

A Reference Grammar of Borlish

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Introduction and Context

Borlish is a Romance language, the primary language spoken on the island of Borland. It is the only surviving member of the Insular Romance languages.

Throughout this reference we will use ‘Borlish’ to refer to the standard variety of the language, which is based on the educated speech of the capital Damvath.

Chapter 1

Phonology

1.1 Phonemes

Consonants

Borlish has a consonant inventory of middling size. Notable is the presence of /ʒ/ without its voiceless counterpart /ʃ/, due to a relatively recent sound change which backed the latter to /x/.

Consonants							
m			n				
p b			t d		k g		
			ts				
f v	θ ð	s z	ʒ	x	h		
w ¹		l	j	r ²			

¹In native vocabulary the phoneme /w/ appears only after /k/. This, along with alternations like

- (1) *voc* *voccar* | *bocq* *bocquar*
 /vɔk vɔ'kar | bɔk bɔ'kwar/
 †summons to summon | fee to charge

have led some to analyse /kw/ sequences as a single phoneme /k^w/ which merges with /k/ in coda position.

² The rhotic is uvular in urban speech, but for ease we will denote it by /r/ in phonemic transcription.

Vowels

Borlish has eight monophthong vowel phonemes, typical of neighbouring Germanic and sister Gallo-Romance languages.

Vowels		
i	ɪ	u
e		o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Borlish also contains the diphthong /au/, as well as vowel + /j/ sequences that may be analysed as diphthongs.

The segments /m n r/ can appear as syllabic consonants.

- (2) *batesm cohernt outrscac*
 /ba'tɛz.m ko'hɛr.ɳt ʊt.r'xak/
 baptism consequent brazen

The syllable preceding a syllabic consonant acts as a closed syllable, and the segment before a syllabic consonant acts as part of the coda of the previous syllable. Hence, it is usually considered most elegant to syllabify so that syllabic consonants have no onset.

1.2 Stress

The final syllable is usually stressed.

- (3) *scadom tatover*
 /xa'dɔm ʔa.to'ver/
 tomato potato

In words of four or more syllables, secondary stress is usually assigned in iambs, although anapaestic patterns do occur when the interior syllables are sufficiently light.

- (4) *deborsellar* *haubrjoraŋ*
 /de₁bɔr.sɛ¹lar ˌhob.ɾ.ʒo¹rants/
 pickpocket advertisement

There are some exceptions to final stress. Syllabic consonants reject stress onto the previous syllable. Moreover, the suffixes *-(e)nt* (forming present participles of *-r* conjugation verbs), *-(e)ŋ* (forming nouns from the same verbs) and *-essem*, *-errem* (forming comparatives) also enforce penultimate stress.

- (5) *casn* *pardenç* *pessem* *veðerrem*
 /'kazɳ ˈpar.dents ˈpɛ.sɛm ve¹ðɛ.rɛm/
 oak loss worse elder

In many dialects these suffixes are parsimoniously analysed as instead containing syllabic consonants, pronounced as /-ɳt -ɳts -ɛs.ɳ -ɛr.ɳ/.

1.3 Phonotactics

There are several restrictions on where in a syllable or a word certain segments can appear. The consonants /v s ʒ h/ do not occur in coda position, and /ð/ does not occur word-finally. When morphology would place /ð s ʒ/ in a forbidden position they are replaced with /θ z x/ respectively.

- (6) *nað-ar* *nað* | *fass-ar* *fəs* | *naj-ar* *nascn*
 /na¹ðar naθ | fa¹sar faz | na¹ʒar ˈnax.ɳ
 swim-inf swim.s | wrap-inf wrap.s | sail-inf sail.3p

When morphology would place /v/ in a forbidden position, either /f/ replaces it or the preceding vowel is altered.

- (7) *cav-ir* *caf* | *bav-ar* *bau*
 /ka¹vɪr kaf | ba¹var bo/
 get-inf get.s | bark-inf bark.s

Syllabic consonants do not occur in stressed or initial syllables, and the ‘lax’ vowels /ɪ ɛ ɔ/ do not occur in stressed open syllables.

Onsets

Any vowel can begin an initial syllable, but under most analyses non-initial syllables must begin with a consonant.

