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Welcome.

This conference is the first of its kind. Hopefully it will not be the last, but rather just one step towards the outing of the once-secret “Vice”\(^1\).

Many of us are already well familiar with the world of conlanging, and the worlds that it can create. Many, too, have at some point been surprised to realize that there \textit{is} such a world; that we were not the only ones, after all, to have done such a work of “sub-creation”\(^2\). Far from it; online, one can find refuges not just for fellow language-creators, but a large array of guides, essays, conversation, and detailed descriptions of a vast array of created languages.

There are, as there always have been, a wide variety as well, with purposes including the unification of the world through one language; fleshing out a created world; integrating a sense of logic and expressive power; expressing a unique worldview through the psychological effects of language on its user; pushing the boundaries of what language itself is capable of; and many more besides. In the past, there have been conferences about several of these particular languages by their adherents (and detractors), to discuss the language as it currently exists, or as it may yet be. But there have been none, that I know of, about the creative act \textit{itself}— to teach and discuss language creation, not as the domain of some brilliant but unique founder, but as something we can all engage in (and we do so on a daily basis, whether intentionally or not).

It is my hope that this conference, and the interviews and gatherings associated with it, will help to hasten the outing of language creation as the unique art and science that it is.

Fiat lingua!

\textit{- Sai Emrys}

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\(^1\) John Ronald Reuel Tolkein, \textit{A Secret Vice}

\(^2\) Boudewijn Rempt, \textit{Apologia pro Imaginione}
Thanks

This conference has been greatly assisted by many people – some expectedly, most not. I would be remiss not to thank those people who have made it possible to run this conference, and who have encouraged me along the way.

- Ellen Wright - Webmaster; Flyer & Product Designer
- Katrina Storey - Flyering
- Prof. John F. Kihlstrom - for getting CogSci financial support
- Yury Sobolev - OCF hosting
- ASUC Senators Lin and Narodick - ASUC sponsorship
- Anna Fuller - organizational finances
- Sally Caves, John Quijada, John E Clifford, David Peterson, Doug Ball, Matt Pearson, Jeff Burke – for coming out to speak!
- Everyone on CONLANG, ZBB, & LJ Conlangs - ongoing support & feedback
- William Richard – audio interviews

Of course, events cost money (on the order of $1500 + $1000/day). I have been very pleasantly surprised at the generosity of both individual and institutional contributors, without whose help we would not have been able to cover the costs of running this event. Nearly two thirds of the funds (>1400) came from individual donors and ticket sales; the rest, from the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) and the CogSci major.

Many thanks to the following for their financial support:

- The ASUC Senate, FiCom, Academic Opportunity Fund, and Intellectual Community Fund
- The Group Major for Cognitive Science at UC Berkeley
- Anonymous
- Doug Ball
- John Clifford
- Glenn Kempf (not attending)
- Tony Harris (not attending)
- Sarah Higley
- Matt Pearson
- Bill Welden
- Berkeley Bowl
- Jamba Juice
- Smart Alec’s

To you all – thank you.

- Sai
Miscellaneous info

Conference Video
The entire conference will be videotaped. This video will be uploaded to video.google.com and archive.org, and linked to from the conference website, http://conlangs.berkeley.edu. Google Video offers a convenient and fast-loading streaming Flash player; archive.org offers the original, high-resolution video.

If you want a DVD version of this conference in addition, please contact Sai to request one, about a week after the conference.

T-shirts and other gear
A variety of shirts, mugs, stamps, and buttons with the conference logo and the Conlang Flag are available online. You can find links to purchase these through the website.

Feedback forms
Together with this program, you should receive a number of feedback forms. Please fill these out to let the speakers and organizers know what you think of the talks and the conference itself (somewhat like the ‘guestbook’ in a museum). What you write will only be released in accordance with the ways you explicitly check off as allowable, so please make sure to do so (or Sai will be the only one to read it). If you wish to write your name, do so; if not, your comments will be anonymous by default. If you need more space, use the back side.

Interviews
William Richard, radio producer with UC Berkeley’s KALX, will be conducting audio interviews during the conference. If you are interested in having a conversation about your language, why you began conlanging, your experience with it in larger society or academic circles, or any stories to share, please flag him down. Material recorded will be used only as you explicitly allow (you will be asked). If allowed, it will be posted online together with the conference video.

Sai will also be conducting (video) interviews, in the days preceding the conference and possibly afterwards as well; if you are interested in being interviewed on camera, talk to him.

Press
If you are a member of the press, or intend to publish any articles about this conference, please talk to Sai.
Talks

Doug Ball: "Conlanging and the Linear Aspects of Syntax"

Abstract: This talk will look at the ideas on linearization developed in Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) and related frameworks. Starting from a traditional phrase structure view, it will be shown that the separation of linear precedence and dominance relations yields some previously uncaptured generalizations. Furthermore, it provides a way to see further generalizations about the ordering of words and phrases. I will discuss three of these generalizations: ordering of information-structure functions, ordering by "weight," and ordering of arguments vis-à-vis their prominence on the thematic hierarchy. Thus, linearization offers another tool, beyond Greenbergian typology, to help conlangers design more natural language-like syntaxes for their conlangs.

Bio: Doug Ball is originally from Colorado, where he was residing when he began work on Skerre at the age of 13. This language has been his conlanging focus for close to 12 years now, though he has worked on a few other, less involved, side projects over the years. He is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Linguistics at Stanford University, where his research has focused on matters such as noun incorporation and argument realization in the Polynesian languages, and consonant clusters in the Native American language Wichita.

Jeff Burke: "Language as Growth-in-Time"

Abstract: When we first learn foreign languages, we're often introduced to a way of thinking that's dangerous to understanding what a language actually is and how it works: questions of "why" directed at baroque inflectional or conjugational systems are answered with a curt "because it's just that way." But there's almost always a good reason why, and that why lies in the history of the language. I'll be discussing language as growth-in-time, as opposed to a static entity, and what implications this has for conlangers whose aim is naturalistic languages. In addition to sound change, I'll also cover changes driven by conceptual shifts among speakers of a language, with the development of the four-way gender distinction in Iroquoian as a paradigm case.

Bio: Jeff S. Burke is from central Indiana, and holds a BA in Music from Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. He has worked as a sound engineer for the last five years in the Indianapolis area. Among his many interests are the Algonquian and Iroquoian language families, which he has spent more than a decade studying and lusting after in his quest to build a conlang family of his own.

Sally Caves: "The Medium and the Internet Conlanger: Vision, Venue, and Play"

Abstract: In this talk I will generally examine what we do on the Internet in the way of "playing." My term "medium" is double-edged in that I refer both to the famous medium Héléne Smith, and the media by which we we air this new activity (old, actually, but not given the means by which fellow inventors can confer and interact as we do now). How has the Internet both expanded and
closed what we do? Why is inventing a language something outsiders associate with child's play? Why was Hildegard a "serious" conlanger but not Smith who was deemed hysterical and regressive? How have various media, combined with social attitudes, shaped the way in which we engage ourselves in this pursuit and how we (and outsiders) perceive it? With these and other questions, I can be freer in this conference of fellow conlangers to wear both my hats—as language inventor and scholar of language invention—and thus reveal what it is I think I'm doing now, what I thought I was doing before I came upon CONLANG, and where I see myself and the rest of you in these overlapping continua of play, language, art, self-expression, and system.

Bio: B.A. in English from Scripps College, 1975, Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1983, Fulbright Hays Grant to Wales; taught at the University of Geneva, Switzerland, from 1984-1986, and at the University of Rochester, NY from 1986 to present. Author of Between Languages: Old English and Early Welsh Poetry, Penn State 1993; co-editor of a volume of essays: Nothing That Is: Millenial Cinema and the Blair Witch Controversies, Wayne State, 2004; published articles on Old and Middle English, Middle Welsh, Old Norse, teratology, science and mythology, television and film studies, conlanging; book on Hildegard of Bingen's Lingua Ignota under scrutiny at Palgrave; work in progress on A Genealogy of Language Invention. Published science fiction and fantasy, and two aired teleplays (Star Trek: TNG and Star Trek: DS9). Interests: art, calligraphy, book-making, creative writing, singing, composition.

John E. Clifford: "Semantic Primes: aUI to Esperanto with Stops Along the Way"

Abstract: Semantic primes are units of meaning, presumably relatively few in number (relative to the OED anyhow), in terms of which "all" other meanings can be defined. That there must be such things has been known since defining began to be studied and they were early involved in created languages (histories always offer up typographical horrors from the 17th century, e.g., Urqhart's). We will look at how this notion plays out in a few modern created languages: aUI, in which it is of central importance, informing word construction as well as semantic; toki pona, in which the notion is not explicit but is clearly active in vocabulary choice; Lojban (and Loglan), in which the notion is rejected in favor of semantic primitives, a larger list which are still meant to allow defining everything else, but which may themselves also be defined; and Esperanto, in which the notion plays almost no role at all. We shall also look at the notion in the context of scientific linguistics, where the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) program is attempting to find the semantic primes of various languages in the hope of developing a list which works for all languages. This search is obviously an empirical one, while many created languages use an apriori (or intuitive) approach to selecting primes. These approaches as well as the limitations on techniques for forming definitions using primes are topics we take up. Along the way we will look at how vocabulary is related to meaning units, at some problems that proposed systems of primes run into, and at an emerging set of primes and definition techniques.

Bio: John E. Clifford (Parks-Clifford — whence his sobriquets in Loglan and Lojban, pc and pycyn — for the duration of one wife) received a BA from Michigan State, then spent a year at Princeton before settling in at UCLA for a decade. In that time he acquired an MA in Linguistics and a PhD in Philosophy (dissertation on natural language tense and tense logic). He spent 33 years in the Philosophy Department of the University of Missouri - St. Louis, teaching Logic (from Critical Thinking through Goedel), Asian Philosophy, and Philosophy of Religion, and occasionally other things that needed teaching. He was an Esperantist from his second year at Exeter, though mainly lapsed. He first worked with Loglan in 1960 (after the Scientific
American article) as a contribution to the machine translation program at RAND. When Loglan reemerged in 1975, he reupped, becoming the first editor of The Loglanist, a member of the board of The Loglan Institute and eventually Vice-President, then President. He joined the Logical Language Group in the mid-80s and has participated actively in the development of Lojban, mainly advocating more logic in keeping with his early exposure -- under Carnap and the like -- to the notion of a logically perfect language. He was involved with aUI while sabbaticating on Iowa and has recently taken up toki pona and a good old Logical Positivist examination of NSM. He is still looking for an empirically testable hypothesis that comes close to the informal proposals of Sapir and Whorf.

**Sai Emrys: "Non-Linear Fully 2-Dimensional Writing Systems"**

Abstract: All natural writing systems are linear; they can be arranged as a purely arbitrary sequence of symbols in a string with no loss of meaning. This talk explores the idea of non-linear writing systems - design considerations, desirable features, psychological ramifications, problems that would need to be addressed, potential implementations, and what they would have to offer that linear languages are intrinsically incapable of doing.

Bio: Sai Emrys is the sole organizer of this conference, two-time teacher of the Conlangs DE-Cal course, and founder of the LiveJournal Conlangs community. He is finishing his B.A. in Cognitive Science at UC Berkeley, and is in the midst of revising his plans for the future. Sai can converse in English, Russian, Spanish, French, American Sign Language, and Japanese, and has some rusty knowledge of Mandarin and Arabic. He is currently employed as a consultant by Medtronic Inc., working on nondisclosable international projects; former jobs have included database design, systems administration, SAT tutoring, programming, and massage therapy. He currently lives in Oakland CA with his roommate and cat, and is interested such things as wordplay, massage, empathy, music, good food, computers, neuroscience, linguistics, meditation, hiking, energy work, and (of course) in seeing how far the boundaries of language creation can be pushed - with an eye towards effecting cognitive change and empowerment.

**Matt Pearson: "Case, Aspect, and Argument Structure: One Conlanger's Investigations"**

Abstract: This talk explores case and agreement systems in different languages, with particular reference to the ways in which case-role assignment interacts with factors related to argument and event structure, such as animacy, definiteness and specificity, ‘aktionsart’ (whether the predicate is stative or dynamic, telic or atelic, etc.), and aspect (perfectivity, habituality, etc.). The talk includes both a typological and an autobiographical component: I begin by briefly illustrating how case/agreement interacts with argument and event structure in various natural languages. I then show how my own efforts at language construction have been informed by these phenomena, and how my attempts to create different kinds of case systems have broadened my understanding of the syntax and semantics of argument and event structure.

Bio: Matt Pearson is an assistant professor of linguistics at Reed College, in Portland, Oregon. He specializes in syntactic theory and cross-linguistic variation, with an emphasis on the structure of Malagasy. He has been creating artlangs, and collecting examples of artlangs from SF/F literature, for many years. While completing his PhD at UCLA, Matt was hired to design
the alien 'hive' language for the short-lived NBC show "Dark Skies", and also did dubbing and
dialogue coaching for the show.

