Arva Grammar Sketch

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1 Abbreviations

Abbreviation	What it stands for					
1,2,3	first, second, third person					
ACC	accusative					
ABS	abessive					
ADE	adessive					
COM	comitative					
CONJ	conjunction					
DECL	declarative					
$_{ m DEM}$	demonstrative					
DES	desiderative					
EMPH	$\operatorname{emphatic}$					
ESS	essessive					
${ m EV}$	evidentiality					
GEN	genitive					
IMPERF	imperfective					
IMPV	imperative					
INSTR	instructive					
INT	interrogative					
LOC	locative					
NOM	nominative					
NUM	$\operatorname{numeral}$					
OBL	obligatory					
PERF	perfective					
PL	plural					
POT	potential					
POSS	possessive					
PRES	present					
PAST	past					
REL	relative pronoun					
$_{ m SG}$	$\operatorname{singular}$					
SUPERESS	superessive					
SPI	spirit marker					
VOC	vocative					

2 Language Context

Arva, pronounced [arəva], is a language spoken in the mountainous area of Vlanje ([vlãnjə]). It belongs to the Ravian language family, of which only Arva and Kla-a are still spoken. Ravian languages are said to have emerged from the Spirit World, with Proto-Ravian acting as channel of communication between the World of Spirits and the World of Humans. Hence, it can channel Spirit Energy, allowing speakers to perform spells. Arvians never lost the ways of their ancestors. What we would call witchcraft is normal day-to-day activity for them. Kla-ians, however, have lost this connection. Scholars have attributed

this development to the rise of a monolithic religion within Kla-ian society which rejected the Spirits as "heathen nature gods".

A fundamental culture clash between the two communities followed. What started as linguistic discrimination turned into a crackdown on Arvian society and an attempted genocide. The Purge ([h^ji?q]) lead to the mass-migration of Arvians into the Vlanje mountains. In the centuries since, Arva has been thriving and inter-generational transmission has been strong. Today, Arvians are socially and geographically isolated from the communities around them, a security they still cherish dearly. The Purge will never be forgotten and shapes Arvian culture to this day.

Respect and reverence for nature, and hence the Spirits, is of the utmost importance in Arvian culture. The soul or essence of every living thing ([-zə]) is connected to its Spirit. Arvians provide for Nature and the Spirits (which are the same word in Arva: [mɑːjɑ]) and in return the Spirits provide for them, allowing Arvians to live off the land. About 300, 000 Arvians live in villages with populations ranging from 50 to 5, 000 in about 10, 000 hectares of lush forest, mountains and valleys. Their villages can be quite spread out, which led to the creation of a dialect continuum between North and South Arva. These varieties are not always mutually intelligible, with speakers often code-switching between them. Linguistically, they could be defined as separate languages. Due to their shared history of surviving The Purge, however, no Arvian would ever think of calling them thus. These dialects are often the only varieties Arvians speak, since contact outside the community is incredibly rare. This paper will focus on South Arva.

Arvian social organisation is community based and mostly egalitarian. Their villages are self-sufficient. Children are raised communally until they step into adulthood at 17. The European idea of a nuclear family is foreign to Arvians, who choose to live with one or multiple [asə̃mã], a word which can be translated to one's spouse, partner, soul-mate, companion or life-long friend. Every village has a Counsel of Elders ([hr^jil^jiː]) and a Counsel of Priests ([mɑ̃l^ji]). Elders are community members above the age of 65 willing to be responsible for organising life in the human realm. This includes harvests, conflict between neighbours and the general education of children, amongst other things. Their knowledge of the past within human memory is valued. Priests are community members above the age of 17 who transcend the gender binarity and are hence seen as fully in line with nature. They are responsible for the spiritual well-being of the community. This includes the sphere of medicine, communing within the Spirit World and keeping knowledge of the past beyond human memory. Once every five years, representatives of these councils throughout Vlanje discuss matters that affect all Arvians. Communication between close-by villages happens more frequently.

