

Jutean Grammar

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1. Phonology

1.1 Consonants

| | Bilabial | Labio-dental | Dental | Alveolar | Post-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|--------|---------------------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
| Nasal | m | | | n | | | [ŋ] ¹ | |
| Plosive | | | | t, d | | | k | |
| Fricative | | f | | s, [z] ² | [ʃ] ³ | | | h |
| Approximant | | v | | | | j | | |
| Lateral app. | | | | l | | | | |

¹at codas when followed by /k/, allophone of /n/

²at syllable onsets before long vowels, allophone of /s/

³in a few dialects, allophone of /s/

1.2 Vowels

| | Front | Central | Back |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Close | i, i: | | u, u: |
| Near-close | | | |
| Close-mid | e, e: | | |
| Mid | | | |
| Open-mid | | | |
| Near-open | | ə ə: | |
| Open | [a:] ¹ | | ɑ, ɑ:, [ɒ:] ² |

¹in some dialects, allophone of /e:/

²in some dialects, allophone of /ɑ:/

Diphthongs

ai ae au ie ie ia iu ui ue ue ua ea eu ei ee eu ei ee

Triphthongs/Long Diphthongs

ia: e:a

1.3 Phonotactics

1.3.1 Syllable structure

(C)V(V)(V/C), though V, CV and VC are most common. More complex syllables such as CVC, CVVC appear less often and particularly CVVV is rare.

Consonant clusters can thus only appear at syllable boundaries, and only the geminations of /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/ and /l/ as well as two-consonant clusters starting with /n/, /m/ or /l/ are allowed.

VV are either long vowels or vowel diphthongs, and VVV are long diphthongs, i.e. diphthongs with one of the parts lengthened, e.g. *eeo* /e:a/.

1.3.2 Stress information

Mostly on the penultimate syllable, sometimes on the last syllable with a long vowel/diphthong, but it's not fixed and can also be used to emphasize a part of a word, for example the negating suffix '-l' or '-al'.

1.4 Orthography

The predominant writing system used for Jutean is a native syllabary independent from, but loosely inspired by native proto-writing and the Adzo-Neviric script brought by Neviran officials in the 17th century, which had been the first people to introduce writing on Jute. It was developed in the 18th century as a form of cultural resistance to Neviran officials to prevent further assimilation and distinguish the native languages more clearly.

Aa /a/ **Dd** /d/ **Ee** /e/ **Ff** /f/ **Hh** /h/ **Ii** /i/ **Jj** /j/ **Kk** /k/
Ll /l/ **Mm** /m/ **Nn** /n/, /ŋ/ **Oo** /ɑ/ **Ss** /s/, /ʃ/ **Tt** /t/ **Uu** /u/ **Vv** /v/

Diphthongs (including long ones) use digraphs (or trigraphs).

Capital letters are only used for the beginning of a sentence and for names.

2. Nouns and adjectives

2.1 Noun classes

Nouns have one of three genders or noun classes, either *Common*, *Abstract/Immaterial* or *Wilderness*. *Common* includes everything related to daily life in a village or city, humans, and things made by humans. *Abstract/Immaterial* is largely self-explaining, used for ideas and concepts, intangible as well as unknown things or sometimes for generic terms. *Wilderness* includes everything that has to do, or can be found with the jungle, the ocean or anything else seen as "wild". This includes animals, plants as well as some inanimate items. It can also be used in a more poetic way, for example for the subconscious, the "wild, untamed" part of the mind.

Gender is mostly predictable if you either know the meaning of a word or the spelling of it, however not all words ending in -i are of the "abstract" gender, nor are all nouns of that gender ending in -i, and the same is true for the other two classes.

| Gender | Common (-a) | Abstract (-i) | Wilderness (-u) |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Noun | <i>dova</i> (tree) | <i>dovi</i> (tower, height) | <i>dovu</i> (jungle tree) |

2.2 Declination

Nouns also decline for three cases, with some exceptions. As a rule, names of languages (like *tahiva* 'a net, 'Coastal Jutean') don't decline, and the same is true for most nouns forming a temporal adverbial phrase, like in *vuni* 'at the beginning', though this is not followed by all speakers and has been a topic of contention.

The direct case more or less equals the absolutive or nominative (depending on the trigger used), where as indirect and oblique roughly correspond with the direct and indirect object respectively, however they can also have other functions. Most notably, words answering the question "where to?" need the indirect case, whereas the oblique one is used for inalienable possession, relationship or authorship.

If the declined word has more than five syllables because of the case ending, the ending can become a particle directly following the noun, *iti* for the indirect case and *ede* for the oblique case.

| Case | Direct | Indirect | Oblique |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ending in consonant | <i>dovan</i> (forest) | <i>dovaniti</i> | <i>dovanede</i> |
| ending in vowel | <i>dova</i> (tree) | <i>dovati</i> | <i>dovade</i> |
| longer than five syllables ... | | ... <i>iti</i> | ... <i>ede</i> |

When needed, plural (or singular) can be specified with adverbs such as *haad* ('many') or a numeral added. Definiteness can be expressed with demonstratives (see 5.2)

2.3 Negation

Negation of a noun is formed by adding *-l* (if the word ends in a vowel) or *-al* (if the word ends in a consonant) to the end of the word. If a noun has a case ending, the particle is preferred, although is also possible to use the *-l* suffix.

3. Verbs

3.1 Verb categories / classes

Verbs in Jutean (always ending in *-o*) are usually sorted into two main categories, minor (always intransitive verbs such as unergative and many unaccusative verbs) and major verbs (which can be both transitive and intransitive), as Jutean has a mixed morphosyntactic alignment combining split-S ergativity with the Austronesian alignment.

Aside from the two main categories, there is a smaller category of "mixed" verbs that combines characteristics of the two main categories, and a number of verbs that are syntactically irregular.

3.1.1 Minor verbs

The first category, minor verbs, refers to verbs which can take no direct object (indirect objects introduced by an

adposition can however be added) and are therefore always intransitive.

Often, they usually imply at least a vague sense of agency, such as verbs of motion, like *to* ('go'), *ato* ('come') or static, like *nisaido* ('feel energized'), though there are some other ones, like *mihinido* ('sleep') or *moo* ('meditate'), known sometimes as "unergative verbs" in English.

Many verbs classified in English as "unaccusative verbs" (verbs that take no agents, where the subject is only an experiencer) are also in this category, such as *no* ('live, exist'), however, a lot are not, and there is no easy rule to determine whether one such verb belongs to this class.

In any case no verb in this category can ever convey a properly patientive or passive meaning, unless an additional appropriate verb is used as auxiliary to create a sentence with a causative, such as *noito mihinido* ('be made to sleep', literally 'be led to sleep'). (See **6.1.2 Verb stacking** for more information on auxiliaries, and serial verb constructions known as 'verb stacking'.)

3.1.2 Major verbs

Most verbs belong to this second class, which is therefore, and for allowing verbs to take direct objects, called the class of major verbs. In other words, these verbs can be intransitive or transitive.

They are also called ergative verbs, since prototypically they behave a lot like the "ergative verbs" of English, such as '*to break*' in '*The door broke*' and '*I broke the door*', conveying either a patientive meaning (resembling a passive sentence) in intransitive sentences or an agentive meaning in transitive sentences.

An example in Jutean is *hemo* ('to eat'):

(1) **Hemo fal.** *They are all eaten.*

Eat 3.COL

(2) **Hemo fal kiove.** *They all eat something.*

Eat 3.COL something.C

In some cases, a non-passive translation is more appropriate for some intransitive sentences. This is e.g. the case with *ilhoko* (primary meaning: 'to ban, outlaw'), where the intransitive version can be understood to mean 'to break the law' rather than 'be banned' or 'be outlawed', although depending on context this translation might be applicable, too.

(3) **Ilhoko ta.** *I break the law. ('I am banned')*

Outlaw 1S

(4) **Ilhoko ji.** *This is outlawed.*

Outlaw this.ABST

(5) **Ilhoko ta ji.** *I outlaw this.*

Outlaw 1S this.ABST

The default dictionary translation of an ergative verb is the agentive one, specific intransitive meanings are marked with "IT" in dictionaries.

Some meanings are instead marked with a "T" for transitive, which signifies that this meaning is used exclusively in transitive sentences. Among them is for example the *fuumo* meaning *to learn about*. A lot of secondary meanings of *daho* (base meaning: 'to accommodate, trap'), such as '[to encompass](#)', '[to make room](#)', to name a few, are transitive.

