noun	
sok'tʃini	wood chopper	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
søʔ	4	Number	
ʃe'sa:nɛ	wind	Noun	
ʃe'safa	blow (of the wind)	Verb	
ʃɛ'reka	occur	Verb	
ʃɛ'reka	happen	Verb	
ʃi'nara	Shi'nar	Noun	
ʃi'ʃi:la	snow	Verb	
ʃi'ʃi:rile	snow	Noun	
ʃi'ʃada	discover	Verb	
ʃi'ʃoni	student	Noun	
ʃi'ʃoni	discoverer	Noun	
ʃiʃa'ʃøla	realize	Verb	learn+self
ʃiʃa'nalɛ	cover	Verb	
ʃi'ʃi:sa	sprinkle; takes prep.	Verb	
ʃi'ʃiri	speck	Noun	
ʃøl	self	Noun	
ʃø'kini	beginner, starter	Noun	
ʃu'kere	moon	Noun	
ʃu'kerɛwuli	beautiful	Adjective	moon + adj
ʃyʔ	6	Number	
ʃaʔ	1	Number	
ʃe'ʃsɔwuli	bright	Adjective	
ʃet	the very top, very end of something	Noun	
ʃio'mɛke	ember	Noun	lit. 'not darkness'
ʃio'mɛke'ʃi:ʃa	marking	Noun	ember-touch
ʃi'omatʃa	live, exist; takes gen., idiomatically "to be"	Verb	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
tɕio'kɛ:li	life	Noun	
tɕiome	fire	Noun	
ton'ga:ŋgini	person created from the 'ritual of sky and fire' ritual	Noun	
ton'gasa	create through ritual	Verb	
ton'gasini	person who perform the 'ritual of sky and fire' to create another person	Noun	
ton'gaso	creation (from a ritual)	Noun	
ton'gaʃɔlini	the person with whom one performs the 'ritual of sky and fire' to create another person	Noun	
ton'lana	perform a ritual	Verb	
ton'lanim	ritual	Noun	
ton'lanim ton'gasozi 'pa:ʃejama tɕi 'omejama	ritual of creation of sky and fire	Noun	
tsa'dʒimi	culture	Noun	
tsa'fini	cook	Noun	
tse:'sana	during, while	Noun	
tses'rem	no longer/not anymore	Adverb	
tsesremtɕi'omatɕa	die	Verb	
tsesremtɕiomawulɕi	dead	Adjective	
tsɛ'sanka	there will be	Noun	
tsɛ'sanpa	there was	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
t̪sɛ'santa	there is, are	Noun	
t̪sø'liɔ	shape	Noun	
t̪so'moka	come	Verb	
t̪ʃøŋ'ga:ŋʃɔ	creation (from anything but from ritual)	Noun	
t̪ʃøŋ'gaʃa	create	Verb	
t̪ʃøŋ'gaʃini	creator, inventor	Noun	
t̪ʃøŋ'gaʃoni	creation (ani. created from anything but ritual)	Noun	
t̪ʃu'poni	responder	Noun	
uʔ	half	Number	
uʔiz	straight in one direction	Adverb	
uʔɔ'tawuli	strange, peculiar	Adjective	
wɛ'sanka	then, in the distant future, used for lore, other things?	Noun	
wɛ'sanpa	then, in the distant past, used for history, lore	Noun	
za'biŋ	because, since	Conjunction	
zab	thus, therefore	Conjunction	
zaʔ	0, none	Number	
zaʔ'ziɔ	you're welcome	Phatic expression	lit. of nothing
ze'pini	user	Noun	
zuʔ	1,000	Number	
zi:	such (a?)	Noun	
βø'si:re	warmth	Noun	

Word	English meaning	Part of speech	Notes
βø'si:re	hi	Phatic expression	lit. warmth
βø'si:re ki(n)'tsolo	hello	Phatic expression	lit. warmth to you
βø'siwul ⁱ	warm	Adjective	
βø'zatas ⁱ	drink	Noun	
βø'zini	drinker (not alcohol)	Noun	
θi'lawul ⁱ	possible	Adjective	

Lexicon alphabetized by English

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
1	ṭaʔ	Number	
2	bεʔ	Number	
3	keʔ	Number	
4	søʔ	Number	
5	leʔ	Number	
6	ʃyʔ	Number	
7	nøʔ	Number	
8	diʔ	Number	
9	gεʔ	Number	
10	muʔ	Number	
100	buʔ	Number	
1,000	zuʔ	Number	
1,000,000	ḍuʔ	Number	
-self / -selves	/-ʃjəl-/	Preposition	Maintain case
'just' about to	ḍṭu'sanka	Noun	
'earth', like land (ʔtsadṭzi tio'mekenzi have no concept of 'Earth' or even 'planet')	ʔtʃεε	Noun	
'fur cave' (the primary shelter of the people)	ʔdesdṭzo	Noun	
'just' finished	ḍṭu'sanpa	Noun	
0, none	zaʔ	Number	
1pl: not present	ʔhundṭzo	Pronoun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
1pl: present	'ɲuntso	Pronoun	
1sg	ɲu	Pronoun	
1sg: not present	'ɲudʒo	Pronoun	
1sg: present	'ɲutso	Pronoun	
2pl: not present	'kindʒo	Pronoun	
2pl: present	'kintso	Pronoun	
2sg	ki	Pronoun	
2sg: not present	'kidʒo	Pronoun	
2sg: present	'kitso	Pronoun	
3pl: non-person, not present	'ʒandʒo	Pronoun	
3pl: non-person, present	'ʒantso	Pronoun	
3pl: not present	'landʒo	Pronoun	
3pl: present	'lantso	Pronoun	
3sg: non-person, not present	'ʒadʒo	Pronoun	
3sg: non-person, present	'ʒatso	Pronoun	
3sg: not present	'ladʒo	Pronoun	
3sg: present	'latso	Pronoun	
3sg: used only for nature topics	mi' fola	Pronoun	Never pluralized or categorized by location, since 'tsadʒi tio' mekenzi considers nature to be always present, never changing, never dying
Accusative	-ɖo	Declension	
across	/'la:klas/	Preposition	Prepositional

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
after, once	'sək:a	Noun	
air	'βɛɲɛ	Noun	
all over	/'la:mlas/	Preposition	Prepositional
all, entirety, whole	/wɛm/	Preposition	
almost	bøn	Adverb	
also	ɲi	Conjunction	
always	sa'natsɛs	Adverb	
and	lɪm	Conjunction	
another, other	fɔŋ	Adjective	
answer	'tʃuɲa	Verb	
any	'rɛmɛʒ	Noun	Distributive
ask	'dɥɲa	Verb	
Ba'bel	'babelɪ	Noun	
bake (food ,clay)	'dʒomfa	Verb	
baker (food, clay)	dʒom'fini	Noun	
barely	'uɣalaza	Noun	Quantifier
be able, possible	'θila	Verb	
be called (dat.), to name (acc.)	mas'møla	Verb	
be hot	'βø:la	Verb	
beautiful	ʃu'kerɛwulɪ	Adjective	moon + adj
because, since	za'biɲ	Conjunction	
become, takes gen.	'ɲeka	Verb	
before	'sap:a	Noun	
begin, start	'ʃøka	Verb	
beginner, starter	ʃø'kini	Noun	
big	'da:wulɪ	Adjective	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
bitumen	bi' t̪umen	Noun	
blizzard	da'ʃi:ma	Verb	
blow (of the wind)	ʃe'safa	Verb	
blue	ɛt̪yfa'lawul̪i	Noun	
bread	ḍʒom'dajø	Noun	
breathe	'gɔnka	Verb	
bricks	'bɛɾɛks	Noun	
bright	t̪ɛ'tsɔwul̪i	Adjective	
brighten, light up	't̪ɛtsɔla	Verb	
brightness	't̪ɛtsɔle	Noun	
bring	mi'moka	Verb	lit. have-go
bringing	mimo'kini	Noun	
bubbly, light	si'ziwul̪i	Adjective	
build	'qɛsdʒa	Verb	
builder	qɛs'dʒini	Noun	
but	ik	Conjunction	
by	/zɛf/	Preposition	Genitive
bye	ɖa'matsɔ	Phatic expression	
bye	ɖa'matsɔ	Phatic expression	
cat	'ʃimso	Noun	
catch fire	'sɔfa	Verb	
chill	ka'sa:ra	Verb	
chop wood	'sɔkt̪ʃa	Verb	
cold	'ka:wul̪i	Adjective	
collect wood	'sikt̪ʃa	Verb	
color	my'tsere	Noun	
come	t̪sɔ'moka	Verb	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
continue, to be going on	'wɛka	Verb	
cook	'tʃafa	Verb	
cook	tʃa'fini	Noun	
cover	ʃɪta'nalɪa	Verb	
crackle (of a fire)	'kiʒa	Verb	
create	tʃɔŋ'gafɪa	Verb	
create through ritual	toŋ'gasa	Verb	
creation (ani. created from anything but ritual)	tʃɔŋ'gafɔni	Noun	
creation (from a ritual)	toŋ'gaso	Noun	
creation (from anything but from ritual)	tʃɔŋ'ga:ŋʃɔ	Noun	
creator, inventor	tʃɔŋ'gafɪni	Noun	
culture	tʃa'dʒimi	Noun	
dark	fa'lawulɪ	Adjective	
darkness	fa'lare	Noun	
Dative	-lɔ	Declension	
dead	tʃesremtiomawulɪ	Adjective	
die	tʃesremti'omatʃa	Verb	
different	'fɔmzwulɪ	Adjective	
discover	ʃɪ'ʃada	Verb	
discoverer	ʃɪ'ʃɔni	Noun	
do, make	'ðala	Verb	
doer	ða'lini	Noun	
down	/'θa:mas/	Preposition	Prepositional

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
drink	'βoza	Verb	
drink	βo'zatas ⁱ	Noun	
drinker (not alcohol)	βo'zini	Noun	
during, while	ts̃e:'sana	Noun	
each	'femeʒ	Noun	Distributive
earth (like ground)	'zeɲe	Noun	
eat	mra'kal ⁱ a	Verb	
eater	mraka'l ⁱ oni	Noun	
ember	ti ^o 'meke	Noun	lit. 'not darkness'
every	'wemeʒ	Noun	Distributive
everywhere	/wem'tsodʒo/	Preposition	
feel	'toɲa	Verb	
few	'uqalam	Noun	Quantifier
find	'ʃirma	Verb	
fire	ti ⁱ ome	Noun	
fire-stoker	miʃ'j ^o ni	Noun	
flame	siti'i'o:me	Noun	
flurry	si'ʃi:fa	Verb	
fly	paʃe'moka	Verb	
food	kra'kal ⁱ	Noun	
for	/krask/	Preposition	Dative; sometimes used as a relative clause marker
forest	da'sikro	Noun	
form	ða'l ⁱ ama	Verb	
freeze	ka'la:ra	Verb	
friend	sial ⁱ 'mini	Noun	
from	/'dʒot ⁱ /	Preposition	Genitive

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
fur blanket	'dɛso	Noun	
Future-imperfect-indicative	-k	Conjugation	
Genesis	ḍʒɛ'nisos	Noun	
Genitive	-zi	Declension	
give	'ɬaŋa	Verb	
giver	ɬa'ŋani	Noun	
glow	ma'ŋasɛɭa	Verb	
glowing	ma'ŋasɛɭwulɪ	Adjective	
go	'moka	Verb	
goodbye	ḍa: ma'ŋasɛɭa tɛ 'tsɔrɛm	Phatic expression	lit. to glow brightly
grab	mu'kala	Verb	
gradual	sisan'kawulɪ	Adjective	
gradually	sisan'kareɛm	Adverb	
grass	'zɛtse	Noun	
half	uʔ	Number	
happen	ʃɛ'reka	Verb	
harvest snow bee honey	'laʔmeβo'zati'a	Verb	
have	'miŋa	Verb	
hear	'kuʃa	Verb	
heaven	'keβan	Noun	
hello	βø'si:re ki(n)'tsolɔ	Phatic expression	lit. warmth to you
help	'baŋga	Verb	
helper	ḍa'lini	Noun	
here	/tso/	Preposition	
hi	βø'si:re	Phatic expression	lit. warmth

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
high	ḍza'ḍiwulɪ	Adjective	
holler	'uɛza	Verb	
honey	laʔmeβo'zati	Noun	
honey beer	sizi'laʔzati	Noun	
honey liquor	nɔgra'laʔzati	Noun	
honey wine	milu'laʔzati	Noun	
hope	'maja	Verb	
hoper	ma'jini	Noun	
hot	'βø:wulɪ	Adjective	
how	re'ðal	Adverb	question particle + 'to do' root
hungry	kra'kawulɪ	Adjective	
hunt	gra'sali	Verb	
hunter	grasa'loni	Noun	
hurt	'ɲøstʃa	Verb	
hurter	ɲøsi'tʃoni	Noun	
ice	ka'la:rile	Noun	
impossible	εεθi'lawulɪ	Adjective	
in	/asts/	Preposition	Prepositional
in order to, so that	seb	Conjunction	
in the place of, as, instead, rather	lets	Conjunction	Followed by the genitive
infinite, endless	ɬa'tawulɪ	Adjective	
information	'joɖu	Noun	
Instrumental	-jam	Declension	
into	/as'tsoŋi/	Preposition	Prepositional
Jehovah	ḍze'kofa	Noun	
joyful	gre'mawulɪ	Adjective	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
kill	gra'setʃa	Verb	
killer	grase'tʃini	Noun	
knit	'siʃa	Verb	
knitter	si'ʃani	Noun	
know	'liʃa	Verb	
known (in a good way...aka 'celebrated,' acclaimed, popular)	li'a'pawuli	Adjective	
land-based	mo'dʒiwuli	Adjective	
land, territory (of a people)	'modʒi	Noun	
language	'kumi	Noun	
Language of the Embers	'kumi tʃio'mekenzi	Noun	
later, near future	le'sanka	Noun	
learn	'ʃiʃa	Verb	
least, -est	gid gid-	Adjective	comes before the modified word
less, -er	gid-	Adjective	comes before the modified word
lick (of a flame); takes acc.	si'ʃiʃa	Verb	
life	tʃio'ke:li	Noun	
lift	ɖi'mu:la	Verb	
light (something on fire)	'kifa	Verb	
lighter (something on fire)	ki'fini	Noun	
lightning	'tsaʔke	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
like	si'alimo	Verb	
live in, dwell	'dosd̥za	Verb	
live, exist; takes gen., idiomatically “to be”	t̥i'omat̥ja	Verb	
log	'ziʔke	Noun	
long (length or distance)	'la:wul̥i	Adjective	
look	'ɛzba	Verb	
loud	'doʃiwul̥i	Adjective	
love	'alimo	Noun	
love	a'lɛma	Verb	
low	di't̥iwul̥i	Adjective	
make	'ðala	Verb	
maker	ða'lini	Noun	
many, a lot	'uqalaz	Noun	Quantifier
marking	t̥iomeke'f̥i:t̥a	Noun	ember-touch
meaning/significance	'senðiz	Noun	
merely	/t̥ɛk/	Preposition	
mind (abstract)	'lordama	Noun	
mix up, confuse	'ra:kla	Verb	
moon	ʃu'kere	Noun	
more (n.)	d̥ziɔ	Adverb	
more, -er	d̥zi-	Adjective	comes before the modified word
mortar	'more,tore	Noun	
most, -est	d̥zi d̥zi-	Adjective	comes before the modified word
name	mas'məl	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
never	sa'nɛɛ	Adverb	
no longer/not anymore	tses'rem	Adverb	
no, not	'ɛɛ	Adverb	
nothing	'zaʔɔ	Noun	zero + accusative case
now (present)	le'santa	Noun	
occur	ʃɛ'reka	Verb	
often	sa'nadʒi	Adverb	
on	/ɲali/	Preposition	Prepositional
one another, each other	repeat the pronouns	Preposition	Maintain case
only	/'taʔtɛk/	Preposition	-
or	ak	Conjunction	
out	/ɛʃtʃ/	Preposition	Prepositional
Past-imperfect-indicative	-p	Conjugation	
pastry	dʒom'dajø	Noun	
people (a cultural group)	'tsadʒi	Noun	
People of the Embers	'tsadʒi ʃio'mɛkenzi	Noun	
perform a ritual	toŋ'laɲa	Verb	
person	'kalɛ	Noun	
person created from the 'ritual of sky and fire' ritual	toŋ'ga:ŋgini	Noun	
person who perform the 'ritual of sky and fire' to create another person	toŋ'gasini	Noun	
philosopher	lor'dini	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
place	'tʃisab	Noun	
plain	pɛ'len	Noun	
please	ma'jiz	Adverb	
please	ma'jiz	Phatic expression	
possible	θi'lawuli	Adjective	
Prepositional	-tʃi	Declension	
Present-imperfect-indicative	-tʃi	Conjugation	
quiet	'mifʃiwuli	Adjective	
realize	ʃiʃa'ʃøla	Verb	learn+self
reason	'ys'aŋi	Noun	
responder	ʃsu'poni	Noun	
ritual	toŋ'lanim	Noun	
ritual of creation of sky and fire	toŋ'lanim toŋ'gasoz 'pa:ʃejama tʃi 'omejama	Noun	
run	'molʃa	Verb	
sad, forlorn	'nəs'iwuli	Adjective	
sand	'syze	Noun	
say	'sena	Verb	
scatter	'ʃe:la	Verb	
season wood	'sikdra	Verb	
see	'ɛʃba	Verb	
self	ʃøɫ	Noun	
several, some	'uqalas	Noun	Quantifier
shape	ʃsø'liə	Noun	
Shi'nar	ʃi'nara	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
short (length or distance)	'zi:wulɪ	Adjective	
silver(y)	misy'mewulɪ	Noun	
skin	'ʃiŋe	Noun	
sky	'pa:ʃe	Noun	
sleep	'dɛrɔtɔ	Verb	
sleeper	dɛ'raŋini	Noun	
sleepy	dɛra'tawulɪ	Adjective	
small	'si:wulɪ	Adjective	-si can be used as a diminutive in forming words (ku'misi, 'small language,' vocabulary) or in names
snow	ʃi'ʃi:la	Verb	
snow	ʃi'ʃi:rile	Noun	
snow bee	la?'meɖa	Noun	
snow bee honey-harvester	la?meβo'zationi	Noun	
snuggle under a blanket	'mitsa	Verb	
snuggler (under a blanket)	mi'tsini	Noun	
sometimes	sa'naθitɪ	Adverb	
soon	ɖzu	Noun	
speak	'seɲa	Verb	
speaker	se'ɲoni	Noun	
speck	ʃi'ʃiri	Noun	
sprinkle; takes prep.	ʃi'ʃi:sa	Verb	
stoke the fire	mi'ʃɲa	Verb	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
stone	'gasmetɛ	Noun	
stop	'tʂøla	Verb	
straight in one direction	uɪz	Adverb	
strange, peculiar	uɔ'ʔawulɪ	Adjective	
student	ʃi'ʃoni	Noun	
such (a?)	zi:	Noun	
sweet	mi'luwulɪ	Adjective	
take	'mu:la	Verb	
taste	'βɪɲa	Verb	
teacher	lɪa'ɲoni	Noun	
tear, rip	'ʃkasɛla	Verb	
thank you	kra'gaz kin'tsolɔ	Phatic expression	
thanks	kra'kinlɔ	Phatic expression	
that	/'dʒoɔɔ/	Preposition	-
the eternal fire	da:'tiomɛ	Noun	
the person with whom one performs the 'ritual of sky and fire' to create another person	toŋ'gaʃølini	Noun	
the very top, very end of something	tɛt	Noun	
then	ɖim	Conjunction	
then, at that point in time, in the future	dʒɛ'sanka	Noun	
then, at that point in time, in the past	dʒɛ'sanpa	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
then, in the distant future, used for lore, other things?	we'sanka	Noun	
then, in the distant past, used for history, lore	we'sanpa	Noun	
then, recent past	le'sanpa	Noun	
there	/dʒo/	Preposition	
there is, are	tse'santa	Noun	
there was	tse'sanpa	Noun	
there will be	tse'sanka	Noun	
these	/'tsodɔn/	Preposition	-
thick	nɔ'grawulɪ	Adjective	
thing	'aliɔfi	Noun	
think	'lorda	Verb	
this	/'tsodo/	Preposition	-
those	/'dʒodɔn/	Preposition	-
thought	'lumo	Noun	
through	/astsɛftʃ/	Preposition	Prepositional
thunder	'dʒaŋge	Noun	
thus, therefore	zab	Conjunction	
time	le'sana	Noun	
to	/'tsoɪ/	Preposition	Dative
together	'ʃɔlin'ʃɔlin	Adverb	
touch	'ʃɪta	Verb	
tower (perhaps they'll have some kind of stone towers maybe?)	sa:b'seɬo	Noun	
travel (far) on foot	mo'ɥala	Verb	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
traveler (far, on foot)	mouɣa'lini	Noun	
tree	'zɪpe	Noun	
understand	lord'liɣa	Verb	lit. mind-know
up	/'ʃemas/	Preposition	Prepositional
use	'zepa	Verb	
user	ze'pini	Noun	
valley	'βali	Noun	
very very...	ḍzi	Adjective	follows the modified word; can be repeated to intensify meaning
village, community (or city for Tower of Babel story)	'kalmeɓ	Noun	
vocabulary	ku'misi	Noun	
walk	'moɣa	Verb	
warm	βø'siwulʝ	Adjective	
warm up next to a fire	'pfitʃa	Verb	
warmth	βø'si:re	Noun	
water	'dɔʔke	Noun	
what	re'aliofi	Pronoun	question particle + thing
when	re'sana	Adverb	question particle + time
where	re'tsodʒo	Adverb	question particle + herethere
who	re'kalɛ	Pronoun	question particle + person
why	re'lord	Adverb	question particle + 'to think' root
wind	ʃe'sa:ne	Noun	

English meaning	Word	Part of speech	Notes
wish	'maja	Verb	
wisher	ma'jini	Noun	
with	/jam/	Preposition	Instrumental
wood chopper	sok'tʃini	Noun	
wood gatherer	sik'tʃini	Noun	
wood-seasoner	sik'dʒini	Noun	
you're welcome	za?'zido	Phatic expression	lit. of nothing

VII. Appendix

Tower of Babel translation

The following is a translation of the Tower of Babel story written in /'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/. First, the story will be presented in English. Then, the entire translation of it will be presented in /'kumi t̪io'mɛkenzi/. Following that, a gloss of the entire story will be provided. It has been color-coded for ease of reading.

Genesis 11:1-9 New World Translation, 2013 Edition

/'kumi t̪io'mɛkendʒɛ/ in /IPA/

Gloss

Translation

Additional glossing abbreviations:

INAN: inanimate

PAS: passive voice

PTC: particle

REL: relative marker

SEP: 'relative marker separation' particle

^[1] *Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.*

/d̪ʒɛ -'san - <p> a	wɛm	t̪ʃɛ'l	-ɛ	-zi
that -time - <PST>	all.NOM	earth	-elemental.PTC	-GEN
at that point in time in the past	all	of earth		

'wɛka	-p	tses		'mɪŋa		taʔ
continue	-PST	continuous.PTC		have-INF		one
continued		continuously		to have		one
ku'mi	-ɖo	liɪm	taʔ	kumi	-'si	-ɖo/
language	-ACC	and	one	word	-small	-ACC
language		and	one	vocabulary		

At that point in time, all of the earth continued to have one language and one vocabulary.

[2] As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar, and they began dwelling there.

/tse:	-'sana	mo'ʊala	-p	ʊiz
continuous.PTC	-time	travel	-PST	straight in one direction
during		traveled		straight in one direction

'la	-<n>	-dʒo	ʃi'ʃada	-p	if	'βali
1	-<PL>	-there-NOM	discover	-PST	PFV	valley-NOM
they			discovered		completed	valley

pɛ'len	asts	mo'dzi	-tʃi	ʃi'nara	liɪm
plain-NOM	in	land	-PREP	Shi'nar-NOM	and
plain	in	land		Shi'nar	and

'la	-<n>	-dʒo	'ʃoka	-p	'dɛsdʒa	dʒo/
3	-<PL>	-there-NOM	begin	-PST	dwell-INF	there
they			began		to dwell	there

While they traveled, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar and they began to live there.

[3.1] Then they said to one another: “Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”

/dʒɛ	- 'san	- <p> a	la	- <n>	- 'dʒo	-lo	la	- <n>	- 'dʒo	-lo
that	-time	- <PST>	3	- <PL>	-there	-DAT	3	- <PL>	-there	-DAT
at that point in time in the past			they to each other							

'sena	-p	tso	- 'moka	ɖa:	'ɲu	- <n>	-tso
say	-PST	here	-go-INF	suggestion.PTC	1	- <PL>	-here-NOM
said		to come		suggested	we		

'ðala		l'im		'tsafa	ɖa:
make-INF		and		bake-INF	suggestion.PTC
to make		and		to bake	suggested

't'iom	-ɛ	-jama/	bɛ'rɛks
fire	-elemental.PTC	-INST	bricks-NOM
with fire			bricks

Then, they to each other said, “Come! Let us make and bake bricks with fire.”

[3.2] *So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.*

/zab	'la	- <n>	-d̥ʒo	'zepa	-p	'berɛks
and so	3	- <PL>	-there-NOM	use	-PST	bricks-NOM
and so	they			used		bricks
lets	'gasmeti	-ɛ	-zi	l̥im		bi'ɣumen
as	stone	-elemental.PTC	-GEN	and		bitumen-NOM
instead of	stone			and		bitumen
lets	'more, tore/					
as	mortar-NOM					
instead of	mortar					

And so, they used bricks instead of stone and bitumen instead of mortar.

[4.1] *They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top...”*

/d̥ʒɛ	- 'san	- <p>	a	'la	- <n>	-d̥ʒo	'sena-p
that	-time	- <PST>		3	- <PL>	-there-NOM	say-PST
at that point in the past				they			said
tso	- 'moka	ɖa:		'ɲu	- <n>	-tso	'desd̥ʒa
here	-come-INF	suggestion.PTC		1	- <PL>	-here-NOM	build-INF
to come		suggested		we			to build
ɖa:		krask		'ɲu	- <n>	-tso	-ʃɔl -lo

suggestion.PTC	for	1	- <PL>	-here	-REFL	-DAT
suggested	for	to ourselves				

kalmes	-do	lim	sa:b'seto	-do	tet	-'jama
city	-ACC	and	tower	-ACC	top	-INST
city		and	tower		with top	

Then, they said, “Come! Let us build for ourselves a city and a tower with its top...”

[4.2] ...in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”

asts	'keβan	lim	'ŋu - <n>	-tso	'ðala
in	heaven-NOM	and	1 - <PL>	-here-NOM	make-INF
in	heaven	and	we		to make

da:	kras	'ŋu - <n>	-tso	-ʃəl	-lo
suggestion.PTC	for	1 - <PL>	-present	-REFL	-DAT
suggested	for	to ourselves			

lia'ja	-wuli	-do	mas'məl	-do	seb	'ŋu - <n>	-tso
know	-ADJ	-ACC	name	-ACC	so that	1 - <PL>	-here-NOM
known			name		so that	we	

'ere	θitʃ	a:ŋ	'ʒe:la	if	wem	-'tso	-dʒo
not	possibility.PTC	PAS	scatter.INF	PFV	all	-here	-there
not	may	be	to scatter	completed	all over		

nal̩	ṭʃɛ'ɫ	-ɛ	-ṭi/
on	earth	-elemental.PTC	-LOC
on	earth		

“...in heaven, and let us make for ourselves a known name, so that we may not be scattered all over the earth.”

[5] *Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.*

/dʒɛ	- 'san	- <p> a	dʒɛ'kɔfɑ	'mɔkɑ	-p	'θɑ:mas	'ɛʃbɑ
that	-time	- <PST>	Jehovah-NOM	go	-PST	down	see-INF
then			Jehovah	went		down	to see

sɛk	a:ŋ	'tsadʒi	'dɛsdʒɑ	-p	if	sɛk
REL	PAS	people-NOM	build	-PST	PFV	REL
	by	people	built		completed	

'kalmɛs	l̩im	sa:b'sɛtɔ/
city-NOM	and	tower-NOM
city	and	tower

Then, Jehovah went down to see the city and tower that were built by them.

[6.1] *Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do...”*

/dʒɛ	- 'san	- <p> a	dʒe' kofa	'sɛna	-p	ɖa:
that	-time	- <PST>	Jehovah-NOM	say	-PST	suggestion.PTC
then			Jehovah	said		suggested

'ɛʒba	'la	- <n>	-dʒo	tʃi'omatʃa	-ti	'tʃaʔ	-tʃek
look-INF	3	- <PL>	-there-NOM	exist	-PRS	one	-merely
to look	they			exist as		only	

tʃaʔ	tʃa' dʒi	-zi	'tʃaʔ	-tʃek	tʃaʔ	'kumi	-jama
one	people	-GEN	one	-merely	one	language	-INST
one	people		only		one	with a language	

l'im	'la	- <n>	-dʒo	'foka	-p	if	'ðala
and	3	- <PL>	-there-NOM	start	-PST	PFV	make-INF
and	they			started		completed	to do

'tso	-ɖo/
this	-ACC
this	

Then, Jehovah said, “Look! They exist as only one people with only one language, and they have started to do this...”

[6.2] “...Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them...”

/le'san	- <t> a	tʃe	- 'san	- <t> a	'ɛɛ	sek
---------	---------	-----	--------	---------	-----	-----

time	- <PRS>	here	-time	- <PRS>	not	REL			
now		there is			not				
'la	- <n>	-dʒo	θitʰ	mina	-tʰ	asts	'lordama	-tʰ	
3	- <PL>	-there-NOM	possibility.PTC	have	-PRS	in	mind	-PREP	
they		may		have		in			
sək	'ali	sək	'εε	-θi'la	-wulʰ	'ðala	sək	'aliøfi	-n/
REL	SEP	REL	not	-possible	-ADJ	do-INF	REL	thing-NOM	-PL
			impossible			to do		thing	

Now, there is not a thing that they may have in mind that is impossible to do.

[7] “...Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another’s language.”

/d̪a:	tso	- 'moka	d̪a:	'moka	'θa:mas		
suggestion.PTC	here	-go-INF	suggestion.PTC	go-INF	down		
suggested	to come		suggested	to go	down		
dʒo	lim	'ra:kla	ku'mi	-d̪o	la - <n>	- 'd̪ɔ	-zi
there	and	confuse-INF	language	-ACC	3 - <PL>	-there	-GEN
there	and	to confuse	language		of them		
seb	'la - <n>	-d̪ɔ	'εε	θiti	lord	- 'liɲ	-a
in order to	3 - <PL>	-there-NOM	not	possibility.PTC	mind	-know	-INF
in order to	they		not	may	to understand		

ku'mi	-ḡo	la	- <n>	- 'd̥ʒo	-zi	la	- <n>	- 'd̥ʒo	-zi/
language	-ACC	3	- <PL>	-there	-GEN	3	- <PL>	- there	-GEN
language				of each other					

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language, so that they may not understand each other's language.

[8] So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.

/zab	d̥ʒe'kofa	'ʒe:la	-p	la	- <n>	- 'd̥ʒo	-ḡo
thus	Jehovah	scatter	-PST	3	- <PL>	-there	-ACC
thus	Jehovah	scattered		them			

'd̥ʒo	-t̥i	d̥ʒo	'tso	-t̥i	wem	- 'tso	-d̥ʒo
there	-PREP	there	here	-PREP	all	-here	-there
from		there	to		everywhere		

nal̥i	t̥ʃe'l	-ε	-t̥i	l̥im	'la	- <n>	-d̥ʒo
on	earth	-elemental.PTC	-PREP	and	3	- <PL>	-there-NOM
on	earth			and	they		

'si	-san	- <k> a	-r̥em	t̥ʃø'l̥a	-p	'd̥ʒəʒa
small	-time	- <FUT>	-ADV	stop	-PST	build-INF
gradually				stopped		to build

kal'mes	-ḡo						
---------	-----	--	--	--	--	--	--

city -ACC
city

And so Jehovah scattered them from there to everywhere on earth and they gradually stopped building the city.

[9] That is why it was named Ba'bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

/'tso	-ḡo	tʃəŋ'gasa	-tʃi	y'siaŋ	-ḡo	krask	'za	-dʒo
here	-ACC	create	-PRS	reason	-ACC	for	3.INAN	-there-NOM
this		creates		reason		for	it	

'masmøla	-p	'babeli	za'biŋ	dʒo	dʒe'kofa	'ra:kla	-p
name	-PST	Babel-NOM	because	there	Jehovah-NOM	confuse	-PST
was called		Babel	because	there	Jehovah	confused	

sek	wem	-tso	-dʒo	-zi	ɲali	tʃɛ'l	-ɛ	-tʃi
REL	all	-here	-there	-GEN	on	earth	-elemental.PTC	-PREP
	of everywhere				on	earth		

sek	ku'mi	-ḡo	liim	dʒe'kofa	'ʒe:la	-p
REL	language	-ACC	and	Jehovah-NOM	scatter	-PST
	language		and	Jehovah	scattered	

la	-<n>	-dʒo	-ḡo	dʒo	-tʃi	dʒo	tso	-tʃi
3	-<PL>	-there	-ACC	there	-PREP	there	here	-PREP

them from there to

wem	-ʼtso	-dʒo	nalʲ	tʃɛʼl	-ɛ	-tʃ/
all	-here	-there	on	earth	-elemental.PTC	-PREP
everywhere			on	earth		

This is the reason that it was named Babel, because there Jehovah confused the language of everywhere on earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there to everywhere on earth.

ytRie deet

a constructed language and culture

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Introduction

The Name of the Language

ytRie deet is the name each clan of speakers gives to their dialect of the language. The dialects vary slightly in pronunciation, lexicon, and idiomatic expressions; and for this reason the people distinguish “ytRie deet” *our words* from “ytRoie deet” *our language*, which refers to all the mutually intelligible dialects of the language. Because an object’s possessor follows the noun in ytRie deet, the gloss would be *word-PL 1pABS-GEN*.

Culture

Backstory, Technology, and Daily Life

The speakers of this dialect of ytRie deet (henceforth called the YD) and the broader language ytRoie deet (the YRD) belong to a Neolithic culture dwelling in the northernmost latitudes of what used to be known as the United States. Through warfare, pollution, famine, and nuclear disaster much of Earth’s population was obliterated approximately 100,000 years ago. An elite minority managed to leave Earth to seek a potentially habitable planet in a nearby solar system; however, those remaining had no way of knowing of their eventual success and their progeny forgot such an event had ever happened. Modern civilization crumbled; most remaining cultures are nomadic hunter-gatherers. The YRD are interestingly non-nomadic. During the winter they live near full-time in a subterranean network of tunnels and hollows. They cultivate oats, flax, and mushrooms during the summer and use domesticated dogs to hunt; large dogs-*χmokie gwolk* for hunting forest game and

small dogs - *χmokie çitlu* for catching underground quarry in the winter months.

The YRD live in villages of a few hundred people. While necessarily insular during the harsh, dark winters, the different clans meet in the warmer months to trade, celebrate, exchange news, and meet one another. If an individual meets a person they see as a potential mate, they will join their mate's village that winter and may stay or leave as the years progress. Thus, the clan identity of younger people is more fluid and the keepers of myth, tradition, and culture are the elders who remain in their villages.

The most valuable commodity in this culture is salt. Because it can't be found in their snowy, landlocked home, bags of salt obtained from other coastal people can trade for many times their weight in high-quality furs, linen fabric, and clay pottery. Salt is essential for preserving meat for the people and the dogs to eat during the winter when fresh game is more difficult to hunt.

Goods produced include oats, raw flax, spun linen fibers, woven linen fabric, furs, simple oven-fired clay pottery, and tools made of stone, bone, and wood. Salt, wool, dried fish, natural pigments, medicinal herbs, and many ceremonial and aesthetic objects such as shells and beads must be traded for. Few YRD ever meet anyone outside of their own culture but rely on the clans whose territories border outsiders to trade for and bring to market these foreign goods.

Relevant Biology

The YRD live in a world of extremes; the most prominent of which is the contrast between the dark warmth of their underground homes and the blinding brightness of the snow-scape above. Switching between these environments

requires quick transition from low-light levels to brightness and vice versa, and so the YRD's pupils are biologically adapted to widen to almost the size of the iris in darkness and to constrict to pinpricks in the light. (through processes of life-long exposure and necessity, not natural selection-- similar to the underwater adaption of the Moken people¹) Most people have light colored irises (blue, green, and light brown shades) and those born with very dark irises are considered holy and often become members of the priestly class. This is partially because the most common euphemism for death in ytRoie deet is :

ɲoɫsɻɻ grʉts wiɻe ɬkiɬsi-a (Pronoun) ɬo-l.
 black despite snow eye-PL (Pronoun) (PRS) be-PFV
(Pronoun) is dead.

This stems from the fact that when a person dies their pupils dilate, so having dilated pupils (black eyes) while outside in the bright snow shows a person is dead. Thus those whose eyes always appear black are thought to have a connection with the underground spirit world.

The YRD are the progeny of people from the American Midwest and Mountain West. Because of the racial diversity of the original population left on Earth after the disasters the YRD have phenotypic traits that are a mix of once separated populations. Most people have light brown skin and brown or black hair in a variety of textures. Their Neolithic lifestyle and lack of medical technology causes most people who survive to adulthood to live only until their fifties or sixties. They are short for 21st century standards due to caloric restrictions. They don't have a written

¹ Gislen, A., Dacke, M., Kröger, R., Abrahamsson, M., Nilsson, D., & Warrant, E. (2003). Superior Underwater Vision in a Human Population of Sea Gypsies. *Current Biology*, 13(10), 833-836. Retrieved December 12, 2015

language to read or many fine detail close-vision tasks, so their vision is excellent compared that of the average 21st century person. Some elderly people do develop cataracts from years of hunting in bright snowy conditions.

Gender

Most YRD clans including the YD are matriarchal and matrilineal. There are two different but equally important ranks considered the most elite of YRD society. Female people who have had children and lived to go through menopause- not a small accomplishment considering the dangers of childbirth and Neolithic life- belong to a group called the *zotie* meaning “old women” or “matriarchs”. One matriarch is called a *zoti*. This is also the word for grandmother, though grandmothers still of childbearing age are generally called *lulu* meaning “mom” by their grandchildren. The *zotie* are the political leaders of their clans as well as the keepers of myth and storytelling and the chief executives of law.

The other elite class is the priestly class which is made up of mostly male and intersex people who have not had children but have chosen to study divination, religion, and healing. For female people (I avoid the term women because the YRD wouldn't consider an infant girl and a grandmother to be of the same gender) there are three main rights of passage; menarche, motherhood, and menopause. At menarche (first menstruation) a child becomes an adult and can have a say in clan decisions, go hunting alone, and begin having romantic and sexual relationships if she so chooses. Average age of menarche is fourteen rather than the 21st century twelve because of the absence of artificial hormones in food and a low level of body fat in hunter-gatherers. At menarche a girl's pronouns change from the juvenile *χele*

to the maiden class *Ree*. Males may begin hunting game and seeking a partner when they are old enough to begin growing facial hair, though this passage carries less prestige and pomp than the female equivalent. Males can participate in clan decisions and are considered adults when their first live child is born. At this point, their pronouns change to the father class *gike*. Female-born romantic/sexual partners of a mother can also use this pronoun if they intend to contribute to raising the child. For those who choose to join the priestly class, they become full adults after achieving mastery of one of the priestly arts of healing, divination, or religion. Mastery of all three elevates them to the highest status in the class and makes them a spiritual leader on par with the secular *zotie*. Members of this class use the juvenile pronouns for life, but are given the special honorific prefix *wu-* when they reach the pinnacle of their careers. When a female who has menstruated joins this class the maiden pronouns are used with the appropriate honorific.

When a female person gives birth to her first live child she becomes a member of the mother class and the pronouns used to refer to her change once more to *Hue*. When a mother lives long enough to go through menopause she becomes one of the *zotie*. Her pronouns are still in the mother class. Adults of any gender who have died are referred to using their normal pronoun with the honorific prefix *Ryt-* for deities and the deceased. The prefixes can compound, meaning a male childless deity could have the pronoun *Rytwuxele*.

There is no institution of marriage. The most important familial relationship is that between parent and child. Vocations and tasks aren't divided along gender

lines; an individual does the work they are the best at doing. A father could be a weaver and a mother could be a hunter, etc.

Religion and Law

The YRD practice a polytheistic animistic religion. The priests practice divination through bone scattering, smoke reading, and visions in dreams. They also lead prayers and direct the spiritual life of the villagers. Those who specialize in healing pray over births and deaths and provide herbal medicines for these and other ailments. Elder women, usually an individual's mother, preside over minor wound care and the actual delivery process.

There are five primary deities in the YRD pantheon; the sky god *çemok*, the Earth god *mēlkiR*, the harvest god *džymk*, the hunting god *mēluŋ*, and the water god *çimluŋ*. The demi-gods Big Dog *χmoki gwolk* and Little Dog *χmoki çitlu* frequently feature in the most popular YRD myths because of their trickster antics and the importance of their progeny, domesticated dogs, to the YRD. The YD version of the YRD creation story is given on pages 18-21.

The YRD are generally pacific and their central law and value is non-violence. When they kill an animal for food or to protect themselves it is essential that they thank it for its life so its soul can return unharmed to the Earth god *mēlkiR*. For the YD (not all YRD have this law) killing a member of the clan for any reason besides mercy (if the person is actively dying from injury or illness) is punishable by death; usually through the means of drinking a poison made from toxic mushrooms. The same punishment is given to those who malevolently kill domestic dogs. Killing

someone from another YRD clan is punishable by banishment from one's own and the victim's clan. Order and harmony in the villages is essential during the winter when hundreds of people are living in close underground quarters. The *zotie* quickly and effectively end disputes and their word is almost never contested.

YRD have a concept of sin that requires apology and prayer for redemption. Actions considered sinful include not thanking a prey animal for its life, being lazy, lying, and intentionally causing physical or emotional harm to another person. The priests deal with spiritual atonement while punishment for gross offenses is handled by the *zotie*.

Sounds of the Language

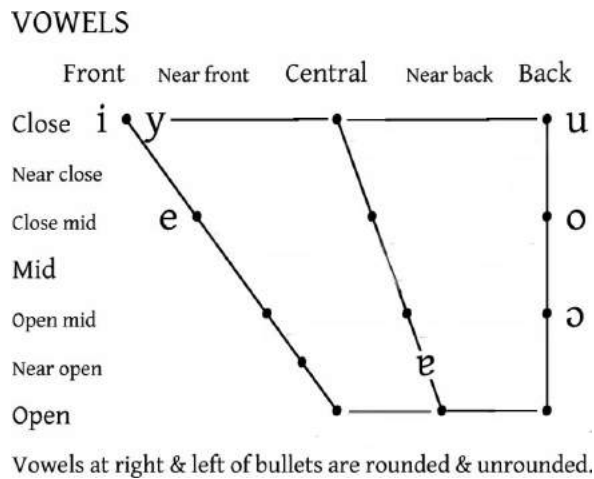
Phonetics

ytRie deet has 18 consonant sounds including the twelve pulmonic consonants below, the affricates /d͡ʒ/ and /t͡ʃ/, the continuants /w/ and /ɹ/, and the clicks /ǀ/ and /ǃ/. /ǃ/ is a nonstandard click produced by the tongue hitting the bottom of the mouth. The consonants that don't appear in American English are /ɰ/, ɬ, ɮ, ʀ, ɕ, ǂ/ and /ǁ/. Example pronunciation of these can be found at: <http://www.internationalphoneticalphabet.org/ipa-sounds/ipa-chart-with-sounds/> and in the audio file associated with this paper.

consonants (pulmonic)	LABIAL		CORONAL				DORSAL				RADICAL		LARYNGEAL
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Epi-glottal	Glottal
Nasal	m								ŋ				
Plosive				t d					k g				
Fricative					ʃ ʒ			ç		χ			
Approximant													
Tap, flap													
Trill										ʀ			
Lateral fricative				ɬ									
Lateral approximant				l									
Lateral flap													

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a modally voiced consonant, except for murmured *h*.
Shaded areas denote articulations judged to be impossible. Light grey letters are unofficial extensions of the IPA.

ytRie deet has seven vowels. The vowels that don't appear in American English are y and ɔ. The /e/ is the central "a" sound found as in "father" in American English.



Phonology

Syllable Structure

The syllable structure is (c) (c) (c) v (c) (c) (c). The two click consonants are the exception; they always exist as their own syllable. For example the word //χol, the future perfective form of the word “be” has two syllables in the structure CLICK—CVC.

Stress Pattern

ytRie deet has a fixed initial stress pattern. In compound words and words with many agglutinative elements the most stress is given to the initial syllable with smaller stresses on the first syllable of each essential idea. For example, the number *tsygičtsyχeηtsyRoχtsym* (255) has the most stress on the first syllable *tsy* with smaller stresses on the following *tsy* elements. This gives the word a bouncing rhythm.

Phonological Rules

Nasalization- ytRie deet has a nasalization rule meaning vowels preceding nasal consonants are nasalized. For example, the /i/ in *çitlu* (small) is not nasal while the /i/ in *mimt* (good) is nasal.

Allophones- ytRie deet has three sets of allophones. /t/ and /d/ are allophones; /d/ occurs only in the initial position and /t/ occurs ultimately and in the middle of words. /g/ and /k/ are allophones that behave similarly; the voiced /g/ occurs only initially and the voiceless /k/ occurs ultimately and within words. The vowels /o/ and /ɔ/ are also allophonic. /ɔ/ occurs only in the initial position and /o/ occurs ultimately and in the middle of words.

Phonotactic Restrictions

In ytRie deet, /t/ must be followed by /l/ or /k/. Because these clusters are mandatory, /tɭ/ and /tk/ can be considered their own distinct phonemes. The YRD have no written language, but were they to develop one these sounds would likely be represented as separate letters in an alphabet.

/ç/ may not cluster with other consonants, but may occur in any position in a word. /ɯ/ and /w/ must be followed by a vowel and may not occur in the ultimate position.

Morphology

Overview

ytRie deet is a synthetic agglutinative language with affixes for tense, mood, aspect, number, case, and part of speech. It uses prefix, infix, and suffix. ytRie deet is synthetic, but not polysynthetic; a single word cannot convey a complete sentence. For example, the word *//-wikl-o-l-zeŋ* (PST-eat-V-PFV-SJV) has four affixes, but doesn't convey the full idea of *ŋuzile ee //wiklolzeŋ* meaning "were I to habitually eat honey".

Morphological Rules

Verbs

All verbs, excepting loanwords, have the regular ending */-o/* which is an inseparable suffix. The separable suffix */-l/* indicates the verb is perfective; the action described is complete. When this suffix is absent, leaving the verb with an */-o/* ending, the verb is imperfective. To make a verb a gerund, the suffix */-u/* is added as in *duxmolu* "bleeding". As nouns also have mandatory nominal suffixes, words with noun and verb forms retain only the root morpheme. For example, *zmiŋso* is the verb "to smear or spread" and *zmiŋsi* is the noun meaning smear or smudge. The subjunctive mood is indicated through the verb suffix *-zeŋ*, which, by itself, is also the word for "maybe".

Tense is indicated through prefixes on the verb. *//l-/* denotes the future tense. */☆-/* denotes the past tense. The absence of a prefix on the verb denotes the present tense.

The present perfective form of a verb is considered the infinitive.

Nouns

Nouns also have many possible affixes. The inseparable suffix /-i/ indicates the noun is singular. When the suffix /-e/ is added the noun becomes plural. Thus *hlytsi* means a dream and *hlytsie* is dreams. Mass nouns have the inseparable suffix /-e/. Most mass nouns take classifiers that are count nouns. *wiçe muie* (snow flake-PL) exemplifies the noun form as well as the fact that classifiers always succeed the mass noun they classify.

Many nouns may take the /-Ro-/ infix after the first syllable. This changes the essential meaning to the qualitative version of the noun. *ηui* “circle” becomes *ηuRoi* “roundness” with this infix. *ytRie* “words” becomes *ytRoie*- literally “wordnessess” but figuratively “languages”.

Possession- the genitive case- is also demonstrated on nouns. The suffix /-t/ indicates that noun is the possessor. If the noun is a proper noun which ends in a consonant that wouldn't permit the additional /-t/, /-et/ is used. Proper nouns do not generally conform to the rule of the /-i/ suffix.

Pronouns

Perhaps the most rich and complicated facet of the language is its pronoun system. While the genitive case appears in all nouns, only pronouns demonstrate *ytRie deet*'s ergative-absolutive case system. When absolutive, the pronouns all end in /e/. As with all nouns, a /-t/ suffix indicates the genitive (possession). As mentioned in the culture section, pronouns may take honorific prefixes. /wu-/ is added to the juvenile or maiden class pronouns of high-ranking members of the priestly class. The honorific prefix /Ryt-/ is added to the pronouns of deities and

deceased leaders. The prefixes can compound, meaning a male childless deity could have the pronoun *Rytwuxelē*. These incredibly long pronouns are the source of many slightly sacrilegious tongue twisters.

	Absolutive	Genitive/ Absolutive	Ergative	Genitive/ Ergative
1 st person singular	ee	eet	e	et
1 st person plural	dee	deet	de	det
2 nd person singular	ue	uet	u	ut
2 nd person plural	due	duet	du	dut
3 rd person singular juvenile class	χeɛ	χeɛt	χel	χelt
3 rd person singular maiden class	Ree	Reet	Re	Ret
3 rd person singular mother class	ɦue	ɦuet	ɦu	ɦut
3 rd person singular father class	gike	giket	gik	gikt
3 rd person singular inanimate	loe	loet	lo	lot
3 rd person plural	ḏʒoe	ḏʒoet	ḏʒo	ḏʒot

Adjectives

With only twelve in total, yŕië deët has a very small inventory of true adjectives. These may take intensifier suffixes. The /-ku/ suffix is equivalent to English “-er” and /-ky/ to English “-est”. Adjectival ideas outside of these twelve words are usually expressed using a noun followed by the gerund form of the verb “to have a quality”. For example, the phrase used for the concept “beautiful”.

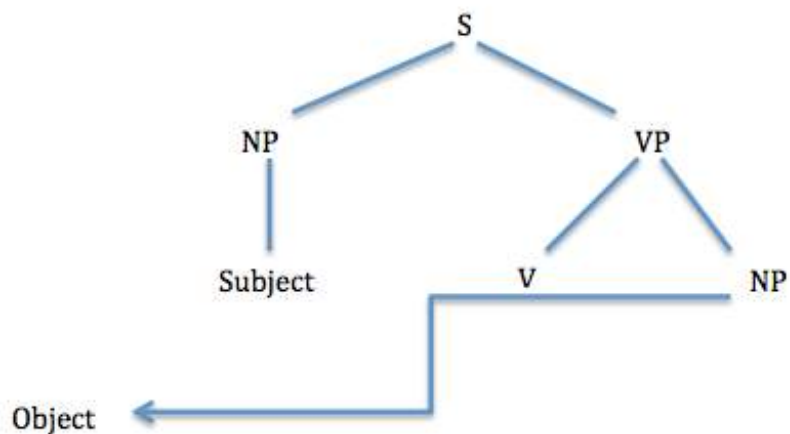
wore zuko-l-u

beauty (PRS)have-PFV-GER

Syntax

Word Order

In most situations the word order is OSV (object, subject, verb). For questions, the verb is moved to the initial position making the order VOS.



Tense, Mood, and Aspect

Tense and aspect are conveyed entirely on the verb using prefixes and suffixes, respectively. *See Verbs, pg. 12.* The subjunctive mood also manifests as the suffix /-ʒeŋ/ which is also the stand-alone word equivalent with English “maybe” or “perhaps”. The imperative mood is often expressed with a bare infinitive verb- *yāʒol*, when alone, usually means “Come!” as a command. When the command necessitates a complete sentence the wording is identical to a statement; the tone of voice and volume alone indicate the command. The interrogative mood, as mentioned in the preceding section, is indicated by a change in word order from OSV to VOS.

Person, Number, and Gender

There is no syntactical manifestation of person, number, or gender on the nouns. For pronouns, the case system is ergative/absolutive. *See Pronouns, pg. 13.*

Determiners

Regardless of type, determiners succeed the noun they describe. When there are multiple determiners, quantifiers, distributives, difference words, and numbers precede demonstratives and possessive determiners. For example, “my many dreams” is *hlytsie utij eet* (dream-PL many 1sABS-GEN).

Articles

There are no definite or indefinite articles in ytRie deet or ytRoie deet.

Specific numbers may be used when relevant, in which case the number follows the noun. For example ytRi iŋ = word one- “one word”.

Demonstratives

There is a “here” versus “there” distinction in the words *ŋelt* and *tsoḍʒ* respectively. There is not a distinction between English “this” and “that”; however, there is a distinction between “this/that” for an object and “this/that” for an action. They are *loʒt* and *geʒ* respectively.

Pronouns and Possessive Determiners

See Pronouns, pg. 13.

Case

ytRie deet has only pieces of an inflectional case system; most of the concepts are expressed analytically. The pronouns have four cases; ergative, absolutive, and the genitive form of each. If a genitive pronoun is modifying the object or the subject of an imperfective sentence it is ergative-genitive, while if it modifies the subject of a perfective sentence it is absolutive.

Creation Myth

Maiden class- MDN

Mother Class- MTH

Honorific Prefix- HN

bold indicates deity name

ɔrɛçiɐ ɔtkluŋ çyt wɛʃsʉrɐ dɛtɐ lɛloutɐ ☆-gɐRO-l.

day-PL old when magic more world PST-posess-PFV

Once the world was more magical.

wɛt wolotɪɐ gwɔlk ʃsu miçɐ zykol-u lɛloutɐ ʃkum ☆-duʃsko-l ☆-χo-l

with creature-PL big and power have-GER world whole PST-fill-PFV PST-be-PFV

The world was full of great and terrible creatures

ʃsu χonji-ɐ d̥ʒo-t ɛʃsk lɛʃsRe ziRi-ɐ-t d̥ʒɛt d̥ʒoɐ ☆-ɛko-l

and dwelling-PL 3pERG-GEN in space god-PL- GEN all 3pABS PST-make-PFV

and they made their dwellings in the dominion of all the gods.

ɛʃsk **mɛʃkiR** ʃsu **çemok** ʃsu ɛʃsk Romi-ɐ **çimluŋt** ʃsu ŋut

on Earth and Sky and in depth-PL ocean-GEN and among

*They dwelt all over the **earth** and **sky** and in the depths of the **sea** and the far away stars.*

gwiłk lɛʈʂRi Ruḁʒ ɕiʈski-ɐ ḁʒo ☆-χoŋo-l
 long distance to star-PL 3pERG PST-dwell-PFV
cont.

gRuʈʂ miɕe ʈsu wɛʈsuRe gwolky
 despite power and magic large-st
Despite having immense power and magic,

ḁʒo ḁʒoɐ ʒlek iRʈsol-u dɛko-l yRɐl ☆-ʈkɛḁʒ
 3pERG 3pABS from fight-GER stop-PFV not PST-can
they could not stop themselves from fighting,

ʈsu miɕe **mɛʈkiR-t** ʈsu **ɕɛmok-t** ʈsu **ɕimluŋ-t** ʈsu **ḁʒymk-t** ḁʒoɐ
 and power Earth-GEN and Sky-GEN and Sea-GEN and Harvest-GEN 3pABS
*and they could not control the power of the gods of **earth** and **sky** and **sea** and
harvest.*

godʒo-l yRɐl ☆-ʈkɛḁʒ
 control-PFV not PST-can
cont.

woloti-e d̂zet ☆-d̂zəkto-l ☆-χo-l

creature-PL all PST-kill-PFV PST-be-PFV

All the creatures perished.

ewut d̂zete utiŋ iŋliçtRe geRol-u ziRi-e ☆-çyo-l

after time much, loneliness have-GER god-PL PST-become-PFV

After a long time the gods became lonely,

çi3 çemok mełkiR wiçie ☆-eRuto-l

so sky earth snow PST-give-PFV

*so the **sky** gave snow to the **earth***

tsu ymi-e leloute-t liŋs Romi-e ŋolŋsyç Ryt-Re-t Reə

and person-PL world-GEN from depth-PL dark HN-3sMDN:ERG-GEN 3sABS

and from her dark depths she brought forth the people of the world.

☆-Rəkto-l

PST-deliver-PFV

Cont.

çi3 mełkiR łluxtRi Ryt-łlue wu3o-l

so earth mother HN-3sMTH:ERG (PRS)name-PFV

*So she is called Mother **Earth**.*

de ʒlek ɔlme t̪su d̪ʒule loŋto-l d̪ʒymk ☆-ŋuto-l
 1pERG to oats and flax sow-PFV Harvest PST-teach-PFV

*The god of the **harvest** taught us to sow oats and flax,*

t̪su χmoki gwolk t̪su χmoki ɕitlu de meluŋ ☆-eko-l
 and dog big and dog little 1pERG hunt PST-create-PFV

*and the god of hunting created for us **Big Dog** and **Little Dog**,*

d̪ʒo χmoki-e deɐ d̪ʒete geRo-l d̪ʒoɐ de ☆-eko-l
 3pERG dog-PL 1pABS now have-PFV 3pABS 1pERG PST-make-PFV

, who made for us the dogs we have now.