3 Phonology

3.1 Phonemic Inventory

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	postalveolar palatal	velar glotal
glosive	7.5		t, d		hig ?
hasal	m		h		7
tap			r		
fricative		f. v	8,2	1.3	h
approximant				Ú	
lateral approximant			L		

Arva's phonemic inventory consists of 20 consonants. The consonant inventory draws on the 20 most common consonants cross-linguistically (Gordon 2016: 4) and includes most of them. Only /p/, /w/, /tJ/ are missing. Arva has an extra distinction of voicing in the labiodental alveolar and palatal fricatives, including both /f/ and /v/, both /J/ and /z/ and both /s/ and /z/.

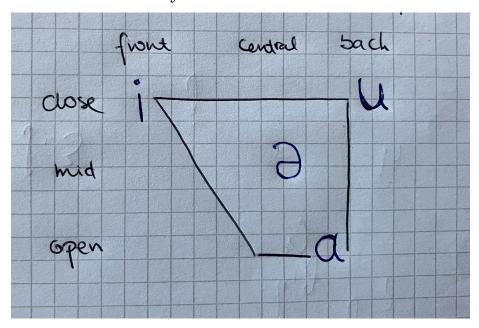
Voiceless stops are aspirated word-initially and pre-aspirated if following a stressed vowel. Thus, /p, t, k can be realised as [p, t, k], $[p^h, t^h, k^h]$ or $[^hp, t^h, k^h]$ or $[^hp, t^h, k^h]$ or $[^hp, t^h, k^h]$ or $[^hp, t^h, k^h]$

 $^{\rm h}$ t, $^{\rm h}$ k]. The same pattern of aspiration can be found in Scottish Gaelic (Bosch 2010). As in Bulgarian and some other Slavic languages, the front vowel /i/ can only follow palatal or palatalised consonants (Cubberley, Sussex 2006). This leads to consonants being palatalised if preceding this vowel. Thus, the surface representation /lavi/ to fly is [lav^ji].

However, morphological processes can lead to palatalisation as well, making it contrastive in those instances: Simple past tense is marked by palatalising the last consonant of the verbal root, independently of the following vowel. This leads to some verbs sounding the same in present or simple past tense:

- (1) a. $lav^{j}i$ to fly.PRESENT
 - b. $lav^{j}i$ to fly.PAST

3.2 Vowel Inventory



Arva's vowel inventory consists of only four vowels, a bit less than the 5-7 vowels typically found cross-linguistically (Gordon 2016). These are the close front unrounded /i/, the close back rounded/u/, the open back unrounded /a/ and finally the mid central unrounded schwa vowel /ə/. Arva also possesses four diphthongs: /ai, ia, ua, au/ and long equivalents of all vowels: /i:, u:, ə:, a:/. Assimilation leads to vowels being nasalised when directly preceding or following a nasal consonant.

The vowel inventory used to include the front open unrounded vowel /a/ instead of /a/ and hence had the most common differentiation in a four-vowel inventory (Gordon 2016). However, the open vowel has since undergone sound change and backing. This is because /a/ is the most common vowel in Kla-a, the language of the suppressor. Hence, speakers of Arva attached a negative connotation to /a/ and replaced it with /a/ through gradual linguistic change in the first few generations after The Purge. Only very few dialects still retain /a/.

Furthermore, Arva has vowel epenthesis, also called svarabhakti vowels. In Arva, these are of a default fixed quality: The epenthetic vowel is always /ə/. Schwa and /i/ make up the most common epenthetic vowel cross-linguistically (Hall 2010). As in Modern Irish, the svarabhakti vowel is inserted in consonant clusters where sonorants are followed by voiced obstruents (Krzysztof 2007). Breaking up unwanted consonant clusters is one of several reasons for epenthesis cross-linguistically. Most frequently, it is used to meet a language's structural requirements or to to bring words up to a minimal size (Hall 2010). Since only few instances of epenthetic vowels have been studied, it is still unclear

whether they differ phonetically or psycholinguistically from lexical vowels (Hall 2010). The Arvian epenthetic schwa has been described as being shorter than the lexical [ə], but further research into this is needed. Epenthetic vowels are treated as non-existant by phonological patterns. This lead Piggott (1995) to argue that they are lacking a mora and hence weightless. Hence, they do not show up in the underlying representation of Arva. The language's name itself has an underlying representation of V.CCV, /arva/ but a surface representation of V.CV.CV [arəva].

