𐑖𐑨𐑕𐑥𐑚𐑞𐑖𐑩
Śácamþaśá
A Complete Grammar
𐑒𐑨𐑕𐑥·𐑚𐑩𐑖𐑩

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ʃ∼ Preface

Śácamþaśá or Shaacamthashaa 𐑖𐑱𐑒𐑥𐑞𐑱𐑖𐑩, often abbreviated to ŚCŚ, is the language of the Triarchy of Śácamþa (ŚCŚ: Śácamþań Reá ≈𐑱·𐑐𐑖𐑱𐑒𐑥𐑞𐑱𐑖𐑩), with the name itself coming from the words for ‘home bay’. This document will explain everything from orthography to grammar, vocab and historical sound changes. Understanding Śácamþaśáń orthography and some of its grammar is important to being able to pronounce the names of several celestial bodies near Jáłár and the planet itself, as the Triarchy dominates one of the two primary cultural centers of the world and has taken the language with it in all of its developments.

ʃ〜ʃ〜 Abbreviations & Symbols used in this document

.	separates functions of the same element
:	affix can be separated but is omitted for clarity
-	separates elements
_	word separator for clarity
#	word boundary
1, 2, 3, 4	first, second, third, fourth person pronoun or conjugation
A	agent
ABE	abessive
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
C	consonant
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunctive
CONNEG	connegative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DISJ	disjunctive
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
N/A	not available, does not exist
NP	non-past
P	patient
p.	grammatical person
PART	participle
POS	possessive prefix
POT	potential
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PT	past
Q	question particle
RET_Q	rhetorical question particle
ŚCŚ	Śácamþaśá
SK	Sojåkaromåtha
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
TGTSÞ	Tarpoenstad General Transliteration System for Þeurilá
V	vowel, verb

⸗≈ Phonology & Orthography

⸗~⸗≈ Phonemes

Table 1: Consonants 𑄃𑄦𑄇

𑄦𑄌𑄉	𑄦𑄇𑄎	𑄇𑄇𑄏	𑄁𑄊	𑄦𑄌𑄟𑄈	
p		t	c	q	𑄃𑄦𑄇𑄙
f	/θ/ ⟨þ/th⟩	s	/ʃ/ ⟨ś/sh⟩		𑄃𑄦𑄇𑄚
m		n	/ɲ/ ⟨ń/nj⟩	/ŋ/ ⟨ŋ/ng⟩[1]	𑄃𑄦𑄇𑄛
/β̥ʷ/ ⟨w⟩		r	j		𑄃𑄦𑄇𑄜
		l[1]	ɬ ⟨ł/lh⟩[2]		𑄃𑄦𑄇𑄝

Table 2: Vowels 𑄃𑄢𑄇

𑄀𑄇	𑄅𑄎	𑄦𑄌𑄉	
i	u	/ɑː/ ⟨á/aa⟩	𑄅𑄇
/ɪ/ ⟨e⟩	/ɵ/ ⟨y⟩	/ɐ/ ⟨a⟩	𑄟≈

⸗≈⸗≈ Allophony

Precise realisations of allophones vary heavily between dialects, so this list cannot be taken as exhaustive but merely represents some of the most common realisations.

- /q/ is realised as a dorsal fricative [χ~x] in word-final position.
- Word-initial nasals are realised as voiced plosives: m, n, ɲ, ŋ ->ⁿb, ⁿd, ⁿɟ, ⁿg.
- In vowel sequences, the first vowel rounds or unrounds to match the second.
- /ɪ/ and /ɐ/ are often realised as mid [ɐ̟] and open mid [ʌ] or mid [ɤ̞], particularly by uneducated speakers. This usage is considered uneducated and 'farmer-like' by the elite, so it is recommended to avoid using them in formal situations.
- In an attempt to avoid the 'uneducated' realisation of /ɪ/ and /ɐ/, inexperienced formal speakers may hypercorrect /ɵ/ to [ɔ].
- /ɑː/ is realised as rounded [ɒː~ɔː] after labial consonants, and fronted to [äː] after palatals.

[1] Does not appear in coda position
[2] Phonologically acts as a palatal lateral ʎ

ꞃꝸꞃ≈ **Harmony**

Ścamþaśá exhibits consonant harmony, disallowing the combining of the coronal (ŚCŚ: ŋáfuf ꞅꝸꝋ) consonants t, s, n, l[3] and palatal (ŚCŚ: wáŋe ∞ᒪ) consonants c, ʃ, ɲ, ɬ, j within a word. Inflectional suffixes with such sounds have two forms to abide by this rule, with one serving as the 'default' for words featuring neither class. The sounds form pairs: t-c, s-ś, n-ń, l-ł. /j/ rarely appears in inflectional suffixes, and can be replaced with w or simply removed for coronal roots. In the morphology section below and in the dictionary, the default form for neutral roots will always be listed first, e.g. the genitive suffix ń/n ⵔ꜀ⵔ, where ń ⵔ is the default.

Note that in neutral roots, this preference for the default form may result in breaking harmony, in particular when the affixes are on opposite sides of the root, as in example 1a. When there are multiple affixes attached to one another, the one closest to the root generally takes its default form, and any following suffixes treat it as part of the root, as in example 1b.

(1) (a) ⵔ⃝ꙮ⊙ꝰ

lu-	fau	-ń
lu-	for	-ṇ
3_POS-	fish	-GEN

Their fish's

(b) ꞅꝸꝰꙮꙮ⊙ꝰꞅ

¿lu-	fau	-sá	-ála?
?lu-	for	-so	-holă?
3_POS-	fish	-ERG	-Q

Their fish?

In compounds, affixes follow the harmony of whichever of the roots they are attached to, and disregard the other roots. However, some older compounds have been reanalysed as roots, resulting in one root forcibly harmonising the other.

Some words which appear neutral may actually be coronal if a w or u in the word has an origin in /l/ or palatal if an i in the word has an origin in /j/. Examples include aufar ⵙⵜⵣⵚ 'person', which is coronal due to an etymological /l/ and qápiá ≈ꙮ⊙ 'to move/go' which is palatal due to an etymological /j/.

ꞃ⊙ꞃ≈ **Stress**

Stress is not phonemic in Ścamþaśá, but it is phonetically realised on the first syllable.

ꞃᗜꞃ≈ **Phonotactics**

Valid syllables in Ścamþaśá are maximally #CCVVCC#, meaning consonant clusters within a single syllable are only allowed at word boundaries, and otherwise clusters must span across a syllable boundary. The minimal syllable in Ścamþaśá is generally considered to be V. A syllable of C is also allowed, though not CC or more complex structures without vowels, and C syllables can only occur as the sole syllable of a word #C#. Only a handful such words exist.

[3]While phonetically coronal, /r/ is considered neutral.

While there are no strict rules determining which consonants can cluster, nor the order in which they do so, there are rules constraining the types of consonants a given consonant can cluster with. These are as follows:

- Clusters of two stops (nasal or otherwise) are not allowed. Note that /ŋ/ patterns with liquids and is exempt from this.
- Clusters of two fricatives are only allowed across morpheme boundaries. Note that /ɬ/ patterns with liquids and is exempt from this.
- Liquids (including /r/) may not be the first element of a cluster when the second element is an obstruent.
- Geminates may not exist.
- The second element of a vowel sequence must be a tense vowel i.e. *aː*, i or u
- The first element of a vowel sequence may not be the lax pair to the tense vowel i.e. ɐaː, ɪi, ʊu are not allowed.

To illustrate, here are some examples of allowed clusters: fɲ, θɬ, st, rj, ŋr;
and some examples of disallowed clusters: qt, fθ, rr, jp, wn.

ʃ◌ʃ≈ **Romanisation**

The Latin alphabet serves solely as a manner of clarification for learners and for situations where only latin characters can be used; it is not used to write Ścamþaśá in regular use. Where no romanisation is specified in the tables in Section ʃ~ʃ≈, the IPA and romanisations are identical. There are two accepted romanisations for Ścamþaśá. The preferred romanisation, written on the left side in Section ʃ~ʃ≈ when applicable, relies on the **one character per phoneme** principle and uses special characters, while the ascii romanisation, written on the right side, relies on digraphs to remain accurate when special characters are not available. Both romanisations are shallow, reflecting the phonemes of the language directly with minimal abstraction. This makes it easier to read than the Þeurilá orthography, which contains more historical spelling, but loses some historical information which can be useful for the sake of grammar, as multiple suffixes may be compressed into one sound but written with multiple Þeurilá glyphs.

ʃ~◌ʃ≈ **Þeurilá**

Þeurilá ◌𐑜𐑞𐑚 is the sole official writing system for Ścamþaśá. It is a semisyllabary, i.e. it writes CV groups as a single inseparable syllable glyph, but has separate glyphs for vowels and consonants when they occur in non-CV sequences. The script is written from right to left. The system used for writing Ścamþaśá has glyphs for 18 consonants and 8 vowels, though not all of these are phonetically distinguished from one another in the modern language.

For the sake of transcription, the most common standard is the *University of Tarpoenstad General Transliteration System for Þeurilá*, or *TGTSÞ*. This transcription is useful to mark historical spelling in Þeurilá for foreign audiences, or to create legends for rhyme tables. However, TGTSÞ can be confusing for first-time learners who are not familiar with the structure of Þeurilá, and only know the phonemic romanisations. For these learners or those in need of a reminder, a quick guide to the phonemes which may be unclear is as follows:

- k is realised as /c/ before front vowels a, ă, i, ĭ, /q/ otherwise.

- o and a are both realised as /ɑː/, such that glyphs with these vowels always merge except for the consonant k covered above.
- h & ə are silent, thus the glyph hə has no phonetic value.
- The palatalised consonants ṭ ṣ ṇ ḷ are realised as /c/, /ʃ/, /ɲ/, /ɬ/ respectively.
- The shortened vowels ă, ŭ, ĭ are realised as /ɐ/, /ɵ/, /ɪ/ respectively.
- When appearing in coda (almost all cases of their ə glyphs), l and ŋ are realised as /β̪ʷ/.

A rhyme table for the Þeurilá glyphs used in Śácamþaśá can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: Þeurilá Rhyme Table

Consonant	o	a	ă	u	ŭ	i	ĭ	ə
k	◌	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
h	ก	≈	≈	ก	ก	ก	ก	ø
t	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
ṭ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
þ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
p	ก	ก	ก	◌	◌	ก	ก	ก
f	◌	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
m	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
n	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
ṇ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
r	≈	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
s	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	~	~	ก
ṣ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	~	~	ก
j	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
w	ก	ก	ก	◌	◌	ก	ก	ก
l	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
ļ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
ŋ	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	∞	∞	ก

ʃ~ʃ~ɑʃ≈ Extra glyphs

In addition to the syllable glyphs, there are three simplified glyphs marking vowel sequences generated from historical r, u & i respectively. These act as variant glyphs of r, hu, hi respec-

tively, and the same word may be spelled with either variant depending on the preference of the scribe.