David Peterson: "Down with Morphemes: What Word and Paradigm
Morphology Can Teach Us About Language Creation"

Abstract: In any introductory linguistics class, the student is taught that a
morpheme is the smallest unit of meaning in a language. Thus, in a word like
"cats", one combines the morpheme "cat" (meaning "cat") and the morpheme "-s" (meaning "plural") to get "cats" (meaning "more than one cat"). Under the
morpheme-based account of language, meaning is merely strung together like
beads on a string, and is in a one-to-one correspondence relationship with more
or less fixed phonological entities (i.e., roots and affixes). Thus, to explain a
language, in a morpheme-based theory, all one has to do is come up with a list of roots and
affixes, and rules on how to combine them.

Whether this view of language is accurate or not is not relevant to language creation, per se.
What is relevant is how useful a morpheme-based account is to language creation. In this talk I
will argue that a morpheme-based account of language is detrimental to the creation of a
naturalistic language. As an alternative, I will summarize the basic principles behind Word and
Paradigm Morphology--a non-morpheme-based approach to linguistic analysis--and demonstrate
how the insights gained from Word and Paradigm Morphology can help to create a more
naturalistic conlang. After all, as the present/past tense pair "take"/"took" shows, creating a
language is more complicated -- and far more interesting--than merely coming up with a list of
roots and affixes.

Bio: David J. Peterson received BA's in English and Linguistics from UC Berkeley, where he
discovered language creation via a class on Esperanto. Since then, he's made it a goal of his to
learn more about language and linguistics in order to create more naturalistic languages. He's the
author of seven or so languages (among them Zhyler and Kamakawi), and is currently a graduate
student of linguistics at UCSD.

John Quijada: "Applying Concepts from Cognitive Linguistics to Your
Conlang"

Abstract: A brief introduction to the basic history and premises of cognitive
linguistics will be provided ("grammar as conceptualization", i.e., that grammar
is merely a reflection of generic cognitive processes as applied to language).
The focus of the presentation is to demonstrate the importance of
understanding/applying basic concepts of cognitive linguistics to increase the
"realism" and individuality of a conlang, and to help avoid inadvertently
mirroring the subconscious linguistic patterns of one's native language when
designing a conlang. Specific topics to be discussed and illustrated with particular focus on how
they can impact the design of a conlang include (1) construal, perspective, and iconicity; (2)
image schemas and spatial conceptualization; (3) prototypes and fuzzy categories; (4) conceptual
metaphors; (5) frame semantics; (6) polysemy.

Bio: John Quijada is the creator of Ithkuil, a philosophical language he worked on over the
course of 25 years (before any internet or any realization on his part that there were other
conlangers in the world besides Tolkien, Ursula LeGuin, and Christian Vander). Ithkuil has
gained a fair degree of notoriety among conlangers and others since its debut on the Web two
years ago. Ithkuil is particularly popular in Russia after being featured in a Russian-language popular science magazine article; in fact, one fan has recently completed posting of a Russian translation of the Ithkuil website. John has a degree in linguistics, speaks five languages, and has just finished co-authoring a novel with his brother exploring the philosophical implications of quantum physics and cognitive science. In addition to conlanging, he enjoys a wide range of hobbies and pastimes including travel, gourmet cooking, eclectic literature, sci-fi, classical and world music, art, art-house cinema, electronic (MIDI) music synthesis, amateur astronomy, amateur protozoology, and cats.
Conlanging and the Linear Aspects of Syntax

Doug Ball
Stanford University, Dept. of Linguistics

April 23, 2006
First Language Creation Conference

1 Introduction

Topics for this talk:

- The linearization framework from Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) (Sag, Wasow, and Bender 2003)
  (also has been used in some versions of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) (Bresnan 2001) and in Categorial Grammar, such as that proposed by Dowty (1995))

- Perhaps more importantly, some linearization generalizations found in the natural languages – grist for the syntax(es) for your own language(s)

2 Separating Out ID and LP

2.1 Traditional Phrase Structure Approach to Syntax

- Find evidence to group words in phrases and phrases into larger phrases
- Capture these patterns using recursive re-write rules such as (1)

(1) \( S \rightarrow NP \ VP \)
  “A clause is comprised of two phrases: a noun phrase on the left and a verb phrase on the right”

- When one looks at a larger number of English sentences, one gets the following set of phrase-structure rules:

(2) \( S \rightarrow NP \ VP \)
  Noun Phrase \([NP]\) \( \rightarrow \) (Det|cr|miner) \( \) AP\* N[oun] \( \) AP\* PP\* 
  Verb Phrase \([VP]\) \( \rightarrow \) V[erb] \( \) NP\* PP\* CP 
  Prepositional Phrase \([PP]\) \( \rightarrow \) P[reposition] \( \) NP
  Adjective Phrase \([AP]\) \( \rightarrow \) A[adj]ective \( \) (PP)
  Complementizer Phrase \([CP]\) \( \rightarrow \) C[omplementizer] \( \) S
  (Parentheses mean option, * means 0 to infinity)

- With some statement of what words belong to what class, such as in (3):

(3) \( N \rightarrow \{\) bird, dog, cat, etc.\(\}
  V \rightarrow \{\) see, throw, chase, etc.\(\}
  Det \rightarrow \{\) the, a(n), this, that, these, those, (and few more)\(\}
  P \rightarrow \{\) to, at, through, over, etc.\(\}
  C \rightarrow \{\) that, if, whether, etc.\(\}

one can generate English sentences (in tree form) such as in (4)

(4)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Det} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{The} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{chased} \quad \text{Det} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{the} \quad \text{cat} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{cat}
\end{array}
\]

- Note that such trees encode both linear order (what comes before what in the string, as read off the bottom of the tree) and dominance (what is a daughter of a mother) at the same time

2.2 A Slightly Different View

- Gazdar and Pullum (1981) observed that rules like (5)

(5) \( S \rightarrow NP \ VP \)
  Noun Phrase \([NP]\) \( \rightarrow \) (Det|cr|miner) \( \) N[oun] \( \) AP\* PP\* 
  Verb Phrase \([VP]\) \( \rightarrow \) V[erb] \( \) NP\* PP\* CP 
  Prepositional Phrase \([PP]\) \( \rightarrow \) P[reposition] \( \) NP
  Adjective Phrase \([AP]\) \( \rightarrow \) A[adj]ective \( \) (PP)
  Complementizer Phrase \([CP]\) \( \rightarrow \) C[omplementizer] \( \) S
  (Parentheses mean option, * means 0 to infinity)
3 Other Linear Generalizations

3.1 Information Status Ordering

What is an information status? A property of a particular constituent having to do with its position in the discourse – new information, old information, the new thing we’re now going to talk about (also termed discourse function)

- For our purposes, we will deal with two, though there is likely a more nuanced classification (see Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Gundel 1988; Lambrecht 1994; Engdahl and Vallduvi 1996, among others)
  - Topic: What has been under discussion, discourse old (aka “theme”)
  - Focus: New information, often contrastive (aka “rheme,” “comment”)

- The Linearization Generalization: Topic ← Focus

Basque (Isolate, Europe)

- In most constructions, verb-final
- Focus (including Wh-words) must immediately precede the verb:

  (8) Nor etorri zen – Jon etorri zen.
      who come AUX John come AUX
      ‘Who came? John came.’ (King and Olaizola Elordi 1996, 204)

- Topic precedes Focus:

  (9) Ni-ri, Jonek azaldu zidan.
      L-DAT JON,ERG explain AUX
      ‘JON explained that to me.’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, 460)

- Other languages like this: Hungarian (Kiss 1995), Turkish (Hoffman 1998), Warlpiri (Legate 2002)

Tzotzil (Mayan, Mexico)

- Verb-initial in canonical clauses
- All topics marked with prenominal word a

---

1 The constraint can be (and probably should be) further restricted to those YPs subcategorized for by the head, but I omit this detail and its motivation due to time.
3.2 Ordering by “Weight”

Units of “Weight” – definitions are a little unclear

Heavy: Either large number of words in a constituent or a complex structure

Light: Single words, maybe prosodically dependent

Medium: Neither heavy nor light – won’t be further discussed

2 Linearization Generalizations

1. Heavy constituents at the end of sentences (X < Heavy)

2. Light constituents appear adjacent to heads

3.2.1 Heavy At the End

(11) English
Introductions to Mary some friends that John had brought to the party.
'(I introduced some friends that John had brought to the party to Mary.' (Hawkins 1990, 228)

(12) a. Boumaa Fijian
Neutral Order: V-O-S
E ra-i ca [a gone] [a case]
3SG see-TR ART child ART old.person
'The old person saw the child.' (Dixon 1988, 243)

b. V-S-Heavy
E tu-u-na mai [o 'Lui Waini'eli] ni o ira sa-na mai 'aba-ti
3SG tell-TR here ART (title) COMP ART 3PL INCP-FUT come invade-TR Boumaa.
(place)
'Tui Waini'eli said that they would come and invade Boumaaa.' (Dixon 1988, 243)

(13) a. Basque
“Neutral Order:” S-IO-O-V
[ene aitak] [anari] [gona gorria] [ekari dio].
my father:ERG mother:DAT skirt red:DET bring AUX
‘My father brought mother a red skirt.’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, 448)

b. S-V-Heavy
[jonek] [esan du] [Mikelek erloju-galdu due].
(name):ERG say AUX (name):ERG watch lose AUX,COMP
‘Jon said that Mikel lost the watch.’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, 452)

- The opposite (Heavy < other) may occur in Japanese but the phenomenon in Japanese doesn’t quite match what’s going on above, so it might also be an information status effect

3.2.2 Light Adjacent to Heads

Dutch

- SVO in main clauses, SOV in subordinate clauses
- Get stacking of verbs (light words) at the end of the sentences, italicized, as in (14)

(14) dat ik Henk haar de nijlpauwen zag helpen voeren.
that I (name) her the hippos see-PAST help-INF feed-INF
‘I saw Henk help her feed the hippos’ (Rentier 1994), see also (Bresnan et al. 1982)

- Similar things happen in Korean (Yoo 2002) and Japanese (Iida and Sells 2004), though the head-dependent relationships are more continuous in these languages
The interesting generalizations

1. In languages with fixed word order, the linear order of the arguments follows the thematic hierarchy, i.e. Agt NP ≪ Pat NP
2. Agt NP ≪ Pat NP is also the more unmarked order in languages with freer word order
3. Exceptions are often cases where information status considerations come into play

The Germanic Family

- Fixed word order languages require order: Agt NP ≪ Recip NP ≪ Pat NP

3.3 Ordering by Thematic Hierarchy Ranking

What is the thematic hierarchy? A ranking of semantic (aka thematic) roles held by the arguments of a predicate. An example (“>” means outranks):

- Both thematic roles and some aspects of the thematic hierarchy are problematic (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005, ch. 2, ch. 6) have a good discussion of the issues
- It seems that there is some sort of prominence relationship between co-arguments, but (17) probably isn’t quite the right way to understand it
- Furthermore, the ranking of recipients in controversial: are they above patient/themes or below them? Data below is similarly ambivalent (though something else very well might be going on)

\begin{itemize}
\item Dutch – all other orders of Jan, zijn vader, and het boek ungrammatical
\item Swedish – all other orders of Jan, sin far, and boken ungrammatical
\item German
\item Danish (Asudeh and Mikkelsen 2000) and Swedish (Toivonen 2003) also have very similar constructions
\end{itemize}
• The *ka*-phrase is required to be clause-final, regardless what “voice” the verb is in, as in (21)

(21) a. Omita huling ka Pawan.
   see.AF dog KAA (name)
   ‘Pawan sees a dog’ (Holmer 1996, 58)

b. Wada=mu qtaun ka Pawan.
   PRET.AUX=1SG.GEN see.PF KAA (name)
   ‘Pawan was seen by me’ (Holmer 1996, 58)

• Aside from the *ka* phrase, Seediq phrases follow the thematic hierarchy generalization of Agt NP < Pat NP < Recip NP (note Pat and Recip flipped from Germanic)

(22) a. Pat NP < Recip NP (Agt = Trigger)
   Wada mege sapah Pawan ka Awi.
   PRET.AUX give.AF house (name) KAA (name)
   ‘Awi gave Pawan a house.’ (Holmer 1996, 79)

b. Agt < Pat NP (Recip = Trigger)
   Bnqan=mu lukus mu heya
give.PRET.LE=1SG.GEN clothes 1SG.GEN 3SG.NOM
   ‘I gave my clothes to him’ (Holmer 1996, 79)

• Similar rigidity is found in another Austronesian language, Malagasy (Pearson 2005)

4 Typology of these phenomena

• What kinds of languages do these phenomena happen in?

