

Speedlang 23 - Īlarayāsi

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1 Introduction

This document is a sketch of the language **Īlarayāsi**, spoken by the **Xantāsa** people¹. I decided to create this language on a whim, or more so because our challenge host /u/fruitharpy replied to my comment. So it should be understandable that this is quite bare-bones but I hope to fulfill all the constraints. This section is only semi-serious, perhaps due to my delirium from rushing this speedlang in about two days, or the fact that I've been overseas doing linguistic fieldwork for the past month, but I have tried to take a more authorial, academic tone for the rest of the document. There was a bit of a misunderstanding: the language I'm researching fulfils some of the constraints, not the conlang that I had brewing in my head; that does exist, but it isn't this one.

I will now detail how all the constraints are fulfilled in the following document:

1. **Use two points of articulation you don't use very often - (free choice! anything out of your comfort zone - willing to consider any secondary articulation that patterns as a POA as a separate POA if it makes sense)**

I have used three places of articulation that are not very common for me to use: dental (contrasting with other coronal articulations), retroflex, and uvular. I will concede that I did have retroflex consonants in my previous speedlang, but they were marginal and were primarily the result of one consonant, the retroflex tap, assimilating the other consonants, and this consonant could be analysed as being underlyingly a palatal approximant. Ignoring that aside, this conlang has dental consonants, which do not frequently contrast with alveolar consonants cross-linguistically. This along with the presence of retroflexes makes by language seem somewhat 'Australian', if you ignore the glaring presence of sibilants and uvular consonants.

2. **Have at least three phonemes which exhibit some kind of gradation (e.g. this means they merge with other phonemes in certain morphological settings, or create new phones in some morphophonological environment)**

Three phonemes? How about... all of the stops... oh, and all of the approximants (at least after nasals). Basically a lot of cluster assimilation, lenition that was blocked by stress in the preceding syllable, which itself is determined in a rather complex pattern of foot assignment. Read about it in Section 2.3. As a thanks I'd like to acknowledge that one guy who gave me shit for not understanding

¹This name translates as 'the people of the mountains', which will be important for one of the constraints of the challenge.

Uralic gradation, and thus, forcing me down the rabbit hole. Without them, none of this monstrosity would be possible.

- 3. Have a closed set of roots which break phonotactic tendencies (e.g. from direct loans from another language or lost substrate etc.) - provide examples of how they differ from regular roots**

This conlang has had some rather strong influence from a substrate, which is part of the reason for its 'odd' phonology, and it has left some borrowings, especially more recent ones, that defy usual phonotactic constraints in the language. Read more about this in much greater detail in Section 4. I went a little hard with the historical context and considering how this would all work. I do love my substrate influences.

- 4. Display some kind of split morphosyntactic alignment (e.g. active-stative, DOM, etc.)**

Look at the time, we're going to rip from Australian languages once more. I have ergative-absolutive for nouns, nominative-accusative for pronouns, and tripartite for 3rd person pronouns, which includes most deictic forms that aren't explicitly inanimate. I believe this system, much cited by every person talking about morphosyntactic alignment in our part of the internet, can be found in Dyrirbal. It's twice now that Dixon's done me a solid in this speedlang challenge. Cheers for that. Read about this system in Section 3.1.4.

- 5. Have radically different marking for subclauses (up to you whether it's inversion of marking, if this is the split ergativity, or some word order inversions, or something of the like)**

The use of converbs has saved me once again from having to do something *actually weird* (spoiler alert: this conlang does, in fact, get weird). Basically, any non-matrix verb is nominalised, meaning that it doesn't take any tense/reality marking, which is the primary categories that finite verbs are marked for in this conlang. Additionally these nominalised verbs allow agreement marking (at least when they are being used a subordinate verb and not as a gerund), which is not the case for finite verbs. I don't know if this is actually a thing in any language (it probably is, I just haven't found in any language I've read up on), and I distinctly remember having a conversation with somebody on the subreddit about this possibility. Now that idea has been realised. Converbs allow for subordinate clauses to be linked to each other in terms of relationships of the event of the main clause, and one of the converb constructions, the imperfective, has been generalised to be used with the copula as a continuous aspect construction. This leads to the utter weirdness that only a single category allows for the presence of agreement on verbs in finite clauses. See further discussion in Section 3.2.6.

- 6. Have a number of verbal classifiers, and have various lexeme have a different meaning entirely depending on verbal classifier (what**

exactly “classifier” means here is up to you) - show at least 3 examples

This time, it's noun incorporation, or more so, generic noun incorporation. Most transitive verbs will allow this in **Īlarayāsi**, meaning that there is a bounty of possible verbal classifiers. Unintentionally or not, we are Australian-influenced again. I'm noticing a pattern, and I don't know if it was /u/fruitharpy or just me knowing about them and using them for inspiration. See more details and examples in Section 3.2.4.

7. **Have a class of roots which can change word class through zero derivation (with at least 3 examples).**

Adjectives are split into three classes, noun-like, verb-like, and 'free'. Wait, I think I just completed the next constraint just by saying that. Yeah, we have 'free' adjectives, which are really just lexemes that can be used like adjectives (attributively), like nouns (referring to people, results, or states), or like verbs, via zero-derivation. Note that the noun-like and verb-like adjectives also have zero-derivation but the 'free' adjectives are much more extreme in terms of what they allow. I show how these differ from each other and form a semantic gradient of 'scale', where the more permanent or large-scale an adjective's frame of reference is, the more noun-like it is. I think this is the most fun I've had with semantics in a conlang so far, even though the question really was more about derivation, so thanks for that. Read about it in Section 3.1.1.

8. **Come up with a label: whether describing an unusual combination of functions for a morpheme, or a specific case which doesn't have an assigned name, or a phenomenon that requires ad hoc terminology - what this feature is and where it appears is up to you**

See the previous response. There is additionally another label that I made up on the spot, which is 'massive', and I don't mean the adjective, I mean mass-ive, like a linguistic term. This is used to refer to the result of reduplicating a uncountable noun, which is already 'plural', and thus reduplication, which usually pluralises a noun, instead has to give some other change in meaning. The meaning difference is one of scale; it does not refer to more numbers of something, but rather so much of something that it can be referred to as a single thing. Like looking at rocks, reduplicating it, and having a word for outcrop, or even mountain. I only briefly mentioned it in Section 3.1.3, but I talk more about the system of grammatical number there.

9. **Have some kind of possessive classifier system (e.g. alienability, edibility)**

Aha! Finally, now my actual research can come in handy. This time I'm taking most of these ideas from the language that I'm documenting. **Īlarayāsi** has three or four ways to possess a noun, and why I'm

questioning three or four is because two of them are really just periphrastic strategies (unmarked apposition or adding the dative case to the possessor), which contrast with possessive prefixes on the head noun. The possessive prefix is mandatory with kinship terms and optional with body part terms (alternating with apposition of possessor or dative-marked possessor). The prefix may be used emphatically with nouns that it usually isn't required for, but these are nouns that are close to inalienable, referring instead to non-kinship social relationships, skills, knowledge, or some kind of fixed lative relation with the speaker (one's birthplace, for example, doesn't change). The reason that the two classes that use the prefixes are in any way important is because there is allomorphy with the vowels of the possessive prefixes that doesn't otherwise occur when they are used in these inalienable contexts. See this in more detail in Section 3.1.2, where you will also find my overdeveloped kinship system, which again, is partially inspired from my fieldwork. Finally, a use for those three years of studying anthropology. If anyone can guess what the terms mean and why they are used the way they are, tell me.

10. **Bonus! Have them marked differently, in terms of agreement, location of morphemes, or otherwise**
See the previous response.
11. **Have some morphological category marked on a closed set of words by suppletion. (Bonus points if the morpheme in question wouldn't otherwise be adjacent to the root)**
This is achieved with some complex suppletion/stem alternation with some highly common verbs, most of which double as auxiliaries/suffixes. These both feature total suppletion of some stems in a tense/reality combination, while they also notably reduce unstressed syllables, potentially creating forms that are homophonous with other parts of a conjugation or even other verbs, which is not a regular occurrence elsewhere in the verbal system. I have left a little challenge for any reader to figure out: can you figure out the development of the past irrealis copula or past irrealis suffix **saŋ**? See Section 3.2.2 for more detail on this.
12. **As per usual, 5 sentences from 5moyd or Conlangers Syntax Test Cases (or make your own as you wish of a similar complexity)**
See Section 5.1 for the results of this. I had to change some of the examples to fit with the culture and setting of the language.
13. **Finally, write some description of the sea! (leaving this broad, so either "it's big and wet" or a poem or a scientific definition or whatever! surprise me!) - if your people don't live by the sea tell me about how they might describe it if they saw it (big lake? like the sky but wet? liquid substance with stuff in it?)**

See (or sea, if you will) Section 5.2. I decided to write a short story in the language, spoken as if it is meant to be a tall tale given to children, as the **Xantāsa** have never seen the sea.

2 Phonology

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Īlarayāsi has a phonemic inventory consisting of 19 consonants and 3 vowels, contrasting seven places of articulation (labial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, and uvular) in obstruents and liquids, and a full series for stops/nasals in six of those articulations, as well as possessing a basic triangular vowel system of the 3 corner cardinal vowels (/a i u/) that contrast for length. Considering the consonants, 2 are highly specific in terms of where they are contrastive (/ɰ ɱ/), and 8 more of which are restricted in terms of where they may occur in the word (/ɳ ɲ ʈ ʡ ɽ ɻ ɭ/), at least in native vocabulary (see Section 4 for the exceptions to these restrictions). The language possesses fricatives, but only two, those being alveolar/retroflex sibilants.

