1: Introduction to Uħħuonanjh

Uħħuonanjh /ˈuħˌħuo̯næ̃ɲ̊/ is the language spoken during the Bronze and Iron Ages by the
Uħħuononj /ˈuħˌħuo̯nɔɲ/ people. The Uħħuononj, one of three groups descended from the
Vuhîñkam, descend from the people who chose to stay in the Vuhînkam homeland rather than
migrate outwards (the others being Shechageghern and *Proto-TypUserian). The prevailing
mythology among the Uħħuononj explains this as dedication to their ancestors resting in the ground
below them, though this hasn't stopped the people from migrating outwards from the river valley.

The words *Uħħuononj* and *Uħħuonanjh* simply mean 'tribe' and 'language spoken by a tribe'
respectively - the Uħħuononj as a whole were never a united people and there was no specific word
to denote them as a group as opposed to other groups.

Most of the Uħħuononj were concentrated in the *Uonjëkkouonj* /ˈuo̯ɲʁkˌkou̯ɔɲ/ region (the river
valley) and its surrounds, known variably as *Qamkonj* /ˈɢæm̥kɔɲ/ 'Land of Ancestors', *Ljiħħeimonj* /ˈʎiħ
ˌħei̯mɔɲ/ 'Land of Birth' or *Kuskonj* /ˈkuskɔɲ/ 'Land of Plenty'. The major river is known as the
Vônvënjh /ˈʋonʋɤɲ̊/.

Overview Timeline

- Late Neolithic - Shechageghern migration
- Early Bronze Age - Cities form in the Lower Valley (*Puruttśonj* and *Xärrhättśonj* regions)
- Early-Mid Bronze Age - Cities form in the Upper Valley (*Xâeputtśonj*); Kingdoms (*vakkeħħonj*)
  form in the Lower Valley region
- Mid Bronze Age - Lower Kingdoms come to dominate the entire *Qamkonj* (homeland) region,
  building new cities in the region but also triggering local tribes to migrate further afield
- Late Bronze Age - A combination of invasions and catastrophic floods decimates the Lower
  Kingdoms, leading to the creation of Upper Valley kingdoms as well as a large emigration from
  the Lower Valley towards lands outside the *Qamkonj* (homelands).
- Early Iron Age - The discovery of ironworking propels one particular kingdom in the Upper Valley
  to harness it for military use, quickly subjugating its neighbours and then unifying the entire
  Uonjëkkouonj (river valley) into the *Fieggeħħuogo* (Central/Divine Kingdom).
- Mid Iron Age - The *Fieggeħħuogo* Kingdom continues to expand through the *Qamkonj*
  (homeland) region and beyond. They are able to expand rapidly through the south, but are
  unable to expand very far north and east due to thick forests and difficult terrain.
- Late Iron Age - Political troubles, droughts and foreign invasions in the *Fieggeħħuogo* Kingdom
  lead to its fracture into a number of separate states and a long period of chaos, during which a
  large portion of *Qamkonj* inhabitants emigrate northward.

Interaction

Little direct contact with Proto-TU, most trade and contact was done through Shechageghern intermediaries.

Trade routes between Uhhuonanj and Shechageghern lands were common.

Chapters

- 2 - Phonology and Romanisation
- 3 - Morphology
  - 3.1 - Nouns, Determiners, Pronouns
  - 3.2 - Verbs, Locational Pronouns
  - 3.3 - Tags
  - 3.4 - Adjectives
  - 3.5 - Adverbs
- 4 - Syntax
  - 4.1 - Sentence Structure
  - 4.2 - Noun Phrases, Postpositions
  - 4.3 - Verb Phrases, Participles, Relative Clauses
  - 4.4 - Derivational Affixes
- 5 - Reference Grammar
  - 5.1 - Noun Inflections
  - 5.2 - Adjective Inflections
  - 5.3 - Pronouns
  - 5.4 - Determiners
  - 5.5 - Verb, Adverb and Locative Inflections
  - 5.6 - Tag Inflections
- 6 - Culture

2: Phonology and Romanisation

This section will present the phonology and romanisation of the language.

Note that as a language without a formal writing system, there is no 'official orthography'. The romanisation system is a mostly 1-1 correspondence with pronunciation with a number of simplifications.

Sections (or back to top):

- Phonological Inventory

- [Romanisation](#)
- [Prosody](#)
- [Phonotactics](#)
- [Alternations](#)

Phonological Inventory

[back to chapter top](#)

Vowel Inventory

There are 12 monophthongs and 13 diphthongs in the language, although /uɪ̯/ is commonly considered a 'simple' vowel along with the monophthongs, making 13 simple vowels and 12 complex vowels.

These are also split into 12 back vowels, 12 front vowels and 1 central vowel, with an equal distribution of simple and complex vowels; coming to 6 of each for simple back, complex back, simple front and complex front vowels, along with 1 central vowel.

height	simple front	complex front	central	simple back	complex back
close	/i/ /y/	/ie̯/		/uɪ̯/ /u/	/uo̯/
close-mid	/e/ /ø/	/ei̯/ /øʊ̯/		/ɤ/ /o/	/ɤɪ̯/ /ou̯/
open-mid	/ɛ/	/ee̯/		/ʌ/ /ɔ/	/oe̯/
open	/æ/	/æɪ̯/ /æo̯/	/ä/		/ɑʊ̯/ /ɑe̯/

Consonant Inventory

There are 37 consonant phonemes in the language, organised into 5 general places of articulation.

All consonants may be geminated, though it is only common for stops, fricatives and trills.

type	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular-laryngeal
nasal	/m̥/ /m/	/n̥/ /n/	/ɲ̊/ /ɲ/		/ɴ̥/ /ɴ/
stop	/p/ /b/	/t/ /d/	/c/ /ɟ/	/k/ /g/	/ʔ/ /ɢ/
affricate		/t͡ʃ/ /d͡ʒ/	/c͡ɕ/ /ɟ͡ʑ/		
fricative	/f/	/s/ /z/	/ɕ/ /ʑ/	/x/ /ɣ/	/ħ/
approximant	/ʊ/	/ɹ/	/j/		
lateral apx		/l/	/ʎ/		

type	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular-laryngeal
trill		/r̥/ /r/			

- Voiced and unvoiced nasals and trills are found in complimentary distribution in most clusters, but are distinguished between vowels and morpheme-finally. Voiced and unvoiced nasals are beginning to merge.
- The two trills are a result of a merger between earlier alveolar and guttural trills. The resulting phoneme is realised differently among different areas - /r/ can be realised variously as [r ~ ɾ], [ɽ], [ʐ], [ʀ], [ʁ], etc.
- The exact pronunciation of the postalveolar affricates /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ varies. In addition to being pronounced as written, they may also be alveolar [t͡s] [d͡z], retroflex [t͡ʂ] [d͡ʐ] (reflecting earlier pronunciation) or may merge with palatal.
- /f/ and /ʋ/ are labiodental and assimilate adjacent bilabials to labiodentals. /ʋ/ can sometimes be vocalised to [ʊ ~ ɤ], especially when sandwiched in the middle of clusters/word-finally, e.g. /ˈmɛʔɔdʋ/ > [ˈmɛʔɔdʊ]; /ˈɢæo̯rdʋɲæ/ > [ˈɢæo̯rdɤɲæ]
- Uvular nasals will assimilate to nearby velars, becoming [ŋ̊] [ŋ].
- Glottal stop /ʔ/ can assimilate to nearby consonants, though in careful speech this is avoided.
- Most dialects assimilate voicing of nasals and trills when not otherwise assimilated in clusters (usually across morpheme boundaries), e.g. /ɴɛɲ̊/ + /ɟeɲ/ > [ɴɛɲɟeɲ]

Romanisation

Vowels

In writing, vowel diphthongs are not distinguished from vowels in hiatus, though they are in pronunciation; for example 'ea', while usually signifying the diphthong /ee̯/, can sometimes refer instead to 2 separate vowels /e.æ/.

phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written
/i/	i	/y/	ü	/uɪ̯/	ui	/u/	u
/e/	ê	/ø/	ö	/ɤ/	ë	/o/	ô
/ɛ/	e	/æ/	a	/ʌ/	â	/ɔ/	o
/ie̯/	ie	/ei̯/	ei	/uo̯/	uo	/ou̯/	ou
/øʊ̯/	eu	/ee̯/	ea	/ɤɪ̯/	oi	/oe̯/	oa
/æɪ̯/	ai	/æo̯/	ao	/ɑʊ̯/	âu	/ɑe̯/	âe

phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written
/ä/	ä						

Consonants

Voiced and unvoiced nasals are not distinguished in writing unless word-final, in which case the unvoiced nasals have an extra following 'h'.

Palatal digraphs with J, /ɲ̊/, /ɲ/ and /ʎ/, are written without the J when preceding another palatal consonant. Unvoiced trill /r̥/ is written simply as R preceding another marked unvoiced consonant, including itself (i.e. excluding nasals).

phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written	phoneme	written
/m̥/, /m/	m	/n̥/, /n/	n	/ɲ̊/, /ɲ/	nj	/ɴ̥/, /ɴ/	ñ
/p/	p	/b/	b	/f/	f	/ʋ/	v
/t/	t	/d/	d	/s/	s	/z/	s
/c/	c	/ɟ/	y	/ɕ/	ś	/ʑ/	ź
/k/	k	/g/	g	/x/	x	/ɣ/	gh
/ʔ/	'	/ɢ/	q	/ħ/	ħ		
/t͡ʃ/	ts	/d͡ʒ/	dz	/c͡ɕ/	tś	/ɟ͡ʑ/	dź
/ɹ/	ŕ	/l/	l	/j/	j	/ʎ/	lj
/r̥/	rh	/r/	r				

Prosody

Stress is noticeable but rarely phonemic; very few minimal pairs exist for stress. Stress primarily exists as a marker of word separation. Most words have up to 2 stressed syllables by default, although certain affixes carry their own stress. Speech is primarily stress-timed. Pitch changes are also noticeable in the language, but entirely tied to stress.

The first stress of a word root is the Primary Stress, realised with a high pitch and high volume, or mid-high pitch when no secondary stress is present. Every other stress is a Secondary Stress, this is realised with a low pitch and equally high volume, or mid-low when another secondary stress follows. Syllables after the primary and before a secondary stress tend to carry mid-high pitch; all other unstressed syllables carry a mid to mid-low pitch. Some affixes carry their own Primary Stress, though this is rare (mostly derivational affixes). An example of stress and pitch:

- Quoźo'âenquëx quo'onjëx fesqampondoxkou
  - 'to the family/ies of the couple from The Twin Rivers'
  - /ˈɢuo̞ʐɔˌʔɑe̞nɢuɤx ˈɢuo̞ʔɔɲɤx ˈfɛsˌɢæm̥pɔnˌdɔxkou̯/
  - /ˈɢuo̞ꞁʐɔ˥ˌʔɑe̞nꞁɢu˦ɤxꞁ ˈɢuo̞ꞁʔɔ˦ɲɤxꞁ ˈfɛsꞁ ˌɢæm̥ꞁꞁpɔn˦ˌdɔxꞁkou̯ꞁ/

Sentence final tags can sometimes contain long strings with no stress; instead stress is inserted wherever necessary, sometimes to emphasise certain points but often arbitrarily. These 'informal stresses' are generally somewhat softer than secondary stress.

Phonotactics

back to chapter top

The maximum syllable size is CLLVCL, with only the central V mandatory. Most syllables are maximally CLVC, the extra CL occurs due to the split of Vuhinkam affricate TS into TF/DV. Words generally cannot end in any stops or affricates other than the glottal stop.

Primary stress *usually* occurs on the first syllable of a word (barring prefixes), although this is not always the case, especially with *vowel + geminated trill* word initials. Similarly, secondary stress *usually* occurs on the penultimate syllable of words with more than 3 syllables, but again this is not always the case due to merged or inserted syllables.

Front stressed syllables tend to lead to fronting of back vowels while Back stressed syllables tend to lead to backing of front vowels, though many historical vowels resisted these changes and vowel harmony is particularly strict. Certain suffixes have both front and back variants - depending on the dialect, these will change either depending on the final vowel or on the last stressed vowel. If required to agree with central vowel Ä /ä/, these affixes may change arbitrarily and either form would be considered correct.

Alternations

back to chapter top

Over the course of phonological evolution, some words picked up an unstressed prefix before an initial trill (note that some initial trills were generated *after* this process and thus don't have one). This prefix is removed when a prefix is added to the word. Example: *yiñ + (ar)rhanjh* 'pre- + standing' >> *yiñrhanjh*

3.1: Morphology - Nouns

This section will present the morphology of nouns in the language, including personal pronouns.

Sections (or [back to top](#)):

- [Inflection](#)
- [Inflection Paradigms](#)
- [Determiners](#)
- [Pronouns](#)

Inflection

[back to chapter top](#)

Nouns belong to one of 4 classes and inflect for number and case. These inflections take the form of suffixes.

Classes and Number

Noun classes are inherited from Vuhîñkam, with Inanminate (I/INAN), Animate (A/ANIM) and Divine (D/DIVN). The Animate class is separated into two, creating a new Human class (H/HUMN).

The distinctions between number varies between class. Inanimate and Divine do not distinguish number at all, Animate distinguishes Singular (s/sn) and Plural (p/pl), while Human has a 3-way distinction between Singular, Dual (d/dl) and Plural.

The distinction between classes is mostly morphological. A word can be 'converted' ad hoc to another class by tacking on the appropriate ending, with the effect of objectifying, animating, anthropomorphising or deifying the referent.

Endings for each class are:

- **Inanmiate** - no ending. Nominative ends in -te or -to, but the dictionary form given is the Accusative for these nouns.
- **Animate** - vowel + -njh /ɲ̊/
- **Human** - vowel + voiced nasal
- **Divine** - -ke /kɛ/, -ge /gɛ/, -ko /kɔ/, -go /gɔ/

Cases

Nouns (in general) inflect for 5 cases. For more detail on the use of cases, see "4.2 - Syntax - Noun Phrases".

- **NOM** - Nominative case - used for the subject or agent of a verb; also used for both sides of a copula sentence and for disjoint/topical/vocative use.
- **ACC** - Accusative case - used for the object or direct patient of a verb.

- **DAT** - Dative case - used for attribute, motion, direction or action *towards* the noun. Commonly used for objects of verbs where the object itself is not changed, e.g. 'he sees the tree'.
- **GEN** - Genitive case - used for attribute, motion, direction or action *of/from/due to* the noun.
- **LOC** - Locative case - used for attribute, motion, position or action *at/in/during/with/by/using* the noun.

The Vuhîñkam Instrumentative case and Locative case have merged into one (except in postpositions).

While cases are often used by themselves, they can also be accompanied by a **postposition** to form a postpositional phrase. These are detailed in doc 4.2.

Inflection Paradigms

[back to chapter top](#)

Inflections often have 2 forms for Front and Back vowels. The two main strategies for choosing forms are either via the final vowel or the final *stressed* vowel - this varies by dialect. The examples given in this doc vary by final vowel.

Adding Class Inflection

Class inflections can be 'added' to words in certain situations, such as in regular/ad hoc formation of new words or when deriving forms for demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. When converting from an existing class, the ending is usually stripped, but ad hoc derivations often keep them. In either case, class endings are added in a specific way, dependent on the current ending:

- **Inanmiate** - Nominative end in -te or -to, Accusative adds no endings
- **Animate**
  - vowel final words > -njh /ɲ̊/
  - consonant final words > -enjh /ɛɲ̊/ or -onjh /ɔɲ̊/
- **Human**
  - vowel final words > -nj /ɲ/
  - consonant final words > -onj /ɔɲ/
- **Divine**
  - vowel or voiced consonant final words > -ge /gɛ/ or -go /gɔ/
  - unvoiced consonant final words > -ke /kɛ/ or -ko /kɔ/
    - glottal stop assimilates to K, producing -kke or -kko

Inanimate Class

Example nouns: *püañh* 'meat stew' (front vowel) and *tuñgo* 'sorghum grain' (back vowel)

The Locative case ending derives from the old Instrumental case ending, instead of the Locative case ending for all other classes.

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM	-te, -to	püañte	/ˈpyæn̥tɛ/	tuñgoto	/ˈtuŋgɔtɔ/
ACC	no ending	püañh	/ˈpyæn̥/	tuñgo	/ˈtuŋgɔ/
DAT	-(e)njêrh, -(o)nôrh	püañenjêrh	/ˈpyæn̥ɛɲer̥/	tuñgonôrh	/ˈtuŋgɔnor̥/
GEN	-ix, -ëx	püañix	/ˈpyæn̥ix/	tuñgoëx	/ˈtuŋgɔɤx/
LOC	-êra, -ôra	püañêra	/ˈpyæn̥eræ/	tuñgoôra	/ˈtuŋgɔoræ/

Words with a final glottal stop interact with the suffix to give slightly different inflections. Example noun: *qâ* 'what'

case	ending	word	IPA
NOM	-tte, -tto	qâtto	/ˈqʌttɔ/
ACC	-'	qâ'	/ˈqʌʔ/
DAT	-ncêrh, -ntôrh	qântôrh	/ˈqʌɲ̊cer̥/
GEN	-'ix, -'ëx	qâ'ëx	/ˈqʌʔɤx/
LOC	-rra	qârra	/ˈqʌrræ/

Animate Class

Example nouns: *ħeianjh* 'pig' (front vowel) and *ħâeljonjh* 'insect' (back vowel)

Singular:

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.s	-njh	ħeianjh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊/	ħâeljonjh	/ˈħae̯ʎɔɲ̊/
ACC.s	-ñkeu, -ñkou	ħeiañkeu	/ˈħei̯æn̥køu̯/	ħâeljoñkou	/ˈħae̯ʎɔn̥kou̯/
DAT.s	-ncêrh, -ntôrh	ħeiancêrh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊cer̥/	ħâeljontôrh	/ˈħae̯ʎɔn̥tor̥/
GEN.s	-njix, -njëx	ħeianjix	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ix/	ħâeljonjëx	/ˈħae̯ʎɔɲ̊ɤx/
LOC.s	-ñah	ħeiañaħ	/ˈħei̯æn̥æħ/	ħâeljoñaħ	/ˈħae̯ʎɔn̥æħ/

Plural:

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.p	-ncex, -ncox	ħeiancex	/ˈħei̯æn̥cɛx/	ħâeljoncox	/ˈħae̯ʌɲ̊cɔx/
ACC.p	-ntoxkou	ħeiantoxkou	/ˈħei̯æn̩ˌtɔxkou̯/	ħâeljontoxkou	/ˈħae̯ʌɲ̩ˌtɔxkou̯/
DAT.p	-ncienjerh	ħeiancienjerh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ˌcie̯ɲɛɾ/	ħâeljoncienjerh	/ˈħae̯ʌɲ̊ˌcie̯ɲɛɾ/
GEN.p	-ntoxëx	ħeiantoxëx	/ˈħei̯æn̩ˌtɔxɤx/	ħâeljontoxëx	/ˈħae̯ʌɲ̩ˌtɔxɤx/
LOC.p	-ncâeñaħ	ħeiancâeñaħ	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ˌcae̯næħ/	ħâeljoncâeñaħ	/ˈħae̯ʌɲ̊ˌcae̯næħ/

Human Class

Example nouns: *źñärhên* 'miner' (front vowel) and *uttum* 'netmaker/fisher' (back vowel)

Capital 'N' in the following table stands for whichever nasal exists in the original root

The Dative Singular case ending derives from an inversion of the usual suffix order from expected class-case -ân-êter/-ânter > *nyêrh to case-class -êter-ân/-êtrân > -(i)nenj

Singular:

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.s	-N	źñärhên	/ˈʐna̯ɾen/	uttum	/ˈuttum/
ACC.s	-ñgeu, -ñgou	źñärhêñgeu	/ˈʐna̯ɾengøu̯/	uttuñgou	/ˈuttuɴgou̯/
DAT.s	-nenj, -nonj	źñärhênenj	/ˈʐna̯ɾenɲ/	uttunonj	/ˈuttunɔɲ/
GEN.s	-njix, -njëx	źñärhênjix	/ˈʐna̯ɾeɲix/	uttunjëx	/ˈuttuɲɤx/
LOC.s	-ñah	źñärhêñaħ	/ˈʐna̯ɾenæħ/	uttuñaħ	/ˈuttuɴæħ/

Dual:

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.d	-ñqênj, -ñqënj	źñärhêñqênj	/ˈʐna̯ɾenɢeɲ/	uttuñqënj	/ˈuttuɴɢɤɲ/
ACC.d	-ñquoggou	źñärhêñquoggou	/ˈʐna̯ɾenˌɢuo̯ggou̯/	uttuñquoggou	/ˈuttuɴˌɢuo̯ggou̯/

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
DAT.d	-ñquoyyër	źñärhêñquoyyër	/ˈʑnaɾen ˌɢuo̯ɟɟɤr/	uttuñquoyyër	/ˈuttuN ˌɢuo̯ɟɟɤr/
GEN.d	-ñquëx	źñärhêñquëx	/ˈʑnaɾenˌɢuɤx/	uttuñquëx	/ˈuttuN ˌɢuɤx/
LOC.d	-ñquoñqaħ	źñärhêñquoñqaħ	/ˈʑnaɾen ˌɢuo̯Ngæħ/	uttuñquoñqaħ	/ˈuttuN ˌɢuo̯Ngæħ/

Plural:

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.p	-nyex, -ndox	źñärhênyex	/ˈʑnaɾeɲɟex/	uttundox	/ˈuttundɔx/
ACC.p	-ndoxkou	źñärhêndoxkou	/ˈʑnaɾen ˌdɔxkou̯/	uttundoxkou	/ˈuttun ˌdɔxkou̯/
DAT.p	-nyienjerh	źñärhênyienjerh	/ˈʑnaɾeɲ ˌi̯eɲɛr̥/	uttunyienjerh	/ˈuttuɲ ˌi̯eɲɛr̥/
GEN.p	-ndoxëx	źñärhêndoxëx	/ˈʑnaɾen ˌdɔxɤx/	uttundoxëx	/ˈuttun ˌdɔxɤx/
LOC.p	-nyâeñaħ	źñärhênyâeñaħ	/ˈʑnaɾeɲ ˌɟae̯næħ/	uttunyâeñaħ	/ˈuttuɲ ˌɟae̯næħ/

Divine Class

- Example nouns:
    - *qamke* /ˈɢæm̥kɛ/ '(personal) ancestor'
    - *ghâudokko* /ˈɣau̯ ˌdɔkkɔ/ 'deity'
    - *ghuˈiegge* /ˈɣuʔ i̯e̥ggɛ/ 'medicinal honey'
    - *zuñgo* /ˈzuNgɔ/ 'eulogy'

Divine class nouns ending vary by un/voiced and simple/geminate stop, back/front vowel, giving 8 possible endings. To inflect, follow the attributes of the base noun. The Locative case is the only case which changes depending on gemination.

