

# The Kuaran Language

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

1.1

*Beñat Irastorza Ugalde*



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## Квараский язык

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR (v 1.1)

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# *Abbreviations*

## **General Linguistics**

Ø	Zero-exponence marker
?	Meaning of the sentence up to interpretation
!	Meaning of the sentence is not literal
ACC	Accusative case marking
ADVR	Adverbaliser
COP1	Copulative verb, first type (pertenence to a class/definition)
COP2	Copulative verb, second type (permanent property)
COP3	Copulative verb, third type (temporal property)
DAT	Dative case marking
DEF	Definite
DISTR	Distributive particle
DIST	Distal aspect
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case marking
IMPER	Imperative marker
IMPFV	Imperfective aspect
INDEF	Indefinite
IRR	Irrealis form marker
NEG	Negation marker
NOMLR	Nominaliser
NOM	Nominative case marker

**NONVOL** Non-volitional mood

ORD    Ordinal

PAST    Past tense

PERM    Permissive marker

PFV    Perfective aspect

PRES    Present tense

PROX    Proximal aspect

VOL    Volitional mood

?    Question marker

**Personal pronouns**

A1P    Accusative first person plural pronoun

A1S    Accusative first person singular pronoun

A2P    Accusative second person plural pronoun

A2S    Accusative second person singular pronoun

A3PA    Accusative third person plural animate noun

A3PI    Accusative third person plural inanimate noun

A3SA    Accusative third person singular animate noun

A3SI    Accusative third person singular inanimate noun

AGLOB    Accusative global pronoun

D1P    Dative first person plural pronoun

D1S    Dative first person singular pronoun

D2P    Dative second person plural pronoun

D2S    Dative second person singular pronoun

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D3SA    Dative third person singular animate noun

D3SI    Dative third person singular inanimate noun

DGLOB    Dative global pronoun

G1P Genitive first person plural pronoun  
 G1S Genitive first person singular pronoun  
 G2P Genitive second person plural pronoun  
 G2S Genitive second person singular pronoun  
 G3PA Genitive third person plural animate noun  
 G3PI Genitive third person plural inanimate noun  
 G3SA Genitive third person singular animate noun  
 G3SI Genitive third person singular inanimate noun  
 GGLOB Genitive global pronoun  
  
 N1P Nominative first person plural pronoun  
 N1S Nominative first person singular pronoun  
 N2P Nominative second person plural pronoun  
 N2S Nominative second person singular pronoun  
 N3PA Nominative third person plural animate noun  
 N3PI Nominative third person plural inanimate noun  
 N3SA Nominative third person singular animate noun  
 N3SI Nominative third person singular inanimate noun  
 NGLOB Nominative global pronoun

**Other pronouns**

IMPRS Impersonal pronoun  
 PLEO Pleonastic pronoun



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# **Part I**

## **Introduction**



# *Introduction and context*

THE KUARA PEOPLE are a minoritarian Russian community located west of the Chersky Mountain Range (Eastern Siberia), which remained isolated until their discovery by the Russian government in 2023. The Kuara people are the speakers of a language known as the *Kuaran language*, in its ancient form unrelated to the languages from the Indo-European or Sino-Tibetan languages (closest in proximity).

## *Brief history*

### *Origins and settling: Ancient or Pre-Ghazan Kuaran*

LITTLE IS KNOWN about the geographical origin of the Kuara people and the subject still remains a question of strong scientific debate. Most scholars agree on the fact that the Kuaran people originated when a nomadic Eurasian tribe settled in the valley they now dwell in around the end of the Bronze Age (1500 BCE approximately). The reason for the settling is still up to debate: some scholars defend that the Kuara voluntarily decided to stay (arguably due to a surplus of food), while others argue that they were trapped in the valley due to drastic climatic and geographical changes (the area is still difficult to access with modern technologies).

The change from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle probably helped on the development of culture and civilization; however, the geographical isolation and the limited amount of resources impeded big increases of population and cultural/technological interchanges like in other “open” civilizations.

### *The Ghazare and the Ghazan scrolls: Post-Ghazan Kuaran*

Although there is little evidence for tracing how the culture and language of the Kuara people evolved, findings strongly suggest that the community remained isolated almost from the moment of their set-

ting. The Ghazare's arrival (in 1287 ACE) is the only documented exception.

One of the most important objects—and in fact one of the few writings—that have been found in the area are what would be named as the Ghazan scrolls. This extensive set of documents forms the diary of what seems like an outsider (*Ghazan*) that, in company of a small group of travelers (*the Ghazare*), ran into the Kuara people, decided to change their ways and stayed for the rest of their lives. It is estimated that, upon the moment of their arrival, the Kuaran village must have already had around 2000 inhabitants.

There is strong evidence that Ghazan and the Ghazara had mongolian origins, since that is the language the scrolls were originally written in. This figure's profession has not been agreed upon yet, but judging from the form and content of the writings it is most likely that he was a scholar<sup>1</sup>. Whichever their origin, the arrival of the Ghazare was a new wind that introduced some changes and marked the Kuaran culture forever. The most important changes include:

- The change of a non-positional numeral system to a positional one, (loosely) based on original Kuaran glyphs for numbers.
- The development of an own alphabet and writing system, (predominantly) based on the Kuaran glyphs that were used to mark initials of people into several objects—to indicate property or as part of a ritual.
- The addition of a few mongol terms to the Kuaran vocabulary.

After Ghazan's death, some of his students translated his scrolls from the original version in Mongolian to the Kuaran language with the newly created script—which are nowadays the most important object in the process of deciphering the alphabet. But, eventually, writing lost popularity—arguably due to the still strong oral tradition of the Kuara or the lack of technology for writing—and the community turned back to their oral tradition (however, the other two mentioned aportations did stay).

From the moment of Ghazan's (and his companions') death, there is no record of other interactions of the Kuara with other cultures. Findings strongly suggest they remained isolated until the Russian Intervention.

In all, the culture remained isolated for almost another thousand years.

#### *Russian Intervention: Modern or Russified Kuaran*

In 2023, *Russian Biofuel-tracking Satellites* (kept secret at the time) detected an extensive potential petroleum reservoir buried near the Cher-

<sup>1</sup> Many argue that he was a monk: the resemblance between his name, Ghazan, and that of the character "Kasa the Monk"—from the homonymous popular song about the arrival of an outsider—is indeed obvious. However, the actual stories do not match: the song tells how Kasa was executed after it was discovered he was a thief on the run, whereas Ghazan describes himself as a prisoner who managed to escape his captors and guided by God found the Kuara—and, in them, his new life. The veracity of the image Ghazan himself portrays has not been confirmed either. Little is known about the other (approximately six) people that accompanied him.

sky Range. The government sent a small troop of field-examining automata to inspect the area (unexplored at the time) and found the Kuara people living in the valley.

For reasons still undisclosed, the Russian government kept the finding hidden from the international community and devised the *Kuaran People's Unification Protocol* (or KPUP), allegedly aimed at integrating the newly found community in the modern Russian society. Despite the plan being far less invasive than other historical Russification processes (namely the ones followed by the Russian Empire and, years later, the Soviet Union), this intervention was frowned upon by the international community when in 2034 an anonymous hacking attack disclosed this information.

The subject is still surrounded in controversy. Most members of the UN—which took measures for protecting the language and culture through UNESCO early on—accuse the Russian government of overlooking the protection of the newly found community and vastly interfering with (if not destroying) their way of life in the Russification process. On the other hand, the Russian government (and some affine nations) made an official document stating that the UN intervention had nothing in mind but impeding the access of Russia to the petroleum, and that the introduction of the Russian language and basic modern technologies was not only protocolary, but also necessary for the natural functioning of the Kuara people as members of the Russian society. The discussion spans many fields, including the treatment and study of the language: Russian scholars tend to support the cyrillic spelling of the language (which has already been around for over a decade), whereas Western academics are more in favour of keeping the traditional Ghazan's alphabet and study a romanized version of the language.

Almost unaware of the debate around them, the Kuara people have for the most part maintained their way of live. Younger generations have been taught Russian (aside from learning Kuaran as their mother tongue) and a writing tradition is flourishing among the youngest stratum of society (using cyrillic alphabet instead of the Ghazan one, which did not stay for long). The Kuara have naturally adopted some of the more advanced technologies and concepts they have been in contact with (like reading time, for example) and have borrowed Russian words for them, but their lifestyle remains simple and true to their origins, for now.



Figure 1: Naika, one of the Kuaran people that helped document the language, dressed in traditional clothing.

## *Brief culture*

### *Lifestyle—living in community*

The lifestyle of the Kuara people is heavily influenced by the climate conditions of Siberia (despite being milder than in other parts thanks to the protection of the Chersky Range). With a population of around 2000 people, the relation between the members of community is strong and most activities are performed in a collaborative manner. Their labors and pastimes have remained almost unchanged from their settling.

The Kuara have a very particular sense of community when compared to other cultures. The inhabitants contain very few possessions—animals and crops are communal, for instance—and have a very free mindset when it comes to many things. For example, when a woman gives birth to a child, they are raised by all the lactating women at that time, as a child of the whole community. However, once a child reaches a certain age, they must decide on a trade and become part of the family specialized on it.

The few possessions Kuanan people have pertain to their kin, including a recipe for bread- and cheese-making, which is a secret each of the family keeps well.

### *Culture and transmission*

The Kuara people have developed most of the typical cultural manifestations present in other civilizations. These include music, storytelling, painting and sculpture (in their case closely related to pottery), to name a few. Their style (either patterns for painting or melodies in music) is quite characteristic and unrelated to other neighbouring cultures.

When it comes to transmission of culture, the most predominant channel is the oral one (the Ghazan alphabet was used for some decades in which a writing tradition seemed to be flourishing, but it did not mature at all). Most of the songs and stories are transmitted orally and thus rarely stay the same; however, some of the youngest members of the community (more russified than the elderly people) are beginning to give birth to a written tradition (all in cyrillic alphabet).

### *Religion*

The Kuara follow a shamanic religion, which is closer to fields like medicine and ethics than spiritual creed. Mythical divine figures are part of their folklore, usually representing inanimate yet everchanging concepts around them—rivers and flora, for example. However, the



Figure 2: Kuanan mask representing the spirit of the Air and the Skies.

Kuara consider them villagers too, and have an additional ordinary house for them in the southern part of the village (this house is known as *house of spirits*). Far from worshiping them as gods, the Kuara let these spirit live their lives as the rest of the villagers go on with theirs.

### *Story of creation*

Next, we present an English translation of one of the most popular tales in their culture (appearing on the Ghazan scrolls under the name of *the Story of Creation of Humankind*).

AT FIRST THERE WERE NONE, and from a sneeze there came three: the goddess of the earth and the land, the god of the winds and skies, and the goddess of the rivers and the seas. Braiding the words they created life, and braiding life they created the animals, each with their tails and their names.

Proud of the result, all three organized a feast: the earth presented them with her fruits, the winds entertained them with their singing and the waters amused them with their dance. Soon, the skies fell in love with the movement of the seas and the seas fell in love with the song of the skies and they agreed to meet, hidden from the land, in the horizon. There, they sang and danced as one; and this union gave birth to two new creatures.

The creatures were too heavy to soar the skies and too light to live in the seas and were forever confined on the earth. Him they called Man; her they called Woman.

Worried that they would not be able to look after their new children, the skies and the seas turned to the land and asked for help. The earth agreed to take care of the Man and the Woman, but only for nine moons; soon, however, she started to love them as her own children. When the nine moons had passed, sad and worried to let them on their own, the land promised to present each with a secret. To her, she revealed the secret of milking the animals and making cheese; to him, the secret of harvesting the crops and making bread.

The Man and the Woman then populated the valley and, orphans for a second time, it managed to survive thanks to the secrets shared by the Earth.



# *Language essentials*

## *Important notions in Kuaran*

The Kuaran people being an isolated community, it is no surprise that some of their unusual traits and ways of perceiving the world have marked their language in some unusual ways. Next, we list some important concepts that are worth keeping in mind to fully understand the intricacies of the language.

### *Community values and pronouns*

Due to the strong weight of community in their lives, Kuaran contains an additional person for pronouns (that is, aside from the first, second and third person). It is called a *global person*, an includes all members of the community—creatures living in the *house of spirits* included.

### *Notions of time and space*

Time and space—or rather *proximity* in time and in space—are practically the same concept in Kuaran culture; a fact that is present in many of the inflections and derivations that will be introduced in this text.

The fact that closeness in time and space are almost equivalent concepts translates to exponents of tense and demonstrative determiners sharing similar traits. In general, this exponent of the notion of proximity comes in the form of three prefixes. The prefix **ma-** indicates proximity in a known or definite place/moment and, therefore, also the present. On the other hand, **nu-** is used to indicate distance with the same notion of definiteness, as in separation to something that is known/seen. This results in **nu-** also being used to mark the past tense. Finally, **e-** represents remoteness to something because they are unknown, uncertain or indefinite and, as a consequence, is also related to the future tense.

### Culture-specific terms and Russian words

The context of the Kuara has provided their language with many interesting terms.

Some originate from their own way of understanding the world around them: the word **simau**, for example, represents the feeling of favouritism of a mother towards their biological child, and has a negative connotation towards the person that has this feeling<sup>2</sup>.

Similarly, based on the myth of creation and the gifts of Earth, the word for *cheese* (**xavanas**) has derived from the word *woman* (**vanas**)—some argue that this derivation happened through the word *milk*, also related—, whereas the word for *bread* (**gudase**) has derived from the word for *man* (**gura**). This relation, at the same time, gave rise to some idioms too: the verb used for the coming of age of a woman coincides with the verb *curdle*, whereas for a man it matches the word *rise* (both phenomena being crucial parts of the cheese- and bread-making process). The expression *to put the cheese on the bread*, a well-known euphemism for having sex, also shares the same origin.