- (8) *al enç aiç il eir onc aust ou*
 /al ents ets il ir ɔnk ost u/
 wing start ease they go hook east egg

Any single consonant may constitute an onset. Two-consonant onsets are of three kinds: for the first, the second segment is a liquid (one of /l j r/; the case of /w/ is dealt with above), preceded either by a stop or a fricative. The liquid /l/ does not occur after the segments /t d θ ð ʒ/, and the liquid /r/ does not occur after the segments /ð s z ʒ/.

- (9) *plait droug gien thron*
 /plet druj ʒjɛn θrɔn/
 pleased contribution cheek throne

The second class of two-consonant onsets are a heterorganic stop followed by one of /s θ t d/; these usually derive from Greek.

- (10) *xyron chthonic ptyssoscia bdella*
 /ksi'rɔn kθɔ'nɪk ,pti.so'xja bde'la/
 scalpel subterranean glaucoma virus

The remaining two-consonant onsets comprise /s/ followed by a nasal, a stop, the two liquids /l j/ or the two fricatives /f v/.

- (11) *smout skore sdegn slanc siesc sforç svam*
 /smut sko're sdɪjn slank sjɛx sfɔrts svam/
 riot urgent scorn thin siege strain sponge

All the possible three-consonant onsets are formed by the combination of /s/ + consonant and consonant + liquid onsets.

- (12) *splorar spien sdruçol sfrey*
 /splo'rar spjɛn sdri'tsɔl sfri/
 explore hope lubrication horror

No more complex onsets are permitted.

Codas

Empty codas are permitted, including word-finally. However, the ‘lax’ vowels /ɪ ɛ ɔ/ do not occur in final open syllables (as these would necessarily be stressed).

- (13) *idone nijomm-au*
 /i.do'ne ni.ʒɔ'mo/
 suitable bind-pst

Any single consonant except /v s ʒ h/ may be a coda. There are several types of two-consonant coda. A liquid may be followed by any non-liquid that can appear in codas at all; a nasal by any such non-liquid and non-nasal.

- (14) *sculd tragç corf lucern | hamt coyenç ans*
 /xɪld trejts kɔrf li'tsɛrn | hamt ko'jɛnts anz/
 obligation clue raven lantern | live.s prevention handle

The fricative /s/ may precede a voiceless stop; /f/ may precede /t/ specifically.

- (15) *cosp fest masq | haft*
 /kɔsp fɛst mask | haft/
 bee sting banquet disguise | busy

Conversely, /s/ may also follow any voiceless stop; after /t/ this is identical to the affricate phoneme /ts/.

- (16) *laps* *ouç* *jex*
 /laps uts ʒɛks/
 mistake silence bullseye

Finally among two-consonant codas, the cluster /kt/ is also permitted.

- (17) *abject*
 /ab'ʒɛkt/
 despicable

The few three-consonant codas that appear are a nasal or /j/ with a licit two-consonant cluster.

- (18) *boist* *deunx* *defonct*
 /bɔjst daunks de'fɔnkt/
 box near miss deceased

No more complex codas are permitted.

1.4 Allophony

Throughout this section, the phonetic transcription approximately reflects the mesolectal speech in the capital city of Damvath.

Assimilation

The phoneme /n/ is pronounced [ŋ] before velars.

- (19) *blanc* *viking* *mensc*
 /blank vi'king mɛnx/
 [blaŋk vi'kiŋg mɛŋx]
 white raid honour

Regressive voicing assimilation affects /s/ before any voiced obstruent, nasal or /l/.

- (20) *sboc svanið pasnagl bruslaç*
 /sbɔk sva'niθ pa'snejl bri'slats/
 [zbɔk zve'niθ pe'znejl bɾi'zlats]
 smirk unconscious parsnip breakfast

Palatals

The phoneme /x/ surfaces as [ç] when adjacent to a front vowel.

- (21) *scið esc*
 /xiθ ɛx/
 [çiθ ɛç]
 possible bait

The phoneme /ʒ/, along with /j/ either word-initially or between an unstressed and a stressed vowel (in that order), is pronounced [j].

- (22) *jast yon çuyal*
 /ʒast jɔn tsa'jal/
 [jast jɔn tse'jal]
 zinc where cicada

Non-rhoticity

Syllabic /r/ surfaces as [ɹ]. Furthermore, for some speakers syllabic /m n/ surface as [ɛm ɛn] respectively.

- (23) *issambr ðesmbal visn*
 /ɪ'samb.ɹ ðɛz.m'bal 'vɪz.ɹ/
 [ɪ'sam.be ðɛ.zɛm'bal 'vi.zɛn]
 massacre dodgeball knot

Coda /r/ surfaces as length on a preceding monophthong, or as [ɹ] after a diphthong or /j/. The vowel's quality may also be altered, with /ar ir ur/ becoming [ɛ: ɪ: ʊ:] respectively.