(6) **Daho ta he na haad.** *I (will) make much room for you.*

Make_room 1S IDR 2S much

3.1.3 Mixed verbs

The third category has verbs that behave like minor verbs in some circumstances, but like major verbs in other ones. For example, *toheno* ('to return, go back, reflect') behaves like a minor verb in sentences where the subject is animate, but like a major verb when the subject is inanimate. However, like other minor verbs it can't take a direct object and is necessarily intransitive.

(7) **Toheno ta (ude vailitade li taniti).** *I return (with a vehicle to my home)*

Return 1S (with vehicle-OBL towards 1S-place-IDR)

(8) **Toheno nova.** *The animal returns.*

Return animal

(9) **Toheno vailita.** *The vehicle is/was returned.*

Return vehicle

3.1.4 Irregular verbs

The fourth category covers verbs that are syntactically irregular, having specific auxiliary usages, and so do not fall in any of the other categories. Depending on transitivity, context and amount of verbs in a sentence they can act either like a minor verb or a major verb, and in addition to that also have a specific auxiliary usage. The auxiliary usage is activated when the verbs are followed by one or more other verbs, and operates with different syntactic rules than those. Among the most important ones are *memo* (primary meaning 'to say'), as well as other ones such as *foo* (primary meaning 'to open')

Eeo (primary meaning 'to generally be able to do something') and *hokono* (primary meaning 'to currently be able to do something'), while belonging to this category, are special cases, having no base transitive meaning outside of their auxiliary uses. (See **6.1.2 Verb stacking**)

The following table lists the different meanings of these verbs and ways how to distinguish them:

| Word | Base transitive meaning I | Transitive meaning II | Use as auxiliary (transitive/intransitive) | Intransitive meaning(s) I (II) |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| <i>eeo</i> | / | / | be generally able to do sth., know how to (<i>both transitive and intransitive</i>) | be [generally] capable of being (/doing), be [generally] possible |
| <i>foo</i> | open | free, unchain | free so. to do sth./be free to do sth. | be opened, freed (to do) |
| <i>hokono</i> | / | / | be currently able to do sth. (<i>both transitive and intransitive</i>) | be currently capable of being (/doing), be currently possible |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--|--|
| <i>hoko</i> | allow | enable | allow, enable so. to do sth. / be allowed, enabled to do sth. | be allowed (to do) |
| <i>memo</i> | say | mention | tell so. to do sth./be told to do sth. | say (about sth.), be said to be (doing) |
| <i>nesano</i> | know | understand (a fact) | to know to do sth. (<i>in a given situation</i>) | be experienced (in doing) |
| <i>noito</i> | lead | direct | make so. do sth. / be made do sth. | be led, directed (to do) |
| <i>oso</i> | consent to | not obstruct | let so. do sth. / be able to be/do sth. unobstructed | be consented to (doing) |
| <i>saiho</i> | think | ponder | think that ... (<i>like base transitive I</i>)*, plan to do sth./be planned to | think about something, be thought to be (doing) |
| <i>sahono</i> | assume | infer | expect so. to have to do sth./ be expected to have to do sth. | be assumed to be (doing), be inferred, be inferred to be (doing) |
| <i>sahasio</i> | expect | take for granted | expect so. to be able to do sth. / be expected to be able to do sth. | be expected, be expected to be (doing) |
| <i>saihodo</i> | imagine | envision | expect so. to be/do sth. / be expected to be/do sth. | be imagined, be envisioned, be imagined to be (doing) |
| <i>sehukato</i> | worry about | / | worry about so. doing sth. / cause worries about one's doing | cause worries (about doing**), be subject to worrying |
| <i>sehukatovo</i> | cause so. to worry | cause so. concern | cause so. to worry about (so.) doing sth. / be made worried about sth. | be caused to worry (about doing**), be in a condition (causing one to) |
| <i>teo</i> | need | / | need (so.) to do sth./be needed to do sth.***, ought to do sth. | be needed (to do) |
| <i>teato</i> | must have | require | must do sth. / to have to be done | be a law (in regards to) |
| <i>tesoamio</i> | think necessary/true | believe (a story etc.) | believe to have done or be doing/ be believed to have experienced | be believed to be true/needed (/doing) |

Base transitive meaning I: if an oblique or direct object or direct speech is present

transitive meaning II: same as above, essentially a synonym/secondary meaning

Use as auxiliary: with additional verbs can be both transitive – e.g. X tells/told Y to, or intransitive – e.g. X is/was told to), can have two direct objects like a causative

Intransitive meaning I: with no oblique object introduced by *a* (of) and no direct object present, or with a gerund as a subject

Intransitive meaning II: uses any subject and a 'tine + Z-GER' phrase (inside Z-ing) as the only oblique object

*This meaning can be specified by adding the phrase *nuhe henuhede* ('for the here and now') at the end

** uses *nuhe* 'because of' instead of *tine* 'inside' to introduce the gerund.

*** only context differentiates between 'need to do sth.' and 'be needed to do sth.'

Examples using the verb *memo* (to say)

(10) **Memo la a hohi** - They say/mention [something] about the holding [of an event]

(Say 3S of hold-GER)

(11) **Memo homo la** - They are told to hold [the/an unspecified event]

(Be_told_to hold-ANTIP 3S)

(12) **Memo hohi** - There is said to be a holding [of an event] / It is said that there is an holding [of an event]

(Be_said_to_be hold-GER)

(13) **Memo hohi tine doonatohi** - There is said to be a holding [of an event] [that is] celebrated

(Be_said_to_be hold-GER inside.ABST celebrate-GER)

Adverbs and adjectival nouns would be used to clarify time, place and manner. See **6.4** Reported Speech for details.

3.1.5 Copulas

Two true copulas are known to exist, *no* ‘to be’ and *evotono* ‘to become’. Syntactically they are noteworthy for requiring objects to not decline, unlike all other verbs.

(14) **No ta fuumimo.** *I am a student*

Be.1S student

(15) **Evotono huusa huusu.** *The wind is becoming a storm.*

Become wind storm

Both have additionally intransitive meanings, *no* also means ‘to live’ and *evotono* ‘become so. or sth. else’. Furthermore, both can be used for existential clauses. *No* in this case is translated as ‘There is a ...’ whereas *evotono* implies an impersonal or 4th/5th person pronoun, as in ‘Someone/Some have become...’

(16) **No tovon hen.** *There’s a post office here.*

Be post_office here

(17) **Evotono vuatoli.** *Some have become a nuisance.*

Become nuisance

Additionally, *sino* ‘to name, mean, call, relate’ can in intransitive sentences work like a copula, when used to mean ‘be named’, ‘be called [a name]’ or ‘be regarded as’.

(18) **Sino la Toloka.** *They are named Toloka.*

Be_named 3S Toloka

(19) **Sino ni nui.** *Life is regarded as a gift.*

Be_regarded_as life gift

Contrast:

(20) **Sino la Tolokati.** *They call out to Toloka./They mean Toloka.*

Call 3S Toloka-IDR

(21) **Sino la noniti.** *They call out to the settlement/They name the settlement./They mean the settlement.*
Call 3S Toloka-IDR

(22) **Sino la noniti Sofanede.** *They name the settlement Sofan.*
Call 3S Toloka-IDR Sofan-OBL

(23) **Sino la noniti a Sofanede.** *They call out to/name/mean the settlement of Sofan.*
Call 3S Toloka-IDR of Sofan-OBL

3.2 Moods

Moods are one of the few things to be marked on verbs in Jutean. There are five moods.

3.2.1 Indicative

The most basic one is the *indicative*, for describing reality, general truths and statements proven or, based on some kind of evidence, very likely to be true. It is the default mood and has no suffix.

(24) **Vuho vuha ido vuhade a ji.** *The sun shines at this day.*
Shine sun at.ABST day-OBL of this.ABST

(25) **No nova un havande.** *Animals live in the wilderness.*
Live animal in.DANG wilderness-OBL

(26) **Saiho ta, ivusaie no ta.** *I think, therefore I am.*
Think 1S, therefore be 1S

3.2.2 Imperative

The *imperative* is used for commands and urges. It is formed by *reduplicating the first two syllables* of the infinitive, however some verbs are irregular here and only reduplicate part of the second syllable. The personal pronoun can be omitted in this case (it is assumed to be you (singular) by default, or is understood through context), but can also be included for emphasis or clarification. They are negated by adding the *-l* suffix or by using the *al* particle directly after the verb.

(27) **Atoato (na) li hen!** *Come here!*
IMP-come (2S) towards here

(28) **Tatatataimo (naf) he la!** *Forget about him/her/them!* (addressing several people)
IMP-forget (2P) IDR 3S

(29) **Foofoo al (na) maja a me fan ma!** *Don't open your eyes!*
IMP-open NEG (2S) eye of OBL 2S OBL
(*Foofoo al* can also be shortened to *foofool*.)