Table 4: Diphthongisers

Vowel	r	u	i
	ə	ɐ	ɑ

For marking the names of the 5 (or sometimes 6) gods, logographic characters composed of two Þeurilá glyphs are used:

Table 5: Invocation Glyphs

Invocation Glyph	Name of God
	ÁJ, Ocean
	ÁR, Earth
	TUŋIM, Nature
	MIŋE, Sun
	SÁ, Civilisation
	ITYINA, Justice

ʃ≈ʃ∼ɕʃ≈ Punctuation

The punctuation marks in Þeurilá are quite similar in usage to those in the latin alphabet, albeit more of them are doubled. They are listed here with the null glyph ⟨⟩ for reference, which is also the source of the full stop ⟨⟩.

Table 6: Punctuation marks

Latin mark	Þeurilá mark	Usage notes
,	𐘀𐘁	Separates some clauses and items in lists.
.	𐘀𐘂	Ends sentences.
¿?	𐘃𐘁𐘃	Marks questions.
¡!	𐘄𐘁𐘄	Aside from exclamations, also functions as a general emphasis mark.
„”	𐘅𐘁𐘅	Marks quotatives.
#	ʃ𐘁	Marks numerals and non-native words and names.
space	𐘁·𐘁	Separates words.
|	𐘁ʃ𐘁	Caesura mark, splits two half-verses.
-	𐘁𐘆	Begins verses and marks affix attachments.
¶	𐘁𐘇	Begins stanzas or marks an omitted repeated segment.
⋮	❀	Ends a poem. Usually written on its own line below the rest of the text.

ʃ≈ɕʃ≈ Active sound laws

Before declining Ścamþaśáń words, it is important to know the way in which affixes are attached to words. This is one of the most common stumbling blocks for foreigners learning Ścamþaśá, as many of the rules have unusual exceptions or are applied inconsistently.

The most basic rule is that of consonant harmony, for which see Section ʃθʃ≈. Outside of this, most of these sound laws are applied to prevent the creation of illegal clusters as defined in Section ʃσʃ≈.

- Nasalisation: when a nasal m n comes before a plosive or nasal[4], and inconsistently before fricatives, the nasal is elided and the preceding vowel is mutated as follows: tense /i/, /u/ > lax /ɪ/, /ɵ/; tense /aː/ remains /aː/ if stressed, /ɵ/ otherwise. Lax vowels are not modified[5].

[4]Excluding the velar nasal /ŋ/, which patterns with laterals.
[5]The imperative suffix -þan/-þań ⟨𐘀𐘈𐘁𐘈⟩ is an exception to this rule: here /ɐ/ > /ɵ/.
[6]This rule historically also applied to /l ŋ/ when they still occurred in coda.
[7]Rarely this becomes /ɐi̯/ instead when before a palatal consonant.

- Sonorant elision: when /r/[6] comes before a consonant other than /j β̪ʷ/, it is deleted and the preceding vowel is lengthened and broken into a diphthong: /aː ɐ/ > /ɐu̯/[7] ; /i ɪ u ɵ/ > /ɵi̯/.
- Liquid vocalisation: when /j β̪ʷ/ come before a consonant[8], they vocalise to /i u/. Roots with /j/ retain palatal inflections however, and some roots where coda /β̪ʷ/ is from historical l written ⟨ᦅ⟩ retain coronal inflections. In some old compounds or very common inflected forms, an older rule where these are simply deleted is seen instead, e.g. Áj, genitive Áń (not Áiń).
- Hiatus tensing: when a lax vowel /ɪ ɐ ɵ/ appears after any other vowel *or* before its tense equivalent /i aː u/ in hiatus, it is transformed into its tense equivalent /i aː u/. This change applies after liquid vocalisation.
- Other illegal clusters, such as geminates, stop-stop, fricative-fricative[9] and triconsonantal clusters not covered by the previous rules are reduced by simply dropping the first consonant.
- When /u/ comes after a palatal sound, it is laxed to /ɵ/.[10]
- When /u/ ends up in the third or later syllable of a word, it is laxed to /ɵ/[11].

[8]This rule is inconsistent before /j β̪ʷ/ and especially /r/.

[9]Other than /ɬ/, which is phonologically a sonorant.

[10]This rule sometimes spreads to adjacent syllables, and its application is inconsistent in substrate words, for which see Section ʃ8ɷ.

[11]This rule is applied extremely inconsistently.

ꞃꞅ Morphology

This section only lists the inflections which Ścamþaśáń words can take, with a handful of comments on their usage. For the manners in which the root can change by taking these suffixes, see Section ꞃ≈ɷꞃ≈. For the manners in which these inflections are used in practice beyond the most basic outline given here, see Section ꞃʘ.

ꞃ~ꞃꞅ Noun inflection

Ścamþaśáń nouns can be inflected for two properties: case and possession. There are five cases: ergative, absolutive, genitive, dative and abessive.

Possession is marked through personal possessive prefixes, for which one exists for each person, and they are transparently derived from these pronouns. The distinction between the use of the genitive on the possessor, the use of the possessive prefix on the possessee and double marking is quite nuanced: *only the genitive* is strictly used for alienable possession, e.g. qáń pácańa 𐑈𐑓𐑒·𐑐𐑩 'my soup', while *only the prefix* is used strictly for inalienable possession, e.g. qááþe 𐑘𐑯𐑩 'my head', as well as for forming relative clauses, for which see Section ꞃɷ≈ꞃʘ. *Double marking* can be used for either, however overuse of double marking is considered part of the informal register.

A list of all possible noun inflections for an example word cám 𐑴𐑓 'map' can be found in Table 7. Ścamþaśá does not feature noun classes, so the only factors modifying this table are the harmony of the word and any active cluster reduction rules, for which see Section ꞃ≈ɷꞃ≈.

Table 7: Noun inflections

Possessor	None	1st p.	2nd p.	3rd p.[12]	4th p.[13]
Absolutive	cám 𐑴𐑓	qácám 𐑴𐑓𐑩	rácám 𐑴𐑓𐑮	łycám 𐑴𐑓𐑤	aucám 𐑴𐑓𐑪𐑦
Ergative	cámśá 𐑢𐑴𐑓	qácámśá 𐑢𐑴𐑓𐑩	rácámśá 𐑢𐑴𐑓𐑮	łycámśá 𐑢𐑴𐑓𐑤	aucámśá 𐑢𐑴𐑓𐑪𐑦
Genitive	cáń 𐑐𐑴𐑓	qácyń[14] 𐑐𐑴𐑓𐑩	rácyń[14] 𐑐𐑴𐑓𐑮	łycyń[14] 𐑐𐑴𐑓𐑤	aucyń[14] 𐑐𐑴𐑓𐑪𐑦
Dative	cámś 𐑒𐑴𐑓	qácámś 𐑒𐑴𐑓𐑩	rácámś 𐑒𐑴𐑓𐑮	łycámś 𐑒𐑴𐑓𐑤	aucámś 𐑒𐑴𐑓𐑪𐑦
Abessive	cácáw 𐑖𐑓𐑴𐑓	qácycaw[14] 𐑖𐑓𐑴𐑓𐑩	rácycaw[14] 𐑖𐑓𐑴𐑓𐑮	łycycaw[14] 𐑖𐑓𐑴𐑓𐑤	aucycaw[14] 𐑖𐑓𐑴𐑓𐑪𐑦

[12]The standard form for this is prefix is lu-, but this root is palatal.

[13]The base form of this prefix is auq-, but qc is an illegal cluster.

[14]Á here becomes y due to the manner in which illegal clusters involving nasals are resolved. For more detail regarding this change, see Section ꞃ≈ɷꞃ≈.

Aside from these basic inflections, Śácamþaśá nouns can be inflected with a diminutive -(a)ļ/-(a)l[15] ⟨aʃ≈ʃᵃaʃ≈ʃ⟩ and an augmentative, formed by reduplicating the last syllable of the word.

ʃ∼ʃ8 Pronouns

There are only four personal pronouns in Śácamþaśá, referring to three persons; the second and third persons are split along the line of mortality: rá ≈ and lu 8 are used to refer to mortal beings in the second and third person respectively, while pew ᚠᛈ is used for deities and other immortals in both persons. All pronouns are inflected for case in a manner identical to nouns, not shown here as it is trivially derived from Table 7. Unlike nouns, pronouns cannot take personal possessive prefixes. Despite the presence of fourth person possessive prefixes on nouns and inflectional suffixes on verbs, there is no fourth person pronoun.[16] The pronoun chart is tabulated in Table 8.

Table 8: Pronoun inflections

Person	1	2	3
Mortal	qá ⊙	rá ≈	lu 8
Immortal		pew ᚠᛈ	

ʃ≈ʃ8 Verbs

When inflecting verbs, the historical values of sounds are often more consistent than their modern forms. Since these are better represented in Þeurilá than the phonetic romanisations, Þeurilá and TGTSÞ transcription will be used for this section, avoiding confusion over forms which may appear unintuitive or unpredictable due to active sound laws found in Section ʃ≈ɷʃ≈. For more information on how TGTSÞ works, see Section ʃ∼ɷʃ≈.

ʃ∼ʃ≈ʃ8 Thematic vowel

Each Śácamþaśáń verb has a thematic vowel, present in all forms of the verb with the exception of the infinitive. While the possible options for this thematic vowel can be inferred from the infinitive, the exact vowel present cannot, and must be memorised by the learner. These are usually listed in dictionaries, and can be inferred from the final vowel in Proto-Sojåkaromåtha, for which see Section ʃ∼ʃ≈ɷ. Table 9 lists the possible options.

[15]The epenthetic vowel ⟨a⟩ is only inserted to avoid illegal clusters.

[16]There was a fourth person pronoun in Proto-Sojåkaromåtha, however this evolved into Śácamþaśá pew ᚠᛈ and came to be associated with divinity instead.

Table 9: Thematic vowel chart

Stem vowel	Infinitive vowel	Proto-SK vowel
i	ĭ	iː
ĭ	ĭ	i
u, ŭ	ă	uː
ă	ă	u, o, ɑ
o	ă	oː, ɑː
a	ă	aː
ă	ă	a

𓆏≈𓆏≈𓆏𓈖 Personal inflection

Śácamþaśáń verbs are conjugated for four persons and the case of the agent: either absolutive or ergative. ‘Fourth person’ in the case of Śácamþaśá refers to an impersonal, comparable to the use of impersonal ‘you’ or ‘one’ in English. This person has no associated pronoun, however it acts as if the pronoun is present in terms of morphosyntactic alignment, so the ergative form is never found. The remaining three personal suffixes are transparently derived from the mortal personal pronouns.