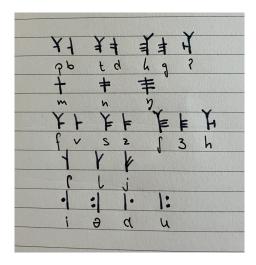
As in most other languages with svarabhakti vowels, epenthesis is not marked in spelling (Krzysztof 2007). This is striking for Arva, since Arvians pride themselves on having a phonemic alphabet. Scholars argue that since svarabhakti vowels first surfaced in the Second Age, while the alphabet is said to date back to the First Age, it was never updated. Another theory incorporates the indications that speakers are not always as conscious of epenthic vowels as they are of lexical vowels (Hall 2010) – maybe Arvians do not realise there are extra vowels worth writing down.

3.3 Syllable Structure, Stress and a Note on Bio-Acoustics

Arva's syllable structure can be V, CV, CCV or CVV. It allows heavy syllables with two moras and consonant clusters of up to two consonants, but does not permit codas (except in borrowed words). The stress falls on the last syllable in one or two syllable words and on the second-last syllable in three or more syllable words. Schwa can carry stress in Arva.

Interestingly, Arvian sounds fit within Maddieson and Coupé's (2015) findings of correlations between a language's acoustics and adaptation to the local environment. They ordered languages by how many consonants can surface in a syllable and put them on a spectrum from 0 (very vowel-heavy) to 6 (very consonant-heavy). This index was compared cross-linguistically to environmental factors. A correlation emerged between areas with high precipitation and hence more tree cover and languages that rely less on consonants and more on vowels. Arva, a vowel-heavy language with an index of 2 spoken in a lush mountainous forest, fits this conclusion well.

4 Alphabet



Arva's alphabet has similarities to the Ogham Alphabet used to write Early Irish (Springer 2021). Similarly to Ogham, it is written downwards and consists of horizontal or angular lines on either side of a vertical line. This phonemic alphabet differentiates between consonants and vowels (lines and dots). Sounds are grouped together by their place of articulation. Stops are represented by lines on the left side of the vertical line, for example. Unvoiced consonants are marked with a downward facing arrow.

Arvians have a mostly oral tradition. The written word is sacred and reserved for communication with the Spirits. Hence, writing down mundane things is a sign of hubris. Arvians often only learn to read and write in adulthood. Arvian Priests, keepers of a community's knowledge, study linguistics ([a?mjiluzə], literally 'soul/essence of speech'). Their alphabet is intentionally phonemic.

Arva is most typically written on tree bark with a sharp metal object (an $[\alpha ? m \tilde{u}]$). On rarer occasions, including burials, words are burned onto animal bones.

5 Lexicon

Arva's word classes include verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, pronouns and conjunctions. Additionally to providing a Swadesh List, I will discuss Arvian honorific pronouns.

