Preface

This document showcases a sketch of the language known as **Iλaihni** *lit. 'our-speech'*, an unfortunately quite obscure as well as endangered language isolate spoken the Cuban Isla de la Juventud and the Canarreos archipelago to its east. The Iλaihni language and it's eponymous speakers are thought to be descendants of early inhabitants of the Caribbean islands, which were later on supplanted by waves of colonization from the Pre-Columbian native people of South America as well as the European colonization efforts. Both genetic evidence and the inability to prove any linguistic family relations leaves both the ethnic Iλaihni and their language as isolates.

It's actually just a conlang I made for the 22nd Speedlang contest organized by u/mareck_ ... oh well!

Almost all of the about 12,000 speakers are bilingual in Iλaihni and Spanish, with children unlikely to have a native level in the language, even if it is still spoken at home. There are barely any monolingual speakers left. The language tends to be the most vital in more remote areas, in the southern great pine forests of the Juventud and the thinly inhabited islands to the east.

The Iλaihni people used to settle the coasts, subsisting primarily on fishing, even though agriculture was known to them, with the yuca root as well as maize and sweet potatoes being staple foods.

[...]

Conventions and abbreviations

Throughout this document:

- Words in Iλaihni are written in **bold**

- Translations of Iλaihni words and phrases are written in *italics*

- an optional "lit. 'X'" will be used to better explain how the word or phrase works

- I'm showing the ways in which my language fulfills the Speedlang Challenge requirements, as well as tangents and "behind the curtain" commentary is found on the page margins

- The glossing of examples is based on the Leipzig glossing rules; I'm listing all used glossing abbreviations in the table below:

1 Phonology

1.1 Consonants

Speedlang constraints:
- Using the characters ⟨ƛ⟩ and ⟨ƛ⟩
- Having a voicing distinction only in plosives (and affricates) but no other type of consonant

Table 1: Consonant inventory

		labial	alveolar cent.	alveolar lat.	palatal	velar	glottal
nasal		**m**[m]	**n**[n]			**ŋ**[ŋ]	
plosive	vcl.	**p**[p]	**t**[t]	**ƛ**[t͡ɬ]		**k**[k]	
	voi.	**b**[b]	**d**[d]	**ƛ**[d͡ʒ]	**ch,s**[t͡ʃ~s]	**g**[g]	
fricative		**v**[β]					**h**[h]
liquid			**r**[ɾ]	**l**[l]		**w**[w]	

The consonant **ch-s** varies wildly and can be represented by basically any sibliant fricative or affricative. It tends to be an affricate word-initially and after another consonant, and a fricative between vowels and word-finally. It is voiced when preceded by a voiced consonant, but not in between vowels.

(1) a. **cha** [t͡sɑ] *'I, me'*

 b. **ƛas** [d͡ʒas] *'you (pl.), they, someone speaks'*

 c. **hanchos** [xan.d͡ʒos] *'a home'*

The fricative **h** is a glottal or velar fricative [h∼x] in isolation, and can be a rounded labial [ɸʷ] after **o**. Before voiceless stops, it tends to be a fricative [x∼χ].

(2) a. **kiritimah** [kɨ.ɾɨ.ˈtɨ.mɑχ] *'curry-eating'*

 b. **hoive** [ɸʷoɨ̯.βe] *'you (pl.), they, someone VERBS*

1.2 Vowels

Table 2: Vowels

	front	back
high	**i**[ɨ]	
mid	**e**[e]	**o**[o]
low		**a**[ɑ]

- **i** is fronted [i] after **c**.

- **i e** are rounded [ʉ ø] after **v w m**

Table 3: Diphthongs

diphthong	front	center	back
closing		**au**[ɑu̯]	**ou**[ou̯]
	ei[ei̯]	**ai**[æi̯]	**oi**[oi̯]
low-mid	**ae**[ae̯]		**ao**[ɑo̯]
opening	**ea**[ee̯]	**ie**[ɨə̯]	**oa**[oe̯]

1.3 Vowel harmony

Iƛaihni has a system of vowel harmony, classing vowels in front and back vowels, as well as a class of neutral vowels. Vowel harmony is not enforced within morphemes, but is mostly relevant in verbal and derivational suffixes as well as postpositions, where most suffixes and clitics come in two harmonic variants. Additionally, onomatopoeic words observe vowel harmony.