When the pronoun pĭŋ 𐦞𐦂 is used to refer to immortals, the verb inflects as if a mortal pronoun were in use, but this pronoun cannot be dropped. As in nouns and pronouns, there is no number marking. Because first and second person verbs effectively always have pronouns as subjects, they cause nominative-accusative alignment and thus their ergative forms are only used for literary texts, particularly poetry. Basic inflections for the example verb ikă 𐦉𐦗 ‘to see’ can be found in Table 10.

Table 10: Basic verb inflections

Person	1	2	3	4
Absolutive	ikak 𐦉𐦗𐦗	ikar 𐦉𐦗𐦘	ikaḷ[17] 𐦉𐦗𐦛	ikarăk 𐦉𐦔𐦗𐦘
Ergative	ikakṣo[18] 𐦉𐦗𐦗𐦔	ikarṣo[18] 𐦉𐦗𐦘𐦔	ikaḷṣo[18] 𐦉𐦗𐦛𐦔	

𓆏𓈖≈𓆏𓈖 Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)

Śácamþaśáń verbs are inflected for two tenses, past and non-past; the future is only distinguished from the present through context. Aside from the thematic vowel discussed

[17]The default form of this suffix is -l ⟨𐦛⟩.

[18]The default form of this suffix has -so ⟨𐦔⟩ rather than -ṣo ⟨𐦉⟩.

in Section ऽ~ऽ≈ऽ𝟾, verbs are divided into three classes depending on the historical final consonant of the stem.

To form the past tense, class ~ verbs mutate their final syllable consonant p, t, ṭ, k into f, þ, þ, h and class ≈ verbs mutate their l, ŋ into j[19], w, while class 𝟾 verbs take a suffix -f ⟨ᔕ⟩. The three classes take different suffixes for the conditional and optative moods.

Śácamþaśá is notable for its complete absence of finite aspect distinctions despite its abundance of moods.

The imperative is used for commands, translated as an English imperative in the second person, or a phrase akin to ‘let me fish’ for first and third person imperatives. The past imperative is more rare, lamenting at what *should have happened*.

The potential is used for possible events, akin to the English auxiliary verb ‘may’ or ‘may have’. This contrasts with the conditional, which states events *will* happen *if* a condition is passed. Śácamþaśá lacks a distinct subjunctive, thus both the condition itself and the result are inflected for the conditional.

Finally, the optative is used for wishes or desires, compare English ‘if only’ or ‘I wish’. The tense indicates when the result is desired, not when the desire is had.

Aside from these finite moods, Śácamþaśá has three nonfinite forms: the connegative, used for the main verb when the role of finite verb is taken by the negative verb pa ⟨ᘓ⟩, which carries all the mood and personal inflection information the main verb would carry in the positive equivalent sentence; the participle; and the infinitive, the only verb form which doesn‘t inflect for tense.

Since personal inflection is identical in all tenses and moods, repeating the information of Table 10 is not necessary. The personal suffixes are applied at the end, after all the TAM information. A listing of the possible TAM stems using the three example verbs joṭ ᔑᔕ ‘to sow’, rowiŋ ᕒ𝟾≃ ‘to rain’ and lolărĭ ᔓᔓᘐ ‘to write’ can be found in Table 11.

[19]This has the result of palatalising the entire word, occasionally rendering it unrecognisable.

Table 11: TAM Stem Table

Tense	Mood	Class ~	Class ≈	Class ŏ
Non-Past	Indicative	joṭŭ ꞵ§	rowiŋŭ ꞷŏ≈	lolări §§ɑ
	Imperative	joṭŭþăṇ ꞵŏꞵ§	rowiŋŭþăn ꞵŏꞷŏ≈	lolăriþăn ꞵŏ§§ɑ
	Potential	joṭŭwĭ ŏꞵ§	rowiŋŭn ꞵꞷŏ≈	lolăriwă[20] ɻ§§ɑ
	Conditional	joṭŭha ≈ꞵ§	rowiŋŭr ɔꞷŏ≈	lolărim ꝟ§§ɑ
	Optative	joṭŭhaþăṇ ꞵŏ≈ꞵ§	rowiŋŭrþăn ꞵŏɔꞷŏ≈	lolărimþăn ꞵŏꝟ§§ɑ
	Connegative	joṭŭrĭ §ꞵ§	rowiŋŭrĭ §ꞷŏ≈	lolăriră §§§ɑ
	Participle	joṭŭṭ ɻꞵ§	rowiŋŭŋ ꝑꞷŏ≈	lolăriră §§§ɑ
Past	Indicative	joþŭ ꝏ§	rowiwŭ ʘŏ≈	lolărif ꝩ§§ɑ
	Imperative	joþŭþăṇ ꞵŏꝏ§	rowiwŭþăn ꞵŏʘŏ≈	lolărifþăn ꞵŏꝩ§§ɑ
	Potential	joþŭwĭ ŏꝏ§	rowiwŭn ꞵʘŏ≈	lolărifwă ɻꝩ§§ɑ
	Conditional	joþŭk ꝟꝏ§	rowiwŭp ꟈʘŏ≈	lolăritĭ ɑ§§ɑ
	Optative	joþŭkþăṇ ꞵŏꝟ≈ꝏ§	rowiwŭpþăn ꞵŏꟈʘŏ≈	lolărităþăn ꞵŏɑ§§ɑ
	Connegative	joþŭră §ꝏ§	rowiwŭră §ʘŏ≈	lolărifră §ꝩ§§ɑ
	Participle	joþŭþ Ꞷꝏ§	rowiwŭw ꝋʘŏ≈	lolăriff ꝩꝩ§§ɑ
N/A	Infinitive	joṭ ɻ§	rowiŋ ꝑŏ≈	lolără §§ɑ

[20]The default form of this suffix is jă ‹§›, -wă prevents palatalisation of the whole word.

ʃʘ Syntax

ʃ∼ʃʘ Word order

Despite displaying morphological split ergativity on nouns, Ścamþaśá is syntactically nominative-accusative, and verbs act in an entirely nominative-accusative manner. As such, the default word order for Ścamþaśá is V[AP] (Verb-Agent-Patient), regardless of whether the agent is inflected in the nominative or the ergative.

The fundamental order of a Ścamþaśáń sentence is shown in example 2a for a nominative-accusative sentence and example 2b for an ergative-absolutive sentence.

(2) (a) ᵴⓄᑭ·Ⓞᕃᕒ·ʃ≈·ᖘᘐⓄʘ·ᗅᘓ·ᑭᘏᗅʘ

Qástá-q	lus	qácám-śá	á-sá	syin	ŋán.
kosta-k	lu-s	kokamṣo	2)	suʳn	ŋon.
give-1.ABS	3:DAT	1_POS:map-ACC	two-ACC	night:GEN	before

„I give them my two map(s) before (the) night.”

(b) ᕃᕒ·ᖘᑭ∼·ᖘᐞᓭᓀᑐᖘ

Sauwŋy-w-sá	seá-sá	sur
sowŋŭ-l-so	sĭho-so	sur
block-3-ERG	spellcaster-ERG	night.ABS

„The spellcaster blocks the night.”

As can be seen in example 2a, indirect objects generally precede direct objects, however this aspect of order is very flexible and sensitive to topicalisation. While the fundamental order is head-initial, head direction of Ścamþaśá differs depending on the type of structure examined; it is therefore necessary to examine each individually.

Regardless of the possession structure used[21], possession order is head-final: the possessor precedes the possessee, as can be seen in example 3.

(3) (a) ᐞ≈ᗅᘕᓭᖘ·Ⓞᵊᕒ

Syi-n	ły-þápáj-ał
suʳ-n	ḷŭ-þopaj-hăḷ
night-GEN	3.POS-god-DIM-ABS

„The night‘s servants”

(b) ᖇᖇᒪ·Ⓞᘏᵋʘ

Qauta-n	wacy-cy
koʳtă-n	wăṭŭ-ṭŭ
Qauta-GEN	win.NP-PART.ABS

„Qauta‘s victory”

(c) ᖁᛒᖘ·ᛯ

Miŋe	lu-lim
MIŊE	lu-lim
sun.ABS	3_POS-eye

„The eye of the sun”

[21] See Section ʃ∼ʃᗢʃʘ for more information.

Relative clauses can follow two different orders: in one case, the entire clause is treated as one chain of possession of the agent possessing the verb which possesses the object, with the referent embedded inside the clause. In the other case, the clause is treated as an adjectival attribute of the referent, and comes after it. As shown in example 4, these two orders converge when the referent is the agent (example 4a) or verb (example 4b) inside the clause, but they diverge when it is the patient.

In example 4c, the referent is embedded in the clause. In example 4d, the referent is kept in the main clause and the relative clause is treated as an attribute. Preference for either order depends heavily on regional dialect, however in many dialects, both orders are present. In this case, the factor determining the order is generally either length of the clause, with longer clauses using example 4c while shorter clauses used example 4d, or topicalisation, with example 4d topicalising the referent.

(4) (a) ʘ·ɕʘ·ⶉɹɹꞩꝏ·ʔꟿ∞≈·ʔꝏⶉʮ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	łyfiłjáfń	lufár	qá
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	ḷŭfiljaffṇ	lufor	qo
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	3_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN	3_POS:fish.ABS	1.ABS

„The guard that ate fish saw me”

(b) ʔɕʘꝕ·ɹɹꞩꝏ·ⶉʘ·ʔꟿ∞≈·ʔꝏⶉʮ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	(qáń)	qáfiłjáf	lufausá
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	(koṇ)	kofiljaff	luforso
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART.ABS	3_POS:fish:ACC

„The guard saw me eating fish”

(c) ɕʘꝕ·ⶉɹɹꞩꝏ·ⶉʘ·ʔꟿ∞≈·ʔꝏⶉʮ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	(qáń)	qáfiłjáfń	lufár
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	(koṇ)	kofiljaffṇ	lufor
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN	3_POS:fish.ABS

„The guard saw the fish I ate”

(d) ⶉɹɹꞩꝏ·ⶉʘ·ɕʘ·ʔꟿ∞≈·ʔꝏⶉʮ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	fár	(qáń)	qáfiłjáfń
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	for	(koṇ)	kofiljaffṇ
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	fish.ABS	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN

„The guard saw the fish I ate”

The vast majority of adpositions are postpositions and adpositional phrases are thus structured in a head-final manner.

(5) ⶉᴨ·ⶉⶉʮᴍꝏʘ

Qáłqe-ń	ŋán
koḷkhiṇ-ṇ	ŋon
mortal-GEN	above

„Above mortals”

Noun-noun (example 6a) and verb-noun (example 6b) compounds are generally structured head-finally, similar to possessive constructions. Contrary to this, noun-adjective compounds are structured head-initially. This also includes phrases containing demonstratives or numerals, for which see example 6c.