On the other hand, some other terms come from Russian (and, lately, some from English), specially regarding technologies that the Kuara had not been in contact with before. **Voske** (*wax*) is an example of this, originating from the Russian word *BOCK*.

### Writing system

The writing system in Kuaran has not yet been fully understood, which has lead many to support that the Cyrillic alphabet should be accepted as the main writing form—that is, after all, the script that the Kuara use nowadays.

However, as opposed to the alphabet, the glyphs for the number system have remained alive for all this time and are still preferred over the Arabic numerals by the Kuara.

### First contact

Finally, here are three basic terms in Kuaran and their translation to English. The last one will be glossed after noun phrase constructions are introduced.

Table 1: Introductory words in Kuaran and their translation to English.

<b>kia</b>	<i>yes</i>
<b>na</b>	<i>no</i>
<b>bapau seidket xavanas toidvala!</b>	<i>expression used to refer to food that tastes bad or things that are done poorly</i>

## **Part II**

# **Phonology**



# Phonemes

This section contains the main phonological traits of the Kuaran language.

## Consonants

	Labial	Lab-dent	Alveolar	Alv-palat	Velar	Glott.
Stops	p b		t d		k g	?
Fric.		f v	s z	ʃ	x	
Tap			r			
Nasals	m		n		ŋ	
Lat.			l			

Table 2: Kuara language consonant chart.

## Romanization

All symbols stay the same in their romanized form except:

- [ʃ], which is represented by an x.
- [x], which is represented by a j.
- [r], which is represented by an r.
- [ŋ], which is represented by an nh.
- The glottal stop, which isn't represented but is pronounced every time a vowel appears repeated, before the second one.

## Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i		u
Opened-mid		œ	
Opened		a	o

Table 3: Kuara language vowel chart.

### *Romanization*

All symbols stay the same in their romanized form except:

- [œ], which is represented by an **e**.
- [ɒ], which is represented by an **o**.

### *Diphthongs*

The only diphthong in the language is **ua**. In the rest of the cases when two vowels appear together, they are split in separate syllables. Moreover, when the two vowels are the same, a glottal stop is added before the second one.

### *Voicedness and context*

Despite the phonetic inventory of the Kuara containing both voiced and unvoiced sounds, there is a distinction between them when it comes to their use (and generally meaning), which is believed to have originated from style rules in their singing.

Kuaran singing is usually based on or accompanied by their own variant of throat singing, also present (in different forms) in cultures such as the Inuit, the Tevan or the Mongolian ones. In particular, in Kuaran throat singing it is considered aesthetically pleasing for the singer/companion to produce a constant deep base sound (known as **sau, ground**) on which the song will be able to “stand”. Since unvoiced consonants would briefly interrupt this stream of sound, the lyrics have ended up containing only voiced ones; not by the choice of lyrics that only contain voiced sounds, but rather just by the change of unvoiced consonants for their voiced variants (context is used for when transformed words might be confused).

Since singing is an important part in their rituals, the use of voiced sounds gradually became associated with more formal/spiritual contexts and, by extension, to contexts in which more abstract or less quotidian word appear. By contrast, most of the everyday use of the language has chosen to only use unvoiced consonants and most of the more common words share this trait.

Thus, the correct pronunciation of the people themselves, **kuara**, is /'kua.ra/ and not /'ku.a.ra/.

# *From phonemes to words*

## *Stress and timing*

Kuanan is a syllable-timed language, with rather fixed stress patterns.

In words with one, two or three syllables, the first one is stressed. In words with four or more syllables, the third-to-last one is the one accented. The exception to this general rule is when the word ends in a plosive consonant, in which the stress lies on the last syllable of the word.

## *Phonological constraints*

Syllables have a **((C))(C)V(C)** structure. There exist some constraints on the realization of two adjacent consonants in a syllable: in general, nasals and fricatives cannot appear together, nor can labial or labio-dental and alveolar sounds.

Moreover, words cannot end in **nh** or **x** (or **[?]**, which is only used to separate repeated vowels).

## *Examples*

Here are a few examples:

<i>Romanized Kuara word</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
<b>Kilek</b>	/ki. 'lœk/	Water
<b>Vanas</b>	/'va.nas/	Woman
<b>Xavanas</b>	/'ʃa.va.nas/	Cheese
<b>Sudoj</b>	/'su.dɒx/	Branch
<b>Maendeb</b>	/ma.oen.'deb/	To pray
<b>Taal</b>	/'ta. ?al/	Smoke
<b>Tlaal</b>	/'tla. ?al/	Stone

Table 4: Example Kuanan words.

### *Russian sounds–complete phonetic inventory*

In general, the speakers use their native phones for pronouncing words they might have borrowed from the contact with Russian. Some of the most common sound changes include:

Table 5: Common consonant sound changes when Russian words are borrowed.

$z_s$	$z$ , $\$$ , $\zeta$	$\longrightarrow$	$\int$
$r$		$\longrightarrow$	daj / doj
$\widehat{t}\zeta$		$\longrightarrow$	tax / tox
$\widehat{t}s$		$\longrightarrow$	tas / tos

Table 6: Common vowel sound changes when Russian words are borrowed.

$\text{æ}$	$\longrightarrow$	a
$\varepsilon$	$\longrightarrow$	e
$\text{i}$ , $\text{u}$ , $\text{o}$	$\longrightarrow$	u

However, since most of the children are being schooled in Russian nowadays, their phonetic inventory includes such sounds too and are starting to be used for said borrowings.

# **Part III**

# **Morphology**



# Numerals

Numbers have a central role in the Kuara language: articles in Kuaran are constructed based on numerals, and so are possessive determiners too. Despite that, numerals rarely stand alone in discourse—except for when they are used for telling time—and, as opposed to English, can never have a pronominal role.

THE KUARAN NUMBER SYSTEM is a 10-based one with a very regular structure, based on the following set of numbers:

1 :	<b>ket</b>	/'koet/
2 :	<b>mun</b>	/'mun/
3 :	<b>vala</b>	/'va.la/
4 :	<b>dek</b>	/'deek/
5 :	<b>xaak</b>	/ʃa.?'pak/
6 :	<b>xaas</b>	/ʃa.?'as/
7 :	<b>junha</b>	/'xu.ŋja/
8 :	<b>gunha</b>	/'gu.ŋja/
9 :	<b>vadunha</b>	/'va.du.ŋja/
10 :	<b>dut</b>	/'dut/
11 :	<b>dutet</b>	/du.'tet/
12 :	<b>pauk</b>	/'pa.un/
13 :	<b>saen</b>	/'sa.əen/
100 :	<b>kaala</b>	/'ka.?'a.la/ (also meaning <i>many</i> )
0 :	<b>o</b>	/o/

Table 7: List of stem numbers in the Kuara language.

The rest of numbers are constructed as follows:

14 to 19 :	<b>dut</b> [digit]
20 to 99 :	[tens]+ <b>dut</b> [digit]
101 to 199 :	<b>kaala</b> [tens]+ <b>dut</b> [digit]
≥200 :	[hundreds]+ <b>kaala</b> [tens]+ <b>dut</b> [digit]

Table 8: Compound numeral construction rules.

Number 32, for example, would read **valadut mun**. Positions are omitted if there is no such component: the correct form of 207, for instance, is **munkaala junha** and not **munkaala odut junha**.

On the other hand, some alternative forms like **dudut** (for “20”, instead of **mundut**) are used by some speakers too, probably dating back to the Pre-Ghazan era where a positional numbering system had not been developed yet.

Rational numbers can also be constructed using the following structure:

Table 9: Fraction construction rules.

 $[\text{numerator}] \text{ ke} + [\text{denominator}]$ 

The formula derives from counting the number of *parts of one* (with **ket** loosing its last **t**). Three fifths (3/5), for example, reads **vala kex-aak**.

### *Ordinals*

Ordinals are contructed adding syllable **ga** to the end of the number. Following the previous examle, for instance, 32<sup>nd</sup> is **valadut munga**.

### *Assimilation*

When numbers are joined for creating the tens and the hundreds, the following asssimilation rules apply:

Table 10: Assimilation rules for number construction.

<b>t+d</b> → <b>d</b>
<b>d+d</b> → <b>d</b>
<b>k+d</b> → <b>k</b>
<b>t+k</b> → <b>t</b>
<b>k+k</b> → <b>k</b>
<b>t+g</b> → <b>t</b> (through <b>t+k</b> )
<b>k+g</b> → <b>g</b>

Moreover, when constructing ordinals, words ending in **-nha** have **-nha+ga** simplified to just **-ga**.

For example, number 50 is **xaakut** (as opposed to **xaakdut**) and 19<sup>th</sup> reads **dut vaduga** instead of **dut vadunhaga**.

# Pronouns

## Personal pronouns

Table 11 contains the nine **nominative** personal pronouns of the Kuara language. Two number categories and three person categories are distinguished, as well as an additional animate/inanimate distinction for third person pronouns and a third number for the first person that comprehends all Kuaran people.

Nominative			
	Singular	Plural	Global
1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>se</b>	<b>nhe</b>	<b>nhua</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>nhue</b>	<b>jue</b>	–
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>an. inan.</i> <b>to</b> <b>kai</b>	<i>an. inan.</i> <b>oto</b> <b>koai</b>	–

Pronoun **nhua** is the only non-deictic one, and there has been debate over whether it should be treated as a noun instead—there is actually no other noun that this pronoun substitutes, and its meaning is invariant to who the speaker is. However, when it comes to syntax and derivation, the word acts as a pronoun, so it is typically classified as one.

The variants of the pronouns for the other 3 grammatical cases (namely **accusative**, **genitive** and **dative**) can be found in tables 12, 13 and 14, respectively.

Accusative			
	Singular	Plural	Global
1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>ses</b>	<b>nhes</b>	<b>nhuas</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>nhues</b>	<b>juse</b>	–
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>an. inan.</i> <b>osto</b> <b>oskai</b>	<i>an. inan.</i> <b>ousto</b> <b>oskuai</b>	–

Table 11: Table containing the nominative form of personal pronouns.

The necessity for the global pronoun comes from the strong communal lifestyle of the Kuara. Although the products that come from them are treated separately by each family, the main resources are communal. Take cheese, for example. Each family has their own recipe (typically transmitted from mother to daughter), but the cows and goats from which they obtain the milk are herded communally. When choosing a genitive pronoun for referring to this possession something broader than a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural is used to stress this fact.

Table 12: Accusative form of personal pronouns in the Kuara language.

Table 13: Genitive form of personal pronouns in the Kuara language.

Genitive			
	Singular	Plural	Global
1 <sup>st</sup>	seid	nheid	nhuad
2 <sup>nd</sup>	nhueid	jueid	–
3 <sup>rd</sup>	an. inan. toid kaid	an. inan. otod kuaid	–

Table 14: Dative form of personal pronouns in the Kuara language.

Dative			
	Singular	Plural	Global
1 <sup>st</sup>	seu	nheu	nhua
2 <sup>nd</sup>	nhueu	juue	–
3 <sup>rd</sup>	an. inan. tou kaiu	an. inan. ouuto kuaiu	–

### Indefinite pronouns

Table 15 sums the most important indefinite pronouns (in their nominative form) in the Kuara language.

	Root	Indef.	Interrog.	Neg.	Some/few	Many	Most	Any	Every
Person	<i>kua</i>	<i>ekua</i>	<i>tekua</i>	<i>oekua</i>	<i>kuanuka</i>	<i>kuakaala</i>	<i>kuanda</i>	<i>kuadi</i>	<i>nhua</i>
An. things	<i>uba</i>	<i>euba</i>	<i>teba</i>	<i>ouba</i>	<i>ubaka</i>	<i>ubakaala</i>	<i>ubanda</i>	<i>ubadi</i>	<i>nhuba</i>
Inan. things	<i>kai</i>	<i>eukai</i>	<i>tekai</i>	<i>oukai</i>	<i>kaika</i>	–	<i>kaida</i>	<i>kaise</i>	<i>nhai</i>
Place/Time	<i>go</i>	<i>eugo</i>	<i>teko</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>gonuka</i>	<i>gokaala</i>	<i>goda</i>	<i>gose</i>	<i>lako</i>
Way	<i>evan</i>	<i>eevan</i>	<i>tevan</i>	–	<i>evanuka</i>	–	–	<i>evandi</i>	–
Reason	<i>mud</i>	<i>emud</i>	<i>temud</i>	<i>oemud</i>	–	<i>mukaala</i>	–	–	–

Table 15: Indefinite pronouns in the Kuara language

Accusative, genitive and dative cases are marked by adding the suffixes **–(a)s**, **–id** and **–u**, respectively (see *nouns* on page 49).

As an example, an answer to the question *who did you give that horn to?* could be:

ekua	–u
ekua	–u
[1] INDEF.PERSON-DAT	
To someone	
<i>To someone</i>	

## *The pleonastic pronoun Gae*

Kuanan is not a pronoun-dropping language, and thus zero-argument verbs like **pinke** (*to rain*) require a *pleonastic* or *dummy* pronoun to work as a subject. This pronoun is **gae**.

Its use will be further explained in section IV, after the introduction of verbs.

IN THE PROCESS OF documenting the language, there was a strong debate over the question of whether **gae** represents some form of nature or deity that causes phenomena like rain or if it should just be classified as a dummy pronoun (after all, the language does have other words meaning *nature*). When Naika—one of the natives that helped document the language—was asked about this, she explained the meaning of **gae** as follows:

*Milk can stir in a bowl for two reasons: a spoon stirring the liquid, or a hand swaying the container. In the first case, the milk will be able to tell what's stirring it, whereas in the second one it won't. Gae is the hand that sways the container.*

In the end, the word was classified as a pronoun because apart from being a dummy pronoun it can also act as the subject in phrases like *there was a knock on the door*, where it arguably acts as a substitute of an unknown agent rather than the name of some natural force (and thus more like an impersonal pronoun).

Examples for all of this will be provided on the syntax section, after the introduction of verbs (see pages 71 and 73).