(3) a. **eimoh<u>ta</u>** *'I've eaten'* but: **iƛai<u>ta</u>** *'I've spoken'*

 b. **aechem<u>be</u>** *'at the book'* but: **anchoh<u>ba</u>** *'at the house'*

 c. **daih<u>tel</u>** *'considered'* but: **ƛoh<u>tal</u>** *'washed (itself)'*

Table 4: Vowel harmony

harmony	vowels
front	**i, e, ei, ea, ai, oi**
back	**a, au, ao, oa, ie**
back-neutral	**o, ae, ou**

Vowel harmony spreads left to right. There's strong and weak harmonic vowels.

- The strong ones always impose their harmony on following suffixes

- Weak ones only impose their harmony when they're not preceded by another strong vowel; otherwise, they're transparent to the preceding strong vowel's harmony:

(4) a. **kou<u>ta</u>l** *'it saw itself'* but: **ikou<u>te</u>l** *'I/we/you saw ourselves'*

1.4 Phonotactics

The maximum syllable shape of Iλaihni is $(C^1)V(C^2)$, where C^1 is any consonant, V is any vowel or diphthong and C^2 any of **m, n, ŋ, l, w, r, λ, s, h**. However, there are several restrictions:

- words can only end in vowels or any of **n, l, w, λ, s, h**.

- two vowel nuclei can not occur right next to each other (in hiatus).

- diphthongs simplify when they occur right before the stressed syllable or right before another diphthongs, unless they themselves are stressed (stressed syllable in the following examples are <u>underlined</u>):

(5) a. **iλ<u>ite</u>ren** from expected *i-λai-te-ren

    b. **i<u>wi</u>ma** from expected *ei-wi-ma

    c. **naλ<u>ai</u>te** from expected *nai-λai-te

- Within words, there are two types consonant clusters: ones occurring within a morpheme and that occur at the edges between two morphemes.

- Within morphemes, the following consonant clusters are allowed:

Table 5: Allowed morpheme-internal consonant clusters

first consonant	second consonant	allowed clusters
fricative	voiceless stop	**sp, st, sk, hp, ht, htl, hk**
nasal	voiced stop	**mb, nd, ndl, nch, ngg**
/l/	stop	**lp, lt, lb, ld**
/k/	/s/	**ks**

- between the edges of morphemes, the allowed consonant clusters are more restrictive:

Table 6: Allowed consonant clusters at morpheme edges

first consonant	second consonant	allowed clusters
/h/	voiceless stop	**hp ht htl hc hk**
/h/	nasal	**hm hn hng**
nasal	voiced stop	**mb nd ndl nch ngg**

- Utterance-finally, in addition to the changes above, diphthongs are simplified and **l w** are fortified to **λ h**.

4

1.4.1   Resolving illicit sequences of sounds

Sometimes, consonants that are not allowed to be coda consonants find themselves in coda positions regardless. There are a few regular repair strategies:

- Word- or syllable-final **r** turns into **l**.

- Word-final nasal consonants are neutralized to **n** /n∼ŋ/.

- The approximant **w** contrasts with semivowels that form diphthongs in how it behaves when it occurs at the end of an utterance, in that it is fortified to **h** when it occurs in coda positions.

Disallowed diphthongs are simplified in a regular pattern:

Table 7: Simplifying diphthongs

diphthong	to single vowel
au, ou	**o, o**
ei, ai, oi	**i, e, e**
ae, ao	**a a**
ea, ie, oa	**e, i, o**

Illicit consonant clusters that would occur at morpheme edges are resolved in this order:

- if the first consonant is a stop preceding another stop or a nasal, debuccalize it to **h** before a stop; devoice that stop if it is voiced.

- if the first consonant is a nasal, the nasal becomes homorganic (which they don't have to be within a morpheme) with the following stop. voice that stop.

- If the above conditions aren't met, drop the first consonant entirely.

Vowel hiatus is resolved by (preferably) using a variant of an involved affix that has an optional consonant which can break up the hiatus, or by inserting an epenthetic consonant **t**.

1.5   Stress

At the baseline, Iλaihni has regular penultimate stress. There are a few cases where this is not the case, however:

- In content words, the stress can not occur before the main verbal or nominal root, therefor prefixes can not be stressed, leading to monosyllabic roots having ultimate-stressed forms.

  - The only exception to this rule is the first person/second person singular prefix **i-**.