(6) (a) ᛋᛁᚢᛒᚾᚾᚦᚱ

ŋája- -nisám
ŋajă- -nisom
gold.ABS vein.ABS
„gold vein”

(b) ᛏᛩᚾᚴᛝᛇ

yfi- -páma
hŭfi- -pomă
barter.ABS piece.ABS
„merchandise”

(c) ʃᛒ·ᛜᛈ·ꝏᚸ·ᛅʘ

fár quŋe þáw wip
for kuŋĭ þoŋ 3)
fish.ABS small.ABS PROX.ABS three.conj.ABS
„These three small fish”

While the order inside individual structures is quite rigid outside of poetry, the order of these structures inside a sentence is strongly variable based on topicalisation and ideolectal variation.

ʃ≈ʃʘ Morphosyntactic alignment

Ścamþaśá exhibits morphological split ergativity along the line of abstraction of the agent: when the agent is a noun, ergative-absolutive alignment is used. When the agent is a pronoun (whether implied or explicitly stated), nominative-accusative alignment is used, and the ergative suffix is appended to the accusative. To illustrate, here are two sentences with different agents:

(7) ᛟᛅᛇᚳᛚ·ᛇᚢᛋ

icá-ł aufar.
hika-ļ holfăr.
see-3.ABS person.ABS
The person sees.

(8) ᛟᛚᚢᛋ

icá-q.
hika-k.
see-1.ABS
I see.

(9) ᛟᛚᛒ·ᚴᛅᛇᚳᛚ·ᚴᛇᚢᛋ

icá-ł -śá aufau -sá łyq.
hika-ļ -ṣo holfăr -so ļŭk.
see-3 -ERG person -ERG animal.ABS
The person sees the animal.

(10) ᛟᚴᛚᛒ·ᚴᛅᛇᚳᛚ·ᚴᛇᚢᛋ

icá-q łyq -śá.
hika-k ļŭk -ṣo
see-1.ABS animal -ACC
I see the animal.

In example 7 and example 8, there is no patient and so the case assignment is identical regardless of the nature of the agent. However, in example 9, with a noun subject, the ergative suffix -sá/-śá ‹ᚴᛟᚴ› is appended to the agent of the verb: aufar ᛅᛇᚳᛚ. Note that the verb takes the ergative suffix also, and thus always aligns with the agent. The patient, łyq ᛚᛒ, is thus assigned the absolutive case, which has no suffix, and shares its semantic role with the agent aufar in the sentence without object. This is ergative-absolute alignment. In example 10, the ergative suffix -sá/-śá ‹ᚴᛟᚴ› is appended to the patient instead, while the agent in both sentences is in the unmarked absolutive. This is nominative-accusative alignment.

The Absolutive

As is seen above, the primary role of the absolutive is to mark the sole argument of intransitive verbs, and the patient of transitive verbs when the agent is a noun. However, the absolutive case also fulfills several other functions in the language, which will be further discussed below these primary functions.

The S-Absolutive

The sole argument of an intransitive verb is marked in the absolutive in Ścamþaśá. For clarity, example 11a repeats example 7. This is true regardless of the agency of the argument, as shown in example 11b.

(11)(a)

icá-ł	aufar.
ika-ļ	holfăr.
see-3.ABS	person.ABS

The person sees.

(b)

ŋás-q	qá
ŋos-q	qo
crumble-1.ABS	1.ABS

„I crumble.”

The P-Absolutive

In sentences where the agent is a noun, Ścamþaśá noun morphology follows ergative-absolutive alignment, and the patient is marked with the absolutive case. For clarity, example 12 repeats example 9. Łyq ‘animal’ is the patient, marked in the absolutive. Note that because Ścamþaśá is morphosyntactically nominative-accusative, the verb agrees with the ergative agent, not the absolutive patient as would be expected.

(12)

icá-ł	-śá	aufau	-sá	łyq.
ika-ļ	-ṣo	holfăr	-so	ļŭk.
see-3	-ERG	person	-ERG	animal.ABS

The person sees the animal.

The Nominative-Absolutive

In sentences where the agent is a pronoun, Ścamþaśá noun morphology follows nominative-accusative alignment, and both the agent and the verb show null marking for case, identical to the absolutive.

(13)

icá-q	łyq	-śá.
ika-k	ļŭk	-ṣo
see-1.ABS	animal	-ERG

I see the animal.

The Vocative Absolutive

When invoking the name of a deity or calling upon a person, the absolutive is used to render the vocative construction, often preceded by the particle ɬ ‘oh’, as in example 14.

(14) ◌̀ꞟ·◌̀·ꞟ

Má	Miŋe	Muń
mo	MIŊE	muṇ
oh	Sun.ABS	builder

Oh Sun Oh Builder

ᔑᑐᔕᔑʘ **The Copular Absolutive**

When creating a copula construction, both arguments of the copula take the absolutive. Note that Ścamƥaśá has null copula in the indicative mood.

(15)(a) ◌̀ɛꝏ·ɕɠɤ·ɕʜ◌̀◌̀ʞ◌̀ɤ

Jácwácipa	Já̀łár	pyin
joṭwoṭ̣hipă	joḷor	piʳn
longing.ABS	world.ABS	whole.ABS

Longing is the whole world

(b) ꞡɬꝑ·ꝸɷʘ·ꞡƫ

Ce-ł	qá-tita	wirał
kĭ-ḷ	ko-tită	wirăḷ
COP.PT.COND-3.ABS	1_POS-older_mother.ABS	girl.ABS

If my mother had been a girl

ᔑɞᔕᔑʘ **The Adverbial Absolutive**

There is no morphological distinction between adjectives and adverbs in Ścamƥaśá, but when adjectives modify verbs, they are always in the absolutive form.

(16) ¿ɕʜꝑꞡ~·◌̀ꝺ·ꝑɬꞡ◌̀ꝑꝺɿ

¿Śá̀łejłjá̀ła	śáj	śiłjaipa?
¿ṣoḷ̆j̆ljoḷă	ṣoj	ṣiljằhipă?
destroy:3.ABS:Q	house.ABS	quiet.ABS

Does the house destroy me quietly?

ᔑ~ɞᔕᔑʘ **The Absolutive with possessive prefix**

A possessor in the absolutive combined with a possessee with a possessive prefix marks strictly inalienable possession. Depicted example 17 mirrors from example 3c for clarity.

(17) ꟿꝑꝑ·ꞟ

Miŋe	lu-lim
MIŊE	lu-lim
sun.ABS	3_POS-eye.ABS

„The eye of the sun”

ᔑʘᔑʘ **The Ergative**

ᔑ~ᔑʘᔑʘ **The A-Ergative**

In sentences where the agent is a noun, Ścamƥaśá follows ergative-absolutive alignment, and the agent as well as the verb is marked in the ergative case. See example 18, repeated from example 9 for clarity.

(18) ꕤ꘏ꕥ·ꕤꘌꕥ꘏ꕤ·ꕤꕥ꘏ꕥ

icá-ł	-šá	aufau	-sá	łyq.
ika-ļ	-ṣo	holfăr	-so	ļŭk.
see-3	-ERG	person	-ERG	animal.ABS

The person sees the animal.

ꕥ≈ꕥ꘎ꕥ꘎ **The Accusative-Ergative**

In sentences where the agent is a pronoun, Šácamþašá follows nominative-accusative alignment, and the patient is marked in the accusative case, which has the same suffix as the ergative. See example 19, repeated from example 10 for clarity.

(19) ꕤꕤ꘏ꕥ·ꕤꘌꕥ꘏ꕤ·ꕤꕥ꘏ꕥ

icá-q	łyq	-šá.
ika-k	ļŭk	-ṣo
see-1.ABS	animal	-ACC

I see the animal.

ꕥ꘍ꕥ꘎ꕥ꘎ **The Patientive Ergative**

Especially in poetic language, the ergative can be used to mark the agent in intransitive sentences or on pronoun agents to indicate that the agent lacks control or volition over the action. Note that in example 20, the feeling is the agent. It is thus the fruit of stars who *involuntarily* causes the feeling in the I.

(20) ꕤꘌꕥ·ꕯꕀꕤꕥꘌꕯꕤꕯꕥ·ꕤ꘎·ꕤꕥ꘏ꕥ

jáŋy-ł-šá	qáś	jácwácipa	þunan	jápa-šá
joŋŭ-ļ-ṣo	koṣ	joṭwoṭṭhipă	þunăn	jopă-ṣo
feel-3-ERG	1:DAT	yearning-ABS	star:GEN	fruit-ERG

The fruit of stars makes me yearn (without trying).

ꕥ꘎ꕥ꘎ **The Genitive**

The genitive -ń/-n ⟨ꕯꕤꕯ⟩ marks a possessor, e.g. lun lufár ꕞ꘎ꕥ·ꕯꕥ ‘their fish’, but it is also used before many prepositions, especially those marking a fixed state, e.g. áminẹń ŋ ꕤ·ꕯꕤꕀꕯ ‘during the day’. In addition, bare genitive can be used as an instrumental, such as ciśuń ꕯꕤꕀ ‘by means of a mirror’.

ꕥ~ꕥ꘎ꕥ꘎ **Possession**

The primary function of the genitive is to mark possessors. A bare genitive can be used to mark alienable possession in example 21, or combined with possessive prefixes it can mark either alienable or inalienable possession as in example 22.

(21) ꕤꕤꕯꕤꕤꕥ꘎·ꕯꕥꘌ·ꕯ≈ꕥꕤꕤ

quþereá-ń	Qautas	qáłqecaw
kuþĭrĭha-ṇ	koʳtăs	koļkiṇkăw
family-GEN	bridge:DAT	mortal:ABE

To the bridge of family members, from the mortal

(22)(a) ᖘᘉᖮ·ᘏᖭᘉ

fisa-n lu-fira
fisă-n lu-firă
sailor-GEN 3_POS-letter
The sailor‘s letter

(b) ᕭᘐᖮ·ᘏᖭᘉ

fisa-n ły-nił
fisă-n ḷŭ-ṇiḷ
sailor-GEN 3_POS-lower_elbow
The sailor‘s lower elbow

ᔑ≈ᔑᖆᔑʘ **The Locative/instrumental genitive**

The genitive is generally used with adpositions or verbs representing a fixed state or location, as in example 23.

(23)(a) ᖇ·ᘏᕮ·ᖯᘓᘐᘔ

miþláq ŋu-ń ŋ
miþlok ŋu-ṇ ŋ
fear.ABS rage-GEN during
Fear during the rage

(b) ᘏᕭᕐ·ᘏ∼ᖁ·ᖰᖵᖮ·ᕭᖰᘓ

páwew śáłyre táse-n suw-n
pawĭl ṣoḷŭrĭ tasĭ-n sul-n
NEG:POT:3.ABS inhabit:CONNEG body-GEN shallow-GEN
He cannot inhabit a shallow body

Furthermore, the genitive can be used in the meaning of a distinct state without an adposition in two cases: a locative and an instrumental meaning, as in example 24. Note that the verb in example 24a is another form of the patientive ergative shown in example 19.