5.1 Pronouns

Social identity, closeness and how it manifests in language is an important question for human interaction. Pronouns are one way to socially evaluate and refer to interlocutors with respect or deference (Agha 1994). To this end, many

typologically different languages have honorific pronouns, the T-V distinction in Spanish being one obvious example (Raymond 2016). Arva is one of these languages, with a distinction between normal personal pronouns (which are possessive pronouns when used as suffixes):

Person	1	2	3
\overline{SG}	$[z^{j}i]$	[zu]	[za]
PL	$[n^{j}\tilde{i}]$ (excl), $[m^{j}\tilde{i}]$ (incl)	$[n\tilde{u}]$	$[n\tilde{lpha}]$

And honorific personal pronouns:

Person	1	2	3
SG	[3 ^j i]	[3u]	[30]
PL	$[\mathfrak{y}^{j}\widetilde{i}]$	$[ilde{ ilde{u}}]$	$[\mathfrak{y}\tilde{lpha}]$

Honorific pronouns are only used by and for Arvian Elders and Priests, who are seen as the backbone of any Arvian village and hold great power and responsibility over their communities. Arva's honorific pronouns can hence be seen as an example of the semantic notion of power as defined by Brown and Gilman's power-and-solidarity model of pronomial usage (1968). Their use is non-reciprocal and inherently assymetric (Brown and Gilman 1968). Interestingly, honorific pronouns pronouns do not have a distinction between exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns. The question of why or if modern Arva merely lost this feature has led to much research and debate.

Of course, since not every Arvian is awarded to honour of this second set of pronouns no direct comparison to Spanish T-V distinction, discussed by Raymond (2016), can be made. Still, social distance is encoded in both instances (Raymond 2016). The use of honorific pronouns depends on the speech event, with relevant variables being topic, context as well as the affective relationship between interlocutors (Agha 1994). To illustrate, an Arvian Elder would use honorific pronouns while giving advice or orders within their official role. The same person would use non honorific pronouns when talking informally to their grandchild.

5.2 Swadesh List

Phonemic	Gloss	Category
[mjaku]	big	property
[mjal ^j i]	small	property
[k ^h ui]	long	property
$[t^{hj}iza]$	warm	property
	cold	property
[ŋũ∫ui]	old	property
[vjura]	truthful	property
[gladnã]	hungry	property
[giddild] [rudnõ]	bad	
[k ^h a?o]	wet	property
		property
[jau]	pointy/pointed	property
[arəlu]	guileless/unsuspecting	property
$[\mathrm{vm} ilde{\mathrm{e}}]$	far	property
[roiga]	animal	animal
[roigaʃu]	skin	animal product
[bəga]	song	art
[luvʒ ^j i]	heart	body part
[kʰo∫a]	waist	body part
[bra]	beard	body part
$[ilde{ ext{ram}} ilde{ ext{u}}]$	eat	body action
$[m\tilde{a}la]$	breathe	body action
$[m\tilde{a}pa]$	laugh	body action
[jãnũ]	live	body action
[hrala]	grow	body action
$[\mathrm{d} 3^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}]$	${ m tree}$	environment
[ʒə̃nɑ̃l ^j i]	seed	environment
[dʒ ^j i∫u]	bark	environment
[lui]	flower	environment
[zja]	sun	environment
[zatuvə]	moon	environment
[gud ^j iŋã]	earth	evironment
[kʰraja]	sky	environment
[mãːja]	nature	environment
[bugovə]	fire	environment
[fətu]	mountain	environment
$[\tilde{s}\tilde{s}n\tilde{lpha}]$	house	environment
$[ext{t}^{ ext{h}} ext{reva}]$	grass	environment
[bəgə∫ ^j i]	sing	human action
[ʔaju]	look at/watch	human action
$[p^hrev^i]$	mean	human action
[va]	say	human action
$[lav^{j}i]$	fly	action
[100 1]	<i>y</i>	4001011