- Postclitics can not be stressed, nor do they count for the syllable count of a word when calculating where its stress should lie.

- the informal suffix of the past mediopassive, **-tel/-tal** is always stressed.

- trivially, monosyllabic words (like the pronouns **ni, te, ca** *'I, you (sg.), he/she/they (sg.)'*) are stressed on their single syllable.

Reduplication, in which the repetition occurs to the left of the original, also counts as prefixes for this metric.

1.6 Patterns of dissimilation

Iλaihni features two regular dissimilation phenomena:

- Reduplication dissimilation occurs when morphology involving reduplication (Pluractionality, collective marking, destributive numbers) is used.

- Non-discriminatory dissimilation occurs, regardless of the morphemes involved, whenever the same sound occurs as the onset of two consecutive syllables.

- Both phenomena always affect the first occurrance of the consonant.

- The consonants undergoing dissimilation and the resulting dissimilant are not identical between the two phenomena.

Table 8: Patterns of dissimilation

onset:	RD:	NDD:
p, t, λ, k	**b, d, λ, g**	**h r l h**
b, d, λ, g	**w r n h**	
ch, h	**k/t/j h/∅**	**h h/∅**
m, n, ng	**w, l, w**	
r, l, w, v	**n, n, ng, m/h/∅**	

- The dissimilation patterns of **ch** and **v** are not predictable, but rather depend on the historical origin of the consonant, making this part of the pattern more than a purely phonological process. However, in most speakers below the age of 60, which are almost diglossic speakers of Spanish, there's a tendency to have **ch** and **v** dissimilate to **k** and **m** in most words, keeping the original pattern only in commonly used words.

- For **h** as well as the cases where **v** dissimilates to **h**, the dissimilation result is the complete elision of the consonant, unless this would create a hiatus, in which case the sound dissimilate (or in the case of **h**, remains) as **h**.

2 Nouns

Nouns have no case, gender or plural marking.

Nouns can freely used as what is translated as adjectives in English; they do not constitute different word classes in Iλaihni.

All native nouns start with a vowel. Nominalized verbs as well as old loan words from other languages can start with consonants, and then cannot take certain affixes or undergo reduplication. Newer borrowings (as well as older loans in the speech of non-native or innovative younger speakers) are affixed with an epenthetic **i-** to make them conducive to Iλaihni morphology.

2.1 Number

As described above, nouns have no plural marking at all; when required, either a numeral or quantifier is used to indicate number. However, there are two number-adjacent forms:

2.1.1 Collective number

However, count nouns can form a collective form via reduplication, which involves reduplicating the first vowel-consonant sequence of the noun (this pattern is only applicable to nouns which start with a vowel):

(6) a. **a̲lanchos** *'houses; village'*, from **anchos** *'home'*

b. **a̲maval** *'change (as a concept)'*, from **aval** *'new (thing)'*

Collective nouns indicate a mass of physical nouns in their entirety, or the general condition of less tangible words. Many collective forms are lexicalized, as in (LINK TO THE TWO EXAMPLES ABOVE).

2.2 Relational prefixes

All nouns (excluding non-Iλaihnized loan words) are marked with a relational prefix that marks its state of possession or relation to other words. It is due to this system of cross-referencing that Iλaihni phrases can non-concatenative despite its lack of solid person or case marking, as in the following example, where the underlined numeral is fronted and separated from the noun **ŋanche** that it modifies.

(7) **ispaldou̲ lanauta ŋanche.**

ispal=	dou	la~	nau-	ta	ŋ-	anche.
four=	however	PLUR~	walk-	PST	NUM-	person

'Four people, however, came.'

The four relational prefixes are:

- **r-**: occurs on all non-possessed nouns, which is all nouns that don't have one of the prefixes listed below.

- **h-**: marks nouns with a first or second person possessor

- **t-**: marks noun with a third person possessor

- **ŋ-**: marks nouns that are qualified by a numeral or certain quantifiers

A number of words, mostly body parts and kinship terms, can never occur in the **r**-form, as they are obligatorily possessed. Nominalized verbs and old loan words can not take relational prefixes.

2.3 Possession

Expressing possession with the relational prefixes above is trivial.

(8) a. **r̲iebo** *'a̲ large object'*

b. **h̲adol** *'my̲ earlobe'*

c. **t̲iskan** *'someone's̲ yuca root'*

An alternative pattern, mostly but not exclusively employed by nominalized verbs, is to mark possession using a postclitic pronoun, which attaches to the first word of a phrase. For third person possessors, possession is indicated by using the proximal demonstrative **ti**.