Information Status Ordering

• Found in all kinds of languages; more common in languages with richer morphology

• The more analytical languages, however, seem to need “extra” words (beyond their canonical constructions) for their information structure constructions, as in English cleft sentences: *It is linear ordering that we’re talking about*

• Basque-style information status ordering particularly common among verb-final languages

Heavy and Light Ordering

• Insofar as it has been cross-linguistically studied, these are found in languages of all sorts

• Light-adjacent-to-head may be absent from polysynthetic languages

• Light words very common in complex predicate constructions, where two or more predicates combine to form one predicate, as in (14) and (16)

Thematic Hierarchy Ordering

• Much more strongly felt in rigid-order languages (which tend not to have other marking)

• However, as noted above, also found as the unmarked order in freer word order languages

5 Concluding Thoughts

• All the phenomena here may not be best analyzed through linear precedence constraints; however, the linear precedence facts remain even if they are to be accounted in some other way

• In creating your syntax, beyond considering where to put the head of phrases and their dependents, you might consider including one or more of the linearization generalizations here, to add a further twist to your syntax

• Furthermore, like many of the other speakers today, I strongly encourage:
  - The use of linguistic theories to inform (but not dominate) your conlanging
  - Careful examination of primary data to see how real languages actually work
References


Central Mountain Family Sound Correspondences

(See attached sheets for phoneme charts)

J. S. Burke (rtoennis@yahoo.com)

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<th>Qapakwonaq</th>
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### Consonants

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Hlholamelo/Qapakwonaq  Noyahtowa
Vowels

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{e} & \text{e, e, i, æ} \\
\text{a} & \text{u, ü}
\end{array}
\]

From Late Old Classical to Classical Noyahtowa, the long and mid-length vowels contract to high-pitched and mid-pitched vowels, respectively, with short vowels assuming the role of low-pitch. Thus, the <:> and <’> vowel-length diacritics directly above actually refer vowel pitch instead of length.
PCM Proto-Central-Mountain
Hlh Hlhholameloh
Q Qapakwonaq
N Noyahtowah
' mid-length vowel
: long vowel
Short vowels are unmarked
R rounded
U unrounded
( ) optional
C? glottalized
Cʰ aspirated
ʰC preaspirated
ⁿC prenasalized
Cγ palatalized
Cʷ labialized
+ voiced
- voiceless

The orthography is based on the North American Phonetic Alphabet (APA).
Each phoneme’s language or stage of origin is indicated by color:

Primordial PCM (original phoneme)
Late PCM
Hlh
Q
Hlh & Q (both independently)
N

Vowels:

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R u</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
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<td>R o</td>
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<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
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Consonants:

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<th>Dental</th>
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<th>Glottal</th>
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<td>- (h)t tʼ</td>
<td>- tʼy</td>
<td>- tʼhy</td>
<td>- tʼyw</td>
<td>- (h)k kʼ</td>
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<td>kʼ y</td>
<td>kʼyw</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>+ m mʼ</td>
<td>+ n nʼ</td>
<td>+ nʼy</td>
<td>+ nʼyw</td>
<td>+ ŋ</td>
<td>+ ŋy</td>
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<td><strong>Long Nasal</strong></td>
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<td>+ n</td>
<td>+ nʼ</td>
<td>+ nʼy</td>
<td>+ ŋ</td>
<td>+ ŋy</td>
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<td><strong>Syllabic Nasal</strong></td>
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<td>+ nʼ</td>
<td>+ nʼy</td>
<td>+ ŋ</td>
<td>+ ŋy</td>
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<td>- θ</td>
<td>- θ</td>
<td>- x</td>
<td>- h hʼ</td>
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<td><strong>Semivowel</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ γ</td>
<td>+ γ</td>
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<td>+ γ</td>
<td>+ γ</td>
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<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
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<td>- (h)č</td>
<td>- č</td>
<td>- č</td>
<td>- ř</td>
<td>- řy</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral Approximant</strong></td>
<td>+ l</td>
<td>+ ʌ</td>
<td>+ ʌ</td>
<td>+ ʌ</td>
<td>+ l</td>
<td>+ n</td>
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<td><strong>Lateral Affricate</strong></td>
<td>- (h)ƛ</td>
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The syllabic semivowels are phonetically sequences of semivowel + schwa (ə); they are treated as unitary sounds, both because they behave as such and because the schwa occurs nowhere in Qapakwonaq outside of these sequences.
MOHAWK (AKWEASANE)

DEH/ALV POSTALV/PALATAL VELAR GLOTTAL

STOP T K ?
NASAL N
FRICATIVE S J h
AFFRICATE
LIQUID L
SEMIvOVEL Y W

THE BILABIALS P & M APPEAR IN SOME RECENT LEANWORDS FROM IE LANGUAGES, BUT ARE ALREDY TO THE HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

FRONT CENTRAL BACK

High I U
Mid e o
Low A

THERE IS A MID-HIGH FRONT VOWEL OF EXTREMELY LIMITED DISTRIBUTION IN ADDITION TO THESE

V & U ARE NASALIZED
LENGTH (i), LIKE STRESS, IS PROSODIC

CONSONANT CLUSTERS
TT KT ?T ST HT TK KK ?K
SK HK ?JHT TS KS ?S SS
HS Th Kh Sh Nh LH Wh ?N
SN HN ?L SL HL NL ?Y JY
SY HY NY LY ?W SW HW KW

1ST

SING. DUAL PLURAL

INC. EXC. INC. EXC.

2ND

SING. DUAL PLURAL

3RD

SING. MASC. FEM. MPRG 2ND MASC. FEM. IMPR FLG MASC. FEM. IMPR FLG

AKWEASANE MOHAWK
PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

PRONOMINAL PREFIX ELEMENTS

SINGULAR ELEMENTS
1ST PERSON: -K-
2ND PERSON: -S-
3RD PERSON
MASC: -LA-
FEM/MULT: -YE-
FEM/MULT: -KA-

NON-SINGULAR ELEMENTS
INCLUSIVE: -TE-
EXCLUSIVE: -YA-
DUAL: -ni-
PLURAL
1ST/2ND PERSON: -WA-
3RD PERSON: -TI-
RECIPROCAL: -IYAT-

<table>
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<tr>
<th>AKWESASNE MAHALK PRONOMINAL PREFIXES</th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT — 3rd person</th>
<th>INTRANSITIVE OBJECT — 1st person</th>
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<td><strong>INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT — 2nd person</strong></td>
<td><strong>INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT — 2nd person</strong></td>
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<td>Sing. (h)S(e)—</td>
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<td>Fem./Ind./Mut. Pl. KOTi—/KU(NA)—</td>
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(The objective prefixes consist of the subject's prefixes plus an object marker.)

Sing. WAK—
Dual Inc. WATENi—
Dual Exc. WAYAKENi—
Plural Inc. WATEWA—
Plural Exc. WAYAKWA—
### Intransitive Object - 3rd Person

- **Masc. Sing.** Lo-
- **Fem. Sing.** Yako-
- **Neut.** Yo-
- **Masc. Pl.** Loti-
- **Fem./Neut.** Yoti-

### Transitive - 1st Person Agent

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<th>3 FEM Sing</th>
<th>3 Res. Sing</th>
<th>3 Res. Neut Sing</th>
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### Talk Supplements – J. S. Burke

#### TRANSITIVE - 3rd Person Agent

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<th>1 Dual</th>
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<th>2 Sing.</th>
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<td>YUKHI-</td>
<td>YUKHI-</td>
<td>YESA-</td>
<td>YETSI-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAK-</td>
<td>YUKHI-</td>
<td>YUKHA-</td>
<td>SA-</td>
<td>SENI-</td>
<td>SEWA-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### TRANSITIVE - 3rd Person on 3rd Person (Non-Replikate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>1 Sing.</th>
<th>2 Sing.</th>
<th>3 Mascul.</th>
<th>3 Femin.</th>
<th>3 Neutral</th>
<th>3 Neutral Non-Sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA-</td>
<td>(h)SAKO-</td>
<td>LA-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUKWA-</td>
<td>YUTAT-</td>
<td>KUWA-</td>
<td>LUKWATI-</td>
<td>(MASC)</td>
<td>LUKWATI-</td>
<td>(FEM/NEUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAKO-</td>
<td>Yo-</td>
<td>YAKO-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Evolution of Iroquoian Gender

(Proto Iroquoian → Mohawk)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proto Iroquoian</td>
<td>INDEFINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto Northern Iroquoian</td>
<td>INDEFINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>FEMININE/INDEFINITE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Down with Morphemes!
What Word and Paradigm Morphology Can Teach Us about Language Creation

David J. Peterson
UCSD Linguistics
1st Language Creation Conference

The Purpose of This Talk

- To introduce and explain two competing theories of morphology.
- To illustrate the consequences each theory has on a naturalistic language creation.
- To show how Word and Paradigm Morphology can aid the construction of a naturalistic language.

Outline

I. What’s Morphology?
II. Problems with Item and Arrangement
III. The Alternative
IV. WP and Conlanging
V. Summary

I. What’s Morphology?

- Traditionally, the term “morphology” refers to the study of “morphemes”.
- But...what’s a morpheme?

- A morpheme is a piece of phonological information that has a conventionalized meaning arbitrarily associated with it.
  - “cat” (meaning = CAT, num. = singular)
  - “cats” (meaning = CAT, num. = plural)
  - Therefore: cat = CAT and -s = plural.

- Morphemes are of two types: free and bound. Morphemes that can occur on their own are free morphemes, and those that can’t (e.g., affixes) are bound morphemes.
  - So, given our example, “cat” is a free morpheme, and the plural suffix “-s” is a bound morpheme.

I. What’s Morphology?

- The study of morphemes, then (the various affixes and roots of a language), is morphology.
- What exactly do these morphemes or affixes do for a language?

- Traditionally, there are two distinct branches of morphology, illustrated below using the English suffix “-er”.
  - wicked (adj.) + -er = wickeder (adj.)
  - speak (v.) + -er = speaker (n.)

  - Though the suffix has the same sound, it’s performing two different functions in these two examples.

I. What’s Morphology?

- The “-er” that changes “wicked” to “wickeder” is a part of what’s known as the inflectional morphology of English.
  - Inflectional morphology deals with changes that don’t affect the lexical category of a word they apply to (e.g., pluralization, tense on verbs, noun case, and adjectival comparison).
I. What’s Morphology?

- The "-er" that changes "speak" to "speaker" is a part of what’s known as the derivational morphology of English.
- Derivational morphology deals with morphemes that change the lexical category of the word they are added to.
- Since "-er" changes "speak", a verb, to "speaker", a noun, we can say it derives the noun "speaker" from the verb "speak".
  - *in-* escape -able -ily = "inescapability"

Outline

I. What’s Morphology?
II. Problems with IA
III. The Alternative
IV. WP and Conlanging
V. Summary

II. Problems with IA

- For the time being, let’s pretend that language is that simple.
  - Meaning in language is nothing more than the combination of meaningful bits (i.e., morphemes) and the meanings associated with those bits.

II. Problems with IA

- And further theoretical problems...
  - "take" = present tense
  - "look" = past tense
  - How do you add something to "take" to cause its vowel to change?
  - "look" = "tak>-i" (where "-i" also causes the vowel to change from [e] to [u])

II. Problems with IA

- First, there are some theoretical problems...
  - "fish" = FISH, singular
  - "fishy" = FISH, plural
- Where’s the plural morpheme?
  - "fishy>-i", where "-i" = plural.
  - How do we know it’s a suffix?

II. Problems with IA

- And even more theoretical problems...
  - "berry" = a free morpheme
  - "blueberry" = a compound
  - "cranberry" = ?
  - If we accept that "cranberry" is "cran-" plus "berry", what does "cran-" mean?
    - "Rasp-"? "Boysen-"? "Huckle-"?

II. Problems with IA

- But enough with theory. Let’s get to conlanging!
## II. Problems with IA

### Question
What's the goal of a language creator?

**IA Answer:** To create all the morphemes of their conlang.

### What does a language that takes IA seriously look like?
- Presenting Megdevi

### Megdevi was my first language. It has prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes. For example...
- Plural: -ø₃
- Accusative: -m
- Adverbial: -its
- Present Tense: -i
- Past Tense: -u

### Future Tense: -a
- Conditional/Subjunctive: -s
- Imperative: -e
- Perfect: -t
- Transitive: tra-
- Intransitive: d₃a-
- Passive: -is
- Inchoative: -ull-

### Feminine: meg-
- Young: vi-
- Soon-to-be: ʒo-
- Relative by Marriage: tri-
- Masculine: dev-
- Negative: di-
- Direct Opposite: zo-
- Former: jajn-

### Wrongly: jpe-
- Outward Movement: tje-
- Movement Below: rak-
- Inward Movement: kæ-
- Movement Above: kæ-
- Dispersal: kra-
- Ancient: glidr-
- Inceptive: ?rte-

### Multiple of X: -ɔx
- Worthy of: -ahen
- Container of: -otsum
- Small Part of: -øsk
- Collective: -udʒ
- Leader of: -ælisf
- Augmentative: -æks
- Pejorative: -æx

### And there are _many_ more.

### There are two main problems with creating a language in this way:
1. The result is completely unnatural.
2. The language is indestructible.
II. Problems with IA

- So what’s the alternative?

III. The Alternative

- What’s Morphology?
- Problems with Item and Arrangement
- The Alternative
- WP and Conlanging
- Summary

Outline

III. The Alternative

- Enter Word and Paradigm Morphology (WP)
- Formal assumptions:
  1. Morphemes don’t exist.
  2. Whole word forms are stored in the lexicon.
  3. Word forms arrange themselves into paradigms.
  4. The parameters of a given paradigm are language-specific.

III. The Alternative

- What’s a WP analysis look like?

III. The Alternative

- Here’s a partial conjugation of a regular Spanish verb (in IPA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>koso</td>
<td>koseos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>kose</td>
<td>koseos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The Alternative

- Now here’s a partial conjugation of an irregular Spanish verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>koseoko</td>
<td>koseosko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>koseos</td>
<td>koseosos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The Alternative

- In analyzing these forms, we can note two patterns:
  - 1sg: -o; 1plu: -amos; 3sg: -e; 3plu: -en
  - 1sg: -ko; 1plu: -mos; 3sg: -e; 3plu: -en

- The difference between the two is the presence or absence of a /k/ in the first person singular.