ɬkuRi-e t̪su ɬkuRi-e ytRe leloute-t deɐ ☆-deRo-l
 piece-PL and piece-PL truth world-GEN 1pABS PST-learn-PFV

Gradually we learned the truth of the world,

ɬlok iŋok duŋsi loʒt χo-l
 but other story that (PRS)be-PFV

but that is a different story

Lexicon

ytRie deet to English

Verbs

ekol	build	ηoltſyçol	darken
ekol	make	ηutol	teach
çymtol	lighten	ɔmtſol	cook
çyol	become	Rektol	give birth
çyRiol	think	Rewol	confuse
dēkol	stop	Retſkol	weave
deRol	learn	Rutol	rise
duſkol	fill	tſeol	reap/harvest
duxmol	bleed	tſkutol	go
d̄ʒektol	kill	uol	howl
d̄ʒidʒkol	understand	wedʒRol	travel
d̄ʒrenol	redde	Wetſol	feed
eRutol	give	Wiklol	eat
geRol	possess	Wolmol	worsen
glumol	sleep	wuol	venerate
godʒol	use	wuʒol	name
godʒol	control	meçol	blow/whisper
gokiol	laugh	mimtol	improve
gReſlol	weep	miRudʒol	scatter
gytol	sing	miuſol	whine/cry
iſetol	begin	yđʒol	come
iRtſol	fight	ytRol	speak
leχRol	say	ytRol	talk
lizRol	bloom	ʒalol	agree
lonʒtol	sow/plant	ʒitol	disagree
ſkiſol	look	ʒmiſol	glue
ſkiſol	see	ʒmiſol	smear
ſkol	hunt	ʒRemol	spin (wool)
ſlol	play	ʒykol	have(quality)
ſlytſol	dream	χol	be
meſol	find	χonʒol	dwell

Nouns

*Count nouns used as classifiers in **bold**

*mass nouns are underlined

eRi(e)	stalk(s) (of grain)	<u>miçe</u>	power
<u>çeme</u>	<u>sky</u>	<u>miRole</u>	<u>anger</u>
çiki(e)	bolt(s) (of cloth)	<u>mone</u>	<u>dirt</u>
çitluti(e)	spear(s)	mui(e)	flake(s) or mote(s)
çiṡski(e)	star(s)	ṡui(e)	circle(s)/ sphere(s)
<u>dēle</u>	<u>sand</u>	<u>ṡume</u>	<u>porridge</u>
dēzRi(e)	clan(s)	ṡuRoi(e)	roundness(es)
diki(e)	hole(s)	<u>ṡuṡile</u>	<u>honey</u>
duṡsi(e)	story(ies)	ṡymtli(e)	swath(s)
<u>duyme</u>	<u>blood</u>	<u>ɔlme</u>	<u>oats</u>
d̂zali(e)	drop(s)	ɔmi(e)	deer()
<u>d̂zete</u>	<u>time/now</u>	ɔReçi(e)	day(s)
<u>d̂zule</u>	<u>flax seeds</u>	Reṡi(e)	lightening bolt(s)
<u>glēçe</u>	<u>fire (natural)</u>	Reṡuloi(e)	thunder bolt(s)
glēčki(e)	fire(s) (artificial)	Romi(e)	depth(s)
<u>gReṡle</u>	<u>tears</u>	ṡseld̂zi(e)	handful(s)
<u>gRytse</u>	<u>stone</u>	ṡsei(e)	harvest(s)
gui(e)	bundle(s)	ṡsei(e)	warm season(s)
<u>iṡliçtRe</u>	<u>lonliness</u>	<u>ṡsRe</u>	<u>the east</u>
<u>itle</u>	<u>happiness</u>	<u>watsuRe</u>	<u>magic</u>
laRi(e)	pool(s)	weli(e)	town(s)
<u>l̂eloute</u>	<u>world</u>	<u>wiçe</u>	<u>snow</u>
<u>l̂eṡsRe</u>	<u>dominion</u>	woloti(e)	creature(s)/demon(s)
l̂eṡsRi(e)	distance(s)	<u>woRe</u>	<u>beauty</u>
<u>liçRe</u>	<u>moon</u>	wozi(e)	bowl(s)
<u>liçtRe</u>	<u>sadness</u>	<u>wue</u>	<u>veneration</u>
<u>lole</u>	<u>shit</u>	wuzi(e)	name(s)
lukti(e)	tower(s)	meçi(e)	gust(s)
luti(e)	blade(s)	<u>meze</u>	<u>air/wind</u>
<u>ṡke</u>	<u>prey</u>	<u>miṡsoe</u>	<u>linen</u>
ṡkiṡsi(e)	eye(s)	<u>yçle</u>	<u>grass/grain</u>
ṡkuRi(e)	piece(s)	ymi(e)	person(people)
ṡleki(e)	man/father(s)	<u>ytRe</u>	<u>truth</u>
<u>ṡliṡe</u>	<u>sun</u>	ytRi(e)	word(s)
ṡliṡRuti(e)	dawn(s)	ytRoi(e)	language(s)
ṡluxtRi(e)	woman/mother(s)	<u>yṡle</u>	<u>water</u>
ṡlyṡsi(e)	dream(s)	ziRi(e)	god(s)
meli(e)	child(ren)	zmiṡsi(e)	smear(s)

ʒoti(ɐ)	crone(s)	χod͡ʒe	<u>skin</u>
zumRe	clay	χod͡ʒe	<u>surface</u>
ʒuReti(ɐ)	steppe(s)	χonji(ɐ)	dwelling(s)
ʒufski(ɐ)	winter(s)	χulmoe	<u>fear</u>
χmoki(ɐ)	dog(s)		

Adjectives

ɲoltsyç	black/dark
çymt	white/light
d͡ʒRɛɲ	red
mimt	good
wolm	bad
gwolk	big
çitlu	small
ɔtkluɲ	old
d͡ʒɛɐ	new
ɬkum	ripe/full/whole
gwilk	tall/long
liktu	short

Miscellaneous

çiʒ	so	ɬut͡st	while
dete	more	miç	at(time)
duɲ	yet	mot	next
d͡ʒet	every/all	mot	then
d͡ʒim	than	ɲelt	here
eɬsk	in	ɲut	with(together)
ewut	after	Rud͡ʒ	to (place)
gel	as	ɬsod͡ʒ	there
gɛʒ	this(action)	ɬsu	and
gRuɬs	despite	utiɲ	many
inok	other	wet	with(instrument)
inut	each other	mɛʒ	why
liɬs	from(origin)	moRet	because
loʒt	this(object)	yRel	not
ɬked͡ʒ	may	ʒel	yes
ɬked͡ʒ	can	ʒit	no
ɬkum	whole	ʒlek	to (to do)
ɬlok	but		

Proper Nouns- Deities

çemok	Sky
m̃eluñ	Hunt
çimluñ	Sea
m̃el̃kiR	Earth
đ̃zymk	Harvest
χmoki gwolk	Big dog
χmoki çitlu	Little dog

Numbers

The YRD number system is base 4. There is no mathematical concept of zero.

iη = 1

liç = 2

ťsym = 3

Roχ = 4

Roχiη = 5

Roχliç = 6

Roχťsym = 7

liRoχ = 8

liRoχiη = 9

liRoχliç = 10

χeη = 16

giç = 64

det = 256

mul = 1024

wel = 4096

miη = 16,384

ťsymiηťsywelťsymulťsydetťsygiçťsyx̃eηťsyRoχťsym = 65,535

Roχmiη = 65,536

English to ytRie deet

Verbs

agree	zalol	learn	deRol
be	χol	lighten	çymtol
become	çyol	look	łkitsol
begin	iηetol	make	ekol
bleed	duχmol	name	wu3ol
bloom	li3Rol	play	łlol
blow/whisper	meçol	possess	geRol
build	ekol	reap/harvest	ťseol
come	yđ3ol	redde	đ3renol
confuse	Rewol	rise	Rutol
control	god3ol	say	lexRol
cook	ɔmťsol	scatter	miRud3ol
darken	ηolťsyçol	see	łkitsol
deliver (birth)	Rektol	sing	gytol
disagree	3itol	sleep	glumol
dream	łlyťsol	smear	3miťsol
dwell	χonjol	sow/plant	lonťol
eat	Wiklol	speak	ytRol
feed	Wefťsol	spin (wool)	3Remol
fight	iRťsol	stop	dekol
fill	duťskol	talk	ytRol
find	meηol	teach	ηutol
give	eRutol	think	çyRiol
glue	3miťsol	travel	wed3Rol
go	ťskutol	understand	đ3iđ3kol
have(quality)	zykol	use	god3ol
howl	uol	venerate	wuol
hunt	łkol	weave	Reťskol
improve	mimtol	weep	gRełlol
kill	đ3ektol	whine/cry	miuηol
laugh	gokiol	worsen	Wolmol

Nouns

air/wind	meze	lightening bolt(s)	Rexi(ə)
anger	miRole	linen	miſsoe
beauty	woRe	lonliness	inliçRe
blade(s)	luti(ə)	magic	waſsuRe
blood	duχme	man/father(s)	ſleki(ə)
bolt(s) of cloth	çiki(ə)	moon	liçRe
bowl(s)	wozi(ə)	mote(s)	mui(ə)
bundle(s)	gui(ə)	name(s)	wuzi(ə)
child(ren)	meli(ə)	oats	ɔlme
circle(s)/ sphere(s)	ηui(ə)	person(people)	ymi(ə)
clan(s)	deʒRi(ə)	piece(s)	ſkuRi(ə)
clay	zumRe	pool(s)	laRi(ə)
creature(s)/demon(s)	woloti(ə)	porridge	ηume
crone(s)	zoti(ə)	power	miçe
dawn(s)	ſliηRuti(ə)	prey	ſke
day(s)	ɔReçi(ə)	roundness(es)	ηuRoi(ə)
deer()	ɔmi(ə)	sadness	liçRe
depth(s)	Romi(ə)	sand	dele
dirt	moηe	shit	lole
distance(s)	leſſRi(ə)	skin	χodʒe
dog(s)	χmoki(ə)	sky	çeme
dominion	leſſRe	smear(s)	zmiſſi(ə)
dream(s)	ſlyſſi(ə)	snow	wiçe
drop(s)	dʒali(ə)	spear(s)	çitluti(ə)
dwelling(s)	χoηi(ə)	stalk(s) of grain	eRi(ə)
eye(s)	ſkiſſi(ə)	star(s)	çiſſki(ə)
fear	χulmoe	steppe(s)	zuReti(ə)
fire (natural)	gleçe	stone	gRyſſe
fire(s) (human-made)	gleçki(ə)	story(ies)	duſſi(ə)
flake(s)	mui(ə)	sun	ſliηe
flax seeds	dʒule	surface	χodʒe
god(s)	ziRi(ə)	swath(s)	ηymtli(ə)
grass/grain	yçle	tears	gReſle
gust(s)	meçi(ə)	the east	ſſRe
handful(s)	ſſeldʒi(ə)	thunder bolt(s)	Reχuloi(ə)
happiness	itle	time/now	dʒete
harvest(s)	ſſei(ə)	tower(s)	lukti(ə)
hole(s)	diki(ə)	town(s)	weli(ə)
honey	ηuzile	truth	ytRe
language(s)	ytRoi(ə)	veneration	wue

warm season(s)	ṭsei(ə)	woman/mother(s)	ḥluxṭRi(ə)
water	yχle	word(s)	ytRi(ə)
winter(s)	ʒuṭski(ə)	world	leloute

Adjectives

bad	wolm
big	gwołk
black	ḡołṣyç
dark	ḡołṣyç
full	ḥkum
good	ṃimt
light	çymt
long	gwiłk
new	ḍʒee
old	ɔtkluŋ
red	ḍʒReŋ
ripe	ḥkum
small	çitlu
short	liktu
tall	gwiłk
white	çymt
whole	ḥkum

Miscellaneous

may	ḥkedʒ	not	yRəl
after	ewut	other	iŋok
and	ṭsu	so	çiz
as	gel	than	ḍʒim
at(time)	miç	then	mot
because	moRet	there	ṭsodʒ
but	ḥlok	this(action)	gəʒ
can	ḥkedʒ	this(object)	loʒt
despite	gRuṭs	to (place)	Ruḍʒ
each other	iŋut	to (to do)	ʒlek
every/all	ḍʒet	while	ḥluṭst
from(origin)	liṭs	whole	ḥkum
here	ḡelt	why	meʒ
in	eṭsk	with(instrument)	wet
many	utiŋ	with(together)	ŋut
more	dete	yes	ʒel
next	mot	yet	duŋ
no	ʒit		

Appendix

Idiomatic expressions

łkuRi-e t̂su łkuRi-e

piece-PL and piece-PL

gradually

ʒlək miç ʒut̂ski ɔlme t̂seo-l łkəd̂ʒ d̂ʒo łyt̂so-l

to during winter oats (PRS)reap-PFV can 3pERG (PRS)dream-PFV

To be able to do the impossible

ɲolt̂syç grut̂s wiçə łkit̂si-a (Pronoun) χo-l.

black despite snow eye-PL (Pronoun) (PRS) be-PFV

(Pronoun) is dead.

Sentences

Note: the glossing abbreviations for the gendered pronouns are as follows

Maiden class- MDN

Mother Class- MTH

Father class- FTH

Juvenile class -JV

Inanimate class- INM

Honorific -HN

u ee iRO-l.

2sERG 1s ABS (PRS)love-PFV

I love you.

mimtky wet çitluti ɫko-l-u re ɫ-χo.
 Good-est with(instrument) spear (PRS)hunt-PFV-GER 3sMDN:ERG FUT-be-(IPFV)

She will be the best at hunting with a spear.

ɔlme ɲut ɲuzile ɔReçi-e d̥ʒet ɫɲɪɾuti-e miç ɫlue wiklo-l.
 Oats with honey day-PL every sunrise-PL at(time) 3sMTH ABS (PRS)eat-PFV

She eats oats with honey every day at dawn.

ɫɛki duɲ yɾel χɛɛ χo-l.
 father yet not 3sJV:ABS (PRS)be-PFV

They(singular) is not yet a father.

ʒlek χmoki-e wetso-l luχ de-t ☆-laχro-l.
 to dog-PL feed-PFV mom our ERG-GEN PST-say-PFV

Our mom says to feed the dogs.

diki-e utiɲ miṯsoe çiki ɔtkluɲ gɛro-l.
 hole-PL many linen bolt old (PRS)posess-PFV

The old bolt of linen has many holes.

Gik χɛɛ yɾal iɾo-l.
 3sFTH-ERG 3sJV:ABS not (PRS)love-PFV

They(singular) don't love him.

ʒoti-ɐ ☆-gokio t̪su χmoki-ɐ uol-u ☆-çyol.

crone-PL PST-laugh(IPFV) and dog-PL (PRS)-howl-GER PST-begin-PFV

The old women were laughing and the dogs began to howl.

gɛl wore t̪su ŋuroe ʒuko-l-u gɛl liçre ɬue ☆-χo-l.

as beauty and roundness (PRS)have-PFV-GER as moon 3sMTH ABS PST-be- PFV

She was as beautiful and round as the moon.

Tower of Babel Translation

Genesis 11: 1-9

ytRoi iŋ t̪su ytRi-ɐ gui iŋ d̪ʒete leloute ɬkum ☆-zyko.

language one and word-PL bundle one now world whole PST-have-(IPFV)

Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

ɬuɬst Rud̪ʒ t̪sRe d̪ʒo ☆-wed̪ʒRo-l, eɬsk çɪŋeRe ʒuReti d̪ʒoe ☆-mɛŋo-l

while to east 3pERG PST-travel-PFV, in Shi'nar steppe 3pABS PST-find-PFV

As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar.

t̪su t̪sod̪ʒ d̪ʒo χoŋol-u ☆-iŋeto-l. ŋut iŋut d̪ʒo mot ☆-lɛχRo-l,

and there 3pERG dwell-GER PST-begin-PFV with eachother 3pERG then PST-say-PFV

and they began dwelling there. Then they said to one another,

yḏ̂ʒol, Riksi-ə deə ʔko-l t̂su wət glɛçki ḏ̂ʒo ɔmt̂so-l.

Come! brick-PL 1pABS (PRS)make-PFV and with fire 3pERG (PRS)cook-PFV

“Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”

çiz yRɛl gRytse ɬok Riksi-ə ḏ̂ʒoə ☆-god̂ʒo-l, t̂su witumiŋe ʒlɛk ʒmit̂sol-u.

so not stone but brick-PL 3pABS PST-use-PFV and bitumen for glue-GER

So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

ḏ̂ʒoə ḏ̂ʒete ☆-lɛχRo-l, yḏ̂ʒol, weli de deə ʔko-l t̂su

3pABS now PST-say-PFV Come! city 1pERG 1pABS (PRS)build-PFV and

They now said, “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves, and

gɛl gwiłk-y gɛl çeme lukt̂i, t̂su de deə wuzi wue meŋo-l,

as tall-est as sky tower and 1pERG 1pABS name veneration (PRS)find-PFV

a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves

çiz de yRɛl ɛt̂sk lɛloute ɬkum χod̂ʒe ☆-miRud̂ʒo-l ɬ-χo-l.

So 1pERG not on world whole surface PST-scatter-PFV FUT-be-PFV

, so that we will not be scattered over the entire earth.”

weli t̂su lukt̂i mɛli-ə ɬɛki-ə-t ☆-ʔko-l ḏ̂ʒɛχowɛ mot ʒlɛk

city and tower child-PL man-PL-GEN PST-build-PFV Jehovah then for

Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

ḥkiṯsol-u ☆-ṯskuto-l. ḏ̂ʒeχowe mot ☆-leχRo-l,
 see-GER PST-go-PFV Jehovah then PST-say-PFV
(cont.) Jehovah then said,

ḥkiṯsol. ytRoi iŋ geRol-u deʒRi ḏ̂ʒoe χol, ṯsu
 Look! language one have-GER clan 3pABS (PRS)be-PFV and
“Look! They are one people with one language, and

loʒt ḏ̂ʒoe ekolu ☆-iŋeto-l.
 this 3pABS make-GER PST-begin-PFV
this is what they have started to do.

ʒlek miç ʒuṯski ɔlme ṯseo-l ḏ̂ʒete ḥkeḏʒ ḏ̂ʒo ḥlyṯso-l
 to during winter oats (PRS)reap-PFV now can 3pERG (PRS)dream-PFV
Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.
(idiom: they can now dream to reap oats in winter)

yḏ̂ʒol, ʒlek ytRoi ḏ̂ʒo-t Rewo-l çiz iŋut ḏ̂ʒoe yReḥ
 Come! to language 3pERG-GEN (PRS)confuse-PFV so eachother 3pABS not
Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not

ḏ̂ʒidʒko-l de ṯskuto-l
 (PRS)understand-PFV 1pERG (PRS)go-PFV
understand one another’s language.

çiz d̂zo eṯsk leloute ḥkum xod̂ze d̂zexowə ☆-miRud̂zo-l,
 so 3pERG on world whole surface Jehovah PST-scatter-PFV
So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth,

ṯsu weli d̂zoṽ ḥkuRi-ṽ ṯsu ḥkuRi-ṽ ekol-u ☆-d̂eko-l
 and city 3pABS piece-PL and piece-PL make-GER PST-stop-PFV
and they gradually left off building the city.

çiz wewul lo ☆-wu3o-l moRet ṯsod̂z
 so Babel 3sINM ERG PST-name-PFV because there
That is why it was named Babel, because there

ytRoi leloute-t ḥkum d̂zexowə ☆-Rewo-l ṯsu
 language world-GEN whole Jehovah PST-confuse-PFV and
Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and

d̂zo eṯsk leloute ḥkum xod̂ze ṯsod̂z iṇetol-u d̂zexowə ☆-miRud̂zo-l
 3pERG on world whole surface there begin-GER Jehovah PST-scatter-PFV
Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

Big Dog and Little Dog

Once, when the world was just beginning to bloom and the people were emerging from the depths of the earth, the god of hunting thought to give her sister's children a great gift. Together with the god of the forest she brought forth two children; Big Dog and Little Dog. She gave Big Dog long legs and good ears and big teeth for hunting deer and rabbits in the forest. She gave Little Dog small legs and long claws and big eyes for hunting rats and badgers in the tunnels underground. When they were big, she gave them to the new people of the world. But Big Dog and Little Dog were too large and powerful to dwell with the people in their caves and hollows, and by now the people had made so many children that she knew they would need many more gifts. Big Dog and Little Dog understood this, and fashioned of the clay and dirt many new big dogs and little dogs, and gave them to the people. They taught the people to feed the dogs and love them and use them to find food. In return, the people made for themselves, to honor of Big and Little Dog, a new law saying that no dog may be killed, save as an act of mercy, and this became part of the code, but that is a different story.

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Mermoz, Dakar, Senegal.¹

Emily Orgias
Wellesley College

¹ Image Source: <<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mermoz-Sacr%C3%A9-C%C5%93ur>>

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I. Introduction: Culture of fɛ̃glɔf

fɛ̃glɔf is itself an invented language. The solely oral language was conceived in modern-day Dakar, Senegal by three children of about 8-10 years old. Dakar is the nation's capital and is home to people from diverse backgrounds. The fɛ̃glɔf inventors represent this characteristic diversity. One of them is a native Wolof speaker; one, a native French speaker; and one, a native English speaker. Each of the children is also somewhat familiar with each of the others' native languages. The children are good friends and live in the same neighbourhood.

Wishing to be able to communicate with each other more effectively, the friends decide to start speaking a shared language. All becoming fluent in Wolof, French, or English would not be the best solution because the children require a language that would make it easy for them to communicate secretly, in code. They want a language that allows them to talk about a variety of things freely when parents, siblings, or other unwanted listeners are nearby. To accommodate this need for secrecy, the companions create fɛ̃glɔf, a hybrid blend of their native languages. The name *fɛ̃glɔf* is a reflection of the mixed origins of the language; it is a nativized abbreviation of the words *français*, *English*, and *Wolof*, mashed together.

By nature, young children are curious, creative, imaginative, and experimental. The activities of both developing and speaking fɛ̃glɔf indulge these general tendencies. fɛ̃glɔf is not just a secret code and strengthener of friendship bonds for speakers, but also an outlet for imagination, creativity, and experimentation and a fun, interesting, and pleurably weird hobby.

After its invention, fɛ̃glɔf started being passed on through generations of speaker-age children. The founding speakers taught fɛ̃glɔf to other close friends and peers of theirs, who pass it on to their own companions. In general, the language is passed on primarily as younger

relatives or close peers of speakers learn the language via non-instruction-based exposure to older relatives and peers' fluent *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*. Some speakers may also transmit the language by deliberately teaching it to new generations.

Typically, the idea of having a secret code language is only popular within a certain age range, and *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* is not an exception. As a result, an upper speaker age limit naturally develops; the threshold is probably somewhere between the middle and end of the pre-teen years. The manner of transmission of *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* also naturally stabilizes a lower age limit, probably between 6 and 7 years of age. Children who are too much younger than speakers likely do not spend enough time in the vicinity of speakers to pick up the language from them. Furthermore, *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* speakers typically do not deliberately teach the language to younger peers or siblings until they reach a particular age, at which the new learners are deemed old enough to become part of the “*ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* club”, so to speak. Because there is such a minimum age threshold for *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* speakers, *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* cannot be a first language.

The *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* speaker profile, as well as the language's Senegalese home, strongly influence the nature and structure of the language.

The *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* speech community represents a very narrow age group. As a result, it is possible for the entire lexicon to be exclusively customized to conversations about topics typically discussed by speakers from that age range. These topics include school; social life; typical children's activities like following orders, playing, and hanging out with or visiting people; and quotidian events like prayer. Furthermore, *ƒɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* appeals to young children's exploratory and imaginative natures by having built into it many ways to distinguish between certainty and uncertainty, reality and hypothetical situations, and truth and pretend in a patterned

manner. fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf has many characteristics, such as predictable stress patterns, that make it easy for young children from a variety of linguistic backgrounds to master equitably and quickly. The inventors further ensured that it would be easy for them to learn by giving it phonetic, syntactic, and lexical inspirations from their native languages, Wolof, French, and English.

Their tendencies towards curiosity and experimentation also led the inventors to incorporate some “weird” features, including compound structures of relative pronouns, into fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf just for amusement and adventure’s sakes. These oddities do not resemble elements of any of their native languages and make the language more cool and interesting to current and future speakers, while increasing its incomprehensibility to unwanted listeners.

The Senegalese birthplace of the language also influenced its design. Senegal is a predominantly Muslim country with Islamic traditions and influences that pervade the entire diverse society. fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf therefore includes nativized forms of traditional Islamic greetings like *salaam* *maalekum/maalekum salaam*. Also, the Senegalese government and society’s LGBTQIA+ phobia is reflected in fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf’s lack of non-gender-binary personal pronouns.

II. fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf Phonetics and Phonology

Phonetics

Vowels. fɛ̃ɛ̃glɔf has an inventory of seventeen phonemically contrastive vowels that contains both nasalized and non-nasalized vowels, and lengthened and short vowels. The inventory, shown in *Figure 2.1*, includes six simple front vowels, /i y e ɛ œ/, and three simple back vowels, /u o ɔ/.

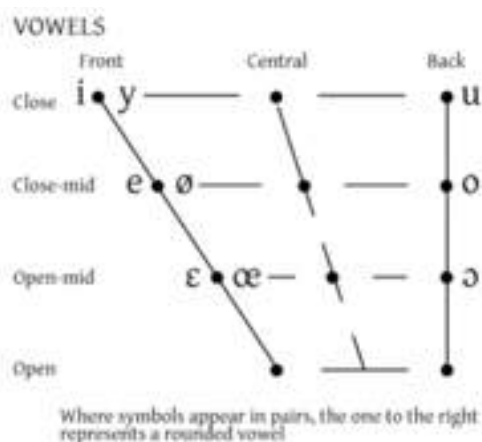


Figure 2.1. fɛ̃glɔf Simple Contrastive Vowels

Vowel nasalization and vowel lengthening are phonemic. Nasalized forms of the mid front vowels—/ẽ õ ẽ œ/—occur in phonemic contrast with their non-nasalized forms. Additionally, long forms of the English tense vowels—/i: e: u: o:/—occur in phonemic contrast with their short forms. Vowel nasalization is also contrastive in contributing language French, and vowel lengthening is contrastive in Wolof.

The fɛ̃glɔf simple vowel system was designed to maximize the ease with which the three first speakers would be able to pronounce the language. For this reason, it includes four of the five most common vowels in the world's human languages, /i e u o/. These four vowels are found in all of fɛ̃glɔf's contributing languages and are not difficult for children from a variety of other linguistic backgrounds, too, to acquire as they learn fɛ̃glɔf. /ɔ/ is found in Wolof, English, and French. fɛ̃glɔf also contains /y ø œ/, which are found in French.

Many fɛ̃glɔf vowels occur in rounded/unrounded pairs. One can also note that for each of the heights and each of the frontnesses that the inventory covers, there is at least one vowel at

every height-frontness pair position. These characteristics of the inventory support the vowel harmony patterns that occur in the language, which will be explained later.

Consonants. fɛ̀ɛ̀glof contains nineteen phonemically contrastive, pulmonic consonants. The inventory, shown in *Figure 2.2*, includes voiced and voiceless sounds; stops, nasals, fricatives, a trill, and a lateral approximate; and bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, post-alveolar, velar, and uvular articulations. fɛ̀ɛ̀glof also has three phonemically contrastive pre-nasal stops, /m b nd ŋg/, which are found in Wolof.

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)											
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k ɡ			
Nasal	m			n				ŋ			
Trill									ʀ		
Tap or Flap											
Fricative		f		s	ʃ ʒ		(ç)	x	(χ)		
Lateral fricative											
Approximant											
Lateral approximant				l							

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

Figure 2.2. fɛ̀ɛ̀glof Contrastive Consonants

As with the vowel system, the fɛ̀ɛ̀glof consonant system contains some of the most common sounds in the world's languages—all of its stops and nasals, as well as /f s ʃ l/. Most of these sounds are found in all of its contributing languages, and the fɛ̀ɛ̀glof inventors included them in the consonant inventory in order to make the language easier for linguistically diverse speakers to pronounce. /ŋ/ is found in English and Wolof, and /ʒ/ is found in French and English. There are only two non-English phonemic consonants, except for the pre-nasals: the voiced

uvular trill /ʀ/ and the voiceless velar fricative /x/. /ʀ/ is the phonemically contrastive rhotic sound in French and fɛŋglɔf, and /x/ occurs in Wolof. Even the minimal familiarity that each of the founding speakers has with the native languages of the others suffices to make a sound like /x/, /ʀ/, or /ø/, that is not in many of the contributing languages or necessarily in their own native language, reasonably accessible to them in fɛŋglɔf.

In addition to its phonemically contrastive consonants, fɛŋglɔf contains two fricatives that occur allophonically: the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] which occurs in contrast with [x], and the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] which occurs in contrast with [ʀ] and is also found in French.

Phonology

Syllable structure. The fɛŋglɔf syllable inventory is (C)(C)V(C)(C). It is a compromise between the (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C) French structure, the Wolof structure which allows a maximum syllable of CVC, and the extensive (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)(C) English structure. Each fɛŋglɔf inventor's limited familiarity with the others' native languages helps give the native Wolof speaker among them some advantage in learning to pronounce consonant clusters in fɛŋglɔf. Furthermore, Dakar Wolof actually has many French loanwords that contain consonant clusters, such as [tʁɑ̃t] 'thirty'.

Very few syllables in fɛŋglɔf are the maximum length. In fact, most syllables contain no consonant clusters. Syllables that do contain consonant clusters most often contain only one, which usually occurs in the syllable onset.

Phonotactic restrictions. In fɛŋglɔf consonant clusters, all consonants in the cluster except for nasals and [l] must have the same voicing. For example, *[bs] and *[bʁ] are not permissible onset clusters but [bz] and [bʀ] are. The only exception to this rule is [ʁ] in codas:

[ɣ] can occur in consonant clusters in syllable-coda position with another consonant of any voicing. All consonants except [s ʃ ʒ] can occur in a consonant cluster where they are followed by [ɾ] or [ɣ]. Additionally, [l] and /r/ cannot begin an onset cluster or end a coda cluster. For example, [sle] and [pɛe] are permissible fæ̃glɔf words but *[esl] and *[epɣ] are not. Finally, pre-nasal consonants cannot occur in consonant clusters.

In consonant clusters in syllable-onset position, oral stops and all fricatives except [s] can only occur in syllable-initial position (first sound of the syllable) when followed by [ɾ ɣ] or [l]. Non-nasal consonants in a syllable-onset cluster cannot have the same place or manner of articulation, with the exception of [st]. Nasal consonants that are part of onset clusters cannot occur in syllable-initial position and can only follow [s]. [ŋ], however, cannot occur anywhere in an onset consonant cluster.

For syllable-coda position, fæ̃glɔf has a homorganic nasal rule stating that a nasal consonant in a coda consonant cluster assimilates to the place of articulation of the following non-nasal consonant. For example, *[gumd] is not permissible but [gund] is. Oral stops can only begin a coda consonant cluster when followed by [s]. All phonemic and allophonic fricatives except [s f ɣ] can only occur in coda consonant clusters. Finally, nasal consonants can only occur in syllable-final position (last sound of the syllable) when the first consonant of the cluster is [l] or [ɣ]. The selection of permissible consonant clusters that can occur in the syllable-coda position of a given syllable is also determined by the nasality and length of the syllable's vowel.

Additionally, [e] cannot precede [ɣ] in the same syllable unless it is part of a consonant cluster. Phonemic nasalized vowels cannot precede a coda beginning with /r/.

See Appendix A for a full list of permissible sound sequences in fæ̃glɔf.

Stress. Primary stress in fæ̃glɔf is left-second fixed. For example, *[ˈtyndy] is not permissible but [tynˈdy] ‘thunder’ is. There are some exceptions to this rule, however.

If a word has at least one long vowel, then the primary stress will fall on the first long vowel regardless of which syllable contains the first long vowel. Therefore, the primary stress is only left-second fixed as normal when a long vowel occurs in the left-second syllable. For example, [moˈçilis] ‘money’, [ˈpliːʒutu] ‘to play’, and [fɛkˈʃiːs] ‘everything’ are permissible but *[ˈmoçilis], *[moçiˈlis] and *[pliːˈʒutu] are not. When all the vowels in a word are long vowels, every syllable receives equal stress.

Where secondary stress occurs in a word depends on the location of primary stress; secondary stress will fall on every second syllable after the first syllable with primary stress. For example, /ndeːdɛtɔ/ ‘to bring’ with appropriately placed primary and secondary stress becomes [ˈndeːdɛ, tɔ]. If the word contains a long vowel which occurs in the fourth syllable or later and thus prevents primary stress from occurring until then, secondary stress will fall on every second syllable in the word, in a pattern that ensures that the long vowel receives primary stress. For example, /ʒiflusikuː/ with appropriately placed primary and secondary stress becomes [ʒi, flusiˈkuː]. The single long vowel occurs in the fourth syllable of the word and some kind of stress must fall on every second syllable before and after it, so Syllable 2 receives secondary stress. (If the only long vowel occurred in a fifth syllable, Syllables 1 and 3 would receive secondary stress, and Syllable 5 would receive primary stress.) If the word contains a long vowel which does occur earlier than the fourth syllable, then no stress will fall on any short vowels in the first three syllables, and the every-other-syllable rule for secondary stress will apply to the remainder

of the word after the primary stress. For example, /ɲgøbelo:losø/ with appropriately placed primary and secondary stress becomes [ɲgøbe'lo:lo,sø].

Other phonological rules. Other phonological rules in fæ̃glɔf are as follows:

- **Vowel Nasalization:** A vowel is nasalized when immediately followed by a nasal consonant in the same syllable. This kind of nasalization is allophonic.
Examples: /xim/ → [çĩm]
 /ɔŋg/ → [ɔ̃ŋg]
- **Aspiration:** Voiceless stops in syllable-initial position (first sound of the word) that are not part of consonant clusters are aspirated.
Examples: /pẽs/ → [pʰẽs]
 /pkẽs/ → [pkẽs]
- **Vowel Harmony:** If a word has three or more syllables, every vowel after the second syllable will assimilate to the height of the vowel in the second syllable, while maintaining original roundness, frontness, and nasality.
Examples: /ʃekzedu/ → [ʃekzede]
 /ʃefɔrolis/ → [ʃefɔrɔles]
- **Syllable Coda:** In a multisyllabic word, consonant clusters cannot occur in codas of non-final syllables, except to avoid an impermissible consonant cluster in the onset of a following syllable.
Examples: /istkæ/ → [is'tkæ]
 *[ist'kæ]
 /ɯftlu/ → [ɯft'lu]
 *[ɯf'tlu]
- **Pre-nasal Consonants:** Pre-nasal consonants cannot occur in syllable-coda position. They can only occur in onset position in the first syllable of a word, or in the onset of a non-first syllable when the end of the previous syllable cannot permissibly divide the pre-nasal into a nasal consonant and an oral stop. (See Syllable Coda rule).
Examples: /ymbœn/ → [ym'bœn]
 *[y'mbœn]
 /ymbœn/ → [ym'bœn]
 *[ymb'œn]
 *[ymb'œn] (See Syllable Coda rule.)
 /ɛndɛ/ → [ɛt'ndɛ]
- **Velarization of /l/:** /l/ is velarized only when it is alone in syllable-coda position. The velarization is allophonic.

Examples: /kilən/ → [ki'len]

/kil/ → [kiɫ]

*[gɫo:s]

*[so:ɫg]

- **Phonemic and Allophonic Nasality:** Nasal and non-nasal short vowels are only phonemically contrastive when the nasal vowel has not been nasalized because of the Vowel Nasalization rule. (Nasality cannot create phonemic contrast between long vowels.) The only circumstance in which nasal vowels can be in allophonic contrast is when one nasal vowel is changed in a process of vowel harmony.

Examples: /dø/ and /dõ/ are phonemically contrastive, but *[døn] and [dõn] are allophonically contrastive.

/melekẽ/ → [melekẽ], and they are not in phonemic contrast.

- **Phonemic Nasal Vowels:** Only [f s ʃ ʒ ç] can immediately follow phonemic nasal vowels in the same syllable.

Examples: [tõç]

[tõke]

*[tõd]

- **Vowels in Syllable Boundaries:** In a multisyllabic word, if a non-final syllable ends in a vowel, then the immediately following syllable cannot begin with a vowel.

Examples: [ndu'po]

*[ndu'o]

- **Rhotic Consonants [ɾ ʀ]:** The rhotic consonants [ɾ ʀ] are allophones of /r/. In consonant clusters, [ɾ] occurs after voiced oral stops, and in non-clusters it occurs in syllable-initial position only, before [ɛ ẽ], [œ œ̃], and [ɔ]. [ʀ] occurs everywhere that [ɾ] does not.

Examples: /gri:to/ → [gri:to]

/krœɜd/ → [kʁœɜd]

/rɛŋ/ → [rɛŋ]

/ŋɛr/ → [ŋɛʀ]

- **Palatal and Velar Fricatives:** The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] and the voiceless velar fricative [x] are allophones of /x/. [x] occurs next to a back vowel [u u: o o: ɔ] in the same syllable and, in consonant clusters, after [ɸ] or [l]. [ç] occurs next to a front vowel [i y e e: ẽ ø õ ε ẽ œ œ̃] in the same syllable.

Examples: /mix/ → [miç]

/mɛ'xo/ → [mɛ'xo]

/plurx/ → [plurx]

Rules of phonological nativization. Some rule-based sound changes that apply during nativization of loanwords, other foreign words and names to fæ̃glɔf are listed in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, shown below.

Table 2.1. Rule-based Vowel Sound Changes During Nativization

Foreign Sound	Outcome of Sound Change (⇒fæ̃glɔf)
[ɑ]	/ɛ/
[ə]	/œ/
[æ]	/e/
[i]	/i/

Table 2.2. Rule-based Consonantal Sound Changes During Nativization

Foreign Sound	Outcome of Sound Change (⇒fæ̃glɔf)
[h]	/x/
[v]	/f/
[z]	/s/
[w]	/l/

III. fæ̃glɔf Morphology

The fæ̃glɔf morphological system is mostly agglutinative. This design makes it easier for children to combine basic building blocks of meaning to express other concepts. Naturally, agglutinative systems can easily produce words of overwhelming word length. In fæ̃glɔf, this situation could counter any advantages of agglutinative elements and make it difficult for young children to learn the language. fæ̃glɔf avoids this fate by containing generally short morphemes that are rarely multisyllabic and few lexical roots containing more than two syllables.

The collection of *fxēglōf* affixes includes prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. The morphological system also contains auxiliaries that precede, follow, or are infixes in the base and some compound function words.

When marked, plurality is almost always expressed using reduplication.

Morphological Rules

Personal pronouns and pronominal possessive adjectives. The *fxēglōf* personal pronouns, shown in Table 3.1, are used in the nominative and accusative cases without adpositions, and in all other grammatical cases—except for genitive possessive—with required prepositions. (See “Case” in Section IV.) Each singular personal pronoun is a CVC monosyllabic word. The plural form is produced via reduplication of the onset/vowel sequence of the singular form, with the duplicate inserted prefixally to make a new syllable.

Table 3.1. *fxēglōf* Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	[sɛn] ‘I’	[sɛsɛn] ‘we’
2 nd	[sin] ‘you’	[sisin] ‘you’
3 rd Feminine Masculine Neutral	[søn] ‘she’ [jøn] ‘he’ [ʒøn] ‘it’	[søsøn] ‘they’ (F) [jøjøn] ‘they’ (M) [ʒøʒøn] ‘they’ (N)

The 3rd-person neutral singular pronoun is used to refer to an inhuman thing or to a person whose gender identity is unclear to the speaker. The 3rd-person neutral plural pronoun can be used to refer to a group of inhuman things, a group of people all of whose gender identities are

unclear, or a mix of people referred to with feminine singular pronouns and people referred to with masculine singular pronouns.

The forms for singular pronominal possessive adjectives, shown in Table 3.2, are based on the singular personal pronouns. The pronoun's coda consonant is replaced with its onset consonant to make the corresponding possessive adjective. Pronominal possessive adjectives are marked with suffixes to indicate the possessor gender, possessor number, and number of the thing possessed.

Table 3.2. *ḥēglōf* Pronominal Possessive Adjectives

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	[sɛs] 'my'	[sɛsɛ] 'our'
2 nd	[sis] 'your' (S)	[sisi] 'your' (PL)
3 rd Feminine Masculine Neutral	[sɔs] 'her' [ʃɔ] 'his' [ʒɔʒ] 'its', 'their' (N)	[sɔsɔ] 'their' (F) [ʃɔʃɔ] 'their' (M) [ʒɔʒɔ] 'their' (N)

A plural possessed object, which could be referred to by either a mass noun or a count noun, is marked by adding the suffix /t/ to the base possessive adjective. For example:

<i>sɔs</i>	<i>do:ʒɛn</i>	<i>sɔs-t</i>	<i>do:ʒɛn~do:ʒɛn</i>
her.SGO	daughter.SG	her-PLO	daughter~PL
'her daughter'		'her daughters'	

Demonstratives. Demonstrative adjectives (e.g. '**these** flowers') and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. 'I like **these**') have identical forms in *ḥēglōf*. Demonstratives distinguish between objects in three ways: singular vs. plural, proximal vs. distal, and pretend/hypothetical (irrealis) vs. real (realis). The stem of a *ḥēglōf* demonstrative, the *essential form*, is a single morpheme

that indicates whether the antecedent or modified word represents an irrealis or realis, and proximal or distal, object. The essential forms are shown below in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. ƒæġlɔf Demonstrative Essential Forms

	Irrealis	Realis
Proximal	[lis]	[le]
Distal	[lyf]	[lɔʒ]

A suffix added to the essential form indicates whether the antecedent or modified object is singular or plural. A singular demonstrative is formed via reduplication of the vowel in the essential form, with the duplicate inserted suffixally to make a new syllable. A plural demonstrative is formed via reduplication of the entire essential form. For example, a singular, realis, proximal antecedent would be referred to using the demonstrative pronoun [lefe] ‘this’, and its plural counterpart would be referred to using [lef lef] ‘these’.

Irrealis demonstratives are always used in expressions in the conditional mood.

Relative pronouns and the possessive relative. ƒæġlɔf relative pronouns are compound words, consisting of two bound syllabic morphemes. The first morpheme, from *Group 1* of relative pronoun morphemes, indicates whether the noun modified by the relative clause which the pronoun heads represents one or more persons, animals, or inanimate objects. The second morpheme, from *Group 2*, indicates the syntactic role of the modified noun. Each relative pronoun includes one Group 1 morpheme, followed by one Group 2 morpheme, to create one disyllabic word. The Group 1 and Group 2 morphemes are shown below in Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

Table 3.4. Group 1 Relative Pronoun Morphemes (First Syllable)

Morpheme	Context for Use
[ʒut]	modified noun = one person or a group of people
[ʃet]	modified noun = one animal or a group of animals
[ʃop]	modified noun = one inanimate object or a group of inanimate objects

Table 3.5. Group 2 Relative Pronoun Morphemes (Second Syllable)

Morpheme	Context for Use
[fuk]	modified noun = direct or indirect object
[sup]	modified noun = object of a preposition
[fib]	modified noun = subject or predicate noun

A *fx̣ēglɔf* relative pronoun agrees in neither gender nor number with the modified noun. Below is an example of a *fx̣ēglɔf* sentence containing a relative pronoun:

sen *f* *-ø* *-xum* *i* *mifēgɔ* *ʒut* *-fuk* *f* *-ø* *-lɔkɔp*
 I.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-have a.SG friend.ACC **REL.PER-REL.DIO** IND-PRS.IPFV-like

bi *plu* .
 the.SG rain.UNSP.ACC .

‘I have a friend **who** likes the rain.’

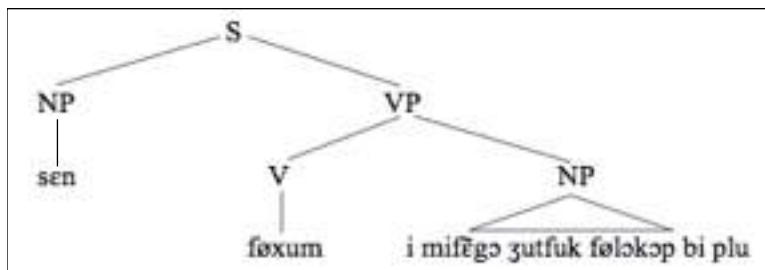


Figure 3.1. ‘I have a friend who likes the rain’

The possessive relative ‘whose’ is formed by adding the suffix [y] to the relative pronoun for the given modified noun. For example, the possessive relative form [ʒutsupy] would be used in a phrase such as ‘with the child **whose** ball is red’, in which the possessive relative modifies a noun (‘child’) that represents a person and functions as an object of a preposition.

Negation of non-verbs. Nouns, adverbs, and adjectives in fæ̀glɔf can be negated using an auxiliary—unlike in the fæ̀glɔf contributing languages French and English. Any noun, adverb, or adjective can be negated by inserting [ɲu] before the base. For example, the negation of [ˈpo:sib] ‘possible’ is [ɲu ˈpo:sib] ‘impossible’, and the negation of [i:nilum] ‘easily’ is [ɲu i:nilum] ‘uneasily’. Unlike other morphemic affixes like the possessive relative suffix, [ɲu] is an independent part that does not actually integrate into the original base. Its presence does not alter the phonological character of the original word, say, via the influence of vowel harmony.

Infinitive verb form. The infinitive form of a verb is produced by adding the suffix /o/ to the verb base. For example, the infinitive form of [kyn] ‘run’ is /kyno/ ‘to run’ (becomes [kyno]). When the verb base ends in a vowel, the suffix is /to/. Thus, the infinitive form of [ɲgudiɲi] ‘study’ is /ɲgudiɲio/ ‘to study’ (becomes [ɲgudiɲitu]).

Part-of-speech transformations. The following rules govern various kinds of verb-to-adjective, verb-to-noun, adjective-to-adverb, and adjective-to-noun transformations in fæ̀glɔf.

- v. ⇒ adj. — Past Participle: The past participle of an active (versus passive) verb is formed by adding the prefix [suf] to the verb base. Past participles are related to passive verbs, and so the fæ̀glɔf past participle prefix [suf] derives from the fæ̀glɔf verb [ɤesuf] ‘receive’, which is used in the passive verb form.
Example: [sædɛʒɔ] ‘to share’ ⇒ [sufsædɛʒ] ‘shared’ (adj.)
- v. ⇒ adj. — Present Participle: The present participle of an active verb is formed by adding the prefix [ɔf] to the verb base. This prefix derives from the fæ̀glɔf indicative-present-imperfective verb marker, [fɔ].

Example: [iteto] ‘to interest’ ⇒ [øfitu] ‘interesting’ (adj.)

- v. ⇒ adj. — ‘able to be _(past participle)_’: This form is produced by adding the prefix [mb] to the verb base if the verb base begins with a vowel, or [mbu] if the verb base begins with a consonant. These prefixes derive from the fæ̃glɔf verb [mbun] ‘be able’. Example: [ɔmpɛndɔ] ‘to understand’ ⇒ [mbɔmpɛnd] ‘able to be understood’, ‘understandable’
- v. ⇒ n. — Gerund: The gerund of a verb is formed by adding the prefix [of] to the verb base. This prefix derives from the fæ̃glɔf verb [fo] ‘do’. Example: [li:ŋko] ‘to eat’ ⇒ [ofli:ŋk] ‘eating’ (n.)
- v. ⇒ n. — ‘the completed act of _(gerund)_’: This form is produced by adding the prefix [ɛft] to the verb base. This prefix derives from the fæ̃glɔf noun [ʒɛft] ‘act’. Example: [dœsfyɬu] ‘to discover’ ⇒ [ɛftdœsfæ] ‘the completed act of discovering’, ‘discovery’
- v. ⇒ n. — ‘someone or something who _verb_’: This form is produced by adding the prefix /pɛr/ to the verb base. [pɛk] is used if the verb base begins with a consonant, and [pɛr] or [pɛr] is used if it begins with a vowel. (See Rhotic Consonants phonological rule.) This prefix derives from the fæ̃glɔf word [pɛksit] ‘person’. Example: [selutu] ‘to greet’ ⇒ [pɛkselot] ‘someone or something who greets’, ‘greeter’
- adj. ⇒ adv. — ‘in a _(adjective)_ manner’: This form is produced by inserting the infix [n] or /ni/ between the penultimate and final syllables of the adjective base. [n] is used if the final syllable of the adjective base begins with a vowel, and /ni/ is used if the final syllable begins with a consonant. These infixes derive from the fæ̃glɔf word [fœni] ‘while’, with the connection being that doing something or being in a state in a particular manner sometimes means doing that action or being in that state while also embodying another state (which is expressed by the adverb). Example: [kuçœsp] ‘curious’ ⇒ [kuniçysp] ‘in a curious manner’, ‘curiously’
- adj. ⇒ n. — ‘the state of being _(adjective)_’: This form is produced by inserting the infix /x/ or /çi/ between the penultimate and final syllables of the adjective base. [ç] or [x] is used if the final syllable of the adjective base begins with a vowel. (See Palatal and Velar Fricatives phonological rule.) /çi/ is used if the final syllable of the adjective base begins with a consonant. This infix derives from the fæ̃glɔf verb [øç] ‘be’. Example: [ʒœlœŋ] ‘young’ ⇒ [ʒœçilyŋ] ‘the state of being young’, ‘youth’

In adjective-to-adverb and adjective-to-noun transformations, if the adjective base is

monosyllabic, then the infix functions effectively as a suffix and appears at the end of the base.

Plurality distinctions in mass nouns and count nouns. Mass nouns and plural count nouns in fæ̃glɔf each appear in three different forms, which make morphemic distinctions tied to relative quantity of material being described.

Mass nouns. The quantities that mass nouns distinguish between are (a) unspecified or moderate quantity (*Form 1*); (b) abundance (*Form 2*); (c) single unit (*Form 3*).

Unspecified or moderate quantity is expressed using the root word alone for the given mass noun referent. For example, Form 1 (the fæ̃glɔf root word) for the mass noun *grass* is [ge:s], which translates to ‘unspecified amount of grass’, ‘moderate amount of grass’, or ‘some grass’. Form 1 acts as the stem for mass noun Forms 2 and 3.

Abundance is marked via reduplication of parts of Form 1. The vowel in the first syllable of Form 1 is reduplicated, and the duplicate is inserted in the left-second-syllable position, thereby shifting all original non-first syllables away from the left word edge. Then, a consonant from somewhere in the stem is reduplicated, with the duplicate inserted in the onset position of the new syllable. If the first syllable of Form 1 has a coda and Form 1 is monosyllabic, then the last sound or all of Form 1’s coda becomes the onset of the abundance-marking syllable. (See Syllable Coda phonological rule.) For example, the fæ̃glɔf word for ‘abundance of grass’, ‘a lot of grass’, and ‘large amount of grass’ is [ge:se:]. If the first syllable of Form 1 lacks a coda and Form 1 is monosyllabic, then the first consonant in the onset of Form 1’s first syllable is reduplicated for the abundance-marking syllable. If the first syllable of Form 1 has neither a coda nor an onset and Form 1 is monosyllabic, then [s] becomes the onset of the abundance-marking syllable. If Form 1 is multisyllabic, then the first consonant in Form 1’s second syllable is reduplicated for Form 2’s abundance-marking syllable.

The marker for describing a single unit of a mass object is the prefix [ot], which is added to the Form 1 stem. For example, the fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf word for ‘blade of grass’ is [otge:s]. This prefix derives from the fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf word for the number ‘one’, [ot].

Indefinite articles cannot be used with mass noun forms, but definite articles are optional.

Table 3.6, shown below, provides additional examples of mass nouns in each form.

Table 3.6. Examples of fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf Mass Noun Forms

Root	Form 1 (Unspecified or Moderate Quantity)	Form 2 (Abundance)	Form 3 (Single Unit)
[je:bi] ‘rice’	[je:bi]	[je:be:be]	[otje:be] ‘grain of rice’
[ndo] ‘water’	[ndo]	[ndon'do]	[otndo] ‘drop of water’
[ʒɛf] ‘lightning’	[ʒɛf]	[ʒɛfɛ]	[otʒɛf] ‘bolt of lightning’

Count nouns. Plurality in fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf count nouns makes distinctions between (a) unspecified or moderate quantity (*Form 1*); (b) abundance (*Form 2*); (c) small quantity (*Form 3*).

Unspecified or moderate quantity in count nouns is marked via reduplication of the entire singular form. For example, plural Form 1 for the fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf word [pɔɕɛ] ‘box’ is [pɔɕɛ pɔɕɛ], which translates to ‘boxes’, ‘unspecified quantity of boxes’, or ‘moderate quantity of boxes’, but not ‘some boxes’. Indefinite articles can be used with count noun Form 1 (as well as with singular count nouns), and it is, in fact, the plural indefinite article that is used with a plural count noun to express the concept of ‘some’. The plural indefinite article is used in this same way with count nouns in all of fɛ̀ɛ̀glɔf’s contributing languages. Similar to mass noun Form 1, count noun Form 1 serves as a stem for count noun Forms 2 and 3.

The marker for abundance is the auxiliary [blu:p], which is inserted between the repetitions of Form 1. This auxiliary derives from the fæ̃glɔf pronoun [blu:p] ‘a lot’. For example, the fæ̃glɔf word for ‘abundance of boxes’, ‘a lot of boxes’, and ‘a large quantity of boxes’ is [pɔçɛ blu:p pɔçɛ].

The marker for small quantity is the auxiliary [bœt], which is inserted between the repetitions of Form 1. This auxiliary derives from the fæ̃glɔf pronoun [bœt] ‘a little (bit)’. For example, the fæ̃glɔf word for ‘small quantity of boxes’ is [pɔçɛ bœt pɔçɛ].

Indefinite articles cannot be used with plural count noun Forms 2 and 3, though definite articles can be used with singular count nouns and all plural forms.

Nominalization of cardinal numbers. In fæ̃glɔf, cardinal numbers (counting numbers, as in the phrase ‘**eight** bags’) can be nominalized to be used in phrases such as ‘I have **eight of them**’. All adjectival forms of fæ̃glɔf cardinal numbers consist of one or more monosyllabic independent parts that join to make one number word. (See Section V of this essay for a presentation of the fæ̃glɔf number system.) The nominalized form of a number is produced by adding the suffix [ʒɔʒ] to the first part of the number word. This suffix derives from the phrase [ofɛ ʒɔʒɔn] ‘of them’. For example, since the fæ̃glɔf adjectival form of ‘twenty-seven’ is [e:p æn ux], the nominal form is [e:pʒɔʒ æn ux] ‘twenty-seven (of them)’.

Actions in real-life and pretend. fæ̃glɔf morphology includes a way to mark any verb as referring to an action that is occurring in pretend or an action occurring in real-life. For example, imagine that a group of children are playing a role-play game. One child picks up an imaginary bottle of water and pretends to drink. In a description in fæ̃glɔf of that child’s act of drinking, one could mark the verb(s) as referring to a pretend action. A verb is indicated as

referring to a real-life action by means of the auxiliary [fʁe], which is inserted immediately after the verb. This auxiliary derives from the fʁēglɔf word [fʁe] ‘true’. A verb is indicated as referring to an action in pretend by means of the auxiliary [ɛndle]—also inserted immediately after the verb. This auxiliary derives from the fʁēglɔf verb [ɛndle] ‘pretend’. For example:

fʁon f -ø -nɔŋ fʁe .
 he.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-drink RL .
 ‘He drinks in real life.’

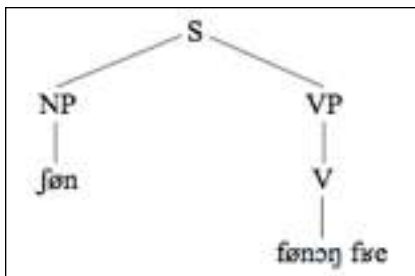


Figure 3.2. ‘he drinks in real life’

fʁon f -ø -nɔŋ ɛndle .
 he.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-drink PTND .
 ‘He drinks in pretend.’ ‘He pretends to drink.’

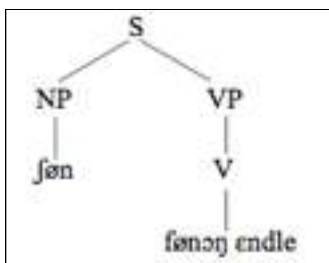


Figure 3.3. ‘he drinks in pretend’, ‘he pretends to drink’

A verb can be used on its own, without either auxiliary, when it is not necessary, possible, or useful to indicate whether an action takes place in real-life or in pretend.

Self-willed and ordered actions. The fʁēglɔf morphological system also includes a way to mark any verb as referring to an action that the doer is completing of their own accord or that

they are completing as ordered by someone or something else. Like the distinction between real-life and pretend actions, the distinction between self-willed and ordered actions is marked using auxiliaries that are inserted immediately after verbs. The auxiliary [dyde] is used to indicate that an action is self-willed; it derives from the *fæ̃glɔf* verb [dyde] ‘decide’. The auxiliary [ode] is used to indicate that an action is ordered by another; it derives from the *fæ̃glɔf* verb [ode] ‘order’, ‘command’. For example:

sesen f -ε -fɪi:<fi:>fi dyde .
 we.NOM IND-PST.PFV-work<PL> SWL .
 ‘We worked of our own accord.’