[ljasəi]	shine	action				
[dulə]	hang down	action				
[bãmãʰpə]	see	perceptual motion				
$[ext{m} ilde{lpha}]$	priest	social position				
[h ^j i?a]	Purge	historical event				
$[as\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}]$	soulmate	person				
[ŋãr ^j i]	man	person				
[hɾʲilʲiː]	Counsel of Elders	political				
$[ext{m} ilde{ ext{a}} ext{l}^{ ext{j}} ext{i}]$	Counsel of Priests	political				
[a?m ^j ĩlu-zə]	linguistics	knowledge				
[a?mũ]	writing utensil	knowledge				
[vlã-kãn]	peakwards	adverb				
[izə-kãn]	lakewards	abverb				
[zə̃mja-hkãn]	toward the land	adverb				
[sau-kãn]	toward the wild	adverb				
$[\mathrm{p^hu} \mathrm{idu}]$	below	adverb				
$[\mathrm{pler}_{\mathrm{d}}]$	staff	object				
[butu∫ ^j i]	boot	object				
$[\mathrm{h}^{\mathrm{j}}\mathrm{i}]$	hat	object				
[ʃala]	scarf	object				
[ara]	blue	colour				
$[ilde{ ilde{ ilde{i}}} ilde{ ilde{lpha}}]$	green	colour				
[ʒajul ^j i]	white	colour				
$[\mathrm{k^h} ilde{a} \mathrm{n} ilde{e}]$	black	colour				
$[au ilde{lpha} ilde{n}^{j} ilde{f i}]$	silver	colour				
$[ext{m} ilde{ ext{u}} ext{y}^{ ext{j}} ilde{ ext{i}}]$	morning	time				
$[ext{n} ilde{ ext{u}}]$	only	conjunction				
$[h\alpha]$	but	conjunction				
[aru]	and	conjunction				
$[\mathrm{t^h}\mathrm{ra}]$	to be	verb				
[lur ^j a]	to have	verb				

6 Spatial Directions

Language reflects the environment it is spoken in, the socio-cultural as well as the geographic. The various inter-playing responses to the environment can be reflected within spatial language specifically (Palmer et al. 2017). The fact that linguistic systems seem to respond to the area in which they are spoken was coined in the Typographic Correspondence Hypothesis (TCH) by Palmer (2015). The extent to which frames of reference (FoRs), how we express directions, are influenced by the environment is still debated.

While English either frames objects in terms of places (the lake is at the foot of the mountain) or looks at the viewer's asymmetries (the tree is left of the house), Arva gives directions independent of geometries of particular objects or views, opting for evoking topography. Levison's (1996) terms, Arva gives absolute directions. They do not change, even if the observer were to move. If the flower is peakward, instead of to in front of me, it will still be peakward if I turn my back. Arvian directions are dependent on local terrain and hence do not remain constant across territories. Although this is incredibly distinct to the English left/right dychotomy, it shows similarity to other ways to express spatial settings, such as those of Guugu Yithmurr (which uses cardinal directions) and Marshallese (which also invokes typography) (Haviland 1998, Palmer et al. 2017). In Arva, spatial direction is expressed through adverbs:

(2) a. Roughly North

vlã-kãn peak-towards

peakwards/ towards the peak

b. Roughly East

izə-kãn lake-towards

lakewards/ towards the lake

c. Roughly South

zə̃mja-hkãn land-towards

towards the land (refers to the old land)

d. Roughly West

sau-kãn wilderness-towards

towards the wilderness

The way and extent of a society's interaction with nature also correlates to strategy preference. Arva, with its rural society culture close to nature, shows a geocentric preference, which falls in line with Palmer et al's (2017) as well as Dasen and Mishra's (2010: 307) findings. Furthermore, absolute systems often correlate with rural environments and salient points in the environment (Palmer 2015). Arva is exemplary, since its society lives in between a big river, the old land they had to flee from, the salient [vlanjə] mountain peak.

Because of their geocentric spatial orientation, Arvian speakers have remarkable spacial orientation skills comparable to those of Hai//om people described by Widlok (1997), who are expert trackers. These skills start to settle in in early childhood already. Dasen and Mishra (2010: 315) showed that geocentric FoR can exist with 4 year old children, much earlier than the child's use of geocentric language.

Interestingly, since the spatial language is dependent on territory it can change between villages. North Arva is spoken in villages to the North of [vlɑ̃njə]'s peak, so their peakward is South, instead of North.