(9) a. **polo<u>ni</u>.**

> *polo=*   *ni*
> chicken= 1

> 'My chicken'

    b. **haechen<u>de</u> haval.**

> *h-*   *aechen=* *te* *h-*   *aval*
> H.POSS- book=   2   H.POSS- new

> 'Your (sg.) new book'

    c. **tiwas <u>ti</u> ranhechi.**

> *t-*   *iwas* *ti* *r-*   *anche=* *chi*
> T.POSS face this T.POSS- person= POS

> 'This person's face'

    Note that, like in [LINK] above, the possessee may be supplied explicitly, with a possessive postposition =**chi** mandatorily attached to it. note that this alone isn't a valid expression of possession unless the demonstrative links it with the possessed noun:

(10) a. **tanchos Jose'chi.*

> *t-*   *anchos* *Jose=* *chi*
> T.POSS- home   Jose= POS

> Intended meaning: 'Jose's home'

3 Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

Pronouns come in pairs of free and bound pronouns. Like nouns, they are invariable for case. Plural pronouns are regularly formed with a plural marker **-ne/-na** that's also found on demonstratives.

Table 9: Free and bound pronouns and their forms

	Singular		Plural	
Person	free	bound	free	bound
1	(-)ni(-)		wine	-wi(n)-
2	(-)te(-)		tene	-te(n)-
3	cha	-ha-	chana	-ha-

(11) **hinλandoni haval hiebo.**

> *h-*   *inλando=* *ni* *h-*   *aval* *h-*   *iebo*
> H.POSS- pointy= 1 H.POSS- new H.POSS big

> 'I have a big, new spear.'

3.2 Interrogative pronouns

There are five interrogative pronouns, concerning 'who', 'what', 'when or where', 'how many' and 'which'. The first four can stand on their own, whereas the fifth one *'which'* is a modifier following the noun in question.

Table 10: Interrogative pronouns

pronoun	meaning
iksal	'who'
iha	'what'
icho	'when or where'
iλide	'how many'
isande	'which'

4 Demonstratives

There's a modest selection of Demonstratives in Iλaihni.

- The nominal demonstratives **ti** *'this'* and **epi** *'that'* can qualify a noun or make up a complete noun phrase by itself. The third demonstrative **ŋa** *'this invisible thing'*, on the other hand, can not occur on its own without the usage of the dummy noun **vei** *'thing'*

- The local (and also temporal) demonstratives are formed by prefixation: ehti, etipi, ahŋa here, there, someplace out of sight.

- All demonstratives take the plural marker **-ne/-na** whenever applicable.

5 Verbs

Verbs are for the most part agglutinative, consisting of one verbal root and up to three prefixes and suffixes each, including possible incorporated nouns.

Table 11: Slots of the Iλaihni verb

slot	content		
P3	person	*or*	irrealis
P2	noun Incorporation		
P1	pluractionality		
Root	stem		
S1	past tense		
S2	mediopassive		
S3	irrealis		

Most verbs have two stems, a non-past and a past stem. Some exceptions apply, especially for very common verbs:

- some verbs don't have a past tense [LINK] and have to supply tense information using an adverb or postpositional phrase instead [LINK]:

(12)   a. **idare** *'I am fishing, was fishing'*

     b. **idareta intended: 'I was fishing'*
        →

     c. **repere ahŋapa idare** *'On that day, I was fishing'*

- in some verbs, their irrealis form is a lexical derivation. These irrealis verbs have no separate realis form and form their "true" irrealis form periphrastically.

(13)   a. **idaksa** *'I think (believe)'*

     b. **midaksaλ** *'I assume'*

- some verbs have an irregular or suppletive pluractional present and past stem (three stem verbs). very few verbs also have an irregular past pluractional (four stem verbs). These separately listed pluractional stems do not undergo reduplication to mark pluractionality.