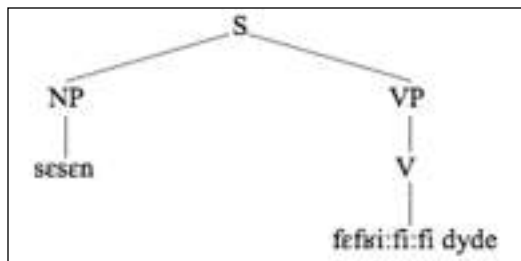


Figure 3.4. ‘we worked of our own accord’

sesen f -ε -fɪi:<fi:>fi ode .
 we.NOM IND-PST.PFV-work<PL> ORD .
 ‘We worked as ordered.’

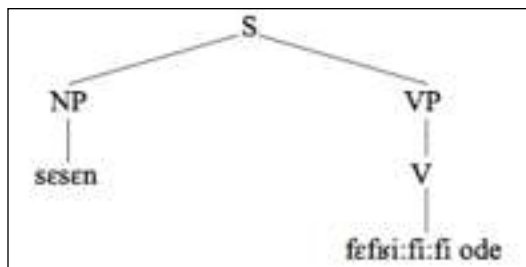


Figure 3.5. ‘we worked as ordered’

A verb can be used on its own, without either auxiliary, when it is not necessary, possible, or useful to indicate whether an action is self-willed or ordered.

IV. fǣglǫf Syntax

General Word Order

fǣglǫf word order is strictly SVO—a feature inspired by the canonical SVO word order in all of fǣglǫf’s contributing languages. The only exceptions to the rule are interrogative sentences using question words and 1st-person imperative sentences, both of which use VSO word order. The rigidity of word order minimizes syntactic ambiguity in communication, which is of particular concern due to fǣglǫf’s nearly entirely unmarked case system. The syntactic confusion that fǣglǫf’s strict word order decreases makes it easier for its young speakers to learn the language quickly and understand each other. Some specific word order rules are as follows:

- Indirect objects always come immediately after the verb form (form includes auxiliaries) and direct objects always come immediately after indirect objects.
- Unless there is no foreseeable potential for ambiguity, words and phrases that modify the verb but not the rest of the predicate must immediately follow the verb form. This rule ensures that a phrase such as ‘she washed the dishes with soap’ is understood in the sense that ‘with soap’ modifies ‘washed’, not ‘dishes’.
- Compound predicates are not permissible when each element of the predicate has different modifiers or when another aspect of the predicate creates ambiguity. This rule makes a sentence like (i) ‘he used rags instead of paper towels and soap as a cleaner’ impermissible because it is not certain whether the meaning is (a) ‘he used rags instead of paper towels, and he used soap as a cleaner’ or (b) ‘he used rags as a cleaner, instead of using paper towels and soap as a cleaner’. The correct fǣglǫf translation of sentence (i) avoids ambiguity by splitting the compound predicate and making it clear whether (a) or (b) is the intended message.
- Adverbs may come immediately before or immediately after the verb form, depending on which position minimizes ambiguity.

Adjectival Word Order

All fǣglǫf adjectival forms are adjectives; there are no adjectival clauses. When multiple adjectives modify a single noun, they surround the noun according to the following template.

_____ (modified noun)
 Modifier 1 Modifier 2 Modifier 3 Modifier 4 ...etc.
 (*Pre-Noun Position*)

This template does not apply to articles, demonstrative adjectives, possessive relatives, and possessive adjectives, which always precede *standard adjectives* that fill the positions displayed above. Standard adjectives do include ordinal numbers and adjectival forms of cardinal numbers.

When only one standard adjective modifies a noun, it must occupy pre-noun position.

When more than one standard adjective is present, the *quantity-marking adjective* (if there is one) always fills pre-noun position. The quantity-marking adjective can be an actual number, such as ‘third’ or ‘fifty’, or another adjective indicating number or amount, like ‘every’, ‘multiple’, or ‘more’. A quantity-marking adjective can be used together with a definite article, but not with an indefinite article. If no quantity-marking adjective is present and there is more than one standard adjective, the speaker can pick any of the standard adjectives to occupy pre-noun position, at their full discretion. Once pre-noun position is filled, it is entirely within the speaker’s discretion to place remaining standard adjectives in post-noun positions. No rules regulate the order of adjectives in post-noun positions.

No adjectives agree in gender with the nouns they modify, and only adjectival forms of cardinal numbers show agreement with the singularity or plurality of the modified noun in the number of objects referred to.

Table 4.1, shown below, provides some examples of *fæglɔf* phrases demonstrating the rules of adjectival word order.

Table 4.1. Demonstrations of fæ̃glɔf Adjectival Word Order

Gloss	Non-Standard Modifier	Pre-Noun Position	Noun	Modifier Position 2
‘a big pile’	<i>i</i> INDF.SG	<i>grē</i> big.SG	<i>bil</i> pile	---
‘three big groups’	---	<i>ηi</i> three.ADJ	<i>up~up</i> group~PL.UNSP	<i>grē</i> big.PL

Verb Tense, Mood, Aspect, and Number

Verb tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) are all marked in fæ̃glɔf, using a combination of agglutinative and inflective morphemes that are added to the verb root. fæ̃glɔf marks four moods (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, imperative); three tenses (past, present, future); and two aspects (perfective and imperfective). It also inflects for number (singular, plural), which is also marked in contributing languages French and English. fæ̃glɔf verbs do not inflect for gender or person, since neither is commonly marked among the contributing languages.

TMA. Figure 4.1 provides the conjugation of the fæ̃glɔf verb *fɔnd* ‘sell’ in the indicative, subjunctive, and conditional moods, for singular number.

Indicative	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
Perfective	/f-ɛ-fɔnd/	/f-e-fɔnd/	/f-i-fɔnd/
Imperfective	/f-œ-fɔnd	/f-ə-fɔnd/	/f-y-fɔnd/
Subjunctive	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
Perfective	/x-ɛ-fɔnd/	/x-e-fɔnd/	/x-i-fɔnd/
Imperfective	/x-œ-fɔnd/	/x-ə-fɔnd/	/x-y-fɔnd/
Conditional	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
Perfective	/s-ɛ-fɔnd/	/s-e-fɔnd/	/s-i-fɔnd/
Imperfective	/s-œ-fɔnd/	/s-ə-fɔnd/	/s-y-fɔnd/

Figure 4.1. fæ̃glɔf Verb Conjugation in the Indicative, Subjunctive, and Conditional Moods

If the verb root does not begin with a consonant, then the mood-marking consonant (/f x s/) is reduplicated, with the duplicate inserted immediately after the TA-marking vowel (/ε e i æ ø y/).

The imperative mood occurs only in the present tense and is marked identically to the Present-Imperfective-Indicative form.

Number agreement. A plural subject is marked on a verb via the same process of vowel reduplication and consonant reduplication or insertion as is used to mark abundance in mass nouns. (See “Plurality distinctions in mass nouns and count nouns” in Section III.) The vowel in the first syllable of the verb root is the one that is reduplicated, and only consonants in the verb root are subject to reduplication or insertion. The following Present-Imperfective-Indicative conjugation, shown in Table 4.2, demonstrates *fxēglōf* subject-verb number agreement.

Table 4.2. Illustration of *fxēglōf* Subject-Verb Number Agreement

Subject	Conjugation: [sid] ‘say’	Conjugation: [ð̥ʒent] ‘buy’
[sɛn] ‘I’	[f-ø-sid]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒent]
[sin] ‘you’ (s.)	[f-ø-sid]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒent]
[søn]/[jøn]/[ʒøn] ‘she’/‘he’/‘it’	[f-ø-sid]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒent]
[sɛsɛn] ‘we’	[f-ø-sidi]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒð̥ʒent]
[sisin] ‘you’ (pl.)	[f-ø-sidi]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒð̥ʒent]
[søsøn]/[jøføn]/[ʒøʒøn] ‘they’ (pl.)	[f-ø-sidi]	[f-øf-ð̥ʒð̥ʒent]

In *fxēglōf*, the imperative mood is used in the 2nd person for singular and plural number and in the 1st person for plural number. In the 2nd person, the subject of an imperative sentence is implied ‘you’. In the 1st person, the subject is explicitly given and immediately follows the

verb. For example, the imperative forms of the verb [dekøst] ‘listen’ are [fødekøst] ‘(you (s.)) listen’, [fødekekøst] ‘(you (pl.)) listen’, and [fødekekøst səsən] ‘let’s listen’.

Articles

fǣglǫf articles are separate words. The language contains one definite article, [bi], and one indefinite article, [i]. Both can be used with singular and plural nouns alike and are not marked for gender. None of fǣglǫf’s contributing languages have so limited a selection of article forms; the fǣglǫf system is designed to help streamline fǣglǫf grammar and make it easier for young children to learn. The definite article can be used with all mass and count noun forms. The indefinite article, however, can only be used with singular count nouns and count nouns marked for unspecified or moderate quantity. Only the definite article can be used with objects of prepositions. An article always immediately precedes the noun that it modifies, as in fǣglǫf contributing languages English and French. Below are some examples of fǣglǫf article use.

bi *moçilis*
DEF.SG money.UNSP
‘the money’

bi *ẽfǣ~blu:p~ẽfǣ*
DEF.PL child~ABUN~PL
‘the large number of children’

i *mεʝfe*
INDF.SG market
‘a market’

i *silk~silk*
INDF.PL city~PL.UNSP
‘some cities’

Case

Like all of its contributing languages, fǣglǫf has a nominative-accusative case system. All cases are unmarked, with prepositions often used to indicate grammatical function. The only exception is the genitive-possessive, which is marked using pronominal possessive adjectives when possible. Below are examples of use of the nominative and accusative cases in fǣglǫf.

- Nominative: The nominative case is used to identify clause subjects.

Example: *bi nēke f -øf -øç tylti .*
 DEF.SG neighbourhood.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-be small.SG;PRED .
 ‘The **neighbourhood** is small.’

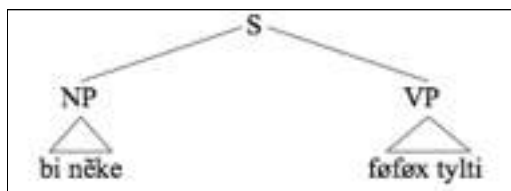


Figure 4.2. ‘the neighbourhood is small’

- Accusative: The accusative case is used to identify direct objects.

Example: *sen f -ø -flof sin æn*
 I.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-love you.SG.ACC and.DU

sin f -ø -flof sen .
 you.SG.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-love I.ACC .

‘I love **you**, and you love **me**.’

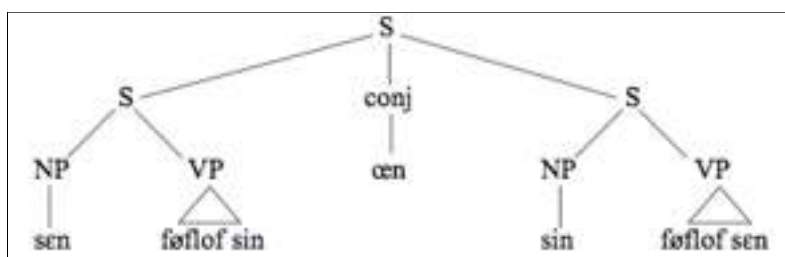


Figure 4.3. ‘I love you, and you love me’

The following list details some of the most commonly used *fæ̀glɔf* prepositions, grouped according to the cases to which they are tied.

- Genitive: The genitive case is used to express possession. It is indicated using the preposition [ødo] ‘of’ (possessive), which is followed by the marked noun, or using a pronominal possessive adjective when the marked noun would be a personal pronoun.

Example: *bi tereŋge ødo bi zifom*
 DEF.PL hospitality.UNSP of.POSS DEF.SG woman.OBJ
 ‘the **woman**’s hospitality’

- Dative: The dative case is used to identify indirect objects and other nouns referring to beneficiaries of actions. It is indicated using the preposition [typ] ‘to’, ‘for (the benefit of)’.

Example: *səsen f -ε -to<go>gene: typ səsen skəmfi:s .*
 they.F.NOM IND-PST.PFV-cook<PL> for.DAT we.OBJ something.ACC .
 ‘They cooked something **for us**.’ ‘They cooked **us** something.’

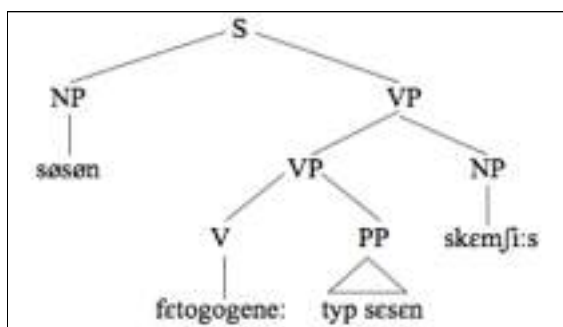


Figure 4.4. ‘they cooked something for us’

- Ablative: The ablative case is used to express cause and source. It is indicated using the prepositions [pesçe] ‘because of’ and [em] ‘from’.

Example: *fən f -ef -o:pæts pesçe bi plu<pu> .*
 he.NOM IND-PRS.PFV-stop because of.ABL DEF.PL rain<ABUN>.OBJ .
 ‘He has stopped **because of the large amount of rain**.’

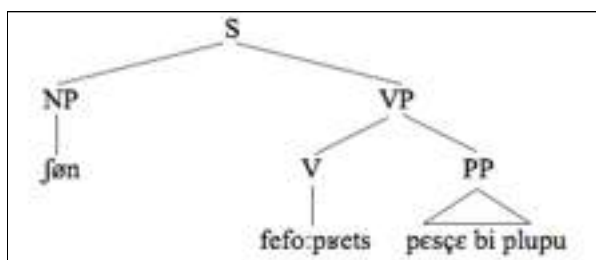


Figure 4.5. ‘he has stopped because of the large amount of rain’

- Locative: The locative case is used to express location. It is indicated using the prepositions [sun] ‘on’; [bit] ‘in’, ‘at’ (locative); and [i:təi] ‘between’.

Example: *ot -zəz f -ø -kufi bit lefe*
 one-NMLZ;NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-be located in.LOC DEM.REAL.PROX;ADJ

pəçe .
 box.OBJ .

‘One of them is **in this box**.’

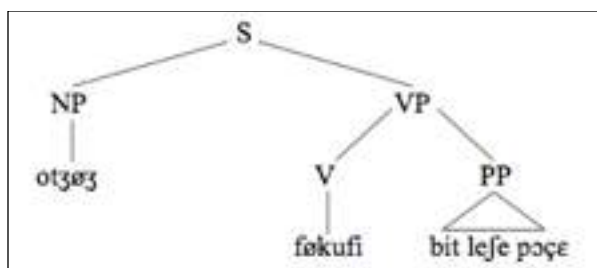


Figure 4.6. ‘one of them is in this box’

- Instrumental: The instrumental case is used to identify the means of accomplishment of an action. It is indicated using the prepositions [ymp] ‘with’ (instrumental), ‘by using (as instrument)’; and [ke:] ‘by (means of)’.

Example: *søn f -yf -ð3ent ymp sis -t moçilis*
 she.NOM IND-FUT.IPFV-buy with.INS your.SG-PLO money.UNSP;OBJ

spølo tisu .
 more.ADJ fabric.UNSP;ACC .

‘She will buy more fabric **using your money.**’

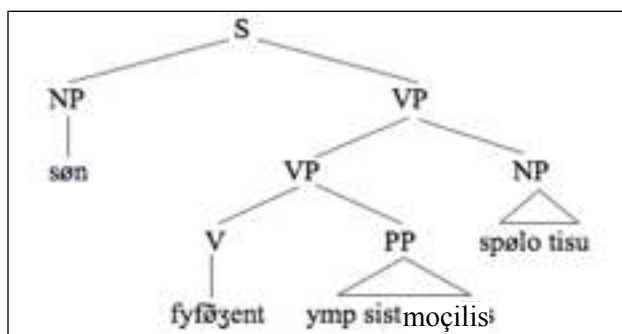


Figure 4.7. ‘she will buy more fabric using your money’

- Comitative: The comitative case is used to express accompaniment. It is indicated using the preposition [stuf] ‘with’ (comitative), ‘together with’.

Example: *i ãfã f -æ -pli:3u stuf 3ø3*
 INDF.SG child.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-play with.COM their.SG.SGO

mifë3 .
 friend.OBJ .

‘A child was playing **with their friend.**’

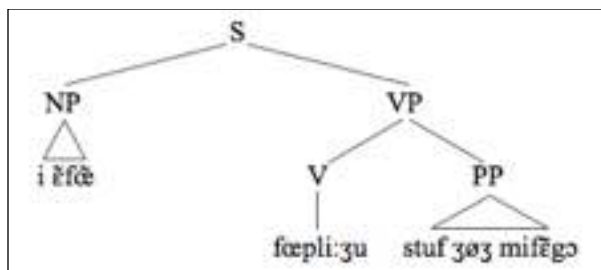


Figure 4.8. ‘a child was playing with their friend’

Negation of Verbs

Verbs in *fæglɔf* can be negated by inserting the word [nu] immediately before the verb base. All verb forms, playing any kind of syntactic role, can be negated in this way—including active verbs in all TMA variations, passive verbs, and infinitive forms. For example:

sen f -ə -kops nu do-to ʒə bi mæʃe .
 I.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-hope NEG.V go-INF to.LOC DEF.SG market.OBJ .
 ‘I hope **not** to go to the market.’ ‘I hope to **not** go to the market.’

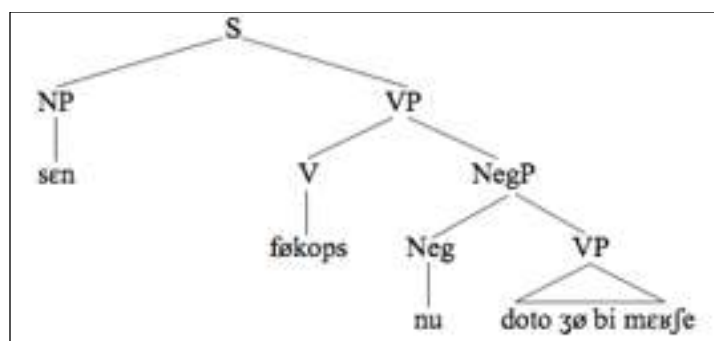


Figure 4.9. ‘I hope not to go to the market’

Passive Verbs

fæglɔf passive verbs have compound forms consisting of two independent component words. The first part of the compound is the verb [ʔesuf] ‘receive’, conjugated according to the

subject of the clause. The second, following part is the infinitive form of the verb that refers to the passive action being expressed. The passive verb structure is based on the idea of a passive verb as referring to an action that is received, rather than performed, by the subject. In a phrase containing a passive verb, the preposition [em] ‘by’ (agent) is used to identify the performer of the focus passive action. Below is an example of a *fx̣ēgl̥oʃ* sentence containing a passive verb.

sēsē kæxs f -ε -kesof belx-o em sēs-t
 our.SGO house.NOM IND-PST.PFV-build;PASS by.AG my-PLO

mbeletēf~mbeletēf.
 relative~PL;OBJ .

‘Our house was built by my relatives.’

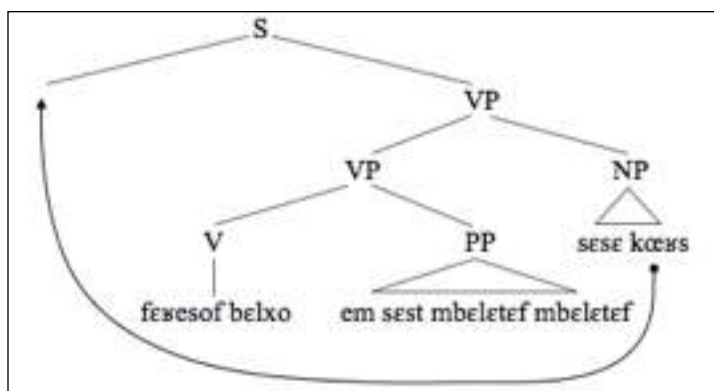


Figure 4.11. ‘our house was built by my relatives’

Interrogative Sentence Structure

An interrogative sentence in *fx̣ēgl̥oʃ* has one of two structures, depending on whether it contains a question word such as ‘when’, ‘why’, or ‘how many’.

In an interrogative sentence using a question word, the word order is VSO. The question word begins the sentence, followed by the verb form, the subject, and the remainder of the predicate, in that order. If the question word is a subject pronoun (the case for ‘who’ and ‘what’),

then the subject position is skipped, and the remainder of the predicate immediately follows the verb form. Below are some examples of fɛ̃glɔf interrogative sentences using question words.

kun s -ys -oç bi nu:s pɛk-tøf?
 who.INT COND-FUT.IPFV-be DEF.SG new.SG AG -teach;PRED ?
 ‘Who would be the new teacher?’ ‘Who would the new teacher be?’

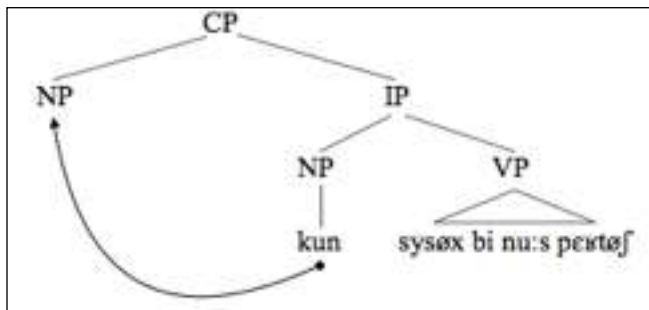


Figure 4.12. ‘who would be the new teacher?’

lɔntæ f -ε -bæfɔnt sin sid -o typ sɛn?
 what.INT IND-PST.PFV-want you.SG;NOM say-INF to.DAT I.OBJ ?
 ‘What did you want to say to me?’

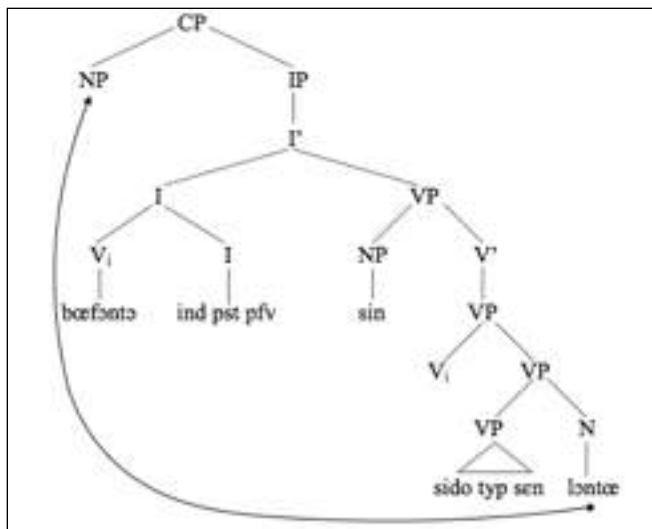


Figure 4.13. ‘what did you want to say to me?’

In an interrogative sentence that is a yes/no question, the word order is SVO. A declarative sentence is transformed into an yes/no interrogative one via insertion of the word

[ke:ʒo] between the subject and verb. [ke:ʒo] derives from the fɛ̀ɛ̀glof noun [ke:ʒ] ‘question’.

Two of fɛ̀ɛ̀glof’s contributing languages, Wolof and French, also have question particles to form yes/no questions. The following sentence is an example of a yes/no question in fɛ̀ɛ̀glof.

ʒəʒən ke:ʒo f -ə -mbun<u> piɪx -o fɛ̀ɛ̀glof ?
 they.N.NOM Q IND-PRS.IPFV-be able<PL> speak-INF fɛ̀ɛ̀glof.ACC ?
 ‘Are they able to speak fɛ̀ɛ̀glof?’ ‘Can they speak fɛ̀ɛ̀glof?’

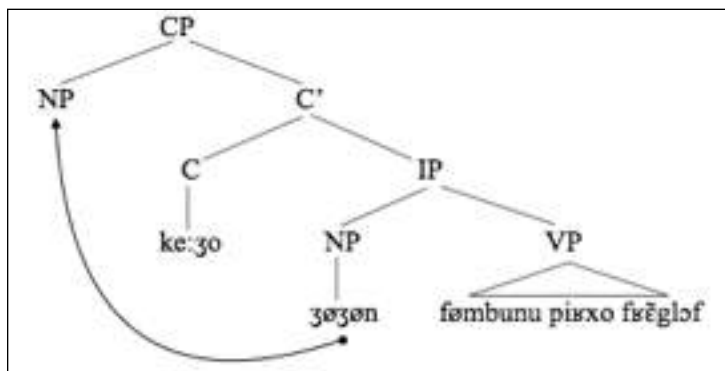


Figure 4.14. ‘are they able to speak fɛ̀ɛ̀glof?’

Relative Clause Structure

The head noun is initial in a fɛ̀ɛ̀glof relative clause. The gap in the modifying clause that takes the place of the head noun is not filled, and relative pronouns are used. The relative pronoun is never optional in fɛ̀ɛ̀glof and always immediately precedes the modifying clause. Likewise, all of fɛ̀ɛ̀glof’s contributing languages use relative pronouns at least some of the time, and conditionally or always require the head noun to be initial. (See “Relative pronouns and the possessive relative” in Section III for a detailed presentation of relative pronouns in fɛ̀ɛ̀glof.)

The Conjunction ‘that’

[tə] ‘that’ is the fɛ̀ɛ̀glof counterpart to the English conjunction *that* and is usable in two kinds of environments. As in English, [tə] can be used alone as a subordinating conjunction to

link a pair of clauses, immediately preceding the dependent clause. It can also be used in combination with all other subordinating conjunctions, such as ‘when’, ‘despite’, ‘because’, and ‘in order [that]’/‘so’. In this second environment, [tø] immediately follows the main subordinating conjunction, which immediately precedes the dependent clause. Many *fæ̃glɔf* subordinating conjunctions exist in parallel with homophonic prepositions. For example, [disgre] ‘despite’ is both a preposition and a subordinating conjunction, and [pəsçɛ] can mean either ‘because’ (conjunction) or ‘because of’ (preposition). The presence or absence of [tø] helps to distinguish between these forms. The *fæ̃glɔf* sentences below illustrate each type of use of [tø].

sesen *f* *-ø* *-pẽ<çẽ>çel* ***tø*** *bi* *dɛʃke* *f* *-yf* *-øç*
 we.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-think<PL> that.CONJ DEF.SG task.NOM IND-FUT.IPFV-be

i:lom .
 easy.SG;PRED .

‘We think **that** the task will be easy.’

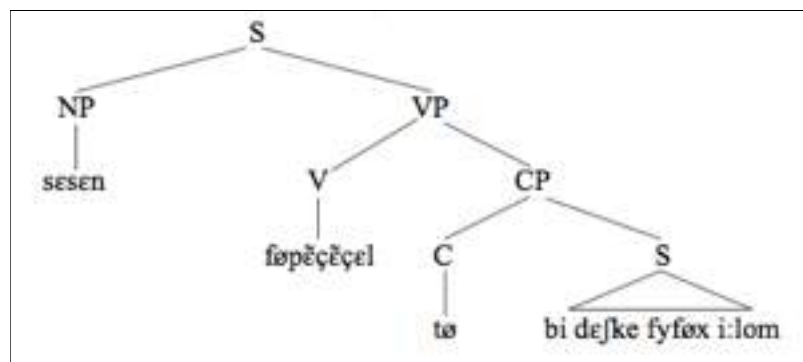


Figure 4.15. ‘we think that the task will be easy’

sen nu f -ø -mbun tolx-o nêlēge pesçe tō
 I.NOM NEG.V IND-PRS.IPFV-be able talk-INF now because that.CONJ

sen f -ø -kif.
 I.NOM IND-PRS.IPFV-laugh .

‘I can’t talk now **because** I’m laughing.’

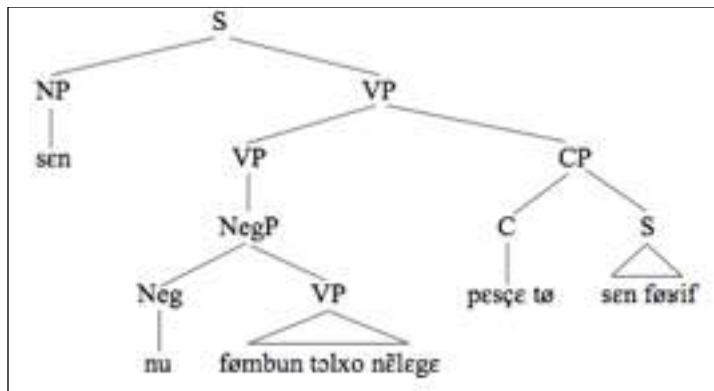


Figure 4.16. ‘I can’t talk now because I’m laughing’

‘there is...’/‘there are...’ Constructions

The *fəŋglɔf* construction for present-tense ‘there is...’ and ‘there are...’ clauses, such as ‘there is an apple’, includes the pronoun in subject position ([*lyst*] ‘there’) and the predicate noun(s), but no verb. The same structure is used in similar clauses that use [*temb*] ‘here’ instead of ‘there’, as in ‘here is the sugar’. Below is one example of a ‘there is...’ clause in *fəŋglɔf*.

lyst sese ekul.
 there.PRO our.SGO school.PRED.
 ‘There is our school.’

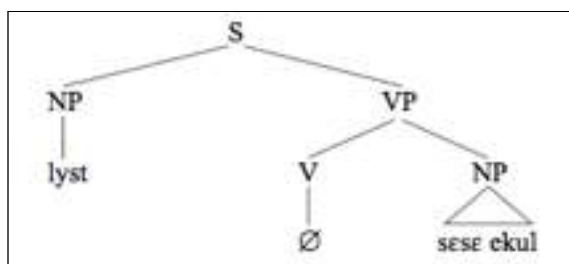


Figure 4.17. ‘there is our school’

V. Story: *bi ʒæksæ̃s ødo fæ̃glɔf* (“The Birth of fæ̃glɔf”)

Some Glossing Abbreviations:

(in addition to those provided at <<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>>)

AAN	adjective, adverb, or noun
AB	used to make an adjective ‘able to be...[v. past part.]...’ from a verb
ABUN	abundance
AG	agentive
CONJ	conjunction
DIO	direct or indirect object
GER	gerund
INAN	inanimate object
PLO	used with possessive adjectives to mark a plural possessed object
PP	past participle
PRESP	present participle
PRO	pronoun
REAL	realis
SGO	used with possessive adjectives to mark a singular possessed object
TYP	the kind or type of thing
UNSP	unspecified or moderate amount
V	verb

Reference: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_glossing_abbreviations>

* In this gloss, I am using a narrow interpretation of the abbreviation OBJ as indicating an object of a preposition.

* I am using a narrow interpretation of the abbreviation NMLZ as referring to the nominalization of a number or adjective.

fbɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

¹*fæni* *i* *tiʒy* *lyst* *ɲi* *ɛ̃fǎ~ɛ̃fǎ*
 during IND.F.SG period of time in the past.OBJ there.PRO three.ADJ child~PL.UNSP;PRED

ʒæləŋ .
 young.PL .

¹‘During a time in the past there were three young children.’
 Once upon a time, there were three young children.

²*bi* *ɛ̃fǎ~ɛ̃fǎ* *f -æf* *-e<be>bek* *bit* *nɛke* *bit*
 DEF.PL child~PL.UNSP;NOM IND-PST.IPFV-reside<PL> in.LOC neighbourhood.OBJ in.LOC

silk *bit* *se:negɛl* .
 city.OBJ in.LOC Senegal.OBJ .

²‘The children were residing in a neighbourhood in a city in Senegal.’
 The children lived in the same neighbourhood in a city in Senegal.

³*disgre* *tø* *ʒɔʒɔn* *nu* *f -æ* *-sæ<dæ>dɛʒ* *ot*
 despite.CONJ that.CONJ they.N.NOM NEG.V IND-PST.IPFV-share<PL> one.ADJ

lɛŋk *ʒɔʒɔn* *f -æf* *-øç<ø>* *fæbi* *bɔd* *mifɛ̃gɔ~mifɛ̃gɔ* .
 language.SG;ACC they.N.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-be<PL> very good.PL friend~PL.UNSP;PRED .

³‘Despite the fact that they were not sharing one language, they were very good friends.’
 They were very good friends, even though they each spoke a different language.

⁴*ot* *ɛ̃fǎ* *f -æ* *-piɪx* *lɔlɔf* . *ot* *ɛ̃fǎ*
 one.ADJ child.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-speak Wolof.ACC . one.ADJ child.NOM

f -æ *-piɪx* *ɛŋglif* . *ot* *ɛ̃fǎ* *f -æ* *-piɪx* *fɛ̃se* .
 IND-PST.IPFV-speak English.ACC . one.ADJ child.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-speak French.ACC .

⁴‘One child was speaking Wolof. One child was speaking English. One child was speaking French.’
 One spoke Wolof; one, English; and one, French.

⁵*ʒəʒən* *f -æ -fɫof<o>* *çe:n -o* *stuf* *fekʒede* *æn*
 they.N.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-love<PL> hang out-INF with.COM each other.OBJ and.DU

pli:ʒu-tu *stuf* *fekʒede* *mbyrne* *ʒəʒən* *f -æf -ε<fε>ʃæn*
 play -INF with.COM each other.OBJ but they.N.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-Wish<PL>

spəlo .
 more.ACC .

⁵'They were loving to hang out with each other and to play with each other but they were wishing for more.'
 They loved to hang out and play together, but they longed for more.

⁶*bi* *ẽfǣ~ẽfǣ* *f -æ -xum<u>* *i:stɔʁ~blu:p~i:stɔʁ* *fop -fuk*
 DEF.PL child~PL.UNSP;NOM IND-PST.IPFV-have<PL> story~ABUN~PL;ACC REL.INAN-REL.DIO

ʒəʒən *f -æ -bæ<fæ>ʃɔnt* *nɛɛb-ɔ* *typ* *fekʒede* *mbyrne*
 they.N.NOM IND-PST.IPFV-Want<PL> tell -INF to.DAT each other.OBJ but

ʒəʒən *nu* *f -æ -xum<u>* *i* *metod* *mef*
 they.N.NOM NEG.V IND-PST.IPFV-have<PL> INDF.SG method.ACC able to be used for

of -nɛɛb *ʒəʒən* .
 GER-tell.V;OBJ they.N.ACC .

⁶'The children were having a lot of stories that they were wanting to tell to each other but they were not having a method able to be used for telling them.'
 The children were full of stories to tell each other, but they had no way to tell them.

⁷*bi* *ẽfǣ~ẽfǣ* *f -εf -ɔʁ<ɫ>ɫɛs* *tə* *ŋgyʁ*
 DEF.PL child~PL.UNSP;NOM IND-PST.PFV-realize<PL> that.CONJ for the purpose of

of -ʒɔlfɛ: *bi* *po:blog* *yly* *ʒəʒən* *s -y -mbun<u>*
 GER-solve.V;OBJ DEF.SG problem.ACC all.NOM of they.N.OBJ COND-FUT.IPFV-be able<PL>

ŋɔɫɛʁn-ɔ *bi* *ʒæksǣs* *lɛŋk* *odo* *ot -ʒəʒ* .
 learn -INF DEF.SG birth.ADJ.SG language.SG;ACC of.POSS one-NMLZ.OBJ .

⁷'The children realized that in order to solve the problem all of them could learn the birth language of one of them.'
 The children realized that to resolve the problem, all three might learn the native language of one.

⁸*mbyme kən tø ʒəʒən s -y -mbun<u> tɔlx-o typ*
 but when.CONJ that.CONJ they.N.NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-be able<PL> talk-INF to.DAT

fekzede ʒəʒən s -y -bæ<fæ>fɔnt yɸ<ni>tĩ sid-o
 each other.OBJ they.N.NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-want<PL> certain<ADV> say-INF

skemokøn i fi:s~fi:s fop -sup ʒəʒən nu
 sometimes INDF.PL thing~PL.UNSP;ACC REL.INAN-REL.OBJ they.N.NOM NEG.V

s -y -bæ<fæ>fɔnt ɸesufu ɛkɔdendo em zede zede .
 COND-FUT.IPFV-want<PL> hear.PASS.INF by.AG others.OBJ .

⁸‘But when they would be able to talk to each other they would want certainly to say sometimes things that they would not want to be heard by others.’
 But once they were able to communicate, they would certainly want to talk about some things not meant for other ears.

⁹*kɸẽ bi ẽfã~ẽfã f -ɛ -dy<dy>di mɛx -o i*
 consequently DEF.PL child~PL.UNSP;NOM IND-PST.PFV-decide<PL> make-INF INDF.SG

nu:s lɛŋk ŋgyɸ of -tɔlx sɔɕ<ni>ɸi typ
 new.SG language.SG;ACC for the purpose of GER-talk.V;OBJ secret.ADJ<ADV> to.DAT

fekzede kən tø i ŋu ~suf-bæfɔnt pɛɸ-dekɔst~pɛɸdekɔst
 each other.OBJ when.CONJ that.CONJ INDF.PL NEG.AAN~PP-want;PL AG -listen~PL.UNSP;NOM

f -ɔf -ɔɕ<ø> mbeni .
 IND-PRS.IPFV-be<PL> nearby.PRED .

⁹‘Consequently the children decided to make a new language for the purpose of talking secretly to each other when unwanted listeners are nearby.’
 So, the children decided to develop a new language to communicate secretly while in the presence of unwanted listeners.

¹⁰*bi lɛŋk s -ys -ɔɕ i ŋgæfik miɕ ofe*
 DEF.SG language.SG;NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-be INDF.SG wonderful.SG mixture.PRED of.TYP

bi ʒæksãs lɛŋk~lɛŋk ødo bi ẽfã~ẽfã .
 DEF.PL birth.ADJ.PL language~PL.UNSP;OBJ of.POSS DEF.PL child~PL.UNSP;OBJ .

¹⁰‘The language would be a wonderful mixture of the birth languages of the children.’
The language would be a wonderful combination of the children’s native tongues.

¹¹*kɛ̃ fɛk ɛ̃fɛ̃ s -y -mbun ɲolɛɲ -ɔ ɡɛft<ni>*
therefore each.ADJ.SG child.NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-be able learn -INF fast.ADJ<ADV>

ʒɒn æn ɔmpɛnd -ɔ i:<ni>lum ʒɒn .
it.ACC and.DU understand-INF easy<ADV> it.ACC .

¹¹‘Therefore each child would be able to learn quickly it and understand easily it.’
Therefore, each child would be able to learn it quickly and understand it easily.

¹²*bi lɛŋk s -y -xum osim i ɔf -itu*
DEF.SG language.SG;NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-have also INDF.PL PRES- interest.V;PL

kɔmpɛ̃~kɔmpɛ̃ fɔp -fuk lɔlɔf æ fɛ̃se æ
element~PL.UNSP;ACC REL.INAN-REL.DIO Wolof.NOM and.NDU French.NOM and.NDU

ɛŋɡlif nu f -ɔ -xum<u> .
English.NOM NEG.V IND-PRS.IPFV-have<PL> .

¹²‘The language would have also some interesting elements that Wolof and French and English do not have.’
The language would also contain some interesting elements not found in Wolof, French, or English.

¹³*lis~lis kɔmpɛ̃~kɔmpɛ̃ s -i -ke<se>sof xo:nsef-ɔ*
DEM.IRR.PROX~PL;ADJ element~PL.UNSP;NOM COND-FUT.PFV-conceive<pl>;PASS

ɲgyɛ of -ite bi mbɔkɛm ɔdo bi
for the purpose of GER-appeal to.V;OBJ DEF.SG desire.SG;ACC of.POSS DEF.PL

ɛ̃fɛ̃~ɛ̃fɛ̃ ofe smyn æn of-ite ʒɔʒɔ
child~PL.UNSP;OBJ for.TYP fun.N.UNSP;OBJ and.DU GER-appeal to.V;OBJ their.N.PL.PLO

ku<çi>çysp . ʒɔʒɔn s -i -ræls<æ> ɔx -o ybtɛ̃
curious<NMLZ>.UNSP;ACC . they.N.NOM COND-FUT.PFV-cause<PL> be -INF certain.PRED

tɔ bi lɛŋk s -ys -ɔç fæki
that.CONJ DEF.SG language.SG;NOM COND-FUT.IPFV-be very

ηυ ~mb-ɔmpɛnd em ηυ ~suf-bæfɔnt pɛv-dekøst~pɛvdekøst .
 NEG.AAN~AB-comprehend;SG;PRED by.AG NEG.AAN~PP -want;PL AG -listen~PL.UNSP;OBJ .

¹³‘These elements would be conceived for the purpose of appealing to the desire of the children for fun and appealing to their curiosity. They would make certain that the language would be very incomprehensible by unwanted listeners.’

These elements would be created for the children’s amusement and curiosity and would ensure that the language would be very incomprehensible to unwanted listeners.

¹⁴*æn øη fɛ̃glɔf f -ɛ -kesof nde:dɛ-tɔ ʒø bi*
 and.DU in this way fɛ̃glɔf.NOM IND-PST.PFV-bring;PASS to.LOC DEF.SG

etiçit .
 people.SG;OBJ .

¹⁴‘And in this way fɛ̃glɔf was brought to the people.’
 And thus, fɛ̃glɔf was born to them.

VI. fɛ̃glɔf Lexicon

One of the main elements of fɛ̃glɔf that reflects its hybrid nature is the lexicon. Most fɛ̃glɔf words are phonetic mash-ups of the English, Wolof, and French words for the same gloss or similar glosses. For example, the fɛ̃glɔf word for ‘word’ is [mbɔd], which is a mix between *word* (English), [mo] (French), and [ba:t] (Wolof) (all also meaning ‘word’). Nearly all nouns, adjectives, and verbs are formed in this way, as well as some conjunctions and prepositions. A word not formed using this technique generally (a) has at least 2-3 forms in most of the contributing languages for the same gloss; (b) represents one of many fɛ̃glɔf glosses for the same word in a contributing language; or (c) satisfies both of (a) and (b). Many of the fɛ̃glɔf words that are not formed via mash-up are function words, rather than content words.

English ~ fæ̃glɔf Dictionary

English	fæ̃glɔf (allophonic)
<u>Mass Nouns</u>	
air	εɹx
bitumen, asphalt	betyɱ
cloth, fabric	tisu
clothing	kloto
earth, soil, dirt	teɹe
fame	sœmœnet
fire	fôsø
food	fu:k
friendship	ifēgɔ
fun	smyn
grass	ge:s
hair	øç
homework	dyfɔɹ
hospitality	terεŋge
information	œs
interest	ite
language	lεŋk
lightning	ʒεf
money	moçilis
mortar	gomtœɹ
pain	ndyl
paper	pεpit
rain	plu
rice	ʃe:bi
salt	çel
sand	su:f
sugar	sugur
sunshine	lu:ke
thunder	tyndy
time	iŋ
water	ndo
<u>Measure Nouns</u> (can be used with mass nouns, with count nouns, or alone)	
bag	bøg
bottle	mbydœl
bowl	blo
box	pɔçε
can	ŋgē
case	keks

cup	təʃ
gram	grɛm
group	ʊp
handful	ɛfɛt
kilogram	kilogrɛm
litre	litɐ
millilitre	miletɐ
packet	sɔfske
piece	pi:ʒo
pile	bil
set	ʃit
slice	ræʃ
spoonful	kundfɛt
stack	stek
<u>Other Nouns</u>	
[the] earth	bi tɛɐ
act	ʒɛʃt
adult, elder	eldetɛg
answer	ɔs
birth	ʒæksɔs
boy	buxɔ
brick	brɔgum
child	ɛfɔ
city	silk
daughter	do:ʒɛn
day	dɛ:bɔs
difference	ndɔfɔs
east	pɛst
element, part, component	kɔmpɔ
English	ɛŋglɪʃ
family	ŋi:mibut
foreigner	tubɛt
French	fɛɛse
friend	mifɛgɔ
future	fɔtux
girl	ifi
hand	ɛf
heaven(s)	pɛɛʒɛn
house	kɔks
intention (less emotional than desire)	intɔnt
language	lɛŋk
man	ɔm
market	mɛkʃɛ

method	metod
mix, mixture, combination	miç
moment	momẽ
moment in the future	momuɤ
moment in the past	momy
moment in the present	momã
mosque	mɔskum
name	emut
neighbourhood	nẽke
past	pesty
people (s.), ethnic group, nation (not country)	etiçit
period of time	tizɛn
period of time in the future	tizɔɤ
period of time in the past	tizy
period of time in the present	tizã
person	pɛksit
place	ɔndɔb
present	mbesã
problem	po:blog
question	ke:ɟ
relative	mbɛlɛtɛf
school	ekul
secret	sɔçkɛ
Senegal	se:negɛl
son	do:mis
spoon	kund
stone	xɔnɛɤ
story	i:stɔɤ
surface	syfɛf
tale (fictional story)	tɛln
task	dɛfke
thing	fɪ:s
time, occasion, instance	okɔŋ
top, peak	kɛlp
tower	tɔɤ
valley	e:le
wish, desire	mbɔkɛm
Wolof	lɔlɔf
woman	ɟifom
word	mbɔd
<u>Verbs</u>	
to ask	lɛsk-o
to bake	bɛx-o

to bargain	məʃənd-ɔ
to bargain like a foreigner	məʃəntəbət-ɔ
to bargain well	məʃənbəʃel-ɔ
to be	əʃ-ɔ
to be able	mbun-ɔ
to be called, to be named	peltud-ɔ
to be located	kufe-to
to bring	nde:de-tə
to build	bɛlx-ɔ
to buy	əʒɛnt-ɔ
to cause, to result in	rɛɛls-ɔ
to celebrate	ʃɛɛl-ɔ
to choose, to pick	ʃosen-ɔ
to come	ŋɛfniɤ-u
to command, to order	ode-to
to complete, to finish	fimiɤ-u
to complicate, to make less easy to understand, to confuse	onfɪls-u
to continue	kontinu-tu
to cook	togini:-tu
to decide	dyde-to
to descend	ndeʃt-ɔ
to design, to conceive	xo:nsef-ɔ
to discover	dɛsfɪ-tu
to do	fo-to
to do as ordered	fo-to ode
to do of one's own accord	fo-to dyde
to drink	nəŋ-ɔ
to drink (in pretend), to pretend to drink	nəŋ-ɔ ɛndle
to drink (in real life)	nəŋ-ɔ fɛ
to eat	li:ŋk-ɔ
to enjoy, to have fun	unʒi:x-u
to give	gɔn-ɔ
to give birth, to birth	bɪʃæ-tə
to go	do-to
to greet	selut-u
to hang out	ʃe:n-ɔ
to hang out with family	bɪʃe:n-ɔ
to hang out with friends	ʃe:ŋg-ɔ
to have	xum-ɔ
to have to, must	ɛft-ɔ
to hear	ɛɛdend-ɔ
to hope	kops-ɔ
to imagine	ʒi:ne-to
to intend	ɛten-ɔ

to interest, to appeal to	ite-to
to know	mbyni-tu
to laugh	ɤif-o
to learn	ŋøɮɛɳ-o
to like	lɔkɔp-o
to listen (to)	dekøst-o
to live in/at, to reside	ebik-u
to look [at], to examine without touching	çøk-o
to love	flof-o
to make	mɛx-o
to play	pli:zu-tu
to pray	ezyɪ-u
to prepare	bɾepe-to
to pretend	ɛndle-to
to realize	ɔɮlis-u
to receive	ɤesuf-u
to run	kyn-o
to say	sid-o
to scatter, to disperse	distɔs-o
to see	ʃi-to
to sell	fɔnd-o
to share	sɔdeʒ-o
to solve, to solve a problem	zɔlfi:-tu
to speak	piɤx-o
to start, to begin	kostli-tu
to stop (doing something)	o:pɤɛts-o
to study	ŋgudiŋi-tu
to take	zɔɛl-o
to talk	tɔlx-o
to teach	tøʃ-o
to tell (a story), to narrate	nɛɾɛb-o
to thank	mæçɛm-o
to think	pɛçɛɪ-o
to travel	i:kfel-o
to understand, to comprehend	ɔmpɛnd-o
to use	øpli:z-u
to visit a friend	ɤond-o
to visit a place	ɛfimit-u
to visit family	milim-u
to visit on a holiday or special occasion	økus-u
to walk	ʃɛ:dox-o
to want	bœfɔnt-o
to watch	stegdi-tu
to wish (for)	ɛʃyn-u

to work	fɪi:fe-to
<u>Adjectives</u>	
big	grē
birth	ʒæksâs
close (distance), closeby, nearby	mbeni
close (psychological)	nɔgy
curious	kuçæsp
easy	i:lom
every, each	fek
false	fəl
fast, quick	geft
first	otbe
good	bɔd
gradual, progressive	grædsif
less	lēʃ
more	spølo
new	nu:s
possible	po:sib
same	mbem
second	epbe
secret	søçke
small	tylti
some-, any-	skem
sure, certain	yɪtē
true	fɪe
well	beçel
wonderful (beautiful), super	ŋgœfik
young	ʒælæŋ
<u>Adverbs</u>	
also	osim
at that moment or time (past)	ʒø bi momy
at the moment or time (present)	ʒø bi momæ
at this moment or time (future)	ʒø bi momuɾ
during that period of time (past)	fœni bi tiʒy
during this or that period of time (future)	fœni bi tiʒuɾ
during this period of time (present)	fœni bi tiʒæ
everywhere	fekondæb
here	temb
maybe	çonet
now (present)	nēlege
nowhere	nunondæb
once upon a time	fœni i tiʒy

sometimes	skɛmokoŋ
somewhere, anywhere	skɛmɔndæb
then, next	epin
there	lyst
very	fœɾi
well	bɛçɛl
<u>Prepositions</u> (can only be followed by a noun)	
about (regarding)	ɛbʃi
after	go:npɾe
at (temporal), to (locative)	ʒø
because of	pɛsçɛ
before	bœfɛn
between	i:tɾi
by (means of)	ke:
despite [the fact]	disgre
during	fœni
for, for the purpose of (action) (purposive)	ŋgyɁ
from, by (agent)	em
in, at (locative)	bit
instead of	sɛlm
of (possessive)	ødo
of (which type of thing), for (type, e.g. 'a wish for')	ofɛ
on	sun
to (be used for), able or intended to be used for	mɛf
to, for (the benefit of) (dative), for the purpose of ('as')	typ
with, by using (as instrument) (instrumental)	ymp
with, together with (comitative)	stuf
<u>Conjunctions</u>	
and (dual series)	æn
and (non-dual=series of 3 or more)	æ
because	pɛsçɛ
but	mbyme
despite, even though	disgre
how	komon
how many	mɛ̃ti
if	si:fke
in order [that], so, so that	ŋgyɁ
lest	pɾøst
or (dual series)	uɁx
or (non-dual)	u
that	tø
when	kɔn

when	kɔn
where	fəu
while, as	fəni
why	lukæ
<u>Pronouns</u>	
a little (bit)	bæt
a lot	blu:p
all (of (the))	yly
each other, one another	fekzede
everyone, everybody	fekpɛksɛt
everything	fekʃi:s
here	temb
less	lɛʃ
more	spɒlo
no one, nobody	nupɛksɛt
nothing	nʌʃi:s
other	zede
others	zede zede
someone, somebody, anyone, anybody	skɛmpɛksɛt
something, anything	skɛmʃi:s
there	lyst
<u>Question Words</u> (can be predicate nouns)	
how	komon
how many	mɛti
what	lɔntæ
when	kɔn
where	fəu
who	kun
why	lukæ
<u>Other Words and Phrases</u>	
Are you well?	sin ke:ʒo fəfəç beçɛl?
Bye (informal)	sɛlu
How are you(s.)? How are you doing?	komon fəfo sin?
intensified 'thank you for...'	ɛbʃi...sis tɛrɛŋgɛ fəfəç fɛ
intensified thank you	sis tɛrɛŋgɛ fəfəç fɛ
<i>maalekum salaam</i>	mɛleko:m sɛlem
no	nu
<i>sala maalekum</i>	sɛlɛ mɛleko:m
so, as a result, consequently, therefore	kæʃ
thank you ('we thank')	sɛsɛn fəməçɛçɛm
thank you for...	sɛsɛn fəməçɛçɛm ŋgyʁ...

thus (in this way, as a result)	øŋ
yes	bysi

fæ̃glɔf ~ English Dictionary

fæ̃glɔf (allophonic)	English
Mass Nouns	
betym	bitumen, asphalt
çel	salt
dyfɔɾ	homework
εɾx	air
fɔsø	fire
fu:k	food
ge:s	grass
gomtæɾ	mortar
iḞego	friendship
iŋ	time
ite	interest
klotɔ	clothing
leŋk	language
lu:ke	sunshine
moçilis	money
ndo	water
ndyl	pain
øç	hair
œs	information
pɛpit	paper
plu	rain
smyn	fun
sœmønet	fame
su:f	sand
sugur	sugar
ʃe:bi	rice
terɛŋge	hospitality
teɾe	earth, soil, dirt
tisu	cloth, fabric
tyndy	thunder
ʒɛf	lightning
Measure Nouns (can be used with mass nouns, with count nouns, or alone)	
bil	pile
blo	bowl

bøg	bag
ēfet	handful
grēm	gram
keks	case
kilogrēm	kilogram
kundfet	spoonful
lītæ	litre
mbydæl	bottle
miletæ	millilitre
ηgē	can
pi:ʒo	piece
poxe	box
æf	slice
søfske	packet
stek	stack
fit	set
tɔf	cup
up	group
<u>Other Nouns</u>	
bi tææ	[the] earth
brøgum	brick
buksɔ	boy
dæ:bæs	day
dæfke	task
dø:mis	son
dø:ʒen	daughter
e:le	valley
ekul	school
eldeteg	adult, elder
emut	name
etiçit	people (s.), ethnic group, nation (not country)
ēf	hand
ēfæ	child
enɣlif	English
føtuæ	future
fæ:se	French
i:stɔæ	story
ifi	girl
intont	intention (less emotional than desire)
ke:ʒ	question
kælp	top, peak
kæxs	house
kømpæ	element, part, component

kund	spoon
leŋk	language
lɔɔf	Wolof
mbesǽ	present
mbɛletɛf	relative
mbɔd	word
mbɔkɛm	wish, desire
metod	method
mɛɣʃɛ	market
miç	mix, mixture, combination
mifɛgɔ	friend
momɛ	moment
momǽ	moment in the present
momuɤ	moment in the future
momy	moment in the past
mɔskum	mosque
ndɔfɔs	difference
nɛke	neighbourhood
ŋi:mibut	family
okɔŋ	time, occasion, instance
ɔs	answer
ɔm	man
ɔndɔb	place
pɛɾɛʒɛn	heaven(s)
pesty	past
pɛksit	person
pɛst	east
poːblog	problem
seːnegɛl	Senegal
silk	city
sɔçɤe	secret
syfɛʃ	surface
ʃiːs	thing
tɛln	tale (fictional story)
tiʒɛn	period of time
tiʒǽ	period of time in the present
tiʒuɤ	period of time in the future
tiʒy	period of time in the past
toɤ	tower
tubɛt	foreigner
xɔnɛɤ	stone
ʒɛʃt	act
ʒifom	woman
ʒæksǽs	birth

<u>Verbs</u>	
bex-o	to bake
bēlx-o	to build
bœfōnt-ɔ	to want
bŕepe-to	to prepare
buçe:n-o	to hang out with family
buʃæ-tɔ	to give birth, to birth
çe:n-o	to hang out
çe:ŋg-o	to hang out with friends
çøk-o	to look [at], to examine without touching
dekøst-o	to listen (to)
distæs-ɔ	to scatter, to disperse
do-to	to go
dœsfy-tu	to discover
dyde-to	to decide
ebik-u	to live in/at, to reside
eʒyl-u	to pray
ɛfimit-u	to visit a place
ɛft-o	to have to, must
endle-to	to pretend
ɛɾdend-o	to hear
ɛʃyn-u	to wish (for)
ēten-ɔ	to intend
fimiç-u	to complete, to finish
flof-o	to love
fo-to	to do
fo-to dyde	to do of one's own accord
fo-to ode	to do as ordered
fōnd-o	to sell
fɪɪ:fe-to	to work
gɔn-o	to give
i:kfel-o	to travel
ite-to	to interest, to appeal to
kontinu-tu	to continue
kops-o	to hope
kostli-tu	to start, to begin
kufe-to	to be located
kyn-o	to run
lēsk-o	to ask
li:ŋk-o	to eat
løkɔp-ɔ	to like
mbun-o	to be able
mbyni-tu	to know

mex-o	to make
milim-u	to visit family
mæçem-ᵛ	to thank
məʃɔnbɛçɛl-ᵛ	to bargain well
məʃɔnd-ᵛ	to bargain
məʃɔntəbɜt-ᵛ	to bargain like a foreigner
nde:de-to	to bring
ndeʃt-o	to descend
nɛrɛb-ᵛ	to tell (a story), to narrate
nɔŋ-o	to drink
nɔŋ-o ɛndle	to drink (in pretend), to pretend to drink
nɔŋ-o fɪɛ	to drink (in real life)
ŋgɛfnɪx-u	to come
ŋgudiŋi-tu	to study
ŋɔləɛn-ᵛ	to learn
o:pɛts-ᵛ	to stop (doing something)
øç-o	to be
ode-to	to command, to order
ðkus-u	to visit on a holiday or special occasion
ɔnfɪls-u	to complicate, to make less easy to understand, to confuse
ðplɪz-u	to use
ðʒɛnt-ᵛ	to buy
ɔmpɛnd-ᵛ	to understand, to comprehend
ɔklis-u	to realize
pɛltud-o	to be called, to be named
pɛçɛl-ᵛ	to think
pɪx-o	to speak
pli:ʒu-tu	to play
rœls-o	to cause, to result in
rɛsuf-u	to receive
ɪf-o	to laugh
rɔnd-o	to visit a friend
sɛlut-u	to greet
sid-o	to say
sœdɛʒ-ᵛ	to share
stɛgdi-tu	to watch
ʃɛ:dox-o	to walk
ʃɛlɛl-o	to celebrate
ʃi-to	to see
ʃɔsɛn-ᵛ	to choose, to pick
togini:-tu	to cook
tøf-o	to teach
tɔlx-o	to talk
unʒi:x-u	to enjoy, to have fun

xo:nsef-ɔ	to design, to conceive
xum-o	to have
ʒi:ne-to	to imagine
ʒæl-o	to take
ʒolfi:-tu	to solve, to solve a problem
<u>Adjectives</u>	
beçel	well
bɔd	good
epbe	second
fɔl	false
fæe	true
geʃt	fast, quick
grẽ	big
grɛdsif	gradual, progressive
i:lom	easy
kuçæsp	curious
lɛʃ	less
mbeɲi	close (distance), closeby, nearby
mbem	same
nɔgy	close (psychological)
nu:s	new
ŋgœfik	wonderful (beautiful), super
otbe	first
po:sib	possible
skem	some-, any-
sœçæe	secret
spølo	more
ʃek	every, each
tylti	small
yɛtẽ	sure, certain
ʒælcæŋ	young
ʒœksæ̃s	birth
<u>Adverbs</u>	
beçel	well
çonet	maybe
epin	then, next
fœni bi tiʒœ	during this period of time (present)
fœni bi tiʒuɾ	during this or that period of time (future)
fœni bi tiʒy	during that period of time (past)
fœni i tiʒy	once upon a time
fœxi	very

lyst	there
nēleġe	now (present)
nunōndæb	nowhere
osim	also
skemokon	sometimes
skemōndæb	somewhere, anywhere
ġekōndæb	everywhere
temb	here
ʒø bi momǣ	at the moment or time (present)
ʒø bi momuʁ	at this moment or time (future)
ʒø bi momy	at that moment or time (past)
<u>Prepositions</u> (can only be followed by a noun)	
bit	in, at (locative)
bæfen	before
disgre	despite [the fact]
em	from, by (agent)
ɛbʃi	about (regarding)
fæni	during
go:npʁe	after
i:tʁi	between
ke:	by (means of)
mef	to (be used for), able or intended to be used for
ŋgyʁ	for, for the purpose of (action) (purposive)
odo	of (possessive)
ofe	of (which type of thing), for (type, e.g. 'a wish for')
pɛsçɛ	because of
sɛlm	instead of
stuf	with, together with (comitative)
sun	on
typ	to, for (the benefit of) (dative), for the purpose of ('as')
ymp	with, by using (as instrument) (instrumental)
ʒø	at (temporal), to (locative)
<u>Conjunctions</u>	
disgre	despite, even though
fɛʁu	where
fæni	while, as
komon	how
kɔn	when
kɔn	when
lukǣ	why
mbyrne	but

mēti	how many
ŋgyʁ	in order [that], so, so that
æ	and (non-dual=series of 3 or more)
æŋ	and (dual series)
pəsçə	because
pʁøst	lest
si:fke	if
tø	that
u	or (non-dual)
uʁx	or (dual series)
<u>Pronouns</u>	
blu:p	a lot
bœt	a little (bit)
lɛʃ	less
lyst	there
nupeʁset	no one, nobody
nuʃi:s	nothing
skɛmpɛʁset	someone, somebody, anyone, anybody
skɛmʃi:s	something, anything
spølo	more
ʃɛkpɛʁset	everyone, everybody
ʃɛkʃi:s	everything
ʃɛkʒede	each other, one another
temb	here
yly	all (of (the))
ʒede	other
ʒede ʒede	others
<u>Question Words</u> (can be predicate nouns)	
fəʁu	where
komon	how
kɔŋ	when
kun	who
lɔntœ	what
lukœ	why
mēti	how many
<u>Other Words and Phrases</u>	
bysi	yes
ɛbʃi...sis tɛrɛŋgɛ fəfəç fɛ	intensified 'thank you for...'
komon fəfo sin?	How are you(s.)? How are you doing?
kœ	so, as a result, consequently, therefore

meleko:m selem	<i>maalekum salaam</i>
nu	no
øŋ	thus (in this way, as a result)
sele meleko:m	<i>salaam maalekum</i>
selu	Bye (informal)
sesen fømæçæçem	thank you ('we thank')
sesen fømæçæçem ŋgyk...	thank you for...
sin ke:ʒo fəfəç beçel?	Are you well?
sis tereŋge fəfəç fɪe	intensified thank you

Number System

frēglɔf (allophonic)	English
gil	zero (0)
ot	one (1)
ep	two (2)
ɲi	three (3)
tu	four (4)
iʒ	five (5)
so	six (6)
ux	seven (7)
de	eight (8)
om	nine (9)
o:t	ten (10)
e:p	twenty (20)
e:p æn ot	twenty-one (21)
e:p æn ep	twenty-two (22)
ɲi:	thirty (30)
tu:	forty (40)
i:ʒ	fifty (50)
so:	sixty (60)
u:x	seventy (70)
de:	eighty (80)
o:m	ninety (90)
ʃus	one hundred (100)
ʃu:s	one thousand (1 000)
o:t ʃu:s	ten thousand (10 000)
kð	one million (1 000 000)
myf	one billion (1 000 000 000)
ɲi ʃus æn e:p	three hundred and twenty (320)
iʒ kə: om ʃu:s æ e:p	five million, nine thousand, and twenty (5 009 020)
ʃus tu: æ ux	one hundred and forty-seven (147)

An ordinal number is formed by adding the suffix [be] to the first part of the number word. For example, the ordinal form of the cardinal number [de:] ‘eighty’ is [de:**be**] ‘eightieth’, and the ordinal form of the cardinal number [de ʃus æn so] ‘eight hundred and six’ is [de**be** ʃus æn so] ‘eight-hundred-and-sixth’.