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM	-ke, -ko	qamke	/ˈɢæm̥kɛ/	ghâudokko	/ˈɣau̯ ˌdɔkkɔ/
ACC	-keu, -kou	qamkeu	/ˈɢæm̥køu̯/	ghâudokkou	/ˈɣau̯ ˌdɔkkou̯/

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
DAT	-kêrh, -kôrh	qamkêrh	/ˈɢæm̥keɾ̥/	ghâudokkôrh	/ˈɣaʊ̯ˌdɔkkoɾ̥/
GEN	-kix, -këx	qamkix	/ˈɢæm̥kix/	ghâudokkëx	/ˈɣaʊ̯ˌdɔkkɤx/
LOC	-kaħ, -ñkaħ	qamkaħ	/ˈɢæm̥kæħ/	ghâudoñkaħ	/ˈɣaʊ̯ˌdɔɴ̥kæħ/
LOC	-gaħ, -ñgaħ	ghu'ieñgaħ	/ˈɣuʔˌie̯ɴgæħ/	zuñgaħ	/ˈˈzuɴgæħ/

Determiners

[back to chapter top](#)

Determiners go before the noun; agreement varies with each class of determiner.

Personal (or interrogative) pronouns in the Genitive case are used as possessive determiners (my, your, whose, etc)

Determiners may be used to modify pronouns in the same way as nouns. When used for 1st and 2nd person pronouns, they assume the Human class (even if the referent is not human).

Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives (including the interrogative/infinitive determiner) inflect to agree with the noun's Class and Number.

There are 3 levels of proximity for definite determiners (and in general throughout the language) - Proximal (This), Medial (That) and Distal (That over there), correponding to an area close to the speaker, close to the listener and far from both, respectively. However these frames of reference are only approximate; the choice of proximity level is a purely semantic one.

Along with these proximity levels there is an additional Interrogative / Indefinite level (which / what / whichever), concerting things at an unknown or irrelevant location / distance. These 4 levels are also in use for locative pronouns.

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
PRX	aoś /ˈæɒɕ/	einjh /ˈeiɲ̥/	ein /ˈein̯/	âuśko /ˈaʊ̯ɕkɔ/
MED	gha' /ˈɣæʔ/	ghamh /ˈɣæm̥/	ghom /ˈɣɔm/	ghaokke /ˈɣæɒ̯kkɛ/
DST	mi' /ˈmiʔ/	meanjh /ˈmeɐ̯ɲ̥/	meunj /ˈmøʊ̯ɲ/	mikke /ˈmikkɛ/
INT	qâ' /ˈqʌʔ/	qâmh /ˈqʌm̥/	qâem /ˈqae̯m/	qâkke /ˈqʌkkɛ/

Meaning	Animate Plur.	Human Dual	Human Plur.

Meaning	Animate Plur.	Human Dual	Human Plur.
PRX	eincex /ˈeɪɲcɛx/	eiqênj /ˈeɪɢeɲ/	einyex /ˈeɪɲɟɛx/
MED	ghaomcex /ˈɣæo̜m̥cɛx/	ghâemqënj /ˈɣae̜mɢɤɲ/	ghâemyox /ˈɣae̜mɟɔx/
DST	meancex /ˈmeɐ̯ɲ̥cɛx/	meunqênj /ˈmøʊ̯nɢeɲ/	meunyex /ˈmøʊ̯ɲɟɛx/
INT	qâmtox /ˈqʌm̥tɔx/	qâemqënj /ˈqae̜mɢɤɲ/	qâemyox /ˈqae̜mɟɔx/

Quantifiers and Numbers

Quantifiers agree only for the noun's Class, while Numbers are always invariant. Marking number on the noun is optional when these determiners are used; generally only being used to emphasise the pluralness of the modified noun. Thus *kfanjh ħeianjh* 'many pigs' is more commonly used compared to *kfanjh ħeiancex*.

Note that there is little distinction between mass and countable nouns, so there are no different words for countable vs uncountable nouns or grammatical restrictions on the use of these words with 'uncountable' nouns.

The 'Indefinite quantifier' can mean either 'some X' (as in 'some person') or 'any X'. Deriving from *rhe* 'one', it shares a form when modifying inanimate nouns, thus *rhe tfaśśa* can mean either 'one tree' or 'any tree/some tree'.

Meaning	English eg	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
No	No pigs	quś /ˈɢuɕ/	qvanjh /ˈɢʊæɲ̥/	qvâenj / ˈɢʊɑe̜ɲ/	quśko /ˈɢuɕkɔ/
Less	Less pigs	quto /ˈɢutɔ/	qutonjh / ˈɢutɔɲ̥/	qutënj /ˈɢutɤɲ/	qukke /ˈɢukkɛ/
More	More pigs	vete /ˈʊɛtɛ/	vetenjh /ˈʊɛtɛɲ̥/	vetênj /ˈʊɛteɲ/	vekko /ˈʊɛkkɔ/
Few	Few pigs	xê /ˈxe/	xênjh /ˈxeɲ̥/	xên /ˈxen/	xêkke /ˈxekkɛ/
Some	Some pigs	xieñ /ˈxie̜ɴ/	xeñh /ˈxɛɴ̥/	xieñ /ˈxie̜ɴ/	xieñge / ˈxie̜ɴgɛ/
Many	Many pigs	ku' /ˈkuʔ/	kfanjh /ˈkfæɲ̥/	kfâenj /ˈkfɑe̜ɲ/	kukko /ˈkukkɔ/
Every	Every pig	qeaħ / ˈɢeɐ̯ħ/	qeanjh /ˈɢeɐ̯ɲ̥/	qaonj /ˈɢæo̜ɲ/	qaikke / ˈɢæɪ̯kkɛ/
INDEF	Some pig	rhe /ˈr̥ɛ/	rhenjh /ˈr̥ɛɲ̥/	rhenj /ˈr̥ɛɲ/	rhekke /ˈr̥ɛkkɛ/

Numbers will be presented in section 5.5 Semantics - Numbers and Measurement.

Determiner Examples

Uħħuonanjh	English
xieñ püante	some meat stew (I)
xeñh ħâeljonjh	some insects (A)
qvâenj uttuñaħ	with no fishers (H.LOC)
qaikke qamkêrh	to every ancestor (D.DAT)
ljêr qamke	five ancestors (D)
ljêr źñärhênjix	from five miners (H.GEN)

Pronouns

back to chapter top

Uħħuonanjh is pro-drop, meaning it tends to drop pronouns when allowed. There are two areas where redundancy can cause a pronoun to be dropped, although in general any pronoun (or noun phrase) can be dropped if enough context is given:

- Locative pronouns (covered in the section 3.3 - Verbs in morphology) combined with context often provide enough information for subject pronouns to be dropped - along the lines of 'here (I) hold a pen'. Note that locative pronouns are required for certain verb forms.
- Sentence-final tags often conjugate for both nominative and accusative arguments, meaning that Nominative and Accusative pronouns are able to be dropped

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns have 2 distinct forms for Nominative and Accusative, while other case forms are derived from the Accusative form. In addition to case, these pronouns inflect for number and noun class for the 3rd person.

2nd and 3rd person pronouns have a Dual number, whose meaning has shifted to a singular referent of that person plus the speaker - thus 2nd person Dual is 'Thou and I' while 3rd person (Human) Dual is 'S/he/it and I'.

The pronouns for 3As (3rd person Animate singular) and 3Hs (3rd person Human singular) in DAT/DEN/LOC cases coincide, but are distinguished by an unvoiced nasal in the Animate vs a voiced nasal in the Human one. However, these phonemes have begun to merge in many varieties, as a result they are often pronounced similarly if not identically.

Person	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	LOC
1s	mvo /ˈmʊɔ/	fea /ˈfeə̯/	fêrh	fix	faħ
1p	ghâu /ˈɣɑʊ̯/	poa /ˈpoə̯/	pôrh	pëx	paħ
2s	u' /ˈuʔ/	tśarh /ˈc͡ɕæɽ/	tśarêrh	tśarix	tśaraħ
2d	ljarh /ˈʎæɽ/	ghaem /ˈɣae̯m/	ghaemôrh	ghaemëx	ghaemaħ
2p	me /ˈmɛ/	źieñ /ˈʑie̯ɴ/	źieñêrh	źieñix	źieñaħ
3Is	qâħ /ˈɢʌħ/	yêr /ˈɟer/	yerêrh	yerix	yeraħ
3As	qeñh /ˈɢɛɳ̊/	yeañh /ˈɟeə̯ɴ̥/	yeañêrh	yeañix	yeañaħ
3Ap	ñenjh /ˈɴɛɲ̊/	veañh /ˈʊeə̯ɴ̥/	veañêrh	veañix	veañaħ
3Hs	qâuñ /ˈɢɑʊ̯ɴ/	yeañ /ˈɟeə̯ɴ/	yeañêrh	yeañix	yeañaħ
3Hd	reunj /ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/	ghuonj /ˈɣuɔ̯ɲ/	ghuonjôrh	ghuonjëx	ghuonjaħ
3Hp	ñâenj /ˈɴae̯ɲ/	vaoñ /ˈʊæɔ̯ɴ/	vaoñêrh	vaoñix	vaoñaħ
3D	ñikke /ˈɴikkɛ/	vehke /ˈʊɛħkɛ/	vehkêrh	vehkix	vehkaħ

Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

Demonstrative determiners (as listed above) can be used without a modified noun as a *demonstrative pronoun* (similar to English 'That house is red' vs 'That is red'). Ambiguities (whether the demonstrative modifies a noun or acts as a pronoun when a noun follows it) are usually rectified by sentence-final tag conjugations, or by inserting a pause in speech. Demonstrative pronouns inflect for case, taking regular case endings (including mutating the final nasal for Animate/Human).

In anaphoric use, Proximal (this) pronouns generally correspond to something said before (usually right before), Medial (that) pronouns to something yet to be said (usually right after) and Distal (over there) pronouns to something said some time ago. A Proximal pronoun referring to a previous sentence is a common way to express sentences of the type 'because X, so Y' (where Y would be the main clause), whereas a Medial pronoun can be used with no antecedent to anticipate the next sentence for the type 'X, because Y' (where X would be the main clause).

The above interrogative pronoun can be used in the same way as the demonstrative pronouns (what / who / which one). Some forms are given here with English equivalents. Note that the interrogative pronoun should take the relevant class if a particular response is expected (e.g. Human class for people, Animate class for animals and other 'animate' words, etc); if unknown then use Inanimate.

Meaning	Word	Class	Case
what	qâtto	INAN	NOM

Meaning	Word	Class	Case
what	qâ'	INAN	ACC
to what, where, til when, for what reason	qântôrh	INAN	DAT
from what, where, when, because of what	qâ'ëx	INAN	GEN
with what, by what, at where, how	qârra	INAN	LOC
what (A)	qâmh	ANIM	NOM
what (A.plur)	qâmtox	INAN.p	NOM
who	qâem	HUMN	NOM
whom	qâeñgou	HUMN	ACC
to whom, for whom	qâenonj	HUMN	DAT
from whom, because of whom	qâenjëx	HUMN	GEN
with whom	qâeñaħ	HUMN	LOC
which 2 people	qâemqënj	HUMN.d	NOM
who (H.plur)	qâemyox	HUMN.p	NOM
what (D)	qâkke	DIVN	NOM

There are also special interrogative pronouns that can be used instead for specific meanings. These special pronouns are considered to already be inflected in **Locative** case and **Inanmiate** class, thus they can't take extra inflections and modifiers (adjectives and determiners) must agree with these.

Meaning	Word
where	qe
when	qo
how	qei

Indefinite Pronouns

Similar to demonstrative/interrogative pronouns above, quantifiers can also be used as *indefinite pronouns*. Using the appropriate class form, they also inflect for case and number. Numbers can also be used, taking on class endings. Some examples are given below.

Meaning	Word	Class	Case
everything	qeaħte	INAN	NOM

Meaning	Word	Class	Case
everything	qeaħ	INAN	ACC
to everything	qeaħenjêrh	INAN	DAT
from everything	qeaħix	INAN	GEN
(at) everywhere	qeaħêra	INAN	LOC
everything (A)	qeanjh	ANIM	NOM
everyone	qaonj	HUMN	NOM
everyone	qaoñgeu	HUMN	ACC
to everyone	qaonenj	HUMN	DAT
from everyone	qaonjix	HUMN	GEN
with everyone	qaoñaħ	HUMN	LOC
everything (D)	qaikke	DIVN	NOM
five (things)	ljêrte	INAN	NOM
five (things)	ljêr	INAN	ACC
five (things) (A)	ljêrenjh	ANIM	NOM
five (people)	ljêrenj	HUMN	NOM
to five (people)	ljêrenenj	HUMN	DAT
five (things) (D)	ljêrge	DIVN	NOM

The corresponding meaning of each quantifier is as follows:

Quantifier	Meaning	INAN-ACC
No	Nothing, No-one	quś
Less	Less things, Less people	quto
More	More things, More people	vete
Few	A few (things/people)	xê
Some	Some (things/people)	xieñ
Many	Many (things/people)	ku'
Every	Everything, Everyone	qeaħ

Quantifier	Meaning	INAN-ACC
Indefinite	Some/Anything, Some/Anyone	rhe

3.2: Morphology - Verbs

This section will detail verb morphology, including locative pronouns which play a large part in that.

The following chapter, 3.3, gives details about sentence-final Tags, another crucial element to the verb's meaning.

Sections (or back to top):

- Verb Roots
- Locative Pronouns

Verb Roots

back to chapter top

As the language evolved, the verb system became increasingly complex and unwieldy as affixes were added to the verb from both sides, changing its structure, and after drastic sound changes some of these different verb forms became almost unrecognisable. To simplify this, the language merged many of the different verb forms and shifted conjugations to other parts of the sentence, primarily Locative Pronouns and Sentence-Final Tags.

Uhhuonanjh now distinguishes 4 roots for the verb itself - **Participle (PART), Negative Participle (NEG.PART), Perfective (PERF) and Imperfective (IMPF)**. These roots are sometimes quite different among themselves and often are considered separate words rather than different forms of a single word, especially as the mechanisms to derive them no longer exist. For more information on the different meanings of some verb roots, see Section *5.3 - Syntax - Aspect*.

Participles

The **Participle** and **Negative Participle** forms function as either inanimate nouns or adjectives, but can themselves be the head of a subordinate clause. In these uses, the words inflect for case/agreement just like any other noun or adjective.

When used as a noun, Participles represent the action (e.g. 'singing' in 'singing is difficult'), while when used as an adjective, they signal that the noun is 'performing' the action (e.g. 'singing' in 'the singing man'). The Negative Participle is simply the negated form of the Participle (e.g. 'not singing is difficult', 'the not-singing man'). Unlike English, these can still take arguments as a verb (similar to 'the singing-a-song man').

Note that participles are *not required* to take the Inanimate Nominative ending -te/-to when used as such (though it is allowed); on the other hand they *must* take the ending when nominalised - vônvë(to) 'splitting.NOM' (action) vs vônvëto 'splitting thing.NOM'.

Participles can take an ACC suffix (-keu/-kou) for use as a passive participle - ljomë 'creating' vs ljomëkeu '(being) created'. They can similarly take any other case suffix when the modifying a word which would take that case if included in the relative clause - uirâ xaśonj 'going person (person who is going)' vs uirâñaħ xaśonj 'going-to person (person who someone is going to)'. Note that the Locative ending used is based on the modified noun - if the participle modifies an inanimate noun taking -êra/ôra endings in LOC, then the participle uses that instead (*uirâôra aħak* 'the house someone is going to'); similarly for postpositions with LOC-INS distinction.

The Participle is derived from the Vuhîñkam verb without any modifications, while the Negative Participle of inherited verbs is derived from the negated form of that verb using the complex infix system - this system itself is no longer productive. Some examples of inherited participles and their negative counterparts are given below

English	Participle	IPA	Negative Part	IPA
to be (formal)	qâe	/ˈɢae̯/	jêño	/ˈjenɔ/
to exist	arrhea	/æɾˈre̯e̯/	nêre	/ˈnerɛ/
to sleep	peffiʼħê	/ˈpɛfˌfiʔħe/	jêmviʼħê	/ˈjemˌʋiʔħe/
to have a child	uiomë	/ˈuɪɔmɤ/	quśħâmpë	/ˈɢuɕˌħʌm̥pɤ/
to live	qghomë	/ˈɢɣɔmɤ/	yiʼħempê	/ˈɟiʔˌħɛm̥pe/
to swim	ququoźlja	/ˈɢuˌɢuo̯ʑʎæ/	quźjëquoźlja	/ˈɢuʑjɤˌɢuo̯ʑʎæ/
to lie (down)	peffa	/ˈpɛffæ/	jêmva	/ˈjemʋæ/
to intend	vaaś	/ˈʋææɕ/	ünyaaś	/ˈynˌɟææɕ/
to laugh	yatfa	/ˈɟætfæ/	yatfa*	/ˈɟætfæ/
to drink	quttśo	/ˈɢuc͡ɕɔ/	quʼfittśe	/ˈɢuʔˌfic͡ɕɛ/
to eat	qompëñ	/ˈɢɔm̥pɤɴ/	qoxfmëñ	/ˈɢɔxfmɤɴ/
to come	mâenjârâ	/ˈmae̯ɲʌɾʌ/	âempâenjârâ	/ˈae̯m̥ˌpae̯ɲʌɾʌ/
to cut	uonjëʼ	/ˈuɔɲɤʔ/	quħħuonjëʼ	/ˈɢuħˌħuɔɲɤʔ/
to split	vônvë	/ˈʋonʋɤ/	vôxfienvê	/ˈʋoxˌfie̯nʋe/
to turn	ljanci	/ˈʎæɲ̊ci/	qêśśanci	/ˈɢeɕˌɕæɲ̊ci/
to push	ghaśśeraʼ	/ˈɣæɕˌɕeræʔ/	nearaonêraʼ	/ˈne̯ɾˌæo̯neræʔ/

English	Participle	IPA	Negative Part	IPA
to bring	ienjaś	/ˈie̯næɕ/	jêienjaś	/ˈje̯ˌie̯næɕ/
to melt	rhü	/ˈr̥y/	jêñreu	/ˈjeɴrøʊ̯/

The PART and NEG.PART forms of *yatfa* 'to laugh' have merged through sound changes; while in formal language this is maintained, in common speech the negative participle is constructed through the new regular prefix, becoming quyafta /ɢuˈɟætfæ/

For newly-derived or newly-coined verbs, the Negative Participle simply adds qu- (without moving stress). Colloquially, this form of negation is also used for words with existing counterparts, breaking them up into two separate words, with the original negative often taking on a new meaning. Some examples:

English	Participle	IPA	Negative Part	IPA
to be (colq)	qâe	/ˈɢɑe̯/	quqâe	/ɢuˈɢɑe̯/
to not be (colq)	jêño	/ˈjenɔ/	qujêño	/ɢuˈjenɔ/
to eat	qompëñ	/ˈɢɔm̥pʏɴ/	quqompëñ	/ɢuˈɢɔm̥pʏɴ/
to be starving	qoxfmëñ	/ˈɢɔxfmʏɴ/	quqoxfmëñ	/ɢuˈɢɔxfmʏɴ/
to intend	vaaś	/ˈʋææɕ/	quvaaś	/ɢuˈʋææɕ/
to do unintentionally	ünyaaś	/ˈyɲˌɟææɕ/	quünyaaś	/ɢuˈyɲˌɟææɕ/
to smoke	merrhieña	/ˈmɛr̥ˌrie̯ɴæ/	qumerrhieña	/ɢuˈmɛr̥ˌrie̯ɴæ/
to sweeten	ghu'ienja	/ˈɣuʔˌie̯næ/	qughu'ienja	/ɢuˈɣuʔˌie̯næ/
to milk	yampaoa	/ˈɟæm̥ˈpæo̯æ/	quyampaoa	/ɢuˈɟæm̥ˈpæo̯æ/
to sow crops	icca	/ˈiccæ/	quicca	/ɢuˈiccæ/

Verbal forms

The **Perfective** and **Imperfective** verb roots form the head of a sentence when paired with a final Tag, with the verb taking on the respective aspect. These roots do not conjugate or take any affixes other than for new word derivation.

While these forms are less variable than the above participles, they still contain some unpredictable changes and the meanings between Perfective and Imperfective forms are beginning to diverge.

Each pair has a *Base Aspect* which determines its derivation -- Perfective Base verbs have a Perfective form identical to the Participle, while the Imperfective is derived with an additional final vowel or occasionally ñ + vowel. Imperfective Base verbs derive their Imperfective form through either the

addition of a suffix -ñ to the Participle, or more unpredictable mutations usually ending in -anjh, while the Perfective is derived from the Imperfective + suffix -of/-ef. In all these cases, stress is changed to fit the new pattern (maintaining penultimate position).