Because of Arva's past history of the Purge and the society's history of displacement, we know they must have used other spatial directions before the Purge. Which ones remains a mystery so far.

7 Verbal Morphosyntax

Arva is a synthetic language with agglutinative morphology and a VSO word order, one of the rarer word orders cross-linguistically (Croft 2022: 189). Many of its inflective markers are products of grammaticalisation, a process whereby lexical items become grammatical items (Lehmann 2015: 13). Some see it as the shift from an analytic to a synthetic construction (Ronneberg-Sibold 1980: 113-15), called the agglutination process. However, Lehman (2015) shows that the process of grammaticalisation is open-ended and very hard to define. Nevertheless, agglutination can be observed between analytic Proto-Ravian and modern synthetic Arva. Arvian modality gives an example for this shift. As explained in more detail below, Proto-Ravian modal verbs have evolved into prefixes.

7.1 Mood

Arva has three mood distinctions: declarative, interrogative and imperative mood. Declarative mood is unmarked, interrogative mood changes the word order from VSO to SVO and imperative mood is marked through the suffix [-i]:

(3) a. $\tilde{\text{ramu}}$ zu eat.DEC 2SG You eat.

b. zu rāmū
2sg eat.int
Do you eat?
c. rāmū-i zu
eat-impv 2sg
Eat!

If the verbal stem ends with the vowel [i], it turns into a long vowel in imperative mood. Imperatives in Arva do not need to have an addressee. 'Noncanonical imperatives' (Aikhvenhald 2015: 133) are also allowed. These inlude hortatives, commands directed to the first person, and jussives, commands to third person.

7.2 Tense

Arva's main tense distinction is between past and non-past, which is not unusual cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2015: 134). Past tense is marked by palatalising the last consonant in the verbal root:

- (4) a. rãmũ zu. eat.PRES
 - You eat.
 - b. $r\tilde{a}m^{j}\tilde{u}$ zu eat.PAST 2SG
 - You ate.
 - c. hrala zu grow.PRES 2SG
 - You grow.
 - d. $hral^{j}a$ zu grow.PAST 2SG
 - You grew.

7.3 Aspect

Arva distinguishes between the unmarked perfective and the imperfective, which is marked through the suffix [-u]. Aspect and tense do not combine.

(5) a. hrala z^ji
grow.PERF 1SG

You grow.
b. hralau z^ji
grow.IMPERF 1SG

You grow (usually, habitually).

7.4 Modality

Arva distinguishes between desiderative, potential and obligatory modality. These are all marked by prefixes. [iɑrɑ-] marks desiderative modality, [flu-] potential and [g-] obligatory. Scholars assume that all three affixes have evolved from Proto-Valan lexical items. [iɑrɑ-] evolved from the modal verb [iɑr], want and [flu-] has been linked to the Proto-Ravian modal verb [plu], could. Because of these historical connections, it is suspected that [g-] evolved from another modal verb. The obligatory modality marker is also the only Ravian affix that consists of only a consonant, which puzzles historical linguists looking at Arva. It also leads to many irregular forms due to Ravian phonotactics, as we can see by the deletion of the [h] in example c.

(6) a. iara-hrala z^ji
DES.grow 1sG

I want to grow.
b. flu-hrala z^ji
POT.grow 1sG

I might grow.
c. g-rala z^ji
OBL.grow 1sG

I need to grow.

7.5 Evidentiality

A quarter of languages world-wide mark the source of information in every statement (Aikhvenhald 2005: 1). Arva shows two opposing choices: the unmarked 'firsthand' and 'non-firsthand' marked by the prefix $[l\alpha-]$. 'Firsthand' (the term used by Aikhvenhald 2005: 25) in Arva refers to witnessing an occurance yourself, while 'non-firsthand' refers to being told or finding out about an occurance in other ways. Example 7 shows the grammatical difference in a 'firsthand' statement (a) and a 'non-firsthand' statement (b).