VII. Appendix

Appendix A

Permissible CV, VC, CCV, and VCC Syllables/Sequences in fæglɔf (Allophonic)

CV

[pi], [bi], [ti], [di], [ki], [gi]
[mi], [ni], [ɲi], [mbi], [ndi], [ɲgi]
[fi], [si], [ʃi], [ʒi], [çi], [ɣi], [li]

[py], [by], [ty], [dy], [ky], [gy]
[my], [ny], [ɲy], [mby], [ndy], [ɲgy]
[fy], [sy], [ʃy], [ʒy], [çy], [ɣy], [ly]

[pe], [be], [te], [de], [ke], [ge]
[me], [ne], [ɲe], [mbe], [nde], [ɲge]
[fe], [se], [ʃe], [ʒe], [çe], [ɣe], [le]

[pø], [bø], [tø], [dø], [kø], [gø]
[mø], [nø], [ɲø], [mbø], [ndø], [ɲgø]
[fø], [sø], [ʃø], [ʒø], [çø], [ɣø], [lø]

[pɛ], [bɛ], [tɛ], [dɛ], [kɛ], [gɛ]
[mɛ], [nɛ], [ɲɛ], [mbe], [nde], [ɲge]
[fɛ], [sɛ], [ʃɛ], [ʒɛ], [çe], [ɣɛ], [lɛ]

[pœ], [bœ], [tœ], [dœ], [kœ], [gœ]
[mœ], [nœ], [ɲœ], [mbœ], [ndœ], [ɲgœ]
[fø], [sœ], [ʃœ], [ʒœ], [çœ], [ɣœ], [lœ]

[pu], [bu], [tu], [du], [ku], [gu]
[mu], [nu], [ɲu], [mbu], [ndu], [ɲgu]
[fu], [su], [ʃu], [ʒu], [xu], [ɣu], [lu]

[po], [bo], [to], [do], [ko], [go]
[mo], [no], [ɲo], [mbo], [ndo], [ɲgo]
[fo], [so], [ʃo], [ʒo], [xo], [ɣo], [lo]

[pɔ], [bɔ], [tɔ], [dɔ], [kɔ], [gɔ]
[mɔ], [nɔ], [ɲɔ], [mbɔ], [ndɔ], [ɲgɔ]
[fɔ], [sɔ], [ʃɔ], [ʒɔ], [xɔ], [ɣɔ], [lɔ]

[pẽ], [bẽ], [tẽ], [dẽ], [kẽ], [gẽ]
[mẽ], [nẽ], [ɲẽ], [mbẽ], [ndẽ], [ɲgẽ]
[fẽ], [sẽ], [ʃẽ], [ʒẽ], [çẽ], [ɣẽ], [lẽ]

[põ], [bõ], [tõ], [dõ], [kõ], [gõ]
[mõ], [nõ], [ɲõ], [mbõ], [ndõ], [ɲgõ]
[fõ], [sõ], [ʃõ], [ʒõ], [çõ], [ɣõ], [lø]

[pẽ], [bẽ], [tẽ], [dẽ], [kẽ], [gẽ]
[mẽ], [nẽ], [ɲẽ], [mbẽ], [ndẽ], [ɲgẽ]
[fẽ], [sẽ], [ʃẽ], [ʒẽ], [çẽ], [ɣẽ], [lẽ]

[pœ], [bœ], [tœ], [dœ], [kœ], [gœ]
mœ], [nœ], [ɲœ], [mbœ], [ndœ], [ɲgœ]
[fœ], [sœ], [ʃœ], [ʒœ], [çœ], [ɣœ], [lœ]

[pi:], [bi:], [ti:], [di:], [ki:], [gi:]
[mi:], [ni:], [ɲi:], [mbi:], [ndi:], [ɲgi:]
[fi:], [si:], [ʃi:], [ʒi:], [çi:], [ɣi:], [li:]

[pe:], [be:], [te:], [de:], [ke:], [ge:]
[me:], [ne:], [ɲe:], [mbe:], [nde:], [ɲge:]
[fe:], [se:], [ʃe:], [ʒe:], [çe:], [ɣe:], [le:]

[pu:], [bu:], [tu:], [du:], [ku:], [gu:]
[mu:], [nu:], [ɲu:], [mbu:], [ndu:], [ɲgu:]
[fu:], [su:], [ʃu:], [ʒu:], [xu:], [ɣu:], [lu:]

[po:], [bo:], [to:], [do:], [ko:], [go:]
[mo:], [no:], [ɲo:], [mbo:], [ndo:], [ɲgo:]
[fo:], [so:], [ʃo:], [ʒo:], [xo:], [ɣo:], [lo:]

VC

[ip], [ib], [it], [id], [ik], [ig]

[im], [in], [iŋ]

[if], [is], [iʃ], [iʒ], [iç], [iʁ], [il]

[yp], [yb], [yt], [yd], [yk], [yg]

[ym], [yn], [yŋ]

[yf], [ys], [yʃ], [yʒ], [yç], [yʁ], [yl]

[ep], [eb], [et], [ed], [ek], [eg]

[em], [en], [eŋ]

[ef], [es], [eʃ], [eʒ], [eç], [el]

[øp], [øb], [øt], [ød], [øk], [øg]

[øm], [øn], [øŋ]

[øf], [øs], [øʃ], [øʒ], [øç], [øʁ], [øl]

[ɛp], [ɛb], [ɛt], [ɛd], [ɛk], [ɛg]

[ɛm], [ɛn], [ɛŋ]

[ɛf], [ɛs], [ɛʃ], [ɛʒ], [ɛç], [ɛʁ], [ɛl]

[œp], [œb], [œt], [œd], [œk], [œg]

[œm], [œn], [œŋ]

[œf], [œs], [œʃ], [œʒ], [œç], [œʁ], [œl]

[up], [ub], [ut], [ud], [uk], [ug]

[um], [un], [uŋ]

[uf], [us], [uʃ], [uʒ], [ux], [uʁ], [ul]

[op], [ob], [ot], [od], [ok], [og]

[om], [on], [oŋ]

[of], [os], [oʃ], [oʒ], [ox], [oʁ], [ol]

[ɔp], [ɔb], [ɔt], [ɔd], [ɔk], [ɔg]

[ɔm], [ɔn], [ɔŋ]

[ɔf], [ɔs], [ɔʃ], [ɔʒ], [ɔx], [ɔʁ], [ɔl]

[ẽf], [ẽs], [ẽʃ], [ẽʒ], [ẽç]

[õf], [õs], [õʃ], [õʒ], [õç]

[êf], [ês], [êʃ], [êʒ], [êç]

[œ̃f], [œ̃s], [œ̃ʃ], [œ̃ʒ], [œ̃ç]

[i:p], [i:b], [i:t], [i:d], [i:k], [i:g]

[i:m], [i:n], [i:ŋ]

[i:f], [i:s], [i:ʃ], [i:ʒ], [i:ç], [i:ʁ], [i:l]

[e:p], [e:b], [e:t], [e:d], [e:k], [e:g]

[e:m], [e:n], [e:ŋ]

[e:f], [e:s], [e:ʃ], [e:ʒ], [e:ç], [e:l]

[u:p], [u:b], [u:t], [u:d], [u:k], [u:g]

[u:m], [u:n], [u:ŋ]

[u:f], [u:s], [u:ʃ], [u:ʒ], [u:x], [u:ʁ], [u:l]

[o:p], [o:b], [o:t], [o:d], [o:k], [o:g]

[o:m], [o:n], [o:ŋ]

[o:f], [o:s], [o:ʃ], [o:ʒ], [o:x], [o:ʁ], [o:l]

CCV

[pɫ] + any V

[pɕ] + any V

[bɫ] + any V

[bɕ] + any V

[tɕ] + any V

[dɕ] + any V

[kɫ] + any V

[kɕ] + any V

[gɫ] + any V

[gɕ] + any V

[fɫ] + any V

[fɕ] + any V

[sp] + any V

[st] + any V

[sk] + any V

[sm] + any V

[sn] + any V

[sl] + any V

VCC[i], [y], [e], [ø], [ɛ], [œ], [u], [o], [ɔ],
[i:], [e:], [u:], or [o:]

+

[ps], [ts], [ks]

[mp], [mb]

[nt], [nd]

[ŋk], [ŋg]

[ft]

[sp], [st], [sk]

[ʃt]

[ʒd]

[ɸp], [ɸb], [ɸt], [ɸd], [ɸk], [ɸg],

[ɸm], [ɸn], [ɸŋ],

[ɸf], [ɸs], [ɸʃ], [ɸʒ], [ɸx]

[lp], [lb], [lt], [ld], [lk], [lg],

[lm], [ln], [lŋ],

[lf], [ls], [lʃ], [lʒ], [lx]

[ẽ], [õ], [ẽ], [œ]

+

[ft]

[sp], [st], [sk]

[ʃt]

[ʒd]

Appendix B
Translation of “The Tower of Babel” (Genesis 11:1-9)

Note: Changes to the *frēglōf* lexicon and phonological, syntactic, and morphological systems and to my glossing technique have occurred since the completion of the following translation. They may result in inconsistencies between elements of the language presented earlier in this essay and elements displayed in this translation.

frēglōf (Senegal):

¹*ʒø bi momy yly persit~persit ødo bi tere*
at that time in the past all of the person~PL of the earth

f -æ -kon<o>ten xum-o ot læŋk æn ot fit ofe mbod~mbod .
IND-PST.IPFV-continue<PL> have-INF one language and one set of word~PL .

¹‘At that time all of the people of the earth were continuing to have one language and one set of words.’
Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

²*fæni tø ʒøʒøn f -æf -i:k<i>fil ʒø bi pēst ʒøʒøn*
while that they.N IND-PST.IPFV-travel<PL> to the east they.N

f -ε -dæs<æ>fɔ i e:le bit finER æn f -ε -kōst<ō>le
IND-PST.PFV-discover<PL> a valley in Shi’nar and IND-PST.PFV-begin<PL>

ebik -u lyst .
reside-INF there .

²‘While they were traveling to the east, they discovered a valley in Shi’nar and began to reside there.’
As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi’nar, and they began dwelling there.

³*epin ʒøʒøn f -ε -sid<i> typ fekzede « fōŋgefneNER .*
then they.N IND-PST.PFV-say<PL> to each other « come.IMP.2.PL .

fōmEXE sēsEN i brōgum~brōgum æn fōbexe sēsEN ymp fōsø ʒøʒøn . »
make.IMP.1.PL some brick~PL and bake.IMP.1.PL with fire.UNSP they.N . »

³‘Then they said to each other, “Come! Let’s make bricks and let’s bake them using fire.”’
Then they said to one another: “Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”’

⁴*krē ʒoʒon f -ɛf -ð<pð>pleʒ i brøgum~brøgum sɛlm xɔnɛr~xɔnɛr*
so they.N IND-PST.PFV-use<PL> some brick~PL instead of stone~PL

æn f -ɛf -ð<pð>pleʒ bɛtym typ gomtær .
and IND-PST.PFV-use<PL> bitumen.UNSP for the purpose of mortar.UNSP .

⁴‘So they used bricks instead of stones and used bitumen as mortar.’
So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

⁵*epin ʒoʒon f -ɛ -sid<i> « fɔŋgefnɛnɛr . fɔbɛlxɛ sɛsɛn typ sɛsɛn i silk*
then they.N IND-PST.PFV-say<PL> « come.IMP.2.PL . build.IMP.1.PL for we a city

æn i tor ʃopfuky kælp f -ø -kufi bit bi pɛrɛʒɛn .
and a tower whose.INAN.DIO top IND-PRS.IPFV-be located in the heavens .

⁵‘Then they said, “Come! Let’s build for ourselves a city and a tower whose top is in heaven.’
They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top in the heavens,
(INAN=noun modified is an inanimate object, DIO=noun modified is a direct or indirect object)

⁶*fɔnde:de:de sɛsɛn typ sɛsɛn sæ<mæ>mænɛt prøst tø sɛsɛ up*
bring.IMP.1.PL to we fame<ABUN> lest that our group

f -y -resɔf distæs-ɔ sun yly syfɛf ødo bi tɛrɛ . »
IND-FUT.IPFV-receive scatter-INF on all of the surface of the earth. »

⁶‘Let’s bring to ourselves a lot of fame, lest our group is scattered on all of the surface of the earth.’”
and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”

⁷*epin ʒɛxofø f -ɛ -ndɛʃt ŋgyr xøk -o bi silk æn bi tor*
then Jehovah IND-PST.PFV-descend in order to look at-INF the city and the tower

ʃop -fuk bi ɔm~ɔm f -ɛ -bɛlx<ɛ> .
rel.INAN-rel.DIO the man~PL IND-PST.PFV-build<PL> .

⁷‘Then Jehovah descended in order to look at the city and the tower that the men had built.’
Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

⁸*epin ʒexofø f -ε -sid «føstegdede . ʒøʒøn f -øf -øx<ø> ot*
 then Jehovah IND-PST.PFV-say « watch.IMP.2.PL . they.N IND-PRS.IPFV-be<PL> one

etixit ʒut -fib f -ø -xum ot læŋk æn lef~lef
 people REL.PER-REL.SBPR IND-PRS.IPFV-have one language and RE.PROX~PL

f -øf -øx<ø> bi otbe deʃke~deʃke ʃop -fib ʒøʒøn
 IND-PRS.IPFV-be<PL> the first task~PL REL.INAN-REL.SBPR they.N

f -e -fi<mi>mix .
 IND-PRS.PFV-complete<PL> .

⁸‘Then Jehovah said, “Watch. They are one people who has one language and these are the first tasks that they have completed.’

Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do.

(PER=noun modified is a person or group of people, SBPR=noun modified is a subject or predicate noun, RE=real)

⁹*si:ʃke tø ʒøʒøn f -ø -mbun<u> fo-to lef~lef epin ʒøʒøn*
 if that they.N IND-PRS.IPFV-be able<PL> do-INF RE.PROX~PL then they.N

f -y -mbun<u> fimix -u skəm deʃke ʃop -fuk ʒøʒøn
 IND-FUT.IPFV-be able<pl> complete-INF any task REL.INAN-REL.DIO they.N

f -øf -ẽ<tẽ>tən fimix -u .
 IND-PRS.IPFV-intend<PL> complete-INF .

⁹‘If they are able to do these then they will be able to complete any task that they intend to complete.’
 Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.

¹⁰*ʃøŋgeʃnənər . ʃøndəʃtə səsən æn ʃømexe səsən i ndøføs~ndøføs ofe*
 come.IMP.2.PL . descend.IMP.1.PL and make.IMP.1.PL some difference~PL of

læŋk i:tri persit~persit ŋgyr tø ʒøʒøn nu
 language.UNSP between person~PL in order that they.N NEG

f -y -mbun<u> ɔmpend -ɔ bi læŋk~læŋk ødo fekʒede . »
 IND-FUT.IPFV-be able<PL> understand-INF the language~PL of each other . »

¹⁰‘Come. Let’s descend and let’s make differences of language between people in order that they will not be able to understand each other’s languages.’”

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another’s language.”

¹¹*krē ʒexofø f -ε -distys sun yly syfef ødo bi tere*
so Jehovah IND-PST.PFV-disperse on all of the surface of the earth

bi persit~persit ødo bi tere æn krē ʒøʒøn grəd<ni>sif
the person~PL of the earth and as a result they.N gradual<ADV>

f -εf -o:<pro:>prets bēlx -o bi silk .
IND-PST.PFV-stop<PL> build-INF the city .

¹¹‘So Jehovah dispersed on all of the surface of the earth the people of the earth and as a result they gradually stopped building the city.’

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.

¹²*bi silk f -ε -peltod be:bæl pēsxe tø ʒexofø lyst*
the city IND-PST.PFV-be named Babel because that Jehovah there

f -ε -mex i ndøfōs~ndøfōs ofe lēnk i:tri fekpersēt
IND-PST.PFV-make some difference~PL of language.UNSP between everyone

æn epin ʒexofø f -ε -distys bi persit~persit sun yly syfef
and then Jehovah IND-PST.PFV-disperse the person~PL on all of the surface

ødo bi tere .
of the earth .

¹²‘The city was named Babel because Jehovah there made differences of language between everyone and then Jehovah dispersed the people on all of the surface of the earth.’

That is why it was named Ba’bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

Appendix C

More fɛ̃glɔf Sentences

Note: Changes to the fɛ̃glɔf lexicon and phonological, syntactic, and morphological systems and to my glossing technique have occurred since the composition of the following sentences. They may result in inconsistencies between elements of the language presented earlier in this essay and elements displayed in these sentences.

1) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sesen f -ɔf -ɔx<ɔ> mifɛ̃gɔ~mifɛ̃gɔ .
 we IND-PRS.IPFV-be<PL> friend~PL .
 ‘We are friends.’

2) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

Fatou æn Kyra f -æ -pli:<ʒi:>ʒu go:npre ekul .
 Fatou and Kyra IND-PST.IPFV-play<PL> after school .
 ‘Fatou and Kyra were playing after school.’

3) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sen f -ɛ -li:ŋk fe:<be:>bi .
 I IND-PST.PFV-eat rice<ABUN> .
 ‘I ate a lot of rice.’

ABUN → mass noun abundance marker

4) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

søn f -ɔ -xum iʒ ɛ̃fɔ̃~ɛ̃fɔ̃ .
 she IND-PRS.IPFV-have five child~PL .
 ‘She has five children.’

5) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

ʒɔʒɔn s -ɔ -bæ<fæ>fɔnt ʒæl-o i mbydæl ofe ndo .
 they.N COND-PRS.IPFV-want<PL> take-INF a bottle of water.UNSP .
 ‘They would want to take a bottle of water.’

UNSP → mass noun marker for unspecified amount

6) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sɛsɛn f -ø -mæ<xæ>xɛm ngyR bi moxilis .
 we IND-PRS.IPFV-thank<PL> for the money.UNSP .
 ‘Thank you for the money.’

7) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sin f -e -mbun gɔn -o typ sɔn ot -pɛpɔt .
 you.SG IND-PRS.PFV-be able give-INF to she UNT-paper .
 ‘You have been able to give her a piece of paper.’

UNT → mass noun marker for single unit

8) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sɛn f -ø -peltod Matthieu .
 I IND-PRS.IPFV-be called Matthieu .
 ‘My name is Matthieu.’

9) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sɔsɔn f -yf -ɛnd<ɛ>lɛ brepekorde -to fɛ:bi .
 they.F IND-FUT.IPFV-pretend<PL> prepare as ordered-INF rice.UNSP .
 ‘They will pretend to prepare rice as they were ordered.’

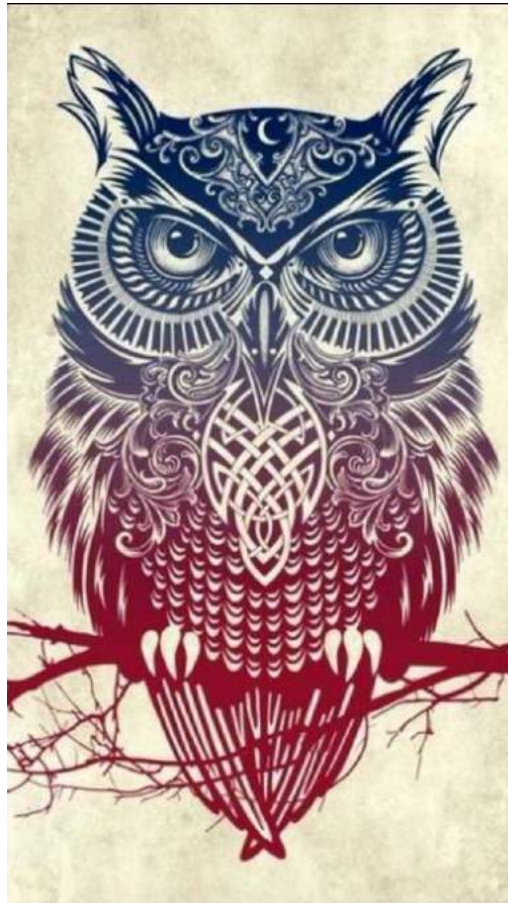
10) fɛ̃glɔf (Senegal):

sɔsɔn f -yf -ɛnd<ɛ>lɛkɔrdɛ brepe -to fɛ:bi .
 they.F IND-FUT.IPFV-pretend as ordered<PL> prepare-INF rice.UNSP .
 ‘They will pretend, as they were ordered, to prepare rice.’

˘MYYTHXA

‘THE LANGUAGE OF THE BIRDS’

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND
GRAMMAR



Julia Springer
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1) Introduction & Culture

˘Myythxa, ‘The Language of the Birds’, is a sung, mystical and divine language that has its roots buried in a long history of mythology and folklore, stemming from the Indo-European and Middle Eastern worlds. ˘Myythxa combines birdsong and speech into one means of communication, resulting in a language that is completely sung in a variation of 3 harmonic tones. Speakers or ‘singers’ of this language are given the ability to communicate with owls, which are birds that represent wisdom, strength, beauty, and spirituality. The common language and the shared moral beliefs between the ˘Myythxai and the owls allow them to coexist peacefully and as one community. Those who sing ˘Myythxa are gifted with the ability because they naturally exhibit pureness in character, innate wisdom, selflessness, passion, and a profound desire to live a selfless and meaningful life. The gift to speak ˘Myythxa is passed down inherently, through family lineage. What identifies the speakers of ˘Myythxa from those in the neighboring communities is their gift for expression and ability to read the signs of the world and the owls. The singers are natural Semioticians, and therefore can interpret signs in nature, specifically from owls’ flight or interactive patterns and by being deeply attuned to others’ characters and intrinsic nature. Each ˘Myythxai also has the inborn capacity to express herself through dance and song. As the speakers grow older and mature, so do their abilities to sing and dance; their main means of self-expression apart from speaking.

As a group of group of intellectuals, healers, and expressionists the ˘Myythxai use the arts and knowledge of semiology to heal themselves and the world around

them, including their neighboring communities. They accomplish this by observing subtle changes in nature, communicating with owls, and using their own intuition, including their neighboring communities. Though their collective default nature is passive and soft-hearted, they can just as easily transform into an assertive, confident, and emotional group of individuals, who others both admire and fear. Despite their nature, they are widely sought by other communities to be healed, to be educated, and to be guided, while they look to other communities for companionship, dissemination of ideas, and specific resources, but they are

There are a total of five families in the ˘Myythxai culture, and each family acts as an individual enclave with extended members from the specific family. The enclaves are smaller and more contained than cities, and are closely interwoven into the various other enclaves found in the culture. The history of ˘Myythxa culture initially began with 5 women, semioticians from 1000 years ago, all of whom were close friends, and who realized that they all contained the unique powers to heal, create, and read signs from the world around them. Due to their differences from the rest of their community, they were estranged from general society and accused of being witches, possessed by demons, and followers of a cult when they tried to selflessly heal, guide, and contribute to their community. They were all natural performers, and each woman was recognized from a young age to have a gift in the arts. This gift made them even more secluded from the general population who envied their beauty, power, and skill.

The women all married men who were members of another nearby community who loved and cherished them for all of their “atypical qualities and flaws”; those same

qualities that once outcast them from their society. Each of the woman’s offspring was naturally gifted with all of the qualities that their respective mothers had themselves. Some of the children intermarried within the ˘Myythxai group, but sometimes a member would fall in love with an individual outside of the group. This practice was welcomed and cherished, though the non-˘Myythxai member would never acquire the same gifts that were found among the ˘Myythxai people. In addition, the ˘Myythxai members were discouraged from leaving their family and their enclave. Thus any non-members who married members were strongly encouraged to convert and join the ˘Myythxai community. The following short story is a fable that the ˘Myythxai people sing to their young in order to encourage them to embrace their differences and idiosyncrasies, and to teach them about their culture’s history.

The First ˘Myythxai

The 5 women became friends because they lived in the same enclave. More than 1000 years ago, at the ripe age of 21 years old, they recognized that they were different from the rest of their community; so blatantly different, in fact, that they were outcast. From a young age, each woman found that she had abilities that were different to and unattainable by the rest of the members of their enclave. They had the natural ability to dance with the utmost grace and beauty, and sing with a free, light, airy soprano lilt that others envied beyond compare. Furthermore, the women had the ability to read signs from the Earth, sky, and from their fellow owl companions, and communicate with each other in a language that was foreign to all others. They had the gift of healing, and the power to read signs of the world in

order to protect the others from impending danger, pain, or strife. Though the members of their enclave feared and secretly envied the 5 women, the women wanted nothing else but to be loved and to love their community. With little hope that they would ever be accepted and integrated into their community, the women decided to break away from their community, their families, and their familiar lives. They were desperate to find a way in which they could freely express themselves and live without constant fear, sadness, and shame for their inborn gifts. With that, they decided to band together and call themselves the ˘Myythxai, or the ‘Creatures of the Birds’, and to call their sung language ˘Myythxa, the ‘Language of the Birds’. Until now, the women had never felt so capable, strong, and fulfilled.

Religion and spirituality are invaluable components of the ˘Myythxai culture. The ˘Myythxai, as readers of the symbols from the Earth and the Heavens, follow a monotheistic Kabbalistic belief system in which they believe in a single God referred to as ˘Chabala. ˘Chabala is not identified as either a masculine or feminine being, but rather an infusion of the two into a divine creature that protects, heals, and creates the world, sending messages to Their creatures through the ˘Myythxai. The following passage from the book of Genesis in the Bible summarizes and guides the way in which the ˘Myythxai recognize and believe in their ˘Chabala: Genesis 1:27

"God created man in His own image, in the image of God He created him; male and female He created them."

2) Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 Phonetics

Table 2.1 ˘Myythxa Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p b		t	d			k		
Nasal	m			n		ɲ			
Trill		r							
Tap/Flap									
Fricative		v	θ ð	s	ʃ ʒ			X ʁ	h
Approximant						j			

Table 2.1 presents the consonants found in ˘Myythxa, with the non-English consonants bolded. ˘Myythxa contains many of the same consonants found in English including the voiced and voiceless stops [p, b, t, d, k], the voiced and voiceless fricatives [v, θ, ð, s, ʃ, ʒ, h], nasals [m, n] and the approximant [j]. Not found in English is the palatal nasal [ɲ], which sounds like the ñ in the Spanish word mañana or ‘tomorrow’, the uvular fricatives [X, ʁ], and the trill [r]. The first uvular fricative listed is the voiceless form, and the latter is the voiced form. The voiceless fricative [X] is articulated in the uvular region of the vocal apparatus by bringing the soft palate and the posterior region of the tongue close together while simultaneously releasing air through the remaining space. The voiced form of the uvular fricative is articulated in the same way, but with additional vibration of the vocal chords to create sound. The trill is created by placing the tip of the tongue to the alveolar region, while simultaneously blowing air out of the mouth to allow the tip of the tongue to rapidly tap the alveolar region.

Table 2.2 *ˈMyythxa Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	Y	ɪ	o
Open-mid	ɛ	ə	
Open		a	

Permissible diphthongs: [eɪ], [aɪ], [oʊ], [iɛ], [io], [ɛo]

Table 2.2 presents the vowels found in ˈMyythxa, with the non-English vowel bolded. Many of the vowels found in ˈMyythxa are found in English including /i, ɛ, ɪ, a, ə, o, u/, with the additional /Y/ vowel found in French. The vowels in each word are sounded individually if they are consecutive to each other, save for the permissible diphthongs shown above. Diphthongs in ˈMyythxa usually occur word finally, and in those instances are articulated as one sound instead of two individual sounds. It is not intuitive or systematic when consecutive vowels are articulated individually or as a diphthong in every instance, and in those cases the correct way of articulating the word must be memorized.

2.2 Phonology

The syllable structure follows the pattern (C)(C)V(C). This indicates that each syllable must contain a vowel, and can either have a consonant cluster or a single consonant at the onset before the vowel with an additional or optional consonant at the end of the syllable following the vowel. The following examples demonstrate the various possible syllabic constraints:

V: ˘o ‘a’
 VC: ˘en ‘and’
 CV: ˘ma ‘that’
 CVC: ˘rata ‘west’
 CCV: ˘brau ‘here’

There is a finite set of permissible consonant clusters that can only occur at the onset of a syllable. These are listed rather than contained according to phonological rules because there is no systematic method in the way that the consonant clusters are organized. Rather, they are chosen based on sound and singing ease. The following list of consonant clusters, shown in IPA, are permissible to occur syllable-initial in ˘Myythxa:

[pr], [pʁ], [pj], [br], [bj], [tr], [tʁ], [dr], [dʁ], [dj], [kr], [kj], [kʁ], [tj], [mj], [vj], [sp], [sv], [sb], [st], [sk], [sm], [sn], [sr], [ʃp], [ʃb], [ʃt], [ʃk], [ʃm], [ʃn], [ʃɲ], [ʃv], [ʃj], [zm], [zn], [ʒr], [ʒv], [ʒj]

The stress pattern for ˘Myythxa is fixed on the penultimate syllable, much like the stress pattern found in English. For example the following words would follow this stress pattern:

˘tymkipa [tɪmˈkɪpə] ‘midway(ness)/medial’

˘vreita [vrɛˈɪtə] ‘ability’

˘chalinma [Xalɪnˈmə] ‘sincerity’

˘preya [prɛˈɪə] ‘beauty’

2.2.1 Phonotactics

There are a limited amount of phonotactic constraints found in ˘Myythxa, which guide both the formation and pronunciation of the words present in the language. First, the coda of a word must end in a permissible vowel, diphthong, or nasal. This

constraint is important in ˘Myythxa specifically because it is a sung language. In sung repertoire, some of the most sonorant sounds are the nasals and the vowels, and these phonemes allow for the vocal resonance to move easily to the front of the “mask”, or the region below the eyes that spans across the bridge of the nose, which is the most technically accurate location to place the sound when singing. Second, a vowel is reduced to a schwa in an unstressed syllable. This phonotactic rule is found in many Indo-European Romance Languages and Germanic Languages including English. Third, there can be a maximum of two consecutive consonants at the onset of any given syllable. This constraint gives rise to words that are not only sung and written phonetically, but also to words that are relatively simple to pronounce, specifically for native speakers of Romance and Germanic languages. Fourth, consecutive vowels are articulated distinctly as individual syllables unless they are one of the permissible diphthongs in the language. The following list provides a succinct summary of the phonotactic rules found in ˘Myythxa:

1. The coda of a word must be a vowel, a diphthong, or a nasal.
2. A vowel is reduced to schwa in an unstressed syllable.
3. There can be a maximum of two consecutive consonants at the onset of any given syllable.
4. Consecutive vowels are articulated as distinct syllables unless they are one of the following diphthongs: [eɪ], [aɪ], [oʊ], [iɛ], [io], [ɛo]
5. If two of the same consonants join together, the first one is dropped and the second one holds.
 Ex. Nieyeñe ‘to complete/to finish’ → 1sg present indicative conjugation
 niey_y+ya → nieya ‘I finish’

2.3 Phonological Rules

The phonological rules found in ˘Myythxa are delineated below with an accompanying example:

1. Aspiration Rule- Voiceless stops become aspirated when they occur at the beginning of a syllable or before a stressed vowel.

$[t, p, k] \rightarrow [t^h, p^h, k^h] / \text{___ [syllable initial, +stress +vowel]}$

Ex. ‘krai’ [+voiceless, +stop] \rightarrow [+aspirated] / syllable initial

2. Homorganic Nasal Rule- The place of articulation of a nasal assimilates to the same place of articulation of the following consonant.

$[n, m, \eta] \rightarrow [+nasal, \alpha \text{ place}] / \text{___ [+consonant, } \alpha \text{ place]}$

Ex. ˘tynkipa ‘midway(ness)’ $[n] \rightarrow [\eta] / \text{___ [+voiceless, +stop, +velar]}$

3. Voicing Rule For Consecutive Stops- The second of two consecutive voiceless stops $[t, p, k]$ will change to become their voiced counterpart $[\delta, b, g]$, while the first will remain voiceless.

$[t, p, k] \rightarrow [\delta, b, g] / [+voiceless, +stop] \text{___}$

Ex1. ˘itkam ‘far(ness)’ $/t/ \rightarrow [g] / [+voiceless, +stop] \text{___}$

4. Vowel Reduction Rule- Vowel is reduced to a shwa in an unstressed syllable unless it is a long /i/ sound.

$[+vowel, \text{not } /i/] \rightarrow [\ə] / \text{an unstressed syllable}$

Ex. ˘preya ‘beauty’ $/a/ \rightarrow [\ə] / \text{unstressed syllable}$

Ex. ˘kyyni ‘basket’ $/i/ \rightarrow [i] / \text{unstressed syllable}$

5. Vowel Nasalization Rule- A vowel becomes nasalized when it precedes a nasal consonant.

$[+vowel] \rightarrow [+nasal] / \text{___ [+nasal, +consonant]}$

Ex. ˘shoma ‘valley’ $[+vowel] \rightarrow [+nasal] / \text{___ [+nasal, +consonant]}$

6. Dental Insertion Rule- The alveolar $/t/$ becomes dentalized $[\theta]$ when in the environment between two vowels.

/t/ → [θ] / V __ V

Ex. ˘kyythyeti ‘approach-PST-3SG’ /t/ → [θ] / V __ V

2.4 Tones

˘Myythxa is a tri-tonal language, containing a base (1) tone ˘, a mid (3) tone ˘, and a high (5) tone ˆ. The symbols following the description of each tone in the previous sentence is the diacritic or symbol that represents the tone. Each tone is assigned to a note based on the musical notes Do, Mi, Sol from the Solfege music system. The base tone known in Myythxa as “**domecha**’ corresponds with the Do, the mid tone known as “**mimecha**’ corresponds with the Mi, and the high tone known as “**somecha**’ corresponds with the Sol. A tone is assigned to every word in ˘Myythxa, and thus the language is entirely sung and never spoken. The 1 tone of the tonal triad is unfixed, meaning that the speaker determines what note to use for the 1 tone, and builds the tonal triad from there. Not all speakers of ˘Myythxa are gifted with perfect pitch, and therefore their 1 tone often changes according to whom they are speaking or what type of environment they are in. It is also quite common for the singer of ˘Myythxa to quietly hum the tones of the triad to herself before she begins to sing the language to her interlocutor.

The 1 tone is attached to nouns, determinate articles, numbers, words of measure, demonstratives, and words that describe direction. The 3 tone is attached to prepositions, conjunctions, indeterminate articles, the gerund “shva-m’ used in the adjectival and adverbial construction, words describing time, the marker ‘ma’ which denotes the start of a relative clause, and miscellaneous other words

including ˊki ‘*who*’ and ˊju ‘*for*’. The 5 tone is attached to all verbs, both in their conjugated and infinitive forms, pronouns for the majority of the time because pronouns frequently modify verbs, and progressives that are not part of an adjectival or adverbial construction. All modifiers take the tone of the thing that they are modifying, which is why it is stated above that the pronouns take the tone of the verb that they are modifying. If a word or a morpheme does not have an assigned tone based on the rules delineated above, or if it is not a modifier, then it will take the 1 tone as default.

Tones are a strong indicator of a ˊMyythxai singer’s character, much like a person’s idiolect or manner of speaking is characteristic of that person. One can identify a singer of ˊMyythxa by the way that she sings her tones, and like a speaker of a natural language, the way that the singer articulates her tones can change over time. The tones are based on a triad of a major chord, and the do or 1 tone is unfixed. This implies that the singer chooses her starting pitch (1 tone), on which she builds the rest of the triad (the 3 and 5 tones), based on how her vocal range naturally and comfortably lies. The only restraint is that when she begins her song in a specific triad, she must remain in that same key for the remainder of the “song” or conversation. The singer informs her interlocutor of the key that she will sing in by humming or singing the triad in the specific key that she chosen at the onset of the musical exchange. Thus, both she and her interlocutor are aware of which key she will be remaining in for the remainder of the exchange. The key that a singer of ˊMyythxa chooses is dependent on location, environment, and the interlocutor. For example, in a more informal, relaxed, and joyous setting, a ˊMyythxai might choose

to sing in a higher key to accommodate her mood. Alternatively, a ˘Myythxai would start in a lower key in a more serious or formal setting. Facial expression is another way in which the interlocutor can interpret the mood of the singer.

Table 2.3 ˘Myythxa Tones

Tone	Diacritic	Use
˘domecha	˘	-nouns -deteminite articles -numbers -words of measure -demonstratives -words of direction
˘mimecha	˘	-prepositions -conjunctions -indeterminate articles -adj/adv gerund -words of time -relative clause marker (˘ma) -˘ki ‘who’ -˘ju ‘for’
˘somecha	˘	-verbs -most pronouns -progressives

3) Morphology

˘Myythxa contains an agglutinative morphological structure in which lexical roots adopt a particular morpheme(s) in a fixed order to change the meaning of the word. Additional cases allow for the insertion of an entirely separate word, either preceding or following a noun or a verb, to modify or change the meaning of the noun or verb. Such cases appear, for example, in the instances of negation and in mood. The remaining morphological changes that occur in ˘Myythxa exist in the form of suffixes, which will be explained in greater detail below.

3.1 Tense, Mood, and Aspect

There are three tenses in ˘Myythxa, which include the past tense, present tense, and future tense. Within each tense there is a perfective form, which describes actions that have been completed, and an imperfective form, which describes actions that have not been completed or are currently in the process of occurring. In the perfective form, the past tense is marked with the suffix -ye, the present tense with -ya, and the future tense with -yi. In the imperfective form, the past tense is marked with the morpheme -yem, the present tense with -yam, and the future tense with -yim. These morphemes are affixed to the end of a verb root to appropriately change its tense, by eliminating the infinitive ending of the verb, and attaching the appropriate morpheme onto the root. This process will be demonstrated in further detail in the *Verbs* section. The following table demonstrates the indicative tense in the perfective and imperfective forms:

Table 3.1 Indicative Tenses

Indicative	Past	Present	Future
Perfective	-ye	-ya	-yi
Imperfective	-yem	-yam	-yim

˘Myythxa lacks a subjunctive tense because the culture does not encourage or promote rumination, regret, and unrealistic desires or hopes. The ˘Myythxai strongly believe in living mindfully by keeping one’s thoughts, actions and words grounded in the present, without postulating various hypothetical situations. Therefore phrases that would be otherwise stated in the subjunctive tense follow the indicative morphological pattern in ˘Myythxa. Mood is present in other ways including a Suggestive form and an Imperative form. The Suggestive form is used

when the speaker desires to suggest or make a recommendation about something. It is also used as a euphemistic way to imply something that is not present or real, much like stating a hypothetical situation. This tense is constructed by placing the modifier *meju* before the word or phrase that is being modified, and takes the tone of the word or phrase that is being modified. For example, the phrase “let’s go” would be translated into we + *meju* + go, with the morpheme modifying “go”, and thus taking the tone for verbs, or the 5 tone. This phrase could be either inflected as an imperative statement or a suggestive statement in English based on the speaker’s tone, but that ambiguity is dismissed in Myythxa by the use of the morpheme *meju*, which only implies suggestion. The phrase “why don’t you dance” would also use the suggestion marker, becoming you + *meju* + dance, with the morpheme again modifying the verb, taking the 5 tone. Translated, the phrases would appear as the following:

Ex. 1 ˘So ˘**meju** ˘na-ya-tem.
 We-NOM SUGG go -PRS -1PL
 “Let’s go”

Ex. 2 ˘Re ˘**meju** ˘myyth-ya-ta.
 You-NOM SUGG dance -PRS-2SG
 “Why don’t you dance.”

The imperative structure is used in Myythxa to give a command or an order. This tense is constructed by stating the nominative pronoun of the addressee followed by the infinitive form of the verb used to state the command. The pronoun would take the 5 tone because it precedes a verb in this syntactic construction. For example, the phrase “Dance with me!” would be translated as:

Ex. 3 ˘Re ˘myytheña ˘loshi ˘do-ñ!
 You dance-INF with me-ACC
 “Dance with me!”

3.2 Other Morphemes

There are many morphemes that appear as suffixes in ˘Myythxa, and they have either been mentioned previously (tense), will be mentioned briefly in later sections (person/number inflection, pluralization, nominalization, classifiers, case), and this section will introduce the remaining morphemes in the language. Personification is created by adding the suffix -aya to a verb stem. For example:

Ex. 1 ˘myytheña ‘to dance’ → ˘myyth-**aya** ‘dancer’

Ex. 2 ˘jreneñe ‘to sign/to symbol’ → ˘jren-**aya** ‘semiotician’

The augmentative suffix -moi is used in Myythxa to emphasize a word (usually an adverbial or adjectival phrase) or to imply that something is larger or grander in appearance than its natural state.

Ex. 3 ˘breionya ‘castle’ → ˘breionya-**moi** ‘tower’ or ˘juna ‘pebble’ → ˘juna-**moi** ‘rock’

Ex. 4 ˘Fa ˘ad-ya ˘shvam ˘moch-e-**moi**
 She be-PRS show-PRG joy-NMLZ-AUG
 ‘She is very happy’

The diminutive suffix is -mio, and is used to minimize a word (usually an adverbial or adjectival phrase) or to imply that something is smaller or more humble in appearance than its natural state.

Ex. 5 ˘breionya ‘castle’ → ˘breionya-**mio** ‘hut’ or ˘tara ‘girl’ → ˘tara-**mio** ‘little girl’

Ex. 6 ˘Fa ˘ad-ya ˘shva-m ˘moch-e-**mio**
 She be-PRS show-PRG joy-NMLZ-DIM
 ‘She is less/not very happy’

Negation is created by adding the free morpheme ñate after the phrase/word that is being negated. Negation creates the opposite of what is being said, implying the negative form of the word or verb. English equivalents would include ‘not’ or the prefix un-. It takes the same tone as the word that it is negating.

Ex. 7 ˘Do ˘ratuv-ya ˘ñate ˘krutheñe.
 I want-PRS.1SG NEG sleep-INF
 ‘I do not want to sleep’

4) Syntax

4.1 Word Order

Word order in Myythxa is SVO, subject-verb-object, for all indicative sentences, and OSV, object-subject-verb, for interrogative sentences or questions. The following examples show a sentence in Myythxa in the indicative form, and then a similar sentence in the interrogative form:

Ex. 1 Indicative SVO

˘Duo ˘jren-e ˘ad-ya ˘Joli.
 My-GEN symbol-NMLZ be-PRS Joli
 ‘My name is Joli’

Ex. 2 Interrogative OSV

˘Duo ˘jren-e ˘doñe ˘ad-ya*
 My-ACC symbol-NOM what be-PRS?
 ‘What is my name?’

4.2 Verbs and Inflection

Verbs are the foundation of Myythxa, meaning that most other words and parts of speech including nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. are derived from the verb roots found in the language and are inflected with various morphemes to change the part

of speech. All verbs in ˘Myythxa have one of two endings attached to the verb root in their infinitive form including –eñe or –eña. These infinitive endings are assigned arbitrarily to the verb root, meaning that there is not systematicness to the infinitive ending assignments, and they must be memorized to be learned. When the morphemes identifying the tense are attached to the verbs in ˘Myythxa, they attach as a suffix to the verb root as mentioned in the previous section. There are of course regular forms of attachment, but there are also irregular forms in which the verb root must make phonological changes according to the phonological rules found in the language to accommodate the morpheme being attached. The following is an example of a regular verb conjugation and an irregular verb conjugation in the perfective and imperfective forms:

Tvaeña- ‘to do’

Table 4.2a Regular Verb Tense

	Past	Present	Future
Perfective	˘Tva- ye ‘did’	˘Tva- ya ‘do’	˘Tva- yi ‘will do’
Imperfective	˘Tva- yem ‘was doing’	˘Tva- yam ‘is doing’	˘Tva- yim ‘will be doing’

Koyeñe – ‘to thank’

Table 4.2b Irregular Verb Tense

	Past	Present	Future
perfective	˘ko- ye ‘played’	˘ko- ya ‘play’	˘ko- yi ‘will play’
imperfective	˘ko- yem ‘was playing’	˘ko- yam ‘is playing’	˘ko- yim ‘will be playing’

˘Myythxa accounts for number and person within a verb by adding morphemes to follow the tense in the lexical agglutinative structure. The following table demonstrates the morphemes that account for number and person in a verb:

Table 4.3 Person and Number

1sg Ø	1pl -tem
2sg -ta	2pl -to
3sg -ti	3pl -timo

The following example presents a conjugated verb inflected for tense (present) and person/number:

Table 4.4 ˘misheña: ‘to sing’

1sg ˘Do ˘mish-ya	1pl ˘So ˘mish -ya-tem
2sg ˘Re ˘mish-ya-ta	2pl ˘La ˘mish -ya-to
3sg (m,f,n) ˘Mi/Fa ˘mish -ya-ti	3pl (m,f,n) ˘Ti/Ta ˘mish -ya-timo

4.3 Nouns

Myythxa is a deverbal language, meaning that many nouns are derived from verbs, and all verbs can be nominalized with the addition of the suffix –e to the verb root. Note that when the verbs are nominalized, they take the 1 tone.

Ex. 1 ˘brauteña ‘to confuse’ → ˘braut-e ‘confusion’

Ex. 2 ˘misheña ‘to sing’ → ˘mish-e ‘song’

There is a count/mass noun distinction in Myythxa, where the count nouns are countable and can take the plural suffix –lo such as with ˘tara ‘girl’ → ˘tara-lo ‘girls’ or ˘mish-e-lo ‘songs’. Mass nouns use classifiers, which is constructed by adding the suffix –n to the classifying noun. The classifier is placed directly before the noun that it is modifying in the classifier construction:

Ex.1 ˘Do ˘jru -ya ˘o ˘pacha-**n** ˘lincha.
I need-PRS.1SG a touch-CLF freedom
‘I need a touch of freedom’

Ex.2 ˘So ˘omat-ye-tem ˘o ˘shmata-**n** ˘rado.
We have -PST -1PL a bit -CLF rain
‘We have a bit of rain’

The table below lists all of the mass nouns and their respective classifiers:

Table 4.5 Mass Nouns and Classifiers

Mass Noun	Corresponding Measure Word
Water: ˘echa /ɛxa/	Drop: ˘soti+n /so’tin/
Fire: ˘vrean /vrɛjan/	Blade: ˘haiki+n /hal’kin/
Air: ˘yythem /Yθɛm/	Gust: ˘han /han/
Sand: ˘shtenia /ʃtɛnijə/	Pebble: ˘juna+n /zu’nən/
Earth: ˘jurnei /zurnxɛl/	Spread: ˘yenta+n /jɛn’tən/
Information: ˘imati /imati/	Seed: ˘unti+n /un’tin/
Lightning: ‘flash’ ˘brei /brɛl/	Dance: ˘myythe+n /mYθ’ən/
Thunder: ˘kra /kra/	Song: ˘mishi+n /mif’in/
Grass: ˘shmonei /ʃmo’nei/	Thorn: ˘lotti+n /lot’ən/
Sweet: ˘tyurie /tj’ɛrɛ/	morsel: ˘mika+n /mi’kən/
Praise: ˘yamta /jam’tə/	Cloud: ˘nechula+n /nɛXu’lən/
Gratitude: ˘tilo /ti’lo/	Flutter: ˘methi+n /mɛθ’in/
Wood: ˘shparan /ʃpa’rən/	Basket: ˘kyyni+n /kY’nin/
Strength: ˘kinpa /kin’pə/	Wisp: ˘ple+n /plen/
Freedom: ˘lincha /lin’Xə/	Touch: ˘pacha+n /paX’ən/
Jewelry: ˘pronti /pron’ti/	Set: ˘smi+n /smin/
Ice: ˘klime /kli’mɛ/	Spear: ˘Xani+n /xan’in/
Rain: ˘rado /ra’do/	Bit: ˘shmata+n /ʃma’tən/
Word: ˘tran /tran/	Bundle: ˘nima+n /ni’mən/
Stone: ˘bjora/ brick: shkai	Block: ˘meje+n /me’zən/
Being: ˘lotama /lo’ta’ma/	Bundle: ˘nima+n /ni’mən/

As seen in Table 3.4, pronouns in ˘Myythxa correspond with the names of the notes of a scale found in Solfege. ‘Do’ is 1st person singular, ‘Re’ is 2nd person singular, ‘Mi’

is 3rd person singular male or ‘it’, ‘**Fa**’ is 3rd person female or 3rd person ungendered, ‘**So**’ is 1st person plural, ‘**La**’ is 2nd person plural, ‘**Ti**’ is 3rd person plural masculine, and ‘**Ta**’ is either 3rd person plural feminine or 3rd person plural ungendered. The table below provides a list of the pronouns with their corresponding gender and number:

Table 4.6 Pronouns

Do	“I”	So	“we”
Re	“you”	La	“you” plural
Mi	“he”/“it”	Ti	“they” masc.
Fa	“she”/ “ungendered person”	Ta	“they” fem./ungendered

4.4 Case

Case in ˘Myythxa is similar to that in many Romance and Indo-European languages, containing the Nominative case for the subject of the sentence, the Accusative case for the object, and the Genitive case to denote possession. The Nominative case is the bare form both in its pronouns and words. The Accusative case is formed by adding the suffix –ñ to the bare pronouns, which are found in the Nominative case, and to the lexical item to denote the object or recipient of a sentence. The Genitive case is formed by adding the infix –u- to the bare pronouns, or the suffix –u to lexical items, to denote possession. The Table below contains the ˘Myythxa case system:

Table 4.7 Case System

pronomial NP's	Nominative	Accusative +ñ	Genitive +-u- (infix)
1sg (I)	do	doñ	duo
2sg (you)	re	reñ	rue
3sg masc (he)/(it)	mi	miñ	mui
3sg fem (she)	fa	fañ	fua
3sg neuter	fa	fuñ	fu
1pl (we)	so	soñ	suo
2pl (you pl)	la	lañ	lua
3pl masc (they)	ti	tiñ	tui
3pl fem (they)	ta	tañ	tua
3pl neuter (they)	ta	tuñ	tu

Lexical NP's	Nom	Acc +ñ	Gen +u
The dance	ˈdiri ˈmyythe	ˈdiri ˈmyytheñ	ˈdiri ˈmyytheu

4.5 Articles & Demonstratives

There are two types of articles found in Myythxa, which include the definite article ˈ**diri** ‘the’ and the indefinite article ˈo ‘a(n)’. The article precedes the noun that it is modifying, but has assigned tones. The definite article always has the 1 tone, and the indefinite article always has the 5 tone. Demonstratives include ˈ**kuoto** ‘this’, ˈ**brañe** ‘that’, ˈ**kuotolo** ‘these’, and ˈ**brañelo** ‘those’. As is exemplified here, the pluralized form of the demonstratives are the singular form with the added plural suffix -lo.