Table 1: Consonants

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>
<i>Nasal</i>	/m/ m	/ɳ/ ɳ	/n/ n	/ɲ/ ɲ	/ɲ/ ɲ̃	/ŋ/ ŋ	
<i>Stop</i>	/p/ p	/t̪/ t̪	/t/ t	/ʈ/ ʈ	/c/ c	/k/ k	
<i>Fricatives</i>			/s/ s	/ʂ/ ʂ			/χ/ χ
<i>Liquids</i>	/β/ v		/r/ r	/ɽ/ ɽ	/j/ y	/ɰ/ g	/ɱ/ ḡ
<i>Laterals</i>		/ɭ/ ɭ	/l/ l	/ɻ/ ɻ	/ɭ/ ɭ̃		

Table 2: Vowels

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>High</i>	/i i:/ i ī		/u u:/ u ū
<i>Low</i>		/a a:/ a ā	

2.2 Phonotactics

Īlarayāsi has a relatively simple phonotactic structure, permitting most consonants in the onset, excepting the retroflex consonants, while in the coda, all non-glides (so excluding /j w/) can appear at the surface level. Coda glides are lost and lengthen the following vowels. However certain consonants will not occur with certain vowels, and I will now discuss these restrictions. Retroflex consonants must be preceded by /a/ or /u(:)/, while dental consonants must be followed by /a/ or /u/, or by one of the long high vowels /i: u:/. Other consonants are mostly unrestricted, except for the uvular consonants; those must be adjacent to /a/, or directly followed by a long vowel /i: u:/ which could have been derived from /aj aw/, respectively. The uvulars cannot be followed by an underlying short /i/, as this blocked the sound change that created them. These consonants are generally contrastive with the velars, unlike the retroflex/dental series, which tend to be in complementary distribution with the alveolar/palatal series respectively, though they are contrastive when preceded and followed by /a/, respectively. The dorsal liquids /ɰ ʁ/ do not occur initially or word-finally, and are only phonemically contrastive with their respective stop and fricative before long vowels, which is explained in the next section on gradation, which is the source of this contrast.

2.3 Morphophonology

Īlarayāsi features a system of gradation, which is found in suffixes, as well as in the final syllable of roots. Stops and fricatives each have a strong and weak grade, which are as follows:

Table 3: Consonant Grades

<i>Strong</i>	/p	ṭ	t	s	ṣ	ç	k	χ/
	p	ṭ	t	s	ṣ	ç	k	x
<i>Weak</i>	/β	l	r		ɽ	j	ɰ	ʁ/
	v	l	r		ɽ	y	g	ḡ

Obstruents are in the strong grade when in word-initial onsets, when following a nasal, and when in a word-final coda. The weak grade must occur when a consonant follows an underlying approximant (not one created by gradation), follows an underlying long vowel, or it is a non-final coda not

followed by an obstruent. It should be noted that obstruent-obstruent clusters are all assimilated to the second obstruent and are realised as single segments. However, in the post-vocalic context there a quite a number of possibilities: as just mentioned, if an underlying obstruent is before an obstruent, it is realised in the strong grade, but otherwise, the grade used is determined by metricality.

Note each heavy/light syllable, considering the underlying codas; these determine the footing of each syllable. Then from the left edge, make the following checks: pair each heavy syllable with a following light syllable (trochees), if it exists, and then, when there are no possible pairs, pair every remaining set of light syllables (dibrach). Any remaining light syllables may be attached to a heavy syllable that is not part of a trochee (iamb). Lone heavy syllables become their own feet, while the remaining light syllables are unfooted. For comprehension's sake, an example of this process has been outlined in the table below.

Table 4: Footing Example

<i>Initial</i>	CV	CV	CV	CVC	CVC	CV	CV
<i>Trochees</i>	CV	CV	CV	CVC	(¹ CVC	CV)	CV
<i>Dibraches</i>	(¹ CV	CV)	CV	CVC	(¹ CVC	CV)	CV
<i>Iamb</i> s	(¹ CV	CV)	(CV	¹ CVC)	(¹ CVC	CV)	CV
<i>Result</i>	(¹ CV	CV)	(CV	¹ CVC)	(¹ CVC	CV)	CV

Then the following checks are made to determine the grade of an onset obstruent, noting the prior rules that override these:

1. If an obstruent is in the onset of the second syllable of an iamb, then is it realised in the weak grade.
2. If an obstruent is in the onset of the first syllable of any foot, which is preceded by a dibrach, trochee, or unfooted syllable, then is it realised in the weak grade.
3. If an obstruent is in the onset of an unfooted syllable, which is preceded by a light syllable, then it is in the weak grade.
4. Otherwise, an onset obstruent will occur in the strong grade, such as when in the onset of the second syllable of a dibrach, or in an onset following a heavy syllable.

I noted earlier that long vowels will condition the weak grade, but this only refers to underlying long vowels. Allophonically, all stressed syllables (as noted by the foot assignment rules) have long vowels if they are open. This is however completely predictable by stress assignment, and as such does not need to be understood as being contrastive. The only case where it may seem contrastive is where strong grade obstruents are followed by a long vowel, which is either conditioned by the loss of a previous obstruent or by being the second onset of a dibrach where the vowel is lengthened. These two contexts have become indistinguishable, beyond the allomorphy that exists with final obstruents, which can be observed with the presence of a suffix that conditions the loss of that obstruent, and the subsequent lengthening of the preceding vowel.

One thing to note is that there is an additional assimilatory rule affecting weak grade consonants in coda position. For weak grade /p c/, that being /β j/, these consonants are elided and lengthen the preceding vowel, creating a long high back rounded vowel and a long high front unrounded vowel respectively. This rule also applies to underlying /β j/, which do not appear in surface codas anywhere in the language.

There is also a secondary pattern of gradation, but unlike the other pattern, it affects liquid consonants, and does not have any relation to metricality. Liquids, noting that the underlyingly allowed ones are /β r ɾ j l ʎ/, will fortify to stops /p t ʈ c t ʈ c/ whenever they follow nasal consonants. This ought to be noted because it causes a merger of some liquid initial morphemes and obstruent initial morphemes, which may otherwise merge due to gradation.

There is a minor form of morphological alternation found in vowels, where high vowels may become /a/ when followed by /a/ in the next syllable, and where the opposite may occur, a high vowel conditioning /a/ to become /i/ or /u/ (not dependent on the frontness of the following vowel). However this process is wholly irregular and not applied consistently, even within stems, and is primarily found within derivations and with certain parts of the morphology, such as possessive prefixes and some TAM markers. This alternation has been analogically lost for the most part, outside of kinship terms which regularly show the alternations (due to requiring possessive prefixes), and some suffixes with /a/ will consistently cause this alternation, and cases of this will be noted in Section 3.

The following is an example of gradation in action, which will also be observed through the examples in this text; note the the surface form is shown in the first line written in **purple**, while the morphophonemic form is given below, showing the underlying structures (removing processes like gradation and vowel lengthening).

- (1) a. **ŋācamāṇamsūrivu...**
 ŋa-cama-ṇam-sū-sivu ...
 ('ṇaca)(ma'ṇam)('ṣu:si)βu ...
 1SG-stew-ANIM.EDIB-eat-PFV.CNV ...
 'After I ate the stew (made of some kind of animal) ...'
- b. **ŋavuk ṇaḡancāsīyarā**
 ṇa-vuk ṇa-xan-cax-siyasā
 (ṇa'βuk) (ṇa'χan)('caχ)('sija)('sa:)
 1SG.POSS-stomach 1SG-BODY-burn-PRES.CONT
 'My stomach is aching.'

3 Morphosyntax

3.1 Noun Complex

3.1.1 Adjectives

In **Īlarayāsi** there are three kinds of adjectives that exist, which are divided upon how they function morphologically: noun-like adjectives, verb-like adjectives, and free adjectives.

- Noun-like adjectives usually refer to physical attributes that are usually not capable of changing, such as temperament (as opposed to a specific feeling/emotion), size/shape/texture (in reference to inanimate objects), and inherent attributes. These adjectives may freely be used as nouns referring to something with that attribute. They require the copular suffix (-sā) to be used as a verb.
- Verb-like adjectives usually refer to states that are freely changed, like colour, smell, temperature, emotion/feelings, and other kinds of states. These nouns may be freely used as stative verbs, but must be nominalised (using -si), and have an appropriate converb to be used attributively, while they require an agent nominaliser (-qī) to refer to a person that has that state.
- Free adjectives usually refer to attributes or states that can be changed, but are more fixed than that of the verb-like adjectives. Adjectives in this category are those referring to things such as age, colour, size. They do not require any kind of marking to be used attributively, and can be freely zero-derived into nouns or verbs.

A good way to show the difference between these categories is to consider words for weather, temperature, and climate. Terms relating to the present

state of affairs are verb-like, such as being hot due to a fire, or the midday sun. Terms related to larger scale phenomena, such as the tendencies of weather of a given season, such as the heat of summer, or a period of high rainfall, are free adjectives, while terms related to the climate are noun-like, such as heat from ones place on the earth (such as in the tropics). There are different words to refer to all these concepts, or at least, the senses of words function differently depending on what scale they refer to.

Some examples of words in each of these classes, showing triplets where possible of a single etymon in each class, and their possible meanings (in citation/underived forms):

Table 5: Classes of Adjectives

<i>Noun-like</i>	<i>Free</i>	<i>Verb-like</i>
xāxagał ‘tropical climate, hot (all the time)’	xal ‘hot weather, be hot (of weather), hot’	vargał ‘be hot (from fire)’
xāxaruŋ ‘boreal/montane climate, cold (all the time)’	suŋ ‘cold weather, be cold (of weather), cold’	ilruŋ ‘be windchilled’
xāxayaŋ ‘high (elevation), tall (of mountains, hills)’	caŋ ‘tall person, tall (of a person), be tall’	tax ‘be high, be above’
siġū ‘knowledge, wisdom, wise, wise person’	si ‘adept (of some skill), know, be skilled at’	paŋ ‘learn, taste’

For further detail, we will present the usage of the ‘free’ adjective **si** in different usages as an attributive adjective, a noun, and a verb.

