

# **CJORDAN**

*Grammar sketch and glossed text*

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## 1. Language context

Cjordan is a regional language with roughly three thousand native speakers, all members of a mostly nomadic trading community. Cjordan speakers originate from a landlocked valley eastern of a mountain range located in the centre of the Ademuja region, a fictional Lapland. This crescent-shaped mountain range divides the Larekian empire in two, going from the rough location of Inari to that of Kemi in real-life Finland. Cjordan belongs to the Finnic language family and exhibits similar patterns to Finnish, such as its agglutinative nature, lack of grammatical gender, morphological derivations (Laakso, 2001), and its productivity through compounding (Virkkunen et al., 2018).

Cjordan trade consists mostly of textile crafts, such as embroidery, tapestry wool, spinning, and they originally travelled from city to city within the eastern part of the Larekian empire in smaller groups, made up of various families and a sheep herd. Cjordan is transmitted through both speech and writing, and music holds an important place in Cjordan culture. The language revolves mainly around trade, time, craft, family, and travel (cf. § 3, Table 3).

The valley's open connection with the rest of the eastern region means the speakers of Cjordan have always been in contact with speakers of closely related languages, leading to the preservation of Cjordan. However, with the evolution of infrastructures throughout the empire and the creation of a path circling around the Northern edge of the mountain range, access to the western part of the empire has become easier. Richer due to its eased access to the ocean, it has become an essential area for Cjordan speakers, who are now able to trade with a larger population. Consequently, this newfound market is leading to Cjordan meeting new, unrelated language varieties, which are quickly picked up by younger native speakers of Cjordan through playing with other children met during stops on the road.

A richer region also means better education facilities, and numerous families chose to get settled in the western area to allow their children to access university, where programmes are taught in western languages.

While Cjordan is not considered endangered within the Larekian empire, this is slowly leading to fewer younger Cjordan speakers, and the emergence of mixed varieties between Cjordan and western languages.

## 2. Phonemic inventory

### 2.1 Consonants

Cjordan consonants exhibit six places of articulation, namely bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal; and five manners of articulation — plosives, nasals, trills, approximants, and lateral approximants. These combine to create fourteen consonant phonemes (see also Table 1):

**Bilabial:** plosives /p/ and /b/, nasal /m/

**Labiodental:** approximant /v/

**Alveolar:** plosives /t/ and /d/, nasal /n/, trill /r/, lateral approximant /l/

**Palatal:** plosive /c/, approximant /j/

**Velar:** plosives /k/ and /g/

**Glottal:** plosive /ʔ/

Out of its fourteen consonant phonemes, Cjordan only presents two consonant allophones: the palatal plosive [c], allophonic realisation of /k/, and the glottal stop [ʔ], allophonic realisation of /g/. They respectively occur according to the following rules:

- a) /k/ → [c] / \_ [j], [i]
- b) /g/ → [ʔ] / \_ #

**Table 1: Consonant inventory in Cjordan**

CONSONANTS	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	c	k g	ʔ
Nasal	m		n			
Trill			r			
Approximant		v		j		
Lateral approximant			l			

Cjordan does not have fricatives, due to traditional beliefs and superstitions: as a polytheist society, Cjordanians believe that gods and demons are responsible for their health, the elements, or natural disasters, for example. The wind, in particular, is the making of a demon and usually brings destruction in their home valley and on the road during their travels. Therefore, every sound resembling that of the wind is avoided in Cjordan — hence the absence of fricatives.

Cjordan admits twenty-three consonant clusters, which cannot be longer than CC. Like in Finnish, a language related to Cjordan, consonant clusters can occur as both word-initial and word-internal, but word-final consonant sequences are avoided through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel between the two consonants — specifically <o> in Cjordan. Moreover, word-internal consonant sequences contain a syllable boundary between the two consonants (Suomi et al., 2008).