4.6 Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs in ˈMyythxa follow the construction of ‘showing + noun’ following the noun or verb that the phrase is modifying. The progressive form of

‘show’ is constructed by adding the progressive suffix –mya to the root of the verb ˘shvaeñe ‘to show’, which becomes ˘shva-mya ‘showing’. When this word is used in the adjectival or adverbial construction, however, the progressive is curtailed to ˘shva-m, and it takes the 3 tone to indicate that it is part of the adjectival or adverbial phrase. For example:

Ex. 1 ˘Diri ˘tara ˘shva-m ˘preya ˆmyyth-ye-ti
The girl show-PRG beauty dance-PST-3SG
‘The beautiful girl danced’

Ex. 2 ˆDo ˆmish -ye ˘shva-m ˘rak -e ˘diri ˘moje-ñ.
I sing-PST.1SG show-PRG honest-NMLZ the owl-ACC
‘I honestly sang to the owl’

5) Additional Information

5.1 Prepositions & Direction Words

Myythxa has a conservative set of prepositions which take the 3 tone, including ˘nie ‘in’, ˘mia ‘to’, ˘shamti ‘from’, ˘loshi ‘with, and ˘yoa ‘on’. Direction in the language is described by using the cardinal directions relative to the speaker (speaker-centric), and with the anatomical directions proximal (near to speaker) , medial (midway between speaker and reference point), and distal (far from speaker). These lexical items can be found in The Lexicon at the end of the paper.

5.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are dependent clauses that describe a noun. In order to mark a relative clause in Myythxa, the clause is preceded by the lexical item ˘ma ‘that’, and followed by the clause. If the relative clause is describing a characteristic or novel information about person or a noun such as in Ex. 2, the following phrase begins

with the nominative pronoun of the noun that the relative clause was describing. In Ex. 2, the relative clause describes ‘the woman’, and therefore the phrase following the relative clause begins with the nominative pronoun ‘she’ to reiterate who the sentence is about. For example:

Ex. 1 ˘Do ˘jvau -ye- m ˘ma ˘kyn ˘re ˘nor -ye-ta.
 I smile-PST.1SG-IMP that when you take off-PST-2SG
 ‘I was smiling when you took off (in flight).’

Ex. 2 ˘Diri ˘jvieti ˘ma ˘ki ˘do ˘am-ye, ˘fa ˘truch-ye-ti ˘shva-m ˘jale
 The woman that who I love-PST.1SG, she die. PST-3SG show-PROG peace.

5. 3 Conclusion

Throughout the process of inventing ˘Myythxa, I envisioned creating a language and a culture that combined all of my personal interests, incorporated features from natural languages that I find particularly intriguing, and highlighted the characteristics in people that I find most admirable. I began the process of inventing the language with a rather obscure notion of what I conceived to be the end product, and made many amendments to my language along the way. Now that my language is in more of a complete form with a burgeoning lexicon and a clear grammar, I am not only able to note where I would like to make changes for the future, but also places where I am satisfied with the decisions that I made for the language. I do not anticipate that I will ever be fully ‘complacent’ with the product of ˘Myythxa, and I will always note places in the structure, grammar, lexicon, and culture of the language that can be improved, but even so, I am proud to be able to call myself a conlanger.

6) ˘Myythxa Short Story

˘Diri ˘Moje-u ˘Posolo
The Proverb of the Owl

¹Do ˘kruth-yem ˘ma ˘kyyn ˘diri ˘moje ˘kyyth -ye -ti ˘do-ñ.
I sleep-1SG.IMP that when the owl approach-PST-3SG me-ACC.
¹I was sleeping when the owl approached me.

²Fa ˘shmei-ye-ti ˘do-ñ ˘chalin-e ˘loshi < ˘Chalinma >.
It give -PST-3SG me-ACC sincere-NMLZ with -QUOT Chalima -QUOT.
²It greeted me with “Chalinma”.

³< ˘Re ˘mish-ya-ta ˘do-ñ ˘rue ˘jren -e, ˘en
QUOT You sing -PRS-2SG me-ACC your-GEN symbol-NMLZ, and

˘do ˘mish-yi ˘re-ñ ˘duo ˘jren -e >, ˘fa ˘mish-ye-ti.
I sing-FUT you-ACC my-GEN symbol-NMLZ-QUOT it-NEUT sing-PST-3SG
³“Sing me your symbol, and I will sing you mine”, it sang.

⁴O ˘myythe-n ˘brei ˘en ˘o ˘mishi-n ˘kra ˘yyth -ya -ti
A dance-CLF lightning and a song-CLF thunder breathe-PRS-3SG

˘shva-m ˘myynta,
show-PRG near
⁴A dance of lightning and a song of thunder came near,

⁵En ˘ta ˘vyar-ye-timo ˘nor -e ˘javrei ˘suo ˘jene-lo-ñ.
And they-NEUT.NOM fly -PST-3PL away-NMLZ all our-GEN fear-PL-ACC.
⁵And they washed away all of our fears.

⁶˘Diri ˘moje ˘mish-ye-ti ˘do-ñ ˘o ˘jren -e
The-DEF owl sing-PST-3SG me-ACC a symbol-NMLZ
⁶The owl sang to me a symbol

⁷Ma ˘suo ˘Chabala ˘ad-ya-ti ˘brau ˘mecha ˘draueña ˘so-ñ
That our-GEN God be-PRS-3SG here for the purpose guide-INF us-ACC
⁷That our God is here to guide us.

⁸Fa ˘shmei-ye-ti ˘do-ñ ˘o ˘blum ˘shamti ˘fu ˘shrei:
It-NEUT.NOM give -PST-3SG me-ACC a feather from its-GEN surface:
⁸It left me with a feather from its back:

⁹O ˘jren-e ˘ju ˘jale ˘en ˘vyei -e.
A sign-NMLZ for peace and comfort-NMLZ
⁹A signal of peace and comfort.

¹⁰˘Do ˆmish-ye ˘en ˆmyyth-ye ˘mecha ˆkoyeñe
I sing-PST.1SG and dance-PST.1SG for the purpose thank-INF

˘diri ˘moje-ñ
the owl-ACC
¹⁰I sang and danced in order to show gratitude to the owl

¹¹˘Ma ˘ki ˆam -ye -ti do-ñ ˘en ˘javrei ˘Myythxai
That who protect-PST-3SG me-ACC and all ˘Myythxai
¹¹Who saved me and all of the ˘Myythxai creatures

¹²˘Shamti ˘xata ˘en ˘vra -e.
From pain and black-NMLZ
¹²From pain and evil.

7) Lexicon

7.1 ˘Myythxa to English Translation

1 tones:

˘adoku: down
˘bjora: stone
˘blum: feather
˘brañe That
˘brañelo: Those
˘brei: flash (lightning)
˘breionya: castle
˘breo: Male creature (man)
˘Chabala: God
˘chalinma: sincerity
˘die: single (1 exactly)
˘diri : the
˘echa: water
˘Hochma: Heaven
˘imati: information
˘jamei: east
˘javrei: allness/eachness/everyness
˘jene: fear
˘jmeo: reason
˘jmoe: little/some

˘jrane: point (geometrical)
˘jrene: symbol/sign
˘juna: pebble
˘jurnei: Earth
˘jvieti: female creature (woman)
˘jyete: place/land/location
˘kinpa: strength
˘klime: ice
˘kora: heart
˘kra: thunder
˘kuoto this
˘kuotolo these
˘kyyni: basket
˘lincha: freedom
˘lotama: being
˘lotti: thorn
˘meje: block
˘mele: slowness
˘methi: flutter
˘mika: morsel
˘mina: name
˘mine: Few (3 exactly)
˘mishi: song
˘moje: owl
˘myythe: dance
˘namei: up
˘nashame: binding
˘nechula: cloud
˘nima: bundle
˘noda: north
˘non: night
˘pacha: touch
˘panei: storm
˘ple: wisp
˘posolo: proverb/wise tale
˘prau: child
˘preya: beauty
˘pronti: jewelry
˘pyei: enclave/community
˘rado: rain
˘rae: couple (2 exactly)
˘rata: west
˘sadu: south

˘shie :10 exactly
 ˘shkai: brick
 ˘shmata: bit
 ˘shmeshi: boy
 ˘shmeshim: son
 ˘shmonei: grass
 ˘shoma: valley
 ˘shparan: wood
 ˘shpire: quickness
 ˘shrei: surface
 ˘shtenia: sand
 ˘smi: set
 ˘tara: girl
 ˘taram: daughter
 ˘thinta: danger
 ˘tilo: gratitude
 ˘trachem: word
 ˘tran: word
 ˘tyema: mound (a lot)
 ˘tyrie: sweet
 ˘unti: seed
 ˘Vra-e: blackness
 ˘vrean: fire
 ˘vreita: ability
 ˘xani: spear
 ˘xata: pain
 ˘yamta: praise
 ˘yenta: spread
 ˘yythem: air

3 tones:

˘brau: here
 ˘en: and
 ˘itkam: far(ness)/distal
 ˘ju: for
 ˘ki: who
 ˘kranya: everywhere(ness)
 ˘loshi: with
 ˘ma: that
 ˘mecha: for the purpose (of)
 ˘mia: to
 ˘myynta: near(ness)/proximal
 ˘nie: in

˘o: indefinite article ‘a’ or ‘an’
 ˘shamti: from
 ˘shka: by (means of)
 ˘shva-m: ‘show-ing’
 ˘tynkipa: midway(ness)/medial
 ˘yoa: on

5 tones:

ˆadeñe /ad’ε’jε/: to be/ to exist
 ˆameñe /am’ε’jε/: to love/ to protect them from pain or harm
 ˆateña /atε’jə/: to take
 ˆbrabeña /bra’be’jə/: to drink
 ˆbrauteña: to confuse
 ˆbroyeñe: to celebrate
 ˆchalineña: to be sincere/honest
 ˆdraueña: to guide/to lead
 ˆdxueñe /dɤu’ε’jε/: to use
 ˆdyetineñe: to create
 ˆeneñe: to begin
 ˆjeneña: to fear (something)
 ˆjiatameña /zja’tam’ε’jə/: to seem
 ˆjneieña /znel’ε’jə/: to ask for
 ˆjreneñe: to symbol(ize)/to sign (something)
 ˆjrueña /zru’ε’jə/: to need
 ˆjvaueña: to smile
 ˆkimpoveñe /kim’pov’ε’jε/: to look at/ admire another person’s beauty
 ˆkoreña: to discover
 ˆkoyeñe /koyε’jε/: to thank
 ˆkrutheñe /kruθ’ε’jε/: to sleep
 ˆkuveñe /ku’vε’jε/: to help
 ˆkyytheña /kYθ’ε’jə/: to approach
 ˆmeleñe: to move slowly
 ˆmisheña /mi’fε’jə/: to sing /to say
 ˆmocheña: to be happy/ to be joyful
 ˆmyysheñe: to make
 ˆmyytheña /mYθ’ε’jə /: to dance
 ˆnaeña /na’ε’jə/: to go
 ˆnashamene: to bind together
 ˆnathimeñe /na’θim’ε’jε/: to pray
 ˆnieyeñe: to complete/finish
 ˆnoreña /nor’ε’jə/: to take off (for flight)
 ˆnyytheña /nYθ’ε’jə/: to try
 ˆomateñe /o’ma’tε’jε/: to have

ˆpacheñe /paˈXeˈɲe/: to touch/feel
 ˆpieña /pjeˈɲə/: to ask forgiveness
 ˆraieña /raˈeˈɲə/: to speak
 ˆrakeña /raˈkeˈɲə/: to be honest
 ˆratuveñe /ratˈuvˈeˈɲe/: to want
 ˆsauene /souˈeˈɲe/: to dream
 ˆshbieñe /ʃbieˈɲe/: to feel (emotion)
 ˆshipireñe: to move quickly
 ˆshmeieña /ʃmɛlˈeˈɲə/: to give
 ˆshvaeñe: to show
 ˆskeyeñe: to burn
 ˆsmaeñe /smaˈeˈɲe/: to hear
 ˆsmieña: to see
 ˆsvayeñe/svalˈeˈɲe/: to play (music)
 ˆtemeña: to put
 ˆthimeña /θiˈmeˈɲə/: to think
 ˆtrucheña: to pass forward (euphamism for die)
 ˆtvaena /tvaˈeˈɲə/: to do
 ˆtxocheña: to continue/to keep going
 ˆtxoneña: to replace
 ˆvxateña: to understand
 ˆvyareña /vjarˈeˈɲə/: to fly
 ˆvyeieña: to comfort
 ˆyeheña /jeˈheˈɲə/: to hunt
 ˆyytheña /Yθˈeˈɲə/: to breathe

7.2 English to Myythxa Translation

1 tones

ability: ˘vreita
 air: ˘yythem
 allness/eachness/everyness: ˘javrei
 basket: ˘kyyni
 beauty˘preya
 being: ˘lotama
 binding: ˘nashame
 bit: ˘shmata
 blackness: ˘vra-e
 block: ˘meje
 boy: ˘shmeshi
 brick: ˘shkai

bundle: ˘nima
 castle: ˘breionya
 child: ˘prau
 cloud: ˘nechula
 couple (2 exactly): ˘rae
 dance: ˘myythe
 danger: ˘thinta
 daughter: ˘taram
 down: ˘adoku
 Earth: ˘jurnei
 east: ˘jamei
 enclave/community: ˘pyei
 fear: ˘jene
 feather: ˘blum
 female creature (woman): ˘jvieti
 few (3 exactly): ˘mine
 fire: ˘vrean
 flash (lightning): ˘bre
 flutter: ˘meth
 freedom: ˘lincha
 girl: ˘tara
 God: ˘Chabala
 grass: ˘shmonei
 gratitude: ˘tilo
 heart: ˘kora
 Heaven: ˘Hochma
 ice: ˘klime
 information: ˘imati
 little/some: ˘jmoe
 jewelry: ˘pronti
 male creature (man): ˘breo
 morsel: ˘mika
 mound (a lot): ˘tyema
 name: ˘mina
 night: ˘non
 north : ˘noda
 owl: ˘moje
 pain: ˘xata
 pebble: ˘juna
 place/land/location: ˘jyete
 point (geometrical): ˘jrane
 praise: ˘yamta
 proverb/wise tale: ˘posolo

quickness: ˘shpire
 rain: ˘rado
 reason: ˘jmeo
 sand: ˘shtenia
 seed: ˘unti
 set: ˘smi
 sincerity: ˘chalinma
 single (1 exactly): ˘die
 slowness: ˘mele
 son: ˘shmeshim
 song: ˘mishi
 south: ˘sadu
 spear: ˘xani
 spread: ˘yenta
 stone: ˘bjora
 storm: ˘panei
 strength: ˘kinpa
 surface: ˘shrei
 sweet: ˘tyrie
 symbol/sign: ˘jrene
 that: ˘brañe
 the: ˘diri
 these: ˘kuotolo
 this: ˘kuoto
 thorn: ˘lotti
 those: ˘brañelo
 thunder: ˘kra
 touch: ˘pacha
 up: ˘namei
 valley: ˘shoma
 water: ˘echa
 west : ˘rata
 wisp: ˘ple
 wood: ˘shparan
 word: ˘trachem
 10 exactly: ˘shie

3 tones

and: ˘en
 by means of: ˘shka
 everywhere(ness): ˘kranya
 far(ness)/distal: ˘itkam
 for the purpose (of): ˘mecha

for: ˘ju
 from: ˘shamti
 here: ˘brau
 in: ˘nie
 indefinite article ‘a’ or ‘an’: ˘o
 midway(ness)/medial: ˘tynkipa
 near(ness)/proximal: ˘myynta
 on: ˘yoa
 show-ing: ˘shva-m
 that: ˘ma
 who: ˘ki
 with: ˘loshi

5 tones

to approach: ˆkyytheña
 to ask for: ˆjneieña
 to ask forgiveness: ˆpieña
 to be / to exist: ˆadeñe
 to be happy/ be joyful: ˆmocheña
 to be honest: ˆrakeña
 to be sincere/honest: ˆchalineña
 to begin: ˆeneñe
 to bind together: ˆnashamene
 to breathe: ˆyytheña
 to burn: ˆskeyeñe
 to celebrate: ˆbroyeñe
 to comfort: ˆvyeieña
 to complete/ to finish: ˆnieyeñe
 to confuse: ˆbrauteña
 to continue/ to keep going: ˆtxocheña
 to create: ˆdyetineñe
 to dance: ˆmyytheña
 to discover: ˆkoreña
 to do: ˆtvaeña
 to dream: ˆsauene
 to drink: ˆbrabeña
 to fear (something): ˆjeneña
 to feel (emotion): ˆshbieñe
 to fly: ˆvyareña
 to give: ˆshmeieña
 to go: ˆnaeña
 to guide/ lead: ˆdraueña
 to have: ˆomateñe

to hear: ˘smaeñe
to help: ˘kuveñe
to look at/ to admire another person’s beauty: ˘kimpoveñe
to love: ˘ameñe
to make: ˘myysheñe
to move quickly: ˘shipireñe
to move slowly: ˘meleñe
to need: ˘jrueña
to pass forward (euphamism for die): ˘trucheña
to play (music): ˘svayeñe
to pray: ˘nathimeñe
to put: ˘temeña
to replace: ˘txoneña
to seem: ˘jiateña
to show: ˘shvaeñe
to sleep: ˘krutheñe
to smile: ˘jvaueña
to speak: ˘raieña
to symbol(ize)/ to sign (something)
to take off (for flight): ˘noreña
to take: ˘ateña
to thank: ˘koyeñe
to think: ˘thimeña
to touch/ to feel: ˘pacheñe
to try: ˘nyytheña
to understand: ˘vxateña
to use: ˘dxueñe
to want: ˘ratuveñe
to hunt: ˘yeheña
to see: ˘smieña
to sing/ to say: ˘misheña

8) Appendix

8.1 Tower Of Babel Translation

Genesis 11:1-9

11˘Trova ˘diri ˘jurnei ˘shva-m ˘niey-e ˘ad-yem-ti ˘loshi
Now the Earth show-PGR complete-NMLZ be-PST.IMP-3SG with
‘Now all the Earth continued to be of’

˘di ˘Myythxa ˘en ˘di ˘nima-n ˘trach. 2˘Kyyn ˘ta ˘na -yem -timo
one language and one set-CLF word. 2When they-NEUT go -PST.IMP -3PL
‘one language and of one set of words. As they traveled’

˘jamei, ˘ta ˘kor -ye -timo ˘o ˘shoma
east they-NEUT discover -PST -3PL a valley
‘eastward, they discovered a valley plain’

˘nie ˘diri ˘jyete ˘jren-ye
in the land symbol-PST
‘in the land of’

˘Shinar. 3˘Dipa ˘ta ˘mish-ye-timo ˘javrei ˘lotama-ñ
Shi’nar. 3Then they-NEUT sing -PST -3PL each being-ACC:
‘Shi’nar. Then they said to one another:’

< ˘La ˘naeña! ˘So ˘meju ˘myysh -ya -tem ˘shkai-lo
“-QUOT You-2PL come-IMP! We suggest make -PRS -1PL brick -PL
“‘Come! Let us make bricks”

˘en ˘ske -ya -tem ˘tuñ ˘shka ˘vrean. > ˘En ˘ta
and burn -PRS -2PL them-ACC by means of fire -QUOT And they-NEUT
“and bake them with fire.” So they’

˘dxu-ye-timo ˘shkai ˘mecha ˘txon-ya ˘bjora, ˘en ˘bjora
use -PST -3PL brick for the purpose replace-PRS stone, and stone
‘used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen’

˘en ˘jurnei ˘ju ˘nasham-e.
and Earth for binding-NMLZ.
‘as mortar’.

4˘Ta ˘trova ˘mish -ye -timo: < ˘La ˘naeña!
4They-NEUT now sing -PST -3PL -QUOT You-2PL come-IMP!
‘They now said: “Come!”

˘So ˘meju ˘dyetin -ya -tem ˘o ˘pyei ˘ju ˘la-ñ ˘en ˘o
We suggest create -PRS -1PL an enclave for us-ACC and a
‘Let us build a city for ourselves and a’

˘breionya-moi ˘ma ˘loshi ˘fu ˘jrane ˘nie ˘diri ˘Hochma-lo , ˘en
castle -AUG that with it-POS point in the-DET Heaven -PL , and
‘tower with its tip in the heavens, and’

˘so ˘meju ˘myysh-ya-tem ˘o ˘mina ˘shva-m
we suggest make -PRS -1PL a name show-PRG
‘let us make a celebrated

˘broy -e ˘ju ˘so-ñ, ˘mecha ˘so ˘ad-yi-tem
celebrate-NMLZ for us-ACC, for the purpose we be -FUT -1PL
‘name for ourselves, so that we will

˘svha-m ˘kranya ˘ñate yoa ˘en ˘jernei-u ˘shrei. ˘Dipa Yahova
show -PRG everywhere NEG on the Earth-POSS surface. ˘Then Jehova
‘not be scattered over the entire face of the Earth. Then Jehova’

˘na-ye-ti adoku ˘patene ˘diri ˘pyei ˘en ˘diri ˘breionya-moi
go-PST-3SG down see-INF the enclave and the castle -AUG
‘went down to see the city and the tower’

˘ma ˘diri ˘shmeshim-lo ˘ma shka ˘breo-lo ˘ti
that the son -PL that by man-PL they-MASC
‘that the sons of men’

˘dyetin-ye. ˘Yahova trova ˘mish -ye -ti: < ˘La ˘pateñe! ˘Ta
create-PST. ˘Jehova now sing -PST -3SG: QUOT You-2PL see-IMP! They-NEUT
‘had built. Jehova then said: “Look! They’

˘ad-ya-timo ˘di ˘nima-n ˘lotama ˘loshi ˘di ˘Myythxa, ˘en ˘kuoto
be -PRS -3PL one bundle-CLF being with one language, and this
‘are one people with one language, and this’

˘ad-ye ˘diri ˘dytein-e ˘ma ˘ta ˘en-ye-timo ˘myysheñe.
be-PRS the- create-NMLZ that they-NEUT begin-PST-3PL make-INF
‘is what they have started to do’.

˘Trova ˘ad-ya ˘ñate ˘o ˘dytein-e, ˘ma nie ˘tu ˘thim-e-lo,
Now be-PRS NEG a creat-NMLZ, that in their-GEN think-NMLZ-PL,
‘Now there is nothing that they may have in mind’

˘ma ˘ad -yi -ti ˘shva-m ˘vreita ñate tu-ñ.
that be-FUT-3SG.NEUT show-PRG ability NEG them-ACC.

‘to do that will be impossible for them’.

˘La ˘naeña! ˘So ˘meju ˘na-ya-tem ˘adoku
 ˘You-2PL come-INF We suggest go -PRS -1PL down
 ‘Come! Let us go down’

˘mia ˘tu ˘pyei ˘en ˘so ˘brau-ya-tem ˘tu
 to their-GEN.NEUT enclave and we confuse-PST-1PL their-GEN.NEUT
 ‘there and confuse their’

˘Myythxa ˘mecha ˘ta ˘meju
 language for the purpose they-NEUT suggest-
 ‘language in order that they may’

˘vxat -ya -timo ˘ñate ˘diri ˘Myxthra-lo ˘javrei ˘lotama-u. ˘Dipa ˘Yahova
 understand -PRS -3PL NEG the language-PL each being-GEN. ˘Then Jehova
 ‘not understand one another’s language. So Jehova’

˘tem-ya-ti ˘svha-m ˘kranya ˘diri ˘Myxthra-lo ˘shamti
 put-PST-3SG show-PRG everywhere the language-PL from
 ‘scattered them from’

˘diri ˘pyei ˘mia ˘diri ˘jurnei-ñ, ˘en ˘ta ˘nie-ye-timo
 the enclave to the Earth-ACC, and they-NEUT end -PST -3PL
 ‘there over the entire face of the Earth, and they’

˘shva-m ˘meleo ˘myysheñe ˘diri ˘pyei. ˘Ta
 show -PRG slow make-INF the enclave. ˘They-NEUT
 ‘gradually left off building the city’

˘jren-ye-timo ˘diri ˘pyei ˘Beibol ˘mecha ˘Yahova ˘brau -ya -ti
 symbol-PST -3PL the enclave Babel for the purpose Jehova confuse-PST-3SG
 ‘That is why it was named Ba’bel, because Jehova confused’

˘diri ˘jurnei-u ˘Myythxa, ˘en ˘Yahova ˘tem-ya-ti ˘svha-m
 the Earth-GEN language, and Jehova put -PST -3SG show-PRG
 ‘the language of all the Earth, and Jehova’

˘kranya ˘diri ˘Myxthra ˘shmati ˘diri ˘pyei ˘mia ˘diri ˘junrei-ñ.

everywhere the language from the enclave to the Earth-ACC.
 ‘scattered them from there over the entire face of the Earth’.

8.2 Example Sentences

1. ˘Ma ˘diri ˘moje ˆmish-ya-ti ˘do-ñ ˘mati ˘diri ˘non, ˘fa
That the owl sing-PRS-3SG me-ACC during the night, it

˘jren-ye-ti ˘do-ñ ˘ma ˘thinta ˆad-ya ˘myynte.
signal-PST-3SG me-ACC that danger be-PRS near

‘The owl, that sings to me during the night, signaled to me that danger is near.’

2. ˘Diri ˘jvieti ˘ma ˘ki ˆdo ˆam -ye, ˘fa ˆtruch-ye-ti
The woman that who I love-PST.1SG, she die -PST- 3SG

ˆshva-m ˘jale.
show-PROG peace.

‘The woman, who I loved, died peacefully.’

3. ˘Diri ˘prau ˆshmei-ye-ti ˘diri ˘blum ˘moje-u ˘ma ˘o ˘jren-e
The child give -PST-3SG the feather owl-POS that a symbol-NMLZ

˘ju ˘jale, ˘fa ˘mui ˘kra-ñ.
for peace, it his friend-ACC.

‘The child gave the owl’s feather, which is a symbol of peace, to his friend.’

4. ˆRe ˆshmei-ye-ta ˘rue ˘kora ˘ma ˘ki ˘diri ˘breo ˆmyyth-ye-ti
You give -PST-2SG your-GEN heart that who the man dance-PST-3SG

˘loshi ˘do-ñ.
with me-ACC

‘You gave your heart to the man who danced with me.’

5. ˆDo ˆkruth -ye -m ˘ma ˘kryn ˘diri ˘tara ˆkyyth -ye -ti ˘do-ñ.
I sleep-PST.1SG-IMP that when the girl approach-PST-3SG me-ACC

‘I was sleeping when the girl came in.’

6. ˘Suo ˘drau-e ˘jvarei ˘ma ˘ki ˆmyyth-ya-ti ˘nore ˘bratha, ˘mi
Our-GEN lead-NMLZ Jvarei that who dance-PRS-3SG away evil, he

ˆsmie-ya-ti ˘diri ˘jren -e -lo ˘jurnei-u
see-PRS-3SG the symbol-NMLZ-PL Earth-POSS.

‘Our leader Jvarei, who rids of evil, reads the Earth’s symbols.’

7. ˆDo ˆjvau -ye -m ˘that ˘when ˆre ˆnor -ye -ta.
I smile-PST.1SG-IMP ma kryn you take off-PST-2SG

‘I was smiling when you took off (in flight).’

8. ˘Diri ˘moje-lo ˘jren-ya-timo ˘ma ˘suo
The owl-PL symbol-PRS-3PL that our-GEN

˘Chabala ˘ad-ya-ti ˘brau ˘mecha ˘drau -ya -ti ˘so-ñ.
God be-PRS-3SG here for the purpose guide-PRS-3SG us-ACC
‘The owls symbol that our God is here to guide us.’

8.3 Numbering System

The numbering system in ˘Myyxtha is based on a base-10 system, meaning that each group of numbers goes up by a series of 10 for each set, much like in English. Numbers in ˘Myythxa are created in an agglutinative structure, pairing together the names for the individual numbers (1-9) consecutively in a sequence to create a larger number. For example, the number 25 would combine the lexical items 2+5 in that particular order to create the desired number ‘˘rasi’. Each factor of 10 builds off of the base ‘˘shi’, creating the sequence 10 ‘˘shi’, 20 (two tens) ‘˘rashi’ 30 (three tens) ‘˘minshi’, 40 (four tens) ‘˘feshi’, and so on. The two patterns described above continue until the number 100 ‘˘umi’, where the prefix for each number past 100 becomes umi plus the consecutive sequence of additional numbers. For example the number 143 would become 100+4+3 or ‘˘umifemin’. Similarly, 1043 would become 1000+4+3 or ‘˘uminfemin’.

˘um 0	˘di 1	˘ra 2	˘min 3	˘fe 4	˘si 5	˘lyyn 6	˘ti 7	˘duxe 8	˘hea 9
˘shi 10	˘didi 11	˘dira 12	˘dimin 13	˘dife 14	˘disi 15	˘dilyyn 16	˘diti 17	˘diduxe 18	˘dihea 19
˘rashi 20	˘radi 21	˘rara 22	˘ramin 23	˘rafe 24	˘rasi 25	˘ralyyn 26	˘rati 27	˘raduxe 28	˘rahea 29
˘minshi									

30
˘feshi 40
˘sishi 50
˘lyynshi 60
˘tishi 70
˘duxeshi 80
˘heashi 90
˘umi 100
˘umin 1000
˘uminshi 10000
˘umiumin 100,000

***ráłkraju túja*: Documentation & Linguistic Analysis**

Isabel “Izzy” Starr
LING 315 – Prof. Carpenter
14 December 2015

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Introduction to Culture of *Gu Tłə́j* and *ráłkraju túja*

Gu Tłə́j are the speakers of *ráłkraju túja*. They are native to a small valley in the Greater Caucasus mountain range in Eurasia, located between the Black and Caspian Seas. They lived in Neolithic Azerbaijan in roughly 8,000 BCE, coexisting with speakers of pre- and Proto-Indo-European. Their placement is consistent with the Kurgan hypothesis, proposed in the 1950s by Marija Gimbutas, which postulates that speakers of Proto-Indo-European belonged to the Kurgan-Yamna archaeological culture of the Pontic-Caspian Steppe in roughly 6,000 BCE (Haak et al., 2015). The *Gu Tłə́j* are incredibly isolated in their location high in the Greater Caucasus mountains, living roughly 700 miles from the Pontic-Caspian Steppe. There they are safe from invaders and have avoided contact with Proto-Indo-European Kurgan peoples. Although the region has rather drastic weather changes, their location is extremely fertile, allowing them to cultivate different agricultural products and take care of their flocks of sheep, which are their main source of meat and wool. As far back as their oral history can trace, the *Gu Tłə́j* have always lived in their community in the mountains—occasionally sending hunting parties lower down in the foothills in search of food.

As agriculturalists and pastoralists living in the high mountains, they spend much of their times in pairs or in groups and pass the time with storytelling and singing—the most valued non-essential skills in their culture. Because *Gu Tłə́j* culture is entirely oral, the importance of storytelling and singing is also in conveying history and tradition. Their language is called *ráłkraju túja*, a derivative version of *ráłkra-ju tú-ja qú-tłə́ja-ə*, meaning ‘the song is sung’. *Gu Tłə́j* children learn to sing and tell stories from an incredibly young age and those who excel at storytelling and singing achieve a higher

social status within the society. A mark of beauty for all individuals is having a deep, resonant, expressive, and captivating voice, which earns them admiration and adoration. There are regularly held competitions to see who can tell the most captivating stories or sing the most beautifully. Storytellers who are the most charismatic and tell the best stories often become shamans or leaders for the society. *Gu Tłə́ą́j* religious shamans are often of the neuter ‘ungender,’ because they combine the best aspects of femaleness/femininity. They remember the histories of the *Gu Tłə́ą́j* and interpret signs from the descendants.

The *Gu Tłə́ą́j* believe that when the universe came into being through a sudden sound, three worlds were created: the world of the past, the world of the present, and the world of the future. These three worlds are very similar and exist simultaneously. Departed ancestors live in the world of the past, the living live in the world of the present, and their descendants live in the world of the future. Because of this, the *Gu Tłə́ą́j* have a very interesting relationship with death—while life and birth are rejoiced and celebrated, death is also. Death marks an individual’s transition from the world of the present to the world of the past, where the individual becomes omniscient and helps guide the living in order to better provide for their descendants. *Gu Tłə́ą́j* people believe that dreams are how they can interact with their ancestors and any member of the society can do this. The *Gu Tłə́ą́j* believe that unborn, living in the world of the future, help shape the earth and the seasons—they bring the crops and snow and send signs to the shamans when someone is about to be born and pass into the world of the living. Both birth and death are causes for celebration and are commemorated with festivities and rituals.

PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY

Phonetics

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive			t d			ʈ ɖ		k g	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal								ŋ			
Trill											
Tap/Flap			ɾ								
Fricative										ħ	h
Lateral Fricative			ɬ ɮ								
Approximant							j				
Lateral Approximant			l								

(Table 1.1)

Above is a chart of the consonants of *ráłkráju túja*, which are very specific to the language. The only phonemes found in English are *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *ʔ* (pronounced as the glottal pause in *uh-oh*), *ŋ* (pronounced as the *ng* in *sing*), *h*, *j* (pronounced as the *y* in *yes*), and *l*. There are no bilabial, labiodental, or dental sounds; because the sounds are voiced at the alveolar ridge and further back in the mouth the language takes on a very deep and ear-catching tone that reflects the nature of storytelling in *Gu Tłəháj* culture.

Most of the phonemes are not found in English: *ʈ*, *ɖ*, *q*, *ɢ*, *ɬ*, *ɮ*, *ħ*, and *ɾ*. Plosives, fricatives, and lateral fricatives in *ráłkráju túja* are paired by location of articulation, rather than by voicing: *t* and *ʈ*, *d* and *ɖ*, *k* and *q*, *g* and *ɢ*, *h* and *ħ*, and *ɬ* and *ɮ*. The retroflex *ʈ* and *ɖ* are pronounced similarly to the English *t* and *d*, but with the tongue curled against the roof of the mouth. The uvular *q* and *ɢ* are pronounced similarly to the English *k* and *g*, but further back. The alveolar tap *ɾ* is pronounced similarly to the English *tt* in *butter*. The voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ħ* is pronounced as the English *h*

but more forcefully and lower down in articulation. The voiceless and voiced alveolar lateral fricatives *ɬ* and *ɮ* are pronounced in the same manner: with the tongue against the roof of the mouth (similar to a compound of phonemes *f* in English *ship* and *l* in English *loose*; *ʒ* in English *vision* and *l*).

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-Mid			ɤ
Open-Mid		ɜ	ʌ
Open			ɑ

(Table 1.2)

Vowels in *ráłkrɔju tɔja* are almost entirely unrounded excluding the rounded close back *u* vowel. The vowels *i*, *u*, *ʌ*, and *ɑ* are all found in English in the words *free*, *tool*, *hug*, and *father*. The unrounded back vowels *ɤ*, *ʌ*, and *ɑ* are on a continuum of openness that relates to tenses in the language. The unrounded back close-mid vowel *ɤ* is pronounced similarly to *ʌ* with the mouth slightly more closed. The unrounded central open-mid vowel *ɜ* is pronounced similarly to *ɛ* in English *bed* but is articulated slightly further back in the mouth.

Phonology

The syllable structure of *ráłkrɔju tɔja* is (C) (C) V (C). The minimum for any syllable is the lone vowel, to which consonants can then be added.

- V – *u*, INDF.ABS particle
- VC – *ir-*, ‘full’, ‘all’
- CV – *ku*, DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS particle
- CVC – *dir*, ‘way’
- CCV – *krʌ*, ‘thing’
- CCVC – *qjul*, ‘cloud’

The stress pattern of *rálkrʌju t́uja* is heavy-left, light-left. This means that in any multi-syllable word, the stress will fall on the furthest left heavy syllable, or given situations where there a word is composed of multiple light syllables, the stress will fall on the furthest left syllable.

ḡílkʌ, ‘tail’
ḥakʌl, ‘thunder’
ḡídi, ‘rabbit’

Phonotactic Restraints

There are several phonotactic restraints that mark the pronunciation of the *rálkrʌju t́uja*. All plosives can be paired with tap, approximants, and lateral approximants in the onset position.

<i>tr-</i>	<i>dr-</i>	<i>ṭr-</i>	<i>ḑr-</i>	<i>kr-</i>	<i>gr-</i>	<i>qr-</i>	<i>gr-</i>
<i>tj-</i>	<i>dj-</i>	<i>ṭr-</i>	<i>ḑr-</i>	<i>kj-</i>	<i>gj-</i>	<i>qj-</i>	<i>gj-</i>
<i>tl-</i>	<i>dl-</i>	<i>ṭl-</i>	<i>ḑl-</i>	<i>kl-</i>	<i>gl-</i>	<i>ql-</i>	<i>gl-</i>

All plosives can be paired with lateral fricatives according to voicing in the onset position.

<i>tl-</i>	<i>ṭl-</i>	<i>kl-</i>	<i>ql-</i>
<i>dl-</i>	<i>ḑl-</i>	<i>gl-</i>	<i>gl-</i>

Fricatives cannot be paired—syllables with fricatives in the onset position can only be CV or CVC. Only alveolar tap *ɾ*, lateral fricatives *l* and *ḡ*, lateral approximant *l*, and the palatal approximant *j* are allowed in the coda position, where they are velarized. Plosives are aspirated in the word initial position and in stressed syllables.

Phonological Rules

The only phonological rules in *rálkrʌju t́uja* concern diphthongs, which are not allowed. While there are multi-syllabic words where vowels can be clustered, vowel

clusters are only allowed in the original form of the word, where each vowel is pronounced individually within its syllable.

ga.íl, ‘death’

The two phonological rules that govern how vowel clusters are managed are the J-rule, and the 1st Vowel Dropping rule:

J-Rule

In set cases of vowel clustering, one vowel of the cluster will become the palatal approximant *j*.

$\widehat{a}u \rightarrow aj$

$\widehat{i}\mathfrak{z} \rightarrow j\mathfrak{z}$

1st Vowel Dropping Rule

When words containing clustered vowels are compounded with other words, the original word’s first vowel in the cluster will drop. When words or suffixes are compounded and create a vowel cluster, the first vowel in the cluster will drop. If the stress does not all on any part of the vowel cluster it, the stress of the word will not shift.

$\eta a + \text{tr}\acute{a}r$, ‘NEG + time’ $\rightarrow \eta a\text{t}\acute{a}r$, ‘before’

MORPHOLOGY

rálkráju tija is an agglutinative language, where words are made primarily via suffixing, although there are some prefixes.

Morphological Rules

Suffixes are added by immediacy of the concept: the order indicates smaller ideas that become larger as new suffixes are added. Therefore, suffixes indicating the genitive case attach to the word before suffixes indicating the locative, ablative, or allative cases.

<i>džul-</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>tá-</i>	<i>ja-</i>	<i>ra</i>
place-GEN.ABS		1.SG.ERG-GEN.ERG-LOC		
‘at our place’				

When an agglutinative suffix that begins with a vowel is attached to a word that ends in a vowel, the last vowel in the word will drop.

<i>/il-gu-tl^hηa-a/</i>	→	<i>[il-gu- tl^h.η-a]</i>
		F- AN.3.SG.ABS-sing-PRS
‘she sings’		

Adjectivization

Adjectivization is the process by which adjectives can be made. In *rálkráju tija*, adjectives are formed in three ways: they exist naturally in the language, naturally existing adjectives are modified to create new adjectives, or adjectival phrases are created using the *ija* + *noun* format. Slight modifications can be made to any of these adjective formats using the prefix *ηa* to negate the adjective and change the meaning to ‘opposite of the adjective’ or ‘not quite adjective’ in the British English sense of ‘quite’ meaning ‘not extensively’. Adjectives can also be augmented without limit using full reduplication of the adjective to mean ‘very adjective,’ ‘very, very adjective’, etc.

Naturally existing adjectives:

- *ʒɪɳal*, ‘possible’
 - *ɳa-ʒɪɳal*, ‘impossible’ or ‘not quite possible’
 - *ʒɪɳalʒɪɳal*, ‘very possible’
- *ɳiʒl*, ‘long’
 - *ɳa-ɳiʒl*, ‘not long’ or ‘not quite long’
 - *ɳiʒlɳiʒl*, ‘very long’¹

Modified adjectives are made by compounding the adjective with a noun to create a new adjective.

- *ɳiʒl* + *trár*, ‘long’ + ‘time’ → *ɳiʒltar*, ‘old’
 - *ɳa-ɳiʒltar*, ‘not old’ or ‘not quite old’
 - *ɳiʒl* + *ɳiʒltar*, ‘long’ + ‘old’ → *ɳiʒlɳiʒltar*, ‘ancient’

Created adjectives are made using the adjectival phrase ‘*ɳjɳ* + noun’, or ‘noun-like’. The created adjective can be used to describe the noun itself but is also usable with a separate meaning.

- *ɳjɳ* + *ɳʒgi*, ‘like + fur’ → *ɳjɳ ɳʒgi*, ‘fur-like’ or ‘soft’
 - *ɳa ɳjɳ ɳʒgi*, ‘not fur-like’ or ‘not soft’
 - *ɳjɳ ɳʒgiɳʒgi*, ‘very fur-like’ or ‘very soft’

Nominalization

Nominalization is the process by which an existing noun or verb can be modified to create a new noun. Usually this noun is something that is not native to the *Gu Tɬaɳáj*’s environment and must be described in terms of things they already know.

- Nouns can be made from any existing noun using the prefix *krij-*, which creates a noun that is described by ‘noun-like thing’
 - *krij-* + *túrɜ*, ‘*krij-* + dog’ → *krijtúrɜ*, ‘dog-like thing’²

¹ Because *ɳiʒl* is a full word meaning ‘long,’ the phonological rule that does not allow diphthongs changes does not affect the word *ɳiʒl* by itself. When *ɳiʒl* is modified to create compound adjectives, as in the case of */ɳiʒlɳiʒl/*, the word must comply with the phonological rule and becomes *[ɳiʒlɳiʒl]*.

- *krij-* + *ɲiʒl*, ‘*krij-* + long’ → *kriɲɲɛʒl*, ‘inherently long thing’³
- Nouns can be made from verbs to describe whether the noun is the at or the patient of the verb.
 - *tlɔŋa* + *-aj*, ‘sing-INF + *-aj*’ → *tlɔŋáj*, ‘singer’ or ‘thing that sings’⁴
 - *ɖɛi* + *-uj*, ‘hear-INF + *-uj*’ → *ɖɛuj*, ‘fixee’ or ‘thing that is fixed’⁵

² The prefix *krij-* comes from the historically descriptive phrase *ku iɲa ____ kra*, glossed as ‘the noun-like thing’, which became *ku kra-iɲa ____*. Over time, the wedges dropped out of the phrase, which left *krij-* used as a prefix meaning ‘like thing’ that would be attached to the existing noun used to describe the foreign noun.

³ Gradually, the *krij-* prefix was also attached to adjectives to create nouns that are inherently described by the adjective. This specific noun phrase is different from using an adjective to describe a noun, which is more context and noun specific.

⁴ The *-aj* ending is derived from the older phrase */gu tlɔŋa kluɬu au/*, glossed as ‘the sing-INF person NZ’. The nominalizing particle *au* was originally used as a circumfix to match the determining particle to show the phrase as a complete noun concept. Because *au* defies the phonological rule regarding diphthongs, it became *aj*, which attached to the verb infinitive to create the active do-er of the verb.

⁵ The *-uj* suffix came about in response to the *-aj* suffix as a way of conveying the object receiving the verb where *a* denotes the active/ergative and *u* denotes the passive/absolutive.

SYNTAX

The word order of *rálkráju túja* is object-subject-verb (OSV). The word order is very strict, meaning that sentences maintain OSV order at all times. The only types of phrases whose placement in the sentence can shift are instrumental phrases and those that provide more information about the subject, the object, or the verb.

<i>ku</i>	<i>tikár</i>	<i>tá-</i>	<i>tł-</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>[ilu</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>k3qál-</i>	<i>ju</i>
IN.3.SG.ABS	house	1.PL.ERG-build-PST	[with	AN.3.PL.ERG	friend-GEN.ABS			
<i>il-ta-</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>/</i>						
F-1.SG.ERG-GEN.ERG]								
<i>ku</i>	<i>tikár</i>	<i>[ilu</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>k3qál-</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>il-ta-</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>/</i>
IN.3.SG.ABS	house	[with	AN.3.PL.ERG	friend-GEN.ABS	F-1.SG.ERG-GEN.ERG]			
<i>tá-</i>	<i>tł-</i>	<i>ɣ</i>						
1.PL.ERG-build-PST								
‘I built the house with my_F friends ’								

Verbs

Verbs are conjugated by compounding the information that the verb provides: gender, person and case, the verb itself, and the tense (gender + person/case + verb + tense). Verbs in *rálkráju túja* are very simple: they can indicate ergativity/transitivity and absolutivity/intransitivity, or the passive (see Ergative/Absolutive Case). Verbs only distinguish tense, not aspect or mood.

Gender

Gender in *rálkráju túja* is divided into three: female/feminine, male/masculine, and neuter/mixed. Both singular individuals and groups can be categorized in these three ways. Female/feminine individuals are marked with the prefix *-il*, male/masculine individuals are marked with the prefix *-ol*, and neuter individuals are unmarked. Solely female/feminine or male/masculine groups are marked with the respective prefixes, while

mixed groups –no matter the gender composition—are unmarked. The verb and all pronouns used to refer to the subject of a sentence must agree in gender.

Person & Case

Pronouns an important part of the verb because they indicate both the number of the subject or passive object of the sentence and the agent or passive patient of the verb. Pronouns are the same as those used as nouns or determiners (see Person).

Verb

The verb by itself is the infinitive form (‘to ____’), and is simply inputted into the verb-conjugating structure without modification beyond potentially dropping the final vowel in cases of 1st Vowel Dropping Rule.

Tense

Tenses in *rálkrΛju tija* are quite simple and correspond to openness of the mouth on back vowels. -*r* denotes the past tense, -*Λ* denotes present tense, and -*a* denotes future tense.

	Past	Present	Future
Ergative	(g) + pronoun- <i>a</i> + verb + - <i>r</i>	(g) + pronoun- <i>a</i> + verb + - <i>Λ</i>	(g) + pronoun- <i>a</i> + verb + - <i>a</i>
Absolutive	(g) + pronoun- <i>u</i> + verb + - <i>r</i>	(g) + pronoun- <i>u</i> + verb + - <i>Λ</i>	(g) + pronoun- <i>u</i> + verb + - <i>a</i>

(Table 2.1)

<i>qat</i> , ‘to eat’			
<i>ta-qát-r</i>	‘I _N ate’	<i>ku-qát-r</i>	‘it was eaten’
<i>il-da-qat-Λ</i>	‘you _F eat’	<i>tu-qát-Λ</i>	‘we _{MX} are eaten’
<i>ól-ga-qat-a</i>	‘he will eat’	<i>il-qu-qat-a</i>	‘you _{PL.F} will be eaten’

In order to create the imperative form of the verb in *rálkráju túja*, you attach the ergative form of the pronoun to the end of the verb infinitive. It can be directed to first, second, and third person parties, including inanimate objects. To gender the individual or group receiving the command, the gender prefix is added before the pronoun.

<i>qál-ta!</i>	‘let us eat!’
<i>qál-il-da!</i>	‘(you _F) eat!’
<i>qál-ol-ga!</i>	‘let him eat!’

Factive Copula

The factive copula (glossed as COP) is used to state things that are known facts, or to make stand-alone noun phrases into facts. The word *lar* is effectively ‘to be’ and can be conjugated in the past, present, or future using the same tenses as with regular verbs.

<i>gu</i>	<i>túr3-ju</i>	<i>ól-ga-</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>lár- r</i>
AN.3.SG.ABS	dog-GEN.ABS	M-AN.3.SG.ERG-GEN.ERG	COP-PST	
‘He had a dog.’				

Nouns

In *rálkráju túja*, nouns are not modified unless compounded to create a new term. All modifications of nouns to create plurals or make nouns definite or indefinite are done on the determining particle. The default form for all nouns is singular (excluding mass nouns), definite, and respectively ergative or absolutive unless otherwise stated. Default ergativity/absolutivity, or inherent ergativity/absolutivity, is determined by the animacy of the noun based upon the noun class to which it belongs. Inherently ergative nouns belong to the Elements, Living Things (People, Animals, and Plants), and Weather classes. Inherently absolutive nouns belong to the Inanimate, Food, or Body Part classes. Nouns in the Abstract Concepts or Intangible Things classes are pre-determined as

ergative or absolutive—compound words are highly unlikely to be put into this class unless both nouns forming the compound are in this class.

Gender

Gender can be applied to all nouns in the Living Things class if the gender is known; it is often applied to People and Animals and very irregularly applied to the Plants class (see Gender above). Gender prefixes can also be attached to pronouns the same as in conjugating verbs (see Person below).

klútu, ‘person’ → *ilklútu*, ‘woman’

Person

Pronouns can be used as a stand-in for the subject or object and indicate the number and case described. The number of individuals or things described by the pronoun is indicated by the augmentation of the initial plosive—the further-back articulation increases the number described. Animate nouns with known gender can take a gender prefix to indicate whether it is female/feminine, male/masculine, or neuter/mixed. Pronouns are, by definition, definite in *ráłkráju tija*.

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	<i>t(a/u)</i>	<i>t(a/u)</i>
2nd Person	<i>d(a/u)</i>	<i>d(a/u)</i>
3rd Person (inanimate)	<i>k(a/u)</i>	<i>q(a/u)</i>
3rd Person (animate)	<i>g(a/u)</i>	<i>g(a/u)</i>

(Table 2.2)

Number

Because most nouns are defaulted singular, excluding mass nouns, number in *rálkráju tija* is indicating using the ‘Hand System.’ The hand system describes the amount of a noun as it is able to be held in individual or group hands.

gu *írat* *kʒtiti- ju* *tá-* *ja* *lár- ʌ*
 DEF.AN.3.AG.ABS full-hand sheep-GEN.ERG 1.PL.ERG-GEN.ERG COP-PRS
 ‘We have one sheep’

When describing the amount of intangible things or abstract concepts, the tangible marker *ʒu* (glossed as TNG) is used.

du- *kír- ʀ* *ga* *ʒu* *tal* *dilʒl*
 2.SG.ERG-sleep-PST AN.3.SG.ERG TNG half-hand night
 ‘you_N slept half the night.’

The Hand System is also frequently used to describe the size of a noun in conjunction with or in replacement of an adjective. Some things are *ɣát* ‘unable to be held,’ meaning that there is too little of the noun or *ɣakarát* ‘too much to be held in group hands,’ meaning that there is too much of the noun; this often corresponds to size.

Mass nouns are relatively set and take one of three classifiers: *ɣʒʒi*, ‘piece’ for solid mass nouns, and *djitr*, ‘bucket’ or *gli*, ‘drop’ for liquids depending upon the amount described.

ku *gli* *tigʌʔ* *il-ga-* *kal- ʀ*
 DEF.IN.3.AG.ABS **drop** liquor F-AN.3.SG.ABS- drink-PST
 ‘She drank the **drop** of liquor’

Nouns are made plural on the determiner by augmentation of the onset plosive on the pronoun from the more fronted form to the more backed form (see Consonants).

ku *grʒʒʒ* → *qu* *grʒʒʒ*
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS stone → DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS stone
 ‘the stone’ → ‘the stones’

Definite & Indefinite

Nouns are made definite or indefinite on the determiner. As with English, in *rálkráju tija* words like ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’, and ‘those’ make a noun definite and make the use of a pronoun unnecessary.

títárgu olgíti
these boy
 ‘these boys’

Because nouns are definite unless otherwise stated, all indefinite nouns must have the indefinite particle denoting whether it is ergative *a* or absolutive *u*.

a túrɜ
 INDF.ERG dog
 ‘a dog’

The only exception to this rule is when nouns come in tri-part repetition, which is a very special format native to storytelling in *rálkráju tija*. Because the tri-part mentions the same noun three times, it effectively makes the noun a mid-determined noun phrase. Mid-determined noun phrases refer to specific nouns that are not necessarily previously known to the storyteller.

kítili il kítili il kítili ta- dǵǵɜr- r
sheep and sheep and sheep 1.SG.ERG-chase-PST
 ‘I chased **sheep**’

Questions

Questions continue to follow OSV format. The placement of the question word *ki?* emphasis what part of the sentence is being questioned.

ki? du- kír- a ?
 Q 2.SG.ABS-sleep-FUT?
 ‘Will *you* sleep?’⁶

⁶ This use of *ki?* questions person committing the action (whether ‘you’ will sleep in the future).

If the question relates to a specific part of the verb, *kiʔ* can be infix into the verb.

da-kiʔ-kir-a?
 2.SG.ABS-Q-sleep-FUT?
 ‘Will you *sleep*?’⁷

For questions that use question words such as who, what, where, when, why, and how, the question word takes the place of the answer in the sentence.

<il-gu kiʔklulu?> <ájari lár- ʌ .>
 <F- AN.3.SG.ERG who ?> <ǂjari COP-PRS.>
 ‘Who is she?’ ‘She is ǂjari.’

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are formed by the head-initial interrogative word that indicates the subject to which the relative clause relates followed by the clause describing it. When glossed, the relative phrase is offset in brackets; when used in spoken *rálkraju tija*, the relative phrase is offset by a brief pause before and after.

ól-gu [kiʔklulu ku kjur il-ga- gri- ɾ]
 M-AN.3.SG.ABS [REL-who DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS meat F- ERG.AN.3.SG-cook-PRS]
 il-ga- hɜl- ʌ .
 F- ERG.AN.3.SG-know-PRS.
 ‘The girl **who cooked the meat** knows him’

Cases

Ergative/Absolutive Case

The ergative and absolutive cases are incredibly important in *rálkraju tija*. They are used to denote transitive and intransitive, active and passive, subject and object—basically indicating everything about a sentence. The cases are indicated on all nouns and conjugated verbs, as well as in possessives (see Genitive Case).

⁷ This use of *kiʔ* questions the verb action (whether the person will sleep in the future).

The ergative is used in sentences with transitive verbs, where the subject or agent takes the ergative form *a* and the object or patient of the transitive verb takes the absolutive form *u*.

du *il-ta-* *télx.t-ʌ*
 2.SG.ABS F- 1.SG.ERG-love- PRS
 ‘I love you’

The absolutive form is used for the subject in sentences with intransitive verbs that do not have objects.

ol-gu-qát-ɾ
 M-AN.3.SG.ABS-eat-PST
 ‘he ate’

The absolutive form is also used by the object in passive sentences where the subject is unstated or unknown.

gu-qruḡ-a
 AN.3.SG.ABS-stab-FUT
 ‘they_{sg} will be stabbed’

Genitive Case (Possession)

Possession is indicated by the *-ju/ja/-aju* suffix. In this context, the ergative and absolutive cases are used to mark which noun is the possessor and which is the possessee. It is optional to include the determining particle with possessive nouns or noun phrases because the possession makes the noun mandatorily definite. The possessor takes the ergative suffix *-ja* and the possessee takes the absolutive suffix *-ju*. In cases where there are multiple possessors and possessee, the suffix *-aju* is used to mark nouns that possess and are possessed. When glossed, *-ju* is marked as -GEN.ABS, *-ja* is marked as -GEN.ERG, and *-aju* is marked as -POSS to indicate that it is both the possessor and possessee.

tikar- ju k3qál-aju il-lík3j- aju tá- ja
 house-GEN.ABS friend-POSS F- parent-POSS 1.PL.ERG-GEN.ERG
 ‘our mother’s friend’s house’

Allative, Locative, & Ablative Cases

The allative, locative, and ablative cases share the same vowel markers as the past, present, and future tenses, indicating movement from the past, location in the present, and movement toward the future. They are indicated using the suffix *-r(v)*, where the allative takes *-rɣ*, the locative takes *-rʌ*, and the ablative takes *-ra*. These suffixes are often compounded with nouns of place to create further meaning, such as the following examples of compounds created from the allative, locative, and ablative suffixes and the word *há* ‘sky’.

- *há* + *-rʌ*, ‘sky + LOC’ become *háraʌ* ‘up’
- *há* + *-rɣ*, ‘sky + ALL’ become *háɣɣ* ‘from the sky’
- *há* + *-ra*, ‘sky + ABL’ become *hára* ‘to the sky’
- *ɣa* + *-rʌ* *háraʌ*, ‘NEG + LOC + sky’ become *ɣáraʌ háraʌ* ‘over’

Particles

Causative Particle

The causative particle is used in sentences to give the reason that something happened. Unlike other cases, it is not indicated using a suffix but rather the particle *iri* ‘reason’ found at the end of the phrase it affects.

ku *ta-* *dʌlt-r* *iri*
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS 1.SG. ERG-talk-PST CAUS
 ‘**Because** I said so’

Instrumental Particle

The instrumental particle is used in sentences where the verb is completed using an instrument. While the instrumental case is similar to the causative in that the particle *lɜj* indicates the instrument, *lɜj* is found at the beginning of the noun phrase describing the instrument. Phrases using the instrumental case can be placed either before or after the verb.

ku *il-ga-* *gri-* *ʌ* *[lɜj lila]*
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS F-AN.3.SG.ERG-cook-PRS [INST fire]
ku *[lɜj lila]* *il-ga-* *gri-* *ʌ*
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS [INST fire] F-AN.3.SG.ERG-cook-PRS
 ‘she cooks **with fire**’

Referential Particle

The referential particle *ʌrʌl* in *rʌlkrʌju tɜja* plays a very important role and is used quite regularly. The referential can be used a placeholder for any concept in a sentence or phrase that refers to the previous sentence or phrase and is glossed as REF. The listener understands to what the referential refers by the placement in the subject.

When *ʌrʌl* replaces the subject or the object and the verb is completed by an agent requiring a different conjugation, the verb must be included and re-conjugated correctly.

gu hídu da- ħ3l- a . áral ol-ga- ħ3l- ʌ
 AN.3.PL.ABS **information** 2.SG.ERG-learn-FUT. REF M- AN.3.SG.ERG-learn-PRES
 ‘you_F will learn **the information**. He learns **it**.’