English	Base	Perfective	IPA	English	Imperfective	IPA
to become	IMPF	qâeñof	/ˈɢɑ̯ɛ̯ɔf/	to be (copula)	qâeñ	/ˈɢɑ̯ɛ̯ɴ/
to happen	IMPF	arrheañef	/ær̯ˌre̯e̯ɴef/	to exist	arrheañ	/ær̯ˈre̯e̯ɴ/
to go to sleep	IMPF	peffi'ħeiñef	/ˈpɛffiʔˌħei̯ɴef/	to sleep	peffi'ħêñ	/ˈpɛfˌfiʔħeɴ/
to give birth	IMPF	uiomieñef	/ˈuɪɔˌmie̯ɴef/	to have children	uiomëñ	/ˈuɪɔmɤɴ/
to work	IMPF	qghemieñef	/ˈɢɣɛˌmie̯ɴef/	to live	qghomëñ	/ˈɢɣɔmɤɴ/
to be swimming	IMPF	quñëźljancef	/ˈɢuɴɤʑˌʎæɲ̊cef/	to be swimming	ququoźljanjh	/ˈɢuˌɢuɔʑʎæɲ̊/
to lie (down)	IMPF	pefnjef	/ˈpɛfɲ̊ef/	to be lying down	pefanjh	/ˈpɛfæɲ̊/
to mean/intend	IMPF	vanjef	/ˈʋæɲ̊ef/	to be intending	vaanjh	/ˈʋææɲ̊/
to laugh	IMPF	yaftnjef	/ˈɟæftɲ̊ef/	to be laughing	yaftanjh	/ˈɟæftæɲ̊/
to drink	PERF	quttśo	/ˈɢuct͡ɕɔ/	to be drinking	quttśee	/ˈɢucˌt͡ɕɛɛ/
to eat	PERF	qompëñ	/ˈɢɔm̥pɤɴ/	to be eating	qompuo	/ˈɢɔm̥ˌpuɔ/
to come	PERF	mâenjârâ	/ˈmɑe̯ɲʌrʌ/	to be coming	maonjareañe	/ˈmæo̯ɲæˌre̯e̯ɴɛ/
to cut	PERF	uonjë'	/ˈuo̯ɲɤʔ/	to be cutting	uocie	/ˈuo̯ˌciɛ/
to split	PERF	vônvë	/ˈʋonʋɤ/	to be splitting	vônuoño	/ˈʋonˌuo̯ɴɔ/

English	Base	Perfective	IPA	English	Imperfective	IPA
to turn	PERF	ljanci	/ˈʎæɲ̊ci/	to be turning	ljancie	/ˈʎæɲ̊ˌciɛ/
to push	PERF	ghaśśêra'	/ˈɣæɕ ˌɕeræʔ/	to be pushing	ghaśśearhae	/ˈɣæɕɕeɐ̯ ˌr̥æ/
to bring	PERF	ienjaś	/ˈie̯ɲæɕ/	to be bringing	ninjaśe	/ˈni ˌɲæɕɛ/
to melt	PERF	rhü	/ˈr̥y/	to be melting	rhüe	/ˈr̥yɛ/

For newly derived or coined verbs, the Perfective is formed by the addition of suffix -f/-of/-ef to the Participle, while the Imperfective is formed by the addition of suffix -o/-e. These suffixes do not trigger stress changes.

English	Participle	Perfective	Imperfective
to be (colq)	qâe	qâef	qâeo
to not be (colq)	jêño	jêñof	jêñoo
to eat	qompëñ	qompëñof	qompëño
to be starving	qoxfmëñ	qoxfmëñof	qoxfmëño
to intend	vaaś	vaaśef	vaaśe
to do unintentionally	ünyaaś	ünyaaśef	ünyaaśe
to smoke	merrhieña	merrhieñaf	merrhieñae
to sweeten	ghu'ienja	ghu'ienjaf	ghu'ienjae
to milk	yampaoa	yampaoaf	yampaoae
to sow crops	icca	iccaf	iccae

Stem Alternation Patterns: Regular

The full pattern for a regular (new) verb is as follows:

PART	PART-NEG	PERF	IMPF
-	qu-	-(e/o)f	-o/e
vetsieñ	quvetsieñ	vetsieñof	vetsieñe

PART	PART-NEG	PERF	IMPF
vaaś	quvaaś	vaaśef	vaaśe
qâuga	quqâuga	qâugaf	qâugao

Stem Alternation Patterns: Negative

For inherited verbs, while different stems have become quite difficult to predict, they do generally fall into one of several patterns. The following is more a guide to what forms to expect for a given verb, it doesn't predict the actual form - use the vocab list for that.

Negative derivation (using inherited pre/infix)

Type	Positive	Negative
A	yatfa	ya-**t**-fa
A	yarrhaomea	ya-'-rhaomea
Â	qaoa	qao-**rha**-oa
E	yaorüm	ya-**i**-örüm
E	yeccüa'fo	ye-**xe**-cüa'fo
Ê	jêñgha'	jê-**xie**-ñgha'
I	yi'ħêmpê	yi-**c**ceghemê
I	yêrrhâu	yi-'-rhâu
Î	yêre	yi-**źê**-re
O	qompëñ	qo-**xf**-mëñ
Ô	vônjë	vô-**xfie**-nji
U	quttśo	qu-'**fi**-ttśe
Û	quñonj	qu-**źji**-ñonj
N	ñärrhör	**âe**-ñrhoar
N	mâenjârâ	**âe**-mpâenjârâ
T	peffa	**jê**-mva
T	camħe	**jê**-camħe
T (-)	rhü	**jê**-ñreu
T (-)	ienjaś	**jê**-ienjaś

Type	Positive	Negative
S (F)	färh	**eum**-ärh
S (V)	vaħħoñ	**üm**-oñ
S	sħoñuo	**ni**-źgheñei
S (SH)	xek	**ni**-ghek
S (X)	arrhaonj	**nê**-räonj
S (G)	ârmâenj	**nea**-rmonj
S (GJ)	gheanjh	**nea**-rgheanjh
S (H)	ħaqqe'	**i**-gheqe
S (GH)	âulqo	**ienj**-aolqe
L (W)	vaonvra	**qê**-ħħaonvra
L (R)	erraonja'	**qê**-rrhaonja'
L	ljanci	**qê**-śśanci
L	uiomë	**qu**-śħâmpë
L (J)	niŕe	**qê**-xxiŕe

Stem Alternation Patterns: Ptcp > Perf > Imperf

Generally, Perfective-base verbs will have an identical Participle and Perfective verb form. The Imperfective is formed with the addition of an stress-changing suffix: usually -(ñ)e/o; -(ñ)a/â after a former uvular trill; this suffix sometimes deletes a final vowel.

Participle	Perfective	IPA	Imperfective	IPA
qaoa	qaoa	ˈɢæo̜æ	qa**oa**-*e*	ˈɢæo̜ˌæɛ
färh	färh	ˈfaɽ	färh-*a*	ˈfaɽæ
ca'o	ca'o	ˈcæʔɔ	ca'**ao**-*ñe*	ˈcæʔˌæo̜ɴɛ
fiete'	fiete'	ˈfiˌɛtɛʔ	fieñe**to**-*o*	ˈfie̜ɴɛˌtɔɔ
ljin	ljin	ˈʎin	ljienj-*e*	ˈʎie̜ɲɛ
qompëñ	qompëñ	ˈɢɔm̥pɤɴ	qom**pu**-*o*	ˈɢɔm̥ˌpuɔ
uonjë'	uonjë'	ˈuo̜ɲɤʔ	uo**ci**-*e*	ˈuo̜ˌciɛ
maonyi	maonyi	ˈmæo̜ɲi	maon**yi**-*ñe*	ˈmæo̜ɲˌɟinɛ

Participle	Perfective	IPA	Imperfective	IPA
vônvë	vônvë	ˈʋonʊɤ	vôn**uo**-*ño*	ˈʋon͜ˌuo̯ɔ
qunduomoa	qunduomoa	ˈɢun̯ˌduo̯mo̯ɤ	qunu**mâe**-*o*	ˈɢunu͜ˌmae̯ɔ
źmoar	źmoar	ˈʐmo̯ɐ̯r	źmoar-*â*	ˈʐmo̯ɐ̯ʌ

Stem Alternation Patterns: Ptcp > Imperf > Perf

Imperfective-base verbs derive their Imperfective form with one of several methods - a non-stress-changing suffix (often -ñ), altering the last syllable to either insert a k- beginning the syllable (later elided) and/or end with an -njh, or the addition of a stress-changing suffix (often -anjh). Some Imperfective forms are identical to their participles.

Perfective forms of these words are usually formed with a suffix -ef/of onto the Imperfective form. This suffix combines with the imperfective ending if possible, meaning it doesn't tend to add stress if the Imperfective suffix already did.

Participle	IPA	Imperfective	IPA	Perfective	IPA
xea	ˈxeɐ̯	xea-*ñ*	ˈxeɐ̯ɴ	xeañ-*ef*	ˈxeɐ̯ɴɛf
qâe	ˈɢɑe̯	qâe-*ñ*	ˈɢɑe̯ɴ	qâeñ-*of*	ˈɢɑe̯ɴɔf
yetfo	ˈɟɛtfɔ	yetfo-*ñ*	ˈɟɛtfɔɴ	yet**faoñ**-*ef*	ˈɟɛˌtfæɒ̯ɴɛf
arrhanjh	æɾˌˈræɲ̊	arrhanjh	æɾˌˈræɲ̊	arrhanc-*ef*	æɾˌˈræɲ̊ɕɛf
qâuanjh	ˈɢɑʊ̯æɲ̊	qâuanjh	ˈɢɑʊ̯æɲ̊	qâunj-*of*	ˈɢɑʊ̯ɲɔf
arrhaonj	æɾˌˈræɔɲ	arrh*ainjh*	ˈʋɛɲ̊m̩ɛɲ̊	venj**menc**-*ef*	ˈʋɛɲ̊ˌmɛɲ̊ɕɛf
venmenjh	ˈʋɛɲm̩ɛɲ̊	ve*nj*menjh	ˈɟɛtfɔɴ	yet**faoñ**-*ef*	ˈɟɛˌtfæɒ̯ɴɛf
peffa	ˈpɛffæ	pe*fa*-*njh*	ˈpɛfæɲ̊	pefnj-*ef*	ˈpɛɲ̊ɛf
jêñgha'	ˈjɛɴɣæʔ	jêñgha-*njh*	ˈjɛɴɣæɲ̊	jêñgha-*f*	ˈjɛɴɣæf
ququośśa	ˈɢuˌɢuo̯ɕɕæ	ququośśa-*njh*	ˈɢuˌɢuo̯ɕɕæɲ̊	quñ**sanc**-*ef*	ˈɢuɲˌɕæɲ̊ɕɛf
qâuga	ˈɢɑʊ̯gæ	qâuga-*njh*	ˈɢɑʊ̯gæɲ̊	qâu**ganc**-*ef*	ˈɢɑʊ̯ˌgæɲ̊ɕɛf
ħaqqe'	ˈħæɢɢɛʔ	ħaq**qo**-*anjh*	ˈħæɢˌɔæɲ̊	ħaqqonj-*of*	ˈħæɢˌɔɲ̊ɔf
yêre	ˈɟɛrɛ	yea**rai**-*anjh*	ˈɟeɐ̯ˌræɪ̯æɲ̊	yearainj-*ef*	ˈɟeɐ̯ˌræɪ̯ɲɛf
qaoi'ħêmh	ˈɢæɒ̯iʔħem̩	qaoi'**ħê**-*ñanjh*	ˈɢæɒ̯iʔˌħeɴæɲ̊	qaoi'ħênc-*ef*	ˈɢæɒ̯iʔˌħeɲ̊ɕɛf

Locative Pronouns

Locative pronouns are simply pronouns which express location at one of the 4 levels of distance (Proximal, Medial, Distal and Indefinite). These became commonplace during the language's development. Due to their association with verbs, they have come to take on an additional role of Negative/Emphatic verb marker. They also appear directly after verbs. In order to negate a Verbal Form, a Locative Pronoun is used in the Negative. The emphatic form either places emphasis on the verb (or location), or reinforces the verb, something like 'it definitely/truly/well/actually/for sure happens'.

Locative pronouns are not required for use with Participles, although they can still be used (in which case they appear directly *before* the participle).

Locative pronouns themselves are considered grammatically to be special inanimate pronouns, whose NOM/ACC/LOC forms are all the same, and where the Locative form tends to be used in place of GEN/DAT for most simple adverbial meanings. However, locative pronouns *can* take inflectional endings for GEN and DAT when used in postpositional phrases (e.g. PRX.GEN = muëx, DST.DAT = minjenjêrh/informally minjêrh).

Distance	Positive	IPA	Negative	IPA	Emphatic	IPA
INF	quo	/ˈɢuo̯/	jêñ	/ˈjeɴ/	huñə	/ˈħuɴɤ/
PRX	mu	/ˈmu/	tsimpü	/ˈt͡ʃim̥py/	huomu	/ˈħuo̯mu/
MED	vâe	/ˈʋɑe̯/	ârvo	/ˈʌrʊɔ/	hâuo	/ˈħɑʊ̯ɔ/
DST	minj	/ˈmiɲ/	ienjinj	/ˈie̯ɲiɲ/	huomënj	/ˈħuo̯mɤɲ/

Examples of verb + locative

- *arrheañef quo* 'to happen / happens somewhere / anywhere'
- *arrheañef tħimpy* 'doesn't happen here/near me'
- *arrheañef hâuo* 'happens there/near you' (emphatic)
- *arrheañ jêñ* 'to not exist / doesn't exist somewhere / anywhere'
- *iccaf minj* 'sows over there/somewhere else'
- *iccae ârvo* 'isn't sowing there/near you'

Locative Semantics

(More detail to be provided in section 5.4 - Locatives)

While Locative pronouns be themselves simply refer to a location, their common use has attached other pragmatic meanings to them.

One common attached meaning is of topic pronoun, with Proximal referring to a 1st person topic, Medial to a 2nd person topic, Distal to a definite 3rd person topic and Infinitive to an indefinite topic. This topic can then be dropped if the meaning is clear.

Note that these examples contain final tags to form proper sentences, see the next section for details

- *qompëñ mu qâ*
  - lit. 'eats here'
  - also commonly meaning 'I/we eat' or 'as for me/us, (I/we) eat'
- *qompëñ mu quʔ*
  - lit. 'you.s eat here'
  - also commonly meaning 'with me/us, you eat'
- *qompëñ quo qâ*
  - lit. 'eats somewhere'
  - also commonly meaning 'someone/anyone eats' or 'somewhere, eating happens'

3.3: Morphology - Tags

This section will detail the use of the sentence-final function word/marker or Tag, which 'conjugates' for verb tense, aspect, mood and person. These tags are used in conjunction with (but separate from) verbs and locative pronouns to shape the precise meaning of the verb.

Sections (or back to top):

- Mood, Tense and Formality
- Aspect and Person Conjugation
- Examples

Mood, Tense and Formality

back to chapter top

Tags descend from a generalisation of the Vuhîñkam sentence-final interrogative particle, with different words used in place of the interrogative particle to express different moods. As such, each mood is expressed using a different tag.

As the past tense suffix was often moved to the sentence-final particle, it followed onto the new generalised tags early on, producing a distinct form for **past tense (PAST)**, contrasting with the unmodified **non-past tense (NPST)**.

The frequent use of tags served to erode the structure of common tags such that certain tags consist of only a single sound. In **Formal (FOR)** speech, however, this elision did not occur as much, thus an

unelided tag became a marker of formality, contrasting with the shorter tag which was used in **Common (COM)** speech. Formal tags are used when speaking to people outside one's tribe, in public speaking, in rituals and, in the later River Valley Kingdoms, when performing administrative duties for the crown.

Moods

There are 9 moods expressible using different tags. These are:

- Moods with both Non-Past and Past tense
  - **Indicative - IND** - Used for statements, the most commonly used tag. Note that events which the speaker has not personally witnessed should use the Narrative tag.
  - **Narrative - NAR** - Used for storytelling
    - Narrative Non-past, i.e. Renarrative/Inferential - Used for speaking about specific or recent things which the speaker has learnt about second-hand, used in a Past Tense-like meaning. Compare Turkish -miş or Balkan Renarrative moods.
    - Narrative Past - Used for speaking about knowledge and for stories 'passed down through generations/ancestors', similar to 'it is said that...'. Not necessarily Past Tense in meaning, e.g. '(it is said that) birds fly south in winter'
  - **Interrogative - INT** - Used for questions, including Yes/No and question word questions
  - **Conditional-Hypothetical - CON** - Used for statements which are conditional upon something else. Also used for hypothetical statements, including conditions upon which another conditional statement rests - i.e. in all the following examples, Conditional tags are used for both parts of the sentence.
    - Non-past examples - these two forms are not distinguished
      - 'if he lies, then he is not your friend' (non-past condition, present effect)
      - 'if you come, then you will be rewarded' (present condition, future effect)
      - 'if you were to come, then you would be rewarded' (hypothetical condition, future-of-hypothetical effect)
    - Past example - these two forms are also not distinguished
      - 'if you came, then you would be rewarded' (unknown past state, present effect)
      - 'if you had come, then you would have been rewarded' (counterfactual)
    - If there is no other indication, then consecutive/coordianted Conditional clauses are considered to be Condition > Effect
      - e.g. *qompëñ vâe nji, mu nji*
      - lit. 'eat there CON, here CON'
      - translated as 'if you eat, then I eat'
    - If there is no other indication, a Conditional coordinated with a non-conditional clause will take on the role of Condition
      - e.g. *mâenjârâ mu nju', qompëñ vâe vâur*
        - lit. 'come here CON.you, eat there NEC'
        - translated as 'if you come here, you should eat!'

- e.g. *qompëñ mu vâur, vâe nji*
    - lit. 'eat here COM, there CON'
    - translated as 'I will/intend to eat if you eat'
  - **Necessitative - NEC** - Used for things which would in English begin with 'it would be good if...' or contain 'should'. Past tense is counterfactual, as in 'it would have been good if...' or 'should have'
- Moods with no Past tense
  - **Imperative - IMP** - Used for commands. A polite form of the imperative also exists for 'soft commands' or requests; these share the same intonation as Interrogative (questions) and are usually also marked with a question mark.
  - **Prohibitive -- PRH** - Used for prohibitions / negative commands. No polite form exists, instead use the Imperative.
    - Using the prohibitive still requires the locative pronoun to be negative, however it also allows the loc.pron to be dropped. The loc.pron is usually maintained only if there is significant distance between the verb and the tag.
        - ljanji (ârvo) śa - use without *ârvo* is more common
        - ljanji (ârvo) ulârrhâ xaśonenj śa - use with *ârvo* is more common
  - **Speculative -- SPC** - Used to speculate about future events out of one's control - e.g. he might come tomorrow, it might rain tomorrow - or past/current events whose state we are unsure of - e.g. he might be coming now, it might be raining over there.
  - **Commissive -- COM** - Used to state non-past intentions or speak about future events which one has some control over - I will go there; it will happen (I will make it happen/make sure it happens). Can be combined with other tags to speak about past intentions.
    - The 'committer' is necessarily the topic of this tag. If the sentence as a whole has a different topic, then this tag should use a suffix for the 'committer' in order to keep its meaning. An extra tag may be added to accomplish this.
    - *qunyiśnjef mu vâurmotśarh* - 'I will fight you'
    - *qunyiśnjef mu tśarh vâurmo qâtśarh* - 'You, I will fight'

Forms

The tag forms are given below. Some tags have optional final vowels, used when the next suffix starts with a consonant (or when used alone for one-syllable tags), or optional final consonants, used when the next suffix starts with a vowel. The pronunciation will include optional/elidable sounds. Note that some tags are stressed while others are not.

Note that tags can be chained in order to make use of multiple ones. Usually only the final tag is conjugated, although person suffixes can attach to earlier tags to mark topic if required. For example, if asking for someone to speculate, one can use either 'eat SPC-he-it INT-you' or 'eat it SPC INT-you-him' to mean 'do you think he's eating it'.

Mood	Tense	Common	IPA	Formal	IPA

Mood	Tense	Common	IPA	Formal	IPA
IND	NPST	q(â)	/ɢʌ/	qâe	/ˈɢɑe̯/
IND	PAST	qârh	/ɢʌr̥/	qârh	/ˈɢʌr̥/
NAR	NPST	ñe	/ɴɛ/	jarh	/ˈɟær̥/
NAR	PAST	lj(a)	/ʎæ/	lja(k)	/ˈʎæk/
INT	NPST	âenjh (-nc)	/ˈɑe̯n̥c/	âenca	/ˈɑe̯cæ/
INT	PAST	âencârh	/ˈɑe̯cʌr̥/	âencârh	/ˈɑe̯cʌr̥/
CON	NPST	nj(i)	/ɲi/	ni	/ˈni/
CON	PAST	njêrh	/ɲer̥/	ienjarh	/ˈieɲær̥/
NEC	NPST	ħâunjh (-i)	/ˈħɑʊ̯n̥i/	ħeuvin	/ˈħøʊ̯vin/
NEC	PAST	ħâunjêrh	/ˈħɑʊ̯ɲer̥/	ħeunjarh	/ˈħøʊ̯ɲær̥/
IMP		ś(a)	/ɕæ/	yaś	/ˈɟæɕ/
IMP-POL		śanjh (-nc)	/ˈɕæn̥c/	yaonja	/ˈɟæɒɲæ/
PRH		aś	/æɕ/	ghâenh	/ˈɣɑe̯ɲ/
SPC		qâenj	/ˈɢɑe̯ɲ/	mârâ	/ˈmʌrʌ/
COM		vâur	/ˈʋɑʊ̯r/	muljâr	/ˈmuʎʌr/

Aspect and Person Conjugation

The tag forms above can take a number of agglutinative suffixes, these suffixes cause minimal changes to the base tag and do not take stress (although they can be stressed informally if too many unstressed syllables occur in a row). Suffixes include aspect and person.