3.2.3 Conditional

In Jutean the conditional is used for the hypothetical result of an assumed change in conditions of the world, or, in some cases, for the polite expression of instructions or wishes the speaker doesn't have much confidence or interest in becoming reality or that are more or less impossible. It's generally seen as the "humble" mood used when talking to someone of high respect or someone you just like that much. It can also be used for exaggerations that are supposed to be a proof of that or just joking.

Formed by adding *-ke* to the end of the infinitive, which becomes *-k* in front of words starting with 'h' or a vowel and in front of verbal particles.

(30) **Hokedo no mekoi nuhe hemedede ajavi, saimoke to na li saanuti, teoke teko na he uvuf a saanuvade.**

For there to be fish for food today, you would want to go to the sea, [and there] you would need to get them from below the surface.

Be-able be fish for food-OBL today | want-COND go 2S to sea-IDR | need-COND retrieve 2S IDR ANIM-PL of below.surface.sea-OBL

(31) **Saimoke to ta li neteti.** *I would like to go to the coast. [but if it's not possible, that's fine, too]*

Want-COND go 1S to coast-IDR

(32) **Hedoke la ooneti nuhe me ta ma.** *They [Sg.] would take down the moon for me.*

Take-COND 3S moon-IDR BEN OBL 1S OBL

3.2.4 Subjunctive

Among other things used for energetic proposals, declarations, resolutions, or wishes the speaker has absolute or near absolute faith in becoming true at some point or the time mentioned, with this conviction based solely on personal belief rather than empirical observation or logical deduction.

It can also be a very formal way to command someone to do something (but can be seen as very condescending if used among people of the same age)

Formed from infinitives with the *-t* suffix.

(33) **Not ta a meoduki te.** *I shall be honest from now on.*

Be-SBJV 1S of honesty onwards

(34) **Not na vunamoena hen!** *You shall become governor here! (I support you in doing so and are sure you will succeed, but it's not certain yet)*

Be-SBJV 2S elder here

3.2.5 Hortative

Another mood used in Jutean is the *hortative*, which is often somewhere between the two last ones, used for example for unbinding, but nevertheless assertive or affirmative suggestions, reminders or instructions. This would be translated into English with an auxiliary like "let" or "should". If the subject of the sentence is *fa* (1. person collective inclusive), it can be omitted.

Formed with the *-f* suffix attached to the infinitive. *-fe* can also be used, but is considered somewhat archaic, except in front of words starting with "f" themselves, where it's still used.

(35) **Tofe fa tuuve.** / **Tof tuuve** *Let us go down.*

Go-HORT 1.COL.INCL down / Go-HORT down

(36) **Saavof na ja.** *You should clean this.*

Clean-HORT 2S this.C

3.3 Aspects

Aspect is generally indicated through adverbs when necessary, although usually it is simply implied via context or the semantics of the verb or verbs of the sentence.

3.3.1 Progressive

The general unmarked aspect with most verbs is *progressive*, but when needed, e.g. when talking about the past, can also be specified with the adverb *he* ('now'). It can also be used for emphasis.

(37) **Joo ta he na.** *I see you. / I am seeing you.*

See 1S IDR 2S

(38) **Joo ta he na he.** *I am seeing you right now.*

See 1S IDR 2S now

(39) **Joo ta he na he dote (doone ...).** *I was seeing you (when...).*

See 1S IDR 2S now earlier (when...)

3.3.2 Perfective

A *perfective* aspect can be specified with *lomohe* ('already'). Again, sometimes it is not strictly needed, but can be added for emphasis.

(40) **Lomoho ta amiti.** *I finish the work. / I am finishing the work.*

Finish 1S work-IDR

(41) **Lomoho ta amiti lomohe.** *I already finished the work. / I have finished the work.*

Finish 1S work-IDR already

(42) **Lomoho ta amiti lomohe dote.** *I already finished the work earlier. / I had finished the work (already).*

Finish 1S work-IDR already earlier

3.3.3 Terminative and perfect progressive

Both combined (*lomohe he*) form the *terminative* aspect, or alternatively a *perfect progressive* aspect, depending on context.

(43) **Lomoho ta amiti lomohe he (...)** 'I just finished the work.'/'I have been finishing the work ...'

Finish 1S work-IDR already now

(44) **Lomoho ta amiti lomohe he dote (...)** 'I just had finished the work.'/' I had been finishing the work..'

Finish 1S work-IDR already now earlier

3.3.4 Habitual

For a *habitual* aspect, *anti* 'commonly, regularly' can be used.

(45) **Sao ta anti.** *I go swimming regularly.*

swim 1S regularly

(46) **Memotilo tesohova anti.** *The message was repeated regularly.*

be_repeated message regularly

(47) **Nuno fal hen anti (dee donafofede) dote.** *They used to live here regularly (during the wet season).*

Dwell 3.COL here regularly (during wet_season_OBL) earlier

3.3.5 Resultatives

The *resultative* is split into three variants, *volitional* with *amefe*, 'voluntarily', *non-volitional* with *eve*, 'non-voluntarily', and the *final/unchanging* form with *kilvune*, 'unchangeably, irreversibly'.

(48) **Ileho ta hajefati amefe.** *I ended up changing plans.*

Change 1S plan-IDR RES.VOL

(49) **Ileho ta hajefati eve.** *I ended up having to change plans.*

Change 1S plan-IDR RES.NVOL

(50) **Haado la ehe dovade eve (dote).** *She ended up growing like a tree. / She is (was) tall.*

Grow 3S like tree-OBL RES.NVOL (earlier)

(51) **Ilvunito fesuu kilvune.** *The demon ended up being destroyed irreversibly. or The demon has been destroyed forever.*

Destroy demon RES.irreversibly

Adverbs are not comparable, do not decline or change their form in any way. As seen, they always appear at the end of the sentence. (See also 6.1.1 Syntax – Overview)

3.4 Trigger

Jutean uses the Austronesian alignment, so it uses triggers to mark the focus of a sentence. These can also be used to express what other languages use voices or cases at nouns for.

Triggers are used in transitive sentences to signify a change in the morphosyntactic alignment from nominative-

accusative or ergative-absolutive or vice versa, or highlight specific objects.

The two most common triggers are patient (*-no*) and agent (unmarked by default, but *-mo* can be used to emphasize/intensify). Instrumental (*-de*) and Locative (*-hen*) exist, but are rather uncommon. They are all also attached to the verb, unless it already has mood or gerundive marking. (See chapter "Suffixation" for more information)

Examples for the ergative verb *joo* (to see)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| (52) Joo ta ja. | <i>I see this.</i> | See 1S this.C |
| (53) Joono ja he ta. | <i>This is seen by me / This is what I see</i> | See-PV this.C IDR 1S |
| (54) Joode dovauhi he ta. | <i>The glasses are what I use to see.</i> | See.INSV glass IDR 1S |
| (55) Joohen saanu he ta. | <i>The sea is where I see.</i> | See.LOCV sea IDR 1S |

3.5 Voices

As technically the triggers only refer to focus-changing inflections in transitive sentences, the causative (*-vo*), reciprocal (*-hut*) and reflexive (*-he*) "triggers" should more properly be analyzed as voices.

The causative suffix can only be used on ergative verbs (unergative verbs require an ergative verb as preceding auxiliary instead, most commonly *noito*, 'to direct, lead, force') and takes two or three arguments, where the causer takes the unmarked direct case, the recipient of the action takes the indirect case and the (optional) third argument is in the oblique case. Ergative verbs in phrases with a single argument retain their patientive meaning if turned into a causative.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (56) Joovo ta he na. / | <i>I'm making you be seen. /</i> | See-CAUS 1S IDR 2S / |
| Joovo ta he na dovade. | <i>I'm making you see the tree.</i> | See-CAUS 1S IDR 2S tree-OBL |
| (57) Noito mihinido ta he na. | <i>I'm making you sleep.</i> | Make sleep 1S IDR 2S |

Reciprocal and reflexive voices require intransitive sentences and can not take direct objects.

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| (58) Joohut fa. | <i>We all see each other</i> | See.RECP 1.COL.INCL |
| (59) Joohhe fa. | <i>We all see ourselves</i> | See.REFL 1.COL.INCL |

3.6 Valency and transitivity

3.6.1 Valency to express agency

Valency can be used to express subject and object role in Jutean.

In intransitive sentences the meaning is by default understood as patientive. Here the antipassive suffix *-mo*, is used to make the subject agentive while keeping the sentence intransitive.