(24)(a) ᘏᔓᐟ·ᔑᖰ·ᖘᖮᘉ·ᖮᘏᘏᘐᘉ

fiiþyisá ŋe fira wip jyp-ń
fijþăṇrṣo ŋĭ firă 3) jŭp-ṇ
stab:IMP:2:ERG self letter.ABS three.CONJ.ABS knife-GEN
Let yourself stab these three messages with a knife

(b) ᕭᘓʘ·ᔐᔓᑫᖇᔕᘏᖰᖯ

jáfułe-ń, þiwnápfa wyjił
jofuḷĭ-ṇ þiŋnapfă wŭjiḷ
peak-GEN, library.ABS speak:3.ABS
On the peak, a library speaks

ᔑᖰᖆᔑʘ **The Copular genitive**

The genitive can be combined with an often nulled copula to form a ‘to have’ construction. When the copula is null as in the indicative, it looks identical to the alienable possession in example 21.

(25) 𐑣𐑣𐑤·𐑛𐑜𐑧

fuŋe-ń	wacycy
fuŋĭ-ṇ	wăṭŭṭŭ
soul-GEN	overcome.NP:PART

The soul shall have victory/The soul‘s victory

𐑕𐑝𐑗𐑘 The Partitive genitive

In particular with proper nouns, the genitive can mark demonyms or other partitives.

(26) 𐑛𐑩𐑴𐑞𐑯

Śácamþa	-ń
ṣokămþă	-ṇ
Śácamþa	-GEN

A person from Śácamþa

𐑕𐑙𐑘 The Dative

The basic function of the dative -ś/-s ⟨𐑤𐑤⟩ is the marking of indirect objects for ditransitive verbs as in example 27.

(27) 𐑕≈·𐑯𐑴𐑞𐑝·𐑤𐑧·𐑵𐑲𐑤𐑝

Qástáq	lu-s	qácámśá	ásá
kostak	lu-s	kokamṣo	2)
give:1.ABS	3-DAT	1_POS:map:ACC	two.CONJ:ACC

I give them my two maps

𐑕∼𐑕𐑘 The Allative Dative

More generally, the dative may be combined with verbs or adpositions within the semantic domain of movement *towards* a place, time or state.

(28)(a) 𐑐𐑚·𐑤𐑤𐑜𐑞·𐑵𐑚𐑧≈

Ájámiq	jáŋiwa-ś	ciw
hajomik	jotŋiwă-ṣ	kiŋ
dig:1.ABS	river_bed-DAT	through

I dig through the river bed

(b) 𐑶𐑪𐑵·𐑭𐑝𐑠𐑧𐑯𐑤𐑪·𐑢𐑠𐑭𐑤𐑝≈

Áipáwipa	áþisra-s	|	icáł	ámaw
hajpolhipă	hoþisră-s	|	hikaḷ	homăw
anxious.ABS	north-DAT	|	look-3.ABS	copper-maker.ABS

Anxiously northwards looks the creator of copper

𐑕≈𐑘𐑘 The Benefactive Dative

With certain verbs or nouns, the dative marks an optional benefactor or cause of the action.

(29)(a) 𐓣𐓮𐓘·𐓣𐓦𐓝·𐓣𐓞·𐓙𐓘𐓝

Muweq	ŋesá	mufan	þau-ś
muwĭk	ŋĭso	mufăn	þaʳ-ṣ
burn.PT:1.ABS	self:ACC	father:GEN	shield-DAT

I burnt myself for father's shield

(b) 𐓠𐓘𐓖·𐓘𐓘𐓟𐓚·𐓣𐓱𐓢𐓙𐓪𐓕·𐓣~~𐓟𐓧·𐓠𐓣𐓨𐓣𐓭·𐓣𐓨𐓮𐓢

Páriuf-ś	þáufu-ś,	Nutsesen	qámiquþus
poriᵘf-ṣ	þoŋfŋ-ṣ,	nutsĭsĭn	komikhuþus
reason-DAT	other-DAT	warband:GEN	1_POS:city.ABS

wáþaþa	ŋála.
wotþăþă	ŋală.
lose.PT:PART.ABS	many.ABS

For other reasons, the hordes have many lost cities.

𐓢𐓧𐓪𐓕 The Dative with Adjectives

The dative is used in the comparative construction, for which see example 33. In addition, it is homophonous with the superlative suffix -ś/s ⟨𐓠𐓘⟩, for which see Section 𐓢≈𐓪𐓕.

𐓢~𐓪𐓕 The Abessive

In many ways, the abessive -caw/-taw ⟨𐓭𐓣·𐓭𐓛⟩[22]acts as a counterpart to the dative. The primary function of the abessive, however, is to mark absence of something, akin to the English preposition 'without'.

(30) 𐓣𐓝𐓵𐓣·𐓭𐓛𐓯𐓱𐓘𐓪𐓪𐓣·𐓟𐓨𐓝·𐓙𐓘𐓮

Páweq	ŋifwa	sálálárе	|	þu-caw	sáiŋesá
pawĭk	ŋifwă	sololorĭ	|	þuþ-kăw	sohiŋĭso
NEG:POT:1.ABS	true.ABS	envision:CONNEG	|	river_bank-ABE	wealth:ACC

I cannot truly envision a wealth without end

𐓢~𐓢~𐓪𐓕 The Ablative Abessive

Opposite to the dative, the abessive can be with certain verbs or nouns to mark the source or original point which is moved *away* from.

(31)(a) 𐓢𐓭𐓛𐓨𐓵·𐓪𐓛𐓘𐓲𐓣𐓘𐓢

¡Wiŋáþeþyr	mif-caw!
!wiŋaþĭþănr	mif-kăw
pluck:IMP:2.ABS	vortex-ABE

¡Pluck from the vortex!

(b) 𐓭𐓛𐓯𐓣𐓙𐓴·𐓠𐓵𐓪𐓕

Qauta-s	qáłqe-caw
koʳtă-s	koḷkiṇ-kăw
bridge-DAT	mortal-ABE

To the bridge, from a mortal

[22]This is the only case where a glyph with spelling ⟨ka⟩ has an equivalent with ⟨ta⟩, rather than being written ⟨ṭa⟩.

ʃ≈ʃ∼ɞʃʘ The Malefactive Abessive

Once again acting opposite to the dative, the abessive can be used with certain verbs to mark an optional opponent or target of the action.

(32) ʃʃθθɒɑɛʜȣʘ·ʊɒȣɛɕȣʃʃ

¡Þárŋuþyq	qálaipii-caw!
!þarŋuþănk	qolăhipij-kăw!
defend:IMP:1.ABS	oppression-ABE

Defend against oppression!

ʃ≈ɞʃʘ Adjectives

Adjectives are declined for case in the same manner as nouns, but aside from a lack of inflection, there is no distinction between adjectives and adverbs in Śácamþaśá. Adjectives can be their own roots, but most are derived from nouns or verbs using various suffixes; they are not differentiated based on their etymology. Aside from aligning in case with the nouns they describe, adjectives can have two degrees of comparison: positive & superlative. The positive is the unmarked, default state of the adjective. The superlative is formed through the suffix -ś/s ⟨ɑʁɑ⟩, derived from the numeral one ś ⟨ʃ∼⟩. This form can also be used to nominalise the adjective, e.g. þilas ɑȣʁ 'the loudest/the loud one'.

ʃ∼ʃ≈ɞʃʘ Comparative

Rather than a distinct comparative inflection, Śácamþaśá uses a construction to indicate one object is more of an adjective than another. In this construction, the less so object is in the dative, while the more so object is in the case expected for the whole phrase, and it has the adjective applied to it.

(33) ʁɡ≈·ɑ≃·ʘ·ʊȣɷ≃

Ráþulyq	qá	rá	-ś	ása.
roþulŭq	qo	ro	-ṣ	hasă
sing-1.ABS	1.ABS	2	-DAT	good.ABS

„I sing better than you."

ʃȣɞʃʘ Negation

Negation in Śácamþaśá is expressed by means of a negation verb pá ⟨ɐ⟩. All TAM and personal inflection information is applied to this verb, while the main verb of the clause is rendered into a nonfinite form termed the 'connegative'.

(34)(a) ʘɑʍ·ʘ∼ϧ·ȣȣɑ·ɑȣɐ

Pá-we-w	śáły-re	tásen	suwn
pa-wĭ-l	ṣoḷŭ-rĭ	tasĭn	suln
NEG-POT-3.ABS	inhabit-CONNEG	body:GEN	shallow:GEN

She cannot inhabit a shallow body

(b) ʞɻʞɾ·ϧ·ȣɑ̃ɑ·ʊɸɐ

Pá-raq	yc-re	tá	þáufu
pa-răk	hŭṭ-rĭ	ta	þoŋfŋ
NEG-4.ABS	be_located-CONNEG	canoe.ABS	other.ABS

There is no other canoe present.

ʃ~ʃʁɞʃʘ **Other uses of the connegative**

Aside from this use with the negation verb, the connegative can be used with positive verbs to mean the primary action is performed *without* the second action co-occuring. In this sense, it can be considered a derivational suffix to form adjectives or adverbs.

(35) ʁɻɻɻ·ɐʍʢɻ≈

Asraqu	fifi-re
ăsrăkᵘ	fifi-rĭ
reincarnate:3.ABS	impersonate-CONNEG

He reincarnates without impersonation

While generally a verbal suffix, the connegative can also occasionally be attached to nouns or adjectives as well. Generally the meaning is similar to the abessive ‘without’ in these cases, but there can be nuanced differences, e.g. þaufucaw ʗʘʓʚʛ ‘without others’, while þaufure ʁʛʚʛ ‘nothing else’. In these cases, the negative verb is optional.

ʃʘɞʃʘ Questions

Polar questions are formed by means of the polar question suffix -jáła/-ála ‹ʁʍᵴᵸʁᵴᵸ›, which is attached to whichever part of the sentence is being questioned. This is often the verb, but can be any other part of speech as needed.

(36)(a) ᵴʁᵴʍʗᵸᵴ

¿Jáþáq	-jáła?
?jaþok	-joḷă?
can:1.ABS	-Q

Am I able?

(b) ᵴʢᵩʛʘ·ʁʍʍʍʗʢʜᵴ

¿Ipiq-ála	wuwsá?
?ipikk-holă	wuŋso?
oppress:1.ABS-Q	all:ACC

Do I oppress all?

(c) ᵴʁʍʢᵩʛʘ·ʍʍʗʢʜᵴ

¿Ipiq	wuwsá-ála?
?ipikk	wuŋso-holă?
oppress:1.ABS	all:ACC-Q

Do I oppress *all*?

Nonpolar questions are formed with several question words in place of the usual arguments of a verb. The question verb is not fronted unless it is topicalised. An optional nonpolar question marker wár ‹ɕꟿ› is appended after the question word to mark rhetorical questions.

(37)(a) ꞉ꟿꝋ·ꟿꝏꝺ·ꜳꝸꙮꙅꙭ꞉

¿Páþewujaw	łáńew	fiw?	
?paþ̌wujăl	ļoņ̌ŋ	fiŋ?	
arrive:POT:3.ABS	when	but	

But when can it arrive?