Aspect suffixes

The exact meaning of aspect suffixes changes depending on whether the verb used is Perfective or Imperfective. Aspect suffixes always appear before person suffixes; use of multiple aspect suffixes is allowed and common. They may change form depending on front/back vowel of the attaching tag, while a glottal stop is inserted to break hiatuses between aspect suffixes and verb tags - optional vowel and optional stop are both dropped if they both exist, e.g. q(â) + (')anj > qanj. Suffixes always appear the following order:

- lji/ljë

- (not technically an aspect, but it fits in the suffix category)
- Both verb roots >> **Causative (CAUS)** (make do, cause to do)
  - meħħonj mu qâ '(I) dig here' >> meħħonj mu qâljë '(I) make (someone/thing) dig here / cause…to dig'
  - meħħaonje mu qâ '(I am) digging here' >> meħħaonje mu qâljë '(I) make (something) be digging here / cause…to be digging'

- (')anj
  - Perfective >> **Habitual (HAB)** (sometimes/often do)
    - meħħonj mu qâ '(I) dig here' >> meħħonj mu qanj '(I) (sometimes/often) dig here'
  - Imperfective >> **Inchoative (INCH)** (start to do)
    - meħħaonje mu qâ '(I) am digging here' >> meħħaonje mu qanj '(I) start to dig here'

- fä
  - Perfective >> **Delimitative (DELIM)** (do a bit)
    - meħħonj mu qâ '(I) dig here' >> meħħonj mu qâfä '(I) dig here a bit'
  - Imperfective >> **Terminative (TERM)** (stop/finish doing)
    - meħħaonje mu qâ '(I) am digging here' >> meħħaonje mu qâfä '(I) stop/finish digging here'

Person suffixes

Person suffixes on tags are optional, but usually used if the person doesn't correspond to the locative used (see section Locative Semantics in 3.2). Up to 3 person suffixes can be used - two argument suffixes and one Vocative or Reference suffix.

- There are 3 distinct uses for person suffixes - Argument/Topic, Vocative and Tag Reference
  - **Argument suffixes** are used to reinforce or specify the arguments of a verb. They use Nominative for the subject/agent and Accusative for the object/patient of the verb (even if the object itself is in another case). If one of these arguments a Topic, then this one goes first; otherwise order is free. By promoting the verb object to Topic position a passive-like construction can be formed. The suffix marking the topic can be stressed or emphasised if required.
    - *qompëñ mu* >>
      - … *qâ* '(I/We) eat here' (IND)
      - … *qâghâ* 'We eat here' (IND-1p.NOM)
      - … *quyyêr* 'You eat it here' (IND-2s.NOM-3I.ACC)
      - … *ħaoñma quyyêr* 'You eat bread here' (IND-2s.NOM-3I.ACC)
      - … *ħaoñma qâyêru'* 'Bread is eaten here by you' (IND-3I.ACC-2s.NOM)
  - **Vocative suffixes** are used to address the sentence to someone. They always use the Nominative form and always come last. They are indistinguishable from nominative argument suffixes when placed last, though context is usually enough to clear it up. A tag may include both a Nominative Argument *and* a Vocative suffix, in which case the final one is the vocative. Vocative suffixes generally cannot be used with Reference suffixes.

- *qompëñ mu qu'* 'You eat here' OR 'Hey you, (I/We) eat here'
        - *qompëñ mu qu'u'* 'Hey you, you eat here.'
    - **Tag reference/perspective suffixes** are used only with the SPC (Speculative) and COM (Commissive) tags. They use the Nominative form, come first, and indicate the party whose view is expressed with those tags - in other words, *qâenjmo* 'SPC-1s.NOM' means 'I think'; *vâurqonj* 'COM-3Hs.NOM' means 's/he intends'. This suffix generally *does not co-occur* with a Vocative suffix, but it *can* co-occur with Argument suffixes, including another nominative suffix.
        - *qompëñ mu qâenju'* '(I think) You might eat here' OR 'You think (I) might eat here'
        - *qompëñ mu qâenju'mo* 'You think I might eat here.'

Note that the final glottal stop of 2s.PRI *u'* assimilates to any following suffixes, e.g. *u'* + *fê* > *uffê*.

Person	Nominative	IPA	Accusative	IPA
1s	mo	/mɔ/	fê	/fe/
1p	ghâ	/ɣʌ/	pô	/po/
2s	u'	/uʔ/	tśarh	/ɕæɻ/
2d	ljarh	/ʎæɻ/	râm	/rʌm/
2p	me	/mɛ/	źiñ	/ʑiɴ/
3l	qâ	/ɢʌ/	yêr	/ɟer/
3As	qenjh	/ɢɛɲ̊/	yênjh	/ɟeɲ̊/
3Ap	ñenjh	/ɴɛɲ̊/	venjh	/ʋɛɲ̊/
3Hs	qonj	/ɢɔɲ/	yênj	/ɟeɲ/
3Hd	rjonj	/rjɔɲ/	ghonj	/ɣɔɲ/
3Hp	ñânj	/ɴʌɲ/	vonj	/ʋɔɲ/
3D	ñix	/ɴix/	veħ	/ʋɛħ/

Example Verb-Locative-Tag sentences

[back to chapter top](#)

Different tags

- *qompëñ mu qâ* - 'eats here', 'I/we eat'
- *qompëñ mu qâe* - 'eats here', 'I/we eat' (formal)
- *qompëñ mu qârh* - 'ate here', 'I/we ate'

- *qompëñ mu ñe* - '(apparently) ate here'
  - the Narrative mood *generally* doesn't use first person topics
- *qompëñ mu ñeqonj* - '(apparently) s/he ate here'
- *qompëñ mu ljaqonj* - '(it is said that) s/he ate here'
- *qompëñ mu âenjh* - 'eats here?', 'do I/we eat?'
- *qompëñ mu nji* - 'if/then eats here', 'if/then I/we eat'
  - *qompëñ vâe njêrh, tħimpy njêrh* - 'if you had eaten, then I wouldn't have (eaten)'
- *Hortatives (NEC/IMP/PRH)*
  - *qompëñ mu ħâunjh* - 'should eat here', '(you) should eat here/with me/us'
  - *qompëñ vâe ħâunjh* - 'should eat there', 'you should eat'
  - *qompëñ vâe ħeunjarh* - 'should have eaten there', 'you should have eaten' (formal)
  - *qompëñ vâe śa!* - 'eat there!', '(you) eat!'
  - *qompëñ ârvo aś!* - 'don't eat there!', '(you) don't eat!'
  - *qompëñ vâe śànjh?* - 'can you eat there?', '(you) please eat'
  - *qompëñ ârvo śànjh?* - 'can you not eat there?', '(you) please don't eat'
- *qompëñ mu qâenj* - 'might eat here', 'I might eat (but it's not up to me)'
- *qompëñ mu vâur* - 'will eat here', 'I will eat'

Aspect suffix examples

- *qompëñ mu qâljë* - 'makes eat here', 'I/we make X eat' OR 'X makes me/us eat'
  - *qompëñ mu qâljëmo* - 'I/we make X eat'
  - *qompëñ mu qâljëfê* - 'X makes me/us eat'
- *qompëñ mu qanj* - '(sometimes) eats here', 'I/we sometimes eat'
- *qompuo mu qanj* - 'starts eating here', 'I/we start eating'
- *qompëñ mu qâfä* - 'eats here a bit', 'I/we sometimes eat a bit'
- *qompuo mu qâfä* - 'stops eating here', 'I/we stop eating'

Person suffixes examples

- *qompëñ mu qu'* - 'you eat here/with me/us'
- *qompëñ mu qâtśarh* - 'you are eaten here/by me/us'
- *qompëñ mu quyyêr* - 'you eat it here/with me/us'
- *qompëñ mu qâyêru'* - 'it is eaten by you here/with me/us'
- *qompëñ mu śu'* - 'eat here, you!'
- *qompëñ minj śuyyêr* - 'eat this over there, you!'
- *qompëñ mu âenjcuyyêr* - 'Do you eat it?'
- *qompëñ mu âenjyêrcu'*
  - no stress: '(hey you), do I eat it?'

- stress on âenj**yêr**cu': 'this thing, do you eat it?'
- stress on âenjyêrc**u**': '(hey you), do you eat it?'

- *qompëñ mu âenjmo* - '(I wonder), do I eat?'

Mixed tags and suffixes

- '(it is said that) s/he would eat here'

  - eat.PERF PRX NAR.PAST-HAB-3Hs.NOM
  - *qompëñ mu ljanjqonj*

- 'if you eat, then I don't eat'

  - eat.PERF MED CON, PRX.NEG CON
  - *qompëñ vâe nji, tsimpü nji*

- *if I go (to him/her), do y'all think (s/he) will start helping me?*

  - Option A:
    - *Quljârâ minj njimo, yearäme minj qâenjanj âenjfê*me?**
    - 'go o.there if-I, helping o.there might-start yes/no-me, y'all?'
    - go.PERF DST CON-1s.NOM, help.IMPF DST SPC-INCH INT-1s.ACC-2p.NOM
      - stress on *fê*
  - Option B:
    - **Quljârâ minj njimo, yearäme qâenjanjfêqonj âenjme?**
    - 'go o.there if-I, helping might-start-me-s/he yes/no, y'all?'
    - go.PERF DST CON-1s.NOM, help.IMPF SPC-INCH-1s.ACC-3Hs.NOM INT-2p.NOM

- *if you weren't planning to come (here) and help a bit, you should have just said something to me*

  - come.PERF help.PERF PRX.NEG COM CON.PAST-DELIM-2s.NOM, say.PERF PRX.EMPH something.ACC NEC.PAST-2s.NOM
  - 'come help not-here planning-to if-you-were-a-bit, say well-here something you-should-have'
  - **Mâenjârâ yêrämh tsimpü vâur njêrfäu', vaħħoñ huomu rhe ħâunjêrhu'.** (Common form)
  - **Mâenjârâ yêrämh tsimpü muljâr ienjarfäu', vaħħoñ huomu rhe ħeunjarhu'.** (Formal form)

3.4: Morphology - Adjectives

This section will detail the morphology of adjectives in the language.

Like nouns, adjective inflections take the form of suffixes which do not alter the original word (except potentially the final consonant). The suffix itself may be stressed if two syllables or more.

Sections (or back to top):

- Adjective Uses
- Derivation

Adjective Uses

back to chapter top

Adjectives can be used in 3 main ways:

- Attributively (on a noun or a pronoun)
  - *ħou aħak* - good house
  - *ħourä' u'* - *good you
- Predicatively (as a verb)
  - *aħak ħouqo* - the house being good
  - *aħak quħouqo* - the house not being good
  - *ħouqoñ mu aħak qâ* - my house is good
  - *ħouqoñof mu aħak qâ* - my house becomes good
- Nominalised (as a noun with that attribute)
  - *ħoute* - good thing (Inanimate Nominative)
    - *ħou, ħounôrh, ħouëx, ħouôra* (I-ACC/DAT/GEN/LOC)
  - *ħounjh* - good thing (Animate Nominative)
  - *ħounj* - good person (Human Nominative)
  - *ħougo* - good thing (Divine Nominative)

Attributive Adjectives

When used attributively, adjectives go in front of the noun and must agree in Number with the noun. When used on a pronoun, they must also agree in Person. There is no adjective agreement in Noun Class or in Case. 1st person pronouns do not take specific person agreement endings, thus the 1st person pronoun forms are the same as noun agreement forms. Note that the 3rd person Divine pronoun is considered to be Plural for the purposes of adjective agreement.

When adjectives take a Number suffix in front of a noun, it can be dropped from the noun; maintaining it serves to emphasise the number or countability. When an adjective-noun phrase is modified by a quantifier/numeral or plural determiner, they may both drop number suffixes; maintaining a number suffix on either or both words emphasises number/countability following a determiner or quantifier, or indicates an inexact number following a numeral.

- *ħou uttum* - good fisher
- *ħouñënj uttum* - two good fishers
  - *ħouñënj uttuñqënj* - **two** good fishers
  - *quonj ħouñënj uttum/-ñqënj* - two or so two good fishers
- *ghâemqënj ħou uttum* - these two good fishers
  - *ghâemqënj ħouñënj uttum/-ñqënj* - these **two** good fishers
- *ħounox uttum* - good fishers
  - *ħounox uttunox* - good fishers **plural**
- *źü ħou uttum* - six good fishers
  - *źü ħounox uttum/-ndox* - six or so good fishers

Example words are: *ħou* 'good', *ete'* 'new', *uttum* 'netmaker/fisher'

Agree	Suffix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
N.s	-	ħou uttum	/ˈħou̯ ˈuttum/	ete' uttum	/ˈɛtɛʔ ˈuttum/
N.d	-ñênj (ë)	ħouñënj uttum	/ˈħou̯ɴɤɲ ˈuttum/	eteñqênj uttum	/ˈɛtɛɴɢeɲ ˈuttum/
N.p	-njex, -nox	ħounox uttum	/ˈħou̯nɔx ˈuttum/	etencex uttum	/ˈɛtɛĵcɛx ˈuttum/
1.s	-	ħou mvo	/ˈħou̯ ˈmʊɔ/	ete' mvo	/ˈɛtɛʔ ˈmʊɔ/
1.p	-njex, -nox	ħounox ghâu	/ˈħou̯nɔx ˈɣau̯/	etencex ghâu	/ˈɛtɛĵcɛx ˈɣau̯/
2.s	-rä'	ħourä' u'	/ˈħou̯raʔ ˈuʔ/	eterrä' u'	/ˈɛtɛrraʔ ˈuʔ/
2.d	-räqqënj	ħouräqqënj ljarh	/ˈħou̯ˌraɢɢɤɲ ˈʎæɽ/	eterräqqënj ljarh	/ˈɛtɛrˌraɢɢeɲ ˈʎæɽ/
2.p	-raccex	ħouräccex me	/ˈħou̯ˌraccɛx ˈmɛ/	eterräccex me	/ˈɛtɛˌraccɛx ˈmɛ/
3.s	-(')arh	ħou'arh qâħ	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽ ˈɢʌħ/	ete'arh qâħ	/ˈɛtɛʔæɽ ˈɢʌħ/
3.d	-(')arhqênj	ħou'arhqênj reunj	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽɢeɲ ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/	ete'arhqênj reunj	/ˈɛtɛʔæɽɢeɲ ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/
3.p	-(')arcex	ħou'arcex ñâenj	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽcɛx ˈɴɑɐ̯ɲ/	ete'arcex ñâenj	/ˈɛtɛĵcɛx ˈɴɑɐ̯ɲ/

Pronominal Adjectives and Politeness

Because adjectives are required to agree with pronoun person and number, the pronoun itself can easily be dropped. This is commonly used to replace pronouns in polite (formal and informal) speech

with adjectives. The adjective used can vary with situation, although certain adjectives are particularly commonplace. The effect achieved is similar to English 'your/his/her ___', as in 'your excellency', 'her majesty'.

Adjectives don't take case suffixes, meaning that this usage is restricted to Nominative and Accusative case usage (with Accusative being marked by a corresponding pronoun suffix in the Tag).

- Adjectives
  - 1st person
    - *pefśe* 'humble' is common when speaking politely to one's elders
    - *yaśta* 'friendly' is common when speaking politely to one's peers.
  - 2nd and 3rd person
    - *ħou* 'good' and *ħouźo* 'good-natured' are common to address/speak about others in all situations
    - *vae* 'foremost' and *aoa* 'senior' is commonly used for/towards one's elders
    - *yikkiś* 'magnificent' and *arralji'* 'mighty' are commonly used for/towards rulers and gods
  - such 'pronominal adjectives' can also be used to insult, as in *ârrôźyë* 'dull' or *ħâero* 'dirty'
- Politeness examples
  - *uir vâe (u') ħâunju'* - 'you should go there'
    - Polite: *uirâ vâe ħourä' ħâunju'* - lit. 'good (you) should go there'
  - *ienjaś minj (mvo) (tśarh) vâurmotśarh'* - 'I'll bring you over there'
    - Polite to elders: *ienjaś minj pefśe aoarä' vâurmotśarh* - lit. 'humble (I) will bring senior (you) over there'
    - Polite to peers: *ienjaś minj yaśta ħouźorä' vâurmotśarh* - lit. 'friendly (I) will bring good-natured (you) over there'
- Irreverant: *jêñghanjh minj (qâuñ) qâqon* - '(the king) he sees it/over there'
  - Reverent: *jêñghanjh minj yikkiś'arh qâqon* - lit. 'magnificent (him) sees it/over there'

Such polite speech is common among strangers and acquaintances, towards customers/patrons or from people of a lower status to those of a higher one (generation/age, work, etc).

During the reign of the Central Kingdom, case suffixes were allowed to attach to pronominal adjectives, extending to system to replace the entire original pronoun system in polite speech. This innovation was generally restricted to people within the Kingdom however.

Predicate Adjectives

Adjectives can be used predicatively by converting them into verbs using the suffix -qo, which derives from the verb qâe (to be / to become). In this form, they can be used either as participles or as im/perfective verbs in all uses. Note that this suffix can be used for other parts of speech as well.

Note that there is a distinction between using an adjective and using its predicate participle attributively, i.e. between *ħounox uttum* 'the good fishers' and *quħouqonox uttum* 'the being-good fishers'. The distinction is similar to the essence-vs-state distinction of Iberian languages - that is,

ħounox uttum describes fishers who are, by their nature/essence, good, while *quħouqonox uttum* describes fishers who are currently being, or considered right now to be, good.

The construction of all 4 verb stems of the predicate adjective is regular. Predicate adjectives do not need to agree with a noun when used as a verb, but when a participle is used attributively (uncommon, as explained above), it will take agreement suffixes after the verb suffix.

Form	English	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
PART	being good/new	-qo	ħouqo	/ˈħou̯ɢɔ/	eteqqo	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔ/
NEGP	not being good/new	qu-qo	quħouqo	/ɢuˈħou̯ɢɔ/	queteqqo	/ɢu ˈɛtɛɢɢɔ/
IMPF	is good/new	-qoñ	ħouqoñ	/ˈħou̯ɢɔɴ/	eteqqoñ	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔɴ/
PERF	becomes good/new	-qoñof	ħouqoñof	/ˈħou̯ɢɔɴɔf/	eteqqoñof	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔɴɔf/

Examples of use:

- PART: *ljanjin mu, aħak **eteqqo**njêrh, qâ* - 'I like my house being/becoming new'
- PART: *qâeñ hounox uttum **quħouqo**arcex (ñâenj) qârh* - 'the good fishers were not being good (fishers)', lit. 'the good fishers were not-good-being (them)'
- IMPF: *ħouqoñ mu aħak qâ* - 'my house is good'
- PERF: *ħouqoñof mu aħak qâ* - 'my house becoming good'

Nominalised Adjectives

Adjectives can be used to represent things with that attribute when *nominalised*. In order to do this, the adjective takes the appropriate noun class ending.

Class/Case	English	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
INAN.NOM	good/new thing	-te/to	ħouto	/ˈħou̯tɔ/	etette	/ˈɛtɛttɛ/
ANIM.NOM	good/new thing	-(e/o)njh	ħounjh	/ˈħou̯ɲ̊/	ete'enjh	/ˈɛtɛʔɛɲ̊/
HUMN.NOM	good/new person	-(o)nj	ħounj	/ˈħou̯ɲ/	ete'onj	/ˈɛtɛʔɔɲ/
DIVN.NOM	good/new thing	-ge/ko/etc	ħougo	/ˈħou̯gɔ/	etekke	/ˈɛtɛkkɛ/

These can be used the same as any noun. They tend to take indefinite meanings, contrasting with pronominalised adjectives which must take definite meanings -- compare *ħouto* 'a good thing / something good' vs *ħou'arh (qâħ)* 'the good thing' (lit. good [it])

Inflection Notes

- Fist person/Noun dual and plural endings (beginning in a nasal) combine with an adjective's final nasal or glottal stop to produce a nasal-stop cluster
  - ete' + -njex > etencex 'new (plural)'
  - ârrhâem + -ñënj > ârrhâeñqënj 'high (you & I)'
  - Note that this only occurs with adjective inflections, not with nasal suffixes generally
    - ete' + -njix > etennjix 'new thing (animate genitive)'
    - ârrhâem + -ñah > ârrhâemñah 'new thing (animate/human locative)'
- Second person endings (beginning in an R) combine with an adjective's final rhotic or glottal stop to produce a geminated rhotic
  - ete' + -rä' > eterrä' 'new (you)'
  - njarh + -räccex > njarräccex 'narrow (you.pl)'

Derivation (Adjectives)

[back to chapter top](#)

Adjectives can be derived in many regular ways from existing words.

Comparison and Negation

Comparison and Negation are done through unstressed affixes that come before the word

Meaning	English	Prefix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
Comparative	better / newer	caf-	cafħou	/cæfˈħou̯/	cafete'	/cæˈfɛtɛʔ/
Superlative	best / newest	mef-	mefħou	/mɛfˈħou̯/	mefete'	/mɛˈfɛtɛʔ/
Negative	not good/new	qui-	quiħou	/ɢuɪ̯ˈħou̯/	quiete'	/ɢuɪ̯ˈɛtɛʔ/
Neg.Compar	less good/new	mui-	muiħou	/muɪ̯ˈħou̯/	muiete'	/muɪ̯ˈɛtɛʔ/
Neg.Super	least good/new	mea-	meaħou	/meɐ̯ˈħou̯/	meaete'	/meɐ̯ˈɛtɛʔ/

Deriving Adjectives

There are a number of adjectives formed using Vuhîñkam sources of regular adjective derivation, but none of these are productive due to complex sound changes (though they tend to end in open-mid vowels).

New adjectives are commonly derived through prefixes which evolved from Vuhîñkam prepositions.

- *quttampa*ꞌ /ˈɢutˌtæm̥pæʔ/ 'rope' > *quttampâeo* /ˈɢuttæm̥ˌpɑe̥ɔ/ 'made of rope' through a Vuhîñkam suffix
- *źñärhä* /ˈʑɴaɻ̥a/ 'metal' > irźñärhä /irˈʑɴaɻ̥a/ 'metallic, forged from metal' through an Uħħuonanjh prefix

3.5: Morphology - Adverbs

This section will detail the morphology of adverbs in the language.