III. The Alternative

- In order to capture these generalizations without listing morphemes, I’ll use Bochner’s Lexical Relatedness Morphology (LRM).

- In LRM, a word form is associated with other word forms in a given paradigm, such that one can be used to predict the others.

III. The Alternative

- Formally, this isn’t much of an improvement. A morpheme-based analysis can also tell you what suffixes you’re going to get.

- But what about some difficult data…?
III. The Alternative

- Tundra Nenets is a Uralic language whose nouns have seven cases and three numbers (singular, dual and plural).

- To follow: A list of nouns' nominative singular and accusative plural forms. Can you predict the accusative plural?

III. The Alternative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Sg.</th>
<th>Acc. Plu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman: nje</td>
<td>nje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake: to</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swan: xoxxpji</td>
<td>xoxxpji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm: nguda</td>
<td>ngudji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest: padara</td>
<td>padarji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree: pja</td>
<td>pji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land: ja</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The Alternative

- Why would a language do this?

- It turns out it's useful to know both the nominative singular and the accusative plural forms.

- Nominative singular determines class membership, and accusative plural is used to form the genitive plural.

III. The Alternative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wave: xamb</td>
<td>xamb?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big: ngarki</td>
<td>ngarki?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day: xali</td>
<td>xali?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose: jabu</td>
<td>jabu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fungus: tidaku</td>
<td>tidaku?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox: nosji</td>
<td>nosji?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax: xan</td>
<td>xano</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. The Alternative

- We can account for the genitive plural with a simple relational rule:

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
X & N \\
N & \text{Acc. Plu.}
\end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix}
X & N \\
N & \text{Gen. Plu.}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

- The accusative plurals can be accounted for with similar rules, which would determine the different classes of Tundra Nenets.

III. The Alternative

- An IA account, on the other hand:

1. Would have to posit several different accusative plural morphemes (-ul, -o, etc.), as well as nominative singular morphemes (e.g., /q/ to /j/).

2. Would make it so that the accusative plural was included in the genitive plural.

III. The Alternative

- The WP analysis simply notes the relationship between inflected word forms.

- Thus, it's not a problem that the accusative plural form is used to construct the genitive plural.

- No problem for which suffixes are added: each word is already a part of a paradigm.
III. The Alternative
- So how can a WP framework help a conlanger create a naturalistic conlang that’s more naturalistic?

Outline
- What’s Morphology?
- Problems with Item and Arrangement
- The Alternative
- WP and Conlanging
- Summary

IV. WP and Conlanging
- Question: What’s the goal of a language creator?
- WP Answer: To create the parameters that define the various paradigms of a conlang, and then to fill the resulting paradigms.

IV. WP and Conlanging
- There is nothing about a paradigm that mandates that the form of a given cell be composed of a stem and an affix.
- Cells can be filled by single-word expressions (suppletive or non-suppletive), or even multi-word expressions.

IV. WP and Conlanging
- Example 1: Skerre, by Doug Ball.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obj. Markers</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>ewhesna</td>
<td>ewhesno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>emhearsa</td>
<td>emhearsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>ewhẹsəa</td>
<td>ewhẹste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>ewheasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging
- A morpheme-based account would look something like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obj. Markers</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>-ẹsọ</td>
<td>-ẹno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>-ẹsọ</td>
<td>-ẹsọe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>-ẹsọ</td>
<td>-ẹste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>-ẹọ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging
- But consider the following...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obj. Markers</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>ejọnẹna</td>
<td>ejọnẹno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>ejọnẹna</td>
<td>ejọnẹra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>ejọnẹsa</td>
<td>ejọnẹte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Null</td>
<td>ejọnẹna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging
- The question for an IA account: Where are the morphemes?
- You could say there are, for example, two versions of each suffix: /-na/ is added to C-final stems; /-ọ/ to V-final stems. Long vowel suffixes would have to have the form /-na/ and /-ọ/.

IV. WP and Conlanging
- A partial WP analysis would look like this:

1. \[XVna \rightleftharpoons XVna \rightleftharpoons XV:sa\]
   \[\text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V}\]
   \[1\text{st}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.} \quad 2\text{nd}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.} \quad 3\text{rd}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.}\]

2. \[X\text{Cina} \rightleftharpoons XCina \rightleftharpoons XC:s\]
   \[\text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V}\]
   \[1\text{st}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.} \quad 2\text{nd}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.} \quad 3\text{rd}. \text{Sg.} \text{Obj.}\]
IV. WP and Conlanging

- In words, you might state the pattern as follows:
  To mark an object on a verb of Saene, you add a suffix appropriate to the person and number of the object. Additionally, the verb preceding the second and third person suffixes will be song. For C-final verb roots, an epithetic /u/ is inserted.

- The focus is on how to fill the cells of the verbal paradigm.

- Previously, patterns like this have been accounted for either by ad-hoc stipulations (e.g., -ose Latinate verbs don't take -ive), or via the blocking principle.

- Notice, though, that "potable" doesn't block "drinkable", and that both "edible" and "watable" can exist.

IV. WP and Conlanging

- An alternative might be to propose that words participate in derivational paradigms, as well as inflectional.

- By knowing one or more words in a derivational paradigm, one can tell which variants work, and which don't.

- Example 2: Kelenala Sign Language (KNSL), by me.

  In KNSL, there's a regular pattern whereby nouns that refer to the object of a transitive verb can be derived simply by changing the handshape of the corresponding verb.

  Note: The following examples have been transcribed using SLIPA.

IV. WP and Conlanging

- A separate multi-word expression is used to derive instruments from verbs, regardless of transitivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cook: [E^λ]s^h</td>
<td>[K^aw]s^n = meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie: [E^λ]n^h&lt;</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing: [E^λ]u</td>
<td>Xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think: [E^λ]s</td>
<td>BDsf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell: [E^λ]</td>
<td>nXY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food: [T^λ]</td>
<td>mBDmf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging

- WP can capture these facts as follows:

  1. \[ \begin{align*}
    \text{Verb} & \quad \text{Noun} \\
    \{E^\lambda \}X & \rightarrow [KX] \\
    V, tr & \rightarrow N \\
    Z & \rightarrow \text{Obj. of } Z
  \end{align*} \]

  2. \[ \begin{align*}
    \text{Verb} & \quad \text{Noun} \\
    \{E^\lambda \}X & \rightarrow [KX] \\
    V, tr & \rightarrow N \\
    Z & \rightarrow \text{Instr. of } Z
  \end{align*} \]

  3. \[ \begin{align*}
    \text{Verb} & \quad \text{Noun} \\
    \{E^\lambda \}X & \rightarrow [KX] \\
    V, tr & \rightarrow N \\
    Z & \rightarrow \text{Obj. of } Z
  \end{align*} \]
IV. WP and Conlanging

- Another thing that natural languages do (as shown with Tundra Nenets) is reuse useful forms.
  - Usual: write > wrote > written
  - Unusual: break > broke > broken
  - Where "broken" is "broke" + -en.

- Example 3: Gwêydr, by me.
  - Gwêydr has a healthy number of noun cases, and some of these nouns use a "fronted stem" in certain cells in their noun case paradigm.

- Here's a partial paradigm for a regular noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>twins</td>
<td>twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>twolves</td>
<td>twolves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging

- Now here's a partial paradigm for one class of irregular nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>faj</td>
<td>faj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>lafaj</td>
<td>lafaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging

- Now here's a partial paradigm for a different irregular noun class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>tekam</td>
<td>tekamks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. WP and Conlanging

- In WP, there are just a few patterns to state, and the conlanger only needs to decide which nouns are going to fall into which classes.
  - First, I'll show you the overarching generalizations (which are simple), then the individual classes.

IV. WP and Conlanging

- The general plural patterns:

1. \[
   \begin{align*}
   \text{N} & \rightarrow \text{Xik}\text{N} \\
   \text{Nom} & \rightarrow \text{N} \\
   \text{Singular} & \rightarrow \text{N} \\
   \text{Plural} & \rightarrow \text{Xik}\text{N}
   \end{align*}
\]

2. \[
   \begin{align*}
   \text{X} & \rightarrow \text{Xay}\text{N} \\
   \text{Nom} & \rightarrow \text{N} \\
   \text{Singular} & \rightarrow \text{N} \\
   \text{Plural} & \rightarrow \text{Xay}\text{N}
   \end{align*}
\]

- The general case pattern:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{X} & \rightarrow \text{taex}\text{N} \\
\text{Nom} & \rightarrow \text{N} \\
\text{Instr} & \rightarrow \text{taex}\text{N}
\end{align*}
\]
IV. WP and Conlanging

- The class patterns continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregular Class A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XoY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.Sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XaeY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.Pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregular Class B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XoY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.Sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XaeY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.Pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- By using a WP-style framework, it's simpler to create principled irregularity.
- Note that the difference between classes is not which affixes are used, but what case pattern is affixed.

Outline

I. What's Morphology?
II. Problems with Item and Arrangement
III. The Alternative
IV. WP and Conlanging
V. Summary

V. Summary

- General IA and WP models have been introduced.
- It's been suggested that a WP model like Bochmer's is more suitable for analyzing natural language than a morpheme-based model.
- In terms of creating a naturalistic conlang, it's been suggested that the goal is not to create a list of morphemes.
- Instead, the work of creating such a language is to create paradigms, and then to fill them.

V. Summary

- The result is that the forms themselves (affixes, etc.) aren't morphologically interesting.
- Instead, the patterns of relatedness between word forms within paradigms is where all the action's at.

For Further Reading

- Skousen, Gregory S. 2001. *Inferential morphology: a theory of paradigm constraints*
Definitions

The definition to some of the words used in this talk are provided here. Those words that appear on the screen highlighted in orange will have definitions below.

- **Affix**: A bit of phonological material which attaches to another bit. For example, a suffix attaches to the end of a word, and can’t be used on its own.

- **Blocking Principle**: The idea that the presence of a non-derived word (e.g., “brought”) will block an otherwise regularly derived word (e.g., “bringed”).

- **Bound Morpheme**: A morpheme which must be attached to some other morpheme in order to be used. Plural /-s/, for example, can’t be used by itself in a sentence (e.g., “S went to the store” [i.e., some unidentified plural entity went to the store]).

- **Derivational Morphology**: The set of morphemes in a language which change the lexical category of the words with which they are associated. In English, for example, the /-er/ that turns “write” into “writer” is a derivational morpheme.

- **Free Morpheme**: A morpheme which can be used in an utterance independent of any other morpheme. For example, “dog” is a word that can be used by itself in a sentence. Plural /-s/, on the other hand, can’t be used by itself; it must attach to a noun.

- **Handshape**: The grammatical shape of the hand in a given sign in a signed language (somewhat analogous to tone).

- **Inflectional Morphology**: The set of morphemes in a language that don’t change the lexical category of the words with which they are associated. In a given language, this morphology is associated with tense on verbs, number and case on nouns, and agreement markers.

- **Item and Arrangement Morphology (IA)**: The theory that holds that there is a one-to-one correspondence between phonological form and meaning. It views language as a list of morphemes with rules on how they combine.

- **Lexical Category**: Words are grouped into lexical categories, such as the following: noun, verb, adposition (prepositions and postpositions), adjective, adverb, etc.

- **Lexical Relatedness Morphology (LRM)**: A formal instantiation of WP created by Harry Bochner. It holds that fully inflected words are stored in the lexicon, and that patterns of relatedness are derived therefrom. It also assumes that there is no formal difference between derivation and inflection.

- **Lexicon**: An abstract notion of where word forms are stored in the brain.
• **Morpheme:** An arbitrary association between meaning and a bit of phonological material. For example, in “dogs”, there’s a morpheme /dog/ which means, well, “dog”, and a morpheme /-s/ which means “plural”. Morphemes are divided into free morphemes and bound morphemes.

• **Morphology:** (1) The study of morphemes (an IA definition). (2) The study of the systematic relationship between word forms (a WP definition).

• **Paradigm:** Kind of like a table in which all the possible inflected (or derived) forms of a word are stored.

• **Parameter:** The information which a given language will encode grammatically in its paradigms. For example, “dual” isn’t a parameter of pronouns for English (we’d just say, “you two”, “them two”, “us two”, etc.), but it is for Hawaiian, which has separate dual pronouns (lātua, “they two”), distinct from both the singular (iā, “s/he/it”) and plural (lākou, “they [more than two]”). [Note: This definition of parameter is specific to this talk.]

• **Relational Rule:** This type of rule is used in Lexical Relatedness Morphology. All the rules do is say that two or more words that are related systematically show a particular type of phonological relationship. Inherent in this rule is that if a listener hears one form, they will be able to infer the other. In the example below, any noun that has a phonological form X and a meaning Z will become a verb meaning “to become Z” if you take the form X and add an /-o/ to the end:

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \quad \Rightarrow \quad Xo \\
N & \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad V \\
Z & \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{tobecomeZ}
\end{align*}
\]

• **Root:** The part of a word that’s left when all the affixes are stripped off. So the root of a word like “antidisestablishmentarianism” is “establish”.