The allowed consonant sequences are as follows, organised regarding the manner of articulation of the first consonant:

**Plosives:** (*bilabial*) /pʌ/, /pr/, /pj/, /bʌ/, /br/, /bj/  
(*alveolar*) /tʌ/, /tr/, /tj/, /dʌ/, /dr/, /dj/  
(*palatal*) /cj/  
(*velar*) /kʌ/, /kr/, /gl/, /gr/

**Nasals:** (*bilabial*) /mj/  
(*alveolar*) /nj/

**Trills:** (*alveolar*) /rd/, /rt/, /rj/, /rk/

Unlike its Finnic relative (Suomi et al., 2008), Cjordan does not allow same-consonant sequences such as /nn/ or /mm/, which can occur word-internally due to its agglutinative nature which relies heavily on infixes and suffixes. If a consonant is repeated, one of them is deleted.

Any other consonant sequence is forbidden in Cjordan, and the epenthetic <o> is added to avoid them, no matter their place of occurrence.

## 2.2 Vowels

Cjordan vowels present three points of articulation — front, central and back; five heights, namely close, close-mid, mid, open-mid, and open; and both short and long vowels. These parameters are combined to create seventeen vowel phonemes, as shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Vowel inventory in Cjordan**

VOWELS	Short vowels			Long vowels	
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Back
Close	ɪ y		u	i:	u:
Close-mid	e		o	e:	o:
Mid		ə			
Open-mid	ɛ œ		ʌ	ɛ:	
Open	a		ɑ	a:	

Cjordan presents varied vocalic allophones.

Designated short vowels become long in word-final positions (Rule c), /ɪ/ becomes [i:] in word-final positions (also exhibited in Rule c).

$$c) /ɪ, e, u, o, ɛ/ \rightarrow [i:, e:, u:, o:, ɛ:] / \_ \#$$

/u/ is realised as [y] when placed in between two consonants (Rule d).

$$d) /u/ \rightarrow [y] / C\_C$$

/e/ is realised as [ə] when preceding a word-final /n/ (Rule e).

$$e) /e/ \rightarrow [ə] / \_ /n/\#$$

Cjordan allows various vowel sequences: six diphthongs and one triphthong, and does not permit vowel sequences longer than VVV nor double vowels, unlike Finnish where as many as four consequent vowels can occur, and most vowels can be doubled (Suomi et al., 2008).

The Cjordan diphthongs are /ie/, /ia/, /iu/, /io/, /ei/, and /ou/. The vowel sequence

<ea> is *always* realised as [e] — e.g., *neakonen*, lit. ‘to drink’, is pronounced as [nekonən].

The only triphthong is /eia/.

### 3. Lexicon and Swadesh list

There are six word classes in Cjordan: nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, conjunctions, and determiners.

The Cjordan lexicon is highly productive due to its compounding aspect, meaning that new lexemes are created through the combination of various existing free lexemes. A new lexeme's meaning can be determined by the user through context, their knowledge of the semantic meanings of the combined existing lexemes, or that of the world or society they navigate (Booij, 2004).

An example of a Cjordan compound word is that of *dju cal*. Made up of the adjective *dju* (lit. 'rich') and noun *cal* (lit. 'piece'), *dju cal* is translated to 'money'.

Moreover, Cjordan does not possess grammatical gender, but it differentiates between animacy and inanimacy.

As explained in the language context of Cjordan, the lexicon revolves around trade, family, time, craft, and travel.

The language of trade is essential due to the nature of Cjordans' lives and occupations. It centres around money, price, and exchange.

Parent/child relationships hold an important and respected place in Cjordan traditions, as children are the only ones who can keep the culture alive in the future.

The notion of time, especially that of seasons, is essential to the Cjordan culture: Spring marks the beginning of travelling and trading, while Winter is the time to go back to the valley and reunite with relatives (*aitamit*, lit. 'family time', is another compound word that means 'Winter').

Cjordan craft mainly touches on weaving, spinning yarn, knitting, and dyeing. The lexicon of fabric and sewing is a fundamental part of Cjordan, as it is what brings income and allows families to live comfortably.