- (24) *vert hagr tourm*
 /vɛrt 'hɛj.ɾ tɜrm/
 [vɛ:t 'hɛ.jɐ tʊ:m]
 green linchpin squadron

When a word beginning with a vowel immediately follows, the [ɾ] is resurrected as the onset of the next syllable.

- (25) *l'hour uncos*
 /lɜr m'kɔz/
 [lɜː ɾm'kɔz]
 df = time something

Reduction

In syllables without primary or secondary stress, the vowel /a/ surfaces as [ɐ], the vowels /ɛ e i/ as [ɪ] and the vowels /ɔ o u/ as [ʊ].

- (26) *tovaresc taisson torvegl*
 /tɔ.va'rɛx tɛ'sɔn tɔr'viʃl/
 [tɔ.vɐ'rɛç tɪ'sɔn tʊ:'viʃl]
 homosexual badger whirlwind

Before an obstruent or after /n/, a coda /ts/ is pronounced [s].

- (27) *amaçgat fenç*
 /a.mats'gat fɛnts/
 [a.mɐs'gat fɛns]
 nursery split

The sequence /kts/ is realised as [ks].

- (28) *acceir facçon*
 /ak'tsir fak'tsɔn/
 [ɛk'sɪː fɛk'sɔn]
 approach party

1.5 Orthography

The primary letters in the Borlish alphabet are ordered as in the table below.

Alphabet and Letter Names					
a	a	h	hac	q	cu
b	be	i	i	r	ar
c	ce	j	jot	s	es
ç	cedil	k	ka	t	te
d	de	l	el	u	iscon
ð	eð	m	em	v	ve
e	e	n	en	x	ex
f	ef	o	o	y	oy
g	ge	p	pe	z	zet

The character < w >, which is used in foreign words and some names (like *Willaum* ‘William’), is pronounced like < v > and called *vescon* ‘second-vee’. There are also some compound characters. The ligatures < æ œ >, primarily used in Classical loanwords, are called *æsc* and *æthel* respectively and pronounced as if written < e >. The character < ï > is referred to as *i jammel* ‘twin i’ and pronounced as if written < yi >.

In the following we will consider < y > to be a vowel when written between consonants and/or word boundaries, and a consonant otherwise.

Consonants

The following letters regularly denote a single phoneme.

b	/b/	m	/m/
ç	/ts/	n	/n/
d	/d/	p	/p/
f	/f/	q	/k/
j	/ʒ/	r	/r/
k	/k/	v	/v/
l	/l/	z	/z/

Of these, the letters < b d f l m n p r > may appear doubled, which usually does not affect their pronunciation.

- (29) *abbað joddy affis ollom commet bannir çoppin arrum*
 /a'baθ ʒɔ'di a'fiz ɔ'lɔm kɔ'met ba'nɪr tsɔ'pɪn a'rɪm/
 abbot cuppa tip relic ban start toffee cosine

The only exception to this is that < mm nn rr > may denote a single consonant followed by a syllabic consonant. This is the reading when < mm nn rr > occurs word-finally or before a consonant.

- (30) *yem-m grin-n car-r*
 /'jɛm.m 'grɪn.n 'kɑr.r/
 get-1p judge-3p seek-inf

The letter < ð > is pronounced /θ/ word-finally and /ð/ otherwise.

- (31) *arð naðr ðeu*
 /arθ 'nað.r ðau/
 steep viper buttocks

The letter < x > regularly denotes the phoneme sequence /ks/.

- (32) *xivol euxon incox*
 /ksi'vɔl au'ksɔn in'kɔks/
 waltz quartz digestion

Consider the final six letters < c g h s t y > when they occur alone (not part of a digraph). In this case, the letters < t y > regularly denote /t j/ respectively. The letter /t/ may be doubled, without any effect on its pronunciation.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------------|--|---------------|
| (33) | <i>tien</i> | <i>yoc</i> | | <i>cattin</i> |
| | /tjɛn | jɔk | | ka'tɪn/ |
| | yours | husband | | kitten |

The letter < c > is pronounced /ts/ before < e i y > and /k/ otherwise. The doubled < cc > is pronounced /kts/ before < e i y > and /k/ otherwise.