Adverbs, along with verbs, shed much of their inflection which was instead attached to the sentence-final Tag particle. They retain only the Imperfective vs Perfective, but unlike verbs this is a regular inflection with very few irregular forms.

Sections (or back to top):

- Adverb Usage and Agreement
- Derivation
- Examples

Adverb Usage and Agreement

back to chapter top

Adverbs can be used to modify either verbs, other adjectives / adverbs or apply to entire clauses / sentences. When modifying a verb or a phrase with a verb (not including participles) they agree with the verb's aspect. When modifying a verb or an adjective / adverb, they appear *before* the modified word (including between a tag and verb in a subordinate clause), whereas when modifying a clause or sentence they can appear anywhere within it, but by default will appear before the final 'head' - usually the sentence-final Tag or the participle head of a relative clause.

The imperfective and perfective suffixes *can* also be used when the adverb is modifying participles or clauses headed by participles, and it is common to use a dummy adverb (commonly *ħeffa* 'well') to mark this when a participle represents a verb with quite different imperfective and perfective meanings, if the meaning is not evident from context or needs particular emphasis. It can also be used to clarify the aspect when tag aspect suffixes are used in relative clauses (since HAB-INCH and DELIM-TERM can be quite different).

While the use of a specific intensifier adverb such as *meccafa heffa/ñêra* 'very well/round' does happen when modifying adjectives and adverbs, it is also common to simply duplicate the adverb (if modifying an adverb) or duplicate the adjective and turn it into an adverb - *heffa heffa* 'very well', lit. 'well well' and *ñêrafa ñêra* 'very round', lit. 'roundly round'.

Agreement and Inflection

Example words are: *ħeffa* 'well', *xam* 'up(wards)', *uirâ - uir - uirñe* 'to go (PART - PERF - IMPF)'

Form	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
neutral	-	ħeffa uirâ	/ˈħɛffæ/	xam uirâ	/ˈxæm/
PERF	-(a/â)f	ħeffaf uir	/ˈħɛffæf/	xamaf uir	/ˈxæmæf/
IMPF	-(a/â)ñ	ħeffañ uirñe	/ˈħɛffæɴ/	xamañ uirñe	/ˈxæmæɴ/

Derivation (Adverbs)

back to chapter top

An unstressed version of the inherited suffix is still productive in Uħħuonanjh, this suffix is used to derive adverbs from adjectives - including participles acting as adjectives, which is commonly used to express 'while doing X'. Many common adverbs are ultimately derived from the stressed version of this suffix, but this stressed version is no longer productive.

- Stressed version
  - *ħou* 'good' > *ħeffa* 'well'
  - *vif* 'full' > *vieffa* 'fully / completely'
  - *pumfë* 'correct'
    - *pumfa* 'correctly (common)'
    - *pumfofa* /ˈpum̥ˌfɔfæ/ 'correctly (formal)'
  - *njarh* 'narrow'
    - *njarfa* 'narrowly / just (common)'
    - *njarrhäfa* /ˈɲær̥ˌɾafæ/ 'narrowly / just (formal)'
- Unstressed version: -fa/-va after a voiced final consonant
  - *pefśe* 'humble' > *pefśefa* /ˈpɛfɕɛfæ/ 'humbly'
  - *yikkiś* 'magnificent' > *yikkiśfa* /ˈɟikkiɕfæ/ 'magnificently'
  - *gheħħemh* 'proud' > *gheħħemhfa* /ˈɣɛħħɛm̥fæ/ 'proudly'
  - *qompëñ* 'eating' > *qompëñva* /ˈɢɔm̥pɤɴʊæ/ 'while eating' (lit. 'eatingly')

Adverb Examples

[back to chapter top](#)

- *ħeffa qomë varħaccin* 'the hunter who lives/survives well'
  - *ħeffaf qomë varħaccin* 'the hunter who survives well'
  - *ħeffañ qomë varħaccin* 'the hunter who lives well'
  - *ħeffa ħeffa qomë varħaccin* 'the hunter who lives/survives very well'
- *ħeffaf qemieñef mu varħaccin qâ* 'the hunter survives well here'
- *ħeffañ qomëñ mu varħaccin qâ* 'the hunter lives well here'
- *vieffa ljomëkou uttë* 'correctly/well made net'
  - *vieffa pumfa ljomëkou uttë* 'completely correctly made net'
- *qompëñva vaħħoñ mu varħaccin qâ* 'the hunter speaks to me eatingly (speaks while eating)'

4.1: Sentence Structure

This section will go through methods of constructing proper sentences in Uhhuonanjh.

Sections (or [back to top](#)):

- [Word Order](#)
- [Topic Prominence](#)
- [Copular Constructions](#)
- [Conjunctions and Coordinate Clauses](#)
- [Content Clauses](#)

Word Order

[back to chapter top](#)

Word order in main clauses is (Topic)-Verb-Noun Phrases-Locative-Tag; adverbial noun phrases tend to come after verb arguments but this is not a strict rule. Word order of these intervening elements is not strict as nouns are marked for case, though the first element tends to be the topic. A minimal sentence consists of a Verb and a Tag, although while the Locative Pronoun is not required grammatically, it is almost always present, at least in the first sentence of a dialogue or communication.

Word order in dependent clauses is Noun Phrases-(Locative)-(Topic)-(Tag)-Verb; note that unlike the main clause, Tags and Locatives are optional and commonly dropped.

Topic Prominence

[back to chapter top](#)

Uhhuonanjh is a Topic-Prominent language, tending to place the sentence Topic directly before the verb. Other noun phrases can appear in any order as long as they are between the Verb/Locative pronoun and the Sentence-final Tag of a main clause, or before the verb (and after a comma) of a dependent clause.

Topic prominence is also expressed through the conjugation of sentence-final tags, where arguments are usually placed topic-first.

English	Uhhuonanjh
I brought a pear home for you (formal)	ienjaś mu urumva camħencêrh tśarêrh qârh
I brought a pear home for you (common)	ienjaś mu urumva camħencêrh tśarêrh qârhmoyêr
Me, I brought a pear home for you	mvo ienjaś mu urumva camħencêrh tśarêrh qârhmoyêr
The pear I brought it home for you	urumva ienjaś mu camħencêrh tśarêrh qârhyêrmo
Home, I brought the pear for you	camħencêrh ienjaś mu urumva tśarêrh qârhyêrmo
For you, I brought the pear home	tśarêrh ienjaś mu urumva camħencêrh qârhtśarhmo

Copular Constructions

back to chapter top

The copula is expressed with the imperfective verb *qâeñ* (*qâe, jêño* participles). When equating two noun phrases, both are used in the Nominative case.

The copula is not used as a separate verb for adjectives. Instead, it is suffixed to the adjective (as -*qoñ*) to convert the adjective into a verb meaning 'to be X'.

Conjunctions and Coordinate Clauses

back to chapter top

Conjunctions such as *ħuom* 'and' can link sentences, coming between them with slight pauses before and after (expressed in writing with a comma before and after).

Conjunctions include:

- *ħuom* 'and' - used both as a conjunction and to link noun phrases
- *vorhâr* 'or' - used both as a conjunction and to link all kinds of phrases (noun, verb or descriptor)
- *rhu* 'if' - generally restricted to formal use as its function has largely been replaced by the Conditional Mood

- *verh* 'because'
- *fezzo* 'so, then'

Sentences can also simply link to each other with no conjunction in between, with the relationship determined either by the mood of each sentence (especially Conditional mood) or by the logic between the two sentences.

e.g. 'I sit and you eat', while it could be rendered as 'I sit, *huom*, you eat', would more commonly simply be rendered as 'I sit, you eat'. Same for 'he saw us so he knows', which could more commonly be 'he saw us, he knows' rather than explicitly using the conjunction *fezzo*.

The usual alternative to using words like 'because', 'so', 'when', etc to form adverbial clauses, when the relationship between these sentences is necessary to explain, is to use a noun phrase instead - 'he saw us so he knows' becomes 'from him seeing us, he knows', with the noun phrase placed in topic position if required. In cases where the phrase would be too long, or in cases where a full sentence is desired, they may be placed in separate main clauses, with the first clause referred to in the topic of the second using the pronoun *aoś* 'this' - 'he saw that we had arrived home, so he knows' becomes 'he saw that we had arrived home, from this, he knows.'

Content Clauses

[back to chapter top](#)

Content clauses are often linked to the sentence where they are referenced simply by placing them in sequence, in the same way as coordinate clauses above. For example, 'he said "I want to go" when he saw me' becomes 'he said when he saw me, "I want to go"'. There is no need to refer to the content clause in the main clause, although it can be done - most speech verbs allow the words expressed as an accusative verb argument.

4.2: Noun Phrases

This section will detail noun phrases. In particular, it will take a look at the many uses of the different cases and go through postpositional constructions and their use in replacing adverbial clauses.

While the use of noun phrases as verb arguments and adverbials is often distinct, there is not a lot of strict differentiation between them. It is common to place verb arguments before adverbials, but it is not grammatically required and it is also common to place an adverbial first when it's the topic. Only verb arguments are usually allowed to take Tag person suffixes, which allows some differentiation.

Sections (or [back to top](#)):

- [Verb Argument Use of Cases](#)
- [Adverbial Use of Cases](#)

- [Postpositional Phrases](#)

Verb Argument Use of Cases

[back to chapter top](#)

Verbs aren't marked for transitivity or valency; each verb has a number of common arguments and all, or none, of these may be used at once with the sentence still being grammatically correct. When an argument is omitted, it is either assumed to refer to an indefinite argument or a specific one if mentioned in context (including the context of the locative pronoun as well as pragmatic context).

When multiple arguments are present of the same case, it is simply assumed that they all take part in the action in the same role, e.g. 'Mary John run' == 'Mary and John run'. A conjunction would only be used to join these noun phrases for emphasis. The exception here is with the copula, where two or more Nominative arguments are equated - the common workaround is to place one side as a Topic, then use a plural pronoun to refer to all of them in the copular sentence itself, as in 'Mary John, they are doctors'.

- *verxanjh* 'to rain' - usually takes 0 arguments
  - *verxanjh mu qâ* - Is raining here
    - Standard usage, equivalent to 'It is raining (here)'
  - *verxanjh mu qâmoyêr* - I rain it here
    - Unusual usage, perhaps using 'rain' metaphorically, e.g. in the sense 'spread widely'
- *xea* 'to exist' - usually takes 1 argument (NOM)
  - *xeañ quo qâ* - exists somewhere
    - Unusual usage without context, equivalent to 'something exists somewhere'
    - Not unusual usage with context, equivalent to '(X,) it exists somewhere'
  - *xeañ mu qâ* - exists here
    - Common usage for when the thing that exists is known/obvious or irrelevant
    - Also common usage without context, where the locative 'mu' suggests a first person subject
  - *xeañ mu qâmo* - I exist here
    - Standard usage
  - *xeañ mu mvo muqqaśte urumvate qâ(ghâ)* - Me, a peach and a pear exist here
    - Standard usage
  - *xeañ mu qâmoyêr* - I exist it here
    - Unusual usage. Use of additional ACC argument implies that 'it' has been changed/affected by my existence here.
- *ljêra'* 'to pull' - usually takes 2 arguments (NOM and ACC)
  - *ljêra' quo qâ* - pulls somewhere
    - Unusual usage, equiv. to 'pulling is happening somwhere'
  - *ljêra' mu qâ* - pulls here; *ljêra' mu qâmo* - I pull here

- These two are usually equivalent outside of context
- Common usage where the object is known/obvious or irrelevant
        - *ljêra' mu qâmoyêr* - I pull it here
            - Standard usage
        - *ljêra' mu yerêrh qâmo* - I pull to it here
            - Not unusual usage where the object is not considered to have changed/been affected by the action
                - e.g. 'I pulled the rock but it didn't budge', 'the rock' would be DAT instead of ACC to mark that it hasn't changed state/been affected
- *vaħħoñ* 'to say/tell' - takes up to 3-4 arguments (NOM, ACC/GEN, DAT)
    - *vaħħoñ quo qâ* - Someone somewhere talks
    - *vaħħoñ mu qâ(mo)* - (I) talk here
    - *vaħħoñ mu qâmoyêr* - I say it here
    - *vaħħoñ mu yerix qâmo* - I talk about it here
    - *vaħħoñ mu tśarêrh qâmoyêr* - I tell you it here
    - *vaħħoñ mu tśarêrh yerix qâmo* - I talk to you about it here
    - *vaħħoñ mu yêr tśarêrh yerix qâmo* - I say it to you about him/her here

Adverbial Use of Cases

back to chapter top

Nouns inflected in DAT/GEN/LOC cases are commonly used as simple adverbials.

Nouns in NOM or ACC case can be placed before the verb as a disjoint Topic (one that doesn't play any explicit role in the sentence other than to set the context). It is common to place inanimate topics in ACC and all other topics in NOM, though this can be inverted to place an emphasis on the agency of an inanimate noun or the non-agency of others.

Adverbials can be suffixed with -qo/ñ/of to turn into a verb 'to be X', in the same way as adjectives, e.g. *ħuoñdvaśêra* 'in the forest' > *ħuoñdvaśêraqo* 'to be in the forest'. (The use of this suffix for verb arguments is rarer and tends to be restricted to informal speech)

Some examples of simple adverbials:

- DAT
    - to / towards
    - for / for X's sake
    - onto/into/out to/over to/etc X
    - in order to X
    - until X / up to X / before X
    - similar to X

- GEN
  - of X / X's
  - from X / away from X / off X
  - against X
  - from X onwards / starting from X / after X
  - about X / regarding X
  - because of X
  - around X
- LOC
  - at/in/on X, on top of X
  - along with X / along X
  - INS (instrumental-specific uses)
    - with/by/using/through/via X
    - in the manner of X

Possessives

While Genitive case is the most commonly used for possession, it's not the only way to express the relationship, and is usually only used when the possessor has is a greater or equal party in the relaionship. When the possessor is commonly seen as a lesser party, it is common to use Dative instead. If the relationship could be described better as Locative, then that is used. The decision of which case to use is a purely semantic choice, all choices are equally correct grammatically.

- The person's dog - xaśonjëx fimtśanjh - person.GEN dog
- The dog's owner - fimtśancêrh ħakkeuöm - dog.DAT person
- the person's family - xaśonenj fesqampaonyex - person.DAT family
- the person's family (descendants) - xaśonjëx fesqampaonyex - person.GEN family
- The island's forest - üâeñaħ ħuoñdvaś - island.LOC forest

Postpositional Phrases

Postpositions are a special type of noun, often used to form noun phrases analogous to English prepositional noun phrases. They give more specific information of the relationship/direction/movement of nouns than cases. While normal nouns can be used in a similar manner to form noun phrases, postpositions are unique in that they maintain a distinction between Locative case (LOC) ending in -ñah and Instrumentative (INS) case ending in -êra/-ôra.

When using postpositions, the original noun is inflected in a case to relate it to the postposition (commonly GEN), while the postposition is now considered the head of the phrase and inflected for the relationship to the clause as a whole (e.g. 'on top of the table' > table.GEN top.LOC). The

postposition can also be used as a normal noun, simply referring to some part, space or relation to the modified noun (e.g. *the inside* of the house, *the top/surface* of the table)

Common postpositions are listed in the following tables. If not specified, the modified noun will be in GEN case. Postpositions can generally take any relevant case, not just the ones listed. As an example, *fśeaz* 'front of' can be used in any case - NOM (the front of the box is yellow), ACC (they hit the front of the box), DAT (they walk in front of me [and stays there]), GEN (they walk from in front of me), LOC (they are in front of me) and INS (they pass by in front of me [and are no longer there]).

Note that postpositions commonly abbreviate Dative case endings to -njêrh (with the nasal assimilating stem-final nasals) - this is common informally for many inanimate words, but also common in normal language in postpositions.

Location and Direction

Word	Case	Meaning	Example	Example Meaning
fśeaz	LOC	in front of	fix fśeazñaħ arrhanjh	to stand in front of me
fśeaz	INS	via front of	fix fśeazêra xarrhenj	to pass by in front of me
ljix	LOC	behind	tfaśśaix ljixñaħ arrhanjh	to stand behind the tree
ljix	INS	behind	tfaśśaix ljixêra xarrhenj	to pass behind the tree
pon	DAT	next to	pëx pononôrh gheanjh	to sit down next to us
pon	LOC	next to/beside	pëx ponñaħ gheanjh	to be sitting next to us
pon	INS	beside	pëx ponôra xarrhenj	to pass beside us
DAT + vaś	DAT	above	munôrh vaśnjêrh jêñgha'	to look above this place/here
DAT + vaś	LOC	above	munôrh vaśñaħ qurhiħa	to float above here
xacca	LOC	above	muëx xaccañaħ qurhiħa	to float above here
xacca	INS	over	arrhacca'ix xaccaêra	over the mountain
qunjh	GEN	from on top of	erreqqaix qunjëx ioña'	to take from on top of the rock

Word	Case	Meaning	Example	Example Meaning
qunjh	LOC	on/on top of	erreqqaix qunjñaħ quttunjh	to put on top of the rock
DAT + mekke	LOC	underneath	fix feñxanjêrh mekkeñah	underneath my foot
DAT + mekke	DAT	below/beneath	fix feñxanjêrh mekkenjêrh	below/under my food
ghêamh	LOC	hanging from	tfaśśaix ghêamñaħ arrêamh	the leaf hanging from the tree
ghêamh	GEN	off of/off from	tfaśśaix ghêamix vônluum	to break off of the tree
LOC + qâu	LOC	near	tfaśśaêra qâuñaħqo	to be near the tree
riem	LOC	far from	tfaśśaix riemñaħqo	to be far from the tree
âur	LOC	right of	tfaśśaix âurñaħqo	to be on the right of the tree
ħeim	LOC	left of	tfaśśaix ħeimñaħqo	to be on the left of the tree
ħaie	INS	along	kixeźix ħaieêra arrhaonj	to walk along the beach
puoñh	INS	across	quieźanjix puoñôra arrhaonj	to walk across the river
moa'	LOC	opposite/across	quieźanjix moaññaħ	on the other side of the river
moa'	INS	opposite/against	fix moa'êra qunljar	to fight against me
LOC + quonj	DAT	into/in/inside	aħakêra quonnjêrh uirâ	to go into the house
LOC + quonj	LOC	in/inside	aħakêra quonjñaħqo	to be inside the house
LOC + vaoñ	GEN	out of/from	aħakêra vaonnjêrh uirâ	to go out of the house
LOC + vaoñ	LOC	out/outisde	aħakêra vaoññaħqo	to be outside the house

Word	Case	Meaning	Example	Example Meaning
ñieñ	INS	through	yeħħonjix ñieñêra arrhanjh	to travel through the territory
ñieñ	LOC	through/during	yeħħonjix ñieññaħ jêñghakkeu	to be seen throughout the territory
ñêr	GEN	around/about	zuïex ñêrix xaśonj	about seven people
ñêr	LOC	around/surrounding	qu'njonjëx ñêrñaħ ħuoñdvaś	the forest surrounding the settlement

- vaś and xacca are synonymous, deriving from 'sky' and 'mountain' respectively. Some communities favour one or the other, others use both equally.
- while 'above' and 'on top of' have separate postpositions, the opposite 'below' and 'right underneath / on the bottom of' share the same word. 'Mekkenjêrh' can have locative meanings (we sit below/under/beneath the stars), despite itself being in dative case. 'Mekkeñah' can similarly have dative meanings (we attach it to the bottom of the box).

Context and Logical Relations

Word	Case	Meaning	Example	Example Meaning
qâu	LOC	about/regarding	fix qâuñaħ yeañix arrhaiix	his attitude regarding me
yêrh	NOM	result/intention of	aoś arrhaiix yêrh	(intended) result of this attitude
yêrh	INS	as a result of	ħanjmanjix yêrhêra	because of the fire
itfe	NOM	cause/reason for	ħanjmanjix itfe	cause/reason for the fire
itfe	DAT	as a cause of	ħanjmanjix itfenjêrh	leading to the fire
itfe	GEN	because of	ħanjmanjix itfeix	because of the fire

Note on translating adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses do not occur in the language, instead they tend to be replaced by relative clauses or noun phrases (often headed by a postposition).

- X when Y > X during Y.noun
  - I saw the king when I got home
    - 'I saw the king at arriving home'
    - see DST king.DAT, home-DAT arriving-LOC, IND.PAST-1s.NOM

- - jêñghaf minj vakkênênj, camħencêrh xaśanjêra, qârhmoyênj
    - I saw the king after I got home
      - 'I saw the king at **end of** arriving home'
      - see DST king.ACC, my home-DAT arriving-GEN **end-LOC**, IND.PAST-1s.NOM
      - jêñghaf minj vakkênênj, camħencêrh xaśanjix **färhñaħ**, qârhmoyênj
- X, because Y / X, for Y > X with cause Y.noun
  - You can't stay, because she is tired
    - 'You can't stay, from cause of her being tired'
      - stay PRX.NEG her being.tired-GEN cause-GEN PRH-2s.VOC
    - You can't stay because that: she is tired
      - stay PRX.NEG that-GEN cause-GEN PRH-2s.VOC: be.tired IND-2s.NOM

TODO: add more examples of these? or maybe leave them to semantics?

4.3: Verb Phrases

This section will detail verb phrases. In particular, it will give a short summary on independnent clause verb phrases (this topic is mostly covered already in the Verb/Tag morphology sections), then it will go into detail regarding verb-headed relative clauses.

Sections (or back to top):

- Summary of Verb Syntax
- Serial Verb Constructions
- Participles and Relative Clauses

Summary of Verb Syntax so far

back to chapter top

Each verb has 4 roots, PART, PART.NEG, PERF and IMPF; these roots are invariant (except for deriving new words). Verbs are often accompanied by a Locative Pronoun, which also provides the verb with negative and emphatic markers. Verbs always come first in a sentence / main clause.

In order to be able to use a verb in a sentence, it requires a sentence-final Tag. This Tag conjugates for Mood, Tense, Aspect (within the bounds of the verb's Perfective or Imperfective aspect) and Person.