- (2) a. **Xāra naġlami si sā.**
 xāra naġlamī sī sā
 DIST.3SG fisherman skilled COP
 ‘He is a skilled fisherman.’
- b. **Ŋāra xārama miŋ si**
 ŋāra xāra = ma miŋ si
 1SG DIST.3SG = DAT name know
 ‘I know his name.’
- c. **Xāra si sā**
 xāra sī sā
 DIST.3SG adept COP
 ‘He is an adept (of his trade).’

3.1.2 Possession

Nouns are divided into three different classes for the purposes of possession in *Īlarayāsi*. The first of these are kinship terms, which are a closed class of nouns that always require a possessive prefix. The second are body part terms, which are also a closed class of nouns that may use a possessive prefix, but do not require them; they either need a nominal referent to possess them or a possessive prefix, but not both. The third encompasses all other nouns, which cannot use possessive prefixes, and require periphrastic possession.

Periphrastic possession is achieved in two different ways depending on the animacy of the possessor: animate possessors may use the dative case, while inanimate possessors remain unmarked and are directly preposed before their possessee. Preposing an animate possessor is allowed, but usually this will only be used when the relationship between the possessor and possessee is viewed as being near or actually inalienable, such as one’s close friends, skill (including language), and one’s home, village, and place of origin. These kinds of usages are mostly poetic, but can be used in general speech for emphasis.

Possessive prefixes however have an additional role, in that they mark the agent/subject of subordinated verbs, which are always nominalised, and thus were open to take possession when it was formerly much more widespread. Due to this usage, possessive prefixes may be inadvertently used with nominalised verbs, even if they are not being used as subordinated verbs.

Table 6: Possessive Prefixes with Allomorphs

	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>
1SG	ŋa-	-
1PL	la-	li-
2SG	mu-	ma-
2PL	ta-	tu-
3	i-	a-

Except for the 1st person singular prefix, each prefix has an allomorph. Note that with nominalised verbs, the primary allomorph is always used, while the secondary is rarely found with body part terms. With kinship terms, each allomorph is lexically specified, and this is a reflection of the morphonological rule described earlier, concerning the alternation of low and high vowels. A following /a/ or any long vowel will be present when the ‘low allomorphs’ of 2SG and 3 are used, and a following /i u/ or any long vowel

will be present when the ‘high allomorphs’ of 1PL and 2PL is used.

The following is a listing of possessed kinship terms (non-exhaustive, and not for all persons), presenting where the allomorphs might occur²:

Table 7: Kinship Terms with Possessive Prefix Allomorphs

	1SG.POSS	2PL.POSS	3.POSS
‘father’, ‘FB’	ŋāva	tāva	āva
‘mother’, ‘MZ’	ŋānu	tūnu	īnu
‘brother’, ‘MZS’, ‘FBS’	ŋavuṣ	tuvuṣ	ivuṣ
‘sister’, ‘MZD’, ‘FBD’	ŋani	taṇi	ini
‘son’, ‘BS (male ego)’, ‘ZS (female ego)’	ŋāqara	tūqara	ikaṛa
‘daughter’, ‘BD (male ego)’, ‘ZD (female ego)’	ŋāquḷu	tūquḷu	ikuḷu
‘grandfather’, ‘FFB’	ŋātayāva	tūtayāva	itayāva
‘grandmother’, ‘MMZ’	ŋātayānu	tūtayānu	itayānu
‘uncle’, ‘MB’	ŋāxagāya(va)	tāxagāya(va)	āxagāya(va)
‘aunt’, ‘FZ’	ŋāyigivu(ṇu)	tūyigivu(ṇu)	iyigivu(ṇu)
‘MBS’, ‘FZS’, ‘ZS (male ego)’, ‘BS (female ego)’	ŋāxagāra	tāxagāra	āxagāra
‘MBD’, ‘FZD’, ‘ZD (male ego)’, ‘BD (female ego)’	ŋāxagiḷu	tāxagiḷu	āxagiḷu

3.1.3 Number

Nouns optionally inflect for number in **īlarayāsi**, and it is usually only pragmatically, or for emphasis, especially in the case of the non-human plural formed by reduplication. The pattern is divided between a few different types of nouns: human nouns have an optional plural suffix **-lara** (underlyingly /lasa/), non-human countable nouns may form plurals via reduplication, though this process is also used to create a distributive/collective form for human nouns, and uncountable nouns lack plural marking, instead having a singulative prefix **pu-** (underlyingly /pu/). There is a possibility of using reduplication with uncountable nouns, but in this sense it does not specify plurality but simply size, as in a large amount or mass of something, such as water, stone, fire, air, clouds, and so forth. There are some nouns that have suppletive plurals, such as **mī** ‘person’, which has the suppletive plural **lara** ‘people’, as if the word ‘person’ became zero, but in this case this is because this form is the origin of the human plural marker. This leads to irregular plurals when **mī** is used for compounds, such as with **tiyami** ‘elder’ shown in the following set of examples.

²Kinship abbreviations used: F = father, M = mother, B = brother, Z = sister, S = son, D = daughter.

- (3) a. **Sar, sarlara.**
 sar sar-lasa
 child child-PL
 ‘Child, children.’
- b. **Tiyamī, tiyalāsa.**
 tiyamī tiya-lasa
 elder elder-PL
 ‘Elder, elders.’
- c. **ŋax, ŋaḡŋax.**
 ŋax ŋax~ŋax
 fish PL~fish
 ‘Fish, fishes.’
- d. **Laŋ, pu-laŋ, laŋtaŋ.**
 laŋ pu-laŋ laŋ~laŋ
 stone SGV-stone MASS~stone
 ‘Stone/stones, a stone, an outcrop.’

3.1.4 Case

Nouns inflect for case via clitics, which appear at the end of the noun phrase. There are three core cases: absolutive/nominative, ergative, and accusative, and four oblique cases: dative, locative (formally the same as the accusative), inessive, and ablative. More complex oblique case categories are formed with ‘relator nouns’, which are nominals that follow the head noun and combine with case clitics to mark a given category. Examples of this process include a number of lative cases, the instrumental case, and the comitative case.

Table 8: Case Clitics		
<i>Case Role</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Clitic</i>
Nominative	NOM	= ∅
Absolutive	ABS	= ∅
Ergative	ERG	= ra
Accusative	ACC	= ma
Locative	LOC	= ma
Inessive	INN	= ya
Dative	DAT	= ki
Ablative	ABL	= vu

As can be observed from the names of the cases given, there is a split-alignment in **Īlarayāsi**. The unmarked case is used as a nominative with only speech act participant (SAP) pronouns³, while it is used as an absolutive for all nouns. The accusative case is used to mark the patient for SAP pronouns, while the ergative case is used to mark the agent for nouns. 3rd person pronouns are the exception, which have a tripartite alignment. These pronouns only use the unmarked case for intransitive subjects, while using the ergative case for agents and accusative case for patients.

- (4) a. **Ŋāra ŋaḡḡax ŋamlara.**
 ŋāra ŋax~ŋax ŋam-la-ta
 1SG PL~fish ANIM.EDIB-take-PST.REAL
 ‘I caught and ate some fish.’
- b. **Xariḡra ŋārama cāta.**
 xa = tik = ra ŋāra = ma cax-ta
 DIST = pot = ERG 1SG = ACC burn-PST.REAL
 ‘That pot burnt me.’
- c. **Xārara ŋālaḷuma pansi cuḡsiyarā.**
 xara = ra ŋalaḷum = ma pansi cuḡ-siyasā
 3SG.DIST = ERG 1PL.EXCL = ACC story tell-PRES.CONT
 ‘He/she/they is/are telling us a story.’
- d. **Ŋāra yārama ŋaḡirivu sī.**
 ŋāra yāra = ma ŋa-xī-sivu sī
 1SG 3SG.PROX = ACC 1SG-see-PFV.CNV know
 ‘I remember him/her/them.’

³1st and 2nd person.

<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Derived Cases/Morphemes</i>
= ra ERG	= ya cāra INST ‘using, with’
	- siya cara INST.CNV ‘instrumental converb’
	= yama COM ‘with’
= ma LOC	= xayisima ABB ‘without’
	- sima SIMULT.CNV ‘simultaneous converb’
= ya INN	- siya IPFV.CNV ‘imperfective converb’
= ki DAT	= yagi ILL ‘into’
	- siki PURP.CNV ‘purposive converb’
= vu ABL	= yavu ELA ‘out of’
	- sivu PFV.CNV ‘perfective converb’

There are more that could be discussed, but given the sake for brevity here I will only explain the functions of those markers that were given in these tables, ignoring the converbs, which will be discussed in Section 3.2. The core cases have already been discussed, but moving to the oblique cases we have:

- The nominative/absolutive case (NOM/ABS) is the unmarked form of a noun. It is used for a few specific functions beyond intransitive subjects, nominal patients and pronominal agents: it is used with inanimate possession, such as a part/whole relationship, and it is used with any additional nouns within the noun phrase.
- The ergative case (ERG) marks the agent of a transitive clause, but it may also mark instruments, but this is an archaic way of using the case marker. = **ya cara** is preferred as an instrumental case marker.
- The accusative/locative case (ACC/LOC) marks a pronominal patient and recipient of a transitive clause, while other nouns use the absolutive (unmarked) and dative cases for those functions, respectively, and it additionally marks an exterior location related to the event of the verb, as well as large-scale temporal periods (a day or larger).
- The inessive case (INN), which marks an interior location related to the event of the verb, as well as small-scale temporal periods (within a day).
- The dative case (DAT), which marks the recipient, alienable/periphrastic possession as well the goal of a verb of motion.
- The ablative case (ABL), which marks the source of a verb of motion.