## Articles and determiners

The equivalent of English *articles* and *demonstratives* are combined in a single determiner in the Kuara language: *Kuaran articles* (also referred to just as *articles* for convenience). Kuaran articles are deictic and based on numerals, encapsulate the information of definiteness and spatial proximity, and are placed right after the noun.

The numeral part of the article corresponds to the grammatical number of the noun, with the rest of the information added by the deictic prefixes introduced in section *language essentials*. The distinction between definite or indefiniteness is marked by the use of prefixes **nu-**/**ma-** or **e-**, the first two being for definite cases and the third for indefinite ones. In the case the noun is on the common ground (it is definite), proximity is marked by the choice of prefix **ma-** for objects with a sense of *closeness* whereas the definite distal prefix **nu-** is used to mark the opposite. In the indefinite case, proximity is not marked.

The above information can be summed in the following way:

	Def.	Indef.
Proximal	<b>ma-</b>	<b>e-</b>
Distal	<b>nu-</b>	

Table 16: Deictic prefixes for the construction of Kuaran articles.

Let us illustrate these concepts with some examples based on the word **ako** (*stone*).

**ako eket**  
ako        e-ket  
[2] stone INDEF-one  
a stone  
*a stone*

**ako maket**  
ako        ma-ket  
[3] stone DEF.PROX-one  
this one stone  
*this/the stone*

	<b>ako nuket</b>
	ako            nu–ket
[4]	stone DEF.DIST–one
	that one stone
	<i>that stone</i>

Nouns are not pluralised, so adding another stone to the examples above will only change the articles:

	<b>ako emun</b>
	ako            e–mun
[5]	stone INDEF–two
	two (unknown) stones
	<i>a couple of stones</i>

	<b>ako mamun</b>
	ako            ma–mun
[6]	stone DEF.PROX–two
	these two stones
	<i>these/the (two) stones</i>

	<b>ako numun</b>
	ako            nu–mun
[7]	stone DEF.DIST–two
	those two stones
	<i>those (two) stones</i>

Although it is grammatically correct to follow this construction for higher numbers, the actual grammatical number of the noun is only precisely stated when the number is very low (or very significant in the context). If not, the number is substituted by **kaala**, meaning *a few* or *many* (also used for *one hundred*). The three prefixes yield the following examples:

	<b>ako ekaala</b>
	ako            e–kaala
[8]	stone INDEF–many
	more than a few unknown stones
	<i>some/many stones</i>

	<b>ako makaala</b>
	ako            ma–kaala
[9]	stone DEF.PROX–many
	these (few / many) stones
	<i>these (few/many) stones</i>

**ako nukaala**

ako nu-kaala

[10] stone DEF.DIST-many  
those (few/many) stones  
*those (few/many) stones*

*Uncountable nouns*

The formula explained above clearly requires for the objects to be countable. But what about uncountable nouns like **nil** (*water*)? In these cases, the numeral is substituted by the form **ketaala** (originated from **ket+kaala**, something like *one-many*):

**nil eketaala**

nil e-ketaala

[11] water INDEF-uncount  
an unknown water  
*a water*

**nil maketaala**

nil ma-ketaala

[12] water DEF.PROX-uncount  
this water  
*this/the water*

**nil nuketaala**

nil nu-ketaala

[13] water DEF.DIST-uncount  
that water  
*that water*

However, it is not uncommon to hear the word **ketaala** be substituted by **ket**, where some sort of unit of the object is inferred and an instance of it is being referenced to (something like saying *a body of water*).

*Intra-discourse reference*

The distal notion that the definite prefix **nu-** conveys—together with the fact that in Kuaran culture proximity is treated similarly both for time and space—results in articles with that prefix also being used for intra-discourse reference (similar to *this* and *that* in English). However, determiners cannot appear alone in Kuaran, so a noun (like **bonua-truth-**, for example) is used to refer to the desired piece of information.

For example, when translating something like "*This summer has been dry. This will affect the crops.*", the second instance of the word *this* could be substituted by something like

	... <b>Bonua nuket...</b>	
	bonua	nu–ket
[14]	truth	DEF.DIST–one
	that (one past) truth	
	<i>This...</i>	

### *Ordinality and articles*

Moreover, the addition of the before mentioned suffix **–ga** incorporates a sense of ordinality to the article. Following the examples above:

	<b>ako makega</b>	
	ako	ma–ke(t)–ga
[15]	stone	DEF.PROX–one –ORD
	this first stone	
	<i>the first stone</i>	

In Kuaran, the fact that there is a sense of predefined order automatically interprets the information to be in the common ground, which discards the use of the indefinite prefix **e–** (sentences like *a first stone was found* have no grammatical sense in Kuaran). As far as the other two prefixes are concerned, they can be used interchangeably in this case. However, the use of **ma–** is advised over **nu–** to distinguish it from the previously mentioned intra-discourse reference use.

### *Augmented definiteness through repetition*

Sometimes the prefixes in the articles are repeated to stress their meaning.

The repetition of the affix **e–** can be used to stress the fact that something is unknown or has never been seen before, giving the objects a sense of eeriness:

	<b>nil eeketaala</b>		
	nil	e–	e–ketaala
[16]	water	INDEF–INDEF–uncount	
	a (very) unknown water		
	<i>unknown waters</i>		

On the other hand, the definite prefixes can be repeated to express the feeling that it is clear what the speaker is referring to, for example

in a situation where the definiteness comes from there not being any other choice.

Take for example a conversation between speakers A and B, the second of which has a stone in their hands. Say the following piece of conversation occurs: *A: Give me the stone, please. B: What stone?.* Speaker A could answer with:

**Ako nunuket!**

ako            nu-            nu-ket

[17]    stone DEF.DIST-DEF.DIST-one

That (only) stone!

That stone! (As if implying *which other stone could it be?*)

Similarly, if it is speaker A who is playing with a stone and if after saying *A: I like the stone I found* receives the answer *B: What stone?.*, A could stress the definiteness (with a component of proximity this time) by answering:

**Ako mamaket!**

ako            ma-            ma-ket

[18]    stone DEF.PROX-DEF.PROX-one

This (only) stone!

This stone!

### *Augmented distance through repetition*

Finally, the distal aspect of the prefix **nu-** can also be emphasised by its repetition, which comes in handy for distinguishing objects that are separated from the speaker in different degrees (something like distinguishing second and third person). If the speaker wants to make clear that they are referring to an object that is not only separated from them, but also separated from the listener (so somewhere where the third person would be located) they could add an extra distal definite prefix.

Back to the example with the two speakers and the stone, if speaker B had one but A wanted to refer to another stone located out of their reach, they could use:

**ako nunuket**

ako            nu-            nu-ket

[19]    stone DEF.DIST-DEF.DIST-one

That stone far from me and you.

That stone (over there).



Figure 3: Kuaran children at play.

Notice that, although the wording in this case is the same as in that of phrase [17], the repetition of the distal definite prefix here is used to

stress distance (as opposed to the other case, where it was used to stress obvious definiteness).

Despite this being a valid grammatical inflection, it is worth to note that Kuaran language is considered to make a **two-way distinction** when it comes to spatial deixis (proximal vs. distal) and not a three-way one as in other languages like Basque, Spanish or Japanese. The introduction of the repeated prefix is only used for stress or disambiguation.

### *Possessive determiners*

Articles are not the only types of determiners in the Kuara language that are based on numerals. That is also the case of possessive determiners, which are built upon numerals and pronouns.

Their construction is similar to that of the articles, where the before mentioned prefixes are substituted by the genitive form of a pronoun (allegedly, giving the object an owner makes it unique enough to need other distinctions that the before mentioned prefixes might provide).

Here are a few examples:

	<b>kidu seidket</b>
	kidu seid-ket
[20]	nose G1s-one
	one nose of mine
	<i>my nose</i>

	<b>mau seidmun</b>
	mau seid-mun
[21]	ear G1s-two
	two ear(s) of mine
	<i>my (two) ears</i>

	<b>kidu nhueidket</b>
	kidu nhueid-ket
[22]	nose G2s-one
	one nose of yours
	<i>your nose</i>

	<b>mau nhueidmun</b>
	mau nhueid-mun
[23]	ear G2s-two
	two ear(s) of yours
	<i>your (two) ears</i>

<b>kidu toidket</b>
kidu toid-ket
[24] nose G3SA-one
one nose of his/hers/its
<i>his/her/its nose</i>

<b>mau toidmun</b>
mau toid-mun
[25] ear G3SA-two
two ears of his/hers/its
<i>his/her/its (two) ears</i>

Notice that the pronoun marks the grammatical person and number of the possessor, whereas the numeral marks the number of the possessed (recall that in the Kuara language nouns do not have an exponent of number).

The introduction of a plural person raises a very natural question: in a context like this, if we are talking about *our noses* (as in yours and mine), should we count two? After all, it is two noses we are talking about, but it seems more natural for the expression to reflect the word *one*—it might not seem like a problem for talking about noses, but changing the subject to ears or teeth might require some arithmetic!

Indeed, Kuaran possessive determiners reflect each other's contribution to the final number in easily separable cases like this one. It does so by introducing the distributive particle **asu** (which translates to *each*) between the genitive pronoun and the numeral:

<b>kidu nheidasuket</b>
kidu nheid- asu-ket
[26] nose G1P-DISTR-one
one nose of each of ours
<i>our noses</i>

This comes in especially handy for higher numbers:

<b>mau jueidasumun</b>
mau jueid- asu-ket
[27] ear G2P-DISTR-one
Two ears of each of yours.
<i>Your ears. (your meaning 2p)</i>

	<b>tek otodasukaala</b>
	tek      otod–    asu–ket
[28]	tooth    G3PA–DISTR–one
	Many teeth of each of them
	<i>Their teeth</i>

Notice that, as seen in the case of articles, the numeral has switched in this case to **kaala** (*many*) to avoid counting to a high number. This is used when numerals are large enough for their number to be irrelevant or also for when the contribution of each person is uneven, in which case the formula *a fixed amount each* makes little sense (the example with the teeth may actually fall in this category too).

Taking this into account, it may seem unnecessary to use the particle **asu** in this case: if we each contribute with many but the actual number is irrelevant, why not just omit this part and just refer to the whole total?

	<b>tek otodkaala</b>
	tek      otod–ket
[29]	tooth    G3P–one
	Many teeth of them
	<i>Their teeth</i>

Indeed, phrase [29] is grammatically correct. However, the phrases have different connotations. The introduction of the affix **asu** gives phrase [28] a **reflexive** overtone, turning the phrase into something that could be used in a sentence like *they need to take care of their teeth* (each of their own). The absence of the infix makes phrase [29] refer to their teeth in general, as in *their teeth are white*.

### Assimilation

The following assimilation rules hold when combining pronouns and numerals:

Table 17: Assimilation rules in possessive determiner construction.

<b>d+d → d</b>
<b>d+j → j</b>
<b>d+p → tp</b>

Here are three examples that have assimilation. Let us suppose we are talking about **demaig** (*year*), **nixelu** (*week*) and **fau** (*chicken*) respectively, for example (how to build possessives for nouns will be explained later on):

[30] **maig kaidek**  
maig kaid-(d)et  
year g3s1-four  
Four seasons of it  
*Its four seasons*

[31] **talug kaijunha**  
talug kai(d)-junha  
day g3s1-seven  
Seven days of it  
*Its seven days*

[32] **faule toitpauk**  
faule toi(d)t-pauk  
egg g3sA-twelve  
Twelve eggs of it  
*Its dozen of eggs*

The word **nixelu** is an example of a Russian borrowing, based on the Russian word неделя (*week*). The habit of counting eggs by the dozen is also borrowed.



# Nouns

The two inflections of a noun in Kuaran are *tense* and *case*.

## Tense

Nouns in the Kuara language can have an exponent of tense, which is mandatory in some of the cases. The tense is marked using the prefixes **e-**, **ma-** and **nu-**. The first affix, **e-**, is used to mark the future tense, since it is related to uncertainty, indefiniteness, and the unknown. The second and third affixes (**ma-** and **nu-**) are related to definite or known concepts, and they mark the present and past, respectively, their difference being on the proximity of the speaker to the inflected word (recall that in the Kuaran language time and space proximity are interchangeable concepts; see introduction for more information). However, the meaning of "past", "present" and "future" they refer to varies depending on the function of the noun.

In a sentence, the **subject** must *always* carry a tense, which will mark the tense of the sentence (there is no exponent of tense in verbs). **Objects**, on the other hand, do not require an inflection when in the same tense as the subject (although it is grammatically correct and not unusual to use the prefix **ma-** for such cases<sup>3</sup>). Prefixes **nu-** and **e-**, on the other hand, are used to mark a difference in tense between the object and the time of the sentence (i.e., the tense of the subject): the first one is used for an object existing *before* the subject, whereas the second one is used to mark objects that come *after*. This concept is further explored in *Construction, destruction and cheesemaking—on the tense of nouns involved in processes*, syntax section, page 87.

Here is an example to illustrate the basic use of this concept. In the sentence *I am building (what will be) my house of the future*, the phrase *(what will be) my house of the future* can be translated as:

<sup>3</sup> By extension, some speakers omit the prefix **ma-** from the noun acting as a subject too, although this is considered incorrect.

[33]	<b>ejonda seidket</b> e-jonda seid-ket FUT-house G1s-one the one future-house of mine ( <i>what will be</i> ) <i>my house of the future</i>
------	---

In the complete sentence, it will be the pronoun *I* (**se**) who will carry the prefix **ma-** that will make the sentence in the present. Notice that in a conversation when we are explaining how the house we now live in was built, in the phrase *I was building what would be my house of the future*, the tense of the subject would change to the past, but **ejonda** would still have the prefix **e-**: although the house does exist now, it was a future object for **nuse**—that *I* in the past.

The simple way of thinking about this is the following: the subject of the sentence has its tense marked with respect to the present time, whereas the objects have their tense marked with respect to the subject.