When *áral* replaces the verb to refer to the same agent completing the verb, it is unnecessary to restate it.

u ráħ3 ta- qát-x . u ħ3łi katr3 áral
 INDF.ABS fruit 1.SG.ERG-eat- PST. INDF.ABS piece pastry REF
 ‘**I** ate a fruit. **I also** ate a piece of pastry.’

When *áral* replaces the subject or object that uses the same conjugation for a different subject or object, the new subject or object must be included while the verb is unnecessary and optionally included.

gu tʌħáj ól-gu- tʌħ- ʌ . ħiqʃl ʌral.
 AN.3.SG.ABS singer M- AN.3.SG.ABS-sing-PRS. ħiqʃl REF.
 ‘The singer **sings**. ħiqʃl **also sings**.’

CREATION MYTH

[*gu* *ηj3lηj3ltar* *qálu-ju* *tá- ja*] *rA* *ηá?qa*
 DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS ancient past-GEN.ABS 1.PL.ERG-GEN.ERG] LOC nothing
ηa- lár- x .
 NEG-COP-PST.

“In our ancient past, there was nothing.”

ηa u k3l ηxl u glur ηa- lár- x .
 NEG INDF.ERG sound nor INDF.ERG light NEG-COP-PST.
 “There was no sound nor light.”

ηa u gáru, ηa u tlu, ηa u títA ηa- lár- x .
 NEG INDF.ERG earth, NEG INDF.ERG water, NEG INDF.ERG air NEG-COP-PST.
 “There was no earth, no water, no air.”

ila, u k3l gu- qált- x ... ga k3l .
 then, INDF.ERG sound AN.3.PL.ABS-rang out-PST ... DEF.AN.3.PL.ERG sound.
 “Then, a sound rang out... the sound.”

ku dǵúl- rA ga k3l gá- kur- x .
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS place-LOC DEF.AN.3.PL.ERG sound AN.3.PL.ERG-spread-PST.
 “It spread throughout the place.”

gá?tr it gá?tr it gá?tr áral ga- tjit- x .
 world and world and world REF ERG.AN.3.PL-touch-PST.
 “World and world and world, it touched.”

it kí?dǵul ga- tjit- x, u glur lár- x .
 and where AN.3.PL.ERB-touch-PST, INDF.ABS light COP-PST.
 “And where it touched, there was light.”

tólja it tólja it tólja qu- quxʔ- x, it u k3l
 color and color and color IN.3.PL.ABS-explode-PST, and INDF.ABS sound
it u k3l it u k3l gu- qált- x .
 and INDF.ABS sound and INDF.ABS sound AN.3.PL.ABS-rang out-PST.
 “Color and color and color exploded and sound and sound and sound rang out.”

ila, titárqu gá?tr lár- x .
 thus, these world COP-PST.
 “Thus, the worlds were.”

a k3l it a glur ga- kxtíl- x it u ha
 INDF.ABS sound and INDF.ERG light AN.3.PL.ERG-combine-PST and INDF.ERG sky
it u gáru gú- tít- x .
 and INDF.ERG earth ABS.AN.3.PL-create-PST.
 “Sound and light combined and sky and earth were created.”

gu ηατάρ-ρα ηα?qa ηα- lar- ρ , ιτ gu
 DEF.AN.3.SG.ABS before-LOC nothing NEG-COP-PST, and DEF.AN.3.SG.ABS
ιρτάρ-ρα ιρα?qa λάρ- ρ .
 after-LOC everything COP-PST.
 “Before there was nothing and after there was everything.”

ila, áqrr ιτ liqút qu- kxtil- ρ titárqu gá?tr tlr :
 thus, river and mountain IN.3.PL.ABS-combine-PST these world create-INF:
ku gá?tr-ju qálu-ja ιτ ku
 DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS world-GEN.ABS past- GEN.ABS and DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS
gá?tr-ju gidúr- ja ιτ ku gá?tr-ju
 world-GEN.ABS present-GEN.ABS and DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS world-GEN.ABS
qálkzla-ja .
 future- GEN.ABS.

“Thus, river and mountain combined to create these worlds: the world of the past, the world of the present, and the world of the future.”

[ku gá?tr-ju qálu-ja] ρα gu
 [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS world-GEN.ABS past-GEN.ABS] LOC DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS
á?tjz- ju tú- ja gú- tlaη-α .
 ancestor-GEN.ABS 1.PL.ABS-GEN.ERG AN.3.PL.ABS-live-PST.
 “Our ancestors live in the world of the past.”

[ku gá?tr-ju gidúr- ja] ρα tú- tlaη-α .
 [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS world-GEN.ABS present-GEN.ABS] LOC 1.PL.ABS-live-PST.
 “We live in the world of the present.”

ιτ [ku gá?tr-ju qálkzla-ja] ρα gu
 and [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS world-GEN.ABS future- GEN.ABS] LOC DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS
gíti- ju tú- ja gú- tlaη-α .
 child-GEN.ABS 1.PL.ERG-GEN.ERG AN.3.PL.ABS-live-PST.
 “And our children live in the world of the future.”

LEXICON

*rálkraju túja -- English***a**

aqrʻ, ‘river’ (Places)
at, ‘hand’ (Body Parts)
atʻʔ, ‘sun’ (Elements)
áʒtjɜ, ‘ancestor’ (People)
áʔlu, ‘other’
áʔludʒul, ‘there’
áʔlugu, ‘that’
áʔlugu, ‘those’
áʔluku, ‘that’
áʔluqu, ‘those’

d

dɜŋál, ‘to encircle’
dɜŋál, ‘circle’ (*ku*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
dilʒl, ‘night’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
dir, ‘way’ (*ku*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
djitr, ‘bucket’ (Inanimate)
djʌr, ‘to taste’
dlar, ‘to open’
dʒɜrɜ, ‘to follow’
dʒi, ‘to hear’
dʒul, ‘place’ (Places)
dʒúlgarurʌ, ‘bottom’ (Places)
dʒúlharʌ, ‘top’ (Places)
druʒ, ‘to cut’
dúʔlr, ‘life’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
dáltr, ‘to talk/speak’

q

qahil, ‘short’
qahilɟjatr, ‘short (stature)/low’
qahilʻrar, ‘young’
qɜʒkir, ‘steppe’ (Places)
qɜʒkirdir, ‘East’ (Places)
qɜŋál, ‘to trap’
djʌr, ‘to savor’
qlar, ‘to break/split’
qʒɜrɜ, ‘to chase’
qʒi, ‘to listen’

druʒ, ‘to stab’

quʒʒ, ‘vegetable’ (Food)

qálkɜlʌ, ‘future’ (*ga*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

qáltr, ‘to yell/ring out’

ɜ

éha, ‘hello’

ɜlirtɜ, ‘sap’ (Inanimate)

ɜŋal, ‘possible’

g

gáʒi, ‘to raise/go up’

gíŋr, ‘sand’ CL: *djitr/gli* (Elements)

gíʒi, ‘child’ (People)

gjúkɜ, ‘tree’ (Plants)

gráda, ‘to call’

grɜʒɜ, ‘stone’ (Inanimate)

gri, ‘to cook/heat’

gridir, ‘South’ (Places)

gádr, ‘to pause’

gal, ‘to cool’

gáldir, ‘North’ (Places)

gáʔtr, ‘world’ (Places)

g

gail, ‘death’ (*ga*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

gáʒi, ‘to jump’

gáru, ‘earth’ CL: *djitr/gli* (Elements)

gáruʌ, ‘down’

gidúr, ‘present’ (*ga*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

girdlɜ, ‘building’ (Inanimate)

gjátr, ‘body’ (Body Parts)

gli, ‘drop’ (Inanimate)

glur, ‘light’ CL: *ŋɜʒi* (Elements)

gráda, ‘to name’

gri, ‘to burn’

gádr, ‘to stop/finish’

gal, ‘to freeze’

h

hɜl, ‘to know’

hiḡu, ‘to want’

hxr, ‘to see’

h

ha, ‘sky’ (Places)

hágli, ‘rain’ CL: *djitr/gli* (Weather)

haḡlúr, ‘lightning’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Weather)

hakǵl, ‘thunder’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Weather)

hára, ‘up’

hǵl, ‘to learn/understand’

hídu, ‘information’ (*ga*) CL: *ḡǵi*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

hiḡu, ‘to need’

hxrǵá, ‘soup’ CL: *djitr/gli* (Food)

hxr, ‘to meet/find’

i

ija, ‘like’

ija ḡǵi, ‘soft’

ija hágli, ‘sad’

ija qaǵáǵra, ‘necessary’

ija tǵa, ‘good’

ija qir, ‘bad’

ija ǵlirtǵ, ‘sticky’

ija ḡǵlir, ‘celebrated’

ija ǵǵa, ‘slow’

ila, ‘next/thus/then/so’

ilǵiti, ‘girl’ (People)

ilklulu, ‘woman’ (People)

ilri, ‘grass’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Plants)

ilx, ‘last’

il, ‘and’

ilu, ‘with’

iraǵa, ‘everything’ CL: *djitr/gli*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

iri, ‘reason’ (*ku*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

irtar, ‘after’ (*ga*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

k

kaǵ, ‘to drink’

katǵ, ‘pastry’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Food)

kǵl, ‘sound’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Elements)

kǵǵá, ‘friend’ (People)

kǵtili, ‘sheep’ (Animals)

kir, ‘to sleep’

kiǵdir, ‘how’

kiǵdǵul, ‘where’

kiǵhu, ‘maybe’

kiǵiri, ‘why’

kiǵklulu, ‘who’

kiǵkra, ‘what’

kiǵtrar, ‘when’

kjur, ‘meat’ CL: *ḡǵi* (Food)

klulu, ‘person’ (People)

klulukra, ‘name’ (*ku*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

klil, ‘to close’

kxr, ‘to breathe’

kra, ‘thing’ (*ku*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

kuri, ‘spread’

kuǵǵ, to pop

kxtil, ‘to combine’

l

lila, ‘fire’ CL: *djitr/gli* (Elements)

liǵjx, ‘parent’ (People)

liǵú, ‘mountain’ (Places)

liǵúdir, ‘West’ (Places)

l

luka, ‘to move without purpose/start’

ḡ

ḡidi, ‘rabbit’ (Animals)

ḡilká, ‘tail’ (Body Parts)

ḡiri, ‘baby’ (People)

ḡúka, ‘to move with purpose/continue’

ḡ

ḡa, ‘no’

ḡa-ǵḡal, ‘impossible’

ḡára dǵǵá, ‘around’

ḡára ǵárua, ‘under’

ḡára hára, ‘over’

ḡatár, ‘before’ (*ga*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

ḡáǵa, ‘nothing’ CL: *djitr/gli*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

ḡǵi, ‘fur’ (Body Parts)

η3ltir, ‘warrior’ (People)
η3łzi, ‘piece’ (Inanimate)
ηi3ł, ‘long’
ηilgu, ‘valley’ (Places)
ηillA, ‘head’ (Body Parts)
ηil, ‘but’
ηj3łcjatr, ‘tall/high’
ηj3łηj3łtar, ‘ancient’
ηj3łtar, ‘old’
ηrl, ‘nor’

o

ólgiłi, ‘boy’ (People)
ólklulu, ‘man’ (People)

q

qadłžúłtr, ‘location’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qadúłtr, ‘living thing’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qagjátr, ‘body part’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qagáłtr, ‘element’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qahagáłtr, ‘weather’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qájtr, ‘moon’ (Elements)
qáklulu, ‘people/clan’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qákrA, ‘group’ (*ku*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qat, ‘to eat’
qanadúłtr, ‘Inanimate things’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qanillA, ‘abstract concept/intangible’
 (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qaqáłqra, ‘food’
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qatjúlqra, ‘animal’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
q3łr3ł, ‘day’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
qir, ‘to die’
qirdułtr, ‘plants’
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

qjul, ‘cloud’ CL: *η3łzi* (Weather)
qłil, ‘to fix’
qrr, ‘to smell’
quráj, ‘conquerer’ (People)
qúri, ‘to conquer’
qułx?, ‘to explode’
qxtıl, ‘to force together’
qálu, ‘past’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

r

ráh3, ‘fruit’ (Food)
rát, ‘word’ (*ku*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
rálkra, ‘language/song’ (*ku*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
riłzi, ‘while/during’

t

télxłi, ‘to like’
tikár, ‘home’ (Places)
tıj3dli, ‘to have’
titár, ‘now’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
titárku, ‘this’
titárgu, ‘this’
titárgu, ‘these’
titárqu, ‘these’
tjıl, ‘to touch’
tl3r, ‘to walk’
tlu, ‘water’ CL: *djıtr/gli* (Elements)
tlx, ‘to create/make’
tláŋa, ‘to sing’
tláŋáj, ‘singer’ (People)
túr3, ‘dog’ (Animals)
trár, ‘time’ (*ga*)
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)
tx?qa, ‘to approach’

t

télxłi, ‘to love’
tıgá?, ‘liquor’ CL: *djıtr/gli* (Food)
tıla, ‘air’ CL: *djıtr/gli* (Elements)
tıj3dli, ‘to need’
tjıl, ‘to hit’
tl3r, ‘to run’

tláj, ‘builder’ (People)

tlx, ‘to build’

tláŋa, ‘to live’

tóljΛ, ‘color’ (*ku*)

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

txʔqa, ‘to come’

x

xl, ‘or’

ʔʔtΛ, ‘turtle’ (Animals)

a

ʔʔal, ‘yes’

*English -- rálkraju túja***a**

‘abstract concept’ *ga qaṇílla*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘after’ *ga írtar*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘air’ *tílla* CL: *djítʁ/gli*
(Elements)

‘ancestor’ *áḱtjʒ*
(People)

‘ancient’ *ḡjʒḡjʒltar*

‘and’ *il*

‘animal’ *ga qatjúlqra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘around’ *ḡára dʒḡál*

b

‘baby’ *ḡíri* (People)

‘bad’ *íja qir*

‘before’ *ga ḡatár*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘body part’ *ga qagjátr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘body’ *ḡjátr* (Body Parts)

‘bottom’ *dʒúlqarura* (Places)

‘boy’ *ólḡiṭi* (People)

‘bucket’ *djítʁ* (Inanimate)

‘builder’ *tłáj* (People)

‘building’ *ḡirdlʒ* (Inanimate)

‘but’ *ḡil*

c

‘celebrated’ *íja ḡʒltir*

‘child’ *ḡiṭi* (People)

‘circle’ *ku dʒḡál*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘cloud’ *qjʉl* CL: *ḡʒḡi* (Weather)

‘clan’ *ga qáklulu* (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘color’ *ku tólja*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘conquerer’ *quráj* (People)

d

‘day’ *ga qʒlrʒl*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘death’ *ga gail*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘dog’ *túrʒ* (Animals)

‘down’ *ḡárura*

‘drop’ *gli* (Inanimate)

‘during’ *riḡi*

e

‘earth’ *ḡáru* CL: *djítʁ/gli* (Elements)

‘East’ *dʒʒkirdir* (Places)

‘element’ *ga qagáʒtr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘everything’ *ga íraʒqa* CL: *djítʁ/gli*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

f

‘fire’ *lila* CL: *djítʁ/gli* (Elements)

‘food’ *ga qaqálqra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘friend’ *kʒqál* (People)

‘fruit’ *ráḡʒ* (Food)

‘fur’ *ḡʒḡi* (Body Parts)

‘future’ *ga dʒlklʒla*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

g

‘girl’ *ilḡiṭi* (People)

‘good’ *íja tláḡa*

‘grass’ *ilri* CL: *ḡʒḡi* (Plants)

‘group’ *ku qákra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

h

‘hand’ *at* (Body Parts)

‘head’ *ḡílla* (Body Parts)

‘hello’ *éha*

‘high’ *ḡjʒlḡjatr*

‘home’ *tikár* (Places)

‘how’ *kíʒdir*

i

‘impossible’ *ḡa-ʒrḡal*

‘inanimate things’ *ga qanadúʒlr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘information’ *ga hídu* CL: *ηῶḡi*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

I

‘language’ *ku rátkra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘last’ *ilr*

‘life’ *ga dúʔlr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘light’ *glur* CL: *ηῶḡi* (Elements)

‘lightning’ *haglúr* CL: *ηῶḡi* (Weather)

‘like’ *ija*

‘liquor’ *ʔigáʔ* CL: *djitr/gli* (Food)

‘living thing’ *ga qadúʔlr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘location’ *ga qadʒúltr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘long’ *ηiʒl*

‘low’ *dahilgjaʔr*

m

‘man’ *óklulu* (People)

‘maybe’ *kiʔhu*

‘meat’ *kjur* CL: *ηῶḡi* (Food)

‘moon’ *qájʔr* (Elements)

‘mountain’ *liqúl* (Places)

n

‘name’ *ku klúlukra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘necessary’ *ija qaqaʔlqra*

‘next’ *ila*

‘night’ *ga dilʒl*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘no’ *na*

‘nor’ *ηxl*

‘North’ *gáldir* (Places)

‘nothing’ *ga nájʔqa*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘now’ *ga titár*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

o

‘old’ *ηjʒltar*

‘or’ *xl*

‘other’ *áʔlu*

‘over’ *ηára hára*

p

‘parent’ *liʒjʔr* (People)

‘past’ *ga qálu*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘pastry’ *katrʒ* CL: *ηῶḡi* (Food)

‘people’ *ga qáklulu*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘person’ *klúlu* (Person)

‘piece’ *ηῶḡi* (Inanimate)

‘place’ *dʒul* (Places)

‘plants’ *ga qírduʔlr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘possible’ *érnal*

‘present’ *ga gidúr*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

r

‘rabbit’ *ʒídi* (Animals)

‘rain’ *hágli* (Weather)

‘reason’ *ku iri* (Abstract
Concepts/Intangible)

‘river’ *adrʔ* (Places)

s

‘sad’ *ija hágli*

‘sand’ *ga gínʔr* CL: *djitr/gli* (Elements)

‘sap’ *ʒlirtʒ*

‘sheep’ *kʒtili* (Animals)

‘short (stature)’ *dahilgjaʔr*

‘short’ *dahíl*

‘singer’ *tlaηáj* (People)

‘sky’ *ha* (Places)

‘slow’ *ija ʔʔta*

‘so’ *ila*

‘soft’ *ija ηῶḡi*

‘song’ *ku rátkra*
(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘sound’ *kʒl* CL: *ηῶḡi* (Elements)

‘soup’ *hxrá* CL: *djitr/gli* (Food)

‘South’ *gridír* (Places)

‘steppe’ *dʒjikir* (Places)

‘sticky’ *ija ʒlirtʒ*

‘stone’ *grʒʒʒ* (Inanimate)

‘sun’ *alʔʔ* (Elements)

t

‘tail’ *ku ʔilkʌ* (Body Parts)

‘tall’ *ɲʔlɔjatr*

‘that’ *áʔlugu*

‘that’ *áʔluku*

‘then’ *ila*

‘there’ *áʔludʒul*

‘these’ *titárɔu*

‘these’ *titárqu*

‘thing’ *ku kɾʌ*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘this’ *titárku*

‘this’ *titárgu*

‘those’ *áʔluqu/gu*

‘those’ *áʔlugu*

‘thunder’ *hakʔl* CL: *ɲʔlɔ* (Weather)

‘thus’ *ila*

‘time’ *ga trár*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘to approach’ *tʔʔqa*

‘to break’ *qlar*

‘to breathe’ *kɾɾ*

‘to build’ *tlɾ*

‘to burn’ *gri*

‘to call’ *gráda*

‘to chase’ *qʔʔʔrʔ*

‘to close’ *klil*

‘to combine’ *kɾtíl*

‘to come’ *tʔʔqa*

‘to conquer’ *qúri*

‘to continue’ *ʔúka*

‘to cook’ *gri*

‘to cool’ *gal*

‘to create’ *tlɾ*

‘to cut’ *druʔ*

‘to die’ *qir*

‘to drink’ *kaʔ*

‘to eat’ *qaʔ*

‘to encircle’ *dʒɲál*

‘to explode’ *quʔʔʔ*

‘to finish’ *ɔʔdɾ*

‘to find’ *hɾɾ*

‘to fix’ *qʔlil*

‘to follow’ *dʒʔʔrʔ*

‘to force together’ *qɾtíl*

‘to freeze’ *gal*

‘to go up’ *gáʔi*

‘to have’ *tɲʔdli*

‘to hear’ *dʒi*

‘to heat’ *gri*

‘to hit’ *tʔil*

‘to jump’ *gáʔi*

‘to know’ *hʔl*

‘to learn’ *hʔl*

‘to like’ *télɾti*

‘to listen’ *dʒi*

‘to live’ *tláɲa*

‘to love’ *télɾti*

‘to make’ *tlɾ*

‘to meet’ *hɾɾ*

‘to move with purpose’ *ʔuka*

‘to move without purpose’ *luka*

‘to name’ *gráda*

‘to need’ *hɲɲu*

‘to need’ *tɲʔdli*

‘to open’ *dlar*

‘to pause’ *gáɾɾ*

‘to pop’ *kuʔʔʔ*

‘to raise’ *gáʔi*

‘to ring out’ *dʔlɾɾ*

‘to run’ *tlʔr*

‘to savor’ *dʒʌɾ*

‘to see’ *hɾɾ*

‘to sing’ *tláɲa*

‘to sleep’ *kir*

‘to smell’ *qɾɾ*

‘to speak’ *dʔlɾɾ*

‘to split’ *qlar*

‘to spread’ *kúri*

‘to stab’ *druʔ*

‘to start’ *luka*

‘to stop’ *ɔʔdɾ*

‘to talk’ *dʔlɾɾ*

‘to taste’ *dʒʌɾ*

‘to touch’ *tʔil*

‘to trap’ *dʒɲál*

‘to understand’ *hʔl*

‘to walk’ *tlʔr*

‘to want’ *hiɲu*

‘to yell’ *dʔlɾɾ*

‘top’ *dkúlhar* (Places)
 ‘tree’ *gjúk* (Plants)
 ‘turtle’ *ś?ta* (Animals)

u

‘under’ *ñar* *garur*
 ‘up’ *ñar*

v

‘valley’ *nilgu*
 (Places)
 ‘vegetable’ *quǫk* (Food)

w

‘warrior’ *ńłtir* (People)
 ‘water’ *tlu* CL: *djitr/gli* (Elements)
 ‘way’ *ku dir*
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘weather’ *ga qahagłtr*
 (Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘West’ *liqúldir* (Places)

‘what’ *ki?kr*

‘when’ *ki?trar*

‘where’ *ki?dłgul*

‘while’ *riki*

‘who’ *ki?klulu*

‘why’ *ki?iri*

‘with’ *ilu*

‘woman’ *ilklulu* (People)

‘word’ *ku ráł*

(Abstract Concepts/Intangible)

‘world’ *głtr* (Places)

y

‘yes’ *łral*

‘young’ *qahiltrar*

*Numbers & Particles***Numbers***ŋa* / *ŋa-*, ‘empty / none’*ti* / *ti-*, ‘half / some’*ir* / *ir-*, *full* / *all**ŋaɭ*, unable to be held

(NEG-hand)

taɭ, able to be held in half a hand

(half-hand)

íraɭ, able to be held in a full hand

(full-hand)

áɭaɭ, able to be held in two hands

(both-hand)

*karáɭ*⁸, able to be held in group hands

(group-hand)

ŋakaráɭ, too much to be held in group hands

(NEG-group hand)

Particles*íri* CAUS*kiʔ* Q*lɜj* INST*ʒu* TNG*ŋa* NEG*áɭaɭ* REF

⁸ This represents the historical change by which the original noun *qakraáɭ* ‘group-hands’ to *karáɭ*.

APPENDIX
Children's Song

ɲara denjal gu lila ga túre ga- ɬlar-x
around AN.3.PL.ABS fire AN.3.SG.ERG dog AN.3.PL.ERG-run- PST
[*gu ɬidi dʒére*]
[AN.3.PL.ABS rabbit run-INF]

‘The dog ran around the fire to chase a rabbit’

ila ɲara ɬara gu lila gu ɬidi gú- gaɬ- x
next over AN.3.PL.ABS fire AN.3.SG.ABS rabbit AN.3.PL.ERG-jump-PST
‘then the rabbit jumped over the fire’

ɲjélɟatr gú- gaɬ- x ɲjélɟatr, ɟjatr
high AN.3.PL.ABS-jump-PST high
‘It jumped high, high’

ila gu ɬidi ga túre gá- dʒer- x , gu
next AN.3.PL.ABS rabbit AN.3.PL.ERG dog AN.3.PL.ERG-follow-PST, AN.3.PL.ABS
ɬidi ga túre gá- dʒer- x
rabbit AN.3.PL.ERG dog AN.3.PL.ERG-follow-PST
‘next the dog followed the rabbit, the dog followed the rabbit’

ɲil gú- gaɬ- x ɲakarál dahi:lcjatr, ɟjatr
but AN.3.PL.ABS-jump-PST more-than-group-hands low
‘but it jumped too low’

ku ɬilka-ju ga túre-ja kú- gr- x ,
IN.3.SG.ABS tail- GEN.ABS AN.3.PL.ERG dog-GEN.ERG IN.3.PL.ABS-burn-PST,
kú- gr- x , gri, gri !
IN.3.PL.ABS-burn-PST, burn-INF, burn-INF!
‘the dog’s tail burned, burned, burn, burn!’

aj, ija ɬágli gu túre, ija ɬágli gu túre
aj sad AN.3.PL.ABS dog, sad AN.3.PL.ABS dog
‘oh, the sad dog, the sad dog’

gu ɬidi gú- gaɬ- x ɲjélɟatr, ɟjatr
AN.3.PL.ABS rabbit AN.3.PL.ABS-jump-PST high
‘the rabbit jumped high, high’

il gu túre gú- gr- x , gri, gri !
and AN.3.PL.ABS dog ABS.IN.3.PL-burn-PST, burn-INF, burn-INF!
‘and the dog burned, burned’

Tower of Babel Translation⁹

titár, [ku ʒu ír- aɫ ralkɾΛ- ju] il [ku
 now [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS TNG full-hand language-GEN.ABS] and [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS
 ʒu ír- aɫ ral- ju qákrΛ-ja] ju ír- garu-ja
 TNG full-hand word-GEN.ABS group- GEN.ERG] GEN.ABS all-earth-GEN.ERG
 gú- ʒuk- ɣ .
 AN.3.PL.ABS-continue-PST.

Lit: Now, all the earth continued to have one language and one group of words.
Orig: Now, all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

ríʒi gu- tɬɛr- ɣ dʒjkirdir-ra , u ŋa- káraɫ ŋílgu
 while AN.3.PL. ABS-walk-PST East- ALL, INDF.ERG NEG-group-hand valley
 dʒul- ju "ɬiŋár"-ja- rΛ gu- hýr-ɣ , il áʔludʒul-rΛ
 place-GEN.ABS Shi'nar- GEN.ERG-LOC AN.3.PL.ABS-find-PST , and there- LOC
 gú- ɬlaŋ-ɣ .
 AN.3.PL.ABS-live- PST.

While they walked to the East, they found a huge valley in the land of Shi'nar and there they lived.
As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar, and they began dwelling there.

⁹ ("Genesis 11 | Online Bible | New World Translation," 2015)

íla á?lu-ju qákrΛ-ja- ra gu- dál-t-y :

then other-GEN.ABS group- GEN.ERG-ALL AN.3.PL.ABS-say- PST:

<da- tʃʔqa ! qu tɬ- új grʒkʒ tʃá- tɬy il

<2.PL.ERG-come-IMP! DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS make-NZ stone 1.PL.ERG-make-IMP and

qu tʃá- gri lʒj líla.>

DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS 1.PL.ERG-cook-IMP INST fire.>

Then they said to others of the group: "Come! Let us make made-stones and cook them with fire."

Then they said to one another: "Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.

íla qu tɬ- új grʒkʒ ŋa grʒkʒ ɠá- tɪŋʒdl-y , il

so DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS make-NZ stone NEG stone AN.3.PL.ERG-use- PST, and

ku "dituŋʒl" u krij-ʒlirtʒ áɾal.

DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS bitumen INDF.ERG NZ- sap REF .

So they used made-stones instead of stone, and they used a sap-like thing instead of bitumen.

So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

íla gu- dólɬ-ɣ : <ɖa- tʃʔqa ! u dʒul- ju
 then AN.3.PL.ABS-say- PST: <2.PL.ERG-come-IMP! INDF.ABS place-GEN.ABS

ta- ja il u há- rʌ dʒúl-harʌ-ju
 ERG.1.PL-GEN.ERG and INDF.ABS sky-LOC place-up- GEN.ABS

gírdɬ-ja ta- tɬɣ il ku íja ɲǎltir
 tower- GEN.ERG 1.PL.ERG-build-IMP and DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS like warrior

klúɬukrʌ-ju ta- ja tá- tɬɣ, íla ɲa
 name- GEN.ABS 1.PL.ERG-GEN.ERG 1.PL.ERG-make-IMP, so NEG

tu- ɖlár-a ɲɣl tú- kuri- a ɲá- rʌ hára
 1.PL.ABS-split-PST nor 1.PL.ABS-spread-PST NEG-LOC circle

ga ír- garu ɲa íri .>

DEF.AN.3.PL.ERG all-earth NEG CAUS.>

Then they said: "Come! Let us build a city for us and a tower with its top in the sky and make our name celebrated, so we will not be split nor spread around the whole earth."
 They now said: "Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth."

íla ku dʒul il [ku gírdɬ ga
 then DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS place and [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS tower DEF.AN.3.PL.ERG

ól-giɬi- ju ól-klulu-ja ól-ga- tɬ- ɣ] "jǎhura"
 M- child-GEN.ABS M-child- GEN.ERG M- AN.3.PL.ERG-make-PST] Jehovah

ga- tʃʔq- ɣ hɣr íri .

AN.3.SG.ERG-approach-PST see-INF CAUS.

Then Jehovah approached to see the place and the tower that the sons of men build.
 Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

íla "jéhura" gu- dált-γ : <qa- hýr ! ku ɣu
 then Jehovah AN.3.SG.ERG-say- PST: <2.PL.ERG-look-IMP! DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS TNG
ír- aɫ ráłkra-ju ku ɣu ír- aɫ qákra- ja
 full-hand group GEN.ABS DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS TNG full-hand language-GEN.ERG
lár- ʌ , il titxárku kra gú- luk- ʌ tɬ . titxár íraʔqa
 COP-PST, and these things AN.3.PL.ABS-start-PST make. now everything
[ku kíʔhu gú- hiɣ- a] ʒɾaɫ lár- a .
 [DEF.IN.3.SG.ABS maybe AN.3.PL.ABS-want-FUT] possible COP-FUT.
qa- tʃʔqa! áʔludɣul-a tá- ɣuka il ráłkra- ju
 2.PL.ERG-come-IMP! there- ALL 1.PL.ERG-move-IMP and language-GEN.ABS
gú- ja ta- qɫár , íla u áʔlu klúlu ɲa
 AN.3.PL.ABS-GEN.ERG 1.PL.ERG-break-IMP, then INDF.ERG other person NEG
gu- hál- a ráłkra- ju gú- ja íri .
 AN.3.PL.ABS-understand-FUT language-GEN.ABS AN.3.PL.ABS-GEN.ERG CAUS.

Then Jehovah said: "Look! They are one group having one language, and they start to make these things. Now everything they maybe will want will be possible. Come! Let us go to there and break their language, then they will not understand another person because of their language."

Jehovah then said: "Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do. Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be imgenible for them. Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another's language."

ila gu “j3hura” ga- qlár-ɣ il gá- kur- ɣ
 SO DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS Jehova AN.3.PL.ERG-split- PST and AN.3.PL.ERG-split-PST
ɳára hára gu ír- garu il ku dʒul ija ʔta
 NEG-LOC circle DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS all-earth and DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS place like turtle
gá- gad-ɣ tlu .
 AN.3.PL.ERG-stop-PST build.

So Jehovah split and spread them around the whole earth and they slowly stopped to build the place.

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.

ila da'd3il ku dʒul kú grada-ɣ : ku
 thus Ba'bel DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS place IN.3.PL.ABS-name- PST: DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS
dʒúl-ra ku rákra- ju gu ír- garu-ja
 place-LOC DEF.IN.3.PL.ABS language-GEN.ABS DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS all-earth- GEN.ERG
"j3hura" gu- qlár-ɣ il gu "j3hura"
 Jehovah AN.3.PL.ABS-split- PST and DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS Jehovah
gá - kur- ɣ ɳára hára ga ír- garu iri.
 AN.3.PL.ERG-spread-PST NEG-LOC circle DEF.AN.3.PL.ABS all-earth CAUS.

Thus the place was named Ba'bel: Jehovah broke the language of all the earth in the place and Jehovah spread them around the entire earth.

That is why it was named Ba'bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

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The Language of puhesuijo otupli©

Exploration of Class through Dialect

Inkyung Sul

12/18/2015

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1. Introduction

This paper is the culmination of my work for LING 315 Invented Languages class during the fall semester of 2015 on my invented language puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli. As the focus of my language is heavily on difference in dialect, when I mention words in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli it will be in proto form (like puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli) without any of the phonological rules influencing the words unless I specifically mention that it is in a particular dialect. The periods in the middle of the words indicate syllable breaks of the words. This paper includes the culture of the language, including my inspiration for the language, the phonetics and phonology, basic morphology, syntax, and an extensive appendix. The appendix includes the lexicon, first English to puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli then puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli to English, the translation of the Tower of Babel, story from the Genesis, and a short dialogue with translation that reflects the culture of my language.

2. **Culture** $\phi e\check{f}.$ 'feɪ.ɣo.ɜy vs. $maf.$ 'tʰoŋ.ko.ɜy?

I knew that I was going to take the invented languages class since I first heard about it in my sophomore year. As such, I was already thinking about the possible ideas for my language studying abroad in Denmark. One of the topics that I covered there was the tension of the British Class System as represented in the musical, Billy Elliot. As my classmates and I were talking about the immediate judgement people had towards the working class due to their accents, we also talked about some differences among British English speakers, American English speakers, and English speakers in Denmark in their word choices, mostly focusing on the frequency of the word “sorry” and the difference in the directness of their speech. These discussions heavily influences my decisions in forming the culture and the rules of $puw.he.fu.i.jo$ $o.tu.pli$

The keyword for my culture is class. During a quasi-post-medieval-pre-industrialism period at a place where everyone speaks the same language, $puw.he.fu.i.jo$ $o.tu.pli$, there is a drastic difference in dialect between the $\phi e\check{f}.$ 'feɪ.ɣo.ɜy, the Completes or the elite class, and the $maf.$ 'tʰoŋ.ko.ɜy?, the Workers. I imagine this world to be like the background of fairytales, although the magical elements only exist in their world as myths and fairytales as well. One minor aspect of their culture is that in the past animism was prevalent with the belief that every little thing held a soul. When the people stopped believing in animism, they started to pointedly refer to non-animate things as “things” since 3rd person pronouns did not distinguish between inanimate objects and animate objects. But because they used to refer everything with the same pronoun before animism fell out of favor, the literature from before this time, like creation myths or fairytales, still use the non-distinguishing pronoun to refer to both animate (there is no

distinction between human and non-human) and inanimate things. However, even now, what is referred to as ‘things’ are quite different from when English uses ‘it.’ For example, not only are all living things will be referred to as ‘kri’ the ‘animate’ pronoun, such as animals and plants, but also the ‘animate’ pronoun is used to refer to rivers and wind. But not everything in nature uses the ‘animate’ pronoun as clouds or rocks, or rains all uses the ‘inanimate’ pronoun ‘pa.xe’ This will later be explained in more detail in section 4.2.

As the Completes and the Workers are of one group, there are key aspects that are important to both groups. The completion of what one starts is very important in this culture, therefore it is very looked down upon to leave things undone. This is also the reason why honesty and keeping promises is thought to be important; the promise is thought to be “starting” a work, and by keeping the promise, the person who made the promise “completes” her obligation. The importance of completion also leads to a strong sense of reciprocity. Both the Completes and the Workers do not like the feeling of being “owed,” and will do their best to return whatever favor they feel they have received. However this does not just extend to acts of kindness. If they are wronged, there is almost an obligation for revenge. Because the cycle of revenge rarely ends without the feeling of being “even,” blood feuds often went on for centuries.

The Completes fit the stereotype of ‘snobby noblemen.’ They are very polite, emphasizing manners and privacy. Because of the importance of honesty, the Completes are obligated to fulfill anything they have committed themselves to, as is the case for the Workers, but the Completes do not like to commit themselves. Not only do the Completes not want to commit, but they are also too polite to directly refuse, so the Completes have developed a very indirect way of conversations that thrive on implicatures and ambiguities. An example of this is,

if one remembers any argument she had with her parent (or her child) on why promises were not kept, and her go to response was “I said we might, but never confirmed,” then those promises are like how a Complete makes her promise. Completes do not make a direct request, but would rather imply what they want. On the other hand, the Workers are very direct. The only times they are not direct is when they are making fun of the Completes or making innuendos. This is where some of the conflicts between the Workers and the Completes arise in that the Workers think the Completes are unnecessarily slippery and the Completes think the Workers are rude and crude.

One important thing to note is that there is virtually no way for the Workers to become a Complete. The Workers are classified in their social group on the virtue of having worked. The only “work” that a Complete would do would be to take note of their estates and their assets. Even then, the specific numbers or details are done by their assistants who would be in the Working class and the Complete would only have to sign the papers. It is considered to be eccentric for the Complete to do everything themselves or find productive work. The Completes do not need to do anything because while they are not perfect, they are “complete” without needing to do anything else. For the Workers, they may be able to learn the dialect of the Completes, but if they have earned their money through honest work, they become, by definition, a Worker. It is also quite odd for a Worker to not want to do any work. It is like how for students, look forward to going back to school after a long break because they cannot stand staying idle for so long. Normally, a worker would start to feel the ‘itch’ to do something after staying idle for too long. Works that workers do includes occupations like stable hands, smiths, and cooks but also occupations like artist, musician, teacher, or even diplomats and politicians. One way to think about this is that Bill Gates, one of the richest men in the world, would be considered a

“Worker” in their standard, while Kim Kardashian (or at least how we stereotypically think of her) would be considered a “Complete.”

While the Workers who have to interact with the Completes often may try to learn their dialect, the Completes’ dialect is not necessarily considered the “high” dialect as the diplomats or politicians-which we would consider to be “high” jobs- are completely content doing official businesses in the Worker’s dialect. The only exception to this rule is written language. For written language, the canon is considered to be the Completes’ dialect largely because most of the people who can afford to, and are willing to buy books are the Completes. While vocational writers would be considered as Workers, there are Completes who write and publish as a hobby and books are expensive enough that most people cannot afford it or find the value to own one. The most difficult aspect of the Workers learning the Completes’ dialect is not actually the pronunciation (though they also have difficulty with those), but actually becoming accustomed to not only understanding the implicatures and ambiguous, but using them habitually.

Another difference between this culture and “classism” is that while the Completes think the Workers are often crude, they hold high respect for the work that the Workers do, whether it be artists painting, smiths making swords, or accountants taking care of their estates. The feeling may be similar to how the Americans thought about the Russian ballet (if they knew about them) during the Cold War. One cannot help but respect the beauty and elegance of the Russian ballet because they are world class, but as ‘communists’ Americans would have felt only the most grudging respect, feeling awe but at the same time looking down on them on the virtue of the ballet corps being Russian. There is a lot of disdain that the Completes hold for the Workers, but they cannot help but to respect their work. Similarly, while the Workers cannot understand the

Completes for always being idle and snobby, the Workers cannot help but admire the Completes the way we may admire Hollywood estates while thinking they are excessive at the same time.

This cultural background of classist society is also what led to my decision of forming many of my phonological rules. I will clarify more of these specific thoughts as I explain the phonetics and phonology of pu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli

3. Phonetics and Phonology

3.1 Phonetics

3.1.1 Consonants

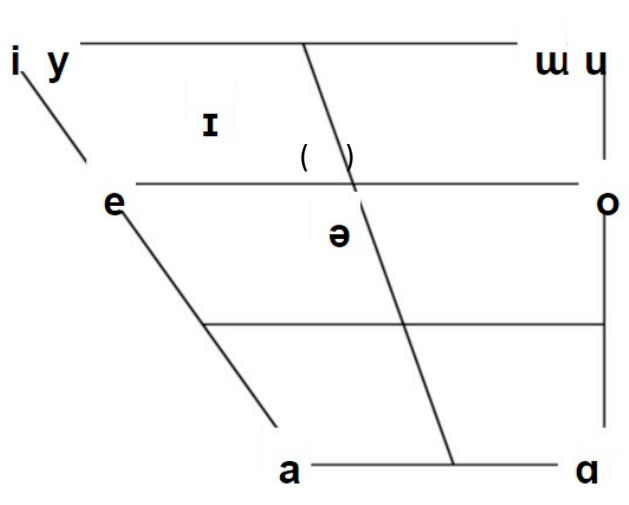
Consonants	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	(p ^h) p (b)		(t ^h) t (d)				(k ^h) k (g)	(ʔ)
Nasal	m		n				ŋ	
Tap			ɾ					
Fricative	ɸ (β)	f (v)	θ (ð)	s (z)	ʃ (ʒ)		x (ɣ)	h
Approximant			(ɹ)			j		
Lateral approximant			l					

Other Sounds: w, ɱ
(Table 1.1)

Table 1.1 demonstrates the consonants of pu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli. The sounds in parenthesis indicate sounds that only exist as allophones but not as separate phonemes. Most of the consonants are similar to the consonants in English. These are /m, n, ŋ, f, θ, s, ʃ, h, j, l, w/. The sounds that exist in the English language but may be different in the frequency or the placing of the sounds are /ɾ/ which, in American English, exists like bu'tt'er but does not exist as a separate phoneme, or /p, t, k/ which exist in aspirated forms in word initial in English, but are unaspirated

in pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli unless the stop is on a stressed syllable. The glottal stop, (ʔ) which exists as an allophone in the Workers' dialect, is the sound that happens for some of us when we say "uh-oh" or the beginning of the word that starts with a vowel. The sounds that are unfamiliar in English is /ɱ/ which is like a mixture of 'w' and 'h.' A good way to articulate this sound may be to imagine a Chinese martial artist going "hua" really fast and that would be like [ɱa]. The other two sounds that are unfamiliar to English speakers are the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ and the velar fricative /x/. The bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is similar to the English /f/ except the sound is made with the lips mostly sealed. The sound tends to be more airy than /f/. The velar fricative /x/ is the like the ending of Ba'ch.' It is like a mix between the 'k' and 'h'. One thing interesting to note in pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli is that voiced obstruents only exist as allophones.

3.1.2 Vowels



Diphthongs	
Complete Dialect	Worker Dialect
eɪ	iə
oʊ	

(Table 1.2)

The above chart displays the vowels of pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli. The vowels that exist exactly as in American English are /i, u, ɪ and a/. The two vowels that English speakers need to note are the /e/ and /o/. American English speakers tend to make the sounds into diphthongs [eɪ]

(as in ‘a’pe) and [oo] (as in ‘o’ver) but in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli /e/ and /o/ are the pure monophthongs. In the Completes’ dialect, the diphthongs [eɪ] and [oo] exist as an allophone for /e/ and /o/ while in the Worker’s dialect diphthong [iə] (like ‘ear’ without the ‘r’) exists as an allophone for /i/. The diphthong [iə] is also the only place that [ə] exist. The Workers will always pronounce their /i/ as [iə]. The two non-English vowels are the closed front rounded vowel /y/ which is like a French ‘u’ and the back closed unrounded vowel /u/ which is the sound one makes when one tries to say /u/ while smiling.

3.2 Phonology

3.2.1 Allophones

Allophonic variation is an important aspect of puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli phonology. This section explains which dialect each allophone belongs to and section 3.2.3 the phonological rules that derive the allophones. The sounds that were not mentioned in the previous section that are in this section that are also not one of English sounds are the voiced fricatives [β] and [ɣ]. [β] is the voiced counterpart of [ɸ] while [ɣ] is the voiced counterpart of [x]

Consonants

phonem	allophones		phonem	allophones		phonem	Allophones	
e	c-dial	w-dial	e	c-dial	w-dial	e	c-dial	w-dial
/p/	[p ^h], [p], [β]	[p ^h], [p], [b]	/r/	[ɹ]	[r]	/ɸ/	[ɸ], [β]	[ɸ], [p], [p ^h], [β]
/t/	[t ^h], [t], [ð]	[t ^h], [t], [d]	/l/	[l]	[l], [ɭ]	/f/	[f], [v]	[f], [p], [p ^h], [v]
/k/	[k ^h], [k], [ɣ]	[k ^h], [k], [g]	/j/	[j]	[j]	/θ/	[θ], [ð]	[θ], [t ^h], [t], [ð]
/m/	[m]	[m]	/w/	[w]	[w]	/x/	[x], [ɣ]	[x], [k], [k ^h], [ɣ]
/n/	[n]	[n]	/ɯ/	[ɯ]	[h]	/s/	[s], [z]	[s], [z]
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	[ŋ]	/h/	[h]	[h]	/ʃ/	[ʃ], [ʒ]	[ʃ], [ʒ]

(Table 2.1)

Vowels

phonem	allophones		phonem	allophones		phonem	Allophones	
e	c-dial	w-dial	e	c-dial	w-dial	e	c-dial	w-dial
/y/	[y]/ [y:]	[y], [yʔ]	/i/	[ɪ], [i:]	[ɪ], [ɪʔ]	/e/	[e], [eɪ]	[e], [eʔ]
/ʉ/	[ʉ], [ʉ:]	[ʉ], [ʉʔ]	/a/	[a], [a:]	[a], [aʔ]	/o/	[o], [oo]	[o], [oʔ]
/u/	[u], [u:]	[u], [uʔ]	/ɑ/	[ɑ], [ɑ:]	[ɑ], [ɑʔ]	/i/	[i], [i:]	[iə], [iəʔ]

(Table 2.2)

The c-dial and w-dial in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 stands for Completes' dialect (marked from now on as c-dialect) and Workers' dialect (marked from now as w-dialect).

3.2.2 Syllable Structure and Stress

The syllable structure of pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli is (C)(C)V(C)(C) for the Completes' dialect and (C)V(C)(C) for the Workers' dialect (marked from now as w-dialect). While many different consonant clusters are allowed for c-dialect, they follow the Sonority Rule in that the sounds with more voicing are closer to the vowel. The only consonant clusters allowed in coda position are the nasal + stop combinations. The following are some examples of words that have these syllable structure.

C-Dialect		
CCVCC-	θloʊmp ^h	foot
CV.V.CV-	li.e.'ʒu:	hear
CCV.CCVC-	psa't ^h woux	think
CV.VC-	suʌŋ	measure word for intangible things
W-Dialect		
CVCC-	θomp ^h	foot
CVC.V.CVC	liəʔe'ʒuʔ	hear
CV.CVC	pa'dok ^h	think
CVC.VC	'suʔʌŋ	measure word for intangible things

It is difficult to find an example for VC because of the phonological rule that if a consonant coda is followed by a vowel onset of the next syllable, then the consonant coda of the first syllable becomes the onset of the following syllable.

The stress pattern of pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli has weighted stress in which the stress goes to the heaviest syllable. The heavy syllables in pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli mostly depend on the number of consonants in the syllable, but it becomes slightly more complicated in the c-dialect. The following shows the order of heaviness in terms is as follows from light to heavy with the parenthesis indicating syllables that only exist in c-dialect:

V-VC-CV-(CCV)-CVC-CVCC-(CCVC)-(CCVCC)

The only exception to the stress rules are when cases or verb tenses have heavier stress than the root word. In that case, the stress goes to the right-most heaviest stress of the root word. If there are multiple syllables with the same weight, the right-most heavy syllable would usually receive stress. In cases of words with more than five syllables in the root word, there are two stresses, in which the stresses go in the order of heaviest.

The following provides some examples of stress patterns in pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli. Not all the combinations of syllable patterns are represented. The ' mark and bold letters marks the stress.

C-Dialect

li.e. 'zu:	hear
psa. 't^hwoux	think
't^hein .se	book
t^hoump^h .lo	ride
'su .aŋ	measure word for intangible things

W-Dialect

liəʔ.e. 'zuʔ	hear
pa. 't^hok^h	think
t^homp^h .loʔ	ride
'suʔ .aŋ	measure word for intangible things

Additionally, the glottal stops in w-dialect do not count as a consonant as it is an allophonic variation of a vowel.

3.2.3 Phonotactic Restrictions and Phonological Rules

Phonotactic restrictions and phonological rules differ for the two dialects of pu. he. fu. i. jo o. tu. pli. This section is organized as follows: the first part will state the restrictions and rules that

apply to both dialects, the second will be the restrictions and rules that only apply to c-dialect and the third will be restrictions and rules that only apply to w-dialect.

Phonotactic Restriction

There are very few phonotactic constraints that govern both dialects of puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli. The major restriction that accounts for both dialects is the Sonority Rule mentioned in the Syllable Structure and Stress in section 3.2.2. In addition, every syllable must always have one, and only one vowel. Diphthongs count as one vowel as the phonemes of the diphthongs are monophthongs. While c-dialect allows many different combinations of consonant clusters in the onset position (for example, there is the word ‘psa. **t^h**woox’ meaning ‘think’ and the word ‘tsu.lym. **ϕ**li:t^h’ meaning ‘manner’ which each displays two different kind of consonant clusters), the only consonant cluster allowed in coda position is the nasal + stop combination. Unlike c-dialect, w-dialect does not allow any consonant clusters except in the coda position. Also, puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli does not allow unaspirated voiceless consonants to exist between vowels.

The phonotactic restrictions can be summarized as following:

1. Each syllable must have one vowel and only one vowel.
2. Sonority Rule
3. The coda position only allows nasal + stop combination
4. Unaspirated consonants must be voiced in between vowels

C-Dialect

5. All [ɾ] becomes [ɹ]

W-Dialect

6. There are no consonant clusters in the onset of the syllables.
7. /i/ is always pronounced as [iə]

Phonological Rules

The phonological rules of puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli are a lot more complicated than the phonotactic restrictions and there are many phonological rules that apply to only one of the dialects. The following is the list of all the phonological rules and followed by an explanation of how some of the rules interact.

1. Voicing Rule: unaspirated voiceless consonants are voiced in between two vowels.
2. Nasalization: vowels in the same syllable as a nasal stop becomes nasalized
3. Aspiration: all voiceless stops in the stressed syllable becomes aspirated
4. Homorganic Nasal Rule: the place of articulation of a nasal is the same as the place of articulation of the following stop.
5. Consonant Positioning Rule: if the syllable with a consonant coda is followed by a syllable with a vowel onset, the consonant coda of the initial syllable becomes the onset of the following syllable, with the exception of glottal stops.

C-Dialect

6. Frication Rule: unaspirated stops become fricatives between vowels.
7. Gemination Rule: vowels of stressed syllables become geminated with the exception of /e/ and /o/, which becomes diphthongs [eɪ] and [oʊ] respectively. When two vowels are next to each other vowels are not geminated.

W-Dialect

8. Stop Rule: fricatives become stops at the end of the word.

9. L Velarization: /l/ becomes [ɫ] at the end of the word
10. Glottal Stop Rule: all words that end with a vowel will end with a glottal stop and glottal stops will be inserted in instances in which vowels occur consecutively.
11. No Cluster Rule: consonant clusters in the onset positions are not allowed, therefore the second consonant gets deleted. Although /ɰ/ is not a consonant cluster, that sound becomes [h]

Usually the phonological rules occur independent of each other. However, the three phonological rules, the Voicing, Aspiration, and Frication rules may occur on the same segment so it is important to note the order in which the rules apply. The order of the phonological rules is first Frication Rule-which only exist in c-dialect, then Aspiration, then Voicing Rule. The following charts compare the results of rule ordering yielding different results.

/se.to/ 'hand'	c-dialect	w-dialect
1. Aspiration	se.tʰo	se.tʰo
1. Voicing	se.tʰo	se.tʰo
1. (Frication)	se.tʰo	se.tʰo
1. Other Rules	se.tʰoo*	se.tʰoʔ

/se.to/ 'hand'	c-dialect	w-dialect
1. Voicing	se.do	se.do
1. Aspiration	se.do	se.do
1. (Frication)	se. ɔ̃o	se.do
1. Other Rules	se. ɔ̃oo	se.doʔ *

/se.to/ ‘hand’	c-dialect	w-dialect
1. (Frication)	se.θo	se.to
1. Aspiration	se.θo	se.t ^h o
1. Voicing	se.ðo	se.t ^h o
1. Other Rules	se. ðoo	se.t ^h o?

The Stop Rule, which only exist in w-dialect has the same priority as the Frication Rule.

Another pair of rules that can conflict with each other is the Consonant Positioning and stress patterns. Stress placement occurs on the original syllable structures before the consonants move to the later syllable. For example, the word, $\phi e f . ' f e i . y o . z y$ in c-dialect is a compound noun of $\phi e f . ' f e i x$ and $o . ' z y$ with the bold letters denoting stress. If the stress is attached after the syllables were reorganized, the stress pattern of $\phi e f . f e i . y o . z y$ would be $' \phi e i f . f e . y o . z y$ instead of $\phi e f . ' f e i . y o . z y$.

The phonological rules are culturally-based on my notion of the Completes being more prescriptivists, therefore allowing consonant clusters that do not exist in w-dialect, while the frequency of stops and short vowels in w-dialect comes from the stereotype of working class being gruff and to the point. The elongated vowels and frication in c-dialect was mostly derived as a contrast to w-dialect, but also because the phonology reflects the idea that the elites' emphasis on the 'grace' and 'poetics' of the flowing words.

4. Morphology

4.1 Basic Morphology

puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli is an agglutinative language that attaches prefixes and suffixes allows many compound words. Parts of speech can change its category very flexibly. Noun roots can become verbs through affixation, or verb roots can easily become nouns, again through affixation. The following are some of the affixes that attach to words to create compound words.

pa.fa- becomes a verb when attached to a noun that means “to use the noun as intended”

->pa.fa.slak-to sweep with a broom, pa.fa.kwa-to hit with a club

wil- becomes a verb when attached to a noun meaning “to become__” usually pertains to states

-> wil.ma.vox-to be happy, wil.kwa.ϕik-to be brave

o- becomes a noun when attached to a verb, becomes the noun form of the verb

->o.maf.'toŋ.k-work, o.ϕe.'ti-smile (n)

Because of the different affixes that are liberally used, it is easy to create a noun counterpart when a new verb is created and vice-versa. For example, if computers were introduced in this culture, the word pa.fa.com.pu.ter would soon be added to mean ‘to use a computer.’

However, the compound words that exist in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli are not limited to words that are root words with affixes. Sometimes two words combine to form completely different words. One example that demonstrates this is e.fu.man, ‘sing’ which is a combination of the word e.fu ‘sound’ and man ‘water.’

4.2 Nouns

Plurality of nouns can be marked either with the prefix *pu-* which literally means “and” or the suffix *he.fu.i* which means “group” but these are not necessary when one is counting. Not needing plural markers do not just pertain to mass nouns, which will have a measure word or may not have a plural form to begin with, but also the rule pertains to count nouns.

<i>kyf</i> =>	<i>pu-kyf</i> =>	<i>kyf- he.fu.i</i> =>	<i>kyf fu</i>
stone =>	PL-stone =>	stone-PL =>	stone two
‘stone’ =>	‘stones’ =>	‘pile of stones’ =>	‘two stones’

he.fu.i is used as a suffix to indicate plurality only when count nouns ‘become’ mass nouns due to how many there are. The distinction between the uses of *pu* and *he.fu.i* only becomes truly important in the pronoun system of *pu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli*, but are otherwise quite interchangeable.

Pronouns of *pu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* can be complicated. There are a total of 10 different pronouns. The following chart, Table 3.1 shows the different pronouns of *pu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* divided into different dialects.

	Singular		Plural		
	φɛʃ. 'fɛi.ɣo.ɔy	maf. 'tʰoŋ.ko.ɔy?	φɛʃ. 'fɛi.ɣo.ɔy	maf. 'tʰoŋ.ko.ɔy?	
1 st	-		ɸw'ðɑ: (we)	ɸw'tʰɑ?	
			hɛ'zu:i (we exc. you) (group)	hɛ'zuʔiə?	
			ɸw.hɛ.'zu:i (all of us/ we the people)	ɸw.hɛ.'zuʔ. iə?	
2 nd	'tʰɑ: (you) (informal)	φɛʃ. 'fɛi.ɣo.ɔy (formal) (from complete person)	'tʰɑ? (you)	ta.hɛ.'zu:i (you group)	ta.hɛ.'zuʔ. iə?
3 rd	'kɿ (he/she)		'kʰiə?	kɿi.hɛ.'zu.i (they)	kɿə.hɛ.'zuʔ. iə?

	pa. 'ye (it)	pa. 'ye?	pa. ye. he. 'zu: i (those)	pa. ye. he. 'zu? . iə?
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(Table 3.1)

There are some pronouns that are unique to puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli that should be elaborated. The first is that puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli does not have an actual first person singular pronoun. This is partially due to the verb tense that indicates first person(which I will elaborate on later in the verb section) and because puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli is a pronoun dropping language, but this is not the only reason. It is just automatically assumed that the speaker is talking about herself when an utterance is spoken. For example, this is like the informal use of English pronoun dropping when one says “went to the mall yesterday,” to mean “I went to the mall yesterday” except that in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli, it happens all the time. When the speaker feels the need to denote that they were the object of the sentence, they would use the verb ‘pe.lo,’ which means ‘come,’ plus the dative marker. When the speaker needs to denote herself in a formal setting, she will use her full name instead of a pronoun. This is similar to the legal binding situations in English when people say, “I, Inkyung Sul, promise that....” except ‘I’ would be dropped.