• **Suppletion:** The use of a morphophonologically unrelated word to fill a given cell of a paradigm. For example, the past tense of “go” in English is “went”—a form totally unrelated to “go”, “goes” and “going”.

• **Transitive Verb:** A verb that has a subject and an object (e.g., “throw”).

• **Word and Paradigm Morphology (WP):** The theory that holds that all word forms are stored in the lexicon as paradigms. From these paradigms, a speaker can pull away patterns of relatedness between word forms that allows them to generalize to words they’ve never heard before.

• **Word Form:** A whole, fully inflected word. “Dog”, “dogs”, “doggy”, “dogged”, “dogging”, and “dogginess” are all word forms.
BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

History

Cognitive linguistics arose during the 1970s essentially as a reaction to three things:
(1) dissatisfaction with the existing linguistics paradigm of the time, Noam Chomsky’s “generative grammar” due to the inability of generative grammar to provide explanations for an increasing number of problem examples and observations about language, especially when it was applied to non-Indo-European languages; (2) the failed attempts by Chomskian-trained linguists to create a “generative semantics”, i.e., the attempt to extend Chomsky’s theory of generative grammar into the realm of semantics; and (3) the pioneering work on human categorization done by a psychologist named Eleanor Rosch, whose evidence strongly suggested that the subconscious human mind creates categories in ways previously unsuspected, although work by the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein had foreshadowed Rosch’s findings, e.g., Wittgenstein’s classic analysis of the German word “spiel” (English “game”).

The first linguists to formally pursue a new non-Chomskian approach to linguistics were Charles Fillmore at UC Berkeley and Ronald Langacker at UC San Diego. Langacker, a former Chomskian, finally became so fed up with all the “exceptions” that had to be made in generative grammar the more he explored the subtleties of language, that he finally concluded Chomsky’s theories must simply be wrong. Rather than try to “fix” generative grammar, he instead decided to sit down and re-think linguistics from scratch, irrespective of any theory, with the following guiding principles: that language is a direct reflection of the workings of the human mind, and that any theory of grammar and semantics must be consistent with the way the human mind functions and the human brain physically manifests the processes of thinking and conceptualization. He began publishing a series of papers on his new ideas in the 1970s, closely followed by George Lakoff, Leonard Talmy, Gilles Fauconnier, Fillmore and others. Langacker eventual encapsulated all his ideas in the monumental two-volume work Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, published in 1987 and 1991. It is generally perceived that the publication of this work, along with Lakoff and Johnson’s Metaphors We Live By in 1980 and Lakoff’s Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things in 1987, established cognitive linguistics on a solid academic footing which has now led to the generally worldwide acceptance of the new paradigm as nearly co-equal with (and in many universities now surpassing) Chomsky’s generative grammar.

While cognitive linguistics was originally defined in terms of a rebellion against Chomsky’s theories, in the last decade, cognitive linguistics has matured to be considered a fully autonomous linguistic paradigm in its own right. Nevertheless, for beginners, it is still convenient to introduce cognitive linguistics in comparative terms to Chomsky’s theory of generative grammar.

Comparison with Chomsky’s Generative Grammar

Chomsky, whose theories evolved during the late 1950s through 1970s to replace the previous structuralist and behaviorist models of language, believes the structure of language is determined by an innate, autonomous formal system of rules (analogous to the predicate calculus for those of you who’ve been trained in formal logic, but much more intricate and sophisticated). This formal system of rules, called “universal grammar” (UG), is inherent within the human brain at birth and is largely devoid of any association with “meaning.” This UG is also independent of other human cognitive faculties, i.e., it operates on its own within the brain, independent of any other non-linguistic cognitive processes.

Cognitive linguists, on the other hand, believe the structure of language is a direct reflection of
human cognitive processes, and that there is no independent language faculty like UG in the brain. If there is, cognitive linguists generally believe it will eventually be found to be ultimately rooted in the general processes of human cognition itself (i.e., not peculiar to the phenomenon of language alone). The cognitivists believe that the grammatical structures of language are directly associated with the way people conceptualize (i.e., think about and understand) any given situation in the world. Syntax, morphology, even phonology are conceptual in nature, i.e., they are merely input and output of those cognitive processes within the human mind that govern speaking and understanding. This idea is generally encapsulated in a phrase coined by Ronald Langacker and often repeated by cognitive linguists: *grammar is conceptualization*.

The other big difference between Chomsky and the cognitivists is where knowledge of language in general comes from. Chomsky argues that infants know how to put language components together innately (because of their reliance on the UG), i.e., they do not (solely) rely on having to hear how to put words together correctly (i.e., syntax) from listening to their family and other sources such as television. Chomsky believes evidence exists to support this notion in his famous “poverty of the stimulus” argument (the one that Kirk has railed about in some of his posts in this and other threads), saying that children in general are “too good” at learning language so quickly, i.e., they don’t get exposed to a sufficiently large corpus of language stimuli/data to work with to figure out so quickly how their native language works, therefore they must have an innate faculty (the UG) to subconsciously tell them about things like syntactic relations (e.g., case morphology), tenses, aspect, clause structure, grammatical transformations such as active-into-passive voice, etc.

The cognitivists, on the other hand, reject this argument entirely and do not believe in the “poverty of stimulus” argument. Cognitivists firmly believe that knowledge of language comes strictly from language use. Infants learn language by listening, observing, pattern recognition and pattern-matching, imitation and trial-and-error attempts to learn the grammatical rules of their native language. The reason Junior first says “Mommy drink” before he says “Mommy, I want a drink” is simply because the former is easier and therefore gets tried out and used first, while the more sophisticated (and “correct”) structure of the latter gets learned and used later on. In other words, language gets learned just like anything else gets learned. The use of language has nothing special about it that differentiates it from other cognitive processes. Rather, the human infant uses the same store of cognitive tools and processes to learn and use language as he learns to do anything else. Cognition is cognition. Learning is learning. Pattern-recognition and matching is pattern-recognition and matching; imitation and practice is imitation and practice, whether learning your native language or learning to ride a bicycle or select and put on clothes to wear.

**Focus on the Relationship Between Semantics and Syntax**

Because cognitive linguists believe that grammar is conceptualization, the core area of study to date within the field of cognitive linguistics is semantics and morpho-semantics and the way these two components of language determine syntax (the way words are put together to create grammatically acceptable phrases and sentences). While cognitive linguists fully believe that the cognitive paradigm extends to more nuts-and-bolts units of language such as phonology and morphology, little work has yet been done in these areas during the brief quarter-century that the paradigm has existed. In regard to going the other direction beyond syntax into the linguistic areas of “pragmatics” and “discourse analysis,” many cognitive linguists believe that these two areas of linguistics actually don’t exist. Rather, as cognitive analysis of language begins to delve more deeply as time goes on, the “usage” of language in everyday contexts which is the realm of pragmatics and discourse analysis will simply be found to be based purely on the same semantically driven rules of language structure that “contextless” or “normal” language structures are based upon. In other words, while linguists “normally” study the structure of sentences like “I have to urinate” rather than the semantically equivalent colloquial version “I gotta go”, the production of the two sentences by living, breathing English speakers is
nevertheless analyzable by the same kinds of semantically driven, context-filled rules, INCLUDING rules to govern the speaker’s very choice of using one sentence as opposed to the other. This area of language wouldn’t be touched by a Chomskian with a ten-foot pole, whereas to a cognitivist, if people say it, it's fair game for linguistic analysis. Indeed, linguistics can't be considered “complete” until linguists understand why a person chooses to say it one way as opposed to the other. Needless to say, under this view of the scope of linguistics, the science of linguistics can be considered to be almost still in its infancy.
EXAMPLES OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

NORTH IS UP, SOUTH IS DOWN, EAST IS BACK, WEST IS OUT

- We’re moving up north.
- They moved out to L.A.
- I’m headed down to Miami.
- It’s cold back in New York.

THE FUTURE IS AHEAD, THE PAST IS BEHIND

- You should plan ahead.
- Looking back, I have no regrets.
- Put those memories behind you.
- You’ve got a great future ahead of you.

STATES ARE SHAPES

- What shape is the car in?
- I’m out of shape.
- Prison reformed me.
- He doesn’t fit in.
- She’s a square peg.
- Shape up!

SEEING IS TOUCHING / EYES ARE LIMBS

- I can’t take my eyes off her.
- I can pick out every detail.
- His eyes are glued to the TV.
- He ran his eyes over her body.

LOVE IS MADNESS

- I’m crazy about her.
- He always raves about you.
- You’re driving me out of my mind.
- I’m just wild about Harry.

EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT

- Her death hit him hard.
- She’s a knockout.
- I was struck by his sincerity.
- I was blown away, dude.

LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME

- I’ll take my chances.
- It’s a toss-up.
- He plays it close to the vest.
- The odds are against us.
- He’s got an ace up his sleeve.
- Where were you when the chips were down?

Example from Italian: A CALENDRIICAL MONTH IS A COLLECTION OF OBJECTS

- Quanto ne abbiamo?
  (Literally: How many of them do we have?) = What’s today’s date?

  - Ne abbiamo cinque.
  (Literally: We have five of them.) = Today is the fifth (i.e., of the current month).

MORE IS UP / LESS IS DOWN

GOOD IS UP / BAD IS DOWN

HAPPY IS UP / SAD IS DOWN

HEAT IS UP / COLD IS DOWN

INTIMACY IS WARMTH / LACK OF INTIMACY IS COLDNESS

- She finally warmed up to him.
- I treated her very coolly.
- He is a cold person.
- Those two are hot for each other.
INTIMACY IS PROXIMITY / LACK OF INTIMACY IS DISTANCE

I feel very close to you. Her manner is very distant.
We’re drifting apart. He is very unapproachable.

AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING

That supports what I’m saying. I have evidence that buttresses her statement.
Your argument is crumbling. I’m building up evidence for my claim.

AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY

What are you driving at? I want to take that point a little further.
I don’t follow you. You’ve lost me.
I’m not with you. That leads to the following conclusion.

LIST OF ENGLISH CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS at:

http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/MetaphorHome.html
SOME BOOKS ON COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Introductory Overviews

Conceptual Metaphor
Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. Metaphors We Live By, University of Chicago Press, 1980

Categorization and Prototypes

Mental Space Theory
——. Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language, Cambridge University Press, 1994

Additional Resources
Skerre (A Sires i Tanko)

Doug Ball

Skerre is the language of about 4,000 inhabitants of the valleys of the eastern edge of the Western Interior Range. There are some dialectal differences between the different bands, but they are slight – mostly phonetic and lexical in nature.

The language has no known relatives (though many languages to the south are currently not well described, and some relatives of Skerre may exist there) and is reasonably different from the languages that surround it.

Skerre Orthography and Pronunciation

Skerre has not traditionally been a written language, so the following is just the conventional representation for it, as used by linguists and other scholars of the language.

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A a</th>
<th>Aa aa</th>
<th>E e</th>
<th>Ee ee</th>
<th>I i</th>
<th>Ii ii</th>
<th>O o</th>
<th>Oo oo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a~a]</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
<td>[e~ɛ]</td>
<td>[ɛː]</td>
<td>[i~ɪ]</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ɔː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H h</th>
<th>K k</th>
<th>N n</th>
<th>Qu qu</th>
<th>R r</th>
<th>S s</th>
<th>T t</th>
<th>Ts ts</th>
<th>W w</th>
<th>Y y</th>
<th>’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[kw]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various allophonic processes are not represented in writing, including nasal assimilation and voicing agreement in consonant clusters. Some other sounds in Skerre occur in particular (morphophonemic) environments, and are written as digraphs. These include {sy} (= [ʃ]) and {tsy} (= [ʧ])

Stress is usually on the penultimate vowel, though it can be on the final vowel, if that vowel is long.

A Bit on Skerre Morphology and Syntax

Skerre is mildly agglutinative, morphologically, and only has a few bits of non-concatentative morphology. One such instance is reduplication, shown below in (1).

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keriyos</td>
<td>kekeriyos</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wika</td>
<td>wiiwika</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yere</td>
<td>yeeyere</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srahin</td>
<td>sraarhin</td>
<td>‘hunter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Skerre is a bit unusual in that a large portion of the affixes are prefixes, with only a small set of suffixes. As in many languages, there is substantially more morphology on verbs, though many nouns are nominalizations of verbs. Examples of both these properties will be shown in the following.

Syntactically, the language is head-initial. In clauses, the predicate comes first, followed by the predicate’s dependents. This is shown in (2), where the predicate e’ewan, ‘break,’ is followed by its dependents.

(2)

E’ewan tsra srahin a tsowos.

PFV:break:TR.ERG.AGT.NMLZ:hunt ABS.INST.NMLZ:spear
‘The hunter broke the spear.’
As (2) shows, grammatical relations are indicated on noun phrases using prepositional particles (which have an ergative alignment). The subject grammatical relation is also indicated by pronominal agreement markers (subject is not a mistake – the pronouns in Skerre have an accusative-alignment); however the third person singular is null, thus, one doesn’t appear in (2). These pronominal markers appear in the second position of clauses, which is usually after the predicate, but can be after a number of pre-predicate elements. An example of their mobility is given in (3). In (3a), the pronoun is attached to the (head) predicate, whereas in (3b), it follows the initial negator.