(60) **Joo ta.** *I am seen.* See 1S

(61) **Joomo ta.** *I see.* See-ANTIP 1S

On the other side, the opposite is true for transitive sentences, where the subjects are by default agentive. Here *-mo* can be used to emphasize the agency of the subject. To make it have a patientive meaning as well, the patient trigger *-no*, as mentioned in 3.4, can be used, or the sentence simply turned into an intransitive sentence.

3.6.2 Impersonal sentences

The instrumental and locative trigger-suffixes can also be repurposed and used to make an intransitive sentence have an implied impersonal subject:

(62) **Mihinidohen mihinon.** *The bed is where you sleep/one sleeps*

Sleep-LOCV bed

(63) **Jooheh maja.** *The eye is/Eyes are with what you see/one sees.*

See-INSV eye

Impersonal sentences can also be used for statements or sayings if they refer e.g. to general advice where English would use a dummy pronoun. It works a bit like an implied 4th/5th person pronoun, comparable to the “zero person” in Finnic languages.

The only argument of such a phrase is the object of the equivalent regular transitive sentence or an equivalent sentence with an explicit subject and oblique object, as Jutean has no “dummy subjects” such as “it” in e.g. “It would be more intelligent to do that”

(64) **Hajeo evotono hemomo nana haade.** *(It) is more intelligent to become a food organizer* yourself.*

Be_intelligent become food_organizer you_yourself more

*generic term for scavenger, fisher and farmer

This sentence uses a technique called “verb stacking”, more on that can be found in 6.1.2.

3.7 Gerund

A gerund form exists, formed via suffixing *-hi*, and used to create nominalized subclauses, for example relative clauses. (See 5.2 Subclauses for details)

3.8 Negation

Verbs can in any form, i.e. in any mood, voice and with any triggers be negated by adding the negating suffix *-l* to them, or letting them be followed by the negating particle *al* for additional emphasis. If the verb already has a mood or trigger suffix, the *al* particle is always used, see 3.9 Suffixation below.

3.9 Suffixation

If multiple suffixes would have to be added, for example mood and trigger or trigger and negation, only one of them is attached to the verb, with the other ones forming a particle.

An exception is the gerund suffix, which never becomes a particle, but gets added after a mood if one is marked on the verb (with an *-e-* added between mood and gerund suffix), and the imperative, where the negation suffix can still be added, since it uses a (reduplication) prefix rather than a suffix. However, the negation particle can also always be made a separate particle to mark emphasis or urgency.

Which one is added to the verb is decided based on their position in this order: Mood < Gerund suffix < Trigger / Voice < Negation, meaning that if a mood morpheme is present, it will be the one added to the verb, with the other one or two forming a particle. If only the trigger and the negation are present, the trigger will be attached and the negation becomes a particle directly after the verb.

3.10 Verb table

Example: **joo** to see (ergative)

| | <i>Intransitive</i> | <i>Transitive Patient trigger</i> | <i>Intransitive Antipassive</i> | <i>Transitive Agent trigger</i> | <i>Causative</i> |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Indicative</i> | joo /ja:/ | joono /ja:na/ | joomo /ja:ma/ | joo /ja:/ | joovo /ja:va/ |
| <i>Imperative</i> | joojoo /ja:ja:/ | joojoo no /ja:ja: na/ | joojoo mo /ja:ja: ma/ | joojoo /ja:ja:/ | joojoo vo /ja:ja: va/ |
| <i>Subjunctive</i> | joot /ja:t/ | joot no /ja:t na/ | joot mo /ja:t ma/ | joot /ja:t/ | joot vo /ja:t va/ |
| <i>Conditional</i> | jooke /ja:ke/ | jook no /ja:k na/ | jook mo /ja:k ma/ | jook /ja:k/ | jook vo /ja:k va/ |
| <i>Hortative</i> | joofe /ja:fe/ | joof no /ja:f na/ | joof mo /ja:f ma/ | joofe /ja:fe/ | joof vo /ja:f va/ |

| <i>Reflexive</i> | <i>Reciprocal</i> | <i>Locative trigger</i> | <i>Instrum. trigger</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| jooh /ja:he/ | joohut /ja:hut/ | joohen /ja:hen/ | joode /ja:de/ |
| joojoo he /ja:ja: he/ | joojoo hut /ja:ja: hut/ | joojoo hen /ja:ja: hen/ | joojoo de /ja:ja: de/ |
| joot he /ja:t he/ | joot hut /ja:t hut/ | joot hen /ja:t hen/ | joot de /ja:t de/ |
| jook he /ja:k he/ | jook hut /ja:k hut/ | jook hen /ja:k hen/ | jook de /ja:k de/ |
| joof he /ja:f he/ | joof hut /ja:f hut/ | joof hen /ja:f hen/ | joof de /ja:f de/ |

Unergative verbs only have the forms in the intransitive and the locative and instrumental trigger columns (see 3.6.2 for intransitive uses of those)

4. Adjectives

4.1 Overview

Adjectives are not a distinct word class in Jutean, and instead either adjectival nouns or stative verbs.

The only difference between adjectival nouns and regular noun is that they generally don't decline, so for example *dovi a haad* is 'big tower', or *dovi a hohi* 'new tower'.

To intensify them, *haad* (here: 'much') is inserted after the noun in question, so *hohi haad* would translate to 'very new' (literally 'newness much'). Rarely *a haada* is used instead, which would translate to 'of biggerness'. Exceptions to this are 'very big', 'very good', and 'very bad', where *haada*, *ukea* and *dohaa* would be used instead.

Stative verbs, e.g. *ildeso* ('be sure/be strict') are always unergative and work identical to other unergative verbs (s. 3.1.1).

4.2 Comparative

Comparative of an (adjectival) noun is formed by adding *a haada* 'of biggerness' (or *a ilhaada* 'of smallerness' when the things a noun is compared to is smaller in degree or quality), and either *hehe* 'still, even' to the end of the sentence, or adding a construction with *ilehe* 'unlike, than'.

(65) **No ta a nihaa a haada ilehe me na ma.** *I am older than you.*

be 1S of oldness of biggerness unlike OBL 2S OBL (literally 'I am of oldness of biggerness than you')

The noun following *ilehe* has to be in the oblique case, as with most adpositions.

Haad 'big', *uke* 'good' and *dohaa* 'bad' are the exceptions again, using *a haada*, *a ukea* or *a dohaa*.

Copular verbs use comparative in the same way, for example:

(66) **No ji a dovi a haada hehe.** *This is higher [still].*

be this.ABST of highness of biggerness still

Stative verbs or stative meanings of a verb use the adverb *haade* to form a comparative, and a comparing noun phrase is introduced again with *ilehe* as in the following:

(67) **Ildeso fal haade ilehe me fa ma.** *They are stricter/surer [of it] than us.*

be_strict 3.COL more unlike OBL 1.COL OBL

4.3 Superlative

The superlative is constructed with *a haadat*, 'of biggestness' after it, as in:

(68) **Nuno ta an mihonode a nihaa a haadat.** *I live in the oldest house.*

dwell 1S in.C house-OBL of oldness of biggestness (literally 'I live in the house of oldness of biggestness')

The same three nouns (*haad*, *uke*, *dohaa*) are the exceptions here too, using *a haadat*, *a ukeat* and *a doat* for the superlative.

With copular verbs the superlative is again used the same way, for example:

(69) **No ji a dovi a haadat.** *This is the highest [one/thing].*

be this.ABST of highness of biggestness.

With stative verbs, *haadate* 'most' is used for the superlative, for example:

Ildeso fal haadate. 'They are [the] strictest [about it]/surest [about it]'

be_strict 3.COL most.ADV

4.4 Archetypive / 'Model X' constructions

The 'archetypive', also referred to as a 'Model X' construction is a special, sparsely used construction reserved to augment the superlative further, when something or someone is seen as the very embodiment of a quality or an abstract thing, or the very model or archetype of something or someone.

To make one, a regular adjectival noun is declined like a regular noun, giving for example:

(70) **No la saini a nesani.** 'They are a person of knowledge' (=knowledgeable person, regular construction)

be 3S person of knowledge

(71) **No la saini a nesanide.** 'They are a/the person of the knowledge, a knowledge-person'

be 3S person of knowledge-OBL

(=a perfect, archetypical example of a knowledgeable person, the very embodiment of knowledge.)

However, this is not used in the humble (formal) register, which uses the otherwise unused *oho* 'to have'.

(72) **Oho la nesani.** 'They have knowledge'

have.humble 3S knowledge

This carries with it both a kind of polite understatement, as well confers the person in question agency, which is seen as a highly respectful way of speaking.