Multiple tags can be used in a single sentence, combining the meanings of all used tags (though in practice the number of tags used rarely exceeds 2, almost never above 3)

Serial Verb Constructions

back to chapter top

Multiple verbs can be chained wherever they are used. The resulting meaning is either that of 'X and Y' or 'X then/to/until Y', although this is determined pragmatically and not grammatically. Each verb can take its own locative pronoun or one locative pronoun located after the final verb can apply to all verbs in the chain. Verbs don't have to agree on PERF/IMPF, and if they disagree then only the final one is taken into account when applying aspects.

For the second meaning 'X until Y', it is common to use an adjective + verb ending -qoñ.

Uhhuonanjh	Gloss	English
Mâenjârâ mu quljârâ vâe qanjqonj	come.PERF PRX go.PERF MED IND-HAB-3Hs.NOM	S/he (sometimes) comes (here) and goes (there)
Qompuo quttśee mu qâghâ	eat.IMPF drink.IMPF PRX IND-1p.NOM	We are eating and drinking
Mâenjârâ qompëñ mu śancu'!	come.PERF eat.PERF mu IMP.POL-2s.NOM	(You,) come (here) and eat here!
Varħanjef qompëñ minj qanjqonj	hunt.PERF eat.PERF DST IND-HAB-3Hs.NOM	S/he hunts and eats OR S/he hunts to eat
Vâeoñqof paomvaqoñ mu qârfê	shock.PERF white-be.IMPF PRX IND.PAST-1s.ACC	I was shocked (until I was) pale/white in the face
Qompëñ vifqoñ minj qârhqonj	eat.PERF full-be.IMPF DST IND.PAST-3s.NOM	He ate until he was full

Participles and Relative Clauses

back to chapter top

Verb participles have two primary functions: they can either act as an Inanimate noun (representing the action), inflecting for case and taking a place in the sentence as a noun phrase, or they can act as an adjective (attributive - modifying nouns, predicative - X is adj or nominalised - those who are X). In both cases, the participle can also act as the head of its own relative clause, taking its own noun phrases.

Note that a participle used as an Inanimate noun representing the action does *not* require the Nominative -te/-to ending. A nominalised participle still requires it.

Bare participle use examples

Some examples of participle use. Anywhere that a participle can be used, a relative clause can be used as well.

- *gheanjh* 'sitting / to sit'
  - *arralnjin mu gheanjenjêrh qâ* 'I love sitting' (noun)
  - *gheanjenj ko'amponj* 'the sitting man / the man who is sitting' (attributive adjective)
- *qunljar* 'fighting / to fight'
  - *jêñghanjef minj qunljarix qâmo* 'I look away from the fighting' (noun)
  - *qunljarñênj ghomoñqaħ* 'with/at/by the fighting women' (attributive adjective)
  - *qunljarrä' u'* 'you, who is fighting' (attributive adjective on pronoun)
  - *qunljarte* 'fighting thing' (adjective nominalised as Inanimate.Nominative)
  - *qunljarqoñ* 'to be fighting' (predicative adjective)

Relative clause construction

Relative clauses word order is simply Verb-final, with free word order otherwise. When used in a sentence, relative clauses are usually surrounded by pauses (commas in romanisation) in order to separate the main clause arguments from the relative clause ones.

In relative clauses, the participle acts as a verb and thus allows nouns to take nominative and accusative cases as required. If the participle modifies a noun, then that noun is considered to be the subject of the verb unless otherwise specified.

Relative clauses may contain a Tag, placed in directly *before* the verb in this case, but the tag is not mandatory. The locative pronoun is similarly not necessary unless required for negation or emphasis.

- me'ekkeñaħ gheanjh
  - `ground-LOC sit.PART`
  - sitting on the ground
- arralnjin quo, me'ekkeñaħ gheanjenjêrh, qâmo
  - `love.IMPF INDEF.LOC, ground-LOC sit.PART, IND-1s.NOM`
  - I love sitting on the ground
- tśarh vônlunjh
  - `2s.ACC hit.PART`
  - hitting you
- jêñghaanjh vâe, tśarh vônlunjenjêrh, qâmo
  - `see.IMPF DIST, 2s.ACC hit.PART, IND-1s.NOM`
  - I see you getting hit / I see that you get hit
- tśarh vônlunjh xaśonj
  - `2s.ACC hit.PART person`
  - the person (who is) hitting you OR the person who hit you
- mvo qaoi'ħêmh xaśonj

- - `1s.NOM fear.PART person`
  - the person who I fear
- qârmo qaoi'ħêmh xaśonj
  - `IND.PAST-1s.NOM fear.PART person`
  - the person who I feared/used to fear
- tśimpü qâr qaoi'ħêmh xaśonj
  - `NEG.PRX IND.PAST fear.PART person`
  - the person who didn't fear me
- huomënj vâurtśarh yêräncox xaśonj
  - `EMPH.DST COM-2s.ACC help.PART-pl person`
  - the people who will definitely help you
- huomënj vâurtśarh yêränyex
  - `EMPH.DST COM-2s.ACC help.PART-H.pl`
  - those/the ones who will definitely help you
- qâuganjh mu, huomënj vâurtśarh yêränyex, qâmo
  - `know.IMPF PRX, EMPH.DST COM-2s.ACC help.PART-H.pl, IND-1s.NOM`
  - I know the ones who will definitely help you
- ħouqoñ quo, tśarh yêrämh, qâ
  - `good-be.IMPF INDEF.LOC, 2s.ACC help.PART, IND`
  - Helping you is good
- tśarh yêrämh ħouqoñ
  - `2s.ACC help.PART good-be.PART`
  - Helping you being good / (the fact) that helping you is good
- qâuganjh mu, tśarh yêrämh ħouqoñ, qâmo
  - `know.IMPF PRX, 2s.ACC help.PART good-be.PART, IND-1s.NOM`
  - I know that helping you is good

4.4: Derivational Affixes

This section will list common affixes used to derive new words.

Sections (or back to top):

- Prefixes Derived From Prepositions
- Other Derivation

Prefixes Derived From Prepositions

back to chapter top

While prepositions have fallen out of use themselves, they have been commonly used to form new words when prefixed.

These affixes don't take or alter stress when creating new words, however many words were created using these prefixes *before* sound changes, thus allowing them to influence the word stem.

- **Of - irh** /iɾ̥/
  - NOUN > ADJ -- adjective relating to noun
    - equiv. '-ish, -ic, -y, -al'
  - turns into ir /ir/ before a voiced stop/fric/trill
  - niño /ˈniɴɔ/ 'night' >> **irhniño** /iɾ̥ˈniɴɔ/ 'nocturnal'
    - c.f. niñoëx (night.GEN) 'of *the* night'
  - źñärhä /ˈʑɴaɾ̥a/ 'metal' >> **irźñärhä** /irˈʑɴaɾ̥a/ 'metallic, forged from metal'
    - c.f. źñärhäëx (metal.GEN) 'of/from *the* metal'
- **From - ħum** /ħum/
  - NOUN > ADJ -- adjective relating to having an origin in/being from noun
    - equiv. '-ish, -ic, -ese, -i/an'
  - nasal assimilates to noun stem voicing
  - arrhacca' /æɾ̥ˈr̥æccæʔ/ 'mountain' >> **ħumarrhacca'** /ħumæɾ̥ˈr̥æccæʔ/ 'from (the) mountains'
    - c.f. arrhacca'ix 'from the mountain' (a particular mountain)
  - qamke /ˈɢæm̥kɛ/ 'personal ancestor' >> **ħumqamke** /ħumˈɢæm̥kɛ/ 'familial; sharing the same ancestors'
- **With - ul** /ul/
  - NOUN > ADJ -- adjective relating to containing or having properties of noun
    - equiv. '-ful'
  - meccieźya /ˈmɛcˌcieʑɟæ/ 'salt' >> ulmeccieźya /ulˈmɛcˌcieʑɟæ/ 'salty'
  - źimqonj /ˈʑim̥ɢɔɲ/ 'husband' >> ulźimqonj /ulˈʑim̥ɢɔɲ/ 'married (with a husband)'
  - vaħrha /ˈʋæħɾ̥æ/ 'mistake > flaw' >> ulvaħrha /ulˈʋæħɾ̥æ/ 'flawed, imperfect'
    - c.f. uloħħrha /ˈulɔħħɾ̥æ/ 'wrong, mistaken', from ul- + vaħrha, combined before sound changes
- **Like/As - feś** /fɛɕ/
  - NOUN > ADJ -- adjective relating to role/manner/method as noun
    - equiv. '-y, -ly, -ive'
  - turns into feź /-ʑ/ before an unvoiced stop/fric/trill
  - ka'monj /ˈkæʔm̥ɔɲ/ 'mother' >> feśka'monj /fɛɕˈkæʔm̥ɔɲ/ 'motherly'
  - ghâeñ 'to prevent'
    - ghâeñte /ˈɣɑeɴte/ 'preventing thing' >> feśghâeñte /fɛɕˈɣɑeɴte/ 'preventative', lit. acting as a preventing thing
- **Before - yiñ** /ɟiɴ/
  - X > X -- word of the same type, referring to a period or action before
    - equiv. 'pre-, fore-, before-'

- nasal assimilates to noun stem voicing
- quźjinljar /ˈɢuʐˌjiɲʎær/ 'to fight' >> yiñquźjinljar /ɟɪnˈɢuʐˌjiɲʎær/ 'to instigate / to perform a preemptive strike'
- ħa'üccüa' /ˈħæʔycˌcyæʔ/ 'snow' >> yiñħa'üccüa' /ɟɪnˈħæʔycˌcyæʔ/ 'pre-winter: period before winter where preparations must be made'

- **After - zo** /zɔ/
  - X > X -- word of the same type, referring to a period or action after or in response to
    - equiv. 'post-, after-'
  - verxenjh /ˈʋɛ̠ʳxɛɲ̊/ 'heavy rain' >> zoverxenjh /zɔˈʋɛ̠ʳxɛɲ̊/ 'period after heavy rain'
  - gharke /ˈɣæ̠ʳkɛ/ 'life' >> zogharke /zɔˈɣæ̠ʳkɛ/ 'afterlife'
  - quźjinljar /ˈɢuʐˌjiɲʎær/ 'to fight' >> zoquźjinljar /zɔˈɢuʐˌjiɲʎær/ 'to retaliate'

Other Derivation

[back to chapter top](#)

- **Adverb - -fa**

  - Also can mean 'while (also) doing X'
  - *ulokku* /ˈulɔkku/ 'rich' > *ulokkufa* /ˈulɔkkufæ/ 'richly'
  - *ghärrhänjh* /ˈɣa̠ʳ̥ʳaɲ̊/ 'to wait' > *ghärrhänjhfa* /ˈɣa̠ʳ̥ʳaɲ̊fæ/ 'while waiting'

- **Piece - -sħôn** /sˈħon/

  - Countable (I) portion noun 'piece/portion/section of'
  - yeħħa /ˈɟɛħħæ/ 'land (mass) (I)' > yeħħaisħôn /ˈɟɛħħæisˈħon/ 'a land, piece of land, region (I)'
  - źñärhä /ˈʐaˌɳa̠ʳa/ 'metal (mass) (I)' > źñärhäisħôn /ˈʐaˌɳa̠ʳaisˈħon/ 'metal ingot (I)'
  - quieźanjh /ˈɢuˌiɛ̠ʐæɲ̊/ 'river (A)' > quieźanjisħôn /ˈɢuˌiɛ̠ʐæɲ̊isˈħon/ 'section of a river (I)'

- **Person who does X (verb)**

  - Use participle, suffix -(o/e)nj

- **Person who deals with X (noun)**

  - Suffix -um

- **Thing that does X**

  - Use participle, no suffix (-te/to for NOM)

- **To X-en, to make X (adj)**

  - e.g. dark > darken, long > lengthen
  - Full paradigm:

- PTCP: -qâu /ɢɑʊ̯/

- NEGP: qu-qâu /ɢu...ɢɑʊ̯/

- PERF: -qâu /ɢɑʊ̯/

- IMPF: -qâuo /ˌɢɑʊ̯ɔ/

5.1: Noun Reference

This section relists all noun inflection paradigms

Sections (or back to top):

- Inanimate
- Animate
- Human
- Divine
- Adverbial Derivation

Inanimate Inflection

back to chapter top

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM	-te, -to	püañte	/ˈpyæɳtɛ/	tuñgoto	/ˈtuɴgɔtɔ/
ACC	no ending	püañh	/ˈpyæɳ/	tuñgo	/ˈtuɴgɔ/
DAT	-(e)njêrh, -(o)nôrh	püañenjêrh	/ˈpyæɳɛneɾ̯/	tuñgonôrh	/ˈtuɴgɔnoɾ̯/
GEN	-ix, -ëx	püañix	/ˈpyæɳix/	tuñgoëx	/ˈtuɴgɔɤx/
LOC	-êra, -ôra	püañêra	/ˈpyæɳeræ/	tuñgoôra	/ˈtuɴgɔoræ/
LOC2	-ñah	*püaññah		*tuñgoñah	

Postpositions use -êra, -ôra for the Instrumental Case and -ñah for the Locative Case. All other words use -êra, -ôra for the Locative Case (which merges with the Instrumental).

NOM ending is not required for participles (still required for nominalised participles)

Inanimate with final glottal

case	ending	word	IPA

case	ending	word	IPA
NOM	-tte, -tto	qâtto	/ˈqʌttɔ/
ACC	-'	qâ'	/ˈqʌʔ/
DAT	-ncêrh, -ntôrh	qântôrh	/ˈqʌɲtoɹ̯/
GEN	-'ix, -'ëx	qâ'ëx	/ˈqʌʔɤx/
LOC	-rra	qârra	/ˈqʌrræ/

Animate Inflection

[back to chapter top](#)

Animate Singular

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.s	-njh	ħeianjh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊/	ħâeljonjh	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲ̊/
ACC.s	-ñkeu, -ñkou	ħeiañkeu	/ˈħei̯æŋ̊køʊ̯/	ħâeljoñkou	/ˈħae̯ʌɔŋ̊kou̯/
DAT.s	-ncêrh, -ntôrh	ħeiancêrh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ceɹ̯/	ħâeljontôrh	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲtoɹ̯/
GEN.s	-njix, -njëx	ħeianjix	/ˈħei̯æɲix/	ħâeljonjëx	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲ̊ɤx/
LOC.s	-ñah	ħeiañaħ	/ˈħei̯æŋæħ/	ħâeljoñaħ	/ˈħae̯ʌɔŋæħ/

Animate Plural

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.p	-ncex, -ncox	ħeiancex	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊cɛx/	ħâeljoncox	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲ̊cɔx/
ACC.p	-ntoxkou	ħeiantoxkou	/ˈħei̯æŋ̯ˌtɔxkou̯/	ħâeljontoxkou	/ˈħae̯ʌɔŋ̯ˌtɔxkou̯/
DAT.p	-ncienjerh	ħeiancienjerh	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ˌcie̯ɲɛɹ̯/	ħâeljoncienjerh	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲ̊ˌcie̯ɲɛɹ̯/
GEN.p	-ntoxëx	ħeiantoxëx	/ˈħei̯æŋ̯ˌtɔxɤx/	ħâeljontoxëx	/ˈħae̯ʌɔŋ̯ˌtɔxɤx/
LOC.p	-ncâeñaħ	ħeiancâeñaħ	/ˈħei̯æɲ̊ˌcae̯ŋæħ/	ħâeljoncâeñaħ	/ˈħae̯ʌɔɲ̊ˌcae̯ŋæħ/

Human Inflection

[back to chapter top](#)

Human Singular

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.s	-N	źñärhên	/ˈʐnaɽen/	uttum	/ˈuttum/
ACC.s	-ñgeu, -ñgou	źñärhêñgeu	/ˈʐnaɽengøʊ̯/	uttuñgou	/ˈuttungoʊ̯/
DAT.s	-nenj, -nonj	źñärhênenj	/ˈʐnaɽenɛɲ/	uttunonj	/ˈuttunɔɲ/
GEN.s	-njix, -njëx	źñärhênjix	/ˈʐnaɽenix/	uttunjëx	/ˈuttuɲɤx/
LOC.s	-ñah	źñärhêñaħ	/ˈʐnaɽenæħ/	uttuñaħ	/ˈuttunæħ/

Human Dual

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.d	-ñqênj, -ñqënj	źñärhêñqênj	/ˈʐnaɽenɢeɲ/	uttuñqënj	/ˈuttunɢɤɲ/
ACC.d	-ñquoggou	źñärhêñquoggou	/ˈʐnaɽen ˌɢuo̯ggoʊ̯/	uttuñquoggou	/ˈuttun ˌɢuo̯ggoʊ̯/
DAT.d	-ñquoyyër	źñärhêñquoyyër	/ˈʐnaɽen ˌɢuo̯ɟɟɤr/	uttuñquoyyër	/ˈuttun ˌɢuo̯ɟɟɤr/
GEN.d	-ñquëx	źñärhêñquëx	/ˈʐnaɽen ˌɢuɤx/	uttuñquëx	/ˈuttun ˌɢuɤx/
LOC.d	-ñquoñqaħ	źñärhêñquoñqaħ	/ˈʐnaɽen ˌɢuo̯ɴgæħ/	uttuñquoñqaħ	/ˈuttun ˌɢuo̯ɴgæħ/

Human Plural

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM.p	-nyex, -ndox	źñärhênyex	/ˈʐnaɽeɲɟɛx/	uttundox	/ˈuttundɔx/
ACC.p	-ndoxkou	źñärhêndoxkou	/ˈʐnaɽen ˌdɔxkoʊ̯/	uttundoxkou	/ˈuttun ˌdɔxkoʊ̯/

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
DAT.p	-nyienjerh	źñärhênyienjerh	/ˈʐnaɽɛŋ ˌɟie̯ɲɛɽ/	uttunyienjerh	/ˈuttuŋ ˌɟie̯ɲɛɽ/
GEN.p	-ndoxëx	źñärhêndoxëx	/ˈʐnaɽɛn ˌdɔxɤx/	uttundoxëx	/ˈuttun ˌdɔxɤx/
LOC.p	-nyâeñaħ	źñärhênyâeñaħ	/ˈʐnaɽɛŋ ˌʝae̯næħ/	uttunyâeñaħ	/ˈuttuŋ ˌʝae̯næħ/

Divine Inflection

[back to chapter top](#)

case	ending	example A	IPA	example B	IPA
NOM	-ke, -ko	qamke	/ˈɢæm̥kɛ/	ghâudokko	/ˈɣau̯ˌdɔkkɔ/
ACC	-keu, -kou	qamkeu	/ˈɢæm̥køy̯/	ghâudokkou	/ˈɣau̯ˌdɔkkou̯/
DAT	-kêrh, -kôrh	qamkêrh	/ˈɢæm̥keɽ/	ghâudokkôrh	/ˈɣau̯ˌdɔkkoɽ/
GEN	-kix, -këx	qamkix	/ˈɢæm̥kix/	ghâudokkëx	/ˈɣau̯ˌdɔkkɤx/
LOC	-kaħ, -ñkaħ	qamkaħ	/ˈɢæm̥kæħ/	ghâudoñkaħ	/ˈɣau̯ˌdɔŋkæħ/
LOC	-gaħ, -ñgaħ	ghu'ieñgaħ	/ˈɣuʔˌie̯ŋgæħ/	zuñgaħ	/ˈzuŋgæħ/

Adverbial Derivation

[back to chapter top](#)

Can be applied on nouns when they are used as an adverbial (usually DAT/GEN/LOC)

Form	English	Affix
PART	being to/of/at X	-qo
NEGP	not being to/of/at X	qu-qo
IMPF	is to/of/at X	-qoñ
PERF	becomes to/of/at X	-qoñof

5.2: Adjective Reference

This section relists all Adjective inflection paradigms

Sections (or back to top):

- Attributive
- Predicative
- Nominalised
- Comparison and Negation

Attributive Inflection

back to chapter top

Agree	Suffix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
N.s	-	ħou uttum	/ˈħou̯ ˈuttum/	ete' uttum	/ˈɛtɛʔ ˈuttum/
N.d	-ñênj (ë)	ħouñënj uttum	/ˈħou̯ɴɤɲ ˈuttum/	eteñqênj uttum	/ˈɛtɛɴɢɛɲ ˈuttum/
N.p	-njex, -nox	ħounox uttum	/ˈħou̯nɔx ˈuttum/	etencex uttum	/ˈɛtɛn̥cɛx ˈuttum/
1.s	-	ħou mvo	/ˈħou̯ ˈmʊɔ/	ete' mvo	/ˈɛtɛʔ ˈmʊɔ/
1.p	-njex, -nox	ħounox ghâu	/ˈħou̯nɔx ˈɣɑʊ̯/	etencex ghâu	/ˈɛtɛn̥cɛx ˈɣɑʊ̯/
2.s	-rä'	ħourä' u'	/ˈħou̯raʔ ˈuʔ/	eterrä' u'	/ˈɛtɛrraʔ ˈuʔ/
2.d	-räqqënj	ħouräqqënj ljarh	/ˈħou̯ˌraɢɢɤɲ ˈʎæɽ/	eterräqqënj ljarh	/ˈɛtɛrˌraɢɢɛɲ ˈʎæɽ/
2.p	-raccex	ħouräccex me	/ˈħou̯ˌraccɛx ˈmɛ/	eterräccex me	/ˈɛtɛˌraccɛx ˈmɛ/
3.s	-(')arh	ħou'arh qâħ	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽ ˈɢʌħ/	ete'arh qâħ	/ˈɛtɛʔæɽ ˈɢʌħ/
3.d	-(')arhqênj	ħou'arhqênj reunj	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽɢɛɲ ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/	ete'arhqênj reunj	/ˈɛtɛʔæɽɢɛɲ ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/
3.p	-(')arcex	ħou'arcex ñâenj	/ˈħou̯ʔæɽcɛx ˈɴɑɛ̯ɲ/	ete'arcex ñâenj	/ˈɛtɛn̥cɛx ˈɴɑɛ̯ɲ/