The derived cases have the following functions:

- The instrumental case (INST) marks instruments, and may also be used as a comitative case marker to indicate that person is used as a proxy for the agent, or has more of an active role than the otherwise marked agent.
- The comitative case (COM) marks a person associated with an event, participating in it with the agent/subject. This case is used to mark a patient when the event is reciprocal in nature.
- The abessive case (ABB) marks something that is lacked by the agent/subject, or that is non-present (usually in an unexpected way) in the event.
- The illative case (ILL) marks a goal of motion that involves moving inside, under, through, or into something.
- The elative case (ELA) marks a goal of motion that involves moving outside, through, or out of something.

3.1.5 Pronouns

Briefly, we will now discuss the pronouns of **Īlarayāsi**. Pronouns contrast three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, and there are 1st person pronouns that distinguish clusivity. A distinctive feature of this pronominal system is the distinction of superlative (SUP) and sublative (SUB) 3rd person, which refers to 3rd person referents that above or below the speaker respectively. This distinction has been grammaticalised because the **Xantāsa** live in a rough, mountainous region where much of the motion is vertical rather than lateral. Due to analogical developments, there are some odd features to some of these pronouns, such as the 1DL.INCL being readable as ‘you-me-two’, where the explicit dual marking is redundant by virtue of mentioning the two referents.

Table 10: Personal Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1.EXCL	ṅāra	ṅālañis	ṅālaḷum
1.INCL		māraṅārañis	māraṅālaḷum
2	māra	mālañis	mālaḷum
3.PROX	yāra	yālañis	yālaḷum
3.DIST	xāra	xālañis	xālaḷum
3.SUB	vaṅta	vuṅtañis	vuṅtaḷum
3.SUP	sāra	sarlañis	sarlaḷum

3.2 Verb Complex

3.2.1 Conjugations

Table 11: Tense & Reality

	REAL	IRR
NPST	NPST.REAL: -∅	NPST.IRR: -vi/-pi
PST	PST.REAL: -ta/-ra	PST.IRR: -saŋ/-raŋ

İlarayāsi features four possible markings for a finite verb, at least at the basic level: these can be neatly divided up into a two-by-two square, being a distinction of past versus non-past and realis versus irrealis. Each of these combinations of categories has their own marker, and features some degree of fusion with the verb stem, which is what this section will primarily discuss. Notably, this is the part of the language where the alternations between /a/ and the high vowels is most prominent, as many conjugations (usually those marked [numeral]b and [numeral]c), regularly alternate their final root vowels between the non-past irrealis (high vowel) and the past (low vowel). In the matrix clause, the language lacks any kind of agreement, and the core referents of the verb must be marked by a free pronoun, but these may be omitted when it is pragmatic to do so (when an unstated referent can be inferred from context).

The following conjugations can occur, though this list will not include irregular verbs, which have unique conjugation patterns, either due to being nonnative forms that have been adapted, analogical changes that have broken the usual regularity of a conjugation, or due to suppletion. The list follows the structure of listing: NPST.REAL, NPST.IRR, PST.REAL, PST.IRR, with each form being the rhyme of the last syllable followed by any suffixes. There are a number of specific conjugations for stems ending in alveolar/retroflex consonants, due to the assimilatory effects retroflexes have on the initial consonants of the past realis and past irrealis suffixes. Conjugation V has two extra conjugations, Vf and Vg, which are what stems ending in glides fall into, as they cause the merger of all vowels in their preceding nucleus.

I: Open, dibrach/trochee

Ia: **-a, -avi, -ara, -araŋ**

Ib: **-a, -ivi, -ara, -araŋ**

Ic: **-a, -uvi, -ara, -araŋ**

Id: **-i, -ivi, -ara, -araŋ**

Ie: **-u, -uvi, -ara, -araŋ**

II: Open, unfooted

Ila: -a, -ūvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

Ilb: -a, -ūvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

Ilc: -a, -ūvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IId: -i, -ūvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

Ile: -u, -ūvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

III: Checked, obstruent (S = strong grade, W = weak grade)

IIIa: -aS, -aWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IIIb: -aS, -iWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IIIc: -aS, -uWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IIId: -iS, -iWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IIIe: -uS, -uWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

IV: Checked, nasal (N = nasal)

IVa: -aN, -aNpi, -aNta, -aNsaŋ

IVb: -aN, -iNpi, -aNta, -aNsaŋ

IVc: -aN, -uNpi, -aNta, -aNsaŋ

IVd: -iN, -iNpi, -aNta, -aNsaŋ

IVe: -uN, -uNpi, -aNta, -aNsaŋ

V: Checked, liquid (R = liquid)

Va: -aR, -aRvi, -aRra, -aRraŋ

Vb: -aR, -iRvi, -aRra, -aRraŋ

Vc: -aR, -uRvi, -aRra, -aRraŋ

Vd: -iR, -iRvi, -aRra, -aRraŋ

Ve: -uR, -uRvi, -aRra, -aRraŋ

Vf: -ī, -īvi, -īra, -īraŋ

Vg: -ū, -ūvi, -ūra, -ūraŋ

VI: Checked, alveolar/retroflex obstruent

VIa: -aS, -aWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

VIb: -aS, -iWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

VIc: -aṢ, -uṢvi, -āṭa, -āṣaŋ

VIId: -iS, -iWvi, -āta, -āsaŋ

VIe: -uṢ, -uṢvi, -āṭa, -āṣaŋ

VII: Checked, alveolar/retroflex nasal

VIIa: -an, -ampi, -anta, -ansaŋ

VIIb: -an, -impi, -anta, -ansaŋ

VIIc: -aŋ, -umpi, -aŋta, -aŋsaŋ

VIIId: -in, -impi, -anta, -ansaŋ

VIIe: -uŋ, -umpi, -aŋta, -aŋsaŋ

VIII: Checked, rhotic

- VIIIa: **-ar, -arvi, -āra, -āraŋ**
- VIIIb: **-ar, -irvi, -āra, -āraŋ**
- VIIIc: **-aṛ, -uṛvi, -āṛa, -āṛaŋ**
- VIIId: **-ir, -irvi, -āra, -āraŋ**
- VIIIe: **-uṛ, -uṛvi, -āṛa, -āṛaŋ**

IX: Monosyllabic, open

- IXa: **-ā, -ūvi, -āta, -asaŋ**
- IXb: **-ī, -ūvi, -āta, -asaŋ**
- IXc: **-ū, -ūvi, -āta, -asaŋ**
- IXd: **-ī, -ūvi, -āta, -asaŋ**
- IXe: **-ū, -ūvi, -āta, -asaŋ**

Now to consider the actual function of these conjugations. The non-past realis and past realis are rather straightforward in their usage, being essentially a present and a past tense. The non-past realis functions as a present tense, primarily with a perfect meaning (with non-stative verbs), or a continuous/habitual meaning (with stative verbs). However, to explicitly mark a continuous statement, one has to use a more complex construction, which will be discussed in the section on auxiliary verbs. The past realis marks the past tense, specifically a past perfect or past perfective. The non-past irrealis can be generally seen as a future tense, though it may also be used as a present negative, to indicate a habitual (where one is presently not undertaking that action), and may generally indicate an intention or ability to do something, though there are more specific auxiliaries that are used for these kinds of functions. The past irrealis can either be a past negative, a past conditional or counterfactual, and even a past habitual/imperfective. The last function may seem odd as it is certainly realis, but it is a possible usage of the form.

3.2.2 Irregular Conjugations

An aside, which is necessary for me to discuss as part of the constraints of this challenge: the irregular conjugations. The most prominent of these is, unsurprisingly, the copula **sā**, but there are a few others, such as **kā** ‘go’, **vax** ‘come’, **sū** ‘eat’, **lā** ‘take’, and **xū** ‘give’. They are each presented in the following conjugation tables, after which I will discuss some of the oddities associated with them.

Table 12: Conjugation of **Sā** ‘COP’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	sā	ñam
PST	taŋ	saŋ

Table 13: Conjugation of **Kā** ‘go (downwards, away, out)’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	kā	kū
PST	maṭ	kaṇ/ karaṇ/ saṇ

Table 14: Conjugation of **Vax** ‘come (upwards, here, in)’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	vax	vax
PST	ḷap	vas

Table 15: Conjugation of **Sū** ‘eat’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	sū	sūvi
PST	lāta	laraṇ

Table 16: Conjugation of **Lā** ‘take’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	lā	lūvi
PST	lāta	laraṇ

Table 17: Conjugation of **Xū** ‘give’

	REAL	IRR
NPST	xū	xū
PST	xā	xaṇ/xaraṇ/ṣaṇ

The conjugation of **sā** is highly irregular, with a distinct stem for each tense/reality combination, and this is primarily due to two processes, suppletion, and sporadic simplification. Originally, the forms besides the non-past realis all have suffixes, which were irregularly lost due to weakening, given the copula is so frequently used. This meant that the original conjugated forms may have looked something more like **sā**, **ṅampi**, **taṅta**, **saṅsaṅ**. There have been multiple layers of suppletion here, which I will now discuss. The most important things to note is that **ṅam** and **taṅ** are still independent verbs, but do not have any copular function; the former means ‘like, enjoy’, while the latter means ‘stand, be upright’. The suppletion process here would have been something like **ṅam** originally meaning ‘want’ and being extended to mean something like ‘may’, and thus a non-past irrealis, and **taṅ** simply shifted from meaning ‘stand’ to meaning ‘be (at a place)’, which can simply become a copular verb. The origins of **saṅ** are more unclear from its form alone, and I want to leave the element of mystery and not explain anything about it.

The motion verbs **kā** and **vax** are also highly irregular, which is perhaps due to their regular use as venitive/andative suffixes, meaning that their forms have been notably reduced. They have suppletion in the past realis

specifically, with **maṭ** and **ʾat**, derived from reduced forms of **māṭa** ‘exit.PST.REAL’ and **ʾāta** ‘enter.PST.REAL’ (these do not cross over with the remaining verbs, while their other forms have lost any following/preceding unstressed syllables, leading to some irregularities in terms of how they mark certain categories).