5. Pronouns and possession

5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are rather complex, and some forms are thought to be almost unique to Jutean. The inanimate pronouns are gendered, the 3rd person pronoun referring to humans however doesn't make distinctions.

| Person | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 3rd (plants and animals) | 3rd (inanimate - C., I., W.*) |
|-------------------|---|-----|-----|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Singular | ta fa (incl.), | na | la | uvu | aha, ehi, ohu |
| Plural | fanal (excl. a single person) fanafal (excl. multiple persons) | naf | laf | uvuf | ahaf, ehif, ohuf |
| Collective | fa (incl.) fafanal (excl. of a group) | fan | fal | uvuf, fuvu (rarely) | ahaf, ehif, ohuf (+ a af/efi/uf) |

*C. = Common/civilization gender, I. = Immaterial/abstract gender, W. = Wilderness gender

Colloquially and in some dialects (e.g Sitti), *aha, ehi, ohu* might be used for both singular and plural, and *af, efi, uf* for collective and in some cases also plural.

For the indirect case, the particle *he* is put in front of the pronoun, for the oblique case the circumferential particle *me ... ma* is used.

5.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are distinguished by gender and distance (proximal, medial and distal) and don't decline. The distal one is used somewhat rarely. They always follow the noun they modify and are introduced by *a* (of).

| Gender | Common | Abstact/Immaterial | Wilderness |
|-----------------|--------|--------------------|------------|
| Proximal | ja | ji | ju |
| Medial | jam | jim | jum |
| Distal | jaha | jahi | jahu |

5.3 Possessive pronouns and possession

There are no dedicated possessive pronouns. *a* + personal pronoun in the oblique case are used for inalienable possession, relationship or authorship.

(73) **Vunam a me laf ma** *Their parent(s)* ('Parent(s) of them')

(74) **Hotif a me ta ma** *My book* [a book that I wrote] ('Book of me')

(75) **Ova a vuhatatede** *The top of the mountain* ('Top of mountain-OBL')

For alienable possession, a relative nominalization is used, so for example:

(76) **Vailita a vohi a me ta ma** *Vehicle that I use*

Vehicle of use-GER of OBL 1S OBL ('Vehicle of using of me')

(77) **Hotif a fuumohi a me ta ma** *Book that I read*

Book of read-GER of OBL 1S OBL ('book of reading of me')

(78) **Nijauva a sehukohi a vunamede** *Cat that parent(s) care for*

Cat of care-GER of parent-OBL ('cat of caring of parent(s)')

5.4 Emphasizing (reflexive) pronouns

These form an additional set of pronouns that sometimes is used to emphasize a pronoun to make it clear that no one else is being addressed, similar to a stressed pronoun in English as in for example '**You** should calm down first.'. Often referring or demanding a reflexive action (action done by the person to themselves), and hence translated as e.g. 'you yourself' or 'on/of your own'.

They replace a regular personal pronoun rather than attaching to it as an object, and can be used even with unergative verbs where a regular reflexive voice can't be used.

Examples:

(79) **Momo nana noke, haanol?** *How about you chill?*

IMP-calm 2S-EMP maybe | why-NEG

(80) **No vutani a tavuheohi a me nana ma.** *The problems are for you yourself to remove (=solve)*

problem of remove-GER of OBL 2S-EMP OBL

(81) **Alal, Jon. No nana fesuu.** *No, John. You are the demon.*

No | John | Be 2S-EMP demon

(82) **Nono nana.** *Be yourself [and not someone else]*

IMP-be 2S-EMP

(83) **Saihoko tata a tohide a hei.** *I like myself the current way (= the way I am now)*

Like 1S-EMP

As can be seen, they are formed by reduplicating the pronoun they are replacing, or, in the case of first person exclusive pronouns, the first syllable.

6. Syntax

6.1 Main clauses

6.1.1 Overview

The word order in Jute is always VSO in main clauses. Auxiliary verbs precede the other verb directly. Adverbs come last, with locations preceding time adverbs. Subclauses are usually nominalized, especially relative ones, or turned into main clauses.

The complete order would be:

(0. Connector phrase like *ehe ji* “as a result”, separated by a comma)

1. Conjunction (e.g. if two main clauses are connected)

2. Verb or verbs used as auxiliary verb

3. Auxiliary verb particle

4. Verb or verbs

5. Verb particle

6. Subject (Noun/pronoun in direct case)

7. Direct object (takes the indirect case)

8. Oblique/indirect object (takes the oblique case)

9. Adverbs (manner - place - time)

10. Question particle (separated by comma)

However, if the oblique object is animate, and the direct object is inanimate, sometimes the oblique object can come before the direct object.

(84) **Ehe ji, hejjea saihoko al amovo de vailidekiva he la sainikide siovanale hen idoone, haa, ...**

So, even though it is computers she doesn't like to cause someone to work with at night here ... ?

So (0), even_though (1) like (2) NEG (3) work-CAUS (4) INSV (5) computer (6) IDR 3S (7) someone-OBL (8) suddenly here at_night (9) Q (10)

6.1.2 Verb stacking

"Stacking" of verbs, creating verb chains also known as serial verb constructions, can be done to avoid long chains of oblique objects.

(85) **Saiho hokonol hokohe saihasao na lumadooti, haa?** *You think you can't allow yourself to question orders?*

Think be_currently_able-NEG allow-REFL question 2S order-IDR | Q

Like in English, there is no conjunction introducing a subclause, however, there is no need to repeat the subject in Jutean either, and instead a sequence of infinitives and even conjugated verbs can often be created, thereby incorporating several sentences into a sole clause. This 'verb-stacking' can often be used where English uses constructions with one or more infinitives:

(86) **Saihoko sao tataimomo ta.** *I like to swim to forget.*

Like swim forget-ANTIP 1S

(87) **Saihoko hotiomo ho mohomoo ta niti.** *I like to write to keep my life in balance.*

Like write-ANTIP continue balance 1S life-IDR

(more literally "I like to write (so as/in order) to continue to balance (=keep balanced) (my) life")

Often the verbs, when they aren't functioning as auxiliaries (such as *hokono* 'to be currently be able to'), are connected semantically, e.g. through causation, and syntactically, by having the same subject and object or objects. Usage of this structure is therefore not possible if two or more verbs have distinct subjects or distinct objects. Contrast the previous and the following sentence:

(88) **Saihoko hotio ta tahiti nuhe hohi a mohomohi he.** *I like to write stories so I stay balanced/even-tempered myself.*

Like write 1S story-IDR BEN continue-GER of be_balanced-GER REFL

(more literally "I like to write stories for the benefit of the continuing of being balanced myself (=to stay balanced/even-tempered myself"))

Here *hotio* and *hohi a mohomohi* have two different objects, so a separation was necessary, with the latter becoming a gerund.

Alternatively, the subject can be dropped:

(89) **Sahono ta tohi li saaniti a me la ma.** *I assume he has gone/is going to the beach.*

Assume 1S go-GER towards beach-IDR of OBL 3S OBL

(more literally: "I assume his going/having gone to the beach")

(90) **Sahono to la li saaniti.** *He is assumed to have/be gone/going to the beach.*

Be_assumed go 3S towards beach-IDR

Several types of sentences are exceptions and do allow stacked verbs to have a subject-object mismatch. Among those are sentences using the **causative voice**, i.e. verbs using the causative suffix or verbs preceded by a *noito* ('make, lead, force') as auxiliary, as well as similar other constructions with verbs acting as auxiliaries, such as permissive sentences with *oso* 'let'.

Other verbs with a specific auxiliary meanings (i.e. verbs having a different meaning when used with other verbs in one sentence) such as *memo* (here: 'to tell so. to do sth. '), *saihodo* (here: 'to expect so. to do sth. ') or *noito* (here: 'to force, make so. do sth. ') may also have a different subject than other verbs in a sentence with verb stacking. See **3.1.5 Irregular verbs**

However, they still have to form a single unit of meaning, i.e. all verbs have to be semantically connected.

(91) **Saihodo fulo fal he ta a me na ma.** *They expect me to tell about you.*

Expect_to tell 3.COL IDR 1S about OBL 2S OBL

(92) **Noito fulo fal he ta a me na ma.** *They force me to tell about you.*

Expect_to tell 3.COL IDR 1S about OBL 2S OBL

6.2 Subclauses

Subclauses, for example relative clauses, are exclusively formed by nominalizing main clauses, i.e. turning them into a noun phrase. Word order in nominalized subclauses is still VSO and otherwise unchanged as well, though there is no need to always have a distinct subject, as subclauses can refer back to the subject of the main clause. Unless they are the direct object of a sentence, they are usually introduced by *a*, 'of, from, by, about', or other adpositions such as *li* 'to, towards, in order to' or *ehe* 'as, like'. The gerund form of the verb follows, and the arguments of the subclause are introduced via more adpositions.