The second thing that is interesting in this pronoun system is the three different ways to say the 1st person plural. The 1st person plural is divided in to three categories, puu.da which literally means ‘and you,’ he.fu.i which literally means ‘group,’ and puu.he.fu.i which literally means ‘and group.’ puu.da is used when the speaker is denoting herself, the listener and/or a group of people. The group does not necessarily have to be small, but the speaker must be personally interacting with all the members of the group. In contrast, puu.he.fu.i is used when the

speaker is denoting herself and the group that she is a part of. An instance of this kind of ‘we’ used in English would be “We the people,” in the Constitution of the United States. An example used in *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* is in the name itself. **puu.he.fu.i.jo** means ‘our.’ The 1st person plural used is *puu.he.fu.i* instead of *puu.da* because it is ‘we the people’s’ language. The third pronoun, *he.fu.i* is used to mark the speaker and some other people but specifically not the listener. In other words, *he.fu.i* means “we but not you.”

The second person singular form only exists as a formal tone for the c-dialect. The difference in pronouns is kind of like the difference between “you” and “thou” in older English, except “*ʰeʃ.ʼfeɪ.ɣo.ʒy*” is only used in an official setting or when the Completes refer to another Complete that they are not familiar or close with. The distinction of people who the Completes would refer to as ‘*ʰeʃ.ʼfeɪ.ɣo.ʒy*’ and ‘*ʰɑ:*’ is the difference between acquaintance and friends, or even Facebook friends and actual friends.

The difference use of the third person pronouns have been briefly touched upon on the culture, in section e, but to reiterate, the two third person pronouns are ‘*kri*’ and ‘*pa.xe*.’ There are no gender distinction between male and female but there is a distinction between ‘animate things’ and ‘inanimate things’. The pronoun ‘*kri*’ denotes any animate things which include anything alive like animals and trees, and the pronoun ‘*pa.xe*’ is used to denote inanimate things. There are some of exceptions to this rule. For example, river and wind uses the ‘animate’ pronoun ‘*kri*’ but some pests such as flies or roaches would use the ‘inanimate’ pronoun ‘*pa.xe*.’ However, in older texts of *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli*, there was no distinction between the animate and inanimate and all things were referred to as *kri*.

puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli does not have classifiers, but there are measure words. Some measure words are not used other than to count mass nouns so they seem like classifiers, but this is only because the original meaning of the word has been lost. Following is a list of some of the measure words.

ku.pa	‘cup’ (used to measure liquid in closed containers such as cup, bottle, even wells)
jus.kap	‘barrel’ (used to measure alcohol anything that contains alcohol)
lo.jam	‘swallow’ (small amount of intangible things)
ga .ja	‘grain’ (measure word for one tiny thing)

4.3 Verb

While puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli does not distinguish mood, it distinguishes tense, aspect, activeness, person, and finished-ness. Since puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli is an agglutinative language, most of the different conjugations are identified by affixes with couple of them marked by an auxiliary marker. The exception to this rule is the inflection used to mark person and activeness. The tense markers are the prefix xo- for past tense and the auxiliary marker suu.suu for future tense. There is no separate marker for present tense. Perfective sentences are marked with the auxiliary marker puu.fi. Activeness marks whether the verb has an actor. For example, if one were to actively smells flowers in the vase, the active marker ‘ja-’ is used, while if one were smell smoke, the passive marker ‘wa-’ is used. The activeness markers are inflected by changing the vowels for different person. ‘a’ marks first person, ‘i’ marks second person, and ‘u’ marks third person. As both the Completes and the Workers cherish completing work, finished-ness is marked. Unfinished verbs are not marked, but finished verbs are marked with the suffix ‘a.’ The difference between finished-ness and perfectives is when one is working on a p-set, a perfective unfinished verb is used when one “worked on the p-set (but it is not complete),” a perfective

finished verb is used when one “worked on the p-set (and completed them),” an imperfective unfinished verb is used when one “was working on the p-set (and it is not complete),” and an imperfective finished verb is used when one “was working on the p-set (and have completed them).” A finished tense is used in present tense when the verb is just completing and it is used in future tense to indicate the intention to complete. The following charts organize all the different conjugations of puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli.

first person active			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puufi xo-ja-verb	puufi ja-verb	puufi ja-verb sui.sui
Imperfective	xo-ja-verb	ja-verb	ja-verb sui.sui
Finished			
Perfective	puufi xo-ja-verb-a	puufi ja-verb-a	puufi ja-verb-a sui.sui
Imperfective	xo-ja-verb-a	ja-verb-a	ja-verb-a sui.sui
first person passive			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wa-verb	puu.fi wa-verb	puu.fi wa-verb sui.sui
Imperfective	xo- wa-verb	wa-verb	wa-verb sui.sui
Finished			
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wa-verb-a	puu.fi wa-verb-a	puu.fi wa-verb-a sui.sui
Imperfective	xo-wa-verb-a	wa-verb-a	wa-verb-a sui.sui

(Table 3.2.1)

second person active			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puu.fi xo-ji-verb	puu.fi ji-verb	puu.fi ji-verb sui.sui
Imperfective	xo-ji-verb	ji-verb	ji-verb sui.sui
Finished			

Perfective	puu.fi xo-ji-verb-a	puu.fi ji-verb-a	puu.fi ji-verb-a suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-ji-verb-a	ji-verb-a	ji-verb-a suu.suu
second person passive			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wi-verb	puu.fi wi-verb	puu.fi wi-verb suu.suu
Imperfective	xo- wi-verb	wi-verb	wi-verb suu.suu
Finished			
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wi-verb-a	puu.fi wi-verb-a	puu.fi wi-verb-a suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-wi-verb-a	wi-verb-a	wi-verb-a suu.suu

(Table 3.2.2)

third person active			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puu.fi xo-juu-verb	puu.fi juu-verb	puu.fi juu-verb suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-juu-verb	juu-verb	juu-verb suu.suu
Finished			
Perfective	puu.fi xo-juu-verb-a	puu.fi juu-verb-a	puu.fi juu-verb-a suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-juu-verb-a	juu-verb-a	juu-verb-a suu.suu
third person passive			
Unfinished	past	present	future
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wuu-verb	puu.fi wuu-verb	puu.fi wuu-verb suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-wuu-verb	wuu-verb	wuu-verb suu.suu
Finished			
Perfective	puu.fi xo-wuu-verb-a	puu.fi wuu-verb-a	puu.fi wuu-verb-a suu.suu
Imperfective	xo-wuu-verb-a	wuu-verb-a	wuu-verb-a suu.suu

(Table 3.2.3)

There is some subject-verb agreement as both nouns and verbs have person, so the verbs differ depending on person.

4.4 Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and Adverbs do not exist separately in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli. What is normally be classified as adjectives exist as stative or descriptive verbs, or as a noun. For example,

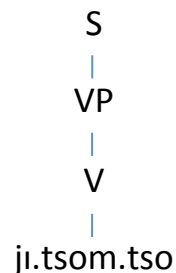
‘ma.fox,’ ‘happy’ is actually ‘happiness’ while ‘njak’ ‘small’ will have verb conjugations and be in the verb position in the sentence. However, nouns and verbs become adjectives or adverbs with the adjective marker ‘-fy.’ ‘njak,’ which is a stative verb, becomes an adjective with the suffix ‘-fy,’ ‘njak.fy.’ If the word is before a noun, it is an adjective, and if the word is before a verb, it is an adverb.

5. Syntax

5.1 Basic Syntactic Structure

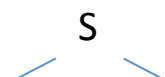
The word order of puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli is V(O)(S). There can be sentences with only the verb as nouns can be dropped, hence the parenthesis. While word order is flexible in speech due to a complex case system, the structure remains strictly VOS in written form. Tree 1.1 demonstrates a sentence with just a verb because both the subject and the object are dropped.

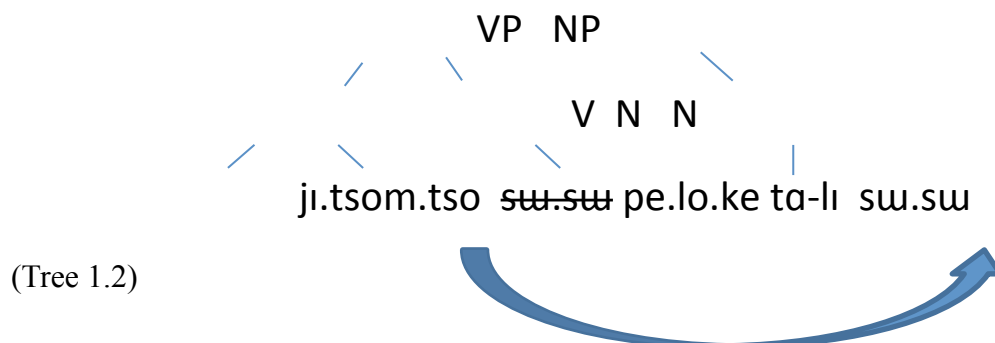
ji-tsomtso
ACT2nd-love
‘you love me’



(Tree 1.1)

ji-tsomtso	pelo-ke	ta-li	susuu
ACT2nd-love	come-DAT	you-NOM	AUXFUT
Love to me you are in the future			
‘you will love me’			





Tree 1.2 shows that while *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* follows a VOS structure, the auxiliary future marker is moved to the end of the sentence. The auxiliary future marker moves to the end of the clause that the verb affects.

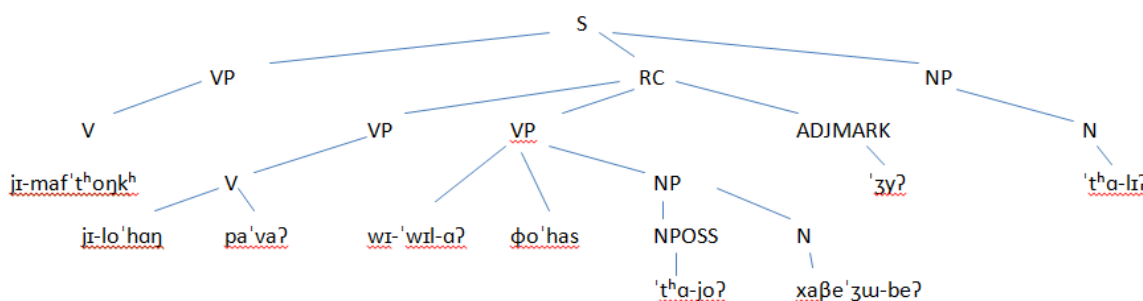
While English has both a definite article (the), and an indefinite article, (a, an), *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* only has a definite article. A definite noun is marked with the third person singular pronoun ‘kri’ (‘the book’ is ‘kri ten.se’), while an indefinite noun is just the noun by itself (‘a book’ is just ‘ten.se’). However, it is possible to use the word for ‘one’ as an indefinite article to emphasize that there is **one** noun. For example, to translate ‘a man loves me,’ ‘a man’ may be expressed as ‘pli ly.hun.’ This differs from counting because numbers go after the noun in counting. If one were to say one man, it would be ‘ly.hun pli.’

5.1.1 Relative Clause

The relative clause precedes the noun it describes in *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli*, but it seems much more complicated because *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* is a VOS language. As the relative clause precedes the noun it describes, the relative clause lies right in the middle of the sentence. The relative clause is marked with an auxiliary adjective marker ‘fy’ at the end of the relative clause. The relative clause follows regular sentence structure of VOS except the subject is absent as it is the same as the noun that the relative clause describes. Unlike in English, the relative pronoun

(e.g. the man who robbed a bank) is not necessary. Tree 1.3 shows a sentence with a relative clause in w-dialect.

jɪ-maf'tʰoŋkʰ	jɪ-lo'haŋ	pa'va?	wɪ-'wɪl-ɑ?	ϕo
'has				
ACTyou-work	ACTyou-desire	to	PASyou-grow-FIN	same
'tʰɑ-jo?	xaβe'ʒu-be?	'ʒy?	'tʰɑ-lɪ?	
You-GEN	older sibling-ACC	AUXADJ	you-NOM	
Work, desire to grow same as your older sibling, you				
‘You, who desire to be like your older sibling, work’				



(Tree 1.3)

5.1.2 Questions

The word order for questions does not change in pu.he.ʃu.i.jo o.tu.pli. For questions that can be answered with yes and no is marked with an auxiliary marker, ‘a.so.tu’ that literally means ‘yes no,’ at the beginning of the clause. Other basic information gathering questions that use the 5Ws and 1H do not have a specific question marker and just have the interrogative word where the object or the subject is usually placed. The following shows an example of one yes and no question and one question that uses an interrogative word. The parenthesis marks words that can be dropped in pu.he.ʃu.i.jo o.tu.pli.

aso.tu	jɪ-lo.haŋ	la'vu-pe	fu	puθ	(ta-lɪ)
Question	ACT2nd-desire	pastry-ACC	two	measure word	(you-NOM)
“do you want two pieces of pastry?”					

ji-lo.haŋ	sol-pe	(ta-li)
ACT2nd-desire	what-ACC	(you-NOM)

“what do you desire?”

5.1.3 Other Sentence Structures

In order to form a passive in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli, the position of the subject and the object is switched, but the cases that are attached to the nouns remains the same. Although there is an activeness marker in verbs, that marks the agentivity of the verb, and not the “active” or “passive” sentence. For example, ‘wa.suuk fe.ho.ɸax.pe’ means “I can smell grass” not ‘the grass was smelled by me.’

ji-lo.haŋ	la'vuu-pe	fu	puθ	(ta-li)
ACT2nd-desire	pastry-ACC	two	measure word	(you-NOM)

‘you desire two pieces of pastry’

ji-lo.haŋ	ta-li	la'vuu-pe	fu	puθ
ACT2nd-desire	you-NOM	pastry-ACC	two	measure word

‘two pieces of pastry are desired by you’

In order to form a negation in puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli the word tuul, ‘not,’ is placed at the beginning of the sentence. However, the negation marker can be placed before the subject or the object for emphasis.

tuul	ja-lo.haŋ	la'vuu-pe
not	ACT1st-desire	pastry-ACC

‘I do not **want** pastry’

ja-lo.haŋ	tuul	la'vuu-pe
ACT1st-desire	not	pastry-ACC

‘I do not want **pastry**’

There is no separate imperative form or the propositional form in *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli*. Instead, for imperatives, when a second person future tense is used (or the first person verb with a plural pronoun), it is accepted as a command. For propositions, the propositions begin with *ja.en'tyr*, 'I suggest,' to mark that it is a proposition and not an imperative.

<i>ja-ty.ro</i>	<i>puu.ta</i>	<i>suu.suu</i>
ACT2nd-eat	we	AUXFUT
'eat!'		

<i>ja-en'tyr</i>	<i>ja-ty.ro</i>	<i>puu.ta</i>	<i>suu.suu</i>
ACT1st-suggest	ACT1st-eat	we	AUXFUT
'let's eat'			

5.2 Case

There are seven cases in *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli*. The seven cases are the nominative case, the accusative case, the genitive case, the dative case, the locative case, the instrumental case, and the comitative case.

The nominative case 'lr' and the accusative case 'pe' are used the most as they mark standard subject and object.

The genitive case 'jo' marks possession, but it is also used to mark association. For example, *puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli* means 'our language' but *Wellesley.jo fen.ta* means 'Wellesley student' rather than 'Wellesley's student'

The dative case 'ke' marks destination and the indirect object of the verb. The dative case marks objects that are either the "victim" of the verb or the receiver/destination of the verb. For example, *pe.lo.ke*, 'me-DAT' is used in the following sentences:

pu.'fi	xo-jw-'fyx-a	ʃe'ho.pe	pe.lo-ke	ʃw' swa:lɪ
AUXPRF	PST-ACT3rd-bring-FIN	life-ACC	come-DAT	Wind-NOM
'the wind has brought life to me'				

xo-jɪ-kɪk	pe.lo-ke
PST-ACT2nd-hit	come-DAT
'you hit me'	

xo-jɪ-ɸeti	pe.lo-ke
PST-ACT2nd-smile	come-DAT
'you smiled at me'	

The locative case 'sy' marks source and location. It vaguely corresponds with the English 'in,' 'at,' 'on,' or 'from.' It might be confusing to decide when to use the locative case as opposed to the dative case when both cases can be used for location, but if the noun is a destination, it is always the dative case. Additionally the dative case is only used for destination, receiver or victim so if the noun is the source, or just talking about a general place, the locative marker is used.

The instrumental case 'ro' marks objects that are instruments or tools in which the nominative use to achieve an action. The instrument need not be an actual physical tool, and may be abstract.

xo-jɪ-kɪk	kwa-ro	pe.lo-ke
PST-ACT2nd-hit	club-INS	come-DAT
'you hit me with a club'		

pu.'fi	xo-jw-ɸɪ.rik.a-a	kwa.ɸik-ro	ɸik-pe	kri-lɪ
AUXPRF	PST-ACT3rd-win-FIN	bravery-INS	fight-ACC	3rdSING-NOM
'she/he has won the fight with bravery'				

The comitative case ‘nar’ in **puw.he.fu.i.jo** o.tu.pli is used in the same sense as the English preposition “with” in the sense of “in company with” but also to mark when there are nouns that uses the same case on the same position and to denote accompaniment. For example, to say “the wind brings life to **me and you**,” instead of using the dative case for both, “pe.lo.ke **puw** ta.ke” the comitative case replaces the first case and “and” so it becomes “pe.lo.**nar** ta.ke” instead.

5. Appendix

5.1 lexicon

5.1.1 English to **puw.he.fu.i.jo** o.tu.pli

Englisih	proto	c_dialect	w_dialect
	1pli:	pli:	'p ^h iə?
	2'fw:	'fw:	'fw?
	3'to	't ^h oʊ	't ^h o?
	4'xeθ	'xeiθ	'xet ^h
	5'woʃ	'woʊʃ	'woʃ
	6'hiθ	'hi:θ	'hiət ^h
	7'kan	'k ^h a:n	'k ^h an
	8'rex	'ɹeɪx	'rek ^h
	9'saɸ	'sɑ:ɸ	'səp ^h
	10lem	'leɪm	'lem
	11lem.pli	leɪm'pli:	'lempia?
	12lem.fw	'leɪm.fw	'lem.fw?
	20fw.lem	fw'leɪm	fw'lem
	30to.lem	to'leɪm	to'lem
	100lem.lem	lem'leɪm	lem'lem
	1000ɸe'vox	ɸe'voʊx	ɸe'vok ^h
	10000lem.ɸe'vox	lem.ɸe'voʊx	lem.ɸe'vok ^h
act	pa.dok	pa'ðoʊk ^h	pa'dok ^h
action	o.psa.twox	o.βa.'ðoʊk ^h	o.ba'dok ^h
again	puw.pw	puw'βw:	puw'p ^h w?
air	'al	'a:l	aɫ
all	lan	la:n	lan
among	kaŋ	k ^h a:ŋ	k ^h aŋ
and	puw	'p ^h w:	'p ^h w?
artfully complete	ʃan.lo.je	ʃa:n.lo.je	'ʃan.lo.je?
at the time	hi.no	hi'no:	hi'no?
barrel	jus.kap	jus.k ^h a:p ^h	jus.k ^h ap ^h

be	ʃal	ʃa:l	ʃaʔ
because	ɸyn'hir	ɸyn'hi:ɹ	ɸyn'hiəʔ
big	kʲoŋ	kʰj oʊŋ	kʰoŋ
bitumen	na.na.fa	na.na.va:	na.na.vaʔ
book	ten.se	'tʰein.se	o.la.'maŋ
bravery	kwa.ɸik	kwa.'βi:kʰ	ka.ɸiəkʰ
brick	ten.ka	tʰeɪŋka	tʰeŋkaʔ
bring	vʲx	vʲx	vʲkʰ
bucket	ku.pa	ku'βa	ku'pʰaʔ
buy	sop.al	soʊ.βal	so.pʰaɹ
case_accusative	pe	pe	peʔ
case_comitative	nar	naɹ	nar
case_dative	ke	ke	keʔ
case_genitive	jo	jo	joʔ
case_instrumental	ro	ɹo	roʔ
case_locative	sy	sy	syʔ
case_nominative	lɿ	lɿ	lɿʔ
city	psi'θur	psi'ðu:ɹ	pɿə'ður
cloud	'maŋ.al	'ma:ŋal	maŋaʔ
club	kwa	kwa	kʰaʔ
come	pe.lo	pe.'loʊ	pe.'loʔ
complete	ɸeʃ'feix	ɸeʃ'feix	ɸeʃ'fekʰ
completes	ɸeʃ'fex.o.ʃy	ɸeʃ'feɪx.o.ʒy	ɸeʃ'feɪx.o.ʒyʔ
create	xw'ɸaθ	xw'βa:θ	xw'pʰatʰ
debate	ʃek.ru.tu.pli.o	ʃeɪkʰɹudu'pli:o	ʃekʰrudu'pʰiəʔoʔ
desire	lo.haŋ	lo'ha:ŋ	lo'haŋ
different	kɾiʃ.o	kɾi: .ʒo	kiə.ʒo
do	ʃy	ʃy:	ʃyʔ
down	ʃe	ʃeɪ	ʃeʔ
drop	mli	mli:	'miəʔ
earth	'ɸax	'ɸa:x	'ɸakʰ
east	mot	moʊtʰ	moʊtʰ
eat	ty'ro	ty'ɹoʊ	ty'roʔ
emotion	ʃo'hus.o	ʃo'hu:.so	ʃo'hu.soʔ
exclusive	loʃ	loʊʃ	loʃ
expanse	wo'ru	wo'ɹu:	wo'ru
fall	ta'rapʰ	ta'ɹa:pʰ	ta'rapʰ
fight	ɸik	ɸi:kʰ	ɸiəkʰ
find	som.pa	soʊm.pa	som.paʔ
fire	'xwo.fa.si	'xwoʊvazi	xova'ziʔ
fist	'θex	'θeɪx	θeɪkʰ
flash	ʃu.am	ʃuam	ʃuʔam
flowing	ja'rwɹl	ja'ɹw:l	ja'rwʔ

foot	θlomp	'θloʊmpʰ	'θompʰ
for	ʃa.ʧa	ʃa.βa:	ʃaβaʔ
future maker	sw.sw	sw.zw:	sw'zuʔ
get	tɔʃ.o	tʰoʊʒo	tʰoʒoʔ
give	le	leɪ	leʔ
glue	o.plim	o.pli:m	o.pʰim
grain	ka'ʃa	ka'za:	ka'zaʔ
grass	ʃe.ho.ʧax	ʃeɦo'βa:x	ʃeɦo'βakʰ
group	he.fu.i	he'zui	he'zuʔiəʔ
grow	wɪl	wɪ:l	wɪʔ
hand	se.to	se.'ðoʊ	se.'tʰoʔ
happiness	ma.fox	ma.'voʊx	ma.'vokʰ
have	ʃar	ʃa:ɹ	ʃar
he/she	kri	kɹi	kʰiə
hear	li.e'zu	lie'zu:	liʔe'zuʔ
heat	ʃw	ʃw:	ʃwʔ
honor	roθlun	ɹoθlu:n	roθlun
how	mɪ	mɪ:	mɪʔ
however	ha.si	ɦa.zi	ɦa.ziə
human	ly.hun	ly.hu:n	ly.hun
idle (v)	na.rux	na.'ɹu:x	na.'rukʰ
if	ʃik.mu	ʃi:kʰmu	ʃiəkʰ.muʔ
inappropriate action	tsyl.ho	tsy:lho	tʰ'ylhoʔ
jewels	o'.mant	o'ma:ntʰ	o'ɦa:ntʰ
know	ke.ko.men	ke.ɣo.meɪn	ke.ɣo.men
land	worɸax	wɔɹ'ɸa:x	worɸakʰ
language	o.tu.pli	o.ðu'pli	odu'pʰiəʔ
laugh	e.ʃu.ʧe.ti	eʒuβe'ði:	eʒuβe'tʰiəʔ
life	ʃe.'ho	ʃe'hoo	ʃe.'hoʔ
lightning	xwo'maŋ.al	xwo'ma:ŋal	xo'maŋaʔ
love	tsom.tso	tsoʊm.tso	'tʰoʊm.to
manner	tsu.lym.ɸlit	tsu.lym.'ɸli:tʰ	tu.lym.'ɸiətʰ
measure word_intangibles	su.aŋ	suaŋ	suʔaŋ
mix	ne'ro	ne'ɹoo	ne'roʔ
move	pe.nam	pe.na:m	pe.nam
name	klan	kla:n	kʰan
negate negatives	ja.so	ja.'zoʊ	ja.'zoʔ
no	tw	'tʰw:	'tʰwʔ
north	max	ma:x	makʰ
not	twɪ	tʰwɪ	tʰwɪʔ
now	ɸet	ɸeɪtʰ	ɸetʰ
number	jo'lon	jo'loʊn	jo'lon
ocean	wor'maŋ	wɔɹ'ma:ŋ	wor'maŋ

pair	ki	kʰi:	kʰiə?
part	sui	sui	'su?iə?
pastry	la'vw	la'vw:	la'vw?
piece	'puθ	'pʰu:θ	pʰutʰ
place	ten	tʰein	tʰen
plain	laŋk	la:ŋk	laŋk
possibility	ʃekrufal	ʃeikʰuʒal	ʃekʰruʒaʔ
pretend	tseik	tse:lkʰ	tʰekʰ
promise	te'.fɯŋ.ko	te'vɯŋko	te'vɯŋko
quick	mws	mws	mws
quit	pwoʊl.kit	pwoʊl.kit	pʰol'kit
reach	ha.ma	ha.ma:	ha.ma?
read	la.man	la.'ma:ŋ	la.'man
receive	pax.ti	pʰa:x.ti	pʰax.tiə?
remember	xɪʃ.man	xɪʃ.man	xɪʃ.han
same	ʔo'mas	ʔo'ma:s	ʔo'has
sand	'sɪm	'sɪ:m	'sɪm
see	sy.'van	sy'va:ŋ	sy'van
sense	ka'per.o	ka.βe.ɔ	ka'be.ro?
shaking hands	mo'veŋ	mo'veiŋ	ho'veŋ
sibling_older	xa.ʔe.ʃw	xa.βe.ʒw:	xa.βe.ʒw?
sibling_younger	ʔe.ʔe.ʃw	ʔe.βe.ʒw:	ʔe.βe.ʒw?
sing	e.ʃu.'man	eʒu'ma:ŋ	eʒu'man
singer	e.ʃu.'ma:ŋ.o.ʃy	eʒu'ma:..ŋo.ʒy	eʒu'man
sit	xal	xa:l	xaʔ
sky	je	jeɪ	je?
sleep	swŋ	sw:ŋ	swŋ
small	njak	njakʰ	nakʰ
small talk	mws.tu'.pli.o	mws.tu'.pli.o	mʉstu'pʰiə? o?
smell	'swx	'sw:x	swkʰ
smile	ʔe'ti	ʔe'ði:	ʔe'tʰiə?
song	o.e.ʃu.'man	o.e.ʒu.'ma:ŋ	oʔeʒu'man
sound	e.ʃu	e.'ʒu:	e.'ʒu?
south	miʔ	miʔ	miʔʰ
spread	te.fo	te.voʊ	te.vo?
stand	na'ru:x	na'ɹux	na'ruk
start	ʔa'tul	ʔa'ðu:l	ʔa'tʰuʔ
stick (v)	plɪm	plɪ:m	pʰɪm
stone	kyʃ	kʰyʃ	kʰyʃ
student	ʃen.ta	ʃem.ta	ʃen.ta?
suggest	en'tyr	en'ty:ɹ	en'tyr
swallow	lo'jam	lo'ja:m	lo'jam
talk	e.ʃu.tu.pli	eʒuðu'pli:	eʒudu'pʰiə?

taste	swx.ty.ro	'sw:x.ty.ɾo	swx.tyro?
then	to'ro	to'ɾoʊ	to'ro?
therefore	ki.tox	ki'ðoʊx	kitʰokʰ
they	kri.he.fu.i	kɾi:.he.'zu.i	kiə.he.'zuʔ.iə?
thing	pa.xe	pa.'ye	pa.'ye?
think	psa.twox	psa'tʰwoʊx	pa'dokʰ
this	tse	tseɪ	tʰe?
those	pa.xe.he.fu.i	pa.ɣe.he.'zu:i	pa.ɣe.he.'zuʔ.iə?
thought	o.psa.'twox	opsa'tʰwoʊx	o.ba'dokʰ
thunder	e.fu'maŋ.al	eʒu'ma:ŋal	eʒu'maŋaɫ
tip	smif	'smi:f	siəf
to	pa.fa	pa.'va:	pa.'va?
to (verb indicator)	pa.fa	pa.'va:	pa.'va?
to hit with a stick	pa.fa.kwa	pa.va.'kwa	pa.va.'kʰa?
touch	θa'ref	θa'ɾeɪf	θa'repʰ
tower	jona'la	jona'la:	jona'la
travel	fi.ol.in	fi.o.lɪn	fiʔolɪn
understand	θeʔo'lu	θeʔo'lu:	θeʔo'lu
walk	mi.fax	miva:x	miə'vakʰ
wander	jek.ru	jeɪkʰɹu	jekʰru
water	'maŋ	'ma:ŋ	'maŋ
we_and you	pʷ.'ta?	pʷ'ða:	pʷ'tʰa?
we_exclude you	he.fu.i	he'zu:i	he'zuʔ.iə?
we_group	pʷ.he.fu.i	pʷ.he.'zu:i	pʷ.he.'zuʔ.iə?
west	mel	meɪl	meɫ
what	sol	soʊl	soɭ
when	tsyk	tsy:kʰ	tʰɣkʰ
where	pop	pʰoʊpʰ	pʰoʊpʰ
who	toŋ	tʰoʊŋ	tʰoŋ
why	ɬws	ɬw:s	ɬws
win	ϕɪ.ɾik.a	ϕɪ.ɾi:.ɣa	ϕɪ.ɾiə.kʰa?
wind	ɬw'swa	ɬw'swa:	ɬw'za?
words	tu.pli.o	tu.pli.o	tu'pʰiəʔo?
work (n)	o.maf.'toŋk	o.maf.'tʰoʊŋkʰ	o.maf.'tʰoŋkʰ
work (v)	maf.'toŋk	maf'tʰoʊŋkʰ	maf'tʰoŋkʰ
worker	maf.'toŋk.o.ɟy	maf'tʰoʊŋ.kʰo.ʒy	maf'.tʰoŋ.kʰo.ʒy?
yes	a.so	a.'zoʊ	a.'zo?
you	tɑ	tʰɑ:	tʰɑ?
you_formal	ϕeɟ.'fex.o.ʒy	ϕeɟ.'fei.ɣo.ʒy	
you_plural	tɑ.he.'fu.i	tɑ.he.'zui	tɑ.he.'zuʔ.iə?

5.1.2 puu.he.fu.i.jo o.tu.pli to English

proto	c_dialect	w_dialect	Englsih
a.so	a.'zoo	a.'zo?	yes
al	'a:l	aʔ	air
e.fu	e.'zu:	e.'zu?	sound
e.fu.'ma:ŋ.o.fy	eʒu'ma:ŋo.ʒy	eʒu'maŋ	singer
e.fu.'maŋ	eʒu'ma:ŋ	eʒu'maŋ	sing
e.fu.ʔe.ti	eʒuʔe'ði:	eʒuʔe'tʰiə?	laugh
e.fu.tu.pli	eʒuðu'pli:	eʒudu'pʰiə?	talk
e.fu'maŋ.al	eʒu'ma:ŋal	eʒu'maŋaʔ	thunder
en'tyr	en'ty:ɹ	en'tyr	suggest
fi.ol.in	fi.o.lɪn	fiʔolɪn	travel
fu.lem	fu'leɪm	fu'lem	twenty
'fu:	'fu:	'fu?	two
ha.ma	ha.ma:	ha.ma?	reach
ha.si	ha.zi	ha.ziə	however
he.fu.i	he'zui	he'zuʔiə?	group
he.fu.i	he'zu:i	he'zuʔiə?	we_exclude you
hi.no	hi'no:	hi'no?	at the time
hiθ	'hi:θ	'hiəʰ	six
ja.so	ja.'zoo	ja.'zo?	negate negatives
ja'rwɪ	ja'ɹu:l	ja'rwʔ	flowing, also measure word for air or thought or water
je	jeɪ	je?	sky
jik.mu	ji:kʰmu	jiəkʰ.mu?	if
jo	jo	jo?	case_genitive
jo'lon	jo'loʊn	jo'lon	number
jona'la	jona'la:	jona'la	tower
jus.kap	jus.kʰa:pʰ	jus.kʰapʰ	barrel, also measure word for alcohol
kan	'kʰa:n	'kʰan	seven
kaŋ	kʰa:ŋ	kʰaŋ	among
ka'per.o	ka.ʔe.ɹo	ka'be.ɹo?	sense
ka'ja	ka'ʒa:	ka'ʒa?	grain also a measure word
ke	ke	ke?	case_dative
ke.ko.men	ke.ʔo.meɪn	ke.ʔo.men	know, active form is learn
ki	kʰi:	kʰiə?	pair also a measure word
ki.tox	ki'ðoox	kitʰokʰ	therefore
kjoŋ	kʰjoʊŋ	kʰoŋ	big
kla:n	kla:n	kʰan	name
kri	kui	kʰiə	he/she also used as definite and to mark distance
kri.he.fu.i	kui:he.'zu.i	kiə.he.'zuʔiə?	they

kriɿ.ɔ	kri: .ɜo	kiə.ɜo	different
ku.pa	ku'βa	ku'pʰaʔ	bucket measure word for liquid
kwa	kwa	kʰaʔ	club
kwa.ɸik	kwa. 'βi:kʰ	ka.ɸiəkʰ	bravery
kyɿ	kʰyɿ	kʰyɿ	stone
la.maŋ	la.'ma:ŋ	la.'maŋ	read
lan	la:n	lan	all
laŋk	la:ŋk	laŋk	plain
la'vu	la'vu:	la'vuʔ	pastry
le	leɪ	leʔ	give
lem	'leim	'lem	ten
lem.fu	'leim.fu	'lem.fuʔ	twelve
lem.lem	lem'leim	lem'lem	hundred
lem.ɸe'vox	lem.ɸe'voʊx	lem.ɸe'vokʰ	ten thousand
lem.pli	leim'pli:	'lempiəʔ	eleven
lɪ	lɪ	lɪʔ	case_nominative
li.e'zu	lie'zu:	liʔe'zuʔ	hear
lo.haŋ	lo'ha:ŋ	lo'haŋ	desire
			swallow measure word for intangible
lo'jam	lo'ja:m	lo'jam	things
loɸ	loʊɸ	loɸ	exclusive
ly.hun	ly.hu:n	ly.hun	human
ma.fox	ma.'voʊx	ma.'vokʰ	happiness
maf.'tonk	maf'tʰoʊŋkʰ	maf'tʰoŋkʰ	work (v)
		maf	
maf.'tonk.o.fy	maf'tʰoʊŋ.kʰo.ɜy	'tʰoŋ.kʰo.ɜyʔ	worker
'maŋ	'ma:ŋ	'maŋ	water
'maŋ.al	'ma:ŋal	maŋaɫ	cloud
max	ma:x	makʰ	north
mel	meɪl	meɫ	west
mɪ	mɪ :	mɪʔ	how
mi.fax	miva:x	miə'vakʰ	walk
miɸ	miɸ	mipʰ	south
mli	mli:	'miəʔ	drop measure word for water
			quick measure word for word related
			things
mws	mws	mws	
mws.tu'.pli.o	mws.tu'.pli.o	mwestu'pʰiəʔ oʔ	small talk
mot	moʊtʰ	motʰ	east
na.na.va	na.na.va:	na.na.vaʔ	bitumen
na.rux	na.'ɹu:x	na.'rukʰ	idle (v)
nar	naɹ	nar	case_comitative
na'ru:x	na'ɹux	na'ruk	stand
ne'ro	ne'ɹoʊ	ne'roʔ	mix
njak	njakʰ	nakʰ	small

o.e.fu.'maŋ	o.e.zu.'ma:ŋ	oʔezu'maŋ	song
o.maf.'toŋk	o.maf.'tʰoŋkʰ	o.maf.'tʰoŋkʰ	work (n)
o.plim	o.pli:m	o.pʰim	glue
o.psa.twox	o.βa.'ðoʊkʰ	o.ba'dokʰ	action
o.psa.'twox	opsa'tʰwoʊx	o.ba'dokʰ	thought
o.tu.pli	o.ðu'pli	odu'pʰiəʔ	language
o'.mant	o'ma:ntʰ	o'ha:ntʰ	jewels or precious one
pa.dok	pa'ðoʊkʰ	pa'dokʰ	act
pa.fa	pa.'va:	pa.'vaʔ	to
pa.fa	pa.'va:	pa.'vaʔ	to (verb indicator)
pa.fa.kwa	pa.va.'kwa	pa.va.'kʰaʔ	to hit with a stick
pa.xe	pa.'ye	pa.'yeʔ	thing
		pa.ye.he.	
pa.xe.he.fu.i	pa.ye.he.'zu:i	'zuʔ.iəʔ	those
φa'tul	φa'ðu:l	φa'tʰuʔ	start
'φax	'φa:x	'φakʰ	earth
pax.ti	pʰa:x.ti	pʰax.tiəʔ	receive
pe	pe	peʔ	case_accusative
pe.lo	pe.'loʊ	pe.'loʔ	come
pe.nam	pe.na:m	pe.nam	move
ϕe.ϕe.fw	ϕe.βe.ɜw:	ϕe.βe.ɜwʔ	sibling_younger
ϕeʃ.'fex.o.ɜy	ϕeʃ.'fei.ʏo.ɜy		you_formal
ϕeʃ'feix	ϕeʃ'feix	ϕeʃ'fekʰ	complete
ϕeʃ'fex.o.fy	ϕeʃ'feiɣ.o.ɜy	ϕeʃ'feiɣ.o.ɜyʔ	completes
ϕet	ϕeɪtʰ	ϕetʰ	now
ϕe'ti	ϕe'ði:	ϕe'tʰiəʔ	smile
ϕe'vox	ϕe'voʊx	ϕe'vokʰ	thousand
		ϕɪ.ɾiə.kʰa	
ϕɪ.ɾik.a	ϕɪ.ɾi:.ɣa	ʔ	win
ϕik	ϕi:kʰ	ϕiəkʰ	fight
pli:	pli:	'pʰiəʔ	one
plim	pli:m	pʰim	stick (v)
pʷ	'pʰw:	'pʰwʔ	and
pʷ.he.fu.i	pʷ.he.'zu:i	pʷ.he.'zuʔ.iəʔ	we_group
pʷ.pʷ	pʷ'βw:	pʷ'pʰwʔ	again
pʷ.'taʔ	pʷ'ða:	pʷ'tʰaʔ	we_and you
pɔp	pʰoʊpʰ	pʰoʊpʰ	where
φo'mas	φo'ma:s	φo'has	same
psa.twox	psa'tʰwoʊx	pa'dokʰ	think
psi'θur	psi'ðu:ɹ	piə'ðuɹ	city
'puθ	'pʰu:θ	pʰutʰ	piece
pʷoʊl.kit	pʷoʊl.kit	pʰol'kit	quit
φyn'hir	φyn'hi:ɹ	φyn'hiaɹ	because
'rex	'jeix	'rekʰ	eight

ro	ɾo	roʔ	case_instrumental
roθlun	ɾoθlu:n	roθlun	honor
ʃa.Φa	ʃa.βa:	ʃaβaʔ	for
ʃal	ʃa:l	ʃaɫ	be
ʃan.lo.je	ʃa:n.lo.je	'ʃan.lo.jeʔ	artfully complete
'saφ	'sa:φ	'sapʰ	nine
ʃar	ʃa:ɹ	ʃar	have, possess
ʃe	ʃeɪ	ʃeʔ	down
ʃe.'ho	ʃe.'hoʊ	ʃe.'hoʔ	life
ʃe.ho.Φax	ʃe.ho'βa:x	ʃe.ho'βakʰ	grass
se.to	se.'ðoʊ	se.'tʰoʔ	hand
			wander measure word for word related things
ʃek.ru	ʃekʰɹu	ʃekʰru	
		ʃekʰrudu	
ʃek.ru.tu.pli.o	ʃekʰɹudu'pli:o	'pʰiəʔoʔ	debate
ʃek.ru.ʃal	ʃekʰɹuʒal	ʃekʰruʒaɫ	possibility
ʃen.ta	ʃeɪn.ta	ʃen.taʔ	student
'sim	'si:m	'sim	sand
ʃw	ʃw:	ʃwʔ	heat
sw.sw	sw.zw:	sw'zwʔ	future maker
smif	'smi:f	siəf	tip a measure word meaning 'a pinch of'
swŋ	sw:ŋ	swŋ	sleep
ʃws	ʃw:s	ʃws	why
ʃw'swa	ʃw'swa:	ʃw'zaʔ	wind
'swx	'sw:x	swkʰ	smell
swx.ty.ro	'sw:x.ty.ɾo	swx.tyroʔ	taste
ʃo'hus.o	ʃo'hu:.so	ʃo'hu.soʔ	emotion
sol	soʊl	soɭ	what
som.pa	soʊm.pa	som.paʔ	find
sop.al	soʊ.βal	so.pʰaɭ	buy
ʃu.am	ʃuam	ʃuʔam	flash
su.aŋ	suaŋ	suʔaŋ	measure word_intangible
sui	sui	'suʔiəʔ	part measure word
sy	sy	syʔ	case_locative
ʃy	ʃy:	ʃyʔ	do also an ADJ marker
sy.'vaŋ	sy'va:ŋ	sy'vaŋ	see
tα	tʰα:	tʰαʔ	you
ta.he.'ʃu.i	ta.he.'ʒui	ta.he.'ʒuʔ.iəʔ	you_plural
ta'rapʰ	ta'ɹa:pʰ	ta'rapʰ	fall
te.fo	te.voʊ	te.voʔ	spread-PASS form is scattered
te'.fyŋ.ko	te'vyŋko	te'vyŋko	promise
ten	tʰeɪn	tʰen	place
ten.ka	tʰeɪŋka	tʰeŋkaʔ	brick
ten.se	'tʰeɪn.se	o.la.'maŋ	book

tu	'tʰu:	'tʰuʔ	no
tuɪ	tʰuɪ	tʰuɪ	not
'to	'tʰoʊ	'tʰoʔ	three
to.lem	to'leim	to'lem	thirty
toŋ	tʰoʊŋ	tʰoŋ	who
to'ro	to'ɹoʊ	to'roʔ	then, afterwards
toʃ.o	tʰoʊʒo	tʰoʒoʔ	get
tse	tseɪ	tʰeʔ	this
tseɪk	tse:ɪkʰ	tʰekʰ	pretend, act
tsom.tso	tsoʊm.tso	'tʰoʊm.to	love
tsu.lym.ʔlit	tsu.lym.'ʔli:tʰ	tu.lym.'ʔiætʰ	manner
tsyk	tsy:kʰ	tʰyɪkʰ	when
			inappropriate action, act outside of one's
tsyl.ho	tsy:lho	tʰ'yɪlhoʔ	class
tu.pli.o	tu.pli.o	tu'pʰiəʔoʔ	words used for both written and spoken
ty'ro	ty'ɹoʊ	ty'roʔ	eat
vɪx	vɪx	vɪkʰ	bring
wɪl	wɪ:l	wɪɪ	grow can be used to form verbs
wor'maŋ	wor'ma:ŋ	wor'maŋ	ocean
worʔax	wor'ʔa:x	worʔakʰ	land
wo'ru	wo'ɹu:	wo'ru	expanse, measure word for endless ness
'woʃ	'woʊʃ	'woʃ	five
mo'veŋ	mo'veiŋ	ho'veŋ	shaking hands
xa.ʔe.ʃw	xa.βe.ʒw:	xa.βe.ʒwʔ	sibling_older
xal	xa:l	xaɪ	sit
'xeθ	'xeɪθ	'xetʰ	four
xɪʃ.man	xɪʃ.man	xɪʃ.han	remember
xw'ʔaθ	xw'βa:θ	xw'pʰatʰ	create
'xwo.fɑ.si	'xwoʊvazi	xova'ziʔ	fire
xwo'maŋ.al	xwo'ma:ŋal	xo'maŋaɪ	lightning
θa'ref	θa'ɹeɪf	θa'repʰ	touch
θeʔo'lu	θeβo'lu:	θeβo'lu	understand
'θex	'θeɪx	θekʰ	fist
θlomp	'θloʊmpʰ	'θompʰ	foot

5.2 Tower of Babel

gloss	Meaning
FIN	Finished tense
ACT	Activeness marker
PASS	Passive marker
ADJ	Adjective marker
exclusive	Exclusively, only with each other

Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

hi'no: pw'vi: xo-ww-'ʒa:l 'pli: psi'ðeif eʒuðu'plio-naɹ

At that time AUXPRF PST-3rdPASS-be one (set)meas. speach-COM

'pli: psi'ðeif tu'plio-ɹo ('pli:) woɹ'βa:x-li

One (set)measure word Language-INS (one) land-NOM

As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi'nar and they began dwelling there.

xo-ww-zoɹmpa-a ʃinaɹ-jo woɹ'βa:x-sy laŋk-pe pw'vi:

PST-3rdPASS-find-FIN Shinar-GEN land-LOC plain-ACC AUXPRF

xo-jw-violin-a moʊtʰ-ɹo ʒy pw'kɹi:-li pʰw: xo-jw-βa'ðu:l-a

PST-3rdACT-travel-FIN east-INS AUXADJ 3rdPL-NOM and PST-3rdACT-start-FIN

jw-'ʒa:l kɹi-tʰein-sy (pw'kɹi:-li)

3rdACT-be that-place-LOC (3rdPL-NOM)

Then they said to one another: “Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.”

xo-jw-eʒudu'pli-a loʊʒ-y pwkɹi-li φeɪtʰ ja-en'ty:ɹ

PST-3rdACT-talk-FIN exclusive-ADJ 3rdPL-NOM now(exclamative) 1stACT-suggest

ja-xw'βa:ð-a pw-'tʰeinka- be pw'da:li pʰw: ja-bava-ʒw-a 'xwoʊfazi-ɹo

1stACT-create-FIN brick-plural-ACC 1stPL-NOM and 1stACT-V-heat-FIN fire-INS

So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

ki'ðoox xo-jw-ba'va:-a pw-'tʰeinka- -jo'tʰu:l pw-kʰyʃ-jo pʰu:
Therefore PST-3rdACT-to do-FIN PL-brick- INS not PL-stone- INS and
xo-jw-ba'va:-a nana'va:-jo pa'va: o-pli:m- jo
PST-3rdACT-to do-FIN Bitumen-ins to N-stick- INS

They now said: “Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.”

to'joos hi'no: xo-jw-ezudu'pli-a φειῥῥῥ ja-en'ty:ɹ
Then at that time PST-3rdACT-talk-FIN now(excl.) 1stACT-suggest
'ja:nloje psi'ðu:ɹ-pe ja'βa: loʊʒ-y pw'da:-pe pw'da:-li
artfully complete city-ACC for exclusive-ADJ 1stPL-ACC 1stPL-NOM
sw'zu: pʰu: 'ja:nloje ww-hama-a je-pe ʒy
AUXFUT and artfully complete 3rdPAS-reach-FIN sky-ACC AUXADJ
jona'la:-pe to'joos ja-en'ty:ɹ ja-xw'βa:ð-a joθlu:n-y kla:n-pe
Tower-ACC Then 1stACT-suggest 1stACT-create-FIN honor-ADJ name-ACC
ja'βa: loʊʒ-y pw'da:-li sw'zu: φyn'hi:ɹ 'tʰu:l wa-tʰevoos
for exclusive-ADJ 1stPL-NOM AUXFUT because not 1stPAS-scatter
lan woɹ'fa:x-sy pw'da:-li
All land-LOC 1stPL-NOM

Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.

to'joos xo-jw-penam-a jei-jo φyn'hi:ɹ jw-sy'vã:ŋ-a pw'vi:
Then PST-3rdACT-move-FIN down-INS because 3rdACT-see-FIN
 AUXPRF
xo-jw-xw'βa:tʰ lan ly'hu:n-li ʒy psi'ðu:ɹ -naɹ jona'la:-pe
PST-3rdACT-create all human-NOM AUXADJ city-COM tower-ACC
Jehova-li
Jehovah-NOM

Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do.

to'ɹoʊ xo-jw-eʒudu'pli-a Jehovah-lɪ “ji-sy'vã:ŋ-a sw'zw: ww-'ʒɑ:l-a
Then PST-3rdACT-talk-FIN Jehovah-NOM “2ndACT-see-FIN AUXFUT! 3rdPAS-be-FIN
ww-ʃa:ɹ 'pli: psi'ðef tu'plio-be ʒy 'pli: he'ʒui
3rdPAS-have one (set) measure language-ACC AUXADJ one (group)meas.
ly'hu:n-lɪ pʰw: xo-jw-βɑ'du:l-a jw-ʒy: tseɪ o-maf'tʰoʊŋkʰ-pe
Human-NOM And PST-3rdACT-start-FIN 3rdACT-do this N-act- ACC

Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.

to'ɹoʊ hi'no: jw-lo'haŋ-a pa'va: jw-ʒy: sw'zw: ʒy
Then At that time 3rdACT-want-FIN to 3rdACT-do AUXFUT AUXADJ
o-maf'tʰoʊŋk kan 'tʰw:l ww-'ʒɑ:l-a ʃa'βa: pʰkɹi-pe 'tʰw:l ʃeikʰuʒal -
ʒy
N-work among not 3rdPAS-be-FIN for 3rdPL-ACC not possibility-
ADJ
pa'ŋeɪ-lɪ sw'zw:
thing-NOM AUXFUT

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another's language.”

ʃeɪtʰ ʃa-en'ty:ɹ jw-pe'na:m-a ʃeɪ-ɹo pʰw: ʃa-ne'ɹoʊ -ɑ
Now! 1stACT-suggest 3rdACT-move-FIN down-INS and 1stACT-mix-
FIN
pʰkɹi-jo tu'plio-be pʰda:-lɪ ʃyn'hi:ɹ 'tʰw:l ww-ðeβo'lu-a
3rdPL-gen language-ACC 1stPL-NOM because not 3rdPAS-understand-FIN
pʰkɹi-jo tu'plio-be
3rdPL-gen language-ACC

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.

ki'ðoox	xo-jw-t ^h evoo-α	pwkui-pe	lan	woɹ'fa:x-sy	p ^h u:	gaʒa-pw- ga'ʒa:
Therefore	PST-3rdACT-scatter-FIN	3rdPL-ACC	all	land-LOC	and	grain-and-grain
't ^h u:l	pa'va:	jw-βeɸ'feix	jw-xw'βa:ð-α	psi'ðu:ɹ-pe		
not	to	3rdACT-complete	3rdACT-create-FIN	city-ACC		

That is why it was named Ba'bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

ki'ðoox	pw'vi:	xo-jw-bava-kla:n-α	Babel-ɹo	φyn'hi:ɹ
Therefore	AUXPRF	PST-3rdACT-VRB-name- FIN	Babel-INS	because
xo-jw-ne'ɹoo-α	lan	woɹ'fa:x -jo	tu'plio-be	p ^h u: xo-jw-t ^h evoo-α
PST-3rdACT-mix-FIN	All	land-GEN	language-ACC	and PST-3rdACT-scatter-FIN
pwkui-be	t ^h o	kui-t ^h ein-sy	lan	woɹ'fa:x-ɹo
3rdPL-ACC	from	That-place-LOC	all	land-INS
				Jehova-lɪ
				Jehovah-NOM

5.3 Short Dialogue

Gloss	Meaning
ACT	Activeness marker
PASS	Passive marker
FIN	Finished tense
Yes-no	Question marker
ADJ	Adjective marker

ja-lo'hɑ:ŋ ja'βa: ja-lu:θmw 'tʰɑ:-jo azo-'ðw: ji-'zekʷa:l
 ACT1st-desire for ACT1st-ask you-DAT yes-no ACT2nd-possible

 ji-ðoʊʊʊ pe'loʊ-ye ja-'zeikʰʷʊʊy-ɑ pa'va: ja-'ðoʊmpʰlo jy
 ACT2nd-get come-DAT ACT1st-able-FIN to ACT1st-ride AUXADJ

 pa'yei-li
 thing-NOM

desire to ask you, the possibility for you getting me an 'I can ride' thing
 'I want to ask you, is it possible for you to get me something I can ride from here'

soʔ?

'What?'

azo-'ðw: ji-'zekʷa:l ji-ðoʊʊʊ pe'loʊ-ye ja-'zeikʰʷʊʊy-ɑ pa'va:
 Yes-no ACT2nd-possible ACT2nd-get come-DAT ACT1st-able-FIN to

 ja-'ðoʊmpʰlo jy pa'yei-li
 ACT1st-ride AUXADJ thing-NOM

Is it possible getting me 'I can ride' thing
 'is it possible for you to get me something I can ride?'

raʔ 'tʰwʔ wa-gego'men ji-'zekʰʷʊʊyʔ-ɑʔ pa'vaʔ ji-tʰompʰloʔ jyʔ
 filler not PAS1st-know. ACT2nd-able-FIN to ACT2nd-ride AUXADJ

sol-peʔ
 what-ACC

uh not I know. 'you can ride' what?
 'Uh I don't know. What can you ride?'

tsulym'phi:tʰ	xo-ja-lu:θmw	tʰa:-jo	azo-ʰɔw:	ji-'zekruʒa:l
Manner!	PST-ACT1st-ask	you-DAT	yes-no	ACT2nd-possible

ji-ðoʊʒo	pe'loo-ye	ja-'zeikʰruʒy -a	pa'va:	ja-ʰðoʊmpʰlo	ʃy
ACT2nd-get	come-DAT	ACT1st-able-FIN	to	ACT1st-ride	AUXADJ

pa'yei-lɪ
thing-NOM

none of your business! I asked you possibility you getting me 'I can ride' thing
'None of your business! I asked you if you can get me something I can ride!'

φetʰ	ji-zyvaŋ	te-tʰen-peʔ,	tuʔ	ja-zompaʔ-aʔ	ʃaβaʔ	tʰa-beʔ
now	ACT2nd-look	this-place-ACC, not		ACT1st-find-FIN	for	you-ACC

ji-3ekʰruʒyʔ-aʔ	pavaʔ	ji-tʰompʰloʔ	ʃyʔ	paye-beʔ	jiəkʰmwʔ
ACT2nd-able-FIN	to	ACT2nd-ride	AUXADJ	thing-ACC	if

tuʔ	wa-gegomen-aʔ	ji-3ekʰruʒyʔ-aʔ	pavaʔ	ji-tʰompʰloʔ	ʃyʔ
not	PASS-know-FIN	ACT2nd-able-FIN	to	ACT2nd-ride	AUXADJ

sol-peʔ	kiətʰokʰ	jiʔ-eʒuleʔ-aʔ	ji-3ekʰruʒyʔ-aʔ	pavaʔ
what-ACC	therefore	ACT2nd-tell-FIN	ACT2nd-able-FIN	to

ji-tʰompʰloʔ	ʃyʔ	sol-peʔ	pelo-geʔ
ACT2nd-ride	AUXADJ	what-ACC	come-DAT

Now look here, I not find for you thing you can ride if I know not what you are able to ride, therefore tell me what you can ride to me

'now, I can't find you what you can ride if you don't tell me what you are able to ride, so tell me what you can ride'

ja-enty:ɹ	ji-γɪʃma:n-a	tʰa:-lɪ	ju-zoʊβal	tse-ðein-sy	soʊl-pe
ACT1st-suggest	ACT2nd-remember-FIN	you-NOM	ACT3rd-buy	this-place-LOC	what-ACC

kɪi:ʒo	pɹ-lyhu:n-lɪ
different	PL-human-NOM

I suggest you recall buy from this place what, different people
'I suggest you recall what other people buy from this place'

telia'hoʔ
Horse?

'A horse?'

tʰw:l	ja-'zeikʰruʒy -a	pa'va:	ja-lei-a	tʰa:-ye	mw:θ'lu-βe.
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Not ACT1st-able-FIN to ACT1st-give-FIN you-DAT answer-ACC.

hazi: ji:kʰmw azoʊ, toɔʊ ja-enty:ɹ ji-zeikʰu tʰa:-li

however if yes, then ACT1st-suggest ACT2nd-ponder you-NOM

swzw: ja-lyha:ŋ ja-ðoʊʒo-a tse-ðein-sy soʊl-pe swzw:
AUXFUT ACT1st-desire ACT1st-get-FIN this-place-LOC what-ACC AUXFUT

not able to give you an answer. However if yes, then I suggest you think what I could want to get from here

‘perhaps. But in case, then I suggest you think what I could want to get from here’

azo-ʰwʰ? ji-loʰhaŋ jaʰβa? ja-βyʃko? teliaʰho-be?
yes-no ACT2st-desire for ACT1st-sell horse-ACC?