The non-past irrealis/realis forms are distinguished by a vowel alternation **kā/kū**, while its past irrealis has three possible allomorphs. **kaṇ**, which is used when the verb is independent, **saṇ**, which is used when it preceded by an unstressed light syllable in some kind of compound (including verbal classifiers, to be discussed), while if preceded by a heavy/stressed syllable it will take the ‘full form’ **karaṇ**. Note that **saṇ** may be treated as being underlyingly /ksaṇ/, and it causes the lengthening of a preceding vowel when it is used. **Vax** is more regular, but still has lost all final syllables, assimilating its final consonant from the following /s/ in the past irrealis.

An oddity comes with **sū** ‘eat’ and **lā** ‘take’, which both have the same past tense forms, derived from the latter conjugation. This may seem confusing, but due to the use of verbal classifiers, the verbs remain distinct. The semantic shift here was one of ‘taking’ being viewed as a requirement for eating, after which a periphrastic construction was used; when the original verb was lost, the past conjugations merged entirely. This may be seen as a grammatical reflection of the subsistence farming culture of the **Xantāsa**, where food must be collected, either by gathering crops/plants, hunting, and fishing, before it is consumed.

The last of these irregular verbs, at least that we are discussing in the document, is **xū** ‘give’. This verb is primarily used to indicate a benefactive function, and it adds an additional participant to the event of the main verb. This grammatical function is the motivation behind its reduction, similar to the reduction found in the motion verbs. Despite being ‘irregular’, one can observe some clear parallels between its conjugation and that of **kā** ‘go’. Ignoring the suppletion in the past realis with that verb, the alternations are effectively the same, with the distinction being that **xū** (underlyingly /χu/) conditions retroflex realisations of the following onset in the past irrealis suffix, and the vowel is already high/back/rounded, so it cannot be assimilated by the suffix **-vi**, which is unrealised in the surface forms. The alternations between **xaṇ**, **ṣaṇ**, and **xaraṇ** are conditioned by the same contexts as **kaṇ**, **saṇ**, and **karaṇ**.

3.2.3 Auxiliary Verbs

Now, I will briefly discuss some of the auxiliary verbs, which are usually not phonologically independent, and could be considered suffixes, though as they take the locus of tense/reality marking, they should always be considered the

underlying head of their clause, assuming they are not followed by another auxiliary. Verbs preceded by these auxiliaries should take the nominaliser **-si**, but this does not apply to ‘free’ adjectives used predicatively, as they can freely be treated as nouns. Note that when I say a converb ought to be used, ‘free adjectives’ will do one of two things: use the original case marker (removing the intervening suffix **-si**), or use the suffix **-sāsi** followed by the converbal ending. Speakers are free to use either method, noting that when a verb-like adjective is used, it requires **-si** to be used with a converb, while a noun-like adjective requires **-sāsi**.

The copular verb **sā** (see 12) is used for various continuous aspect functions, requiring that the preceding verb be marked with the imperfective converb. The exact usage depends on the reality/tense of the copula. In the non-past realis, it marks the present continuous, in the non-past irrealis it marks the future continuous, in the past realis it marks the past continuous, but it generally isn’t used with the past irrealis, as this form can be used for a past continuous irrealis function by itself.

The motion verbs **kā** ‘go’ (see 13) and **vax** ‘come’ (see 14) are used for an adative/translocative and venitive/cislocative function respectively. The preceding verb stem requires the purposive converb. These verbs have a semantic distinction of motion downwards/upwards as well as motion outside/inside, which means that their auxiliary functions also have these meanings as well. These auxiliaries make the elative and illative case markers redundant, and it would be unnecessary to use both to indicate the direction of motion. It should be noted that these auxiliaries are required for a non-motion verb to have a marked goal/source of motion be grammatical.

The verb **xū** ‘give’ (see 17), as already noted, is used to introduce a benefactor/recipient of a verb, which may be applied to both intransitive and transitive verbs. When applied to an intransitive verb, it may have an additional implication of the recipient having some causal relation to the event discussed.

The verb **si** ‘know’ (class Vf) may be used as an abilitative auxiliary. It is somewhat defective in that it cannot be used with the irrealis non-past/past, though this is possible when it is used as an independent verb. This auxiliary is marginal in that the non-past irrealis already fulfils its function and it is primarily used for emphasis to indicate that somebody is assuredly able to (or unable to, in the case of a negated clause) to do something. This is primarily used as an indicator of knowledge/ability, rather than giving an implication of intention to do something, while the non-past irrealis by itself would imply some intention/probability of an event occurring.

3.2.4 Verbal Classifiers

Verbal classifiers are commonly found in **Īlarayāsi**, where they take the role of marking a generic category with the verb, similar to how numeral classifiers might work in a language that has them. Unlike numeral classifiers, these classifiers are not necessarily obligatory, though they certainly are required to give certain verbs a possible sense, and to disambiguate senses from each other. The classifiers both classify the patient/theme of the verb, but also can specify the frame of reference for the verb. A clause without any marked arguments, but with a classifier on the verb is completely grammatical, and would be found commonly in long conversations on a constant topic, where repeating arguments becomes completely redundant. Such a sentence without a classifier would be questionably grammatical, unless it was an imperative/prohibitive command.

Some verbs, like **lā** ‘take’ is extremely polysemous, and has a broad number of usages, most of which must be disambiguated by a classifier to make any actual sense. The following examples all use that verb with different classifiers, but have clearly different meanings, despite the common root.

- (5) a. **Ījāra ŋamtariyarā.**
ŋāra ŋam-la-siyasā
1SG ANIM.EDIB-take-PRES.CONT
‘I am hunting/fishing/butchering for food.’
- b. **Ījāra xārama kilavi.**
ŋāra xāra = ma ki-la-vi
1SG DIST.3SG = ACC HOUSE-take-NPST.IRR
‘I will marry him/her.’
- c. **Ījāra xamsalvu paṅtavi.**
ŋāra xamsal = vu paṅ-la-vi
1SG winter = ABL VILLAGE-take-NPST.IRR
‘I will/may/can become the headman before winter.’
- d. **Ījāra vantavi.**
ŋāra van-la-vi
1SG BOWL-take-NPST.REAL
‘I have taken my meal.’ or ‘I have had enough food.’

In this section we will discuss a few of these verbal classifiers, but there are many more that are used but remain undiscussed.

One category that you might have already observed is the use of **ŋam** to refer to animals in the context of food, as it is the edible animal classifier (ANIM.EDIB). This classifier contrasts with **yiñ** (ANIM.INED) and **taɭ** (ANIM.INED.PRED). These two classifiers both refer to animals that a person wouldn't eat, and thus, if you use **lā** with them, it would refer to hunting or killing them for sport or simply because they are a nuisance. **Yuŋ** refers to inedible animals that simply are poisonous or dispreferred for consumption, such as bugs and frogs, while **taɭ** refers to predatory animals that are not eaten because of the danger they pose and their lean meat. Note that if one uses these classifiers with humans referents in mind, it is both highly derogatory but poetic; the harshest term the **Xantāsa** have for foreigners is the compound **Yuŋtaɭ**, the meaning of which can be understood from its constituents.

Another category is that of object shapes, which is most prominently seen with body parts, tools, household items, and parts of a house. The following classifiers can be used in relation to these topics, with some possible usages given, though keep in mind this is not an exhaustive list:

- **van-** BOWL: bowls, dishes/meals (of food), puddles, pans, brimmed hats.
- **kan-** STICK: sticks, arms, legs, beams, shafted tools.
- **puɭ-** WOOD: wood, stacks (of long objects), wooden supports, foundations.
- **cak-** LEAF: leaves, roofs, paper, thin fabric (clothes, linens).
- **kuŋ-** SKIN: skin, bark, leather, pelts, blankets, bamboo sheets, walls, flooring, (light) armour, curtains, thick fabric.
- **vā-** BAMBOO: bamboo, pipes, supports, irrigation.
- **lax-** BASKET: baskets, plant-fibre clothes, (heavy) armour, boxes, bags, pottery.
- **tī-** EGG: eggs, balls, tubers, hard fruits.
- **ci-** FRUIT: soft fruits, mixed food (stew).
- **tuŋ-** RICE: rice, thick grains, sand, dough.
- **xūku-** HAIR: hair, strings, noodles, fibres (individually).
- **laŋ-** STONE: hard earth, stone bricks, minerals, outcrops, mountains.
- **pak-** SILT: silt, sand, mud, powder, grain.
- **xā-** SOIL: soft earth, clay, clay bricks.

Moving to the human sphere, there are a number of classifiers used for social relations between a person, others, and their community. These are detailed in the following list, with possible usages given:

- **pik-** FIELD: relating to (farm) work, friendship, and the gathering of resources (not necessarily through farming).
- **kūra-** CHILD: filial affairs, such as education, supporting, and providing for, can also be used metaphorically by a person in leadership position.
- **kimī-** SPOUSE: spousal affairs, such as the naming, raising, and marriage of children, as well as sexual affairs.
- **ki-** HOUSE: familial affairs, such as marriage, relationships between husband/wife and children, or children and their parents.
- **tīcuṇ-** CLAN: lineal affairs, such as organising marriage, moving houses, and referring to ones ancestors.
- **tūki-** HALL: elder affairs, such as history, rites and rituals, and the selection of roles.
- **paṇ-** VILLAGE: village level affairs, such as the selection of leadership, feasts, festivals, and allocation of resources.
- **kamxa-** LOWLAND: political and economic affairs, such as trade, diplomacy, and regional politics.

3.2.5 Negation

Negation is marked in **īlarayāsi** through multiple strategies. The most basic of these is simply using the irrealis forms, as they imply an event has not yet occurred; this is useful if one wants to state that something that is possible has not happened, but less so if one wants to emphasise that something will not or should not happen. There is a negative auxiliary **xūyi** (class Id), which was not discussed in the section on auxiliaries. There is also a negative particle, **ñi=** which functions as a proclitic before the head verb; due to the oddity of some forms like the continuous aspect deriving from converb + auxiliary, the negative particle may become an infix, leading to the possible forms that are given in the table below.