However, subclauses are generally avoided, especially in everyday speech. Usually separate main clauses are preferred, linked with a conjunction, most of the time *u*, 'and', or a connector phrase such as *tonte ji* 'after this', *memo (...)* *ji* 'this was said/... said this/', or *ehe ji* 'as a result, so'.

The same is the case with sentences like 'I think that' which often would be translated as *Saimo ta ji*: ..., 'I think this: ...' instead of resorting to gerunds. Alternatively, a main clause may be rephrased, e.g. with the help of verb stacking (serial verb constructions), to render a nominalized subclause unnecessary.

This avoidance is used in particular to avoid having multiple nominalizations in a single sentence, since this is seen as unnecessarily confusing and hampering speech and conversations. This still applies, albeit less so, for written language.

6.2.1 Single-argument subclauses

In single-argument subclauses, where the main clause and sub clause refer to the same subject, there is no need

to restate the subject in the subclause, as subclauses can refer back to the subject of the main clause. In these cases, the object can come first and then be followed by a + gerund.

(93) **Joo ta tovohi a vailitade. / Joo ta vailitati a tovohi.** *I see the car being driven / I see the car that is/was driven.*

See 1S drive-GER of vehicle-OBL / See 1S vehicle-IDR drive-GER

(more literally “I see/saw the driving of the car / I see/saw the car of driving”)

(94) **Joo ta tovohi a sainide. / Joo ta sainiti a tovohi.** *I see the person who drives.*

See 1S drive-GER of person-OBL

(more literally “I see the driving of the person / I see the person of driving”)

Sentences that use the subjugator “that” in English are often rendered similarly:

(95) **Saiho ta (a) teohi/tehide a tohoi (a me ta ma).** *I think (that) I should go now.*

Think 1S of need-GER/need-OBL of leave-GER (of OBL 1S OBL)

(more literally: “I think of the need/the needing of leaving”)

In this case, the last part describing the person with the need can be omitted and simply deduced by context, unless it is to be emphasized. The introductory *a* can also be dropped in most cases, particularly informal speech or writing.

As can be seen, *a* + object in the oblique case can both be an agent or patient, and only context disambiguates.

6.2.2 Subclauses with two or more different arguments

However, if a subclause does have two distinct arguments, e.g. patient and agent strict VSO order applies and the gerund has to come first, followed by *a* + the patient in the oblique case and then *na* + the agent in the oblique case.

(96) **Joo ta tovohi a vailitade na sainide.** *I see the person drive a car.*

See 1S drive-GER of vehicle-OBL by person-OBL

(more literally “I see the driving of a car by a person”)

A phrase containing *na* + oblique object referring to an agent can't stay on its own and has to be preceded by a full subclause including gerund and *a* + the patient.

If the second argument is not an agent, a different adposition, such as the previously mentioned *li* ‘to, towards, in order to’ or *ehe* ‘as, like’ is used, to avoid having multiple oblique objects introduced by *a* in the subclause with different roles.

6.2.3 Subclauses including chains of objects

The above mentioned in 5.2.2 is not the case if the arguments in a subclause all belong to a chain of oblique

objects showing possession or relationship between two or more objects. Usually this is the case when personal pronouns are involved.

(97) **Deko ta a noitosanohi a tahivide a me na ma he.** *I hear that you are studying languages now.*

Hear 1S of study-GER of language-OBL of OBL 2S OBL now

(more literally “I hear about the studying of languages of you now”)

A sentence having both several arguments as well as one or more of them being chains of objects is rare and almost always avoided.

6.2.4 Usage

In general, subclauses are often avoided, especially in everyday speech. Usually they are turned into separate main clauses where possible, or incorporated into existing ones (see **6.1.2 Verb stacking**) These are then linked with a conjunction, most of the time *u*, “and”, or a connector phrase such as *tonte ji* “after this”, *memo [...] ji* “[...] said this/this was said”, or *ehe ji* “as a result”.

The same is the case with sentences like “I think that” which often would be translated as *Saimo ta ji: ...* “I think this: ...” instead of resorting to gerunds.

This is especially the case when multiple nominalizations in a single sentence would have to be used, since they can easily become confusing for the listener or let the speaker “trip” over their own words and cause the speaker to lose your train of thought. This still applies, albeit less so, for written language.

6.3 Zero copula phrases

Some sayings and short phrases can use zero-copula phrases instead of the regular predicative “X is Y” construction, which in regular sentences would be seen as incomplete or simply ungrammatical. In writing separated they are separated by a comma.

(98) **Toloma, ukainimo!** *Toloma, the hero(!) / Toloma is a hero(!)*

Toloma | hero

(99) **No Toloma ukainimo(!)** *Toloma (really) is a hero(!) / There's Toloma, who (really) is a hero(!)*

be Toloma hero

If used as an exclamation, rather than neutral declarative sentence, the latter implies a “really”, as it's often used to emphasize one or both parts of the predicate.

A similar phrasing is also somewhat commonly used with comparisons:

(100) **Donosanohi a fenoohi, a ukea ilehe nuohi a fenoide.** *Teaching fishing, better than (just) giving fish.*

Teach-GER of fish-GER | of betterness compared_to give-GER of fish-OBL

(more literally “Teaching of fishing, better than (just) giving of the/some fish.”)

(101) **No donosanohi a fenoohi a ukea ilehe nuohi a fenoide.** *Teaching of fishing is better than (just) giving fish.*
Be teach-GER of fish-GER | of betterness compared_to give-GER of fish-OBL
(more literally: “Teaching of fishing is better than (just) the giving of fish.”)

The former is usually seen as part of the more poetic or colloquial register, the latter is the more often neutral/plainly declarative version. Like in the previous sentence, it can however be used to stress the "is", and thereby emphasize how it is (seen as) factual, rather than supposed or merely alleged.

6.4 Reported speech

6.4.1 Regular reported speech

There are several ways to report speech.

Aside from using nominalizations similar to relative clauses (see 6.2.1 and 6.2.2) simple sentences like "she left" or "he arrives tomorrow", longer ones will usually just be preceded by *Memo ji*: ("This was said:") or *Memo la/fal ji* ("They said this:").

Examples:

(102) **To ta li sittiti dotovuha.** *I went to the city yesterday.*

Go 1S towards city-OBL.LOC yesterday

(103) **Tahoo ta a tohi li sittiti a me ta ma dotovuha.** *I talked about my going to the city yesterday.*

Talk 1S about go-GER towards city-OBL.LOC of OBL 1S OBL yesterday

Often, *memo* is also used instead, when the speaker wants to say they (only) briefly said or mentioned something about a previous event or similar, rather than talking about it at length.

(104) **Memo ta ji: "To ta li sittiti dotovuha"** *I said this: "I went to the city yesterday."*

Say 1S this.ABST: "Go 1S towards city-OBL.LOC yesterday

Generally, due to the absence of morphological tense, a sentence can be translated as referring to either the past, present or the future, and only context or additional adverbs or the semantics of other words disambiguate. So for example *Memo ji* can also mean “This is said” or “This will be said”.

6.4.2 Rumored or unreliable speech and speech of unknown or unstated origin

6.4.2.1 Entire phrases relaying an action or state

Another meaning of *memo* can be used in the following cases:

- to report on what someone said whose identity is not known to the speaker,
- to report on what someone said whose identity is supposed to not be revealed,

- to mark a statement as being (potentially) unreliable (e.g. a rumor)
- to mark a statement as something that the speaker is not entirely sure of
- as a way of being very formal and distanced

To express this, there are two possibilities, that like the trigger of ergative verbs in transitive sentences can be used to focus different parts of the sentence.

To focus on the verb or action of the quoted or reported sentence the sentence is rephrased as a nominalization with the gerund in it forming the subject, following *memo* directly. The remainder of the sentence follows the gerund as an oblique object like in other nominalizations.

To focus on the agent or experiencer of the quoted or reported sentence, the agent or experiencer becomes the subject of the new sentence reporting on it, with the verb and objects following as a single nominalized oblique object introduced by *tine* ('inside'). The sentence follows a *memo* [subject] *tine* X [additional objects] ('[Subject] is said to be X-ing') pattern, e.g. *memo ... tine mihonodohi* ('be said to sleep').