Yes, no, you desire for me to sell horse?

‘You want me to sell a horse?’

ʰwʰ:l ja-ʰzeikʰuʒy -a paʰva: ja-lei-a tʰa:-ye mw:θʰlu-βe
Not ACT1st-able-FIN to ACT1st-give-FIN you-DAT answer-ACC

I am not able to give you an answer

‘Perhaps.’

pa? ʃws ʰwʰʰ ʃo-zy? jiʔ-eʒu? ji- loʰhaŋ teliaʰho-be?
Ah! Why not beginning-LOC ACT2nd-say ACT2nd-desire horse-ACC

Ah! Why not beginning you say you desire horse?

‘Oh! Why didn’t you say you wanted horses in the first place!’

puvi: xo-ja-zy:-a
AUXPRF PST-ACT1st-do-FIN

I have done

‘I did.’

A documentation of the invented language

Huskəʃof©

By Annika Tate

31 December 2015

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Culture

The culture of the Huskøf-speaking people was inspired by the 2010 Norwegian film *Trollhunter*, directed by André Øvredal. The film incorporates traditional Scandinavian mythology about trolls into a modern story about one man whose job it is to hunt trolls. The premise for this culture is the idea that the “Trollhunter” in the movie was not an isolated loner, but instead part of an isolated community that has historically participated in hunting trolls. Although the Huskøf culture and their land is inspired by a Norwegian movie, and they have modernized over time, the culture and language should be seen as completely separate from real Scandinavian societies and languages. The Huskøf people live in a beautiful albeit isolated environment. The community has historically passed down a huge wealth of knowledge about the local environment as well as troves of information about trolls and other wildlife. It is considered dangerous for outsiders to visit the community for too long, or learn too much about them. This is partially due to the very real danger for visitors who are unfamiliar with troll behavior and related safety measures. Yet the mistrust of outsiders has been exacerbated by historic isolation. Trolls do pose a danger, but the threat level has decreased in modern times. Trolls are completely averse to light and they explode and die when exposed to too much light. However, they are capable of wreaking havoc at nighttime, especially during the long, dark nights of the winter season. They can eat animals and humans alike, as well as absolutely destroy houses. Although fewer people actually go into the troll hunting occupation, troll hunters still receive the highest level of respect out of everybody in the community. The main weapon used against trolls is setting controlled fires, and the traditional explanation for why this weapon is used can be found in the origin story. Despite historic isolation, some cultural exchange has occurred, as can be seen in the use of Arabic script for the traditional orthography. Outsiders also gave the gift of coffee, which has been lovingly embraced by this culture. Despite being well-caffeinated, the Huskøf people value calmness and quietude. Children are praised for being quiet and well-behaved. Children also begin drinking coffee at a fairly young age. Despite parents’ sometimes cold attitude towards children, they are fiercely protective, and children’s safety is one of the top priorities, especially in times of increased danger. Coffee consumption is very high. Alcohol consumption is also very high, and is one of the few times that adults will open up and relax. However, drinking and troll hunting definitely do not mix. Family size is typically quite small, and it is not unusual for adults to live alone. Weddings are almost always in the summer, and are typically characterized by the extreme embarrassment of the newlywed couple. It is not unusual for couples to ignore each other at the wedding or in public gatherings out of sheer embarrassment. Drinking songs can be expected to make an appearance at any wedding.

Traditionally both men and women have been hunters, and all adults are expected to have in-depth knowledge of trolls, both as a cultural mandate and for practical reasons. Historically, women were in some ways considered to be better hunters due to their fierce desire to protect their children. However, rigid gender roles have never been a particularly

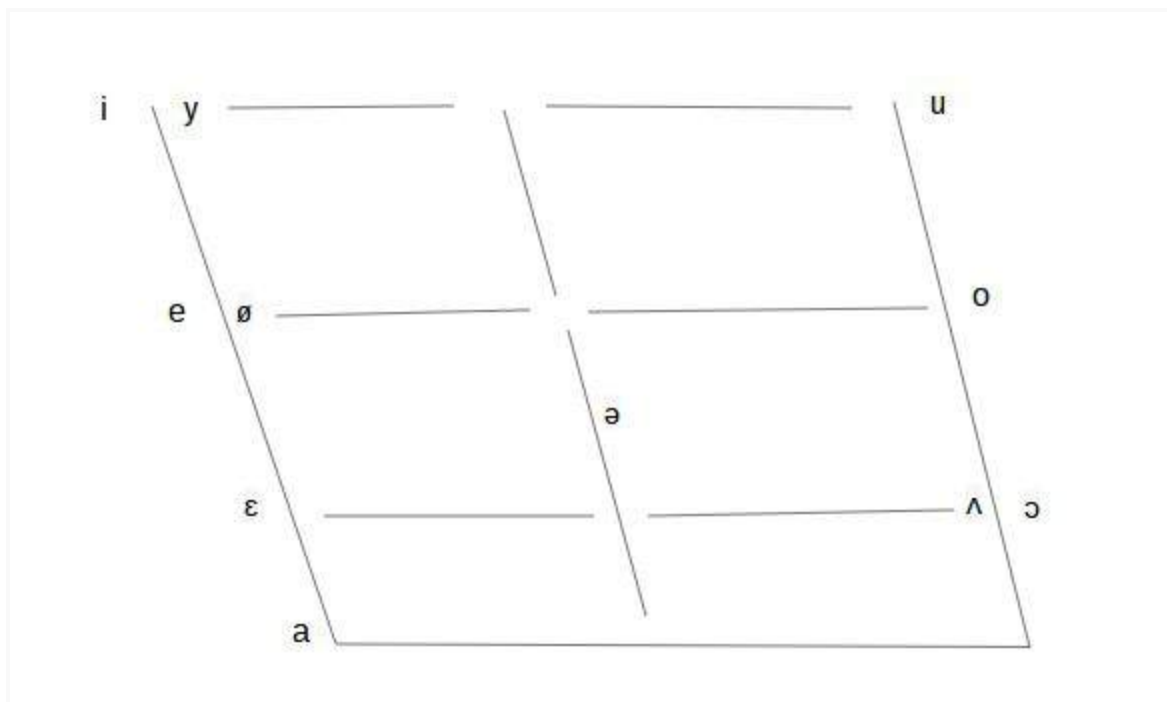
strong part of the culture, and the language reflects this to some extent. There are no gendered pronouns, and although words for “woman” and “girl” do exist, the neutral “adult” and “child” are used more frequently.

Phonetic Inventory

Consonants	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	b			t d				k g	q		ʔ
Nasal	m			n			ɲ	ŋ			
Trill											
Tap or Flap				ɾ							
Fricative	ɸ	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ	ʂ					h
Lateral fricative											
Approximant											
Lateral approximant				l							
Affricate											
Labio-velar approximant											

Huskəʃof uses the twenty-three different consonants shown in the chart above. The language makes heavy use of fricative consonants, as nearly half of all Huskəʃof consonants are in fact fricatives. The consonant inventory of Huskəʃof is not overly difficult to pronounce for English speakers! The language has five consonants that may be challenging or unfamiliar for English speakers, but their pronunciations can be easily described. The unvoiced bilabial fricative [ɸ] is a voiceless sound made using both lips that is similar to blowing out a candle. The alveolar tap [ɾ] is the sound that the letter /r/ makes in Spanish. In fact, American English speakers pronounce the /tt/ in the word /latter/ as an alveolar tap, and so should think of this sound when seeing a Huskəʃof /r/ (or [ɾ] when Huskəʃof is written in IPA) rather than the typical American /r/ sound. The unvoiced retroflex fricative [ʂ] is like /s/ pronounced with the tongue curled back into the mouth. The [ʂ] is a bit peculiar, as it is the only retroflex consonant in Huskəʃof. While native Huskəʃof speakers can pronounce it easily, non-native speakers often pronounce it as the unvoiced alveolar fricative [s]. While perhaps initially unfamiliar, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the sound that English speakers produce in the middle of the phrase ‘uh-oh.’ The palatal nasal [ɲ] typically only appears in English words such as “canyon” where it is not really a distinct consonant sound. However, thinking of words like “canyon” can help English speakers

remember how to pronounce [ŋ]. The ñ in the Spanish loanword “piñata” is also the [ŋ] sound, and this word is surely familiar to most English speakers. The unvoiced uvular plosive [q] is like the letter ‘qaf’ in Arabic. It is pronounced like a /k/ but farther back, coming from the throat. The [q] gives Huskəʃof somewhat of a distinctive sound, and can perhaps sound harsh to English speakers. Huskəʃof speakers typically pronounce [q] rather heavily. This can help listener comprehension. Huskəʃof relies heavily on the [ə] vowel, and the language can sometimes tend towards having a “mushy” sound. Strongly pronouncing “harder-sounding” consonants like [q] (as well as [k], [v], [z], and [g]) can help to give a comprehensible shape to Huskəʃof sentences.



As shown in the chart above, Huskəʃof uses the vowels [i], [e], [ɛ], [a], [y], [ø], [ə], [u], [o], and [ɔ]. The majority of these vowels are used by English speakers. It should be noted that while Huskəʃof has a relatively rich vowel inventory with ten vowels (twice as many as the [a], [e], [i], [o], [u] inventory of Romance languages like Spanish and Italian), Huskəʃof does not have the near-close near-front unrounded vowel [ɪ] nor does it have the near-open front unrounded vowel [æ]. The vowel [ɪ] is found in English words like “pin” and “lit,” and the [æ] vowel is found in English words like “cat” and “mad.” Pronouncing either of these two vowels when speaking Huskəʃof would sound very harsh and wrong to Huskəʃof ears! Two of the trickiest Huskəʃof vowels for English speakers to pronounce are [y] and [ø]. These vowels are found in Scandinavian languages like Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, and give Huskəʃof a vaguely Scandinavian sound. However, it is important to note that Huskəʃof does not distinguish between different vowel lengths, which the three previously mentioned Scandinavian languages do. The [y] is similar to pronouncing [i] but with rounded lips. The [ø] is

similar to pronouncing [e] but with rounded lips. The open-mid back rounded vowel sound [ɔ] is not present in all English dialects, but it is heard in some English speakers' pronunciations of words like "caught" and "gnaw." Possibly one of the most distinctive aspects of Huskəʃof is its heavy use of the midcentral vowel [ə], which is also known as the schwa. The schwa is used frequently in English, but may be less familiar to native speakers of other languages. The best way to conceptualize the schwa in Huskəʃof is to think of it as a very short sound that comes between consonants that are not allowed to cluster together. The schwa does not ever appear in stressed syllables in Huskəʃof, and it should be pronounced very quickly and with as little stress as possible. It is also important to note that no diphthongs are allowed in Huskəʃof, meaning that vowels can never appear directly next to each other. All vowels must be pronounced as a pure, singular sound.

Phonology

Generally speaking, the phonology of Huskəʃof allows for easy pronunciation. It is free from all diphthongs, as well as extremely difficult consonant clusters. The syllable structure of Huskəʃof is (C)CV(C). Every syllable must have at least one consonant followed by a vowel. Syllables may have another optional consonant at the beginning, and/or an optional consonant following the vowel. A consonant cluster can occur at the beginning of a syllable, but not at the end. Additionally, no more than two consonants can cluster together. In Huskəʃof, the acceptable consonant clusters are [bl], [fl], [vl], [sl], [kl], [gl], [sk], [sm], [sn], [st], [ʃk], [ʃl], and [ʃt]. Huskəʃof heavily uses the alveolar lateral approximant [l] as the second consonant in consonant clusters, as the [l] is the second consonant in seven of the thirteen acceptable clusters. The alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives also occur frequently in Huskəʃof consonant clusters. Either the alveolar fricative [s] or the post-alveolar fricatives [ʃ] appears as the first consonant in eight of the thirteen acceptable clusters.

Huskəʃof has two phonological rules which simply ease pronunciation, especially for English speakers. These rules are the homorganic nasal rule, which requires all vowels to be nasalized when they precede a nasal consonant. Additionally, [t] and [k] are aspirated in word-initial position and in stressed syllables.

The stress pattern of Huskəʃof is light-left, heavy-right. Additionally, any syllable containing the [ə] vowel cannot be stressed. Although at first glance a new learner of Huskəʃof may find this complicated or confusing, the stress in Huskəʃof words is usually quite intuitive once one becomes familiar with the sound and rhythm of the language. In Huskəʃof, light syllables are defined as CV (consonant-vowel) syllables, and CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant), CCV (consonant-consonant-vowel), and CCVC (consonant-consonant-vowel-consonant) are all heavy syllables. If no heavy syllables are present in the word, the stress falls on the leftmost light syllable. However, if there are one or more heavy syllables in the word, the stress falls on the rightmost heavy syllable. A few examples may help illuminate the stress system. In the word "*bənom*", the bare, unconjugated form of the verb meaning "sleep", the stress falls on the last syllable "*nom*," because as a CVC syllable, "*nom*" is heavy. As the only heavy syllable in

the word, it is by default the rightmost heavy syllable, and so the stress falls on it. In the word “*vimgə*”, meaning “evil”, the stress falls on the first syllable “*vim*.” As a CVC syllable, it is considered heavy, and it is the only heavy syllable in the word, so again by default, the stress falls on it. In the word “*gavlən*”, both syllables are CVC, and so they are technically both heavy. The stress should fall on the rightmost heavy syllable, which here would be the second syllable, “*lən*”, except stress cannot fall on a syllable that contains the schwa vowel, or [ə]. So, the stress has to fall on the first vowel, “*gav*”, instead. In the word “*qar*”, meaning “moon”, both syllables are CV, and so are considered light syllables. The stress falls on the leftmost light syllable, in this case “*qa*”. In the word “*sokdin*”, meaning “dangerous”, both syllables are CVC, and so both are considered heavy syllables. The stress then falls on the rightmost heavy syllable. In this word, the stress falls on the syllable “*din*”.

Morphology

Huskəʃof uses both agglutination and inflection in its morphology. Although Huskəʃof lacks true infixes or circumfixes, it freely makes use of both prefixes and suffixes. A very straightforward example of agglutination is the the formation of plurals. Plurals are formed with the prefix /tə/. Plurals are completely regular! The morphology can be clearly illustrated with just a couple examples. The word “*vit*”, meaning “cave”, becomes pluralized by adding the prefix /tə/, creating “*təvit*”, meaning “caves”. The word “*tətəzə*”, meaning “wolves”, is the prefix /tə/ affixed to the singular word “*təzə*”, which means “wolf.” Since no Huskəʃof words start with a vowel (remember that all syllables must begin with at least one consonant), the /tə/ prefix never has to change to /t/ in order to avoid a diphthong.

The other main use of prefixes in Huskəʃof is with verbs. Most conjugated verbs have two prefixes: the first prefix indicates TMA (tense-mood-aspect), and the second prefix indicates person and number. Although the second prefix may look like an infix at first glance, it is actually a prefix, it just has to follow the first prefix which indicates tense, mood, and aspect. A verb that is conjugated into the indicative present tense has a bare morpheme (also known as a zero morpheme) in the position of the first prefix. Verbs in the indicative present tense only require affixing the prefix that shows person and number. Verb conjugation shows Huskəʃof’s mix of inflectional and agglutinative morphology. Although Huskəʃof could be much more agglutinative (meaning that there could be separate affixes for tense, mood, aspect, person, and number), it still is not completely inflectional. Unlike in a language like Spanish, where just *one* suffix can communicate tense, mood, aspect, person, and number, Huskəʃof uses two affixes in most conjugations. The following two charts lay out all the verbal prefixes.

Huskəʃof mainly makes use of suffixes in order to mark case. There are five cases in Huskəʃof: nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, and dative. The nominative case is unmarked, but the other four cases are marked as follows: The accusative case is marked with the suffix /-ət/, the genitive case is marked with the suffix /-əð/, the locative case is marked with the suffix /-əm/ and the dative case is marked with the suffix /-əf/. If the noun that the case ending is attaching to ends in a glottal stop, the glottal stop is dropped. Also, the schwa of the suffix is dropped when attached to a word ending in a vowel. Diphthongs are not allowed in Huskəʃof, and words can end in vowels (remember that the syllable structure is mandatory CV with an optional C in the initial position and an optional C in the coda position. While this may seem tricky, it is quite intuitive, as a few examples will show! The word “*goʔ*” meaning “snow”,

will drop the glottal stop in the coda position when taking a case marking. For example, adding the locative case marking “-əm” would force the glottal stop to drop, and so “snow” plus the locative case (“in the snow”) would be written and pronounced as “gom”. A few Huskəʃof nouns end in a glottal stop, but many more end with a vowel. It is most crucial to remember the rule about dropping the schwa from the suffix when combining with a word ending a vowel in order to speak in a fluid and correct manner. Again, the rule is intuitive. The word “vaʃkə”, meaning “animal”, requires any case ending it takes to drop the schwa and affix only the consonant of the case ending. So, “vaʃkə” plus the accusative case would be “vaʃkət”, “vaʃkə” plus the genitive case would be “vaʃkəð”, “vaʃkə” plus the dative case would be “vaʃkəʃ”, and “vaʃkə” plus the locative case would be “vaʃkəm”.

The charts below display the prefixes that affix to verb conjugations. The first chart shows the tense-mood-aspect prefixes. The second chart shows the person-number prefixes.

Indicative	Past	Present	Future
Perfective	mə-	unmarked	fə-
Imperfective	nə-	unmarked	fə-
Subjunctive	Past	Present	Future
Perfective	smə-	kə-	flə-
Imperfective	snə-	kə-	flə-

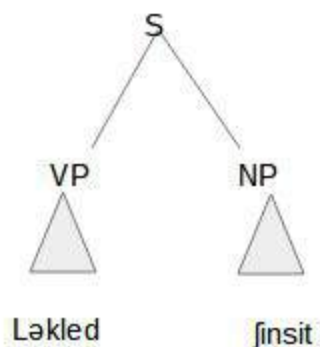
	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular	lə-	də-	və-
Plural	gə-	sə-	fə-

Although these charts may look daunting, conjugating verbs in Huskəʃof is straightforward. If one wishes to say “I ate,” the best way to go about conjugating that verb is to first decide which tense-mood-aspect prefix should be used, and then to settle on a person-number prefix. To translate “I ate,” the first prefix should reflect past tense, indicative mood, and perfective aspect. The first chart above indicates that the prefix that communicates these three pieces of information is [mə]. Following this prefix, the speaker should find the prefix that signifies “I”, the singular first person pronoun. This prefix is [lə]. The bare form of the verb, which in this case is “kled”, can then follow those two prefixes. All together, “I ate” translates to “mələkled”. To say “I eat” is even simpler, as the tense and mood needed to express this is present indicative, which means that the first prefix will be a zero morpheme. This can be followed by the person-number prefix, which although technically occupying the second prefix position, will

actually be the first and only prefix to attach to the verb. Again, the speaker will select the prefix [lə], which inflects for first person singular, and then affix that to the verb “kled”. So, “I eat” can be translated to “ləkled”.

Syntax

The standard word order of Huskəʃof is verb-subject-object, or VSO. The tree below shows the basic structure of the sentence “ləkled ʃinsit”, which means “I eat fish”.



There are three verb tenses in Huskəʃof: past, present, and future. Present tense covers a somewhat broader area than the English notion of present tense, and the Huskəʃof present tense is more similar to the present tense in Spanish. In Huskəʃof, it is always acceptable to use the present tense to describe an action that one does frequently, even if one is not currently doing that action. For example, “lətam kluməʃ zəbət”, translated as “I give food to the reindeer,” could either have the meaning that I am currently giving food to the reindeer, or it could mean that I often give food to the reindeer. There is no gerund (also known as the “-ing” form of a verb) in Huskəʃof. The listener is typically able to infer from context clues if the speaker is using the present tense to mean that they are currently doing that action right now. Adding “havlo”, meaning “now”, to the beginning of the sentence can help the speaker to emphasize that they are currently doing that action. The sentence “havlolətam kluməʃ zəbət” is more likely than “lətam kluməʃ zəbət” to mean that the speaker is currently giving food to the reindeer. However, this is not the only possible meaning of the sentence. Perhaps the speaker just said “nələtam skisnəʃ zəbət”, meaning “I used to give coffee to the reindeer,” and are using the “havlo” in the sentence “havlolətam kluməʃ zəbət” to emphasize that now they give the reindeer food, instead of coffee! Additionally, the Huskəʃof present tense can be used to talk about an action that the speaker is about to do. An acceptable way to express that one is about to leave the house would be to say “ləfog lish səmaqəm”, literally meaning “I leave (from) the house”. One would be much more likely to use the present-tense verb conjugation “ləfog” in this context, rather than the future-tense conjugation of “fələfog.”

In addition to the three verb tenses, there are also two moods, indicative and subjunctive. The indicative mood is used much more frequently than the subjunctive, which has a much more restricted use. The subjunctive mood can be used to express hypothetical actions, and these types of sentences will often begin with “bo”, meaning “if”. An example sentence

would be “*Bo kədədov fi lit fələsimsɿf det,*” which means “If you can cook, I will visit you”. The /kə/ prefix attached to *dov* signifies that this verb is conjugated in the present tense and subjunctive mood. Besides this usage, the future tense in the subjunctive mood is also used for the “let us” construction. An example from the translation of the story of the Tower of Babel is “*Fləgəslom gəri θət*”, meaning “Let us build a city”. The “*flə-*” prefix signifies the future tense in the subjunctive mood.

There are also two aspects, perfective and imperfective. However, there is only a distinction between perfective and imperfective in the past tense. Huskəʃof uses the imperfective past to indicate that someone did something many times, or did something that was ongoing. The perfective past is used to describe a singular action that was performed once. The distinction is very similar to the distinction in Spanish between the imperfect and perfect past. The distinction between perfective and imperfective is found in both the indicative and subjunctive past tense.

Huskəʃof distinguishes between singular and plural, as well as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. There is no distinction for dual, like the distinction found in Modern Standard Arabic. There is also no distinction in Huskəʃof for gender. The lack of the distinction reflects the general reluctance among the Huskəʃof to consistently refer to people with gendered words. Although specifically gendered words which refer to females are commonly known and sometimes used, they are not consistently applied. It is more common to refer to any adult as “*ʃof*”, and any child as *meʃ*, although “*ʃofkə*”, specifically meaning “woman”, and “*meʃkə*”, specifically meaning “girl”, are also used. In total, there are six pronouns, as shown in the chart below.

Pronouns	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	ku	de	vlo
Plural	si	den	vlon

There are five cases: nominative, accusative, locative, genitive, and dative. The subject of a sentence takes the nominative case, while the accusative case falls on the object of the sentence. In the sentence “The dog drinks water”, “dog” takes the nominative case while “water” takes the accusative case. Translated to Huskəʃof, this sentence would be “*Vəʃlasten həfluk bligət*”. “*Həfluk*”, meaning “dog”, is in the nominative case and so is unmarked, meaning it has no special suffix attached. “*Bligət*”, meaning “water”, is in the accusative case, and so it takes the accusative case ending of “-ət”, although the schwa of the case ending is dropped because “*bligət*” ends in a vowel. The genitive case marks possession, and falls on the subject who is possessing something. The phrase “the wolf’s face” would translate as “*bidɿk təzəð*”. The noun “*təzə,*” meaning “wolf”, takes the “-ð” case ending, which shows that the face belongs to the wolf. Generally, the thing which the subject possesses immediately precedes the subject in the phrase. The dative case falls on a noun that is being transferred from a the subject of the sentence to the object of the sentence. The sentence “I give you a name” would translate to “*Lədam det mənqəf.*” The noun “*mənqə*”, meaning “name”, takes the dative case ending because it is being transferred from the subject (here, the implied *ku*, or I to the object

of the sentence (the *de* which is taking the accusative case ending). Very generally speaking, the locative case replaces the preposition “in”. Expressing “in the house” requires only one word in Huskəʃof: “*səmaqəm*.” The case ending “-əm” is attached to the noun “*səmaq*”, meaning “house”. The locative case can also be used in phrases that roughly translate to “at night” and “during the day”: “*smysəm*” and “*skɛfəm*”, respectively. Additionally, the locative case is used when describing coming from or going out of a place. To say “I will leave this country”, one would have to say “*fələfog lish vlek tɛʃməm*”. The preposition “*lish*” is typically used with the verb “*fog*” to express the meaning of leaving a place. Despite the presence of a preposition, a speaker must still mark “*tɛʃmə*” with the locative case ending.

One will not find any definite or indefinite articles in Huskəʃof. Additionally, Huskəʃof does not have the copula, meaning that there is no “to be” verb. The sentence “*nəvəhom fənun*” could mean either “A fox was listening” or “The fox was listening.” In many contexts this is a negligible distinction. In situations where the distinction matters, the difference can be typically be easily inferred from context. The lack of the copula does not prohibit speakers in any way from producing sentences such as “*De blozbəs*”, meaning “You are beautiful”, or “*Meʃ sərək*”, meaning “The child is short”. In a sentence, an adjective that directly follows a noun or pronoun is a reliable indicator of an implied copula if there is no other verb in the sentence.

On the topic of adjectives, it is important to note two things: First, adjectives follow the noun they describe. Second, they must agree with the noun in number and case. A few examples can clearly illustrate these rules. The phrase “sad song” would translate as “*marə hadakəm*”, while “sad songs” would translate as “*təmarə təhadakehm*”. In the second phrase, both the noun (*marə*) and the adjective (*hadakəm*) take on the pluralizing prefix /tə/. The “the sad songs’ words” would translate as “*təblaʃ təmarəð təhadakəməð*”. In this phrase, the noun “*təmarə*” must be marked with the genitive case ending “-ə” and so must the adjective describing it.

Although Huskəʃof lacks a vocative case, it does require an “addressing word” to precede names. To address someone, one must say “[sul]” before their name. For example, to address a friend named Qari, the speaker would have to begin the sentence or question with “*sul qari...*”. Addressing someone without *sul* is quite rude and they probably will not reply. While on the topic of names, the Huskəʃof closely follow certain naming conventions. Children are frequently named after positive adjectives, or nature terms. It is frowned upon to “make up” a name. Finʌ and Qari are very traditional, old names. Names are not typically strongly gendered.

Verbs do not really have infinitive forms but rather, they have bare forms. The bare forms are what are listed in the lexicon. The prefixes showing tense-mood-aspect and person-number are attached to these bare forms. However, a problem arises when a sentence requires two verbs following each other, for example “I can see”. In Huskəʃof, this is translated as “*lədov fi myqə*”. The “*fi*” is a particle that makes the verb directly following it an infinitive. The verb directly following “*fi*” must be left in its bare form. In this example, only the first verb “*dov*”, meaning “can”, is conjugated (as is evident by the presence of the prefix *lə*-).

Story

The central creation story of the Huskəʃof culture broadly explains the origins of humans and trolls and their relationships with the moon, sun, plants, and animals. While the Huskəʃof people do not frequently swim (and most nearby bodies of water are far too cold for

most of the year to make good swimming spots), as a people they are proud of the innate human ability to swim. Trolls completely lack any swimming instinct, and a reliable way to thwart a troll is to force it into a body of water, where it will surely drown. In this story, humans are described as originally being aquatic and living in the ocean, which explains our ability to swim. Trolls, however, have always lived on the land. The Huskəʃof are not particularly interested in or skilled at astronomy, but they do place a great symbolic importance on the sun and moon. The sun and moon are regarded as something close to deities, and are assumed to be the caretakers of all living things on earth. The creation story uses the notion of the sun and moon as caretakers to ultimately explain trolls' aversion to light.

Originally, the sun was the caretaker of the trolls and other animals, and the moon was the caretaker of the plants. The humans, living in the ocean, were not under the care of either. Once humans came out of the ocean and began to live on land, the moon became the caretaker of the humans. The story regards the moon's light during the more dangerous nighttime as a sure sign that the moon cares for humans. The true conflict in the story comes when the trolls begin to anger the sun by killing other animals. The sun's personification and emotional response points to how the Huskəʃof conception of the sun and moon is similar to other cultures' perceptions of God (or gods). In this section of the story, the sun represents a sort of parental figure, who must turn its back on one of its children (the trolls) because it is hurting the other child (the animals). The sun's anger (caused by the trolls' evil behavior) is given by this story as the reason why trolls explode and die in sunlight. Additionally, this story notes the importance of humans discovering fire, because humans were then able to use fire as a weapon against the trolls. They no longer had to trick trolls into coming out into the sunlight, but could create their own light. According to the story, humans were able to discover fire because "*si təbyg*" -- we are smart. This statement is a window into part of the Huskəʃof psyche. Although as individuals they are relatively humble and stay quiet about their accomplishments, they are collectively very proud of their human intelligence and abilities.

It is important to note that this story is not so much a creation story, but rather an origin story. The Huskəʃof do not have a concept of a world that does not include humans, trolls, plants, animals, the sun, and the moon. It is not comprehensible to them to speculate what existed before all of these things. Instead, it is more salient to know the history of the relationships between all of these different parts of the world. This history can explain the current state of the world.

Ssa hiteny' tehsh'm, n'f'hiteny' t'shof dim'm.

ʂa hiteŋə tɛʃ -əm nə- fə- hiteŋə tə- ʃof dim -əm.

before live earth -LOC P.T. I.P.V 3.PL live PL- human ocean -LOC

Before living on earth, humans lived in the ocean.

Tehsh'm, n'v'slib finuh t'boeg't tu n'v'slib qari t'nyal'k't tawdh'm.

tɛʃ -əm nə- və- slib finʌ tə- bɔg -ət tu nə- və- slib qari tə- ɲalək -ət

earth -LOC P.T. I.P.V 3.␣G care sun PL- troll -ACC and P.T. I.P.V 3.␣G care moon PL- tree -ACC

təð -əm.

forest -LOC

On earth, the sun cared for the trolls and the moon cared for the trees in the forest.

N'v'slib qari shoen's t'shog'n't hish.

nə- və- slib qari ʃənəs tə- ʃogən -ət hiʃ
PST.IPFV 3.SG care moon all PL- plant -ACC also

The moon took care of all the plants as well.

N'v'slib finuh shoen's t'vashk't glog t'f'nun't tu t'toez't.

nə- və- slib finʌ ʃənəs tə- vaʃk -ət glog tə- fənun -ət tu tə- tʊz -ət
PST.IPFV 3.SG care sun all PL- animal -ACC such-as PL- fox -ACC and PL- wolf -ACC

The sun took care of all the animals, like foxes and wolves.

Tu m'f'fog t'shof lish dim.

tu mə- fə- fog tə- ʃof liʃ dim
and PST.PRS 3.PL leave PL- human from ocean
And then the humans came up out of the ocean.

Hon vlek t'mi g'dov fi kleny' tu sho f'dov fi kleny' t'boeg.

hon vlek təmi gə- dov fi kleɲə tu ʃo fə- dov fi kleɲə tə- bʊg
Because this reason 1.PL can INF swim and NEG 3.PL can INF swim PL- troll
And so we can swim and trolls cannot.

Tu m'v'sukan fi slib qari sit hish.

tu mə- və- sukan fi slib qari si -t hiʃ
and PST.PRS 3.SG begin INF care moon us -ACC also
And then the moon began to take care of us, too.

Smys'm n'g'koel t'boeg't.

smys- əm nə- gə- kʊl tə- bʊg -ət
Night-LOC PST.IPFV 2.PL fear PL-troll-ACC.

Hans'd fi zil n'v'tam qari sit buhf.

hansəd fi zil nə- və- tam qari si -t bʌ -f
in-order-to INF help PST.IPFV give moon us-ACC light-DAT
At night, we feared the trolls but the moon gave us light to help us.

N'f'sukan fi dobaf t'boeg finuht.

nə- fə- sukan fi dobaf tə- bøg finΛ -t
 PST.IPFV 3.PL begin INF anger PL-troll sun -ACC
 The trolls started to anger the sun.

N'f'shten t'boeg t'vashk't bi n'v'slib finuh hish.
 nə- fə- ʃten tə- bøg tə- vashk -ət bi nə- və- slib finΛ hiʃ
 PST.IPFV 3.PL kill PL-troll PL-animal-ACC REL PST.IPFV 3.SG care sun also.
 The trolls killed the animals, which were under the sun's care.

Sho n'f'shten t'boeg t'vashk't hans'd fi kled shkom fi soeg.
 ʃo nə- fə- ʃten tə- bøg tə- vashk -ət hansəd fi kled ʃkom fi søg
 NEG PST.IPFV 3.PL kill PL-troll PL-animal-ACC in-order-to INF eat but-rather INF have fun.
 They did not kill them for food but for mere enjoyment.

N'v'ssuhf finuh tu n'v'bul t'vashk'dh quhfdo.
 nə- və- ʃʌf finΛ tu nə- və- bul tə- vashk -əð qʌfdo
 PST.IPFV 3.SG watch sun and PST.IPFV 3.SG mourn PL-animal-GEN death
 The sun watched, and mourned the animals' death.

M'v'qobin finuh fi slib t'boeg't.
 mə- və- qobin finΛ fi slib tə- bøg -ət
 PST.PRF 3.SG stop sun INF care PL-troll-ACC
 The sun stopped taking care of the trolls.

Hon vlek t'mi f'hiteny' t'boeg t'vit'm tu f'noev t'boeg t'vit'm skehf'm.
 hon vlek təmi fə- hiteŋə tə- bøg tə- vit -əm tu fə- nøv tə- bøg tə- vit -əm skɛf -əm
 For this reason 3.PL live PL-troll PL-cave-LOC and 3.PL stay PL-troll PL-cave-LOC day-LOC
 This is why trolls live in caves and stay there during the day.

Hon vlek t'mi f'fleng' t'boeg tim buh finuhdh hish.
 hon vlek təmi fə- fleŋə tə- bøg tim bʌ finΛ -ð hiʃ
 For this reason 3.PL explode PL-troll under light sun-GEN also.
 This is also why trolls explode under the sun's light.

Si t'byg tu m'g'tenyu" sidh buh fuhth buh finuhdh.
 si tə- byg tu mə- gə- teŋu? si -ð bʌ fʌ θ bʌ finΛ -ð
 We PL-smart and PST.PRF 2.PL find us-GEN light like light sun-GEN
 Humans are smart and we found our own light, similar to the light of the sun.

Havlo g'steb vlek buh hans'd fi shten t'boeg.
havlo gə- steb vlek bʌ hansəd fi ʃten tə- bøg
Now 2.PL use this light in-order-to INF kill PL-troll
We now use this light to kill the trolls.

Mehnq' sidh buhdh vuhs.
mɛnqə si-ð bʌ -ð vʌs
Name US-GEN light-GEN fire.
Our light is called fire.

Lexicon

The following is the complete lexicon in Huskəʃof, followed by English translations.
Note about nouns: All mass nouns are followed by their classifiers in parentheses. The most common classifiers are /na/, which is used for mass nouns that are food, and /ði/, which is used for many mass nouns that are heavy, tangible objects.

NOUNS

bəgly (na) - sugar
bidʌk - face
blaʃ - word
bligə (kɛm) - water
bøg - troll
bʌ - light
dim - ocean
dolə θ (na) - pastry
doq - rain
fənun - fox
febən - outsider
fɛd - everything
finʌ - sun
finʌsəruk - weather term describing a small window of sun on an otherwise grey day
fləl (qab) - lightning
ɸalə (ði) - clothing
gəri θ - city, village
gəmig - bitumen
glon (ði) - cloth, fabric
goʔ - snow
həfluk - dog
harəm - sky
homsən (ɸa) - air

huskeʔ - language
hynsɛl - wedding
hyz (lin) - grass
kəruk - tower
kimtən (hoʔ) - information
klum (na) - food
laməd - brick
marə - song
masko - stone
mɛnqə - name
mɛʃ - child
mɛʃkə - girl
miktuv (ɲa) - thunder
nuʃkə (ði) - wood
ɲagləm - time
ɲalək - tree
qari - moon
səmaq - house
safə - cat
skɛf - day
skɛfinʌ - sunny day
skisnə (smun) - coffee
skul - mortar
slog - drawing
sloguskeʔ - expression, phrase, saying
smys - night
sohəreʔ (ði) - furniture
sʌfso - guest
sunso - host
ʃinsi (na) - fish
ʃof - adult
ʃofɛd - nothing
ʃofkə - woman
ʃogən - plant
təmi - reason
təð - forest
tɛʃ (fin) - earth
tɛʃmə - land/country
tibi (na) - bread

tɪʃkɛb - insider
tøzə - wolf
tuklə (ero) - sand
tuɲəd - valley
vaʃkə - animal
vit - cave
vleɲə (mat) - oil
vʌs (θ ɛl) - fire
ziluʔ - gathering
zøb - reindeer

VERBS

bəhʌ θ - survive
bənom - sleep
baf - anger (intransitive), get/be angry
bløm - go
daghe - ask
dem - say
dobaf - anger (transitive)
dokøl - to scare
dov - can/be able to
ða - search/look for
flengə - explode
fog - leave
øɛz - travel
gavlən - speak
glumbə - wait
habə - talk
hagə - smell (transitive)
hifək - make
hiteɲə - live
hom - listen
kəblik - understand
kɔz - confuse/mix up
kero - drink coffee
kled - eat
kleɲə - swim
køl - fear/be afraid of
kurin - whisper

lak - do
lit - cook
lomæk - sing
lut - wear
lu θ - have
məlaksun - welcome (welcome into one's home)
moðə - get up (get out of bed)
mʌz - cover
myqə - see
ŋeʃ - carry
qobin - stop
qʌf - die
simsʌf - visit (enter into another's home)
skuned - clean
slib - care for/take care of
slim - discover
slom - build
smød - happen
smitgə - drink alcohol
smuʔ - scatter
søg - enjoy/have fun
steb - use
sukan - begin
ʃlasten - drink (general)
ʃten - kill
ʒʌf - watch
təloʔ - follow
tam - give
tebə θ - continue
teɲuʔ - find
tiken - need
θ ev - want
vlot - hunt
zɛt - take
zil - help

ADJECTIVES

blozbəs - beautiful
byg - smart

dokεð - tall
fløned - noisy
hadəkεm - sad
hatu? - fast
kluʃtə - kind
mokəʃ - ugly
səruk - short
salok - stupid/talkative
ʃønəs - whole, entire, all, complete
sokdin - dangerous
stəb - funny
takti - slow
θ okit - big
tədum - small
vlokde - safe
zon - quiet
zul - different

PRONOUNS

de - you (2nd person singular)
den - you all (2nd person plural)
ku - I (1st person singular)
si - we (1st person plural)
vlo - he/she (3rd person singular)
vlon - they (3rd person plural)

OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

bo - if
byn - for
fʌ θ - like
glog - for example
hansəd - in order to
havlo - now
hel - about
hiʃ - also
hon - because of
ken - instead of
klaʃ - goodbye
lid - yes

liƒ - from
mǣlaksun - welcome
sam - on
sǣd - to
ƒa - again
ƒkom - but rather
ƒo - no, negative particle
slǣb - with
syklǣ - until
ƒa - before
tǣhak - there
tǣham - here
taq - above
tim - below/under
tu - and
vlek - this
vlem - that
vǣn - after

The following is an English word list, with Huskǣƒof translations following the English words.

NOUNS

adult - ƒof
air - homsǣn (ƒa)
animal - vaƒkǣ
bitumen - gǣmig
bread - tibi (na)
brick - lamǣd
cat - safǣ
cave - vit
child - meƒ
city/village - gǣri ƒ
cloth/fabric - glon (ƒi)
clothing - ƒalǣ (ƒi)
coffee - skisnǣ (smun)
day - skǣf
dog - hǣfluk
drawing - slog
earth - tǣƒ (fin)
everything - fǣd

expression/phrase/saying - sloguske?

face - bidʌk

fire - vʌs (θ ɛl)

fish - ʃinsi (na)

food - klum (na)

forest - tɔð

fox - fənun

furniture - sohære? (ði)

gathering - zilu?

girl - meʃkə

grass - hyz (lin)

guest - sʌfso

host - sunso

house - səmaq

information - kimtən (ho?)

insider - tiʃkɛb

land/country - tɛʃmə

language - huske?

light - bʌ

lightning - fløɪ (qab)

moon - qɑri

mortar - skul

name - mɛnqə

night - smys

nothing - ʃofɛd

ocean - dim

oil - vleɲə (mat)

outsider - febən

pastry - dolə θ (na)

plant - ʃogən

rain - doq

reason - təmi

reindeer - zøb

sand - tuklə (ero)

sky - haɾəm

snow - go?

song - maɾə

stone - masko

sugar - bəgly (na)

sun - finΛ
sunny day - skɛfinΛ
thunder - miktuv (ɲa)
time - ɲaglɐm
tower - kɐruk
tree - ɲalɐk
troll - bɔg
valley - tuɲɐd
water - bligə (kɛm)
wedding - hynsɛl
weather term describing a small window of sun on an otherwise grey day - finΛsɐruk
wolf - tɔzə
woman - ʃɔfkə
wood - nuʃkə (ði)
word - blaʃ

VERBS

anger (transitive) - dobaf
ask - daghe
anger (intransitive), get/be angry - baf
begin - sukan
build - slom
can/be able to - dov
care for/take care of - slib
carry - ɲɛʃ
clean - skuned
confuse/mix up - kɔz
continue - tebə θ
cook - lit
cover - mΛz
die - qΛf
discover - slim
do - lak
drink (general) - ʃlasten
drink alcohol - smitgə
drink coffee - kɛrɔ
eat - kled
enjoy/have fun - sɔg
explode - flengə

fear/be afraid of - kþl
find - teɲu?
follow - tɔlo?
get up (get out of bed) - moðə
give - tam
go - blɔm
happen - smɔd
have - lu θ
help - zil
hunt - vlɔt
kill - ʃten
leave - fog
listen - hom
live - hiteɲə
make - hifək
need - tiken
say - dem
scare - dokɔl
scatter - smu?
search/look for - ða
see - myqə
sing - lomək
sleep - bənom
smell (transitive) - hagə
speak - gavlən
stop - qobin
survive - bəhɪ θ
swim - kleɲə
take - zɛt
talk - habə
travel - fɛz
understand - kəblik
use - steb
visit (enter into another's home) - simsɪf
wait - glumbə
want - θ ev
watch - ʃɪf
wear - lut
welcome (welcome into one's home) - mɔlaksun

whisper - kurin

ADJECTIVES

beautiful - blozbəs

big - θokit

different - zul

dangerous - sokdin

east - doð

fast - hatu?

funny - stəb

kind - kluftə

noisy - fləned

north - kədan

quiet - zon

sad - hadəkəm

safe - vlokde

short - səruk

slow - takti

small - tədum

smart - byg

south - tøg

stupid/talkative - salok

tall - dokəð

ugly - mokəʃ

west - qaɲə

whole, entire, all, complete - ʃønəs

PRONOUNS

I (1st person singular) - ku

he/she (3rd person singular) - vlo

they (3rd person plural) - vlon

you (2nd person singular) - de

you all (2nd person plural) - den

we (1st person plural) - si

OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

about - hel

above - taq

after - vøn

again - ʃa
also - hiʃ
and - tu
because of - hon
before - ʃa
below/under - tim
but rather - ʃkom
for - byn
for example - glog
from - liʃ
goodbye - klaʃ
here - təham
if - bo
in order to - hansəd
instead of - ken
like - fl θ
no, negative particle - ʃo
now - havlo
on - sam
or - lum
that - vlem
there - təhak
this - vlek
to - sɔd
until - syklə
welcome - mələksun
with - sløb
yes - lid

NUMBERS

1 - haləm
2 - nil
3 - kit
4 - sin
5 - mɛv
6 - zub
7 - gi θ
8 - tun

9 - sal
10 - bek
11 - habek
12 - nilbek
13 - kitbek
14 - sinbek
15 - mɛvbek
16 - zubek
17 - gi θ bek
18 - tunbek
19 - salbek
20 - nildo
21 - hanildo
22 - ninildo
23 - kitnildo
24 - sinildo
25 - mɛvnildo
26 - zubnildo
27 - gi θ nildo
28 - tunildo
29 - salnildo
30 - kitdo
31 - hakitdo
32 - nilkitdo
33 - kikitdo
34 - sinkitdo
35 - mɛvkitdo
36 - zubkitdo
37 - gi θ kitdo
38 - tunkitdo
39 - salkitdo
40 - sindo
41 - hasindo
42 - nilsindo
43 - kitsindo
44 - sisindo
45 - mɛvsindo
46 - zubsindo
47 - gi θ sindo

48 - tunsindo
49 - salsindo
50 - mεvdo
51 - hamεvdo
52 - nilmεvdo
53 - kitmεvdo
54 - sinmεvdo
55 - mεmεvdo
56 - zubmεvdo
57 - gi θ mεvdo
58 - tunmεvdo
59 - salmεvdo
60 - zubdo
61 - hazubdo
62 - nilzubdo
63 - kitzubdo
64 - sinzubdo
65 - mεvsindo
66 - zuzubdo
67 - gi θ zubdo
68 - tunzubdo
69 - salzubdo
70 - gi θ do
71 - hagi θ do
72 - nilgi θ do
73 - kitgi θ do
74 - singi θ do
75 - mεvgi θ do
76 - zubgi θ do
77 - gigi θ do
78 - tungi θ do
79 - salgi θ do
80 - tundo
81 - hatundo
82 - niltundo
83 - kitundo
84 - sintundo
85 - mεvtundo
86 - zubtundo

87 - gi θ tundo
88 - tutundo
89 - saltundo
90 - saldo
91 - hasaldo
92 - nilsaldo
93 - kitsaldo
94 - sinsaldo
95 - m ϵ vsaldo
96 - zubsaldo
97 - gi θ saldo
98 - tunsaldo
99 - sasaldo
100 - dobek
101 - hadobek
102 - nildobek
110 - bekdobek
111 - habekdobek
120 - nildodobek
130 - kitdodobek
140 - sindodobek
150 - m ϵ vdodobek
160 - subdodobek
170 - gi θ dodobek
180 - tundodobek
190 - saldodobek
200 - dobeknil
300 - dobekit
400 - dobeksin
500 - dobekm ϵ v
600 - dobekzub
700 - dobekgi θ
800 - dobektun
900 - dobeksal
1000 - fal
1,001 - fal tu hal ϵ m
1,010 - fal tu bek
1,100 - fal tu dobek
1,999 - fal tu sasaldo dobeksal

2,000 - nilfal
3,000 - kitfal
4,000 - sinfal
5,000 - mɛɤfal
6,000 - zubfal
7,000 - gi θ fal
8,000 - tunfal
9,000 - safal
1,000,000 - fafal

Appendix

Orthography

Huskəʃof can be written in both Arabic script and the Roman alphabet.

The vowel system of Huskəʃof is quite different than that of Arabic. The following shows how all Huskəʃof vowels are written in Arabic. In Huskəʃof, all vowels must always be written out (unlike in Arabic, where short vowels are often omitted).

[i] = ي
 [a] = ا
 [u] = و
 [∅] = ع
 [ʌ] = ئ
 [ɛ] = ي
 [ɣ] = ع
 [ɔ] = و
 [o] = و
 [e] = ع

The following consonant sounds are not found in Modern Standard Arabic and are rendered as follows:

[ɲ] = ث
 [ʂ] = ق
 [v] = ق
 [g] = گ

The voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] is rendered with ف, exactly like [f].

The Roman alphabet can be used in more informal writing. It follows IPA except for these variations:

/ny/ represents [ɲ]
 /ss/ represents [ʂ]
 /sh/ represents [ʃ]
 /r/ represents [ɾ]
 /ff/ represents [ɸ]
 /uh/ represents [ʌ]
 /eh/ represents [ɛ]
 /aw/ represents [ɔ]
 /dh/ represents [ð]
 /th/ represents [θ]

Schwas are represented with a single apostrophe: '/'.
 Glottal stops are represented with a double apostrophe: '"/'.
 The following is the traditional Huskəf of origin story, written in the modified Arabic script.

□ هيتئن تيشم گنهيتئن ديمم. تيشم ن □ سليب فيني تبئي گت تو ن □ سليب قاري
 تن الكت تؤدم. ن □ سليب قاري شئي نس تشوگنت هيش. ن □ سليب فيني شئي نس
 □ اشكت گلوگ تفنونت تو تتئي زت. مفوگ تشوف ليش ديم. هوئن □ لئك تمى فدو □

في كلئن تشووف تو شوو فءو □ في كلئن تبئىگ. تو م □ سوکان في سليب قاري سيت
 هيش. سمى سم گنکئىل تبئىگت. هانسد في زيل ذ □ تام قاري سيت بئىف. نفسوکان
 في دوٲاف تبئىگ فيئىت. نفشتئن تبئىگ ذ □ اشکت بي ذ □ سليب فيئى هيش. شو
 نفشتئن تبئىگ ذ □ اشکت هانسد في کلئد شکووم في سئىگ. ذ □ □ ئف فيئى تو ذ □ بول
 ت □ اشکذ قئ فءو. م □ قوٲين فيئى في سليب تبئىگت. هوئن □ لئک تمى فھيتئن تبئىگ
 ت □ يتم تو فئى □ تبئىگ ت □ يتم سکېفم. هوئن □ لئک تمى ففلئنگ تبئىگ تيم بئى
 فيئى ذ هيش. سي تبئىگ تو گمتئن وء سيز بئى فئىت بئى فيئى ذ. ها □ لوگستئب □ لئک
 بئى هانسد في شئنن تبئىگ. مېنق سيز بئى ذ □ ئس.

Tower of Babel translation

Genesis 11:1 Havlo nəvətebə θ ʃənəs tɛʃ fi gavlən haləm huskeʔ.

Genesis 11:2 Nəfəθez doð tu məfəslim tuɲədət ʃinarəm tu məfəsukan fi hiteɲə təhak.

Genesis 11:3 Məfədem: “Fləgəhifək təlamədət tu fləgəlit vlonət sləb vʌs. tu məfəsteb
təlamədət ken maskot tu gamigət ken skulət.

Genesis 11:4 Havlo məvədem: “Fləgəslom gəri θ ət byn sit tu kərukət bi vətebə θ taq harəm.
Fləgətam sit mɛnqəf tu ʃo fləgəsmuʔ sam ʃənəs tɛʃ.

Genesis 11:5 Məvəbləm Gəhovə hansəd myqə gəri θ ət tu kərukət bi məfəslom təʃof.

Genesis 11:6 Məvədem Gəhovə: “Fəlu θ vlon haləm huske? tu vlek bi məfəsukan fi lak. Havlo fədov fi lak fəd bi θ ev fi lak.

Genesis 11:7 Fləgəbləm səd təhak tu fləgəkəz vlonəd huske? hansəd bi ʃo fəkablik təhuske? təzulət.

Genesis 11:8 Məvəsmu? Gəhovə vlonət lij təhak sam ʃənəs tɛʃ tu məfəqobin fi slom gəri θ ət.

Genesis 11: 9 Vlek təmi bi vəlu θ gəri θ mɛnqət Bebəl: təhak məvəkəz Gəhovə huske? ʃənəs tɛʃəd tu məvəsmu? Gəhovə təʃofət lij təhak sam ʃənəs tɛʃ.

Now all the earth continued to be of one language and of one set of words.

Havlo nəvətebə θ ʃənəs tɛʃ fi gavlən haləm huske?.

Havlo nə- və- tebə θ ʃənəs tɛʃ fi gavlən haləm huske -t

Now P.T. I.P.V 3.G continue all earth I.N. speak one language -ACC

Lit.: Now all the earth continued to speak one language.

As they traveled eastward, they discovered a valley plain in the land of Shi’ nar, and they began dwelling there.

Nəfəφɛz doð tu məfəsalem tujədət ʃinarəm tu məfəsukan fi hitejə təhak.

Nə- fə- φɛz doð tu mə- fə- saləm tujəd -ət ʃinar -əm tu

P.T. I.P.V 3.P.L travel east and P.T. P.R. 3.P.L discover valley -ACC Shinar -LOC and

mə- fə- sukan fi hitejə təhak.

P.T. P.R. 3.P.L begin I.N. live there

Lit: They were traveling east and they discovered a valley in Shinar and began to live there.

Then they said to one another: “Come! Let us make bricks and bake them with fire.” So they used bricks instead of stone, and bitumen as mortar.

Məfədem: “Fləgəhifək təlamədət tu gləgəlit vlonət sləb vAs. tu məfəsteb təlamədət ken maskot tu gamigət ken skulət.

Mə- fə- dem: “Gə- flə- hifək tə- laməd -ət tu gə- flə- lit

P.T. P.R. 3.P.L say 2.P.L OUT. O.B.V make P.L brick -ACC and 2.P.L OUT. O.B.V cook

vlon -ət sləb vAs.

they -ACC with fire

Tu mæ- fə- steb tə-laməd -ət ken masko -t tu gamig -ət
And P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3_{PL} use P_L brick -ACC instead-of stone -ACC and bitumen -ACC

ken skul -ət
instead-of mortar -ACC

Lit: They said: "We will make bricks and cook them with fire." And they used bricks instead of stone and bitumen instead of mortar.

They now said: "Come! Let us build a city for ourselves and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a celebrated name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered over the entire face of the earth.

Havlo mævədem: "Flægəslom gəri θ ət byn sit tu kərukət bi vətəbə θ taq harəm. Fləgətam sit mənqəf tu ʃo Flægəsmu? sam ʃənəs tɛʃ.

Havlo mæ- və- dem: "Gə- flə- slom gəri θ -ət byn si -t tu
Now P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3_{SG} say : " 2_{PL} P_{UT}.P_{BJV} build city -ACC for us -ACC and

kəruk -ət bi və- tebə θ taq harəm.
tower -ACC IN₃ 3_{SG} continue above sky

Gə- flə- tam si -t mənqə -f θ okit -əf tu ʃo gə- flə- lənsmu?
2_{PL} P_{UT}.P_{BJV} give us -ACC name -DAT big -DAT and NEG 2_{PL} P_{UT}.P_{BJV} scatter

sam ʃənəs tɛʃ.
on all earth

Lit: Now they said: We will build a city for us and a tower that continues above the sky. We will give to us a grand name and we will not scatter over all the earth.

Then Jehovah went down to see the city and the tower that the sons of men had built.
Məvəbləm Gəhovə hansəd myqə gəri θ ət tu kərukət bi məfəslom təʃof

Mə- və- bləm Gəhovə hansəd myqə gəri θ -ət tu kəruk -ət
P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3_{SG} go Jehovah in-order-to see city -ACC and tower -ACC

bi mē- fē- slom tē -ʃof
REL P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3PL build PL person

Lit: Jehovah went in order to see the city and tower that the men built.

Jehovah then said: “Look! They are one people with one language, and this is what they have started to do. Now there is nothing that they may have in mind to do that will be impossible for them.

Məvədem Gəhovə: “Fəlu θ vlon haləm huske? tu vlek bi məfəsukan fi lak. Havlo fədov fi lak fəd bi θ ev fi lak.

Mə- və- dem Gəhovə: “Fə- lu θ vlon haləm huske -t tu vlek bi
P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3_{SG} say Jehovah: “3PL have they one language -ACC and there REL

mə- fē- sukan fi lak
P_{OT}.P_{RO} 3_{SG} begin IN_Q do

Havlo fē- dov fi lak fəd bi fē- θ ev fi lak
now 3PL can IN_Q do everything REL 3PL want IN_Q do

Lit: Jehovah said: “They have one language and this is what they began to do. Now they can do everything that they want to do.

Come! Let us go down there and confuse their language in order that they may not understand one another’s language

Flægəbləm səd təhak tu Flægəkoz vlonəð huske? hansəd bi ʃo fəkablik təhuske? təzulət.

Gə- flə- bləm səd təhak tu gə- flə- koz vlon -əð
2PL OUT.OBJV go to there and 2PL OUT.OBJV confuse they -GEN

huske -t hansəd bi ʃo fə- kablik tə- huske -t tə- zul -ət
language -ACC in-order-to REL NEG 3PL understand PL language -ACC PL different -ACC

Lit: We will go to there and we will confuse their language in order to that they do not understand different languages.

So Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth, and they gradually left off building the city.

Məvəsmu? Gəhovə vlonət lij təhak sam řønəs tɛř tu məfəqobin fi slom gəri θ ət.

Mə- və- smu? Gəhovə vlon -ət lij təhak sam řønəs tɛř
POT.PR 3G scatter Jehovah they -ACC from there on all earth

tu mə- fə- qobin fi slom gəri θ -ət
and POT.PR 3PL stop IN build city -ACC

Lit: Jehovah scattered them from there on all the earth and they stopped to build the city.

That is why it was named Ba' bel, because there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth, and Jehovah scattered them from there over the entire face of the earth.

Vlek təmi bi vəlu θ gəri θ mənqət Bebəl: təhak məvəkəz Gəhovə huske? řønəs tɛřəð tu məvəsmu? Gəhovə təřofət lij təhak sam řønəs tɛř.

Vlek təmi bi və- lu θ gəri θ mənqə -t Bebəl: təhak mə- və- kəz Gəhovə
There reason REL 3G have city name -ACC Babel: there POT.PR 3G confuse Jehovah

huske -t řønəs tɛř -əð tu mə- və- smu? Gəhovə tə- řof -ət
language -ACC all earth -GEN and POT.PR 3G scatter Jehovah PL person -ACC

lij təhak sam řønəs tɛř
from there on all earth

Lit: There is a reason that the city has the name Babel: there Jehovah confused the language of all the earth and Jehovah scattered the men from there over all the earth.

Still from Trollhunter



This still from the movie *Trollhunter* depicts a particularly large and terrifying troll.