Table 18: Affirmative & Negative Continuous Suffixes

	REAL	IRR
AFF.NPST	-siyarā	-siyañam
AFF.PST	-siyaraṇ	-siyaraṇ
NEG.NPST	-siyañirā	-siyañiñam
NEG.PST	-siyañiraṇ	-siyañiraṇ

The negative particle and auxiliary differ in terms of their usage. This auxiliary is used specifically to state that something did not occur or is not occurring when used with the realis mood, and that something ought to not happen or ought to have not occurred in the irrealis mood, while the negative particle is used to indicate that an event has not, or cannot occur at or before the frame of reference. The difference here is minor, but there are minimal pairs, of a sort, that one can observe. If these two negative forms co-occur, then negation is not cancelled out, but emphasised. The usual implication is that something has never and will never occur.

(6) a. **ŋagamxagāsiya xūyi**

ŋa-kamxa-kā-siya xūyi
1SG-LOWLAND-go.down-IPFV.CNV NEG.AUX

‘I am not going to the lowlands (right now).’ (I could have within the frame of reference)

b. **ŋāra ŋgamxagā**

ŋāra ŋi = kamxa-kā
1SG NEG = LOWLAND-go.down

‘I have not yet gone to the lowlands.’ (I did not within the frame of reference)

c. **ŋagamxagāsiya ŋixuyi**

ŋa-kamxa-kā-siya ŋi = xūyi
1SG-LOWLAND-go.down-IPFV.CNV NEG = NEG.AUX

‘I am not going to the lowlands, and I never have, (and never will).’

3.2.6 Nonfinite Verbs & Subordinate Clauses

In **īlarayāsi**, the marking strategies for nonfinite verbs and verbs in subordinate clauses is quite different from that found in the matrix clause. For one, though agreement is not present in finite verbs, it is present with nonfinite verbs. Originally these were possessive prefixes, but have become generalised to mark the agent/subject of a nonfinite verb. It is also possible for the prefix to indicate a patient/theme, but this will only be the case if the patient is higher on the animacy hierarchy than the agent, or if the agent is unknown. The hierarchy is not too complicated as possessive marking considers all non-SAPs as a single category, with 1st person being ranked higher than 2nd person, which are ranked higher than non SAPs.

A basic nonfinite verb, with the nominaliser **-si** to the stem, may be used to refer to an event as an activity, such as the habit to do something, or to

refer to a specific instance of that activity. It may also even be used to refer to the location of the nominalised event, but this is primarily a fossilised usage that only occurs with a few verbs. The nonfinite verb usually either requires a following auxiliary verb to be used predicatively, or it must form a converb. Converbs are suffixes formed from the nominaliser **-si** and a number of case clitics. Converbs allow for much greater aspectual distinction than is usually allowed in the matrix clause, as well as considering the purpose and cause of the event. These converbs have already been presented in Section 3.1.4, but now, we will present their usage through examples.

- (7) a. **Lavisūriḡi...**
 la-pik-sū-siki ...
 1PL-FIELD-eat-PURP.CNV ...
 ‘... so we could eat together.’
- b. **Ŋavaŋsiya cāra...**
 ŋa-paŋ-sī-siya cara ...
 1SG-VILLAGE-know-INST.CNV ...
 ‘By knowing (him/her) from around my village...’
- c. **Xāxayaŋki ŋavāsivu...**
 xāxayaŋ = ki ŋa-vax-sivu ...
 high.point = DAT 1SG-come.up-PFV.CNV ...
 ‘After climbing to the hilltop...’
- d. **Xarūpaŋki ŋayūlariya...**
 xa-tūpaŋ = ki ŋa-cūla-siya ...
 DIST-village = DAT glo1sg-walk-IPFV.CNV ...
 ‘While walking to that village...’
- e. **Muḷaḷḷarima...**
 mu-ṭaḷ-la-sima ...
 2SG-PRED.ANIM.INED-take-SIMULT.CNV ...
 ‘At the same time as you were hunting...’

3.2.7 Questions & Imperatives

In **īlarayāsi**, polar questions are constructed primarily through the use of intonation, though polar questions do otherwise differ from normal declarative statements. When the 2nd person is the agent/subject of a clause, and you are asking a question to that person, you will frequently drop the pronouns, which is formally the same as an imperative. Imperatives and questions differ in terms of the intonation (rising intonation for a question,

flat or falling for an imperative), and the fact that an imperative will never be past tense, and is usually marked as non-past irrealis, while questions are not restricted in this regard.

- (8) a. **(Māra) vantara?**
 (māra) van-la-ta
 2SG BOWL-take-PST.REAL
 ‘Did you eat your meal?’
- b. **(Māra) vantavi!**
 (māra) van-la-vi
 2SG BOWL-take-NPST.IRR
 ‘Eat your meal!’

Emphatically stating a polar question can be achieved by following the questioned statement with the verb/negator combination **ñila-** ‘do not take’, or **lā-** ‘take’ if the question was already negative polarity, adding the required tense/reality marking to the verb. However this construction is seen as being rude, as opposed to simply stating the question with rising intonation. Imperatives may also be emphatically stated by using the auxiliary verb **kū** (go.NPST.IRR), which is preceded by the main verb marked with the purposive converb. This again is more rude than simply saying the sentence. A polite imperative is formed instead with **ñam** (COP.NPST.IRR), where the main verb is marked with the purposive converb.

- (9) a. **(Māra) vantara ñilata?**
 (māra) van-la-ta ñilata
 2SG BOWL-take-PST.REAL POL.PST.REAL
 ‘Did you eat your meal or not?’
- b. **(Māra) ñivantara lāta?**
 (māra) ñi = van-la-ta la-ta
 2SG NEG = BOWL-take-PST.REAL POL.PST.REAL
 ‘Did you not eat your meal or did you?’
- c. **(Māra) vantariki kū!**
 (māra) van-la-siki kū
 2SG BOWL-take-PURP.CNV go.NPST.IRR
 ‘Go eat your meal!’
- d. **(Māra) vantariki ñam.**

(māra) van-la-siki ñam
 2SG BOWL-take-PURP.CNV COP.NPST.IRR

‘You may eat your meal.’

Content questions are formed instead by substituting the questioned referent with an interrogative pronoun, or adding the interrogative proclitic PA=, that is used to specifically ask which instance of whatever is being questioned i.e. ‘which day’, ‘which man’, ‘which village’, and so forth. These interrogative pronouns or interrogative marked nouns are fronted to the left-edge of the sentence. Interrogative pronouns are comparable to the personal pronouns in that the personal forms are derived from the interrogative proclitic by suffixing **-ra** for singular forms, and **-LA** for non-singular forms, suffixing an additional suffix **-ÑIS** or **-LUM** for the dual and plural numbers respectively. The non-personal forms are more opaque, combining **pa=** with a variety of otherwise unused roots.

- (10) a. **Pāra ñāragi vantara?**
 pāra ñāra=ki van-la-ta
 INT.SG 1SG=DAT BOWL-PST.REAL
 ‘Who ate my meal?’
- b. **Pālañis xīla tīcuṅṭāra?**
 pālañis xīla tīcuṅ-ḷā-ta
 INT.DL ceremonial.blade CLAN-steal-PST.REAL
 ‘Who (dl.) stole my ceremonial blade?’
- c. **Pālaḷum ikiya sā?**
 pālaḷum i=ki=ya sā
 INT.PL PROX=house=INN COP
 ‘Who (pl.) are in the house?’
- d. **Pamiṅ xālaḷum ñal?**
 pa=miṅ xālaḷum ñal
 INT=name DIST.3PL call
 ‘What do they call him?’
- e. **Pāxama yuṅ sā?**
 pāxa=ma yuṅ sā
 INT.place=LOC water COP
 ‘Where is the water?’
- f. **Paralma māra kū?**

paral = ma māra kū
INT.time = LOC 2SG go.NPST.IRR

‘When will you leave?’

- g. **Pāliya cara ṛap?**
pāli = ya cara ṛap
INT.method = INST come.PST.REAL

‘How did you get here?’

- h. **Pālivu sūri xāguṇma sā?**
pāli = vu sūri xāguṇ = ma sā
INT.reason = ABL rice floor = LOC COP

‘Why is rice on the floor?’

4 Substrate Vocabulary

In this section I will discuss the difference between native vocabulary and substrate vocabulary, rather than list out the latter. To explain this we ought to consider the historical context of the **Xantāsa** people, before discussing the phonological differences found in substrate vocabulary, as well as the layers in which the vocabulary was borrowed.

4.1 Historical Context

Though presently living in the highlands, hence their endonym, the ancestors of the **Xantāsa** were two distinct peoples, which spoke different languages, with some additional groups that have mixed in over time. The original people of the highlands, and in fact, of the lowlands below, spoke another language, referred to as **Tiyiyāsi**, the old language, with the native name being borrowed as **Nāṅūva**, which is a term used more broadly to refer to ‘highland languages’, as opposed to those of the lowlands. This name is more appropriate so I will refer to it as such, even if the **Xantāsa** do not.

This language was pushed to the margins by migrations into the lowlands, which included the people that spoke the ancestral form of **Īlarayāsi**. The speakers of **Nāṅūva** then adopted a large number of loanwords from this ancestral language, in part due to the fact that many of them lived as subjects of these foreign rulers in the lowlands, before migrating up into the highlands in search of new land to settle outside the domain of their overlords. The ancestral **Īlarayāsi** language was heavily influenced by **Nāṅūva**, though primarily in the form of phonological changes and grammatical simplification, as a large number of bilinguals adopted the ancestral form of **Īlarayāsi**. The highlands were already inhabited by other peoples, but the

areas where the **Nāṅūva** speakers lived was on the margins, and their higher population meant that they easily pushed the locals further into the mountains. This was a kind of cycle that was common in the region, and the **Īlarayāsi** speakers were the next to follow suit.