Table 12: Examples of two, three and four stem verbs (in bold) and their basic forms in 1st person

Example word	two-stem	three-stem	four-stem
present sg.	e-**ima**	i-**taroi**	e-**i**
past sg.	e-**imoh**-ta	i-**tali**-te	e-**irai**-te
present pl.	e-iw-*ima*	i-do**tohta**	i-**hie**
past pl.	e-iw-*imoh*-ta	i-do-*tora*-ta	i-**heal**-te

5.1   Person marking

Iλaihni has a very simple person marking scheme on verbs, with only two distinctions:

- The prefix **i-** marks first and second person singular as well as first person plural subjects. The affix has two significant allomorphs:

- adjacent to a vowel **i**, the prefix is **e** instead, forming a diphthong **ei**:

(14)   **eima** *'I/you (sg.)/we eat'*, from **ima** *'to eat'*

- adjacent to any other vowel, an epenthenic **t** is inserted to prevent a vowel hiatus:

(15)   **itaroi** *'I/you (sg.)/we wait'*, from **aroi** *'to wait'*

- Any other subject cross-reference remains unmarked.

5.2   Tense

The past tense is formed by affixing the past tense suffix **-te/-ta** to the past stem, if applicable.

(16)   a. **iraite** *'it was not'*

     b. **λohta** *'someone spoke'*

     c. **inauta** *'I walked'*

     d. **italite** *'I twisted and broke it'*

5.3 Pluractionality

Pluractionality describes the plurality of the participants of an action. It usually follows an ergative patterning, implying plural number subjects with intransitive and plural objects with transitive verbs.

It is expressed by reduplication of the verbal stem used. There are four patterns of reduplication, used depending on the shape of the stem it is applied to:

- VC- reduplication for vowel-initial stems. For those stems that then have a closed initial syllable, the coda consonant of the first syllable is skipped over in favor of the onset of the second

- CV-reduplication for stems with an initial open syllable (that doesn't start with a vowel)

- CVC-redupliaction for stems with an initial closed syllable

(17) a. **ehespa** *'lack several things'* from **espa** *'to lack'*

  b. **naλai** *'speaking several things'* from **λai** *'to speak'*

  c. **dastasi** *'several are hiding'* from **tasi** *'to hide oneself'*

5.4 Mediopassive

The mediopassive voice broadly marks actions in which the subject of an action is also affected by the action in some manner. It is formed using the suffix **-(r)en/-(r)an**. In colloquial speech, the mediopassive and the past tense markers **-te-/ta-** and **-(r)en/-(r)an** often fuse into a marker **-tel/-tal**.

The mediopassive reacts differently to verbal number than active voice verbs:

- Verbs with no explicit plural marker are interpreted as a reflexive action of one or more participants.

(18) a. **λoleren** *'they wash themselves'*

  b. **itahtal** *'we hid together'*

- Verbs in the mediopassive with a plural marker are interpreted as a cooperational or instructing action. The main difference being how the actor(s) of the non-plural verbs are inherently equal, whereas the plural mediopassive verb has an inherent gap in experience, knowledge, ability or renown between the actors.

(19) a. **ilanahen** *'We walk (and you instruct me)'*

  b. **radaneren** *'he teaches me how to fish'*

  c.

With intransitive verbs, the mediopassive describes a more intense, centralized or limited meaning. Generally, in internal actions like thought and cognition, it is used as an intensifier. In verbs of movement like walking, it implies a secondary action taking place.

(20) a. **idaksaran** *'I ponder'*, from idaksa *'I think'*

b. **itahtal** *'we hid together'*, from **itahta** *'we hid ourselves'*

c. **λaiteren** *'they chitchatted '*, from **λaite** *'they talked'*

d. **ilanahen** *'We walk (and talk)'*, from **ilanah** *'we walk'*

5.5 Irrealis mode

The irrealis mode is formed via the circumfix **m(a)- -(e)λ/-(a)λ/**. It is mutually exlusive with the person marker **i-**. It has a wide range of meanings, expressing wishes, possibilities, questions and negative sentences.

5.6 Noun incorporation

tons of noun incorporation

we can incorporate: direct and indirect objects, backgrounding the object and foregrounding the action itself body parts as (metaphorical) cause of feelings (I am searching myself -> heart-converse) body parts as highlighting characteristics (strong-stomach-having -> willstrong) of discourse participants or habitual behavior discourse functions, keeping track of participants and structuring sentences adjectives together with their nouns in some cases! non-body part incorporation highlights some activity of social importance, which often time has lexical, non-composite meanings.

eiwaλohtal *I washed my face**i-iwac-λo-ta-ren so does it reduce valency? depends on the status of the incorporated noun. nouns that are included to form a new lexeme usually don't reduce valency:

(21) **heabahtou cha ni ikoλokata!**

h-	eaba-	h=	dou	cha	ni	i-	koi-	λoka-	ta
H.POSS-	be.true-	NOM=	actually	she	I	12S-	mouth-	slap-	PST

I'm telling you, she actually silenced me (lit. 'mouth-clapped')

backgrounding:

(22) **tincha aechembarahta**

t-	incha	aechen-	barah-	ta
T.POSS-	girl	book-	pass.to-	PST

The girl was given (some) book(s).