 $\begin{array}{cccc} (7) & a. & r\tilde{a}m^{j}\tilde{u} & zu \\ & eat.PAST & 2sg \end{array}$

You ate.

b. la-rãm^jũ zu EV-eat.PAST 2SG

You ate (I have been told).

8 Nouns

Arvian nouns are indefinite when unmarked. The determiner [-ta] can be added to make a noun definite.

8.1 Grammatical case

Arva uses a number of cases to mark what would be English prepositions on its nouns. The language still uses some postpositions, for example when connoting movement:

(8) sə̃nã-sta və house-loc into

into a house

Most of the case markers can be traced back to Proto-Ravian postpositions, which must have merged with the noun. An example is the Proto-Ravian postposition [lu], at, which surfaces in Arva's Adessive case marker [-?lu].

The table below outlines the 11 cases using the example of [sõnã] house/home:

Case	Case Marker	Example	English translation
Nominative	unmarked	$[s\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}]$	a house
Accusative	-lə	$[s\widetilde{e}n\widetilde{a}le]$	$a\ house$
Genitive	-u	$[s\widetilde{\operatorname{s}}\widetilde{\operatorname{n}}\widetilde{\operatorname{a}}\mathrm{u}]$	$of\ a\ house$
Locative	-sta	[sə̃nãsta]	in/by a house
Adessive	-?lu	[sə̃nã?lu]	at a house
Superessive	$-\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{j}}\mathrm{i}$	[sə̃nãg ^j i]	on top of a house
Essessive	-ələ	$[s\tilde{e}n\tilde{a}?ele]$	$as\ a\ house$
Instructive	$-\mathfrak{y}^{\mathtt{j}}\mathrm{i}$	[sə̃nãŋ ^j i]	$using\ a\ house$
Comitative	-ka	$[s\tilde{e}n\tilde{a}^hka]$	$with\ a\ house$
Abessive	-knu	[sə̃nãʰknũ]	$without\ a\ house$
Vocative	α	[a sə̃nã]	Oh House!

Most of these cases can be found in Finnish as well (Kiparsky 2001), although Arva has less distinctions within locative cases, with adessive, superessive and a

general locative case. Finnish uses Comitative, Abessive and Instructive cases only marginally today (Kiparsky 2001), while Arva still heavily relies on them.

8.2 Plurals

Plurals in Arva are not marked on the noun. Instead, they are inferred by a specific numeral. Arva has an extensive list of numerals, but the most important ones, used day to day, are $[\eta\tilde{a}]$ one/the, [da] two, a couple, $[l^jiji]$ some and [rula] many (any more than two). Numerals are added before the noun they refer to. They also make the noun definite.

When referring to a person or a Spirit, ie anything's soul or essence, the suffix [-zə] is added. Having a specific series of numericals for living things is comparable to Scottish Gaelic, which has numerals referring to people specifically (McLeod, Watson 2010: 342).

(9) a. da sõnã 2.NUM house.NOM.PL $two\ houses$

b. da-zə mã $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{mã} \\ & 2.\text{NUM-SPI} \end{array} \text{ priest.NOM.PL} \\ & \textit{two priests} \end{array}$

9 Adjectives

Adjectives follow the nouns they refer to. Instead of the English adverb very, Arva uses the suffic $[-mn\tilde{u}]$ to add emphasis to an adjective:

(10) t^h ra fətu-ta $\mathfrak{y} \tilde{\mathfrak{u}} \mathfrak{f} u i$ -mn $\tilde{\mathfrak{u}}$ be mountain-DET old-EMPH

This mountain is very old.

10 Basic sentences

Arva's word order is VSO(Adv). Similarly to Gaelic, another VSO language, adverbs can occur at different places within the sentence (MacLeod, Watson 2010: 310, 315, 316). In Arva, adverbs most often occur after the object. Clauses are linked through the conjunction [i], which refers to the English *that*.

(11) bāmā^hpə z^ji i t^hra zu gladna mūŋ^ji-hta see 1sg conj be 2sg hungry morning-det

I see that you are hungry this morning.