Using the same example (99) as in 6.4.1:

To ta li sittiti dotovuha. *I went to the city yesterday.*

Go 1S towards city-OBL.LOC yesterday

(105) **Memo tohi li sittiti a me ta ma dotovuha.** *It is/was said that I went/had gone to the city yesterday*

Be_said_to_be go-GER towards city-OBL.LOC of OBL 1S OBL yesterday

(106) **Memo ta tine tohi li sittiti dotovuha.** *It is/was said that I went/had gone to the city yesterday*

Be_said_to_be 1S inside.ABST go-GER towards city-OBL.LOC yesterday

As can be seen, the translation of the last two sentences remains the same, the difference being mostly just that the former puts the focus (and thereby emphasis) on the activity, and can omit the agent or experiencer if desired or necessary, whereas the latter puts the focus on the agent or experiencer. If the activity is omitted, a simple 'to exist' is implied, but this would be nonsensical in this case, as it would effectively translate to "It is said that I exist".

6.4.2.2 Habitual statements

When the gerund is the subject and not specified in regards to time, the former can refer to a habitual action happening e.g. in a particular location if this makes sense in the context:

(107) **Memo tukohi hen.** *It is said that dancing takes place here (regularly/right now/today/...)*

Be_said_to_be dance-GER here

To clarify here, *anti* ('regularly') or e.g. *he* ('now') can be added after the place to specify it as a habitual or single event. This has the effect of emphasizing the regularity or the singularity of it. Often however only context disambiguates.

If the sentence is specified in regards to time, but a location is not mentioned, it can refer to something that at a particular point of time happens in many, if not most places, or the places that were previously mentioned or can be deduced from context:

(108) **Memo tukohi dee doonide a ji.** *It is said that dancing takes place at this time (of the year/.../right now).*
Be_said_to_be dance-GER during time-OBL of this.ABST

As with (101) the sentence can be clarified by adding *anti* ('regularly') or e.g. *he* ('now'), which again has an emphasizing effect. Again, usually only context will help disambiguate.

If the time and location are both unspecified in sentences where the gerund is the object, then usually it is referring to a habit associated with the subject:

(109) **Memo ta tine tukohi.** *It is said that I dance (a lot)*
Be_said_to_be 1S inside.ABST dance-GER

If either or both are specified, it will usually refer to a singular event, but depending on the context or if the time or place stated is not specific, it tends to remain a habitual statement, even if no *anti* ('regularly') is added:

(110) **Memo ta tine tukohi dee vunuhide.**
Be_said_to_be 1S inside.ABST dance-GER during morning-OBL
It is said that I (regularly) dance in the morning.

(111) **Memo ta tine tukohi dee vunuhide dote.**
Be_said_to_be 1S inside.ABST dance-GER during morning-OBL earlier
It is said that I danced during the morning / It is said that I used to dance during the morning

6.4.2.3 Adverbs in reported speech

To clearly state it as something that only happened on one occasion, an unambiguous adverb such as *ajavi* ('today') or phrase such as *vuha a ji a iki* ('this one day') needs to be used.

(112) **Memo ta tine tukohi dee vunuhide ajavi.**
Be_said_to_be 1S inside.ABST dance-GER during morning-OBL today
It is said I danced during the morning today.

Adverbs can be used to e.g. specify a reported sentence referring to the past ('dote', 'once, earlier') or it having happened, happening, or going to happen only one or a couple times (*ido doonavade a iki/kiovif*. 'once/several times')

(113) **Memo tukohi hen dote** *It is said that dancing took place here once [one or several times].*
Be_said_to_be dance-GER here once

(114) **Memo tukohi hen ido doonavade a iki** *It is said that dancing took/will take place here on one occasion.*
Be_said_to_be dance-GER here at.ABST instance-OBL of one

These adverbs can also be combined, but usually some things are left implied through context.

(115) **Memo tukohi hen ido doonavade a iki dote** *It is said that dancing once took place here on one occasion.*

Be_said_to_be dance-GER here at.ABST instance-OBL of one once

Furthermore, adverbs can either refer to the implied impersonal subject or to the explicitly stated one. If it is necessary to clarify that they are referring to the latter, an equivalent adjectival noun can be used instead.

(116) **Memo datu hen.** *Here it is said that a beast exists (somewhere) / It is said that a beast exists here.*

Be_said_to_be beast here

(117) **Memo datu a heni.** *It is said (by some, somewhere) that a beast exists here.*

Be_said_to_be beast of here

Sometimes, a gendered adverb can also help disambiguate:

(118) **Memo datu a van jumun.** *It is said/Some say a dangerous beast exists there.*

Be_said_to_be beast of danger there.DANGER

6.4.2.4 Existential statements

To convey rumors or unknown or unverified statements relaying the existence of someone or something, a shorter sentence, *memo* can again be used. The sentences is as the sentences in 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2 always intransitive and also again implies an impersonal subject or a 4th person pronoun, similar to the English constructions 'It is said that a/an ... exists' or 'It/There is said to be a/an ...'

In such sentences the explicitly stated subject is what would be the oblique object in regular a sentence with an explicit subject expressing the same meaning.

To distinguish this meaning of *memo* from the basic 'say/mention sth. about' meaning, the sentence may not have any other oblique objects introduced by 'a' (of), and no direct objects.

(119) **Memo datu hen.** *It is said that a beast exists here / There is said to be a beast here.*

Be_said_to_be beast here

(120) **Memo udimimo a datude hen.** *A friend said something about a beast here.*

Say friend of beast-OBL here

(121) **Memo udimimo ji nuhe datude hen.** *A friend says/said this to the beast.*

Say friend this.ABST BEN beast-OBL here

Other adpositions such as *nuhe* (for) can be used as long as no other object exists in the sentence:

(122) **Memo udimimo nuhe datude hen** *There is said to be a friend of a/the beast living here.*

Be_said_to_be friend BEN beast-OBL here

The adposition *tine* ('inside', see 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.2.2) can once again be used to introduce a gerund, here specifying or characterizing the subject.

(123) **Memo datu tine mihinidohi a hei.** *It is said there is a sleeping beast here. /*

Be_said_to_be beast inside.ABST sleep-GER of here *It is said a/the beast sleeps/is sleeping/slept here.*

As can be seen, this sentence can be read or translated as a regular non-existential phrase as well.

To put the focus on the action or verb, the gerund can, like in 6.4.2.1, also be made into the subject, which then as an exception can take an oblique object to specify it.

(124) **Memo mihinidohi a datude hen.** *It is said there is sleeping of a/the beast [taking place] here. /*

Be_said_to_be sleep-GER of beast-OBL here *It is said a beast sleeps here.*

This makes the sentences syntactically identical to those covered in 6.4.2.1, with them similarly being able to be used to emphasize either the verb or the subject of the reported sentence.

7 Pragmatics

7.1 Politeness levels

There are three levels of politeness or formality in Jutean: The formal register, also called the 'humble' one, the neutral, and the informal or casual one. These can sometimes be mixed to create e.g. a semi-formal register. Most commonly, a stranger or person older than the speaker might be addressed with the second person collective pronoun *fan*, but the conversation would otherwise use the neutral register. Formal expression might be used for humorous effect in casual conversations.

7.1.1 Formal

Formal is used for the person you are married to or are dating, elders or anyone you want to be particularly polite to (like customers, guests of honor or people you just like a lot).

7.1.1.1 Main differences

- general pronoun avoidance with preference for patientive sentences, with exceptions
- when a pronoun is used to address someone, several persons or a group, the second person collective pronoun *fan* is always used
- when addressing or mentioning people, the *a ukaini* ('of honor') honorific is added to names
- verb repetition in requests after offers (if being particularly polite), followed by the actual request and then *ukainot na* 'you shall be honored'

- dedicated phrases for yes/no questions with two different levels of formality
- dedicated greeting phrases
- for statements ascribing qualities and characteristics, *oho* 'to have' is used instead of *no a* 'be of', e.g. *Oho fan ohaji* instead of *No fan a ohaji* for 'You are beautiful'
- uses the conditional mood for questions, requests, pleas and petitions instead of the indicative or imperative
- uses the subjunctive for praises, affirmations or orders

7.1.1.2 Questions, Agreement and Disagreement

In formal contexts, sometimes '**dekio ta**' ('I agree') can be used, when affirming a previous sentence that wasn't framed as a question, and with some questions that weren't directed at the speaker personally, especially rhetorical questions, or with any leading questions expecting a yes. (Negating the phrase to '**dekiol tal**' is a polite way to show disagreement in similar cases).

It does not work with questions that expect more than a simple "yes" when answered affirmatively, for example when answering a waiter.

(125) **No vuha a uke.** *It's a good/nice day.* – **Dekio ta.** *Yes/I agree.*

Be day of goodness

Agree 1S

(126) **Saihoko la mihinidohi, haa.** *He/She/They (Sg.) likes/like sleeping, doesn't/don't he/she/they?*

Like 3S sleep.GER, Q.

– **Dekio ta.** *Yes/I agree.*

Again, a falling tone would mark it as a question with an anticipated answer, and a question mark can be omitted in writing.