(23) **Chilai nikaula.**

chi=	lai	ni-	kaula
much=	lai	me-	be.cold

'I'm sooo cold!'

5.7 Example paradigms

Table 13: Example paradigm

Example word: **ʎai** 'to speak'		singulative non-past	pst	pluractional non-past	pst
Active	1st/2nd prs. sg.	iʎas	iʎaite	inaʎas	inaʎaita
	other prs.	ʎas	ʎaite	naʎas	naʎaite
	irrealis	maʎáiʎ	maʎaiteʎ	manaʎáiʎ	manaʎaiteʎ
Mediopassive	1st/2nd prs. sg.	iʎairen	iʎiteren	inaʎairen	inaʎaitaren
	other prs.	ʎairen	ʎiteren	naʎairen	naʎiteren
	irrealis	maʎireneʎ	maʎitereneʎ	manaʎireneʎ	manaʎitereneʎ

Table 14: Example paradigm 2

Example word: **ima, imoh-** 'to eat'		singulative non-past	pst	pluractional non-past	pst
Active	1st/2nd prs. sg.	eima	eimohta	eiwima	eiwimohta
	other prs.	ima	imohta	iwima	iwimohta
	irrealis	mahimaʎ	mahimohtaʎ	mahiwimaʎ	mahiwimohtaʎ
Mediopassive	1st/2nd prs. sg.	eimaran	eimohtaran	eiwimaran	eiwimohtaran
	other prs.	imaran	imohtaran	iwimaran	iwimohtaran
	irrealis	mahimaranaʎ	mahimohtereneʎ	mahiwimaranaʎ	mahiwimohtereneʎ

- separate past stem - vowel initial and final root intrusive h breaks up hiatus when there's no optional vowelless affix or form

5.8 Auxilliary verbs

Negation and Phrasal polarity
   i-, irai-, hie-, heal- neg verb, ei prs,

5.9 Phrasal polarity

all need the subjunctive?
   marker for still –> no longer when neg + Still auxilliary verb "X is still happening"
   marker for not yet from form mediopassive form of "wait", meaning originally something like "waiting for itself" and now just meaning "waiting for X to happen" this is an auxilliary verb too

(24) **anoiren hanchohni.**

aroi- *ren* *h-* *anchos =* *ni*
wait- MED H.POSS- home = 1s

(It is) not yet my home.

5.10 Subordinate verbs?

nominalization:
   he ran into the building: entered building run-nom = AT

6 Minor word classes

6.1 Postpostiions

they're all clitics attaching themselves to the last word of a phrase clitic = agnostic to stress, do not count as syllable of the previous word most

important postposition is **=pa/=pe** *'to, at, by'*, which marks basically everything ok ... also used to disambiguate agents from lesser objects or themes.

(25) **raechempe anoiren tincha barahta.**

r-	aechen=	pe	anoi-	ren	t-	incha	barah-	ta
R.POSS-	book=	at	wait-	MED	T.POSS-	girl	pass.to-	PST

The book was not yet given to the girl.

adverbs also postclitics that tend to occur after the first phrase of a sentence

6.2 Numerals

Native Iλaihni numerals are organized in a duodecimal system with a seximal subbase. The first six numerals are transparently derived from the anatomy of the hand and how its used in the Iλaihni method of counting. The next chunk of numerals up to twelve is regularly derived by prefixing 1-5 with **aks-**, with the exception of **aheicha** *'nine'*. The word for twelve, **ihoto**, is probably a combination of **ista** and **aksoto**.

Realistically, not even the few monolingual Iλaihni speakers regularly count higher than to twelve without resorting to spanish numerals. If there were ever ways to form numerals exceeding 144, they are now lost.