Relative clauses are added with the relative pronoun [gura], which means who or what. It is used in relative clauses as well as interrogatives:

- $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{(12)} & \text{a.} & \text{gura zu} & \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ra} \\ & \text{who} & 2\text{sg to.be} \end{array}$
 - Who are you?
 - b. t^h ra z^j i $\eta \tilde{a}$ -zə $\eta \tilde{a} r^j$ i gura bəgə f^j i bəga-lə-ta to.be 1sg 1num-spi man rel sing.Past song-acc-det

I am the man who sang that song.

The ordering of affixes within morphology is a complicated question with grammatical, phonological, syntactical and semantic and extra-grammatical factors, such as social ones (Rice 2011). Arva belongs to the template languages, which have seemingly arbitrary affix ordering (Ricec 2001). Arva's template is the following for verbs: MODALITY-EVIDENTIALITY-stem-MOOD-ASPECT and this for nouns: stem-SPIRIT MARKER-CASE-POSSESSIVE PRONOUN-DETERMINER.

11 Glossed Text

11.1 Arvian Greetings

(13) a. Good night.

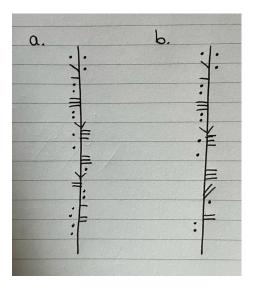
iara-bəgəf^ji: zatuvə-zə DES.sing.IMPV moon-SPI

May the Moon Spirit sing.

b. Good morning.

iara-bəgəf^ji: zja-zə DES.sing.IMPV sun-SPI

May the Sun Spirit sing.



11.2 The Hobbit

I am now translating a slightly adapted section from Tolkien's The Hobbit into Arva. In order to fit with Arvian phonotactics, hobbit would be pronounced [hɑːbətə], Bilbo [bʲiləbu] and Gandalf [gɑ̃nə̃daləfə]. Longer sentences are cut into parts (such as b-d).

(14) a. bāmā^hpjə ŋā ha:bətə arəlu nũ ŋār^ji-lə ŋũʃui see.PAST 1.NUM hobbit.DEF guileless only man-ACC old $p^hrə \int a^{-h}ka \ mũŋ^j \tilde{i} - ta$ staff-COM morning-DET

All that the unsuspecting hobbit saw that morning was an old man with a staff.

b. lur^ja za h^ji-lə ara jau have.PAST 2SG hat-ACC blue pointy

He had a tall pointed blue hat,

c. \int ala-lə t^h ãni \tilde{i} gura- g^j i dul j ə bra-u-za scarf-ACC silver REL-SUPERESS hang.down.PAST beard-GEN-3SG.POSS $n^j\tilde{i}$ ku 3ajul j i k^h o \int a-u-za p^h u:du long white waist-GEN-3SG.POSS below

a silver scarf over which his long white beard hung down below his waist,

- d. aru da butu j^j i-lə mjaku-mn \tilde{u} $k^h\tilde{a}\eta\tilde{\vartheta}$ and 2.Num boots.PL-ACC big-EMPH black and immense black boots.
- e. iara-bəgə \int^{j} i: zja-zə DES-sing.IMPV sun-SPI

Good morning!

- f. v^ja b^jiləbu aru t^hra za vjura say.PAST Bilbo and be.PAST 3SG truthful said Bilbo, and he meant it.
- g. ljas^jə-u 3ja aru t^hra t^hrəva ïnā-mnũ shine.PAST-IMPERF sun and be.PAST grass green-very

The sun was shining and the grass was very green.

h. ha ʔaju gãnə̃daləfə za-lə but look.at Gandalf 3sg-ACC

But Gandalf looked at him.

i. gura zu p^hrəv^ji, v^ja za INT 2SG mean say.PAST 2SG

"What do you mean?" he said.

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Summative 2

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