#### Table 3: Swadesh list

ID	WORD	PHONEMIC	GLOSS	PART OF SPEECH	CATEGORY
1	aitamit	[aitamɪt]	winter	noun	time
2	neakomit	[nekomɪt]	spring	noun	time
3	jorumit	[jorymɪt]	summer	noun	time
4	eirumit	[ɛɪrymɪt]	autumn	noun	time
5	mit	[mɪt]	time	noun	time
6	aitag	[aitaʔ]	family	noun	human
7	kalag	[kalaʔ]	parent	noun	human
8	pareg	[pareʔ]	sibling	noun	human
9	oita	[oita:]	hello (spoken)	noun	interaction
10	kajo	[kajo:]	goodbye (spoken)	noun	interaction
11	ein	[ɛɪn]	no/negation	noun	interaction
12	jo	[jo:]	yes	noun	interaction
13	meial	[mɛɪal]	wool/yarn	noun	animal product
14	bjelakun	[bjɛlakyn]	meat	noun	animal product
15	djucał	[dʒykal]	money	noun	trade
16	iket	[iket]	music	noun	arts
17	cał	[kał]	piece	noun	object

18	cjea	[cje:]	food	noun	object
19	bil	[bil]	beer	noun	object
20	jorun	[joryn]	warmth/heat	noun	nature
21	bloma	[bloma:]	flower	noun	nature
22	olteg	[olteʔ]	sun	noun	nature
23	neak	[nek]	water	noun	nature
24	dramu	[dramy:]	path/road	noun	nature
25	kulem	[kyləm]	frost	noun	nature
26	aiko	[aiko:]	fire	noun	nature
27	maren	[marən]	go	verb	motion
28	marenomun	[marenomyn]	travel	verb	motion
29	dineatonen	[dɪnetonən]	meet	verb	motion
30	meiatein	[mɛɪatɛɪn]	spin	verb	misc action
31	meiadeanen	[mɛɪadɛnən]	sew	verb	misc action
32	djunen	[dʒynən]	sell	verb	misc action
33	djutein	[dʒytɛɪn]	buy	verb	misc action
34	ratun	[ratyn]	bring	verb	misc action
35	cialen	[cialən]	say	verb	misc action
36	taertoronen	[taɛtoronən]	celebrate	verb	misc action
37	kların	[kların]	wait	verb	misc action
38	omjanen	[omjanən]	be	verb	body action
39	neakonen	[nekonən]	drink	verb	body action
40	cjearonen	[cʒeronən]	eat	verb	body action
41	jalonen	[jalonən]	sleep	verb	body action
42	bjo	[bjo:]	good	adjective	property

43	bei	[bei:]	bad	adjective	property
44	djujo	[dɟyjo:]	expensive	adjective	property
45	dju	[dju:]	rich	adjective	property
46	djuceig	[dɟykerʔ]	cheap	adjective	property
47	joru	[joru:]	hot	adjective	property
48	eiru	[ɛru:]	cold	adjective	property
49	iona	[iona:]	new	adjective	property
50	mu	[mu:]	far	adjective	location
51	ne	[ne:]	in	adjective	location
52	tei	[tei:]	out	adjective	location
53	alto	[alto:]	here	adverb	location
54	atje	[atje:]	again	adverb	time
55	na	[na:]	I/me	pronoun	person
56	ina	[ina:]	you/you	pronoun	person
57	ga	[ga:]	they/them (sg, a)	pronoun	person
58	geia	[geia:]	they/them (sg, in)	pronoun	object
59	nida	[nida:]	we/us	pronoun	person
60	nita	[nita:]	you/you	pronoun	person
61	nagi	[nagi:]	they/them (pl, a)	pronoun	person
62	neag	[neʔ]	they/them (pl, in)	pronoun	object
63	muri	[myri:]	a	determiners	quantifier
64	murieg	[myrieʔ]	some	determiners	quantifier
65	kari	[kari:]	two	determiners	quantifier
66	koli	[koli:]	three	determiners	quantifier
67	kemja	[kemja:]	four	determiners	quantifier
68	kiji	[kiji:]	five	determiners	quantifier



## 4. Morphosyntax of verbs

### 4.1 Infinitive

Verbs in Cjordan are regular and divided in two classes; the first one includes all verbs which infinitive forms end in *-nen*, the second one those which infinitives end in *-n*.

The infinitive suffixes work as follows: *-nen* is added to a root ending in *a* or after the epenthetic particle <*o*> that prevents forbidden consonant clusters, and *-n* follows roots that end in any other vowels, be it monophthongs, diphthongs or triphthongs.

### 4.2 Inflections

Cjordan verbs inflect for person (and consequently animacy), number, tense, and mood.