(3) a. Sik=ha res so Sires.  
   be.able=1SG.NOM speak INS speech  
   ‘I can speak Skerre.’

b. Koni=ha sik res so Sires.  
   NEG=1SG.NOM be.able speak INS speech  
   ‘I can’t speak Skerre.’

Object markers, in contrast, are not agreement markers, though they are suffixed to the verb, as shown in (4).

(4) a. E-yetii-sa=ha.  
   PFV-find-3SG.ACC=1SG.NOM  
   ‘I found her.’

b. E-yet-in=ha/*E-yetii-sa=ha  
   PFV-find-TR=1SG.NOM/PFV-find-3 SG.ACC=1SG.NOM ABS (name)  
   ‘I found Woskora.’

Subordinate clauses, akin to grammatical relations, are marked with pre-clausal, morphologically invariant words. This is exemplified with to, the relative clause marker, in (5)

(5) Êk=wa sati a wisin to res so Sires-Inkaris?  
   exist=Q here ABS someone REL speak INS speech-English  
   ‘Is there someone here who speaks English?’

Sample Text

Enar a yiket i riyos takosiri ir tarik ya siwataariyo ni rastako. Keyas a sisats ni sisenkos ya teken ir tik saa ak-ti ya kari-te so ista si swatarin. – Article 1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Interlinear and Re-translation

Enar a yiket i riyos ta-ko-siri ir ta-rik ya si-wa-taariy-o ni be.born ABS all GEN being PTCP-NEG-depend and PTCP-be.equal DAT NMLZ-DENOM-respect-PDT and rastak-o.  
  privilege-PDT  
  ‘All beings are born independent and equal in respectfulness and privilege.’

Ke-yas a si-sats ni si-senkos ya teken ir tik saa ’ak=ti ya kari=te  
  AC-give ABS NMLZ-think and NMLZ-be.moral DAT 3PL and be.necessary COMP act=3PL.NOM DAT self=3PL  
  so ista i si-watarin.  
  INS manner GEN NMLZ-DENOM:sibling  
  ‘Thought and morality are given to them and they should act towards each other in the practice of siblingship.’
Transitive Agreement (agent/patient)

*šikko- ‘punch, beat’

šikkonko: 'I punch her'
šikkone:p 'We(inclusive) punch her'
šikkope:š 'We(exclusive) punch her'
šikkokena: 'Thou(singular) punch her'
šikkokente:s 'Thou(plural) punch her'
šikkokema: 'You(singular) punch her'
šikkokemte:s 'You(plural) punch her'
šikkomepo: 'She(proximate) punches her(obviative)'
šikkotiti: 'It(proximate) punches her'
šikkometespo: 'They(proximate) punch her(obviative)'
šikkotitite:s 'They(inanimate,proximate) punch her'
šikkopo: 'She(obviative) punches her(proximate)'
šikkotespo: 'They(obviative) punch her(proximate)'
šikkote:p 'Someone punches her, She is punched'

Intransitive Subject Agreement

*sappe- 'dance'

sappenki: 'I dance'
sappena:p 'We(inclusive) dance'
sappepa:š 'We(exclusive) dance'
sappkan: 'Thou(singular) dance'
sappkanita:s 'Thou(plural) dance'
sappkama: 'You(singular) dance'
sappkama:s 'You(plural) dance'
sappa: 'She(proximate) dances'
sappetu: 'It(proximate) dances'
sappetata:s 'They(proximate) dance'
sappetuta:s 'They(inanimate,proximate) dance'
sappepi: 'She(obviative) dances'
sappetasp: 'They(obviative) dance'
sappe:p 'Someone dances'

Intransitive Object Agreement (unsympathetic)

*pokhit- 'fall thus'

pokhitinkino:ši 'I fall thus'
pokhitnano:špi: 'We(inclusive) fall thus'
pokhitpano:šši: 'We(exclusive) fall thus'
pokhitan:šne: 'Thou(singular) fall thus'
pokhitkano:šnita:s 'Thou(plural) fall thus'
pokhitkano:šme: 'You(singular) fall thus'
pokhitkano:šmita:s 'You(plural) fall thus'
pokhitmano:ši 'She(proximate) falls thus'
pokhittuno:š 'It(proximate) falls thus'
pokhitmano:šta:š 'They(proximate) fall thus'
pokhittuno:šta:s 'They(inanimate,proximate) fall thus'
pokhitpino:š 'She(obviative) falls thus'
pokhittano:šsipi: 'They(obviative) fall thus'
pokhitteno:šipi: 'Someone falls thus'

Intransitive Subject-Object Agreement

*pomi- 'give a name to, name'

pominki: 'I name her'
pomina:p 'We(inclusive) name her'
pomipa:š 'We(exclusive) name her'
pomikane: 'Thou(singular) name her'
pomikanta:s 'Thou(plural) name her'
pomikame: 'You(singular) name her'
pomikamta:s 'You(plural) name her'
pomimapi: 'She(proximate) names her(obviative)'
pomitu: 'It (proximate) names her'
pomimataspi: 'They(proximate) name her(obviative)'
pomituta:s 'They(inanimate,proximate) name her'
pomipima: 'She(obviative) names her(proximate)'
pomite:p 'Someone names her, She is named'

Reflexive (with Intransitive Subject Agreement)

*makpe- 'wash, bathe, clean'

mahokpenki: 'I wash myself'
mahokpena:p 'We(inclusive) wash ourselves'
mahokpepa:š 'We(exclusive) wash ourselves'
mahokpekane: 'Thou(singular) wash thyself'
mahokpekanta:s 'Thou(plural) wash thyselfs'
mahokpekame: 'You(singular) wash yourself'
mahokpekamta:s 'You(plural) wash yourselves'
mahokpema: 'She(proximate) washes herself'
mahokpetu: 'It(proximate) washes itself'
mahokpetuta:s 'They(proximate) wash themselves'
mahokpetuata:s 'They(inanimate,proximate) wash themselves'
mahokpepi: 'She(obviative) washes herself'
mahokpetaspi: 'They(obviative) wash themselves'
mahokpete:p 'Someone washes herself/itself, She/it is washed'
**TEONAHT:**

Sally Caves

**The language of the Teonim of Teon, sometimes Teonea (from Teon + hea, “country, land”), a region that surfaces and submerges most often within the Black Sea, sometimes the Caspian. It is surmised that the Teonim are perhaps from the Caucasus, or–given their vanishing propensities, their scant but bizarre appearances in our history–from somewhere else entirely. Some etymologists surmise that the very name Teon may be related to its common verb teoned, “to run, flee”–describing a place of refuge, a place to run to; or a place that is itself in flight. The winged, rampant (or should I say volant) feline is its favorite mascot.**

**A formal language for written and declaimed use. Informal Teonaht has many dialectical features, abbreviations, truncations, and idioms, but I have not yet started recording these. The language I’ve presented here is “received standard.” What you would find in a newspaper.**

**NOT an auxiliary language like Esperanto; not an “ideal” language; not a language that corrects the errors of other languages, or makes reparations in the area of gender or class, or which attempts to smooth out spelling conventions; it is not a “logical” language; it is not devoted to making its grammar easy or clear or commonsensical, although it does have certain efficiencies. While it evolved pretty much on its own, it shows clear influence by Latin, German, Welsh, Old Norse, Old Irish, Old English, Hebrew, Sumerian, and, yes, modern English–one of the strangest of the existing natural languages.**

**NOT a finished language; not a static language. While its basic structure has been set for years, now, it is always in a state of flux, like a real language–only with an evolution that has been sped up. Also, it will take me more than a summer to get all its grammar and vocabulary documented on line. And even that may change.**

**Possibly Indo-European. There are many Indo-European words in its lexicon, and its structure follows some typical IE patterns described below; but there are also a vast number of unattested words and grammatical developments that are unique to Teonaht.**

**Zero-copula in the present tense.**

**OSV, occasionally SOV. An “object-initial” language is the rarest of language types. Teonah is strict about the subject’s position, especially if a pronoun, in preceding the verb, but it typically heads the sentence with the object, a feature that may have been enforced literarily. It often exhibits the more common SOV structure by putting the nominative first when focussed, but then “echoing” it with the subject pronoun before the verb. The verb is always final in main clauses.**

**Both head initial AND final. Adjectives generally follow the noun whereas prepositions precede it, a development you find in Latin and French (originally SOV like most IE languages). Teonaht pays very little attention to the Greenburgian rules about placement of adjectives and postpositions in OV languages. There is quite a bit of option whether you precede or follow the noun with plural and possessive articles and conjunctions. You can say either hman uo deygrin, “bread and butter,” or hman deygrino, “bread butter and.” A lot of syntactic decisions in Teonah are made on the basis of rhythm and rhetoric. Its speakers care what “sounds good.”**

**Largely analytic: as in English, the majority of nouns, with the exception of the Nenddeylt nouns which show accusative marking, have little or no case inflection, but the pronouns do. Syntax, prepositions, and affixes or clitics make the functions of words unambiguous. Likewise, the majority of verbs do not inflect, but express tense and aspect through a variety of what I call “moveable clitics” which can detach from the end of the verb and reattach to the beginning of the pronoun. Teonah likes the verb to be final, and absolute in form.**

**Exhibiting what I call “The Law of Detachability,” which allows clitics to do what I describe above: this is probably Teonah’s most distinctive feature, enabling suffixes to “detach” from the end of words and “prefix” to the beginning of those or other words. This capacity is most noticeable in the formation of tense marking: in main clauses, Teonah prefers to remove the tense and aspect suffixes and prefix them to the preceding pronoun: ny ennyvel, “I ate” becomes ely ennyve. Gerald Koenig of the New Generation Language Project was impressed enough with this feature that he asked me if he could borrow it for NGL.**

**Largely morphologically accusative. Like most other IE languages, Teonah makes a clear distinction between the nominative and the accusative/dative, i.e., between the subject, whether agent or participant, and the object and oblique objects, especially in the dual case system of its pronouns.**

**A “Split Nominative” with some active tendencies. Teonah distinguishes between two types of nominative, which I am here designating as “agent” (A) and “experiencer,” (E); the symbol that Dixon and other linguists use to designate “experience” or “participant” is (S), but since this universally represents the intransitive subject, I’ve chosen (E) instead, since experiencers are often transitive subjects as well as intransitive: the agent (A) and the “experiencer” or non-agent (E) express volition and non-volition respectively (rather than transitivity and non-transitivity). In other words, the subject that shows volitional, agentic action is marked differently from the subject that shows little volition and agency, but rather experience or “quality”–a semantic feature that requires marking in its verbs, its fronted tense particles, and its articles, but NOT its pronouns. Thus Teonah can identify subjects of volitional intransitives as agents– “the man (A) walks”– and subjects of non-volitional transitives as participants– “the girl (E) heard the sound”. I have also invented my own terminology for the categorization of these verbs: vt for “volitional
transitive”; vi for "volitional intransitive" (sometimes called the "unergative"); ni for "nonvolitional intransitive"; nt for "nonvolitional transitive"; and av for "ambivolitional"—a verb that can change its valency as either volitional or non-volitional, transitive or intransitive. Teonaht does not normally allow the patient (P), or what I prefer to call the object (O), to function in the participant role (as in ergative languages), which is why I am tentatively calling it an active accusative language with a split-nominative. There is only one instance which violates this rule: the "medio-passive" (or "subject-patient construct") in which the "subject" of the verb in the middle voice gets objective (or patientive) marking. This may be a holdover from an old ergative system, or a borrowing, or an over correction.

It may help to examine the terminology supplied by older Teonaht grammarians: there is always one term for the object (and it changes from grammarian to grammarian), but two terms for the subject Euab, or "self": Pelme, or "mind/intention," and Eskkoat, or "shadow," "silhouette." It is as if the Agent is seen as the thinking, intending subject and the Participant as the shadow of the self, perhaps even not the self. Inanimate things can govern transitive verbs, but they are usually marked as Participants. "Object" is usually termed Ouab, "other," and very often Tsorel, the archaic word for "city" (sometimes Mûndya or Nirhtherli, "world"). It is entirely typical of the early Teonaht grammarians to name the parts of speech after the parts of an inhabitable structure, for they saw language to be a means of moving through space, categorizing it, living in it, making it coherent.

A list of favorite words:

- **Armmandy**, "from the east" [armea + tandy, motion from];
- **Beglizend**, "lock of hair," "tress";
- **Dazrydel**, "in a state of magic [tasry + del, "state"], beglamoured;
- **Fandi**, "be slow" stative verb;
- **Galleyli**, "music";
- **Ilvaz**, "night sky," il= "dark";
- **Falallairy**, "loom," or any system that brings disparate things together;
- **Farlarop**, "object hurled in rage," or someone hit by an object hurled in rage--making both complicit;
- **Fondivar**, from fondi, stat.verb: "be deep," -var, one who does, so "one who unearth's secrets and keeps them: a wiseman;
- **Kemkrilyt**, "intricately difficult" [adj. form of kemkkrily, "labyrinth";
- **Krefimort**, "objectionable utterance, lit. "mouth clapped shut," from kref, "grip," mora, "mouth" + t-suffix indicating goal;
- **Kresprilisp**, "text," that which got its writing, lit. lised, "to get," i.e., be in a passive state of reception;
- **Hlest**, "sea-green";
- **Hlihtuo**, "blue-fire, fox-fire;
- **Lahenle**, "willful ignorance";
- **Naolffetor**, "dreadwolf" a monster;
- **Tessary**, "towards the city" from tesa + ary motion towards";
- **Ynnehil**, "behold, congratulations!"