Predicative Inflection

back to chapter top

Form	English	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
PART	being good/new	-qo	ħouqo	/ˈħou̯ɢɔ/	eteqqo	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔ/
NEGP	not being good/new	qu-qo	quħouqo	/ɢuˈħou̯ɢɔ/	queteqqo	/ɢuˈɛtɛɢɢɔ/
IMPF	is good/new	-qoñ	ħouqoñ	/ˈħou̯ɢɔɴ/	eteqqoñ	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔɴ/
PERF	becomes good/new	-qoñof	ħouqoñof	/ˈħou̯ɢɔɴɔf/	eteqqoñof	/ˈɛtɛɢɢɔɴɔf/

Nominalised Inflection

[back to chapter top](#)

Class/Case	English	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
INAN.NOM	good/new thing	-te/to	ħouto	/ˈħou̯tɔ/	etette	/ˈɛtɛttɛ/
ANIM.NOM	good/new thing	-(e/o)njh	ħounjh	/ˈħou̯n̥/	ete'enjh	/ˈɛtɛʔɛn̥/
HUMN.NOM	good/new person	-(o)nj	ħounj	/ˈħou̯ɲ/	ete'onj	/ˈɛtɛʔɔɲ/
DIVN.NOM	good/new thing	-ge/ko/etc	ħougo	/ˈħou̯ɡɔ/	etekke	/ˈɛtɛkkɛ/

Comparison / Negation

[back to chapter top](#)

Meaning	English	Prefix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
Comparative	better / newer	caf-	cafħou	/cæfˈħou̯/	cafete'	/cæˈfɛtɛʔ/
Superlative	best / newest	mef-	mefħou	/mɛfˈħou̯/	mefete'	/mɛˈfɛtɛʔ/
Negative	not good/new	qui-	quiħou	/ɢui̯ˈħou̯/	quiete'	/ɢui̯ˈɛtɛʔ/
Neg.Compar	less good/new	mui-	muiħou	/mui̯ˈħou̯/	muiete'	/mui̯ˈɛtɛʔ/

Meaning	English	Prefix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
Neg.Super	least good/new	mea-	meaħou	/meȩˈħou̯/	meaete'	/meȩˈɛtɛʔ/

5.3: Pronoun Reference

This section relists all Pronouns inflection paradigms

Sections (or back to top):

- Personal
- Demonstrative and Interrogative
- Indefinite

Personal Pronoun Reference

back to chapter top

Person	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	LOC
1s	mvo /ˈmʊɔ/	fea /ˈfeȩ/	fêrh	fix	faħ
1p	ghâu /ˈɣɑʊ̯/	poa /ˈpoȩ/	pôrh	pëx	paħ
2s	u' /ˈuʔ/	tśarh /ˈc͡ɕæɻ/	tśarêrh	tśarix	tśaraħ
2d	ljarh /ˈʎæɻ/	ghaem /ˈɣaȩm/	ghaemôrh	ghaemëx	ghaemaħ
2p	me /ˈmɛ/	źieñ /ˈʑiȩɴ/	źieñêrh	źieñix	źieñaħ
3Is	qâħ /ˈɢʌħ/	yêr /ˈɟer/	yerêrh	yerix	yeraħ
3As	qeñh /ˈɢɛɴ/	yeañh /ˈɟeȩɴ/	yeañêrh	yeañix	yeañaħ
3Ap	ñenjh /ˈɴɛɲ̊/	veañh /ˈʋeȩɴ/	veañêrh	veañix	veañaħ
3Hs	qâuñ /ˈɢɑʊ̯ɴ/	yeañ /ˈɟeȩɴ/	yeañêrh	yeañix	yeañaħ
3Hd	reunj /ˈrøʊ̯ɲ/	ghuonj /ˈɣuɔɲ/	ghuonjôrh	ghuonjëx	ghuonjaħ
3Hp	ñâenj /ˈɴɑeȩɲ/	vaoñ /ˈʋæɔɴ/	vaoñêrh	vaoñix	vaoñaħ
3D	ñikke /ˈɴikkɛ/	veħke /ˈʋɛħkɛ/	veħkêrh	veħkix	veħkaħ

Demonstrative / Interrogative Pronoun Reference

[back to chapter top](#)

These pronouns inflect for case as regular nouns, see *5.1* for noun inflections.

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
PRX	aoś /ˈæo̯ɕ/	einjh /ˈei̯ɲ̊/	ein /ˈei̯n/	âuśko /ˈɑu̯ɕkɔ/
MED	gha' /ˈɣæʔ/	ghamh /ˈɣæm̥/	ghom /ˈɣɔm/	ghaokke /ˈɣæo̯kkɛ/
DST	mi' /ˈmiʔ/	meanjh /ˈmeə̯ɲ̊/	meunj /ˈmøʊ̯ɲ/	mikke /ˈmikkɛ/
INT	qâ' /ˈqʌʔ/	qâmh /ˈqʌm̥/	qâem /ˈqae̯m/	qâkke /ˈqʌkkɛ/

Meaning	Animate Plur.	Human Dual	Human Plur.
PRX	eincex /ˈei̯ɲ̊cɛx/	eiqênj /ˈei̯ɢeɲ/	einyex /ˈei̯ɲɟɛx/
MED	ghaomcex /ˈɣæo̯m̥cɛx/	ghâemqënj /ˈɣae̯mɢɤɲ/	ghâemyox /ˈɣae̯mɟɔx/
DST	meancex /ˈmeə̯ɲ̊cɛx/	meunqênj /ˈmøʊ̯ɢeɲ/	meunyex /ˈmøʊ̯ɲɟɛx/
INT	qâmtox /ˈqʌm̥tɔx/	qâemqënj /ˈqae̯mɢɤɲ/	qâemyox /ˈqae̯mɟɔx/

Special Interrogative Pronouns

[back to chapter top](#)

Meaning	Word
where	qe
when	qo
how	qei

Indefinite Pronoun Reference

These pronouns inflect for case as regular nouns, see *5.1* for noun inflections.

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
Nothing, No-one	quś /ˈɢuɕ/	qvanjh / ˈɢʊæɲ̊/	qvâenj / ˈɢʊae̯ɲ/	quśko / ˈɢuɕkɔ/

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
Less things, Less people	quto / ˈɢutɔ/	qutonjh / ˈɢutɔɲ̊/	qutënj / ˈɢutɚɲ/	qukke /ˈɢukkɛ/
More things, More people	vete /ˈʋɛtɛ/	vetenjh / ˈʋɛtɛɲ̊/	vetênj / ˈʋɛtɛɲ/	vekko /ˈʋɛkkɔ/
A few (things/people)	xê /ˈxe/	xênjh /ˈxeɲ̊/	xên /ˈxen/	xêkke /ˈxekkɛ/
Some (things/people)	xieñ /ˈxie̯ɴ/	xeñh /ˈxɛɴ̊/	xieñ /ˈxie̯ɴ/	xieñge / ˈxie̯ɴgɛ/
Many (things/people)	ku' /ˈkuʔ/	kfanjh /ˈkfæɲ̊/	kfâenj / ˈkfɑe̯ɲ/	kukko /ˈkukkɔ/
Everything, Everyone	qeaħ / ˈɢea̯ħ/	qeanjh / ˈɢea̯ɲ̊/	qaonj / ˈɢæo̯ɲ/	qaikke / ˈɢæɪ̯kkɛ/
Some/Anything, Some/Anyone	rhe /ˈr̥ɛ/	rhenjh /ˈr̥ɛɲ̊/	rhenj /ˈr̥ɛɲ/	rhekke /ˈr̥ɛkkɛ/

5.4: Determiner Reference

This section relists all Determiners inflection paradigms

Note that all determiners can be used as pronouns as well; see *5.3* for details.

Sections (or back to top):

- Demonstratives
- Quantifiers
- Numbers

Demonstratives

back to chapter top

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
PRX	aoś /ˈæo̯ɕ/	einjh /ˈei̯ɲ̊/	ein /ˈei̯n/	âuśko /ˈɑu̯ɕkɔ/
MED	gha' /ˈɣæʔ/	ghamh /ˈɣæm̥/	ghom /ˈɣɔm/	ghaokke /ˈɣæo̯kkɛ/
DST	mi' /ˈmiʔ/	meanjh /ˈmea̯ɲ̊/	meunj /ˈmøu̯ɲ/	mikke /ˈmikkɛ/

Meaning	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
INT	qâ' /ˈqʌʔ/	qâmh /ˈqʌm̥/	qâem /ˈqaȩm/	qâkke /ˈqʌkkɛ/

Meaning	Animate Plur.	Human Dual	Human Plur.
PRX	eincex /ˈei̯n̊cɛx/	eiqênj /ˈei̯ɢeɲ/	einyex /ˈei̯ɲɟex/
MED	ghaomcex /ˈɣæo̯m̥cɛx/	ghâemqënj /ˈɣae̯mɢɤɲ/	ghâemyox /ˈɣae̯mɟɔx/
DST	meancex /ˈmeȩn̊cɛx/	meunqênj /ˈmøʊ̯nɢeɲ/	meunyex /ˈmøʊ̯ɲɟex/
INT	qâmtox /ˈqʌm̥tɔx/	qâemqënj /ˈqae̯mɢɤɲ/	qâemyox /ˈqae̯mɟɔx/

Quantifiers

[back to chapter top](#)

Meaning	English eg	Inanimate	Animate	Human	Divine
No	No pigs	quś /ˈɢuɕ/	qvanjh /ˈɢʊæɲ̊/	qvâenj / ˈɢʊae̯ɲ/	quśko /ˈɢuɕkɔ/
Less	Less pigs	quto /ˈɢutɔ/	qutonjh / ˈɢutɔɲ̊/	qutënj /ˈɢutɤɲ/	qukke /ˈɢukkɛ/
More	More pigs	vete /ˈʊɛtɛ/	vetenjh /ˈʊɛtɛɲ̊/	vetênj /ˈʊɛteɲ/	vekko /ˈʊɛkkɔ/
Few	Few pigs	xê /ˈxe/	xênjh /ˈxeɲ̊/	xên /ˈxen/	xêkke /ˈxekkɛ/
Some	Some pigs	xieñ /ˈxie̯ɴ/	xeñh /ˈxɛɴ̥/	xieñ /ˈxie̯ɴ/	xieñge / ˈxie̯ɴgɛ/
Many	Many pigs	ku' /ˈkuʔ/	kfanjh /ˈkfæɲ̊/	kfâenj /ˈkfae̯ɲ/	kukko /ˈkukkɔ/
Every	Every pig	qeah̄ / ˈɢee̯ħ/	qeanjh /ˈɢee̯ɲ̊/	qaonj /ˈɢæo̯ɲ/	qaikke / ˈɢæi̯kkɛ/
INDEF	Some pig	rhe /ˈr̥ɛ/	rhenjh /ˈr̥ɛɲ̊/	rhenj /ˈr̥ɛɲ/	rhekke /ˈr̥ɛkkɛ/

Numbers

[back to chapter top](#)

Num	Cardinal	IPA	Ordinal	IPA
1	rhe	/ˈr̥ɛ/	vae	/ˈʋæɛ/
2	quonj	/ˈɢuo̯ɲ/	yêrra	/ˈɟerræ/
3	oum	/ˈou̯m/	âumo	/ˈɑu̯mɔ/
4	se'üś	/ˈsɛʔyɕ/	se'uźo	/ˈsɛʔ͜uʐɔ/
5	ljêr	/ˈʎer/	ljêra	/ˈʎeræ/
6	źü	/ˈʐy/	iseu	/ˈisøu̯/
7	zui	/ˈzui̯/	isei	/ˈisei̯/
8	erear	/ɛˈreɐ̯r/	earer	/ˈeɐ̯rɛr/
9	oruolj	/ɔˈruo̯ʎ/	eareu	/ˈeɐ̯røu̯/
10	ljêrqênj	/ˈʎerɢeɲ/	irhêrqênj	/ˈiˌr̥erɢeɲ/

5.5: Verb and Adverb Reference

This section relists all Verb stem, Adverbs and Locative pronoun inflection paradigms

Sections (or back to top):

- Verb Stems
- Participles
- Locative Pronouns
- Adverbs

Verb Stems

back to chapter top

Most verbs have irregular stems, the below regular stems apply only to newly coined verbs. None of the affixes change stress

PART	PART-NEG	PERF	IMPF
-	qu-	-(e/o)f	-o/e
vetsieñ	quvetsieñ	vetsieñof	vetsieñe
vaaś	quvaaś	vaaśef	vaaśe

PART	PART-NEG	PERF	IMPF
qâuga	quqâuga	qâugaf	qâugao

Participle Inflections

back to chapter top

Participles, when used attributively for a relative clause, inflect a bit differently to other inanimate nouns. They inflect for the case that the modified noun would take in the introduced relative clause. When modifying an Inanimate Noun that would take the -êra ending in LOC, the participle takes that instead.

case	ending	example
NOM	-te, -to (optional)	uirâ(to)
ACC	-keu, -kou	uirâkou
DAT	-(e)njêrh, -(o)nôrh	uirânôrh
GEN	-ix, -ëx	uirâëx
INS	-êra, -ôra	uirâôra
LOC	-ñah	uirâñah

Locative Pronoun Inflections

back to chapter top

Distance	Positive	IPA	Negative	IPA	Emphatic	IPA
INF	quo	/ˈɢuo̯/	jêñ	/ˈjeɴ/	ħuñə	/ˈħuɴɤ/
PRX	mu	/ˈmu/	tsimpü	/ˈt͡ʃim̥py/	ħuomu	/ˈħuo̯mu/
MED	vâe	/ˈʋɑe̯/	ârvo	/ˈʌrʋɔ/	ħâuo	/ˈħau̯ɔ/
DST	minj	/ˈmiɲ/	ienjinj	/ˈie̯ɲiɲ/	ħuomënj	/ˈħuo̯mɤɲ/

Adverb Inflections

back to chapter top

Form	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA

Form	Affix	Example A	IPA	Example B	IPA
neutral	-	ħeffa uirâ	/ˈħɛffæ/	xam uirâ	/ˈxæm/
PERF	-(a/â)f	ħeffaf uir	/ˈħɛffæf/	xamaf uir	/ˈxæmæf/
IMPF	-(a/â)ñ	ħeffañ uirñe	/ˈħɛffæɴ/	xamañ uirñe	/ˈxæmæɴ/

5.6: Tag Reference

This section relists all Tag inflection paradigms

Sections (or [back to top](#)):

- [Moods](#)
- [Non-Person Suffixes](#)
- [Person Suffixes](#)

Moods (Tag Stems)

[back to chapter top](#)

Mood	Tense	Common	IPA	Formal	IPA
IND	NPST	q(â)	/ɢʌ/	qâe	/ˈɢɑe̯/
IND	PAST	qârh	/ɢʌr̥/	qârh	/ˈɢʌr̥/
NAR	NPST	ñe	/ɴɛ/	jarh	/ˈɟær̥/
NAR	PAST	lj(a)	/ʎæ/	lja(k)	/ˈʎæk/
INT	NPST	âenjh (-nc)	/ˈɑe̯n̥c/	âenca	/ˈɑe̯n̥cæ/
INT	PAST	âencârh	/ˈɑe̯n̥cʌr̥/	âencârh	/ˈɑe̯n̥cʌr̥/
CON	NPST	nj(i)	/ɲi/	ni	/ˈni/
CON	PAST	njêrh	/ɲer̥/	ienjarh	/ˈieɲær̥/
NEC	NPST	ħâunjh (-i)	/ˈħɑʊ̯n̥i/	ħeuvin	/ˈħøʊ̯vin/
NEC	PAST	ħâunjêrh	/ˈħɑʊ̯ɲer̥/	ħeunjarh	/ˈħøʊ̯ɲær̥/
IMP		ś(a)	/ɕæ/	yaś	/ˈɟæɕ/
IMP-POL		śanjh (-nc)	/ˈɕæɲ̥c/	yaonja	/ˈɟæɔɲæ/

Mood	Tense	Common	IPA	Formal	IPA
PRH		aś	/æɕ/	ghâenh	/ˈɣɑeɲ/
SPC		qâenj	/ˈɢɑe̯ɲ/	mârâ	/ˈmʌrʌ/
COM		vâur	/ˈʋɑʊ̯r/	muljâr	/ˈmuʎʌr/

Non-person Suffixes

back to chapter top

PERF	IMPF	Form
CAUS	CAUS	-lji, -ljë
HAB	INCH	-(')anj
DELIM	TERM	-fä

Person Suffixes (simplified pronouns)

back to chapter top

Person	Nominative	IPA	Accusative	IPA
1s	mo	/mɔ/	fê	/fe/
1p	ghâ	/ɣʌ/	pô	/po/
2s	u'	/uʔ/	tśarh	/c͡ɕær�/
2d	ljarh	/ʎær̺/	râm	/rʌm/
2p	me	/mɛ/	źiñ	/ʑiɴ/
3I	qâ	/ɢʌ/	yêr	/ɟer/
3As	qenjh	/ɢɛɲ̊/	yênjh	/ɟeɲ̊/
3Ap	ñenjh	/ɴɛɲ̊/	venjh	/ʋɛɲ̊/
3Hs	qonj	/ɢɔɲ/	yênj	/ɟeɲ/
3Hd	rjonj	/rjɔɲ/	ghonj	/ɣɔɲ/
3Hp	ñânj	/ɴʌɲ/	vonj	/ʋɔɲ/
3D	ñix	/ɴix/	veħ	/ʋɛħ/

6: Culture

This section will detail the culture of the Uhhuononj people through their development in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Sections (or back to top):

- Agriculture
- Food and Medicine
- Industry
- Knowledge and Mythology
- Worship and Festivity
- Social and Civic Culture

Agriculture

back to chapter top

Crop farming had already been developed during the later Vuhinkam (Neolithic) era, especially around the river valley. Techniques were further developed and new crops were domesticated during the Uhhuononj (Bronze/Iron) era, with agriculture spreading throughout Uhhuononj lands. Animal domestication happened throughout the Vuhinkam era, and by the Uhhuononj era certain livestock had become commonplace.

Crops - Icca

Crop names are given as Product name, Plant name - e.g. *icce* refers to the barley grains, *i'ma'* refers to the barley plant. The uses of these crops will be given later in the Cuisine section.

- Staples
  - **Barley** - *icce, i'ma'*
    - river valley (neolithic) > everywhere (bronze)
    - one of the few crops able to be grown in the mountains
  - **Soybean** - *nuomo, nuomimpa'*
    - river valley (neolithic) > mediterranean and south (bronze)
    - thrives in mediterranean climates with hot summers and mild winters
  - **Sorghum** - *tuñgo, tuñgma'*
    - southern plains (neolithic) > everywhere (bronze)
    - especially in mountains and savannah, due to altitude and drought tolerance
- Vegetables
  - Leaf Vegetables
    - Brassica in northern plains (neolithic) in primitive forms

- Kale - *yarhêamh*
  - upper river (bronze) > river, north & highlands (late bronze)
- Cabbage - *vertfa*
  - upper river & highlands (late bronze / iron)
- Bok Choy - *vertfe*
  - lakelands (bronze) > lower river, oceanic & northlands (late bronze)
  - often confused/conflated with Cabbage as they predominate in different areas
- Tree / Jersey Cabbage - *vertfśa*
  - oceanic lands (late bronze / iron)
- Root Vegetables
  - Turnip - *qaordvnja* or *qaordönja*
    - lakelands (bronze) > river, oceanic, north & highlands (late bronze)
  - Radish - *ôrrhôo*
    - coastal and north lands (bronze)
  - Daikon (white radish) - *pâemva'uo*
    - river plains (late bronze)
- Mustard - *parhêamh* (plant, leaves), *parheamce* (seed)
  - highlands (bronze)
- Gourds and Melons - *ia*
  - Primitive forms in southern plains (neolithic)
  - Bronze/Iron age forms through south (medit/savannah) and river plains
  - Pumpkin - *frhiia*
  - Sweet melons - *źearêa* (watermelon, rockmelon, etc)
  - Clear melons - *jêźiia* (cucumber, zucchini, etc)
  - Bitter melon - *quñonjia*
- Peppers - *rhêrhä*
  - Primitive forms in southern plains (neolithic)
  - Bronze/Iron age forms through south (medit/savannah) and river plains
  - Capsicum (sweet pepper) - *źearbrêrhä*
  - Chilli (hot pepper) - *rhe'rhêrhä*

- Fruit - *yêrħa*
  - Fig - *ghoaâeħ, ghuħħattśa*
    - southern coast (bronze) > medit & oceanic coast, southern plains (late bronze)
  - Olive - *arraźba, arraźbitfśa*
    - mediterranean coast (bronze) > oceanic coast (late bronze)
  - Pear - *urumva, urumvdvaśśa*
    - lakelands (bronze) > oceanic, north & highlands (late bronze)
  - Peach - *muqqaś, muttśa*
    - upper river (bronze) > oceanic, medit coast, north & highlands (late bronze)

- - Almond - *to'nja, to'njitfśa*
    - lower river (bronze) > medit & south plains (late bronze)
- Other crops and plants
  - Flax - *ljierva, ljieröma'*
    - river plains (early bronze) > oceanic, medit. & highlands (bronze)
  - Hemp & Cannabis - *merhma'* (plant)
    - Hemp - *merrhielva* (fibre)
      - north/coastal plains (early bronze) > north, oceanic & inland plains (bronze)
    - Cannabis - *merrhieña* (drug)
      - north/coastal plains (early bronze) > everywhere except savannah (late bronze)

Livestock & Pets

- Pig - *ħeianjh*
  - wild ancestor: boar - *vôŕanjh*
  - products
    - pork - *ħe'ñieña*
    - leather - *vôggoś*
  - feed - many things, commonly soybean, sorghum, cabbage
  - range - river valley (early bronze) > everywhere but savannah (bronze)
- Duck - *qeianjh*
  - wild ancestor: (general) waterfowl - *jêbvaomanjh*
  - products
    - duck meat - *qe'ñieña*
    - egg - *eama*
    - feather (down) - *errhiħanjh*
  - feed - seeds (many kinds)
  - range - lakelands (early bronze) > river valley (late bronze)
- Goat - *maoanjh*
  - wild ancestor: ibex - *rhâuganjh*
  - products
    - goat meat - *maomñieña*
    - leather - *vôggoś*
    - wool - *vienjü*
    - milk - *yampia*
  - feed - all sorts of vegetables and grains
  - range - highlands (early bronze) > everywhere but savannah (late bronze)
- Dog - *fimtśanjh*
  - wild ancestors
    - wolf - *ħrhesħanjh*