#### 4.2.1 Person and number

Personal pronouns (shown below in Table 4) as subjects are used as prefixes to verbs in Cjordan. Cjordan differentiates between animate and inanimate subjects.

**Table 4: Cjordan personal pronouns**

Number and person	Pronouns
1SG	na-
2SG	ina-
3SG (animate)	ga-
3SG (inanimate)	geia-
1PL	nida-
2PL	nita-
3PL (animate)	nagi-
3PL (inanimate)	neag-

Person and number are also inflected through conjugated suffixes, meaning personal pronouns are optional, especially in spoken/sung Cjordan, which differs from written Cjordan.

#### 4.2.2 Tense, mood, and voice

Cjordan tenses are indicated through conjugated suffixes, which also indicate person and number (cf. § 4.2.1). Cjordan possesses three tenses, one voice, and two moods bar the indicative one, as follows.

Cjordan has a present tense, a past tense, and a perfect tense (formed with the present, inflected from of ‘be’ (*omjanen*, the only irregular verb in Cjordan) and the past participle).

Cjordan does not possess a future tense, but future actions can be talked about using the conditional mood, formed with the present tense and the insertion of the infix *keno* between the verbal stem and the tense/person inflected suffix.

Cjordan also contains an imperative mood, formed with the infix *ka* placed between the verb stem and the present tense inflected suffix.

Cjordan only has one voice, active, due to religious beliefs, according to which each action, state of being, event, is the doing of an individual, be it a Cjordan speaker, a god, an animal, or a foreigner. Agents are therefore always subjects, and act upon objects through the active voice.

**Tables 5, 6, 7: Verbal paradigms for *jalonen* ‘to sleep’ in present, past, perfect tenses, and conditional and imperative moods in the active voice**

INDICATIVE MOOD			TENSE		
PERSON	NUMBER	ANIMACY	PRESENT	PAST	PERFECT
1	SINGULAR		najaloten	najaline	omjenajaline
2			inajalotet	inajalite	omjetinajalite
3		ANIMATE	gajalotun	gajalinu	omjunogajalinu
3		INANIMATE	geiajalotan	geiajalito	omjunogeiajalito
1	PLURAL		nidajalomen	nidajalime	omjomenidajalime
2			nitajalomet	nitajalitem	omjometonitajalomet
3		ANIMATE	nagjialomean	nagjialima	omjeanagjialima
3		INANIMATE	neagojalomat	neagojalimo	omjatoneagojalimo

CONDITIONAL MOOD			TENSE
PERSON	NUMBER	ANIMACY	PRESENT
1	SINGULAR		najalokenoten
2			inajalokenotet
3		ANIMATE	gajalokenotun
3		INANIMATE	geiajalokenotan
1	PLURAL		nidajalokenomen
2			nitajalokenomet
3		ANIMATE	nagjialokenomean
3		INANIMATE	neagojalokenomat

IMPERATIVE MOOD			TENSE
PERSON	NUMBER	ANIMACY	PRESENT
1	SINGULAR		jalokaten
2			jalokatet
3		ANIMATE	jalokatun
3		INANIMATE	
1	PLURAL		jalokamen
2			jalokamet
3		ANIMATE	jalokamean
3		INANIMATE	

## 5. Nouns and basic clauses

### 5.1 Morphological cases

Like its Finnic relative Finnish, Cjordan possesses an extensive number of morphological cases, totalling 14, which are inflexed on nominals (nouns, adjectives, and pronouns) through suffixes. Nominals also account for number and agreement with a possessor, if any.

Cjordan cases are partly based on Laury's (in Genetti, 2014) overview of Finnish morphological case marking.