Oldest words:

- **Aylyleylyo**, "a sacred utterance";
- **Eldrimed**, "angel";
- **Erahenahil**, "paradise";
- **Mohhead**, "non-evil spirit or wraith";
- **Netily**, "tree fairy";
- **Otma**, "demon";
- **Tatilynakose**, "utterly disgusting;
- **Typenema**, "bright lime-green";
- **Wyrlorf**, "a dog-man monster;"
John Clifford’s page

Here are traditional specimens of the languages I am going to talk about (and will chat about).

**aUI** (John L. Weilgart, 1968, 1979) The Language of Space: universal (literally) communication, clear thinking by overt analysis of concepts and natural correlation between form and meaning. Latin alphabet plus capitalized vowels and nasalized vowels and caps and y. lc vowels are short (generally lower, except /a/ is schwa), cap vowels are usual. /y/ is u-umlaut (German “ueber”) between consonants, y elsewhere; /q/ is o-umlaut (or “the o in ‘word’”), /x/=kh, /j/=zh, /c/=sh. The order of the vowels is /aeiuo/ then the caps in the same order. /l/ is usually written /L/ to avoid confusion, consonantal /y/ is often written /Y/. There is also (well, actually it is basic and the Latin alphabet is merely for convenience at the typewriter) an aUI alphabet, which is also a system of ideoglyphs and which clarifies some questions about word structure. Each phone is also a morpheme associated with a prime concept. The nasalized vowels are the numbers 1-10 in order, with 0 being nasalized /y/. Words are built up from sounds following the interaction of the prime concepts to define the new concept. The primes are a priori (intuitive). Words constructed by this method occasionally resemble familiar words with similar meanings (e.g./bos/ for domestic animal. /Ut/ for “in order to”). It is unclear whether Weilgart did this deliberately when possible or whether it was accidental but taken as evidence that his system was basically correct. Stress on a nasal first, if none then on a capital vowel, if none then penult. When two or more of a category, stress is on the closest to penult. SVO strictly adhered to (no change for subordinate clauses, questions) and AN.

**Lord’s Prayer** (kUtOr Ub ku)

Fnum ytvu, xu cEv ag kna,bum fUI kUrUryv! Bum knuwa terv!bumtwU Eryv kab bEn Uj ag kna!serv fnum iAm nod at fnu fiiA! Ib yyrTrOrv pln fnum yrUvs rUt fnu, Uj fnu yyrTrOrv rUt pln fnum yrevu. Ib bu yc daiurv fnu tag yrUms tsOb, yUG fuwerv fnu tyg yrU! YUt knuwa Ib wU Ib kUO cEv bum At ymA Ib canA. FUDsEcERv!

**Toki pona** (Sonja Elen Kisa, 2001) Minimalist language for clarifying thought by reducing to the fundamental notions. Also meant to display Daoist simplicity and to promote a positive attitude.

Uses only a,e,i,j,k,l,m,n,o,p,s,t,u,w, /j/=y otherwise standard, but very loosely defined, i.e., each covers a wide phonetic range by position but without overlap (except syllable final /n/ is m before /p/). Syllables (C)V(n), C omitted only in first syllable (which are stressed), no /n,m/ after /n/, no /ji/, /wo/, /wu/, /ti/. Total vocabulary of 118 words. SVO (no rearrangement) and NA (no subordinate clauses).

mama pi mi mute
mama pi mi mute o
sina lon sewi kon.
 o nimi sina li sewi en pona.
 o ma sina li kama.
 o jan li pali e wile sina en lon sewi kon en lon ma.
 o sina pana lon tenpo suno ni e moku tawa mi.
 o weka e pali ike mi, sama la mi weka e pali ike pi jan ante.
 o pana ala e wile ike tawa mi.
 o awen e mi weka tan ike.
Ni li nasin.
Lojban ([Loglan: James Cooke Brown, 1955, 1960, 1975, 1981, 1989, ongoing] Logical Language Group (Robert LeChevalier, John Cowan, et al), 1988, 1997, ongoing). Officially to test Sapir-Whorf. In practice, human-machine interface (control, translation), some clear thinking, auxiliary use (mainly derived from interface use and unique machine parsing). Latin alphabet less /h,q,w/, plus /'/ (pronounced as /h/), /./ (significant pause), /,,/ (unpredicted syllable break), capitalization (unpredicted stress). Usual values, except /c/=sh, /j/=zh, /x/=kh, /y/ is schwa. Penult stress (freer in names). No primes per se, but most vocabulary is built from c. 1300 primitives ("gismu") which represent the most common concepts (in English) as shown by usage in a variety of studies. The word forms are formulaic fusions of the corresponding words in the six languages with the most speakers, all fitted into CVCCV or CCVCV forms, each with at least one shorter form for use in compounding vocabulary development. New vocabulary is by collapsing modifier-modified cluster into new predicates, while retaining the basic pattern of gismu (only longer): CC in first five sounds, penult stress. There are also several hundred (C)V((')V) forms for pronouns, prepositions (mostly derived from gismu), various syntactic functions. SVO (but some free, some marked rearrangements) and AN

Lord's Prayer (le xisyctu jdaselsku be la jegvon.) (ni'o)

do i cevrni .iu noi zvati le do cevzda do'u
   fu'e .aicai .e'ecai lo do cmene ru'i censa
   .i le do nobli turni be la ter. ku se cfari
   .i lo i do se djica ba snada mulno vi'e le cevzda .e .a'o la ter.
   (.i do nobli turni vi'e le cevzda .ebazake .a'o la ter.)
   (.i lo i do se djica ba snada mulno vi'e le cevzda .e .a'o la ter.)
   .i fu'e .e'o ko dunda ca le cabdei le ri nanba mi'a
   .i ko fraxu mi loi ri zu'o palci
   .ijo mi fraxu roda poi pacyzu'e xiani mi
   .i ko lidne mi fa'anai loi pacyxlu
   .i ko sepri'a mi loi palci

Esperanto (Lazarus Ludovic Zamenhof, 1887, various minor revisions since) An international auxiliary language. Latin alphabet less /q, x, w,y/ plus circumflexed forms (typed with following x) of /c,g,h,j,s/ and hachek u (written /ux/ or /uq/ or, as here,/w/). Pronunciation as usual except /c/=ts, /j/=y, /cx/=ch, /gx/=j, /hx/=kh, /jx/=zh, /sx/=sh, /ux/=w. Penult stress. No primes nor primitives, but a couple dozen active derivational affixes of very specific content and sporadic portmanteau. Vocabulary is international words systematized to the noun:-o, adjective –a, adverb –e, verb –i, -Vs, pattern, plus local words for local features and an apparently random set of words from European languages for pronouns and syntactic functions. SVO (but free rearrangement) and AN

Lord's Prayer
Patro nia, kiu estas en la cxielo,
Via nomo estu sanktigita.
Venu Via regno,
plenumigxu Via volo,
kiel en la cxielo, tiel ankaw sur la tero.
Nian panon cxiutagan donu al ni hodiaw.
Kaj pardonu al ni niajn sxuldojn,
kiel ankaw ni pardonas al niaj sxuldantoj.
Kaj ne konduku nin en tenton,
sed liberigu nin de la malbono.
Amen.
I'm Adam Parrish. You will find below a thing that I've been working on. The language is called Kuzamâjteth. It sounds like you'd expect from IPA, but read <th> as /θ/, <sh> as /ʃ/, <z> as /ts/ and <a> as /æ/. E-mail me here: adam.parrish@yahoo.com

**K'mesentuqjan Sumethr**
A poor translation of "J'ai fait l'amour bien jeune" (traditional folk song from Bretagne)

K'mesentuqjan sumethr
Sothek'mewtni wdi stiakrashk\r
K'mesentuqjan sumethr
Anteshnieshet teqnet\r

Thurjan sthadet isesh
K'm thnaze\er àsk ek'm estat
Siennenrashkr\at nieshn\a
Anqantak\da nen anek'm estak\da

Men uq\it ojuk\wi
Anqant\anus amnequeqnu\sr
Anunzakn\atr anzanam\jteth\r
Andaksu tukuadatjek\r

Suksundatjekk\et \at
K'm esenshtek she
Sthed\ket stiakradatkd\a sumethrus
Anqin\a\r she sjokthukete

**Interlinear translation**

k'mesentuqjan sumethr
k'm-es-en-tuq=jan s-um-eth-r
3IN-1SG.DAT-by.touch-love-two.people=when 1SG-root-lack-IMPF
"I loved when I was young"

sothek'mewtni wdi stiakrashk\r
soth-ek'mewt-ni wdi s-ti-ak-rash-k-r
ahead-rest-place-LOC intend 1SG-with.hands-so-bring-IRREAL-IMPF
"in the future, (I) intend to so continue"

k'mesentuqjan sumethr
k'm-es-en-tuq=jan s-um-eth-r
3IN-1SG.DAT-by.touch-love-two.people=when 1SG-root-lack-IMPF
"I loved when I was young"

anteshnieshet teqnet\r
an-tesh-ni-e-shet teqnet=\at-th-r
3AN-year-have-seq.pl-hearsay eighteen=girl.COM/INS
"with a girl of eighteen years"

thurjan sthadet
thn-r=jan s-th-ad-et
night-IMPF=while 1SG-3IN.ACC-by.sight-perceive
"at night, I see (it)"
isesh $k^W$thnazer$^W$er $\ddot{a}sk$ ek$^W$estat
i-se=$sh$ $k^W$-th-naz-ek$^W$e=r $\ddot{a}sk$ ek$^W$e-sta=t
outwards-light=source 3IN-3IN.ACC-above-rest-IMPF this rest-flat=place
"a light, it rests above these lands"

sienen rashrāt $\ddot{n}eshnā
sie-n-en-rash-r=kāt $\ddot{m}e-sh-nā
1REFLX-3IN.DAT-by.feeling-bring-IMPF=sō 1EXCL-make.love=woman
"So I believe my lover"

anquantākā $\ddot{n}en$ anek$^W$westakā
an-qan-tā-k=dā $\ddot{n}en$ an-ek$^W$e-sta-k=dā
3AN-away-go-IRREAL=action there 3AN-rest-flat-IRREAL=action
"(that) she goes away, (that) she lies down there"

men uqāt $\ddot{o}juk^W_i$
men uqā=t $\ddot{o}ju-k^W_i$
all house=place dog-3IN.POSS
"all the dogs of the village"

anquantāmus annejmqeoustr
an-qan-tā-nus an-neqmeq-nus-r
3AN-away-go-many.animals 3AN-bark.REDUP-many.animals-IMPF
"they (many animals) left, they were barking (a lot, over and over)"

anthzaraknātr anjamātjethhr
an-th-zar-ak-nāt-r an-zar-nāt-jeth-r
3AN-3IN-by.mouth-so-show-IMPF 3AN-by.mouth-give=means-COM/INS
"they were thereby saying (it) in their language"

andiaksu tuksamunatkjek
an.dī=aks-u t-uksun-dat-jek-r
3AN-be.brave=man-VOC 2SG-firefly-chase-many.small.things-IMPF
"O brave man, you're chasing fireflies" (= you're wasting your time)

suksundatjekktet āt $k^W$esenshtek she
s-uksun-dat-jek-k=tet āt $k^W$-es-en-shtek she
1SG-firefly-chase-many.small.things-IRREAL=if very 3IN-1SG.DAT-by.touch-smile at least
"Even if I chased fireflies, at least I had a lot of fun"

sthredkter sthtqandatkā $\ddot{s}umethrās
s-th-red-k=tet s-th-qam-dat-k=dā $\ddot{s}um-eth-r=as
1SG-3IN-additionally-IRREAL=if 1SG-3IN-away-chase-IRREAL=action 1SG-root-lack-IMPF=time
"and if I also chased away my youth"

anquinār she sjokthukete
an-qnī=nā-r she s-jok-thu-ket-e
3AN-be beautiful=woman-COM/INS at least 1SG-agreeably-night-pass-seq.pl
"at least I spent a number of agreeable nights with the beautiful woman"
The many “cases” of Zhyler!

Trans.) túmuht, z-yijku xůŋkunuaj erêndžāvaj neskā dóxat tirizdzin wervenejlef amšar le rumyrlēj vest̪e nemē jirkuń ezd̪ez ñaŋjaŋomē ellə.


Gloss.) “With a shovel, that girl gave the boy under the bed a book about wolves by Tirizdi from her father and the pen on this table through the window of a friend’s house for my mother.”

The dueling verbs of Sidaan!

Trans.) sambaqeq ciŋuā klenbas oya nasqano.

Int.) / NonFin.give.1sg. Gen.flower Gen.girl.DOAgr. wolf help.Past/

Gloss.) “I gave a flower to the girl which helped the wolf.” or “My giving of a flower to the girl helped the wolf.”

The pictureyness of X!


Gloss.) “Last night, during a lightning storm, I saw a boa constrictor between the recliner and the bookcase.”
◇ The something-or-other-ness of Tan Tyls!

Trans.) xapaliitah sopwəsəx akxałt apaqʰas saxqols.


Gloss.) “The bad buffalo saw the horse that trampled the snake.”