### *Ese*

At this point, it might be worth to take some time to explain the irregular case of **ese** (**e-se**, *future I/self*). Tense happening in nouns allows the language to have some expressions that cannot be found in English; sentences that would literally translate to *The future-I wants me to go to sleep now* for indicating a concept like *I think I should go to bed now* (as if saying that one's future, **ese**, will regret it if one does not, so the future self is asking to do so).

However, probably coming from expressions like the one mentioned, the word **ese** has evolved to encompass a broader meaning that could be translated to English as *conscience* or *morale*, since it can also be found in sentences like "*ese*" *wouldn't let me sleep because of the lies I had said*, where the notion of one's future self regretting something is blurred.

The fact of whether **ese** has become a noun of its own or should still be treated as a 1s pronoun with a future tense marking is still being debated.

### *Case*

Nouns in the Kuara language are also marked by function using case. In particular, the language contains four cases, a *nominative* one, an *accusative* one, a *genitive* one and a *dative* one, which are inflected by adding affixes.

- The *nominative* case marks the subject of the sentence and has no markings.

- The *accusative* case marks the direct object of a transitive verbs and its exponent is the suffix **-(a)s** (the *a* is added for every noun not ending already in *a*).
- The *genitive* case marks, in general, a noun that modifies another one, and is often used to represent possession. Its exponent is the suffix **-id**.
- The *dative* case marks, in general, the indirect object of a ditransitive verb, but also the object in certain verbs. It refers to a notion of *to whom/what something is done/given*. Its exponent is the suffix **-u**.

All nouns introduced so far have been in the nominative case. Examples for the rest of the cases will be provided in the syntax section, once verbs and sentence structure are introduced.



# Verbs

The main verb inflection categories in the Kuara language are *aspect* and *volition*<sup>4</sup>. For constructing the irrealis form the verb is also inflected, so the related grammatical mood will also be explained in this section.

The following examples already contain full sentences to give the verb more meaning; sentence structure will be further explained in the following section.

<sup>4</sup> Recall that nouns have an exponent of tense and that the tense of the subject marks the tense of the entire sentence.

## Aspect

Kuara marks a perfective or imperfective aspect on dynamic verbs to indicate whether the action is viewed as an indivisible whole, or rather as a process spanning some time or with more internal structure. When uninflected, verbs are in perfective form, whereas the imperfective form is marked by the addition of the prefix **vu-** to the verb.

	<b>Nuse ende.</b>
	nu-se      Ø-ende
[34]	PAST-N1S PFV-sing
	I (of the past) sing.
	<i>I sang.</i>

	<b>Nuse vuende.</b>
	nu-se      vu-ende
[35]	PAST-N1S IMPFV-sing
	I (of the past) singing.
	<i>I was singing.</i>

The zero exponentence marker (Ø) will usually be omitted in the glosses for convenience.

## Volition

The volitional form of a verb is used to indicate that the agent *intends* the action of a verb or its result. Verbs in the Kuara language have an exponent of volition (although it does not get used a lot). Uninflected verbs name actions that are performed with intentionality (by conscient planning, routine, etc.). On the contrary, when one wishes to express the unintentional or accidental nature of an action, one inflects the verb to reflect this.

The way of marking unitentionality in a verb is by disrupting the usual stress pattern explained in the phonology part and accenting the last syllable (this is marked with an accent in transcriptions). In the case that was already the stressed syllable, it is repeated.

	<b>Nuse daeke donatas maket.</b>			
	nu-se	daeke	donat-as	ma-ket
[36]	PAST-N1S	puncture	tent-ACC	DEF.PROX-one
	I (of the past) puncture the tent			
	<i>I punctured the tent.</i>			

	<b>Nuse daeké donatas maket.</b>			
	nu-se	daeké	donat-as	ma-ket
[37]	PAST-N1S	puncture.NONVOL	tent-ACC	DEF.PROX-one
	I (of the past) unintentionally-puncture the tent			
	<i>I unintentionally punctured the tent.</i>			

It is not uncommon to observe the opposite phenomenon (inflected in the first syllable) as a way of emphasising the intentional nature of an event. Following the example above, if someone asked *Why is there a hole in my tent?*, one could answer:

	<b>Nuse dadaeke donatas maket.</b>			
	nu-se	dadaeke	donat-as	ma-ket
[38]	PAST-N1S	VOL.puncture	tent-ACC	DEF.PROX-one
	I (of the past) intentionally-puncture the tent			
	<i>I intentionally punctured the tent.</i>			

This gives the sentence a sense that there is an explanation behind the hole in the tent since we intentionally made it.

Notice that, in this case, since the word **daeke** already had the stress on the first syllable, so an additional first syllable is added to emphasise volition.

## Mood

All the examples seen so far had the verb in indicative mood, which is the only **realis form** in the Kuara language. This mood indicates that something as a statement of fact.

However, the language also contains other moods that refer to situations that are still uncertain at the moment the sentence is created. All these moods fall under the **irrealis mood** category, whose exponent in the verb is the addition of the **e-** prefix to the verb. Recall that this prefix indicates indefiniteness when used in articles and future tense when used in noun phrases. This same concept of uncertainty is marked in the verb as an exponent of the irrealis form.

Additionally, each of the moods under the irrealis category have their own formula. The most important ones are listed below.

The irrealis marker is the last inflection added to a verb, in a way that is always placed at the beginning of the inflected word.

### Conditional mood

The conditional mood has no additional inflection apart from the irrealis mood marking on the verb(s). The mood is constructed using conjunctions **daigo** (*when*) and **mako** (*then*), and the general structure is the following:

**daigo** [condition clause], **mako** [result clause]

The language distinguishes **two** types of conditional sentences: *potential conditionals* and *hypothetical conditionals*.

- In **potential conditionals**, the condition clause is an event that could happen (either in the present or the future), the result clause being an outcome that the speaker is sure will occur if the condition is met<sup>5</sup>. English zero-conditional and (most of the) first conditional sentences fall in this category.

In this case, the irrealis marker is only applied to the verb on the condition clause (the one we are actually uncertain about), since the outcome is believed to be a fact and will be provable in the case the condition clause is met.

Table 18: Conditional sentence construction structure.

<sup>5</sup> This conditional is sometimes called a **factual conditional** for this reason.

[39]

**Daigo manhue tanko eukai ekonté, mako manhue tupu.**  
 daigo ma-nhue tanko eukai e-konté mako ma-nhue tupu  
 when PRES-N2s against something IRR-trip\_over.NONVOL then PRES-N2s fall  
 If you against something accidentally trip over, then you fall.  
 If you trip over something, you fall. (obs: *you* as in 2s, not in impersonal form)

In Kuara, one does not trip *over* something, but rather *against* it. For more on obliques, see page 74.

**Daigo ese etupú, mako ese natupu.**

daigo e-se e-tupú mako e-se natupu

[40] when FUT-N1S IRR-fall.NONVOL then FUT-N1S rise

If I (future) accidentally fall, then I (future) rise.

*If I fall, I will rise.*

Notice the difference in tense between the two phrases: the first one denotes something habitual (something like *everytime you fall*) and thus the subject is in the present. The second one, however, denotes a possible future action (the possibility is marked by the irrealis marker on the verb, whereas the future is marked on the subject).

- In **hypothetical conditionals**, on the other hand, the condition clause reflects an alternative past or present situation, and the result clause indicates a theorised outcome. Most of the second conditional and all third conditional sentences in English fall in this category.

In this case, the irrealis marker is applied in the verbs of both the condition and the result clause, both of which will never happen and are just thought of in a theoretical way.

**Daigo mase etupú, mako mase enatupu.**

Daigo ma-se e-tupú mako ma-se e-natupu

[41] if PRES-N1S IRR-fall.NONVOL then PRES-N1S IRR-rise

If I (present) accidentally fall, then I (present) would rise.

*If I would fall, I would get up.***Daigo nuse etupú, mako nuse enatupu.**

Daigo nu-se e-tupú mako nu-se e-natupu

[42] if PAST-N1S IRR-fall.NONVOL then PAST-N1S IRR-rise

If I (past) accidentally fall, then I (past) would rise.

*If I had fallen, I would have gotten up.*

Notice that the difference with sentence [40]—apart from the tense—is the irrealis form on the verb of the result clause too.

*Imperative and permissive moods*

Imperative and permissive moods have very similar exponents, with the irrealis marking on the verb and an auxiliary particle before it.

The particle that marks the imperative mood is **dos**, and is always written before the verb. However, if there are obliques describing the action they go between the particle and the verb. The irrealis marker

e- on the verb in this case reflects the *uncertainty* of the action happening, since its completion is actually in the hands of the listener.

**Manhue dos eende.**

ma-nhue dos e-ende

[43] PRES-N2S IMPER IRR-sing  
You sing.  
*Sing.*

**Manhue dos vauí eende.**

ma-nhue dos vau-i e-ende

[44] PRES-N2S IMPER soft-ADVR IRR-sing  
You softly sing.  
*Sing softly.*

As for the **permissive mood**, again, the unrealis marker e- on the verb in this case reflects the *uncertainty* of the action happening. The auxiliary particle that marks the permissive mood is **mal**, which follows the same rules.

**Manhue mal eende.**

ma-nhue mal e-ende

[45] PRES-N2S PERM IRR-sing  
You can sing.  
*You can sing.*

**Manhue mal vauí eende.**

ma-nhue mal vau-i e-ende

[46] PRES-N2S PERM soft-ADVR IRR-sing  
You softly sing.  
*You can sing softly.*



# *Derivational morphology*

Due to the slightly agglutinative nature of the language, many words in the language are derived from others. Because of the old age of the language, many of the derived words have developed irregularities and it is impossible to define rules that cover all cases. Here we list the most common ones.

## *Noun creation*

### *Nouns that come from adjectives*

The case of adjectives is fairly regular and highly used in the construction of copulative sentences<sup>6</sup>.

Adjectives can be turned into nouns by the addition of the nominalizer suffix **-u**. For example, the adjective **fian** (*white*) can be turned into the noun **fianu** (*whiteness*). It is worth to note that the suffix is dropped when the word already ends in **u**, as is the case of **enhu** (*black, blackness*), which can work both as an adjective or a noun.

<sup>6</sup> See page 83 for more on nonimalized adjectives and their use in copulative sentences.

### *Nouns that come from verbs*

There are a few suffixes that can be used to derive nouns from verbs. Here are two examples:

- The suffix **-(e)n** names a person that does the action (mostly, although not always, used for professions): **tuke run** → **tukен run-ner**.
- The suffix **-ko** describes the place and/or time where an action is performed: **nade cook** → **nadeko kitchen**.

Additionally, for referring to the action of a verb itself as a noun, we take the imperfective form of the verb and add the suffix **-u** introduced above. For example, the verb **anxi**, *to milk*, gives rise to the word **vuanxiu**, *the act of milking*.

### Compounding

Additionally, new nouns are sometimes created as compounds of other nouns.

Take, for example, **lasekuane** (*bell*) which comes directly from joining the words **lase** (*brass*) and **kuane** (*name*)<sup>7</sup>.

### Adjective and adverb construction

Adjectives are sometimes derived from other parts of speech, although their meaning is less direct and its use less frequent. Suffix **-an** is the most common adjetivizer, which is used to describe concepts that are similar to or have the property of the noun the affix is appended to.

As an example, **nilna**, derived from **nil** (*water*) and the adjetivizer, has the meaning of *liquid* (as an adjective).

Similarly, suffix **-i** is used to create adverbs from adjectives. For example, the adverb **vau** (*softly*) can be created from **vau** (*soft*) and said affix.

### Verb construction—radical and non-radical verbs

When it comes to derived verbs, Kuaran grammar distinguishes verbs whose meaning is rooted on a verb (called *radical verbs*) and verbs whose meaning comes from other parts of speech (*non-radical verbs*). As an example, **nalange** (*to forget*) is derived from the verb **lange** (*to remember*) and is thus a radical verb, whereas **tesedu** (*to bite someone*) comes from the word **tek** (*teeth*)—a noun—and can therefore be considered non-radical<sup>8</sup>.

The two classes of verbs are inflected differently, so it is important to distinguish them. Next, we give a brief overview of the derivation of verbs and explain their differences when it comes to inflection.

### Verbs that come from nouns

The union of a noun with a verb can verbalize the first word, with different verbs producing different outcomes. The list of verbs with this property is limited, three of the most common ones being:

- **si** (*use*), employed for describing the act of making use of an object or the action that might come out of it:
  - **iksa** *knife* —→ **iksasi** *to cut*
  - **xaad** *sling* —→ **xaadsi** *to hunt* (usually used for small game)
  - **taenh** *bow* —→ **taenhs** *to hunt* (usually used for larger game)<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Although they are now sometimes used as musical instruments too, bells were originally tied to the necks of cattle to avoid them from getting lost (that is still their main function). Kuara people traditionally made these objects out of brass, but their lack of technological advancements in the field (and their little need and interest of developing this craft) produced very irregular bells. That, at the same time, gave each of the animals a distinctive sound from which some of the herders could identify them; thus the name of the word.

<sup>8</sup> By extension, verbs that stand underived in their original form, like **inho** (*to eat*) are also classified as radical.

<sup>9</sup> It is the words that are used for smaller/larger game, not the actual weapons. Hunting small game with a bow and arrow is usually referred to as **xaadsi**, whereas the verb with larger game—whichever the weapon—tends to be **taenhs**.

In some instances, the verb particle has changed over the time:

- **dae** *eye* —→ **daeti** *to see*
- **ke** (*make*), used for making, producing or causing:
  - **xavanas** *cheese* —→ **xavanask** *to make cheese*
  - **taj** *night* —→ **tajke** *to darken* (as in the skies)
  - **is** *wind* —→ **iske** *to fart*

When the noun ends in *-e*, the letter disappears with the conjunction:

- **faule** *egg* —→ **faulke** *to lay* (an egg)
- **sedu** (*give*), in general used when the noun is acting upon someone/something:
  - **dani** *gift* —→ **danisedu** *to give someone a gift*
  - **katug** *fright* —→ **katugsedu** *to scare someone*
  - **dae** *eye* —→ **daesedu** *to look at someone* (especially in the eyes)

When the noun ends in *-se* or *-xe*, only *-nu* is added to the noun.