**Table 8: Cjordan cases, their meaning, and their application through *neak* (lit. 'water')**

CASE	APPROX. MEANING	ILLUSTRATION
Nominative		<i>neak</i>
Genitive/accusative		<i>neak-el</i>
Dative		<i>neak-et</i>
Inessive	in, inside	<i>neak-o-ne</i>
Elative	from (the interior of)	<i>neak-ura</i>
Illative	into	<i>neak-ale</i>
Adessive	on, at, near	<i>neak-emi</i>
Ablative	from the outside of	<i>neak-o-teni</i>
Allative	onto	<i>neak-enu</i>
Translative	for, transformed into	<i>neak-aine</i>
Essive	as, at	<i>neak-an</i>
Abessive	without	<i>neak-ein</i>
Instructive	with, by means of	<i>neak-ume</i>
Comitative	accompanied with	<i>neak-ineat</i>

#### 5.1.1 Examples

Below are given glossed examples to illustrate each morphological case:

**a. Bjelakun omjuno pale.**

*bjelakun-∅ omj-uno pale-∅*  
 meat-NOM.SG be-PRS.3SG.INA nice-NOM.SG  
 "The meat is nice."

**b. Ein! Geialomjuno nael djucal!**

*ein geia-l-omjuno na-el djucal-e*  
 NEG 3SG.INA-EPEN-be.PRS.3SG.INA 1SG-GEN money-GEN  
 "No! This is my money!"



“Winter becomes spring.”

**k. Nidamarenomulomen aitagan.**

*nida-marenomu-l-omen*                      *aitag-an-∅*  
1PL-travel-EPEN-PRS.1PL              family-ESS-SG  
“We travel as a family.”

**l. Geialomjuno bei mokein.**

*geia-l-omjuno*                                      *bei-∅*                      *mok-ein-∅*  
3SG.INA-EPEN-be.PRS.3SG.INA              bad-NOM.SG salt-ABE-SG  
“This tastes bad without salt.”

**m. Inameiadeatet eibjo djuceigume meialume.**

*ina-meideadea-tet*                      *ein-o-bjo*                      *djuceig-ume-∅ meial-ume-∅*  
2SG-sew-PRS.2SG                      NEG-EPEN-good                      cheap-INS-SG yarn-INS-SG  
“You can’t sew well with cheap yarn.”

**n. Korekenotet inalel paregineatel?**

*Kore-keno-tet*                      *ina-l-el*                      *pareg-ineat-el*  
Come-COND-PRS.2SG                      2SG-EPEN-GEN                      sibling-COM-GEN  
“Will you come with your sibling?”

5.2 Syntax

5.2.1 Constituent order

Although a free word order language, Subject Verb Object is the most common order in both written and spoken Cjordan (Laury, in Genetti, 2014).

**o. Naneakine mutuget.**

*na-neak-ine*                                      *mutug-et*  
1SG-drink-PST.1SG                      wine-DAT  
[S   V                                      O]  
“I drink wine.”

**p. Ganeakinu mutuget jad nameiadealine meialet.**

*ga-neak-inu*                                      *mutug-et*                      *jad*                      *na-meiatei-l-ine*  
3SG-drink-PST.3SG                      wine-DAT                      and                      1SG-spin-EPEN-PST.1SG  
  
*meial-et*

yarn-DAT  
“He drank wine, and I spun yarn.”

Sentences such as *Mutuget naneakine*. (lit. ‘Wine I drink.’) are not ungrammatical, but the small amount of Cjordan users makes for limited, if not inexistant, dialectal variation and therefore word order change.

### 5.2.2 Formation of interrogatives

When a pronoun, the subject is always prefixed to the inflexed verb. However, when in a question, the prefix becomes a free morpheme that is placed after the inflexed verb (**Example n.**) giving the following word order: Verb Subject Object. Pronouns can be omitted in spoken Cjordan, which presents variations compared to written Cjordan. The VSO order also applies to nouns, proper nouns, and noun phrases as subjects in interrogative utterances.

#### **q. Omjetcjarite (ina)?**

*Omjet-cjear-ite* (ina)  
be-PRS.2SG-eat-PST.2SG (2SG)  
“Have you eaten?”

#### **r. Djulinu Tamio bjelakunet?**

*djul-inu* *Tamio bjelakun-et*  
sell-PAST.3SG.ANIM Tamio meat-DAT  
“Did Tamio sell the meat?”

- Wh-questions

In Wh-questions, wh-words are placed the beginning of the utterance (Huhmarniemi & Brattico, 2016), and the rest of the clause follows the VSO order, as shown below.

#### **s. Milin maritem (ita)?**

*milin* *mar-item* (ita)  
where go-PST.2PL (2PL)  
“Where did you go?”