◇ The dueling word orders of Njaama!

Trans.) həl! ḳəl l-eli ilkanə s-əniməki sá.

Int.) /NewSub. cheetah Obj.-woman see 3sg.-Neg.Perf.Cop 3sg. /

Gloss.) “The cheetah didn’t see the woman.”

◇ The mighty verbishness of Epiq!

Trans.) mутaʃaqsмjàŋoutwasapanəəʃəntastəkufo!


Gloss.) “I plan to have all those foolish, war-ready penguins for breakfast!”

◇ The relative obscurity of Sathir!

Trans.) jawə tʰəsə ɾəðʷərəs ʃədəwə.

Int.) /dampen tunic DefErg.grass DefErg.wet/

Gloss.) “Wet grass makes one’s clothes wet.”

◇ Kamakawi!

Trans.) kipe ka li ojokojo foutapilo in tetu uilə ke liwi iʔi hema!

Int.) /yesterday Past.NewSubj. get Oyokoyo Foutapilo Obj.Plu. shrimp all Past.SameSubj. deny Obj.1sg. almost/

Gloss.) “Oyokoyo Foutapilo almost kept all the shrimp from me yesterday!”
An Introduction to Kēlen

I've always been fascinated by language. I encountered Tolkien at an impressionable age, and his world inspired me to create my own fantasy world. My early play with language creation resulted in a handful of names that shaped Kēlen phonology and still survive in Kēlen mythology.

Later, in college, I happened to take a Linguistics course. This inspired me to major in linguistics and completely revise my language at least a dozen times. Linguistics was also responsible for showing me the sheer diversity of language and those underlying patterns that go by the name of linguistic universals.

The current version(s) of Kēlen arose out of the desire to violate the language universal that says all languages have verbs. So, Kēlen lost all of its verbs and became a language of nouns and particles.

What would a verb-less language look like? Possibly the language would have a small number of words that do the functions of verbs without any of the semantic content and would tell how many arguments to expect and what the relationship is between these various arguments. Kēlen has a closed class of "relationals" that perform the syntactic function of verbs:

- LA, which asserts that an argument exists in a location or a state
- NI, which asserts that an argument is or has relocated or changed its state
- SE, which asserts that an argument is related to a source and/or a goal
- PA, which asserts that one argument contains another.

Combine these with inflections and various modifiers, and we have even more ways to express the relationships between the various arguments in the sentence.
Kēlen's other claim to fame is probably the alphabets. The standard alphabet is inspired by Sanskrit and looks like so:

![Standard Kēlen Alphabet](image)

However, there are other alphabets:

![Other Alphabets](image)

And an example of Box Script:

![Box Script Example](image)

Sylvia Sotomayor

The Kēlen language: http://www.terjemar.net/kelen.php
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliations</th>
<th>Conlangs</th>
<th>Aspects / School of conlanging interested in</th>
<th>Contact info</th>
<th>Talk to me about…</th>
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<td>Arthaey Angosii aka Catherine</td>
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<td>Asha'ille</td>
<td>naturalistic artlangs, conscripts, and concultures</td>
<td><a href="http://conlang.arthaey.com/">http://conlang.arthaey.com/</a> <a href="mailto:arthaey@gmail.com">arthaey@gmail.com</a> or <a href="mailto:arthaey@arthaey.com">arthaey@arthaey.com</a></td>
<td>Talk to me about your artlang, conscript, or conculture (or listen to me talk about mine <em>grin</em>). I'm also looking for interested penpals for an conlang-learning exchange.</td>
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<td>Doug Ball</td>
<td>Stanford</td>
<td>Skerre, Tanach-a Shile</td>
<td>Realistic Artlanging. Application of linguistic theories to conlanging</td>
<td><a href="http://tsketar.tripod.com">http://tsketar.tripod.com</a> <a href="mailto:tsketar@excite.com">tsketar@excite.com</a></td>
<td>Eastern Austronesian languages, North American languages, noun incorporation, case-marking and the like, clitics, polysynthesis, linguistic theories (OT, Evolutionary Phonology, non-morpheme based morphology, LFG, HPSG)</td>
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<td>Chromaphonoglyphics</td>
<td>Conscripting</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.richardbrodie.com/">http://www.richardbrodie.com/</a></td>
<td>Passions: anagramming, translating Middle English poetry, introducing/perfecting the new writing paradigm represented by CPG</td>
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<td>The Daszerian Languages Translation Project</td>
<td>The Central Mountain Family</td>
<td>Naturalistic artlangs</td>
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<td>Algonquian, Iroquoian, morphology, phonology</td>
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<td>a priori inventions, fictional languages, personal or private languages.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.frontiernet.net/~scales/teonaht.html">http://www.frontiernet.net/~scales/teonaht.html</a></td>
<td>About my lifelong devotion to Teonaht, about its world, about earlier language experiments, about invented scripts, artwork, conlanging as poetry.</td>
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<td>Terrana Cliff</td>
<td>Betamaze</td>
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<td>I'm particularly interested in writing systems.</td>
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<td>John E. Clifford</td>
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<td>Logical languages, minimal languages, off-the-wall languages (violate &quot;universals&quot;)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:clifford-j@sbcglobal.net">clifford-j@sbcglobal.net</a></td>
<td>All and any of the above.</td>
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<td>I would like to see an interspecies pidgin. By that I mean a minimal language using &quot;phonetic&quot; elements such as rhythm patterns that could be used by any species regardless of anatomy or sensory apparatus. I believe that there would be some benefit to animal communications research to have a common system that might make their results more easily comparable. (Although I suspect that it would be of more interest to sci-fi fans who like to speculate about first contact situations.)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:androgenoide@yahoo.com">androgenoide@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td>I have some preliminary vocabulary suggestions posted on the web at <a href="http://www.geocities.com/androgenoide/microlang.htm">http://www.geocities.com/androgenoide/microlang.htm</a>. Someday I'll get back to that project, at least long enough to get the rest of my existing notes posted, but it will probably have changed quite a bit by then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly Drinkwater</td>
<td>Skuigelz</td>
<td></td>
<td>Artling in general, conscripting in particular</td>
<td><a href="mailto:kelly.drinkwater@students.menloschool.org">kelly.drinkwater@students.menloschool.org</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aidan Elliott-McCrea</td>
<td>UC Santa Cruz, ZBB</td>
<td>none yet; though some conscripts: Kedan, Serela, Imirn</td>
<td>Naturalistic Artling, Holistic World-Building, Alien Languages, Sign Languages, Writing Systems</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sedesdraconis.com">http://www.sedesdraconis.com</a></td>
<td>Conbiology, Albatross, Random Esoteric Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sai Emrys</td>
<td>Conference organizer, teacher of the Conlangs DE-Cal, &amp; founder of LiveJournal conlangs community.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>I'm actually not a conlanger (gasp!) - I'm a meta-conlanger. I am interested in creating new conlang 'tech', pushing the bounds of what language can do, and applying Sapir-Whorf towards beneficial consciousness manipulation.</td>
<td><a href="http://saizai.livejournal.com">http://saizai.livejournal.com</a> <a href="mailto:conlangs@saizai.com">conlangs@saizai.com</a></td>
<td>Talk to me about anything conference-related, nonlinear writing systems, cogsci, conlangs teaching, or anything else that's neat. Or if you have a suggestion for what I can do with the next few years of my life..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol Anne Hagele</td>
<td>Sarah Higley</td>
<td>Little known/ none created</td>
<td>Interested in seeing how far Sarah Higley's language has come since she trapped me in the tree house 35 years ago on a sweltering summer day and tried to teach me &quot;Heaven Cat&quot;.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:hagele@earthlink.net">hagele@earthlink.net</a></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Affiliations</td>
<td>Conlangs</td>
<td>Aspects / School of conlanging interested in</td>
<td>Contact info</td>
<td>Talk to me about…</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew Haupt</td>
<td>Allied Tax Planners</td>
<td>Peetik - Work In Progress</td>
<td>I got into conlanging after I learned that Tolkien had written <em>The Lord of the Ring</em> partly to have a place where people spoke the languages he had developed! I've spent a lot of time on <a href="http://langmaker.com">langmaker.com</a>, <a href="http://omniglot.com">omniglot.com</a> and some others teaching myself linguistics. I like what Jeff Henning says about creating a &quot;proto-language&quot;/ancestral tongue and I'm trying to develop one of mine own currently.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:filmfxman@hotmail.com">filmfxman@hotmail.com</a></td>
<td>Proto-languages, Adamic language, word roots, how language changes/morphs over time, writing systems (I like aspects of Cirth, Georgian and D'Ni), and even Bulgarian, if the spirit moves you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neil Howell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:neillhowell@yahoo.com">neillhowell@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Husch</td>
<td>I'm the official representative of the Zompist Bulletin Board, an online community of conlangers.</td>
<td>Anas</td>
<td>Naturalist. I make conlangs for a conworld intended to be Earthlike (so none of that ridiculous aversion to European-style langs that seems to infect everyone! As long as they're well-done, I enjoy making/learning about all types of languages). \</td>
<td><a href="mailto:chusch@gmail.com">chusch@gmail.com</a></td>
<td>O goodness gracious. I don't know. I'm not really very interesting; I haven't a whole lot to say about myself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Nerad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I'm an amateur &quot;conlinguist&quot;. I like language in general and enjoy the process of creating and learning rudimentary languages.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:douglas@nerad.org">douglas@nerad.org</a></td>
<td>I am interested in conlangs for world building with the ultimate goal of using it for writing projects and private speech among friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Parrish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal languages, constructed language in fiction</td>
<td><a href="mailto:adam.parrish@yahoo.com">adam.parrish@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt Pearson</td>
<td>Linguistics Department, Reed College</td>
<td>Tokana, Thh-tmaa</td>
<td>Artlangs, 'naturalistic' conlanging, conlanging and linguistic models/theories, alien communication, constructed languages in SF/F literature.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:pearsonm@reed.edu">pearsonm@reed.edu</a></td>
<td>Any of the above…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David J. Peterson</td>
<td>UCSD</td>
<td>Kamakawi, Zhyler, Epiq, Kelenala, Sathir, Njaama, Sheli, Gweydr, Tn Tyls, X, KNSL, Wasabi, Megdevi</td>
<td>Naturalist, CSL (consignlanguages), creoles, visual languages</td>
<td><a href="http://dedalvs.free.fr/">http://dedalvs.free.fr/</a> <a href="mailto:dedalvs@gmail.com">dedalvs@gmail.com</a></td>
<td>I live for morphology, though phonology and orthography are two of my favorite hobbies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Affiliations</td>
<td>Conlangs</td>
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<td>Talk to me about…</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brittany Pettengill</td>
<td></td>
<td>I hope to create some of my own languages someday, maybe even one to share with my twin sister.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bpettengill@berkeley.edu">bpettengill@berkeley.edu</a></td>
<td>I am an undergraduate UCB student intending to major in linguistics who is very interested in the field.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Quijada</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ithkuil / Iláksh</td>
<td>non-Indo-European-style conlangs, highly synthetic conlangs, philosophical languages</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ithkuil.net">http://www.ithkuil.net</a> <a href="mailto:jq_ithkuil@inreach.com">jq_ithkuil@inreach.com</a></td>
<td>Ithkuil, cognitive linguistics, non-natlang-style conlangs, my novel I just finished writing, good sci-fi authors, eclectic cinema, Northern California wine-tasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Sherman</td>
<td></td>
<td>(some) Quenya; created Sayboh (WIP)</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="http://theveryvery.endoftheinternet.org/">http://theveryvery.endoftheinternet.org/</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arden R. Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td>Know (more or less): Tolkien's languages, Esperanto, Volapük; Created: Juvenile rubbish that you will never see</td>
<td><a href="http://home.earthlink.net/~erilaz/">http://home.earthlink.net/~erilaz/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sylvia Sotomayor</td>
<td>Kēlen</td>
<td>language universals and morphosyntax</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="http://www.terjemar.net/kelen.php">http://www.terjemar.net/kelen.php</a></td>
<td>language universals and morphosyntax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoni Teitelbaum</td>
<td>Earth Minimal</td>
<td>Applications of linguistic and con-lang concepts to other areas; non-verbal languages and forms of expression (e.g. math, music, cooking, visual art...)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:ytbaum@stanford.edu">ytbaum@stanford.edu</a></td>
<td>The above. Also grammar/syntax and the evolution of languages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Lue-Yee Tsang        | Silendion    | artlangling ("architectural"
conlanging of the <a href="http://www.jaspax.com/lang/content/view/28/29"">"Naturalist"
school</a>), morphosyntax, speech levels | lueyee@berkeley.edu                                                                                          |                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Katrina Vahedi       |              | Shaping the 'sound' of a language     |                                                                                                              | kvahedi@ucsd.edu                     | Phono geek at University of California, Santa Cruz                                                                                                                                 |
| Vladimir Vysotsky    |              | none so far                           | mellifluity, experiments with universals and metaphors                                                        | http://trivee.org                    | Conlang lurker :)                                                                                                                                                  |
| Andrew Wallace       | Quenya       | I am interested developing a context for a language, especially Tolkien's context for his Elvish languages. | http://www.bookworlds.org                                                                                   | Talk to me about Tolkien's Elvish languages, and creating worlds (cosmogenesis).                                                                         |