When the noun ends in *-b* or *-k* the letter disappears:

- **maxe** *joy* —→ **maxedu** *to make someone happy*
- **tek** *teeth* —→ **tesedu** *to bite someone*

Some of the derivations are less literal:

- **dae** *eye* —→ **daeke** *to make a hole, to puncture, to perfor*

### *Verbs that come from adjectives*

In the case of adjectives the pool of verbs that can be used is more reduced. Usually, only **ke** and **sedu** are used for this purpose—and, in general, in a more abstract way.

- **sona** *big* —→ **sonake** *to add, to increase, to inflate*
- **gob** *bad* —→ **gosedu** *to harm*

*Verbs that come from other verbs*

Finally, there are verbs that derive their meaning from other verbs too. A good example of it is the negational particle **na-**, which is used to mark the opposite of an action or its outcome:

- **lange** *to remember* —→ **nalange** *to forget*
- **inho** *to eat* —→ **nainho** *to fast*

Another example includes the prefix **so-**, which derives verbs that indicate a repeated action:

- **dok** *to hammer* —→ **sodok** *to forge, to shape*
- **iksasi** *to cut* —→ **soiksasi** *to peel*

*Inflection in non-radical verbs*

All the examples in the morphology section have used radical verbs, but as we have mentioned at the beginning of this section non-radical verbs are inflected irregularly.

From the examples above one can observe that non-radical verbs are formed by a part-of-speech that gives the main meaning to the verb (the root) and an actual verb that turns that root into a verb (apart from slightly contributing to the meaning too). In this case, it is the embedded verb that gets inflected, instead of the composed non-radical verb as a whole.

The difference can be seen in the following examples, both inflected to mark the imperfective form:

	<b>Mase vuinho oskai.</b>
	ma-se        vu-inho oskai
[47]	PRES-N1S IMPFV-eat A3SI
	I (present) eating it.
	<i>I am eating it.</i>

	<b>Mase daevuti oskai.</b>
	ma-se        dae-vu-ti oskai
[48]	PRES-N1S IMPFV.see A3SI
	I (present) seeing it.
	<i>I am seeing it.</i>

In short, in non-radical verbs, all verb inflections that come in the form of a prefix become an infix between the part-of-speech and the verb that form the word. The only exception to this rule is the unrealis mood marker **e-**<sup>10</sup>, which is located to the beginning as the full verb.

<sup>10</sup> See page 55.

When a radical verb is derived from a non-radical one, it is the last derivation that prevails:

	<b>Mase vusoiksasi oskai.</b>
	ma–se      vu–soiksasi oskai
[49]	PRES–N1S IMPFV–peel      A3SI
	I (present) peeling it.
	<i>I am peeling it.</i>

Note that, as the derivation of the verb **soiksasi** (*to peel*) follows the scheme **iksa** *knife* → **iksasi** *to cut* → **soiksasi** *to peel*, the verb **soiksasi** is understood as a radical verb originated from the verb **iksasi** and thus follows the regular derivation rules.



## **Part IV**

# **Syntax**



# *Noun Phrases*

We begin studying the syntax of the language with noun phrases. We have already seen nouns and their complementing articles at work; here we introduce additional components like adjectives and possessive determiners.

## *Noun phrase order*

All modifiers precede the noun, which is always immediately followed by article.

	<b>sona kiuan jonda aket</b>
	sona kiuan jonda a-ket
[50]	big red house INDEF-one
	A big red house
	<i>A big red house</i>

It might be worth to mention that it is not uncommon to find nominal tense-marking prefixes **nu-**, **ma-** and **e-** freely used on adjectives to convey a meaning of temporality; specially when it comes to songs and spoken words.

	<b>nukian jonda aket</b>
	nu-kiuan jonda a-ket
[51]	PAST-red house INDEF-one
	A red-in-the-past house
	<i>A house that used to be red?</i>

Sentence [51] for example can express that the adjective **kiuan** (*red*) would have been more suitable in a past time, since the colour is now fading.

	<b>esona tonade maket</b>
	e–sona tonade ma– ket
[52]	FUT–big tree DEF.PROX– one
	A big-in-the-future tree
	<i>A big, evergrowing tree?</i>

Similarly, [52] could stress the fact that the tree is big now, but it will keep getting bigger.

However, one could think of alternative meanings too: the first sentence could mean that the house is red now and was so in the past, and could represent the idea of a house that has always been green; whereas the second sentence could be referring to a tree that is small now but will become big in the future. The fact that the meaning is up to interpretation is marked by the upper-script symbol <sup>?</sup>. Due to its grammatical inaccuracy, the use of this resource is generally discouraged on the paper. However, these inflections are widely used in many Kuaran art forms.



Figure 4: One of the oil pumps installed near the village for petroleum extraction. The machines are also known as *nodding donkeys*.

### *Possession*

The building of noun phrases that involve possession is strongly based on possessive determiners (see page 44). Possessive noun phrases are built as follows: possessor in the genitive case + article corresponding to the possessor + possessed in nominative case + possessive determiner with the pronoun pointing at the possessor and the number at the possessed.

Here are some examples to illustrate the concept:

	<b>vanas eket kidu toidket</b>
	vanas e–ket kidu toid–ket
[53]	woman INDEF–one nose G3SA–one
	A woman, the one nose of hers
	<i>A woman's nose</i>

Notice in phrase [53] that with the omission of the possessor the phrase is still grammatical.

	<b>vanas nuket kidu toidket</b>
	vanas nu–ket kidu toid–ket
[54]	woman DEF.DIST–one nose G3SA–one
	That woman, the one nose of hers
	<i>That woman's nose</i>

**vanas maket mau toidmun**  
 vanas ma–ket mau toid–mun  
 [55] woman DEF.PROX–one ear G3SA–two  
 This/the woman, the two ears of hers  
*The woman's ears*

**vanas nuvala kidu otodausket**  
 vanas nu–vala kidu otod– asu–ket  
 [56] woman DEF.DIST–three nose G3PA–DISTR–one  
 Those three women, each of the noses of theirs  
*Those women's noses*

And, in the case of an inanimate object:

**nixelu eket talug kaijunha**  
 nixelu e–ket talug kai(d)–junha  
 [57] week INDEF–one day G3SI–seven  
 A week, the seven days of it  
*A week's seven days*

### *Embedded possessives*

Recursive possession can be marked by embedding the aforementioned formula and turning the possessor at each level the possessed on the next one. For example:

**vanas eket fau toidket faule toidvala**  
 vanas e–ket fau toid–ket faule toid–vala  
 [58] woman INDEF–one chicken G3SA–one egg G3SA–three  
 A woman, her one chicken, the three eggs of it  
*A woman's chicken's (three) eggs*

If we want to change one of the nouns for a pronoun, we would do so as follows:

**fau seidket faule toidvala**  
 fau toid–ket faule toid–vala  
 [59] chicken G3SA–one egg G3SA–three  
 Her chicken, the three eggs of it  
*Her chicken's (three) eggs*

Again, the omission of the possessor does not affect the structure of the phrase because its corresponding pronoun is still there.

### More examples

Here are five more examples that further illustrate the composition and use of noun phrases:

	<b>kiuan fau seidkega</b>
	kiuan fau seid-ke(t)-ga
[60]	red chicken G1S-ONE -ORD
	The first red chicken of mine
	<i>My first red chicken</i>

	<b>tonade nhuadkaala</b>
	tonade nhuad-kaala
[61]	tree GLOB-many
	The many trees of ours
	<i>Our (communal) trees</i>

	<b>pau ekuadet</b>
	pau ekuad-(k)et
[62]	father someone.GEN-one
	The one father of someone
	<i>Someone's father</i>

	<b>mau nheidasuket</b>
	mau nheid- asu-ket
[63]	mother G1P-DISTR-one
	The mothers of each of us
	<i>Our mothers</i>

	<b>kaij kuandadet</b>
	kaij kuandad-(k)et
[64]	fear most_people.GEN-one
	The one fear of most people
	<i>The most popular fear</i>

We end this section with the expression presented in the introduction, which has a non-literal translation (an extra gloss has been added):

	<b>bapau seidket xavanas toidvala!</b>
	bapau seid-ket xavanas toid-vala
	grandfather G1S-ONE cheese G3SA-ONE
[65]	The grandfather of mine, his cheese!
	<i>My grandfather's cheese!</i>
	<i>Jokingly used to express disgust of something because it is bad!</i>

*Kuanda* and other indefinite pronouns can be found on table 15.

The origin this expression is rooted on the transmission of cheese and bread recipes inside a family. Such recipes are secretly kept secrets, the first being traditionally transmitted through the women of the family and the second through the men (although in practice usually everyone in the family knows the recipe). Thus, the cheese made by one's grandfather would be a bad one, since he would not know how to do one.

# Sentences

## Sentence order

Sentence structure with simple clauses takes the following form:

<b>S + V</b>
<b>S + V + iO/O</b>
<b>S + V + iO + O</b>

Table 19: Word order in simple sentences.

Next, we give a few examples of each of these cases.

### Sentences with zero-argument verbs

Kuanan not being a pronoun-dropping language it requires that zero-argument verbs use the pleonastic pronoun (or *dummy* pronoun) introduced in page 37.

[66] **Magae pinvuke.**  
ma-gae pin-vu-ke  
PRES-PLEO rain.IMPF  
*Gae* is raining.  
*It* is raining.

With zero-argument verbs, the volitional form of the verb can be used to stress the action:

[67] **Magae pinpinvuke.**  
ma-gae pin-pin-vu-ke  
PRES-PLEO VOL-rain.IMPFV  
*Gae* is raining intentionally.  
*It* is pouring with rain.

### Sentences with one-argument verbs

Following the formula on in table 19, sentences with intransitive or one-argument verbs are built as follows:

	<b>Mato maendeb.</b>
	ma-to      maendeb
[68]	PRES-N3PA pray
	They (present) pray. <i>They pray.</i>

Xamans tend to use the non-volitional form of the verbs as a way of expressing their actions are never guided by their own intentions and desires, but rather by higher powers:

	<b>Mase maendebeb.</b>
	ma-se      maendebeb
[69]	PRES-N1S pray.NONVOL
	I (present) unintentionally pray. <i>Xaman: I pray.</i>

#### *Sentences with two-argument verbs*

Most of the two-argument verbs in Kuaran are *accusative verbs*, which require a direct object following the verb. This object will be marked by the accusative case.

	<b>Mase iksavusi tonades maket.</b>
	ma-se      iksa-vu-si      tonade-s      ma-ket
[70]	PRES-N1S      cut.IMPV      tree-ACC      DEF.PROX-one
	I (present) cutting the one tree. <i>I am cutting the tree.</i>

In most cases—though not in all—, accusative verbs can work as intransitive ones just by removing the direct object. That is the case of the following example:

	<b>Nuto vuluj anxes eketaala.</b>
	nu-to      vu-luj      anxe-s      e-ketaala
[71]	PAST-N3PA      IMPV-drink      milk-ACC      INDEF-uncount
	They (past) drinking some milk. <i>They were drinking milk.</i>

Notice that the sentence would still be grammatical if *milk* (and its corresponding article) were removed.

Finally, it is worth to mention the case of *dative verbs* which, although fewer, are also two-argument verbs. These have a sense of acting upon someone, which will work as an indirect object and will be marked by the dative case:

**Mato daevusedu seu.**

[72] ma-to dae-vu-sedu seu  
 PRES-N3PA IMPFV.look\_at D1S  
 they are looking at me  
*They are looking at me.*

*Sentences with more than two arguments*

In sentences with ditransitive verbs, all of the above is combined:

**Nuse sedu vanasu eket xaadas maket.**

[73] nu-se sedu vanas-u e-ket xaad-as ma-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT INDEF-one sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
 I (past) give a woman the sling.  
*I gave the sling to a woman.*

**Nuse sedu vanasu eket nuxaadas seidket.**

[74] nu-se sedu vanas-u e-ket nu-xaad-as seid-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT INDEF-one PAST-sling-ACC G1S-one  
 I (past) give a woman the one (past) sling of mine.  
*I gave my old sling to a woman.*

*Impersonal voice*

Additionally, sentences can be written in impersonal form with the use of the before introduced pronoun **gae** (which acts more like an impersonal pronoun here).

By definition, impersonal sentences in Kuaran are those in which the agent of the sentence is unknown or unimportant and can therefore be omitted. It is worth to notice that this covers lots of cases when translated to English, ranging from impersonal sentences to some forms of the passive voice: *One needs water*, *There was a knock on the door* or *She was given a present* would all be translated using the impersonal voice in Kuaran.

The formula for constructing an impersonal sentence is very simple: the subject of a sentence is substituted by the pronoun **gae**, as a way of expressing that the agent is unknown or irrelevant. The rest of the sentence remains unchanged.

Here is an example of the third case:

The nonradical verb **danisedu** (to present someone with a gift) is a dative verb in Kuaran. If the gift is important, then the verb for *give* is used and the gift is made explicit as a direct object.

	<b>Nugae danisedu tou.</b>
	nu-gae danisedu tou
[75]	PAST-IMPRS give_gift D3SA
	(Past) Impersonal give a gift to her <i>She was given a present</i>

Interpreting zero-argument verbs from this point of view too unveils the Kuara's modest philosophy when it comes to understanding the world around them. The fact that they use the same pronoun in **magae pinvuke** (*it is raining*) could be interpreted as them accepting their ignorance of who or what is producing the rain and, at the same time, shows their humbleness in not creating a figure that does so. Whoever or whatever is producing this phenomenon, the part that concerns them—and the only fact they know for sure—is that they and their crops are getting wet.