- (34) *cigl cuivr bac* | *accaç occeir*
 /tsajl 'kajv.ɾ bak | a'kats ɔk'tsir/
 darling copper twig | post kill

The letter < g > may be pronounced as either of /g ʒ/ before < e i y > and is pronounced /g/ otherwise. The doubled < gg > may be pronounced as either of /g gʒ/ before < e i y > and is pronounced /g/ otherwise.

- (35) *gevou genoil tenguð* | *suggesson*
 /ge'vu ʒe'nɔjl tɛn'gɪθ | ,sɪg.ʒɛ'sɔn/
 watch out knee bauble | suggestion

The letter < h > is either pronounced /h/ or is silent (the latter only in some vocabulary inherited from Latin and after vocalic < g >).

- (36) *heu hom aughēr*
 /hau ɔm o'jɛr/
 mien person tumbler

The letter < s > is pronounced /z/ in coda position or between vowels, and /s/ otherwise or when doubled.

- (37) *bevis bosaç bustr* | *bossir*
 /be'viz bo'zats 'bɪst.ɾ | bɔ'sɪr/
 banknote gunfire example | gentleman

Consonant digraphs

The six letters, < c g h s t y >, combine with other letters to form digraphs. The sequences < sc ch th > regularly denote the phonemes /x k θ/. The potentially ambiguous sequence < sch > is read /sk/.

- (38) *sclar chym thral* | *schol*
 /xlɑr kɪm θrɑl | skɔl/
 lightning lymph slave | school

The sequence < cq > is pronounced /k/.

- (39) *jalicq* *jacquot*
 /ʒa'lik ʒa'kwɔt/
 waistcoat coat

The letters < g y > only form digraphs when combined with vowels, for which see below.

Vowels

Divide written vowels into two groups. Free vowels are either word-final or separated from the next vowel in the word by a single consonant letter (or one of < sc ch th >).

- (40) *choma* *epu* *idiocy* *nothe*
 /ko'ma e'pi ,i.djo'tsi no'θe/
 gnome express stupidity illegitimate

Checked vowels are either in a final closed syllable or separated from the next vowel in the word by at least two consonant letters.

- (41) *commun* *ambasctour* *sincer*
 /kɔ'mɪn ,am.bax'tʊr sɪn'tsɜr/
 ordinary emissary genuine

First consider the letters < a e i o u y > when they occur alone (not part of a digraph). When they are free, < a e i o u y > are pronounced /a e i o i i/.

- (42) *cla* *vige* *bro* *cru* *try*
 /kla vi'ʒe bro kri tri/
 key wealthy dude raw turn

When they are checked, < a e i o u y > are pronounced /a ɛ ɪ ɔ ʊ ɪ/.

- (43) *vindron* *vampyr* *effus*
 /vɪn'drɔn vɑm'pɪr ɛ'fɪz/
 vintner vampire extensive

Between a consonant and one of the vowels < a e o u >, the letters < i u > denote the semivowel < j >. The letter < u > denotes the semivowel /w/ specifically after < q >.

- (44) *diac suet quilt*
 /djak sjet kwɛlt/
 mic familiar dinner

Vowel digraphs

The digraphs < au eu ou > are pronounced /o au u/ respectively. The rarer < ao eo > share their pronunciation with < eu >.

- (45) *taur teun tout* | *paon theory*
 /tor taun tut | paun thau'ri/
 bull scant everything | peacock science

The digraphs < ai ei oi ui > and < ay ey oy uy > are pronounced /e i ɔj aj/ respectively. Intervocalically < y > does double duty, simultaneously affecting the previous vowel as stated and acting as an onset < j >.

- (46) *deit joivr* | *rayon huyaç*
 /dit 'ɔjv.r | re'jɔn ha'jats/
 finger frost | sunbeam corruption

The vast majority of coda < g > and many other < g > before consonants form vowel digraphs. Here, the digraphs < ag eg ig og ug aug oug > are usually pronounced /ɛj ij aj ɔj aj oj uj/ respectively.

- (47) *bag deg rig pog tug faug voug*
 /bɛj dj raj pɔj taj foj vuj/
 berry ten queue few passion sickle wrong

However, there are exceptions where a < g > in one of the above environments is read consonantly.

- (48) *magr* *magr* | *migrar* *scigrar*
 /'mag.ɾ 'mɛj.ɾ | mɪ'grar xaj'rar/
 rash scarce | migrate redistrict

Chapter 2

Morphology

2.1 Adjectives

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