An even more formal way of showing agreement, especially used by e.g. waiters or other people working for someone is '**Not ehe ji**' ('It shall be like this') or slightly less formal '**Not ji**' ('This shall be'). The English equivalent would be roughly "As you wish". Alternatively, it can also be used to strongly agree with something, however this cannot be a question.

Not to be used in casual settings, as it will come across as arrogant and condescending if not used humorously.

(127) **Saimoke hao ta lesiti.** *I would like (some) tea* – **Not ehe ji.** *It shall be like this./As you wish.*

Want-COND ask 1S tea-IDR

Be-SBJV like this.ABST

(128) **Tefot fa ajavi!** *We shall win today!* – **Not ehe ji!** *This shall be/We shall!*

Win-SUBJ 1.COL today

(129) **Saimoke mo haomo ilikio al fanal.** *We would like to not be disturbed.*

want-COND ANTIP ask-ANTIP be_disturbed NEG 1P.EXCL;SG

– **Not ehe ji.** *This shall be [referring to the not being disturbed]/As you wish.*

An equivalent of '**Not (ehe) ji**' for affirming negating sentences politely, agreeing to negative requests or answering leading questions expecting a no is '**Not al ji**', the English equivalent being "As you wish" again. It

can also be used to express e.g. indignation, strongly agree with a negative statement or strongly disagree with a statement.

However, the last one might be seen as very insolent and disrespectful, and be the cause for some indignation with the listener, who might say '**Nuhenuheo ji!**' ('You dare to!', lit. 'Try this!'). Similarly, it would be very rude to use it to reject an offer or a request.

7.1.1.3 Offers

When making a request after an offer has been made, *Ukainot na* ('You shall be honored/thanked') is put at the end of the sentence if the polite speech register is appropriate, taking the role of 'please' in 'I'll take four, please'. To be more polite, it can be preceded by a verb repetition first (see above). This is uncommon in less formal environments, e.g. markets, where the request alone can serve as agreement.

(130) **Saimoke hao fan fivati, haa?** *Would you like some eggs?*

Want-COND ask 2.COL egg-IDR, Q?

(Saimoke hao ta kiofif.) Teo ta ja a du, ukainot na. *(I would like some.) I need four of them, thanks.*

Want-COND ask 1S some.C Need 1S this.C of four, be_thanked-SUBJ 2S

The formal and polite way to turn down an offer or deny a request would be either *Hokolukee, teo tovoheo ji* ('Unfortunately, this needs to be turned down') or *Hokolukee, eeol no ji* ('Unfortunately, this is not possible'). Which one is used usually depends on which one is more fitting in a given context.

7.1.2 Neutral

Neutral is the "normal" and most common option for everyday conversation or politics and the failsafe when you don't know what to use.

7.1.2.1 Main differences

- when addressing people, the *a uke* ('of goodness') honorific is used
- responses to offers are treated like requests, so a sentence in the indicative mood with *uke* added again
- yes/no questions are answered through verb repetition
- One-word greetings are uncommon, *Vuha/Oone/... a uke* (Good day/night/...) is preferred
- uses the indicative for questions, requests, pleas and petitions, the latter three also get an *uke* 'thanks', literally 'good'
- uses the indicative also for praises and affirmations
- uses the imperative for orders, with *uke* 'thanks' added again

7.1.2.2 Questions, Agreement and Disagreement

The neutral and most common form to answer such a question is to **repeat the verb**, and negate it when needed. Either the verb, the pronoun or both can be negated by adding *-l/-al* in that case. It is almost always appropriate, except when '*Not ehe ji*' (see below) would be used.

(131) **Ato na, haa?** *Are you coming/Will you come?*

Come 2S, Q.?

– **Ato ta! (Atol ta!)** *I will (not)!/I will (not) come!/I am (not) coming.*

Come(-NEG) 1S(-NEG)!

Affirmatively answering a question that expects a negative answer is done with *le*.

(132) **Atilol na ajavi, haa?** *Are you not coming back today?/Will you not come back today?*

return-NEG 2S today | Q

– **Le, atilo (ta).** *Yes, (I) will return.*

– no_yeah | return (1S)

7.1.3 Informal

Informal is used for casual conversations between friends (unless there is an elder present), often with or among children and between young or middle-aged relatives, especially of the same age.

7.1.3.1 Main differences

- no honorifics
- Anything deemed belonging to the polite register is considered weird, humorous or even arrogant
- pronoun avoidance is an exception, however it is used to be more concise and brief
- Dedicated set of words to reply to yes/no questions
- one-word greetings such as *dekki* 'hey' are common, with usually a more and a less informal variant and additional dialectal variants
- usage of slang or other specific vocabulary (e.g. *onekivo*, 'tooth', instead of *memuata*)
- uses moods like the indicative, but does not add *uke* 'thanks', literally 'good'

7.1.3.2 Questions, Agreement and Disagreement

In casual settings '*hee*' or '*ee*' can be used sometimes to express a "yes", especially if a "don't you/wouldn't you/shouldn't you/couldn't you" or a "right?" particle would be used in English, (but not with "... do you/would you/should you/could you?"). It's less strong of an affirmative and can have the connotation of "yeeeeeah... maybe?"

(133) **Saiho na a me ta ma, haa.** *Are you thinking of me? / You are thinking of me. aren't you?*

Think 2S of OBL 1S OBL, Q.

(The difference is indicated by tone, a neutral tone would be used for the former, a falling for the latter)

– **(H)ee...** *Yes/Yeah...*

(indicated by the length of the "e". '*ee*' is a dialectal variation. A rising tone can signify some kind of shame/embarrassment/bashfulness, a falling one annoyance/reluctance)

When used to agree to an offer, it can be preceded by an '**uke**' which sounds more polite, or alternatively (depending on the tone being used) more urgent or pleading.

(134) **Saimoke na lesiti, haa?** *Would you like (some) tea? - Uke, hee! Yes, please!*

Want-COND 2S tea-IDR, Q

Then there's the negated form, '**heel**', used in the sense of "yeah, no", "yes, but still/ but that doesn't mean..." or similar. It's used for agreeing in part with a statement. It can be both reassuring (English "yeah, but don't worry", "nah, it's fine") or accusatory ("Yeah, no! No way [that will happen just because ...]") depending on context,

(135) **Saiho jasof ta he.** *I think I should really be studying now.*

Think study_hard-HORT 1S now

- **Heel!** *Nah. (I guess you should, but you don't have to do it right now, do you?)*

The more common informal way of expressing disagreement or rejecting or denying a sentence is by the word '**alal**'. In polite or formal contexts it would usually be seen as abrasive and rude. An '**uke**' can be added after it to make it sound less unfriendly. Alternatively, the '**uke**' can come first to a bit more polite.

(136) **Saimo na lesiti, haa?** *Do you want some tea?*

Want-COND 2S tea-IDR, Q

- **Alal(, uke)/Uke, (moji) alal.** *No (thanks)/ No, (but) thanks.*

7.1.4 Mixed speech registers

These can sometimes be mixed to create e.g. a semi-formal register. Most commonly, a stranger or person older than the speaker might be addressed with the second person collective pronoun *fan*, but the conversation would otherwise use the neutral register. Formal expression might be used for humorous effect in casual conversations, and vice versa the informal register can be used to be intentionally rude in contexts that would require the humble speech register.

7.2 Other

No, haa? ('Are you sure?') is used if the speaker isn't sure whether to believe an answer to a question.

Abbreviations

General

NEG Negation

Personal pronouns (see also 5.1)

1S First person singular
1.COL First person collective
2S Second person singular
2P Second person plural
2.COL Second person collective
3S Third person singular
3P Third person plural
3.COL Third person collective
INCL Inclusive (“we and you”)
EXCL Exclusive (“we but not you”)
 → see “Clusivity” on Wikipedia

Other pronouns and nouns

C Common (noun class, see 2.1)
ABST Abstract (noun class, see 2.1)
DANGER Dangerous (noun class, see 2.1)

IDR Indirect case (see 2.2)
OBL Oblique case (see 2.2)

Verbs

ANTIP Antipassive
GER Gerund (see 3.7)
IMP Imperative (see 3.2.2)
COND Conditional (see 3.2.3)
SBJV Subjunctive (see 3.2.4)
HORT Hortative (see 3.2.5)
CAUS Causative (see 3.5)
RECP Reciprocal (see 3.5)
REFL Reflexive (see 3.5)
PV Patientive trigger (see 3.4)
LOCV Locative trigger (see 3.4)
INSV Instrumental trigger (see 3.4)

Other

BEN Benefactive (preposition)
RES.VOL resultative, voluntary (adverb)
RES.NVOL resultative, not voluntary (adverb)