Table 20: List of common prepositions for oblique construction.

Notice that the connotation if **gæe** were changed by the indefinite pronoun **ekua** (*someone*) would be different. In the latter, despite the agent still being unknown, it has a weight in the sentence. The former allows the listener not to care about who the present came from.

### *Obliques*

Obliques come before the verb, much like the modifiers in a noun phrase come before the noun, and are introduced by preposition. Some of the most common prepositions include:

Word	Translation
<b>tanko</b>	<i>against</i> (location or time, as in <i>leaning against the wall</i> )
<b>takoa</b>	<i>against</i> (ideas, as in <i>against someone or someone's ideas</i> )
<b>ligo</b>	<i>along, during</i>
<b>anje</b>	<i>behind, before</i>
<b>akoa</b>	<i>between</i> (as in having things on both sides)
<b>aasu</b>	<i>between</i> (as in <i>split between friends</i> )
<b>tukua</b>	<i>for</i> (as in marking a recipient, <i>for someone</i> )
<b>mude</b>	<i>for</i> (as in referring to a reason for something)
<b>kuase</b>	<i>from</i> (produced by/a part of someone/something)
<b>gode</b>	<i>from</i> (coming from a location or time)
<b>dif</b>	<i>in, on, at</i>
<b>jis</b>	<i>in front of, after</i>
<b>is</b>	<i>inside, into</i>
<b>kuid</b>	<i>of</i> (for posession or belonging)
<b>van</b>	<i>of</i> (material/composition)
<b>ves</b>	<i>over, above</i>
<b>dego</b>	<i>to, towards</i>
<b>dekua</b>	<i>to</i> (affecting someone)
<b>anves</b>	<i>under, below</i>
<b>andae</b>	<i>under</i> (covered by)
<b>ako</b>	<i>until, up to</i>
<b>daigo</b>	<i>when, where</i>
<b>koan</b>	<i>with</i> (as in <i>with someone</i> )
<b>ev</b>	<i>with</i> (as in <i>using something</i> )
<b>okan</b>	<i>without</i>

Here are a few examples:

**Mase gode kun maket vuinho.**

[76] ma-se gode kun ma-ket vu-inho  
 PRES-N1S from bowl DEF.PROX-one IMPFV-eat  
 I (present) from the bowl am eating.  
*I am eating from the bowl.*

**Mase ev xaam seidmun vuinho.**

[77] ma-se ev xaam seid-mun vu-inho  
 PRES-N1S with hand G1S-two IMPFV-eat  
 I (present) with my hands am eating.  
*I am eating with my hands.*

**Mase ev xaam seidmun gode kun maket vuinho.**

[78] ma-se ev xaam seid-mun gode kun ma-ket vu-inho  
 PRES-N1S with hand G1S-two from bowl DEF.PROX-one IMPFV-eat  
 I (present) with my hands from the bowl am eating.  
*I am eating with my hands from the bowl.*

**Nujue anves tonade eket luj anxes maketaala.**

[79] nu-jue anves tonade e-ket luj anxe-s ma-ketaala  
 PAST-N2P under tree INDEF-one drink milk-ACC DEF.PROX-uncount  
 We (past) under a tree drink the milk.  
*We drank the milk under a tree.*

**Ejue kuase tonade maket sedu ouuto sudojas eket.**

[80] e-jue kuase tonade ma-ket sedu ouuto sudoj-as e-ket  
 FUT-N2P from tree DEF.PROX-one give D3PA branch-ACC INDEF-one  
 We (future) from the tree will give them a branch.  
*We will give them a branch from the tree.*

It is worth to note that the list in table 20 shows the closest translation of those prepositions to English, but in some expressions might require different prepositions than in English. In Kuaran, for example, one trips *against* an object instead of *over* it, as was mentioned before.



## Dependent clauses

### Relative clauses

The formula for relative clauses is similar to the one of the embedded possesives. A sentence with an relative clause is basically formed by two sentences (but interpreted as one): we first use the embedded clause and then the original sentence with a pronoun pointing to it:

nuse ke xaadas maket, nuse sedu vanasu eket oskai  
nu-se ke xaad-as ma-ket nu-se sedu vanas-u e-ket oskai  
[81] PAST-N1S make sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one PAST-N1S give woman-DAT INDEF-one A3SI  
I made the sling, I gave it to a woman.  
*I gave the sling that I made to a woman.*

nuse ke xaadas maket, ese sedu vanasu eket oskai  
nu-se ke xaad-as ma-ket e-se sedu vanas-u e-ket oskai  
[82] PAST-N1S make sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one FUT-N1S give woman-DAT INDEF-one A3SI  
I made the sling, I will give it to a woman.  
*I will give the sling that I made to a woman.*

mase vuke xaadas maket, ese sedu vanasu eket oskai  
ma-se vu-ke xaad-as ma-ket e-se sedu vanas-u e-ket oskai  
[83] PRES-N1S IMPFV-make sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one FUT-N1S give woman-DAT INDEF-one A3SI  
I am making a sling, I will give it to a woman.  
*I will give the sling that I am making to a woman.*

### Adverbial clauses

The construction for adverbial clauses follows the same logic too: first the dependent clause is presented, and then the main clause is given with an appropriate word or pronoun pointing to it.

Here is an example that uses an indefinite pronoun:

**Ese daeke vanasas maket, ese mako sedu tou xaadas maket.**

[84] e-se daeke vanas-as ma-ket e-se mako sedu tou xaad-as ma-ket  
FUT-N1S see woman-ACC DEF.PROX-one FUT-N1S then give D3SA sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
I (future) see the woman, I then give the sling to her.  
*I will give the sling to the woman when I see her.*



Figure 5: Kuaran children in modern clothing.

# *Negating and raising questions*

## *Negation*

Negation is achieved through the negational particle **na**, which comes right before the verb (not to be confused with prefix **na-** for deriving verbs, recall **lange remember** → **nalange forget**, although it can be ambiguous sometimes).

**Nuse na sedu vanasu eket xaadas maket.**

[85]    nu-se    na    sedu    vanas-u            e-ket    xaad-as            ma-ket  
PAST-N1S NEG give woman-DAT INDEF-one sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
I (past) not give a woman the sling.  
*I didn't give the sling to a woman.*

## *Questions*

### *Yes/no questions*

Questions are formulated by adding the question marker **te** before the phrase that is being questioned and, in particular, in front of the verb if it is the whole action of the sentence we are doubting<sup>11</sup>.

The following examples illustrate different yes/no questions formulated over sentence [85] above:

**Nuse te sedu vanasu maket xaadas seidket?**

[86]    nu-se    te    sedu    vanas-u            ma-ket    xaad-as    seid-ket  
PAST-N1S *?* give woman-DAT DEF.PROX-one sling-ACC G1S-one  
I gave the woman the one sling of mine?  
*Did I give my sling to the woman?*

**Nuse sedu te vanasu maket xaadas seidket?**

[87]    nu-se    sedu    te    vanas-u            ma-ket    xaad-as    seid-ket  
PAST-N1S give *?* woman-DAT DEF.PROX-one sling-ACC G1S-one  
I gave the woman the one sling of mine?  
*Was it the woman to whom I gave the sling?*

<sup>11</sup> Note that this particle is also part of the interrogative indefinite pronouns. Some fragments in the Ghazan scrolls indicate that the particle originated as the prefix **t-** attached to the verb in unrealis form **an** that the first syllable has separated from the verb as a separate question marker over the time and is now applicable to other parts of the sentence

**Te nuse sedu vanasu maket xaadas seidket?**

[88] te nu-se sedu vanas-u ma-ket xaad-as seid-ket  
 ɿ PAST-N1S give woman-DAT DEF.PROX-one sling-ACC G1S-one  
 I gave the woman the one sling of mine?  
 Was it me who gave my sling to the woman?

**Nuse sedu vanasu maket te xaadas seidket?**

[89] nu-se sedu vanas-u ma-ket te xaad-as seid-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT DEF.PROX-one ɿ sling-ACC G1S-one  
 I gave the woman *the one sling of mine*?  
 Was it my sling that I gave to the woman?

Notice that because of how nouns and possessives are ordered, one can ask about the belonging of the object too:

**Nuse sedu vanasu maket xaadas te seidket?**

[90] nu-se sedu vanas-u ma-ket xaad-as te seid-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT DEF.PROX-one sling-ACC ɿ G1S-one  
 I gave the woman the one sling *of mine*?  
 Was it my sling that I gave to the woman?

The same logic applies to articles too. Recall that a Kuanan article contains information of definiteness, proximity and number. The use of the question marker before the article could indicate a question either on the definiteness or the number. However, the question tends to be clear from context, and usually when asking about the number the noun is succeeded by an article in indefinite form whereas when asking about definiteness or proximity the article marks a definite form.

**Nuse sedu vanasu te nuket xaadas seidket?**

[91] nu-se sedu vanas-u te nu-ket xaad-as seid-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT ɿ DEF.DIST-one sling-ACC G1S-one  
 I gave *that* woman the one sling of mine?  
 Was it *that woman to whom I gave the sling*?

**Nuse sedu vanasu te eket xaadas seidket?**

[92] nu-se sedu vanas-u te e-ket xaad-as seid-ket  
 PAST-N1S give woman-DAT ɿ INDEF-one sling-ACC G1S-one  
 I gave *one* woman the one sling of mine?  
 Was it *one woman to whom I gave the sling*? (as opposed to two)

If ambiguous, the question on definiteness/proximity can be distinguished by the augmentation resource explained in the Noun Phrase assignment (the repetition of the particle **nu- / ma-**).

### Answering yes/no questions

The answer to a yes/no question is given by repeating the subject and the verb, with an optional negative marker in case the answer is negative. Take the following question, for example:

**Nunhue is nil maketaala te tupu?**  
 nu-nhue is nil ma-ketaala te tupu  
 [93] PAST-N2S into water DEF.PROX-uncount ; fall  
 You into the water fell?  
*Did you fall into the water?*

Positive and negative answers would respectively be:

**Nuse tupu.**  
 nu-se tupu  
 [94] PAST-N1S fall  
 I fell.  
*Yes, I did.*

**Nuse na tupu.**  
 nu-se na tupu  
 [95] PAST-N1S NEG fall  
 I didn't fall.  
*No, I did not.*

### Open questions

Open questions are easily formulated by the substitution of the desired information in a sentence with an suitable interrogative pronoun (without any other change, not even in word order).

See the complete list of interrogative pronouns in table 15.

**Nunhue sedu vanasu eket tekais?**  
 nu-nhue sedu vanas-u e-ket tekai-s  
 [96] PAST-N2S give woman-DAT INDEF-one INTERROG.OBJ-ACC  
 You (past) give a woman what?  
*What did you give to the woman?*

Notice that the Kuara language is able to keep the indefiniteness in the word *woman* if this piece of information is irrelevant (for example, if the example was part of a dare where the listener had to given an object to a woman but the actual receptor was not important).

**Nunhue sedu tekuaau xaadas maket?**

[97] nu-nhue sedu tekua-u xaad-as ma-ket  
PAST-N2s give INTERROG.PERSON-DAT sling-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
You (past) give to whom the sling?  
*Who did you give the sling to?*

# *Copula and comparison*

## *Copular verbs: lan, giza and des*

Kuara distinguishes three different types of copula: one that equates the subject to a concept (identity, pertenence to a class, definition) , one that describes a permanent property that the subject has, and one that describes a temporary property or state of the subject. Each of the them is built using a different copulative verb: **lan**, **giza** and **des**, respectively.

All three require the subject and the concept/property they are being equated to in *predicative noun* form, which matches the nominative case. Sentences are constructed as shown in the table below:

<i>&lt;subject&gt; &lt;predicative noun&gt; copulative verb</i>
---

Table 21: Copulative sentence construction formula.

Since the second and third copulative verb types describe properties rather than give definitions, it is worth to keep in mind the adjective nominalizer suffix **-u** introduced in the derivative morphology section (see page 59 for more information).

Here are a few examples:

	<b>Anxe eketaala luuj eket lan.</b>
	anxe e-ketaala luuj e-ket lan
[98]	milk INDEF-uncount drink INDEF-one COP1
	(A) milk a drink is.
	<i>Milk is a drink.</i>

	<b>Anxe eketaala luuj eket te lan?</b>
	anxe e-ketaala luuj e-ket te lan
[99]	milk INDEF-uncount drink INDEF-one ? COP1
	(A) milk a drink is?
	<i>Is milk a drink?</i>

	<b>Anxe eketaala fianu eket giza.</b>
	anxe e-ketaala fianu e-ket giza
[100]	milk INDEF-uncount white.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2
	(A) milk whiteness has
	<i>Milk is white.</i>

	<b>Anxe eketaala enhu eket na giza.</b>
	anxe e-ketaala enhu e-ket na giza
[101]	milk INDEF-uncount black.NOMLR INDEF-one neg COP2
	(A) milk blackness doesn't have.
	<i>Milk is not black.</i>

	<b>Anxe maketaala lujsou eket des.</b>
	anxe ma-ketaala lujsou e-ket des
[102]	milk DEF.PROX-uncount drinkable.NOMLR INDEF-one COP3
	This milk drinkability has
	<i>This milk is drinkable. (temporal property)</i>

	<b>Anxe maketaala jaagu eket des.</b>
	Anxe ma-ketaala jaagu e-ket des
[103]	milk DEF.PROX-uncount hot.NOMLR INDEF-one COP3
	The milk hotness has
	<i>The milk is hot.</i>

## Comparison

Comparisons are built with the previously introduced verb **giza** (*to have a property*, only used in abstract things like to have a quality or an idea) and a nominal form of the quality that is being compared:

	<b>Manhue vesne mase jasu eket giza.</b>
	ma-nhue vesne ma-se jasu e-ket giza
[104]	PRES-n2s more than PRES-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2
	You more than me have fastness.
	<i>You are faster than me.</i>

It is interesting to see the effect of a change in tense:

	<b>Nunhue vesne mase jasu eket giza.</b>
	nu-nhue vesne ma-se jasu e-ket giza
[105]	PAST-n2s more than PRES-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2
	You (past) more than me (at that time) have fastness.
	<i>You were faster than me.</i>

**Enhue vesne mase jasu eket giza.**

[106] e-nhue vesne ma-se jasu e-ket giza  
 FUT-n2s more than PRES-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2  
 You (future) more than me (at that time) have fastness.  
*You will be faster than I (will).*

**Manhue vesne nuse jasu eket giza.**

[107] ma-nhue vesne nu-se jasu e-ket giza  
 PRES-n2s more than PAST-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2  
 You (present) more than me (past) have fastness.  
*You are faster than what I had been.*

**Nunhue vesne ese jasu eket giza.**

[108] nu-nhue vesne e-se jasu e-ket giza  
 PAST-n2s more than FUT-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2  
 You (past) more than me (future from that time) have fastness.  
*You were faster than I am and I'll ever be.*

And even introduce subclauses:

**Mase jasu eket giza, nunhue vesne ese jasu eket giza.**

[109] ma-se jasu e-ket giza, nu-nhue vesne e-se...  
 PRES-n1s fast.NOMLR INDEF-one COP2, PAST-n2s more than FUT-n1s...  
 I (present) have fastness, you (past) more than that have.  
*You were faster than I am now*



## *Supplemental topics*

### *Construction, destruction and cheesemaking—on the tense of nouns involved in processes*

As explained in the noun inflection part on the morphology section, the main rule for deciding on the tense of the nouns in a sentence is that the subject of the sentence has its tense marked with respect to the present time, whereas the objects have their tense marked with respect to the subject.