(b) ꞉ꟿꝋ·ꙅꜳ·ꟿꝏꝺ·ꜳꝸꙮꙅꙭ꞉

¿Páþewujaw	łáńew	wár	fiw?
?paþ̌wujăl	ļoņ̌ŋ	wor	fiŋ?
arrive:POT:3.ABS	when	RET_Q	but

But when can it arrive? (rhetorical)

ꞅꙅꙭꞅꙮ Passive and the ‘Fourth Person’

In order to form passive sentences, Ścamþaśá makes use of the so-called ’Fourth Person’ suffix shown in Table 10. This nulls the subject akin to English impersonal ‘you’ or ‘one’. The alignment remains nominative-accusative, treating the fourth person as a pronoun subject.

(38) ꙍꝭꝛꙍ·ꙓ∞

ŋiwsá	áŋa-raq
ŋiwso	oŋă-răk
orphan:ACC	count-4.ABS

One is counting orphans

ꞅꙭ≈ꞅꙮ Relative clauses

Relative clauses do not use a relative pronoun in Ścamþaśá, but rather the verb inside the clause is converted into a present or past participle depending on tense, marked with the genitive case ending and a personal possessive prefix based on the subject. The verb here is treated as a possessor and thus placed in front of the object. Whether the relative clause equates to an English ‘that’, ‘where’, ‘when’ and so on clause is not specified, but can instead be determined from context: e.g. a location or time is unlikely to be directly acting. For a simple illustration of a relative clause construction, see example 39. For more detailed examples, see example 40, repeated from example 4 for clarity.

(39) ꝳꙭꙓ·ꙡꙉꙉꝸꜳꝋꙮ·ꝶꙭꙮ·ꙍꙓꝵ

Náme-q	fau-sá	qá-	fiłja	-f-	-ń	þłá.
nomĭ-k	foʳ-so	qo-	fiļjă	-ff-	-ņ	þļo
catch-1.ABS	fish-ACC	1.POS-	eat	-PT:PART-	-GEN	today.

I caught the fish (that) I ate today.

(40)(a) ʘ·ɕʘ·ᵑᶩᶩᵹᵰᵹ·ɦᶫᵯ≈·ɦᵰᵯʜ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	łyfiłjáfń	lufár	qá
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	ḷŭfiljaffṇ	lufor	qo
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	3_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN	3_POS:fish.ABS	1.ABS

„The guard that ate fish saw me”

(b) ɦɕʘʂ·ᶩᶩᵹᵰᵹʘ·ᵑʘ·ɦᶫᵯ≈·ɦᵰᵯʜ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	(qáń)	qáfiłjáf	lufausá
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	(koṇ)	kofiljaff	luforso
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART.ABS	3_POS:fish:ACC

„The guard saw me eating fish”

(c) ɕʘʂ·ᵑᶩᶩᵹᵰᵹʘ·ᵑʘ·ɦᶫᵯ≈·ɦᵰᵯʜ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	(qáń)	qáfiłjáfń	lufár
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	(koṇ)	kofiljaffṇ	lufor
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN	3_POS:fish.ABS

„The guard saw the fish I ate”

(d) ᵑᶩᶩᵹᵰᵹʘ·ᵑʘ·ɕʘ·ɦᶫᵯ≈·ɦᵰᵯʜ

Icáłśá	áŋetsá	fár	(qáń)	qáfiłjáfń
hikaḷṣo	haŋǐtso	for	(koṇ)	kofiljaffṇ
see:3:ERG	guard:ERG	fish.ABS	(1:GEN)	1_POS:eat:PT:PART:GEN

„The guard saw the fish I ate”

ʃ~ɕ≈ʃʘ Copula

Śácamþaśá lacks a verb for ‘to be’ in the indicative and imperative, but the copula is present in other moods. An indicative copula construction like ‘<thing> is <quality>’ is simply expressed by putting both words next to each other in the absolutive case. There is also no separate verb for ‘to have’, which is instead indicated by putting the subject of a to be clause in the genitive. This means ‘my spear’ is identical to ‘I have a spear’.

In non-indicative moods, ‘to be/have’ is a class II verb whose theoretical indicative stem is l- ⟨ᶩ⟩ in present and j- ⟨ᶨ⟩ in past, e.g. ‘it might be’ would translate to ‘ŭḷ’ ⟨ᶩᶬ⟩[23] and ‘if you had been’ would translate to ‘jrr’ ⟨ɕɕᶨ⟩.

A table for stems without personal suffixes can be found in Table 12. Note that ⟨l⟩ is here usually pronounced [u] to avoid clustering. ⟨ll⟩ and ⟨jj⟩ are pronounced [lu] and [ji] respectively.

[23]This form is irregular, the expected form would be unu ⟨ᶩᵑᶩ⟩.

Table 12: Copula Table

Mood	Non-Past	Past
Indicative	-	-
Imperative	-	-
Potential	ln 𐑐𐑧	ṇi 𐑓𐑮
Conditional	lr 𐑒𐑧	kĭ 𐑔
Optative	lrþăn 𐑐𐑖𐑒𐑧	kiaṇ 𐑐≈𐑔
Connegative	lrĭ 𐑖𐑧	jrĭ 𐑖𐑑
Participle	ll 𐑧𐑧	jj 𐑑𐑑

ᔑᔐ Numerals

Basic counting in Śácamþaśá is done in base 6, also known as senary or seximal. There is no symbol for zero, but rather symbols for 6 ᔑᔓ, 36 ᔑᔕ, 216 ᔑᔖ and 1296 ᔑᔒ with their multiplicators written before. This is in contrast to the pronunciation: multiplicatives are treated as adjectives and come after the nouns they describe. For example, 100 is 36x2+6x4+4 ᔑᔐᔓᔐᔕ≈ or ŋira-á láw-pum upy, ŋiráláwpumupy. This unintuitive arrangement is required to distinguish 'two sixes', written 26 but pronounced 62, from 'six and two', written 62.

Numbers have both adjectival (conjunctive) forms, used in conjunctions as well as nominal forms (disjunctive) when they stand on their own. For 1-5, the adjectival numerals are listed are the root forms, and the nominal forms are formed with a prefix w- 〈ᔐ〉. For 6, 36, 216 and 1296 the nominal forms are the roots, and the adjectival forms are created using the suffix -ipa 〈ᔓᔒ〉. Both affixes are often reduced when used on numerals.

Conjunctive and disjunctive forms are not distinguished in writing. As seen in the Þeurilá for the numeral examples above and in all the headers in this document, numerals are generally followed by a single parenthesis ᔑ to distinguish them from the syllabic usages of the same glyphs. Rather than six+<number>, 7-11 is read as uþáw 'other', from 'the other six' + the final digit.

Ordinals in Śácamþaśá are verbs, generally formed from the root numerals with the adjective verbaliser suffix -þá 〈ᔕ〉. There are three exceptions: 1, whose ordinal is lina 'to begin', 2, whose ordinal is þáuþá, derived from a root for 'other', and 6, whose ordinal is ŋuw 'to complete'. As a result of their classification as verbs, sentences with ordinal subjects are represented as relative clauses in Śácamþaśá. Some examples of numerals can be found in Table 13.

Fractions are written using as two numbers, the first as expected within the sentence accounting with the second always disjunctive in the dative as visible in example 41, or compare the page numbers in this document. There is only one exception: 1/2, which is náq. Note the similarity to the comparative construction in example 33.

(41) ᕲᔑᔐ·ᔑ～

ś	u-	qyp	-ś.
1)	Ø	5)	-ṣ.
one	DISJ-	five	-DAT
ʃ	u	qɐp	ʃ

„One fifth."

Substrate numerals, as the names implies, are loaned from Pre-Khaajokhiilo Substrate, for which see Section ᔑ8ᔓ. Unlike native numerals, they function in base 8, albeit with every level above that multiplying by 6. Substrate numerals are used for counting currency, items associated with currency[24], such as shells or gold, and goods that are considered part of one's livelihood, and treated as currency for this reason, such as ships and herd animals. Furthermore, these numerals are used for counting immortal beings, and, by extension, people when being very respectful. The 7-8 days of the week are also numbered like this.

[24] For mythological reasons, this includes the days of the week, but not any other time expressions.

Table 13: Numerals

Number	Þeurilá	Conj.	Disj.	Ordinal
1	ʃ∼	ś	use	lina
2	ʃ≈	á	wá	þáuþá
3	ʃ𐑅	wip	wip	wipfá
4	ʃʘ	pum	upy	pumþá
5	ʃ𐑈	qup	uqyp	qupfá
6	ʃɵ	láŋep	láw	ŋuw
7	ʃ∼ɵ	uþáwś	uþáwse	uþáwlina
8	ʃ≈ɵ	uþáwá	uþáwá	uþáwþáuþá
12	ʃɵ≈	láwá	láwá	láwþáuþá
13	ʃ∼ɵ≈	láwáś	láwáuse	láwþáuþálina
16	ʃʘɵ≈	láwáwpum	láwáupy	láwþáuþápumþá
36	ʃ∞	ŋirepa	ŋira	ŋiraþá
48	ʃ≈ɵ∞	ŋiraláwá	ŋiraláwá	ŋiraþáuþá
85	ʃ∼ɵ≈∞≈	ŋiraáláwáś	ŋiraáláw-áuse	ŋiraáláwþáuþálina
216	ʃ𐑊	wámipa	wámápa	wámápfa
288	ʃ≈∞𐑊	wámápa-ŋira-wá	wámápa-ŋiráá	wámápfaŋiraþá
1296	ʃ𐑐	iwu	iwupa	iwuþá
1728	ʃ≈𐑊𐑐	iwuwámápáwá	iwuwámápáá	iwuþáwámápfa-þáuþá

Table 14: Substrate Numerals

Number	Þeurilá	Numeral
1	ᔐᔓ	jił
2	ᔐᔨ	ńań
3	ᔐᔘ	qáste
4	ᔐᔕ	nálu
5	ᔐᔖ	máqu
6	ᔐᔙ	ceśy
7	ᔐᔘ	wułyń
8	ᔐᔐ	cyiń
12	ᔐᔕᔐ	cyińnálu
13	ᔐᔖᔐ	cyińmáqu
16	ᔐᔐ≈	cyińá
36	ᔐᔕᔐᔘ	cyińpumnálu
48	ᔐᔑ	pequ
85	ᔐᔖᔘᔐᔑ	pequcyińpummáqu
216	ᔐᔓᔐᔘᔑ	pequpumcyińwip
288	ᔐᔛ	anetim
1296	ᔐᔓᔑᔘᔛ	anetimpumpequwip
1728	ᔐᔜ	ceq

ꕥ Kinship

The basic kinship system in Ścamþaśá is a variant of the Hawaiian system where there are derived terms for uncle/aunt based on the type of parent they would be + the type of sibling they are to your parent. While inherently simple, the complexity of Ścamþań gender and the involvement of relative age creates an enormous amount of total kinship terms.