Table 15: Iλaihni numerals from one to twelve

numeral	meaning	english	numeral	english
eila	*little finger*	one	**akseila**	seven
ista	*ring finger*	two	**aksista**	eight
eicha	*middle finger*	three	**aheicha**	nine
ispal	*palm*	four	**aksispal**	ten
ambao	*thumb*	five	**aksambao**	eleven
aksoto	*fist*	six	**ihoto**	twelve

The following numbers up to **ipitainet** *'a gross, 144'* are obscure and very rarely used outside of fixed phrases and traditional stories. They are constructed by forming multiples of twelve and then connecting them with a single digit, which is affixed with **-ka**. Some examples:

(26) a. **eicha ihoto aksistaka** *'forty-four'*, lit. 'three times twelve plus eight'

b. **ista ihoto istaka** *'twenty-six'*, lit. 'two times twelve plus two'

c. **aksambao ihoto aheichaka** *one-hundred and forty-one*, lit. 'eleven times twelve plus nine'

The number zero is the borrowed **chero** *'zero'*
The distributive is formed by full reduplication of the numeral
Quantifers

7 Derivation

-(a)h general nominalization -tao agent nominalization
- adjectivizer, relative clause marker too
il(i)- negative marker for nouns, objects, verbs ili-wibeitao - "the nothing-fearing one"

8 Syntax

head-marking tends to be head-final
 tends to be verb-final
 topic-prominent topic has no special marker, just takes the first position in a sentence if it's there. To disambiguate, adverbs like "however" can be used:

(27) **hatalvatao talpa,**

 'The-Feared-One, '

 pro-drop of noun phrases and pronouns
 .....
 Sequential actions and causatives (causatives are formed the same) main verb, then irrealis verb causatives: verbs like say, make, lead, persuade + irrealis verb
 He said I would walk (He told me to go -> he made me go)

8.1 Questions

Polar questions vs content questions polar: suffix **-den** for general questions, can be added to the verb for focus polar questions, it can be added to the topic need to topicalize things to ask about them specifically did john do this? (general) vs was it john that did this? (focus)
 content questions: both one of two postclitics and an interrogative word: postclitics: =**mi**/=**mo** when you think the listener knows the answer =**dai**/=**dou** otherwise

8.2 Coordinated clauses

With verbs of movement: without a coordinator

8.3 Subordinate clauses

nominalizations of verbs with postpositions:

(28) **Chilai kiritimahpa ita!**

 chi-   lai kiri- ima- h=   pa i-   tao
 much= lai curry- eat- NOM= at PS1- want

 I wanna eat sooo much curry!

9 Lexicon

adol N INAL *earlobe; the seat of learning in the human body*
ahŋa DEM *somewhere else (invisible, uncertain), some other time (uncertain)*
alanche N *folk, a crowd*
anche N *person, people*

anchos N *home*
aroi, ali-, ohƛ(a)- V TR *to wait for [direct object]*
aval N *new (thing)*
cha PRO *he, she, they (sg.), it, him, her, them (sg.)*
chana PRO *they (pl.)*

chi ADV *much*

daksa, daih- V TR *to think (believe that)*

dare V TR *to fish using nets*

ehti DEM *here, now*

epere N *day (from sunset to sunset)*

epi DEM *that*

espa, ispel- V TR *to lack; to have a need unfulfilled (i.e. hunger, thirst, being cold)*

etipi DEM *there, then, at some other time*

i-, irai-, hie-, heal- V AUX *negative auxilliary verb*

icho PRO *'when or where'*

iebo N *big, large, tall (thing)*

iha PRO *'what'*

iksal PRO *'who'*

iλaih ni N *our language, this language*

iλide PRO *'how many'*

inλando N *pointy (thing)*

isande PRO *'which'*

t-iwas N INAL *face*

-lai CLT *clitic that adds a patronizing tone or increased emotional investment of the speaker*

λai, λei- V IT *to speak (a language, about something)*

λole, λoh- V TR *to wash, rinse, scrape*

nah, nau- V IT *to walk, move at a walking pace, wander*

ni PRO *I, me*

ŋa DEM *this (invisible) thing*

polo N LOAN *chicken*

tao, toi, mida, mieh- V TR *to eat, devour; contain, conceal, surround (past tense)*

taroi, tali-, tohta- V TR *to break by bending or tearing*

tasi, tah- V IT *to hide oneself*

te PRO *you (sg.)*

tene PRO *you (pl.)*

ti DEM *this*

vei N *thing; dummy noun*

wine PRO *we, us*