When the **Īlarayāsi** speakers were forced to migrate into the highlands, expelled from the lowlands due to conflict with other groups, they came into contact with the **Nāṅūva** and other groups. The migrants were relatively small in number, but due to their more advanced weapons and farming techniques, they were able to intermix with the **Nāṅūva** and subsume them, in part because their common language allowed them to tie settlements together and bring about more cooperation, trade, and intermixture within the highland communities. **Nāṅūva** slowly became replaced by the **Īlarayāsi** language, and the new **Xantāsa** ethnic identity formed, in opposition to the other peoples of the lowlands who continued to encroach on the mountain people and their way of life. **Xantāsa** villages became interlinked through marriage, trade, and now, a common language.

Now that the two languages had similar phonologies and grammatical structures, the differences were much more apparent when it came to loanwords, which were not simply nativised, but borrowed in whole, with little changes. Around a third of the **Īlarayāsi** vocabulary derives from **Nāṅūva**, though the usage differs widely between social settings, with **Nāṅūva** words being seen as more informal/familiar while native **Īlarayāsi** vocabulary is seen as more formal and distant. It should be noted that this vocabulary from **Nāṅūva** has a large proportion of back borrowings, these being forms that were originally from the ancestor of **Īlarayāsi**, and then reborrowed back into the language when they assimilated the **Nāṅūva** speakers.

4.2 Substrate Phonology & Phonotactics

Nāṅūva had a similar phonology to modern **Īlarayāsi**, but with some clear differences. The language did not distinguish the dental/alveolar/retroflex/palatal series of **Īlarayāsi**, but rather only had two coronal series, a dental or alveolar series and a retroflex or postalveolar series. The exact pronunciation of each series depended on the point of time at which the language was spoken, and thus, plays a role in the form of borrowings. There was no palatal series to begin with in **Nāṅūva**, though it did develop one, primarily due to borrowings from **Īlarayāsi** as well as some language-internal palatalisation rules. **Nāṅūva** lacked fricatives, unlike **Īlarayāsi**, and all borrowed terms from the language lack fricatives. They also lacked a distinction between the series of rhotics and laterals, only having a single consonant each, those being a dental/alveolar lateral approximant and a retroflex/postalveolar tap. However, the rhotic in

Nāṅūva was permitted word initially, and this has led to the appearance of a small number of roots that have an initial retroflex tap. The vowel system of **Nāṅūva** is essentially the same as that of **Īlarayāsi**, being a three vowel system with a length distinction. The gradation system of **Īlarayāsi** developed due to influence from **Nāṅūva**, and functioned quite similarly in that language. The number of gradating consonants obviously differed due to the different series in each language, but the stress conditioning of the process was also found in **Nāṅūva**.

Table 19: Early **Nāṅūva** Consonants

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Postalveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>
<i>Nasal</i>	/m/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/		/ŋ/	
<i>Stop</i>	/p/	/t̪/	/t̪/		/k/	/q/
<i>Liquids</i>		/l̪/	/ɽ/	/j/	/w/	

Table 20: Late **Nāṅūva** Consonants

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>
<i>Nasal</i>	/m/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
<i>Stop</i>	/p~β/	/t̪~l̪/	/t̪~ɽ/	/c~j/	/k~ɰ/	/q~ɣ/
<i>Liquids</i>	/β/	/l̪/	/ɽ/	/j/		

Table 21: **Nāṅūva** Vowels

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>High</i>	/i i:/		/u u:/
<i>Low</i>		/a a:/	

Nāṅūva had a similar phonotactic structure to modern **Īlarayāsi**, in that it permits all consonants in the onset, and unlike **Īlarayāsi** there are no strong restrictions as to where each consonant can appear within the word. However, the palatal series, being a secondary development, has arisen from the influence of a following high front vowel, as well as from ancestral **Īlarayāsi** borrowings.

However, the most important things to note about borrowings in terms of how they differ is the fact that dental, retroflex, and uvular consonants are

unrestricted in terms of where they can occur. I will now discuss exactly how different consonants have been borrowed at different times from **Nāṅūva** into **Īlarayāsi**.

- Early **Nāṅūva** postalveolars are reflected as alveolars (and then may shift to retroflex under the usual rules), while Late **Nāṅūva** retroflexes are always borrowed as retroflexes.
- **Nāṅūva** dentals are always reflected as dentals, even in contexts where they weren't originally permitted.
- /q/ from Early **Nāṅūva** is always reflected as **Īlarayāsi** /χ/, though Late **Nāṅūva** borrowings differ and reflect /q/ as /k/.
- The Early **Nāṅūva** rhotic is always reflected as **Īlarayāsi** /r/ initially, with non-initial /r/ alternating with /ɾ/ as expected. The Late **Nāṅūva** rhotic is instead always /ɾ/.
- Late **Nāṅūva** appears to have assimilated all medial obstruent clusters into geminates, which also has occurred in **Īlarayāsi**.
- Late **Nāṅūva** gradation also affected word final consonants, unlike in **Īlarayāsi**, which means that /ɥ ʁ/ may occur word-finally in those borrowings, though usually this issue is resolved by the presence of a following echo vowel.

The vowels are more simple in terms of how they are reflected, but there are still some oddities.

- When adjacent to /q/, Early **Nāṅūva** /i u/ are sometimes reflected as /a/ in **Īlarayāsi**; the inconsistency has more to do with the mid-vowel loss that occurred later on in **Īlarayāsi**'s development. This alternation doesn't occur in Late **Nāṅūva** borrowings.
- The exact phonetics of the vowels seem to have differed at the earlier stages. Early **Nāṅūva** short /a/ is reflected as alternating between /a/ and /u/, which would be seen as an ancestral *o.

4.3 Layers of Substrate Vocabulary

The following table presents some examples of borrowings into **Īlarayāsi** from **Nāṅūva**, considering each stage of borrowings, and also considering the origins of those words, as many of the borrowings have cycled from ancestral **Īlarayāsi** to **Nāṅūva** and back to **Īlarayāsi** over the course of history.

Table 22: Examples of Borrowings from **Nāṅūva**

<i>Period</i>	<i>Original form/meaning</i>	<i>Modern form/meaning</i>
Early	*pa:to ‘gully’	pāla ‘seasonal stream’
	*to:ri ‘dike’	tūri ‘moat, irrigation channel’
	*tu: ‘gold’	tū ‘adornment, jewellery’
	*qi:lo ‘machete’	xīla ‘ceremonial blade’
	*ra:to ‘territory’	rāta ‘polity, tribe’
	*ju:mu ‘stew’	yūmu ‘supper’
	*nok ‘stone’	nak ‘grindstone, mill’
	*ṅuwo ‘tongue, language’	ṅūva ‘babbling, unintelligible speech’
	*wo ‘bamboo’	vā ‘bamboo (classifier)’
	Late	*ṅaṅṅa ‘grandfather’
*ṅaṅja ‘grandmother’		ṅaṅca ‘old woman’
*ma:raḷ ‘cloak’		ma:raḷ ‘headscarf’
*kaṅ ‘climb’		kaṅ ‘play (of children)’
*βiqqu ‘beaver’		viku ‘beaver’
*ja:ṭṭi ‘waste, get rid of’		yāṭi ‘let ferment, brew (alcohol)’
*ta:ṭṭi ‘walls (defensive)’		ṭāri ‘pallisade’
*niβa: ‘hearth’		ṅivā ‘stove’
*ja: ‘mother, wife, woman’		yā ‘wife, woman (colloquial)’
*ṅaṅ ‘true, correct, right’		ṅaṅ ‘lawful, traditional, proper’
Back-Borrowings	*mej ‘person’ → *ma:ji ‘foreigner’	māyi ‘highlander’
	*pus ‘brother’ → *puṭ ‘male cousin’	puṭ ‘male cross cousin’
	*nej ‘sister’ → *ṅa:ji ‘female cousin’	ṅāyi ‘female cross cousin’
	*pik ‘field’ → *piuṅ ‘pasture’	piki ‘cleared field’
	*ki ‘tent’ → *ki: ‘canvas’	kiguṅ ‘canvas’
	*la ‘take, do’ → *la: ‘steal, tax, appropriate’	lāmi ‘thief, bandit, foreigner (derogatory)’
	*ṅam ‘animal’ → *ṅaṅṅam ‘livestock’	ṅāṅam ‘grazing animal’
	*paṅwa ‘headman’ → *pampa ‘lord, noble’	pampa ‘lowlander ruler’

5 Examples

5.1 Conlang Syntax Test Cases

The following examples have been randomly selected from the Conlang Syntax Test Cases (CSTC), though some of them have been changed slightly, so the vocabulary fits with the conculture/location of the **Xantāsa**. Where this is the case, a word or phrase has been *italicised*.

- (11) a. **ṅamtalāsa varḷap kūma piṅṅaṅta.**
ṅamtalasa varḷap ku = ma pik-ṅaṅ-ta
hunter.PL fire.pit side-LOC FIELD-sit-PST.REAL
‘The *hunters* sat around the fire.’ (CSTC 48)

- b. **Magriḷra ḷam yuḅḅugi sī.**
magriḷ = ra ḷam yuḅḅu = ki sī
river = ERG path sea-DAT know
‘The river knows the way to the sea.’ (CSTC 146)
- c. **Ḥāragi maḅsa lim cūlamaḅ**
ḅāra = ki maḅsa lim cūla-maḅ
1SG = DAT kitten small walk-AND.PST
‘My little kitten walked away.’ (CSTC 17)
- d. **Lāsiralsa Kagamtalluma ivuḅ sā, xāra yārama ini sā.**
lāsiralsa kagamtallu = ma ivuḅ sā xāra
PN PN = DAT 3.POSS-brother COP DIST.3SG
yāra = ma ini sā
PROX.3SG = DAT 3.POSS-sister COP
‘Lāsiralsa and Kagamtallu are brother and sister.’ (CSTC 111)
LIT. *Lāsiralsa* is *Kagamtallu*’s brother, and she is his sister.
- e. **Māra xālarikiḅ ḅūma vax.**
māra xa = lasi-kiḅ ḅū = ma vax
2SG DIST = chosen-time over = LOC come
‘You have come too soon.’ (CSTC 36)
LIT. You have come over/before the chosen time.