This is important to know to speak Ścamþaśá, not just to refer to one's own family members, but also because the fundamental unit of Ścamþań society is the village, and as such, Ścamþań will tend to refer to any inhabitant of their village using kinship terms of appropriate age and gender difference. It is only once they exit their village that terms like fáf 𐑓𐑨𐑓 'man' enter common usage to refer to individual people.

ꕥ~ꕥ Gender

In Ścamþań culture, there are three genders for adults: fáf 𐑓𐑨𐑓 'man', wira 𐑢𐑦𐑮𐑩 'woman' and máłáj 𐑥𐑨𐑤𐑨𐑡 'third gender'. Any of these genders may form partnerships with any other, or with the same gender. These are assigned during the rite of passage where one becomes an adult, and entirely decoupled from the sexes used to classify children: wáne 𐑢𐑨𐑯𐑧 'boy' and wirał 𐑢𐑦𐑮𐑩𐑤 'girl'. As such, there is a five-gender system in total.

Relationships on the same or lower level encode for all five genders, therefore there are five gendered terms for sibling/cousin and child. Those on higher levels are assumed to be adults, and thus only three gendered terms for parent and uncle/aunt are available.

Several scholars on the topic have moved away from the term 'gender' to refer to this system, instead preferring the term 'caste' or simply borrowing the Ścamþaśáń term máńáq 𐑥𐑨𐑙𐑨𐑒. They argue that since these groupings are not used to divide reproductive labour, but rather more commonly regular labour and personality traits, these terms are more applicable.

Other scholars have criticised this, stating there is clear evidence for a weak linkage to sex in the corpus, e.g. the glyph 𐑓 is named 'fáf', meaning 'man', and is derived from a logograph of a person with a tail fan, a clear male sexual trait among the speakers; in more recent times, the term wirał 𐑢𐑦𐑮𐑩𐑤 'girl' was clearly derived from wira 𐑢𐑦𐑮𐑩 'woman'. On the other hand, the corpus also includes expressions such as ¡Symu qátita wirałś! 𐑕𐑦𐑥𐑿 𐑒𐑨𐑑𐑦𐑑𐑩 𐑢𐑦𐑮𐑩𐑤𐑖! 'when pigs fly' with literal meaning 'if my mother became a girl', clearly noting the distinction between the sex-based system for children and the personality-based system for adults.

ꕥ≈ꕥ Age

All non-in-law relatives encode for their age, either young or old. The young sibling terms are used for siblings which are younger than the referent. The young parental term is used for the younger of the referent's two parents, only if they are of the same gender. The young term for an aunt/uncle is used when they are younger than their sibling who is the referent's parent. The young term for a child is used when they are younger than half or more of the referent's children of that gender. In total, age and gender combine to form 10 terms for children or nephews, 10 terms for siblings or cousins and 6 terms for parents. Since aunt/uncle terms are derived from parent + sibling terms but must align in gender and age, there are 10 terms for those as well.

𐑞𐑦𐑕 **In practice**

All 26 terms for children or nephews, siblings or cousins and parents are unique roots, as are 3 terms for in-laws (one for each generation, regardless of gender or age) and 3 terms for partner (one for each adult gender). Neutral terms for all 3 generations also exist as independent roots. All terms up to two generations away from the referent can be found in Table 15. Older terms are always stated before younger ones.

Table 15: Kinship terms

Gender	Man	Woman	Máłáj	Boy	Girl	Neutral
Grand-parent	Augmentative of parent term			N/A		Pifpif ꕤꕥꕤꕥ
Grand-parent-in-law	Þácicic ꕯꕓꕯꕓꕤ					Þácicic ꕯꕓꕯꕓꕤ
Parent	Mufa, Ŋył ꕮꕣꕞꕯ	Tita, Táþu ꕓꕞꕞꕮ	Táfe, Ráse ꕉꕤꕞꕓ			Pif ꕤꕥ
Parent-in-law	Þácic ꕯꕓꕤ					Þácic ꕯꕓꕤ
Aunt / Uncle	Parent term + Sibling term					Pifjype ꕥꕸꕤꕥ
Sibling / Cousin	Jáþ, Ráláre ꕞꕯꕞ ꕞꕩꕉ	Jájme, Jyńáfa ꕞꕓꕮꕞ ꕞꕯꕸ	Máfiþ, Ŋása ꕞꕯꕮꕯ ꕞꕤ	Wite, Piw ꕓꕥꕞꕤ	Mán, Cymace ꕞꕮꕯ ꕓꕿꕯ	Jype ꕥꕸ
Sibling-in-law	Tuþ ꕓꕯ					
Official Partner	Áw ꕮꕤ	Jámác ꕯꕿꕞ	Jáw ꕓꕞ	N/A		
Child / Nephew	Caj, Sin ꕮꕮꕋ ꕮ~	Ijme, Táþ ꕞꕓꕮꕟ ꕯꕯ	Rátáwe, Fát ꕞꕤꕋꕯ ꕯꕮ	Wáne, Jaur ꕞꕯꕾ ꕥꕮꕞ	Wirał, Luwaw ꕞꕮꕯꕤ ꕓꕾꕤ	Luw ꕓꕤ
Child-in-law	Jámáq ꕤꕿꕞ					
Grand-child	Diminutive of child term					Luwaw ꕓꕾꕤ
Grand-child-in-law	Jámámáq ꕤꕿꕤꕿꕞ					

In practice

𑁍∼𑁋 Names

Names for children are chosen by their parents, typically related to the time and place of birth, as well as the child's sex. Adults choose their own names. The adult name is composed of 4 parts:

The first part is the deity with which their personality was found to align during the rite of passage (*niman*). The exact details on Śácamþań religion and the rite of passage falls outside the scope of this document. The second part is their child name as described above. The third is their chosen name, dependent on the gender and *niman* they were assigned during the rite of passage. This is considered their primary name analogous to a first name in western earth tradition. The fourth is their occupation. An example of such a name can be found in example 42.

(42) 𑁏𑁍𑁎·𑁊𑁐·𑁌𑁋·𑁓𑁎

Miŋe-ń	Rup	Þuna	Muń
MIŊE	rup	þună	muṇ
Sun-GEN	waterfall	star	carpenter
ⁿbiŋɪɲ	rup	θunɐ	ⁿbuɲ

„*niman* child.name adult.name occupation”

This is a person who was assigned the Sun Goddess at the rite of passage, was originally named after the waterfall by which they were born, and now takes the name ‘Star’ due to their strong sense of justice. They work as a carpenter.

ʃ≈ɕ Proto-Sojåkaromåtha

Proto-Sojåkaromåtha, or Khaajokhiilo, is the ancestor language of the Sojåkaromåtha languages, including Śácamþaśá. Proto-Sojåkaromåtha had a fully CV(:) syllable structure, disallowing vowel and consonant clusters, but distinguishing vowels by length. It was last spoken approximately 3000 years before the present day.

ʃ~ʃ≈ɕ Phonemes

Table 16: Consonants ᔓᘓʘ

ᘓᖾᔑ	ᔠʘᔕ	ᘓᖾᔐᔠ	
p	t	k	ᔓᘓʘᖳ
/pʰ/ ⟨ph⟩	/tʰ/ ⟨th⟩	/kʰ/ ⟨kh⟩	ᔓᘓʘᖳ̊
m	n		ᔓᘓʘᖵ
	s		ᔓᘓʘᖶ
/ʊ/ ⟨w⟩	r	j	ᔓᘓʘᖷ
	l	/ʟ/ ⟨ɬ⟩	ᔓᘓʘᖹ

Table 17: Vowels ᔓᖇʘ

ᖹᔠ	ᕈᖹ	
i	u	ᕈʘ
o		ᖇᖴ
a	/ɑ/ ⟨å⟩	ᘓᖾᔑ

Long vowels are identical in quality to short ones and written with double letters.

ʃ≈ʃ≈ɕ Sound changes

ʃ~ʃ≈ʃ≈ɕ Proto-East-Sojåkaromåtha (≈3000-2500 BP)

1. pʰ, tʰ, kʰ > ɸ θ x
2. k > q / _V(:)[+back]; k > c /_V(:)[-back]
3. V: > V /_#
4. V > V: /[+stressed]
5. ɸ > f
6. V[+back] > ə / !_:

ʃ≈ʃ≈ɕ Sound changes

ʃ≈ʃ≈ʃ≈ɕ **Old east bay dialect (≈2500-1500 BP)**

The First Syllabary was created at this point, featuring 70 of the previous logographs, simplified and carved into stone. The language was remarkably conservative during this time.

7. oː > ʊː ; i > ɪ ; aː > ɑː ; a > ɐ
8. ə > ∅
9. u > ʊ if in the third or later syllable
10. Np > mp ; Nt > nt ; Nc > ɲc
11. Fp > fp ; Ft > st ; Fc > çc ; Fq > xq ; pF > pf ; tF > ts ; cF > cç ; qF > qx
12. jS > jc > c ; ʊS > ʊp > p
13. Lx> ɬ ; lʊ > ʟ ; sx/sj > ʃ ; (qj, cj, tj) > c ; nj > ɲ ; Lj > ʎ
14. C[+palatal]u > Cʊ

ʃ8ʃ≈ʃ≈ɕ **Old Ścacamþaśá (≈1500 BP-Present)**

At this point, the writing direction was also solidified as top to bottom, right to left and a diacritic was added to indicate palatalisation of a syllable‘s consonant.

15. j, ʊ, ʟ > i, u, u / _C
16. V[+tense]r/L > V[-tense, +long] / _C
17. VN > Ṽ / _O & _#
18. O > ∅ / _O
19. F > ∅ / _FC, C_F
20. Cː > C
21. x > h ; ç > j
22. ʊː > ɑː / C[-labial]_ ; ɑː > ʊː / C[+labial]_

Spelling reform: entirely silent syllables removed, oː rewritten as ɑː + glyphs now written on leaves with ink. Writing system remains the same for all dialects, based on this capital dialect.