This formula is straightforward for objects that exist unchanged and whose temporal relation to the subject is clear. However, it might get tricky with sentences like the following: *I have my hands in the cheese that I am making*. Is that cheese in the same time as the speaker? It will not be finalized as one until some time later (maybe a lot later) but the speaker does have their hands in something at that very moment...

In general, object involved in processes that change their state—if they are being constructed or created or, on the contrary, destructed, for example—might be trickier to inflect.

It is difficult to give a general rule for such cases, since they depend on the context of the sentence and the message the speaker is trying to convey. Instead, we analyze a couple of simple sentences with constructing/destructing processes and a single object and consider the effect that different tenses have on them.

- *I am building my house*: Using the future tense for *house* gives this sentence a sense that the house cannot be considered as one yet, or at least that we are choosing not to consider it as one. This could be appropriate if we were still not living in it or were talking about a big project for the future.

On the contrary, using the present tense implies that the building can be considered a home in its current state. Thus, this choice would be more suitable if we were building or modifying the house little by little while living in it.

The use of the past tense makes no semantic sense in this sentence.



Figure 6: A variety of Kuaran cheese, known as *builder's cheese*.

- *I am destroying my house*: In this case, the roles are reversed. Here, it is the past tense on *house* that would mark the largest (temporal) distance between the object and the subject, and by using it it is implied that the house is no more and the house is being destroyed to a point of no return.

On the other hand, a present tense infers that the building is still considered our home, so—except for in a context where the destruction has just begun and the house is still almost intact—it implies that we are destroying it little by little while living in it, maybe due to not taking much care of it.

In this case, the future marker makes no sense.

Naturally, there are exceptions to the above too. A destruction verb could be used with an object in the future tense in a slightly more abstract sentence like *I am destroying my future opportunities*. However, the examples above give an idea of how tenses in changing objects can be used in most quotidian examples.

In addition, if the sentence is believed to be too confusing with either tense, one could construct an alternative sentence with a more precise word and avoid misunderstandings with something like *I have my hands in the curd*.

### *You-not-me—on stressing person*

Kuaran has a formula stressing the person of a given noun phrase. When the (head) pronoun in a phrase needs to be stressed, an additional (adjunct) person is added with a preceding negation, making it clear that the former—and no-one else—is the head of that noun phrase:

Table 22: Formula for person stressing in a sentence.

<i>&lt;head pronoun&gt; na (neg) &lt;adjunct pronoun&gt;</i>
--

The use of this construction is easily understood with an example:

[110]	<b>Nunhue na se daeke donatas maket!</b> nu-nhue na se daeke donat-as ma-ket PAST-N2S NEG N1S puncture tent-ACC DEF.PROX-one you not me punctured the tent <i>You're the one who punctured the tent!</i>
-------	--

## *Then and there—consequences of time and space merging*

It has been pointed out a few times that the concepts of space and time do not have a clear distinction in Kuaran. Their most important time measure being the position of the sun, the Kuara understand time as a given position under the star, which indeed has a strong spatial component to it. This results in the deictic prefixes **e-**, **ma-** and **nu-** being used both for time and space: with nouns to indicate the tense and articles to indicate spacial proximity (apart from number and definiteness).

This construction might seem discriminating enough to avoid confusion, and indeed the similarity of these deictic dimensions has not clashed in the examples presented so far. However, there are some words that can be ambiguous to a non-native, specially when it comes to adverbs:

<b>mago:</b>	here, now
<b>nugo:</b>	there, then

Table 23: Some adverbs with a deictic time and space measure might result ambiguous.

As it is common in these cases, native Kuaran speakers seldom confuse the two—partly because there are no separate concepts for them to be confused. However, despite the words representing a single concept for them, there are indeed cases where some additional explanation needs to be added<sup>12</sup>.

Two main formulas have been identified to overcome this ambiguity: articulatory gestures and use of volition.

1. On the one hand, the meaning of the 'ambiguous' adverb can be clarified with gestures. Pointing upwards (or nodding the head in that direction) is understood to mean that measure is related to the sun and, thus, time; whereas pointing downwards (or stamping on the ground with a foot) links its meaning to the ground and, thus, space.
2. On the other hand, a volitional marker can be applied to the verb to indicate the spatial connotation of the word, as it is understood that—despite both time and space being measured by that sense of closeness—one can choose where they are but not *when* they are. However, this formula is less frequently used.

<sup>12</sup> An English speaker could understand this singularity the following way. If someone was asked to move 10 meters, probably some additional explanation would be required (*10 meters to your left* or *10 meters east*, for example). This notion of space could seem limiting to a speaker of a language with more precise space-related dimensions, but English speakers get by perfectly without them.



## Language in use

Many activities and programmes were designed to ensure the preservation of the Kuaran Language—most of them aimed at the younger generations, so that the language would not lose new speakers overshadowed by Russian. In particular, a few movies were dubbed in Kuaran and showed at the town's *Kuaran Language and Culture Preservation Center* as part of the *Old Language Young* program.

Next, we show an excerpt from Disney's *Ratatouille*. The movie turned out to have too many cultural references for Kuaran people to fully understand—it was, in fact, described as a *scary* movie by many viewers—but the excerpt contains a good range of sentences that exemplify the grammar introduced in this work.

### Original script

RÈMY (28:55–31:57)

Don't look at me like that! You're not the only one who's trapped; they expect me to cook it again! I mean... I'm not ambitious, I wasn't trying to cook, I was just trying to stay out of trouble! You're the one who was getting fancy with the spices... What did you throw in there? Oregano? No? What... Ro... Rosemary? That's a spice, isn't it... rosemary? You didn't throw rosemary in there? Then what was all the flipping and the throwing and the... Ugh... I need this job; I've lost so many. I don't know how to cook, and now I'm actually talking to a *rat*, as if you... oh! Did you nod? Have... have you been nodding? [chuckles] You understand me? So I'm not crazy! Ha! Wait a second, wait a second... I can't cook, can I? But you... you can, right? Look, don't be so modest, you're a rat for Pete's sake. Whatever you did, they liked it. Yeah... this could work. Hey they liked the soup! They liked the soup... Do you think you could do it again? Okay, I'm gonna let you out now, but we're together on this, right? Okay...

### Translation

JEMI



Figure 7: A scene from *Ratatouille*.

Manhue nevan dos na edaesedu seu! Mase sonakei is odne eket dile; ese so vunade oskai, maoto mago endeb tilos maket! O... Mase na giza embize, nuse vunade, nuse na vútad tilos maket; nuse na vuakajen, nuse vútad tilos maket! Nunhue na se ev lenho nuketaala vidaeti maenes eket... Nunhue nugo sonake tekais? Adigana? Na? Tekais... Da... Dajozmadie? Kuane nuket te lan lenho, o...? Dajozmadie? Nunhe nugo te na sonake dajozmadies? Mako nuxaam nukaala ae vusonakeu nukaala elan tekais... Saseu... Mase janhka dajabota maket; mase faue dajabota nukaala. Mase na lankua vunadeus, ae mase mago vukuanesedu kajisau, du manhue na... o! Nunhue nugo te... te vu-peike? Manhue te vuname ses? Mako mase na giza tiuteus! O! Manhue dos edop, manhue dos edop... Mase na lanjua vunadeus, o? Du manh... manhue lankua vunadeus, o? Manhue na gigiza eskajomos, deba... manhue lan kajisa maket. Nunhue oge eukai, nuoto main kais maket. Pei... Enaid maket tiu giza kinus. O nuoto main lunhies nuket! Nuoto main lunhies nuket... Enhue so dos enade oskai, manhue te xaame tilo maket? Gaadu, ese nugo naodne nhues, du majue dedes nhuales, o? Gaadu...

*Glossed text*

**Manhue nevan dos na edaesedu seu!**

[111] ma-nhue nevan dos na e-daesedu seu  
PRES-N2S thusly IMPER NEG IRR-look\_at D1S  
do not thusly look at me  
*Don't look at me like that!*

**Mase sonakei is odne eket dile; (...)**

[112] ma-se sonakei is odne e-ket dile  
PRES-N1S also inside cage INDEF-one be\_located  
I am in a cage too  
*You're not the only one who's trapped; (...)*

**(...) ese so vunade oskai, maoto mago endeb tilos maket!**

[113] e-se so vu-nade oskai, ma-oto mago endeb tilo-s ma-ket  
FUT-N1S again IMPFV-cook A3SI, PRES-N3PA now expect action-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
me cooking it again, they expect that action  
*(...) they expect me to cook it again!*

**O...**

[114] —  
—  
I mean  
*I mean...*

**Mase na giza embize,**

[115] ma-se embize e-ket na giza  
 PRES-N1S ambition INDEF-one NEG COP2  
 I have no ambition  
*I'm not ambitious, (...)*

**(...) nuse vunade, nuse na vútad tilos maket, (...)**

[116] nu-se vu-nade, nu-se na vú-tad tilo-s ma-ket  
 PAST-N1S IMPFV-cook, PAST-N1S NEG VOL.IMPV-try\_to\_do action-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
 me cooking, I wasn't trying to do that action  
*(...) I wasn't trying to cook, (...)*

**(...) nuse na vuakajen, nuse vútad tilos maket!**

[117] nu-se na vu-akajen, nu-se vú-tad tilo-s ma-ket  
 PAST-N1S NEG IMPF-cause\_trouble, PAST-N1S VOL.IMPV-try\_to\_do action-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
 me not causing trouble, I was just trying to do that action  
*(...) I was just trying to stay out of trouble!*

**Nunhue na se ev lenho nuketaala vidaeti maenes eket...**

[118] nu-nhue na se ev lenho nu-ketaala vidaeti maen-es e-ket  
 PAST-N2S NEG N1S with spice DEF.DIST-many look\_like shaman-ACC INDEF-one  
 You not me with the spices looked like a shaman...  
*You're the one who was getting fancy with the spices...*

**Nunhue nugo sonake tekais? Adiganas?**

[119] nu-nhue nugo sonake tekai-s? adigana-s?  
 PAST-N2S there add INTERROG.OBJ-ACC? oregano-ACC?  
 You threw there what? Oregano?  
*What did you throw in there? Oregano?*

**Na? Tekais... Da... Dajozmadies?**

[120] na? tekai-s... dajozmadie-s?  
 no? INTERROG.OBJ-ACC... rosemary-ACC?  
 No? What... Ro... Rosemary?  
*No? What... Ro... Rosemary?*

**Kuane nuket lenho eket te lan, o...? Dajozmadie?**

[121] kuane nu-ket lenho e-ket te lan, o...? dajozmadie?  
 name DEF.DIST-one spice INDEF-one ɿ COP1, right...? rosemary?  
 that word is a spice right? rosemary?  
*That's a spice, isn't it...? Rosemary?*

**Nunhe nugo te na sonake dajozmadies?**

[122] nu-nhe nugo te na sonake dajozmadie-s  
 PAST-N2s there *?* NEG add rosemary-ACC  
 you there didn't add rosemary?  
*You didn't throw rosemary in there?*

**Mako nuxaam nukaala ae vusonakeu nukaala tekai elan...**

[123] mako nu-xaam nu-kaala ae vu-sonake-u nu-kaala tekai e-lan  
 then PAST-hand DEF.DIST-many and IMPFV-add -NOMLR DEF.DIST-many INTERROG.OBJ IRR-COP1  
 then all the hands and the throwing were what...  
*Then what was all the flipping and the throwing and the...*

**Saseu... Mase janhka dajabota maket; mase faue dajabota nukaala.**

[124] sase-u... ma-se janhka dajabota ma-ket; ma-se faue dajabota nu-kaala  
 sour-NOMLR... PRES-N1s need job DEF.PROX-one; PRES-N1s lose job DEF.DIST-many  
 ugh... I need this job; I have lost so many jobs  
*Ugh... I need this job; I've lost so many.*

**Mase na lankua vunadeus, ae mase mago vukuanesedu kajisau, (...)**

[125] ma-se na lankua vu-nade-u -s, ae ma-se mago vu-kuanesedu kajisa-u  
 PRES-N1s NEG know IMPFV-COOK-NOMLR-ACC, and PRES-N1s now IMPFV-talk rat-DAT  
 I don't know cooking, and I'm now talking to a rat  
*I don't know how to cook, and now I'm actually talking to a rat, (...)*