5.2 A Story About The Sea

This is a story told by a **Xantāsa** father to his children about the sea, which none of them have ever seen, living high in the mountains, far from any large bodies of water.

- (12) a. **Ḥāra sāsa taḅsiya ḅāva ḅāragi ivansi cuḅta.**
ḅāra sasa taḅ-siya ḅa-va ḅāra = ki
1SG boy COP.PST.REAL-IPFV.CONV 1.POSS-father 1SG = DAT
i = pansi cuḅ-ta
PROX = story tell-PST.REAL
‘When I was a boy, my father told me this same story.’
- b. **Raḅpu in tirivu xāxaya ḅuḅ.**
raḅ = vu in tī-sivu xāxaya ḅuḅ
sky = ABL rain fall-PFV.CNV earth-INN gather
‘Rain falls from the sky, and it collects in the ground.’

- c. **Xāxayaŋvi yuŋ valya cāra magriḷya cara kā.**
 xāxayaŋ=vi yuŋ val=ya cara magriḷ=ya cara kā
 high.point=ABL water stream=INST river=INST go
 ‘Streams and rivers flow down from high places.’
- d. **Xayuŋca cara māraŋālaḷum ŋiŋpi xuḷvi.**
 xayuŋ=ya cara māraŋālaḷum ŋiŋ-vi xuḷ-vi
 DIST=water=INST 1PL.INCL drink-NPST.IRR wash-NPST.IRR
 ‘That is how we may drink and wash.’
- e. **Xāvu yuŋ kampigyagi kā.**
 xa=vu yuŋ kampik=yagi kā
 DIST=ABL water lowlands=ILL go
 ‘The water continues flowing down, down into the lowlands.’
- f. **ŋjāra kamkugu laŋsi ŋixuyita, xāvu varku kampaŋpaŋ laŋpi.**
 ŋjāra kamku~ku laŋ-si ŋi=xūyi-ta xa=vu varku
 1SG pl~foothill see-NMLZ NEG=NEG.AUX-PST DIST=BL smoke
 kampaŋ~paŋ laŋ-vi
 pl~lowland.town see-NPST.IRR
 ‘I have never seen further than the foothills, where the smoke from the towns of the lowlanders can be seen.’
- g. **Magriḷmagriḷ kā, vaŋma vaŋmagriḷ luṣ sā, vaŋta paruŋma mal.**
 magriḷ~magriḷ kā, vaŋ=ma vaŋ=magriḷ luṣ sā vaŋta
 pl~river go SUB=LOC SUB=river wide COP SUB.3SG
 pa=suŋ=ma mal
 INT=day=LOC be.full
 ‘The rivers continue to flow down there, where they are wide and always full.’
- h. **Kayaŋpu lam livu yuŋ kampigyagi kāsiya...**
 kayaŋ=vu lam lī=vu yuŋ kampik=yagi kā-siya
 mountain=ABL path long=ABL water lowland=ILL go-PFV.CNV
 ‘The water goes down through the lowlands, far from the mountains.’
- i. **Sil cīma yuŋ nūšima, xāxarik yinpu sāsigi vax.**
 sil ci=ma yuŋ nuš-sima xāxarik yin=vu
 place one=LOC water collect-SIMULT.CNV puddle rain=ABL
 sā-sigi vax
 COP-PURP.CNV come.NPST.IRR
 ‘Then it pools in one spot, like how a puddle forms in the rain.’
- j. **Iril yuŋnū sā.**

i = sil yuṇṇū sā
PROX-place sea COP

‘This is the sea.’

k. **Tat magriḷvi tat yuṇ vaṇki kā**

tat magriḷ = vi tat yuṇ vaṇ = ki kā
all river = ABL all water SUB = DAT go

‘All the water from all the rivers goes there.’

l. **Ḥāra kampigmī tāyiriya xālaḷumta panṇūvari cuṇta.**

ḥāra kampigmī tāyi-siya xālaḷum = ra pan-ḥūva-si
1SG lowlander hear-PST DIST.3PL = ERG various-babble-NMLZ
cuṇ-ta
tell-PST

‘I have heard outsiders say different things about it.’

m. **Cuṇsiya vaṇta cimsam paṇpi.**

cuṇ-siya vaṇta cim-sam paṇ-vi
tell-IPFV.CNV SUB.3SG salt-like taste

‘That it tastes like salt.’

n. **Cuṇsiya vaṇta ḥaḡyama ḥammal.**

cuṇ-siya vaṇta ḥax = yama ḥam-mal
tell-IPFV.CNV SUB.3SG fish-COM ANIM.EDIB-be.full

‘That it is full of fish.’

o. **Cuṇsiya ḥax ḥiḡi pāsivu, mī tat xansūvi.**

cuṇ-siya ḥax ḥī = ki pa-sivu mī tat
tell-IPFV.CNV fish big = DAT grow-PFV.CNV person all
xan-sū-vi
BODY-eat-NPST.IRR

‘That the fish grow so big that they could eat a man whole.’

p. **Cuṇsiya yilra yuṇ pāsivu yuṇ parūki ḥūḡi kā.**

cuṇ-siya yil = ra yuṇ pat-sivu yuṇ pa = tūki
tell-IPFV.CNV wind = ERG water push-PFV.CNV water INT = hall
ḥū = ki kā
over = DAT go

‘That the wind makes the water climb higher than any hall in our village.’

q. **Ḥāra iyi sirivu tat yuṇ vaṇki kū.**

ŋāra i = ci sī-sivu tat yuŋ vaŋ = ki kū
 1SG PROX = one know-PFV.CNV all water SUB = DAT go.NPST.IRR

‘All I know is that all the water must go there.’

r. **Raŋ insivu yuŋ yuŋŋugi kū**

raŋ in-sivu yuŋ yuŋŋu = ki kū
 sky rain-PFV.CNV water sea = DAT go.NPST.IRR

‘If the sky continues to rain, then water will go to the sea.’

s. **Suŋ cima vaŋta vaŋxagāma sarvi.**

suŋ ci = ma vaŋta vaŋ = xāxa = ma sat-vi
 day one = LOC SUB.3SG SUB = land = LOC spill-NPST.IRR

‘One day, it will spill onto the land.’

t. **Kampik mūki sāsivu kampik yuŋŋu kākī ŋam.**

kampik muk = ki sā-sivu kampik yuŋŋu kat = ki
 lowland mud = DAT COP-PFV.CONV lowland sea part = DAT
 ŋam
 COP.NPST.IRR

‘The lowlands will be mud, then they will be part of the sea.’

u. **Māraŋālaḷum xāxayaŋ ŋūma tat lāsa sāsivu māraŋālaḷum vaŋtaḷumki niŋiḡū**

māraŋālaḷum xāxayaŋ ŋū = ma tat lāsa sā-sivu
 1PL.INCL high over = LOC all people COP-PFV.CNV
 māraŋālaḷum vaŋtaḷum = ki niŋiri kū
 1PL.INCL SUB.3PL = DAT laugh-NMLZ give.NPST.IRR

‘We will laugh at them, because we are the highest of peoples.’

v. **Salva māraŋālaḷūma tāsimsivu yuŋ yuŋŋugi ciŋkarivu xaruŋpu māraŋālaḷum xaratya paril kamxalāvi.**

salva māraŋālaḷum = ma tāsīm-sivu yuŋ yuŋŋu = ki
 PN 1PL.INCL = ACC protect-PFV.CNV water sea = DAT
 ciŋka-sivu xa = suŋ = vu māraŋālaḷum xarat = ya
 return-PFV.CNV DIST = day = ABL 1PL.INCL world = INN
 pa = sil kamxa-lā-vi
 INT = place LOWLANDS-take-NPST.IRR

‘If *Salva* protects us, and the water returns to the sea, we will have all the world to take after that day.’

w. **Ivinpu māraŋālaḷūma in vālaŋūki campivi.**

i = vin = vu māraŋālaḷūma in vālaŋu = ki campivi
 PROX = reason = abl 1PL.INCL rain more = DAT pray-NPST.IRR

‘This is why we pray for more rain.’

Abbreviations

1	1 st person	IRR	irrealis
2	2 nd person	LOC	locative
3	3 rd person	MASS	massive
ABB	abessive	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NPST	non-past
ABS	absolute	PFV	perfective
ACC	accusative	PL	plural
AND	andative	POL	polar question
COM	comitative	PRES	present
CIS	cislocative	PST	past
CNV	converb	PURP	purposive
DAT	dative	REAL	realis
ELA	elative	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	SGV	singulative
ILL	illative	SUB	sublative
INN	inessive	SUP	superlative
INST	instrumental	TRA	translocative
IPFV	imperfective	VEN	venitive

Classifier Abbreviations

ANIM	animal
BAMBOO	bamboo shaped
BASKET	basket shaped
BOWL	bowl shaped
BODY	(human) body
CHILD	child
CLAN	clan
EDIB	edible
FIELD	field
FRUIT	fruit shape/texture
EGG	egg shape/texture
HAIR	hair shaped
HALL	hall
HOUSE	house
INED	inedible
LEAF	leaf shaped
LOWLAND	lowland
PRED	predatory
RICE	rice like
SILT	silt like
SKIN	skin like
SOIL	soil like
SPOUSE	spouse
STICK	stick shaped
STONE	stone like
VILLAGE	village
WOOD	wood shaped