23. (ãː, ẽ) > ʊ̃ː; ĩː > ĩ; ũ > ʊ̃
24. ʊ > ɵ
25. h > ∅
26. ɪɪ > iː ; ɐɐ > ɑː ; (ɪi, iɪ) > iː ; (ɐɑ, ɑɐ) > ɑː ; (ɵu, uɵ) > uː
27. V[+tense]ɪ/ɵ > V[-tense]i/u
28. ɐː > ɐu; ɪː > ɵː > ɵi
29. ʊ > β̪ʷ
30. i, u > j, β̪ʷ / V_V & V_C & C_V & _#
31. (Sj, jS) > c / S = {q,t,c} ; (sj, js) > ʃ ; (nj, jn) > ɲ ; (β̪ʷj, jβ̪ʷ) > j ; (Lj, jL) > ʎ
32. cβ̪ʷ > qβ̪ʷ > q ; Lβ̪ʷ > ʟβ̪ʷ >ʟ
33. In word roots which contain one of the palatalised or palatal consonants c, ʃ, ɲ, ʎ, j, any coronal t, s, n, l are palatalised, resulting in a type of palatal harmony. Suffixes have palatal and coronal forms if applicable, neutral words take pre-harmony suffixes such as -sá/-ñ/-ś.
34. ʊ̃ː > ɑː / [+stressed]; ʊ̃ː > ɵ / [-stressed]; ĩ > ɪ, ʊ̃ > ɵ
35. Coda /l/ and /ʟ/ delateralise to β̪ʷ
36. ʎ merges with ɬ
37. uː > ɵ / {palatal root}

Spelling reform: hă simplified for use as a period when long or comma when short, ɬ now uses l̩-syllables, ɵ written with ŭ syllables. Palatalisation expanded.

38. ʟ > ŋ

39. β̪ʷ, j > u, i / _C#
40. m, n, ɲ, ŋ > ⁿb, ⁿd, ⁿɟ, ⁿg / #_
41. Initial long vowels are shortened in diphthongs and they are rounded or unrounded to follow the second element
42. V[-tense] > V[+tense] / V_
43. q > χ / _#

ᔑᛔᔑ≈ᔕ Grammatical differences

ᔑ~ᔑᛔᔑ≈ᔕ Morphosyntactic alignment

Khaajokhiilo has full ergative-absolutive alignment, rather than split ergativity as in Ścamþaśá.

ᔑ≈ᔑᛔᔑ≈ᔕ Cases

The case system of Khaajokhiilo is more complex than that of Ścamþaśá, and nouns are marked for definiteness. Possessive prefixes had not yet developed. A declension table for the noun kaamo, the ancestor of cám ᔓᔐ as used in Table 7 can be found in Table 18.

Table 18: Khaajokhiilo cases

	Indefinite	Definite
Absolutive	kaamo	kaamokhu
Ergative	kaamosåå	kaamosååkhu
Genitive	kaamosaa	kaamosaakhu
Dative	kaamosii	kaamosiikhu
Instrumental	kaamonii	kaamoniikhu
Locative[25]	kaamosu	kaamosukhu

From Table 18, it becomes evident that Ścamþaśá has abandoned the Khaajokhiilo genitive, suppleting it with the instrumental case. This original genitive remains in the -sá/-śá used to form the names of languages, however it is unetymologically spelled ⟨ᖘᔕᖘ⟩ rather than the ⟨ᖘᔕᔕ⟩ that would be etymologically expected, likely due to corruption by the ergative case suffix. The locative survives only in the -sra/-śra ⟨ᖘᖙᔕᖘᖙ⟩ found at the end of some cardinal directions. Furthermore, Ścamþaśá retains only the definite forms of the case suffixes, in contrast to many of its relatives.

ᔑᛔᔑ≈ᔕ Verbs

Khaajokhiilo verbs were not strictly inflected for person at all; at this stage there was no distinction between personal suffixes and simply writing the pronoun after the verb. Furthermore, thematic vowels are absent at this stage, as vowels have not yet been shortened word-finally.

[25] This case only survives in fixed expressions, in particular for cardinal directions. It does not exist for pronouns.

A table showing all forms of the Khaajokhiilo verb can be found in Table 19, using the ancestors of the same three example verbs as in Table 11: jatuu ‘to throw’, råwiłuu ‘to rain’ and lårarii ‘to write’

Table 19: Khaajokhiilo Verb Inflections

Tense	Mood	Class ~	Class ≈	Class ȣ
Present	**Indicative**	jatuu	råwiłuu	lårarii
	Subjunctive	jatuuko	råwiłuupå	lårariiti
	Conditional	jatuukhaa[26]	råwiłuuro	lårariimu
	Connegative	jatuuri	råwiłuuri	lårariiri
	Participle	jatuutuu	råwiłuułuu	lårariirii
Past	**Indicative**	jathuu	råwiwuu	lårariipho
	Subjunctive	jathuuko	råwiwuupå	lårariiphoti
	Conditional	jathuukhaa[26]	råwiwuuro	lårariiphomu
	Connegative	jathuuri	råwiwuuri	lårariiphori
	Participle	jathuuthuu	råwiwuu	lårariipho
Future	**Indicative**	jatuuwi	råwiłuunå	lårariija
	Subjunctive	jatuuwiko	råwiłuunåpå	lårariijati
	Conditional	jatuuwikhaa	råwiłuunåro	lårariijamu
	Connegative	jatuuwiri	råwiłuunåri	lårariijari
	Participle	jatuuwiwi	råwiłuunånå	lårariijaja
N/A	**Infinitive**	jatuu	råwiłuu	lårarii
	Imperative	jatuuthanu	råwiłuuthanu	lårariithanu

The Khaajokhiilo mood system was much less complex than that of Śácamþaśá: the optative did not yet exist, as this was formed at a later stage from layering the suffix of the imperative on top of the conditional. This imperative had not fully formed into an inflectional suffix yet, being indistinguishable from the addition of the auxiliary verb *thanu ‘to go’ to the stem of the verb but lacking its own tense. Furthermore, the potential functioned as a future tense,

[26]Reflected with a short vowel kha in some descendants.

with its own participle and conditional now lost in modern Ścamþaśá. The past potential is a Ścamþaśáń innovation, relying on the suffixes from the Khaajokhiilo subjunctive.

ऽʘऽ४ऽ≈ɷ Small differences

This section includes smaller grammatical differences not warranting of their own section.

- Piinåło, the ancestor to Ścamþaśá pew 𑍐𑍉, is used as a fourth person pronoun rather than to express divinity.
- The agent suffix -jo fell out of use in Ścamþaśá, being replaced by -t/-c ⟨𑍂𑍃⟩. It is still retained in some old compounds, where it palatalises the entire root and makes the derivation harder to recognise.
- Both the augmentative and diminutive are Ścamþaśáń innovations.
- The theoretical stems for the null copula suffix in Khaajokhiilo are lå-, jå- and lånå-.
- There was no distinction between conjunctive and disjunctive numerals, the root numeral was used for both purposes.

ᔑᔐᔕ Pre-Khaajokhiilo substrate

Despite extensive research on the Khaajokhiilo languages in general and Śácamþaśá in particular, the etymologies for a set of words with a special focus on religion and mythology has consistently managed to elude researchers. These words are judged to be by all means impossible or unlikely to have derived from a valid word in Khaajokhiilo, despite their structures being legal in Śácamþaśá and other Sojåkaromåthan languages. In addition, the cognates of these words in Sojåkaromåthan languages tend to show inconsistent sound changes typical of separate borrowings from a dialect continuum of languages. None of these roots have been found to possess Khaajokhiilo relatives, despite the fact that they are often semantically complex.

As such, a growing body of researchers postulate the presence of a 'Pre-Khaajokhiilo Substrate', an existing language or family of languages in the bay area prior to the arrival of the Sojåkaromåtha languages. This hypothetical language is sometimes called 'Mermaid Substrate' due to the large number of terms relating to the mermaid guardian spirits which descend from it, with some authors proposing the concept itself to have been of Pre-Khaajokhiilo origin.

Aside from a semantic connection to mythology and religion, the following phonological aspects are unique to or substantially more common in substrate words, in rough order of commonality:

- Short vowels in the initial syllable, e.g. śarac ⟨ᔐᔑᔓ⟩ 'mermaid', cecraq ⟨ᔕᔑᔐᔒ⟩ 'scout'
- Palatal ł ń ś without a viable Khaajokhiilo trigger *k, *j, e.g. quń ⟨ᔖᔍ⟩ 'crown', śeceń ⟨ᔍᔒᔕ⟩ 'caste', note the spelling with ț
- Word-final long vowels outside of vowel sequences, e.g. iwaru ⟨ᔅᔐᔖ⟩ 'twin', inu ⟨ᔗᔖ⟩ 'gulf, estate'
- Vowel sequences apart from au and yi, e.g. aifyri ⟨ᔓᔓᔖᔘ⟩ 'navigator', tuiqa ⟨ᔘᔕᔖᔓ⟩ 'sacrifice'
- q before front vowels (i, e, a), which has to be spelled with two glyphs in Þeurilá, e.g. qáłqiń ⟨ᔍᔖᔕᔓᔍ⟩ 'mortal', tuiqa ⟨ᔘᔕᔖᔓ⟩ 'sacrifice'
- Word-initial clusters e.g. prip ⟨ᔚᔓᔚ⟩ 'confluence'

It is extremely difficult to reconstruct anything about Pre-Khaajokhiilo Substrate in detail due to the divergent manner in which the vocabulary appears in Sojåkaromåthan languages and the complete absence of evidence regarding its grammar. Nonetheless, some aspects of its phonology can be determined with relative certainty by means of the differences between it and native Khaajokhiilo vocabulary. One possible phonology for PKS can be found in Section ᔑ〜ᔑᔐᔕ.

ᔑ〜ᔑᔐᔕ Phonology

The consonants that can be reconstructed for Pre-Khaajokhiilo substrate show an odd distribution more similar to the phonology of modern Śácamþaśá than Khaajokhiilo, although this is likely in part due to a scholarly focus on that language in particular. The vowels, however, form an odd set not resembling any known language. Phonemes whose evidence is limited or disputed are given in brackets. Based on Khaajokhiilo evidence, the maximal syllable structure

is assumed to be CV, although some scholars dispute this, claiming that /ʔ/ and /ə/ reflect null segments filled in by speakers of the exclusively CV Khaajokhiilo languages.

A proposal for Pre-Khaajokhiilo Substrate Phonology with the Śácamþań reflexes on the line below can be found in Table 20 and Table 21 for consonants and vowels respectively.

Table 20: Substrate consonants and Śácamþaśáń reflexes

	Labial	Coronal	Palatalised	Dorsal	Glottal
Plosive	*p p	*t t	*tʲ c (ţ)	*k, (*q) c/q, q	*ʔ ∅
Fricative	*f f	*s, (*θ) s, θ	*sʲ, (*ɬʲ) ʃ, ɬ		
Nasal	*m m	*n n	*nʲ ɲ		
Approximant	*ʊ β̪ʷ	*r r	*j j		
Lateral		*l l/β̪ʷ	(*lʲ) ɬ	*ʟ ŋ/β̪ʷ	

Table 21: Substrate vowels and Śáćamþaśán Reflexes

	Front	Mid	Back
High	*i̱[27] i/u/y		
Mid	*e e	*ə ∅	(*a₂) a
Low	*a á/a		

Some reconstructions propose vowel length to explain a_2 and a handful of other odd correspondences, but most explain these away as dialectal differences.

[27] May also be /y/ or /ɯ/, reflects both /i/ and /u/-like vowels inconsistently in Sojåkaromåthan languages.