**(...) du manhue na... o!**

[126] du ma-nhue na... o  
 but PRES-N2s NEG... oh  
 but you don't... oh  
*(...) as if you... oh!*

**Manhue te peike?**

[127] ma-nhue te peike  
 PRES-N2s *?* nod  
 did you nod?  
*Did you nod?*

**Nunhue nugo te... te vupeike?**

[128] nu-nhue nugo te vu-peike  
 PAST-N2s there *?* IMPFV-nod  
 were you nodding there?  
*Have... have you been nodding?*

**Manhue te vuname ses?**

[129] ma-nhue te vu-name ses  
 PRES-N2S ɿ IMPFV-understand A1S  
 are you understanding me?  
*You understand me?*

**Mako mase tiuteu maket na giza! O!**

[130] mako ma-se tiute-u ma-ket na giza  
 then PRES-N1S mad-NOMLR DEF.PROX-one NEG COP2  
 then I have no madness! ha!  
*So I'm not crazy! Ha!*

**Manhue dos edop, manhue dos edop...**

[131] ma-nhue dos e-dop, ma-nhue dos e-dop  
 PRES-N2S IMPER IRR-wait, PRES-N2S IMPER IRR-wait  
 wait, wait  
*Wait a second, wait a second...*

**Mase na lanjua vunadeus, o?**

[132] ma-se na lankua vu-nade-u -s  
 PRES-N1S NEG know IMPFV-cook-NOMLR-ACC  
 I don't know cooking, right?  
*I can't cook, can I?*

**Du manh... manhue lankua vunadeus, o?**

[133] du ma-nhue lankua vu-nade-u -s  
 but PRES-N2S know IMPFV-cook-NOMLR-ACC  
 but you know cooking right?  
*But you... you can, right?*

**Manhue eskajomo na gigiza, deba... manhue kajisa maket lan.**

[134] ma-nhue eskajomo e-ket na gigiza, deba... ma-nhue kajisa ma-ket lan  
 PRES-N2S modesty INDEF-one NEG VOL.COP2, gods... PRES-N2S rat DEF.PROX-one COP1  
 do not have modesty, gods... you are a rat  
*Look, don't be so modest, you're a rat for Pete's sake.*

**Nunhue oge eukai, nuoto main kais maket.**

[135] nu-nhue oge eukai, nu-oto main kai-s ma-ket  
 PAST-N2S do whatever, PAST-N3PA like thing-ACC DEF.PROX-one  
 you did whatever, they liked that thing  
*Whatever you did, they liked it.*

**Pei... Enaid maket kinu eketaala tiu giza.**  
 [136] pei... e-naid ma-ket kin-u e-ketaala tiu giza  
 yes... FUT-idea DEF.PROX-one good-NOMLR INDEF-uncount maybe COP2  
 yes... this idea will work maybe  
*Yeah... this could work.*

**O nuoto main lunhies nuket! Nuoto main lunhies nuket...**  
 [137] nu-oto main lunhie-s nu-ket  
 PAST-N3PA like broth-ACC DEF.DIST-one  
 hey they liked the broth! they liked the broth...  
*Hey they liked the soup! They liked the soup...*

**Enhue so dos enade oskai, manhue te xaame tilo maket?**  
 [138] e-nhue so dos e-nade oskai, ma-nhue te xaame tilo ma-ket  
 FUT-N2S again IMPER IRR-COOK A3SI, PRES-N2S *z* be\_able\_to\_do action DEF.PROX-one  
 cook it again, are you able to do that  
*Do you think you could do it again?*

**Gaadu, ese nugo naodne nhues, (...)**  
 [139] gaad-u, e-se nugo naodne nhues  
 slow-NOMLR, FUT-N1S there free A2S  
 slowness, I will now free you  
*Okay, I'm gonna let you out now, (...)*

**(...) du majue nhual eket dedes, o?**  
 [140] du ma-jue nhual e-ket dedes  
 but PRES-N2P team INDEF-one VOL.COP3  
 but we are a team, right?  
*(...) but we're together on this, right?*

**Gaadu...**  
 [141] gaad-u  
 slow-NOMLR  
 slowness...  
*Okay...*

## **Part V**

### **Lexicon and index**



# Lexicon

Next, we present a comprehensive list of the words that have been recorded so far, together with their Part of Speech.

## A

**adigana:** *in. n.* oregano  
**ae:** *conj. and*  
**akajen:** *intr. v., rad.* to cause trouble  
**ako:** *in. n.* stone  
**amu:** *intr. v., rad.* to live  
**anxe:** *in. n.* milk  
**anxi:** *tr. v., rad.* to milk

## rosemary

**dani:** *in. n.* gift  
**danisedu:** *tr. v., nonrad.* to give someone a gift  
**deba:** *an. n.* god(s)  
**deg:** *intr. v., rad.* to die  
**dek:** *num.* four  
**demaig:** *in. n.* year  
**des:** *cop. v., rad.* copulative verb that describes a temporary state of the subject

## B

**bapau:** *an. n.* grandfather  
**bonua:** *in. n.* truth

## D

**dae:** *in. n.* eye  
**daeke:** *tr. v., nonrad.* to make a hole, to perfor, to puncture  
**daesedu:** *tr. v., nonrad.* to look at someone (specially in the eyes)  
**daeti:** *tr. v., nonrad.* to see  
**daigo:** *conj.* when  
**dajabota:** *in. n.* job  
**dajozmadie:** *in. n.*

## ambition

**embize:** *in. n.* ambition  
**ende:** *tr./intr. v., rad.* to sing  
**endeb:** *intr. v., rad.* to expect  
**enhu:** *adj.* black  
**ese:** *an. n.* morale, conscience  
**eskajomo:** *in. n.* modesty

## F

**fau:** *an. n.* chicken  
**fau:** *tr. v., rad.* to lose  
**faule:** *an. n.* egg  
**faulke:** *tr. v., nonrad.* to lay (eggs)  
**fian:** *adj.* white

## G

**gaad:** *adj.* slow  
**gae:** *impers. pron.* impersonal pronoun  
**giza:** *cop. v., rad.* copulative verb that describes a permanent property that the subject has

<b>gob:</b> <i>adj.</i> bad	many	<b>kun:</b> <i>in. n.</i> bowl
<b>gosedu:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to harm	<b>kaala, 1:</b> <i>indef. pron.</i> one hundred	<b>L</b>
<b>gudase:</b> <i>in. n.</i> bread	<b>kai:</b> <i>in. n.</i> thing, 3rd	<b>lan :</b> <i>cop. v., rad.</i> copulative verb that relates the subject to a concept (identity, pertenence to a class, definition)
<b>gura:</b> <i>an. n.</i> man	person inanimate singular nominative pronoun	<b>lange:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to remember
<b>I</b>	<b>kaid:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate singular genitive pronoun	<b>lankua:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to know
<b>iksa:</b> <i>in. n.</i> knife	<b>kaij:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to fear	<b>lase:</b> <i>in. n.</i> brass
<b>iksasi:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to cut	<b>kaiu:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate singular dative pronoun	<b>lasekuane:</b> <i>in. n.</i> bell
<b>inho:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to eat	<b>kajisa:</b> <i>an. n.</i> rat	<b>lenho, 1:</b> <i>in. n.</i> spice
<b>is:</b> <i>an. n.</i> wind	<b>katug:</b> <i>in. n.</i> fright	<b>lenho, 2:</b> <i>in. n.</i> flavour
<b>iske:</b> <i>intr. v., nonrad.</i> to fart	<b>katugsedu:</b> <i>intr. v., nonrad.</i> to scare someone	<b>luj:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to drink
<b>J</b>	<b>janhka, 1:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to want	<b>lujso:</b> <i>adj.</i> drinkable
<b>jaag:</b> <i>adj.</i> hot	<b>janhka, 2:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to need	<b>lunhie:</b> <i>in. n.</i> broth
<b>janhka, 1:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to want	<b>janhka, 3:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to be hungry for something	<b>luuj:</b> <i>in. n.</i> drink
<b>janhka, 2:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to need	<b>kepesne:</b> <i>in. n.</i> harvest	<b>M</b>
<b>janhka, 3:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to be hungry for something	<b>ket:</b> <i>num.</i> one	<b>maduf, 1:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to get tired
<b>jas:</b> <i>adj.</i> fast	<b>kia:</b> <i>adv.</i> yes	<b>maduf, 2:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to extinguish
<b>jonda:</b> <i>in. n.</i> house	<b>kidu:</b> <i>in. n.</i> nose	<b>maen:</b> <i>an. n.</i> shaman
<b>jondaid:</b> <i>expr.</i> welcome	<b>kin:</b> <i>adj.</i> good	<b>maendeb:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to pray
<b>jue:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 2nd person plural nominative pronoun	<b>kiuan:</b> <i>adj.</i> red	<b>mago:</b> <i>adv.</i> now
<b>jueid:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 2nd person plural genitive pronoun	<b>koai:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate plural nominative pronoun	<b>maig:</b> <i>in. n.</i> season
<b>jungha:</b> <i>num.</i> seven	<b>kontakte:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to trip over	<b>main:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to like
<b>juse:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 2nd person plural accusative pronoun	<b>kuaid:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate plural genitive pronoun	<b>mako:</b> <i>conj.</i> then
<b>juue:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 2nd person plural dative pronoun	<b>kuaiu:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate plural dative pronoun	<b>mau:</b> <i>in. n.</i> ear, mother
<b>K</b>	<b>kuane:</b> <i>in. n.</i> name	<b>maxe:</b> <i>in. n.</i> joy
<b>kaala, 2:</b> <i>indef. pron.</i>	<b>kuanesedu:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to talk	<b>maxedu:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to make someone happy
		<b>minut:</b> <i>in. n.</i> minute
		<b>mun:</b> <i>num.</i> two
		<b>N</b>

<b>na:</b> <i>adv.</i> no	2nd person singular nominative pronoun	ral dative pronoun
<b>nade:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to cook		
<b>nadeko:</b> <i>in. n.</i> kitchen		
<b>naid:</b> <i>in. n.</i> idea		
<b>nainho:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to fast		
<b>nalange:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to forget		
<b>name:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to understand		
<b>naodne:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to free, to set free		
<b>natupu:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to rise		
<b>nax:</b> <i>in. n.</i> eye		
<b>nevan:</b> <i>adv.</i> in that way, thusly		
<b>nheid:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 1st person plural genitive pronoun		
<b>nhes:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 1st person plural accusative pronoun		
<b>nheu:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 1st person plural dative pronoun		
<b>nhua, 1:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 1st person global dative pronoun		
<b>nhua, 2:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 1st person global nominative pronoun		
<b>nhuad:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 1st person global genitive pronoun		
<b>nhual:</b> <i>an. n.</i> team		
<b>nhuas:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 1st person global accusative pronoun		
<b>nhue, 1:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 1st person plural nominative pronoun		
<b>nhue, 2:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 1st person plural nominative pronoun		
<b>o, 1:</b> <i>indef. pron.</i> none		
<b>o, 2:</b> <i>indef. pron.</i> zero		
<b>odne:</b> <i>in. n.</i> cage		
<b>oge:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to do		
<b>oskai:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate singular accusative pronoun		
<b>oskuai:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 3rd person inanimate plural accusative pronoun		
<b>osto:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 3rd person animate singular accusative pronoun		
<b>oto:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 3rd person animate plural nominative pronoun		
<b>otod:</b> <i>gen. pron.</i> 3rd person animate plural genitive pronoun		
<b>ousto:</b> <i>acc. pron.</i> 3rd person animate plural accusative pronoun		
<b>ouuto:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 3rd person animate plural genitive accusative pronoun		
<b>soiksasi:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to peel		
<b>sona:</b> <i>adj.</i> big		
<b>sonake:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to add, to increase, to		

inflate	<b>to:</b> <i>nom. pron.</i> 3rd person animate singular nominative pronoun	noon/evening
<b>sonakei:</b> <i>adv.</i> also, too		<b>veluut:</b> <i>in. n.</i> morning
<b>sudoj:</b> <i>in. n.</i> branch		<b>vidaeti:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i> to look like
<b>T</b>		<b>voske:</b> <i>in. n.</i> wax
<b>taal:</b> <i>in. n.</i> smoke		
<b>tad:</b> <i>tr. v., rad.</i> to try		
<b>taenh:</b> <i>in. n.</i> bow	<b>tol:</b> <i>an. n.</i> earth	<b>X</b>
<b>taenhsí:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i>	<b>tonade:</b> <i>in. n.</i> tree	
to hunt (usually used	<b>tou:</b> <i>dat. pron.</i> 3rd per-	
for large game)	son animate singular	
<b>taj:</b> <i>in. n.</i> night	dative pronoun	
<b>tajke:</b> <i>intr. v., nonrad.</i>	<b>tuke:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to	
to darken (used for	run	
the sky)	<b>tuken:</b> <i>an. n.</i> runner	
<b>talú:</b> <i>in. n.</i> day	<b>tupu:</b> <i>intr. v., rad.</i> to	
(oposed to night)	fall	
<b>talug:</b> <i>in. n.</i> day		
<b>tek:</b> <i>in. n.</i> tooth	<b>V</b>	
<b>tesedu:</b> <i>tr. v., nonrad.</i>	<b>vadunha:</b> <i>num.</i> nine	
to bite someone	<b>vala:</b> <i>num.</i> three	
<b>tilo:</b> <i>in. n.</i> action	<b>vanas:</b> <i>an. n.</i> woman	
<b>tiu:</b> <i>adv.</i> maybe	<b>vau:</b> <i>adj.</i> soft	
<b>tiute:</b> <i>adj.</i> mad	<b>velu:</b> <i>in. n.</i> noon	
<b>tlaal:</b> <i>in. n.</i> stone	<b>velunhe:</b> <i>in. n.</i> after-	

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