- coyote - *ħrhuonljanjh*
  - range - everywhere
- **Bee** - *voaźñonjh*
  - products: honey - *ghuˈienja*
  - range - river valley (early bronze) > everywhere (late bronze)

Food and Medicine

[back to chapter top](#)

Processing

- Barley >> **Ale / Beer** *cya*
  - discovered in early bronze era
  - methods developed and spread throughout bronze era
  - common throughout Uhhuononj lands
- Honey >> **Mead** *ienjöa*
  - discovered in bronze era
  - methods developed and spread throughout late bronze/iron era
  - in most regions, restricted to the very wealthy due to expense of honey
  - common among all populations in northern and oceanic regions
- (Goat's) Milk >> **Cheese** *rhätso*
  - discovered in late bronze era
  - methods developed and spread throughout iron era
  - common throughout Uhhuononj lands
- Grains >> **Flour** *qottoˈo*
  - neolithic using mortar to grind
  - development of millstone *cerrheˈ* in the bronze era facilitating mass production
- Seeds >> **Seed oil**
  - grinding seeds in millstone was discovered late, and hadn't become widespread by the end of the Uhhuononj era
- Olives >> **Olive oil** *arraźbeˈa*
  - grinding olives in millstone was discovered early, the technique spreading through the range of olives (coastal & mediterranean) by the late bronze era

Flavouring

- **Salt** *meccieźya*
  - mined in a few southern plains/highlands towns
  - produced in mediterranean coastal ponds, especially along the coast facing the Fisher Islands

- expensive in the north and restricted to food preservation

- common in the south and river valley among all classes

- **Honey** *ghu'ienja*
  - produced everywhere, but more common in the north

- Chilli > **Ground chilli** *rhe'rhe'a*
  - produced in the southern plains, common among all classes

  - common among upper classes in the river kingdoms, uncommon in the north

- Mustard seeds > **Mustard sauce** *rharreempa*
  - produced in the highlands, common among all classes

  - traded through the river valley and north, where it is common among upper classes

Cooking

- Flour >> **Flatbread** *ħaoñma*
  - common through neolithic and bronze eras

  - replaced by leavened bread in southern and river valley areas

  - commonly cooked in small fires and hearths *rhii'o*

- Flour >> **Leavened bread** *eslja*
  - a technique learnt from the Shechageghern

  - spread through southern and river valley areas in the mid-late bronze age

  - cooked en masse in large ovens *ħonjëmaimer*, also borrowed from southerners

- Flour + Honey/Fruits >> **Sweetened bread** *sâeŕân*
  - traditionally cooked for festivities everywhere

  - eaten in daily life by upper classes in the Central Kingdom (iron age)

- Vegetables >> **Vegetable soup** *jereamañh*
  - common everywhere using local vegetables (leaf/root veggies in north, gourds & peppers in south)

  - staple of commoners in river kingdoms

  - a watery soup, boiled in a pot

  - often flavoured with a bit of salt or wild herbs, or olive oil

  - sometimes made with eggs (boiled)

  - often eaten alongside bread in river & south lands

- Meat + Vegetables >> **Meat stew** *püañh*
  - common everywhere using local vegetables and meats

  - staple of northern tribes

  - a thick stew, made in a pot

  - often flavoured with chilli or mustard sauce

  - often eaten with flatbread in north & highlands

- Meat >> **Roast meat** *ħañqieña*

- common everywhere

- especially common among river kingdom upper classes

- often flavoured with wild herbs, salt, chilli/mustard sauce and/or honey

Medicine

Herbal remedies are widespread and knowledge is passed down through elders and eventually specialised Healers *fiŕin*. Many different plants and some animal products are used to make medicines and salves.

Industry

[back to chapter top](#)

Textiles

- Material Processing
  - Wool *vienjü* >> **Felt** - *jêmekkeś*
    - through a process of Felt Pressing *jêmdlü*, done by a Feltmaker *jêmdlün*
    - more common way of processing wool in the north
  - Fibre >> **Yarn** - *undë* >> **Cloth** - *ujëś*
    - first process is Spinning *ljanśanjh*, done on a Spinning Wheel *ljanśnjemh*
    - second process is Weaving *indvü*, done on a Loom *indvê*
    - both of these processes are done by a Weaver/Texile worker *indvüm*
    - wool is more commonly processed into cloth in the river valley and south
    - types
      - Wool *vienjü* >> **Wool Yarn** *ħumvienjü undë* >> **Wool Cloth** *ħumvienjü ujëś*
      - Flax *ljierva* >> **Flax Yarn** *ħumljierva undë* >> **Linen Cloth** *ljieröjiś*
      - Hemp *merrhielva* >> **Hemp Yarn** *ħummerrhielva undë* >> **Hemp Cloth** *merrhüöjiś*
  - Hemp *merrhielva* >> **Rope** *quttampa'*
- Products
  - **Rope** - *quttampa'*
  - **Cloth** - *ujëś*
  - Yarn >> **(Fishing) Net** - *uttë*
  - Cloth >> **Clothes** - *ujëśśonj*
    - made by a Tailor *ujëssum*
    - made of different materials depending on the region and climate
    - common items of clothing
      - **Robe** - *narrânj*
        - Cloth Robes: outer clothing, fashionable among upper classes of the River Kingdoms. Commonly dyed for extra luxury

- Felt Robes: outer clothing to provide warmth, common in northlands where feltmaking predominates over spinning/weaving
      - **Coat** - *viñrênj*, outer clothing to provide warmth, common in highlands due to cold climate. Made from wool cloth.
      - **Skirt** - *nje'uśśonj*, inner clothing. Worn by all genders in all areas, the most ubiquitous item of clothing
      - **Tunic** - *quttśonj*, inner clothing. Worn in some areas due to weather/climate constraints (to protect from cold or heat/sunburn), can be uncommon in milder areas. The Central Kingdom made dyed tunics fashionable among the upper classes along with dyed robes and undyed tunics are common among commoners in cities, but not in smaller towns or lands outside that Kingdom.

Pottery, Wood- and Stoneworking

- **Clay** - *me'odv*
  - makes **Pottery** *ħrhaodva* by a Potter *ħrhâedvum*
    - processes
      - wet clay is Shaped *ljanfa*
      - shaped clay is Dried *frhicco*
      - hard clay is Fired *rhiicco* and becomes pottery
  - also makes **Bricks** *mette'*, used in construction by a Mason *errettün*
  - firing was done at first in large campfires (bonfires), but moved on to use ovens *ħonjëmaimer* when the technology was learnt from the south
  - clay is abundant in the river valley and coasts, pottery is most commonly there
- **Wood** - *qotfśo*
  - chopped by a Lumberjack *qotfśum*
  - used for firewood
  - used in construction by a Carpenter *oħkum*
  - used by a Joiner *qunduomoam* to make **Furniture** *kaŕa'an* and wooden tools
  - used by a Wood Carver *ljanfan* to make **Carvings** *ljanfkeu* and **Idols** - *yiźmärrhänjh*
  - used to make Wheels *ljancemh*
    - solid wheels at first, spoked wheels in the mid Bronze age
    - spoked wheels allowed the proliferation of Carts *ienjö* and Carriages, facilitating trade and transport
- **Stone Blocks** - *teqqe*
  - Cut/Quarried *erreħħuonjë'* from a rockface by a Quarrier *teqqün*
  - used in construction by a Mason *errettün*
  - stone is uncommon in the river valley, hence not widely used
  - stone is more common in the highlands and north, used primarily for construction
  - stone tools are almost entirely replaced by metal tools

Metalworking

- Metals - *źñärhä*
  - **Gold** - *rheśrhä*
    - one of the first used metals, easy to use but rare. Found in nuggets on the Sea Dragon Coast and surrounding lands.
    - usually simply Hammered *vônjof* into the desired shape by a Metalworker *źñârhôm*
  - **Tin** - *totfrhä*
    - used in the mid-late Vuhinkam era, difficult to process.
    - The development of the Bellows *uovdvë* allowed Smelting *rheük* to begin
  - **Copper** - *to'rhä*
    - used in the late Vuhinkam era (Chalcolithic), but difficult to process.
    - The development of the Furnace *rhekkê* allowed easier smelting and copper was commonly used in tools and weapons
    - Copper was rare however, mostly found in the north, encouraging settlement along the north coast
  - **Bronze** - *qundoarä*
    - the discovery and use of Bronze marks the beginning of the Bronze age, occurring around the same time as the Shech. migrations
    - the smelting industry was concentrated in the lower river valley
    - tools and weapons made with bronze allowed the towns of the lower river to flourish and dominate
    - Casting *erraonja'* using Casts *orrâeë* was developed as a way to mass produce bronze items
  - **Iron** - *miśrhä*
    - (meteoric) iron was used in the Copper/Bronze eras, valued for its toughness but incredibly rare and difficult to work with. It was called *vaśrhä*, considered a gift from the sky
    - as smelting technologies improved, eventually Iron could be smelted successfully. Iron was rare in the lower river valley, but common in the upper river valley (as well as the northlands and south coast). Ironworking was first developed in upper river valley kingdoms after the Great Floods, and was what propelled the Central Kingdom to dominance.
- Products
  - **Tools** *źñârhâ*
  - **Idols** *yiźmärrhänjh*
  - **Weapons** *vônljë*

Misc

- Dyemaking and Dyeing *rhaoinjh*

- Dyes: *rhaoi*

- Advanced pottery

- Textile dyeing

- Powder Dye > Oil Paint > Painted Masonry/Carpentry

- Architecture and Engineering
  - Lower river: primarily Clay Bricks and Straw
    - Stone, Wood and Metal used for Royal Buildings
  - Upper river: primarily Stone and Wood
  - Northern plains and coast: primarily Clay Brick and Wood
  - Southern plains: primarily Stone and Sand Brick
  - Monuments:
    - Mud-Brick Tombs *meħħośko*
      - large septagonal tombs *zuiśko* for Monarchs
      - small hexagonal *źüśko* and pentagonal *ljêsko* tombs for nobility
      - simple pentagonal or rectangular tombs *se'üśko* for commoners
    - Royal Institutions - Spectacularly dyed buildings of stone
    - Temples
      - Family Temples, common in lower valley and coasts (cult of Qamke), size depending on family size and status
      - Royal Temples, landmarks in main cities of the in Central Kingdom where the people worship the cult of the Ruler's Ancestors
      - Deity Shrines, common in highlands (cult of Ghâudokko), each community dedicating themselves to one or more deities and building shrines to them

Knowledge and Mythology

back to chapter top

The Pantheon of Gods was based on stories passed down through elders and solidified into a common set of deities which were respected, though not necessarily worshipped, by the end of the Vuhinkam era. After the Migration, those that were left explained their ties to the land as worship of their ancestors, in the belief it would grant them powers and a better life. These two concepts form the core of the Uhhuononj Mythology.

Pantheon of Gods - *Ghâudokko*

The Pantheon of Gods was not codified until the start of the Lower River Kingdoms, where each kingdom had their own version of the pantheon; these were united into one official Pantheon in the Central Kingdom. However, none of these entities worshipped the deities directly - there was no expectation that the deities themselves would pay any attention to mere humans. This was resolved in two ways.

The first, which spread from the lower kingdoms and eventually dominated most of the Uhhuononj lands, held that each person's Ancestors were responsible for either liaising with the gods, or were granted powers over these gods' domains. Thus, rather than worshipping the gods, it was more useful to worship one's ancestors, in order for them to intercede on behalf of the person and grant divine favour (or protect them from divine wrath).

The second, which was developed in the upper hills and spread throughout the highlands, maintained that through communual dedication to one deity in particular, the gods could be reached. Thus, many highlands communities nominate a Patron Deity and worship them. While the Cult of Ancestors still exists, it plays somewhat less of a role, especially in the mountains.

The Pantheon listed below is the form codified in the Central Kingdom (thus other variations can exist in other regions). It is organised into 4 Pairs and 1 Triad.

- **Vaśnjoqquoggo** - The Pair of the Sky
  - **Ienjaoge** - God of the Night / Winter
  - **Yinddźaoge** - Goddess of the Day / Non-winter seasons
- **Tośquoggo** - The Pair of the Change
  - **Tfencikke** - Goddess of the Winds/Weather
  - **Qu'ħusko** - God of the Seasons/Harvests
- **Camħeqquoggo** - The Pair of the Constancy
  - **Xaqqêkke** - God of the Earth/Mountains
  - **Me'rheazge** - God of the Seas
- **Uħħuquoggo** - The Pair of Humanity/Human Worlds
  - **Vaoñdvikke** - Goddess of Travels/Knowledge/The Living World
  - **Ljaearmikke** - Goddess of the Dead/Ancestors/The Spirit World
- **Esakkxikke** - The Triad of Cycles
  - **Ljiħħeimge** - Goddess of Creation/Birth
  - **Qunljarge** - God of Destruction/War
  - **Jêñghakke** - The Watcher/The Balancer/The Judge/The Eye

Cult of Ancestors

Most communities of Uhhuononj were part of a Cult of Ancestors. However, the exact naure of the belief could be quite different.

For most early bronze age communities, it was common to worship a local pantheon of community ancestors, commonly past leaders and important people. Each community had their own ancestral pantheon (Ljakke).

In the south and river valley region, where many large family communities existed, the community pantheon would wholly consist of one's own personal ancestors (Qamke), and during the Lower Kingdoms period, the concept was extended such that each person would worship their own specific

pantheon of ancestors based on the relationships and deeds of their ancestors. The mass emigrations during the Great Flood and subsequent Unification of the Central Kingdom caused these beliefs to spread to most northern communities as well.

In the upper river region instead, when other families were integrated into a community, they were inducted into the family. With the development of larger towns, new residents were encouraged or forced to convert to the pantheon of the local ruler in order to maintain authority. When Kingdoms formed in the upper river, the king's Royal Pantheon would be worshipped throughout the territory by everyone.

As a result of these different tendencies, the Lower Kingdoms tended to continue the tribal tradition of Elected Kings, while the Upper Kingdoms had a system of Hereditary Monarchy.

Calendar

Sky observations among the Uhhuononj are rather minimal (astronomy was introduced to the Uhhuononj in the Iron Age from the southern Shechageghern people). However, natural observations (animal migrations, plant reactions, rains, etc) are common, and along with the tendency of the river to flood after Melts, a solar calendar is devised.

- Seasons of the Year - *qu'ħuśśaix esa* or *qu'ħuśśaëx esa*
  - **Winter** - *Iske* - season of Night - long nights and a period of rest
  - **Spring** - *Rhüźakke* - season of the Melt - when snow falling in the Mountain Springs region (*Jêiśħeimonj*) melts and brings floods, along with increased fertility, downriver. The First Melt is an important annual celebration.
  - **Summer** - *Kusko* - season of Plenty - where fruits and berries begin to ripen and early harvests bring plenty of food to the table.
  - **Autumn** - *Ħusko* - season of Harvest - where the main annual crops are harvested and communities chip in to help harvest and prepare for winter. The First Harvest and Final Harvest are important annual celebrations.

Weather

The weather, domain of the deity *Tfencikke*, is controlled by her child and 5 grandchildren, birds which reside in different environments bringing these conditions to the land. They are:

- **Vaśnjaontśko** - the Mother Bird, residing in the sky and calming her children, thus calming the weather/winds
- **Vônjoutśko** - the Frost Bird, residing in the frozen Northlands, bringing cold, dry winds when agitated
- **Ħanjmitśko** - the Flame Bird, residing in the scorching Cursed Desert, bringing hot, dry winds when agitated
- **Verxotśko** - the Rain Bird, residing in the northwestern seas, periodically bringing cool, wet winds

- **Pâenjattśko** - the Storm Bird, residing in the southwestern seas, bringing strong winds and storms when agitated
- **Ghâeñoyattśko** - the Mountain Bird, residing in the eastern mountains, never getting agitated

Worship and Festivity

[back to chapter top](#)

Each community worships the gods and their ancestors differently, however there are some common/widespread celebrations.

Agricultural celebrations dedicated to the *Tośquoggo* are common in river valley communities. The most important of these are **The First Melt** (*Vae Rhüge*) and **The Final Harvest** (*Ulfärh Yêrrhâugo*). **The First Harvest** (*Vae Yêrrhâugo*) is also celebrated in many communities, not just along the river.

The First Melt - *Vae Rhüge*

Vae Rhüge is a celebration that derives from an ancient tradition of welcoming the Spring Messengers. It is traditional for each community, upon receiving word that the first melting of snow has begun, to send messengers to other communities downstream to warn of the coming floods, allowing them to prepare. The message originates at the communities living in the Mountain Springs (*Jêiśħeimonj*) and is passed all the way down to the River Coast (*Xärrhättśonj*). The messengers are termed the Spring Messengers (*Rhüźaindükke*), and are always warmly welcomed even if the respective communities have otherwise bad relations - the tradition plays a vital role in maintaining order in the river valley communities, and no community wants to miss out on receiving the messenger the next year. This is one of the few celebrations that isn't tied to a specific deity, although it is often associated with *Qu'ħusko* (seasons), *Vaoñdvikke* (travels) and *Yinddźaoge* (day / non-winter).

Vae Rhüge is celebrated around the start of spring, the day after the arrival of the first of the Messengers, although the period before that is often used as preparation. The festivities last for 5 days, though small feasts are often thrown to honour any Messenger who arrives after that time. The festival is also used as an opportunity for intercommunity diplomacy and to build ties between communities.

Harvest Festivals

The First Harvest (*Vae Yêrrhâugo*) is celebrated among many communities, not just the ones on the river valley. It is dedicated to both of the *Tośquoggo* and their ancestral representatives, entreating them to grant the community a long and peaceful Autumn in order to have a successful harvest.

The Final Harvest (*Ulfärh Yêrrhâugo*) is again primarily celebrated by communities near the river valley, though also by nearby communities in the coastal lands and highlands. It is dedicated to *Tośquoggo* to thank them for a successful harvest season, and *Ienjaoge* to get on his and his representatives' good sides to avoid their wrath over the Winter.

The two Harvest Festivals are celebrated with feasts and carousal. The *Tośquoggo* are sometimes revered as God and Goddess of Revelry; other communities revere *Tfencikke* as a Goddess of the Soul / the True Self and believe that drinking to excess allows the Soul/True Self to take control.

Ancestor Worship

Each important ancestor is celebrated around once a year around the time of their death, but these celebrations tend to be personal and sombre. They often involve burning of incense, preparation of a specific dish dear to the person and/or ritualistic consumption of psychoactive substances to commune with them.

Families traditionally maintain shrines to their ancestors, with larger and wealthier families maintaining a family temple as well. In lower river lands, where each person has their own ancestors, this tradition has become somewhat obsolete and people use common temples to worship their own ancestors. In upper river kingdoms/the Central Kingdom, all temples have been converted to worship the ruler's ancestral pantheon. In towns and villages elsewhere, the traditional family shrines remain.

In addition to this, worship of one's ancestors includes acknowledging and praising them every so often. This praising of ancestors made its way into everyday conversation by the late Bronze Era, with common phrases both praising them and serving some other purpose. For example, the phrase *ulompëqoñ tśarix qamke qâ* 'your ancestors are wise' is commonly used as a greeting (later shortened to *tśar-lom-ke*); *ħouś X* is used as 'you're welcome', substituting X for the name of one's own ancestors, literally 'X (is) good-natured'.

Social and Civic Culture

[back to chapter top](#)

Urbanisation

- Villages develop into towns and cities in the lower river plains first, fuelled by fertile farmland and easy access to clay brick for construction
- Villages in the upper river valley are next, using the sturdier but much harder to work stone and abundant wood. After conquering the lower plains, these cities expand rapidly to accomodate a new class of craftspeople, scholars and artists
- Villages away from the river valley mostly remain villages or towns. Near the river valley they usually pay taxes/contributions in return for protection and certain rights, farther away they are usually independent townships

Authority

- People swore allegiance to Tribes in the early Bronze era, but as populations grew and villages gained more power, each village tended to break away from the larger tribe and become self-

governing. Tribal allegiances remained strong in the Northlands and remote Highlands, where village development was slower.

- In many early villages, the leader was elected by village elders; in the Lower Kingdoms this was extended as a King was elected for life by a council made up of representatives of certain districts (these districts often had their origin in separate towns); the council members themselves being elected by elders from their own district.
- In the upper river region, the shift of Ancestral Pantheon to the leader meant that the role of leader would naturally pass within the same family, leading naturally to a Hereditary Monarchy in Upper Kingdoms.

Administration

- Rudimentary records systems spreads from Lower Kingdoms using clay tablets. Also appears frequently on pottery and bricks
- However, this recording system requires a long process (clay is imprinted, then fired) and only used for official records
- As the capital moves to the Upper River, the use of clay tablets is impractical (as clay must be imported from the Lower River). Once Ironworking is discovered, relegating Copper to ceremonial use, Copper is used to mint tokens containing symbols to represent a similar system to the clay tablet recordings
- Accounting/Administration techniques are also learnt from Shechageghern traders, allowing businesses and commerce to flourish during the Central Kingdom

Symbolism

- Royal Colour of the Seadragon Strait (*Śaśśüħênj*) and River Coast (*Xärrhättśonj*) is Purple (*Jêddźâugou*), derived from crushed seashells (*jêddźâu*)
- Royal Colour of the Lower River region (*Puruttśonj*) is Turquoise (*Toprhâeë*), derived from minerals containing copper (*tottśof*)
- Royal Colour of the Upper River region (*Xâeputtśonj*) is Crimson (*paccanjrhaoi*), derived from certain crushed insects (*pa'njanjh*)