#### **t. Tuta decimean namalen?**

*tuta* *decimean* *namalen*  
who want-PRS.3PL.ANIM see  
“Who do they want to see?”

## 6. Glossed text

Below is a glossed Cjordan text, more particularly a folk song, titled *Taetorin*. Meaning ‘celebration’, *Taetorin* is sung during community assemblies at the end of Winter, when each family prepares for the upcoming travels throughout the Larekian empire.

### *Taetorin*

#### **Aitamit omjunogeiamarito, cialokatet “omjetokatet bjo!”**

*Aitamit-∅*                      *omjun-o-geia-mar-ito,*  
Winter-NOM.SG              be.PRS.3SG.INA-EPEN-3SG.INA-go-PERF.3SG.INA

*cial-o-katet*                      “*omjet-o-katet*                      *bjo!*”  
say-EPEN-IMP.2SG              “be.PRS.2SG-EPEN-IMP.2SG              good!”  
‘Winter has gone, say “farewell!”’

#### **Neakomit galomjunotan alto, geiagoratutan blomatel jad oltegel**

*Neakomit-∅*                      *ga-l-omjun-o-tan*    *alto,*  
Spring-NOM.SG              3SG.INA-EPEN-be.PRS.3SG.INA-EPEN-PRS.3SG    here

*geiag-o-ratu-tan*    *bloma-t-el*    *jad olteg-el*  
3SG.INA-EPEN-bring-PRS.3SG.INA    flower-PL-ACC    and sun-ACC  
‘Spring is here, it brings flowers and sunshine’

#### **Nidataetorokenomen jorunel cjealineat jad biltineat**

*Nida-taetor-o-kenomen*    *jorun-el*    *cjea-l-ineat*    *jad bil-t-ineat*  
2PL-celebrate-EPEN-COND.2PL    warmth-ACC    food-EPEN-COM    and beer-PL-COM  
‘We will celebrate the warmth with food and beers’

#### **Cialokatet kajo inaletel aitagetel, muril iona mit jad ionat dramut neagoklarimat!**

*Cial-o-katet*                      *kajo ina-l-et-el*    *aitag-et-el,*    *muri-l*  
say-EPEN-IMP.2SG              bye 2SG-EPEN-DAT-GEN    family-DAT-GEN    a-EPEN

*iona-∅*                      *mit-∅*    *jad iona-t*    *dramu-t*  
new-NOM.SG              time-NOM.SG and new-NOM.PL    road-NOM.PL

*neag-o-klari-mat!*  
3PL.INA-EPEN-wait-PRS.3PL.INA!  
‘Say goodbye to your family, a new time and new roads await!’

### **Kate dineatokenomen atje?**

*Kate dineat-okenomen atje?*  
when meet-COND.2PL again?  
‘When will we meet again?’

### **Nidalomjomenokenomen atje kate kulemet neagomjunotan Ademojane**

*Nida-l-omjomen-o-kenomen atje kate kulem-et*  
2PL-EPEN-be.PRS.2PL-EPEN-COND.2PL again when frost-DAT

*neag-omjun-o-tan Ademoja-ne*  
3SG.INA-be.PRS.3SG.INA-EPEN-PRS.3SG.INA Ademoja-INE  
‘We will be here again when the frost is in Ademoja’

### **Nidataetorokenomen nidalel marenomutel aikolineat jad iketineat**

*Nida-taetor-o-kenomen nida-l-el marenomu-t-el*  
2PL-celebrate-EPEN-COND.2SG 2PL-EPEN-GEN travel-PL-GEN

*aiko-l-ineat jad iket-ineat*  
fire-EPEN-COM and music-COM  
‘We will celebrate our travels with fire and music’

### **Cialokatet oita inaletel aitagetel, eirul Aitamit geiaklaritan!**

*Cial-o-katet oita ina-l-et-el aitag-et-el,*  
say-EPEN-IMP.2SG hello 2SG-EPEN-DAT-GEN family-DAT-GEN

*eiru-l-∅ Aitamit-∅ geia-klari-tan!*  
cold-EPEN-NOM.SG Winter-NOM.SG 3SG.INA-wait-PRS.3SG.INA!  
‘Greet your family, the cold Winter awaits!’



## Resource list

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