

A Grammar of Yinne

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1 Language context

Yinne (/jin:e/) is the language spoken in the independent territory of Yinnemuch (/jin:emux/), an important trading outpost in between the Second and Third space colonies. Yinnemuch was first established as base for further space exploration after the second colony was populated, around 1500 years in the past, but since then it has gained its status as an independent territory, and it operates as the main hub of transport for goods and people between the Second and the Third. Due to the limitations of space travel, Yinnemuch is an almost obligatory stop when making the trip between the two colonies, being the largest of only three terraformed outposts on the way.

The Yinne are a small community of around 3 million people, living in a single densely populated urban area which was engineered to withstand the harsh atmospheric conditions of the planet. Many citizens work in the space port at Yinnemuch or as transport operators for long-distance haul; the second biggest industry in Yinnemuch beside trading is entertainment. It is quite normal for young adults to emigrate to one of the colonies if pursuing a career outside of these industries, so Yinne is also often spoken in the private sphere by small communities within the larger territories of the colonies.

This is largely a spoken-only language, and rarely used in official settings even within the territory. Most native speakers are at least bilingual, and children are schooled in the official language of the second colony, Aarduch /a'rdʊχ/, which is related to Yinne. Although very little is written in Yinne, there is a rich oral tradition as well as an established musical industry within Yinnemuch. Music from Yinne is massively popular outside the territory. This elevates the status of the language, as well as its people. The Yinne are often portrayed in popular media as charismatic, beautiful people who seek adventure and enjoy great fortune.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

There are 12 distinctive consonant phonemes in Yinne: The three main places of articulation (bilabial, alveolar and velar) all feature stops, nasals and fricatives. The alveolar place of articulation also features a lateral /l/. The final consonants in the inventory are the post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the palatal approximant /j/.

Table 1: Yinne’s consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p b		t			k
Nasals	m		n			ŋ
Trill						
Tap						
Fricative			s	ʃ		x
Approximant					j	
Lateral			l			

An interesting feature is the appearance of geminated consonants for some of these phonemes, as there is a phonemic contrast in length in the nasals /m/ and /n/, as well as the lateral /l/.

There is only one voiced stop in Yinne’s phonemic inventory, as it is usually the case when a language only has one voiced contrast (Maddieson 1984: 36), this voiced stop is the bilabial. However, the alveolar and uvular stops /t/ and /k/ are consistently realised as [d] and [g] respectively when following the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/. This is not an unique pattern of Yinne, and can be found in other languages such as Korean (Yeon & Brown 2019: 18), as nasality tends to favour voicing within the neighbouring sounds (Solé 2009: 212).

Finally, the shorter variation of /l/ can be produced as an alveolar tap [ɾ] when appearing between vowels, but a tap is never produced for the longer /l:/.

2.2 Vowels

Table 2: Vowel system in Yinne

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:		u u:
Mid	e		o
Open		a a:	

There are a total of eight vowels in the language; when it comes to distribution of the vowel space, Yinne displays a very common system of 5 vowels:¹ two high (front /i/ and back /u/), two mid (front /e/ and back /o/) and the low central /a/. The additional three vowels in the language are realised through length contrast; close vowels /i/ - /i:/ and /u/ - /u:/, along with open /a/ - /a:/ contrast phonemically in length, as shown in Table 3, but there are no minimal pair contrast for the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ when it comes to vowel length.

Table 3: Minimal pairs contrasting in length

	Short	Long
i	/jari/ ‘to hear’	/jari:/ ‘to promise’
a	/kesa/ ‘day’	/kesa:/ ‘four’
u	/nanu/ ‘to come’	/nanu:/ ‘outside’

Long vowels do not exist in a diphthong situation, but any of the shorter realizations can appear within a complex vowel nucleus, some examples of which are shown in Table 4.

¹This is consistent with the Vowel dispersion theory which indicates that distinct vowels tend to be distributed so they display maximum contrast between each other, often producing a ‘triangular shape’ within the vowel space (Broecke, Heuven & Zonneveld 1983: 159; Maddieson 1984: 123)

Table 4: examples of diphthongs in Yinne

	a	e	i	o	u
a	-	/sail/ down	/tail/ to go	/kaoxa/ to look	/kefau/ music
e	/peal/ unknown	-	/mei/ loud	/tokeo/ small	/feuri/ eternity
i	/tiake/ person	/lɛkie/ snow	-	/toʃioŋ/ forest	/kaŋiul/ correct
o	/boareŋ/ animal	/soesi/ green	/koix/ to wait	-	/bauxe/ deep
u	/kuari/ hot	/jamuex/ war	/muj/ to whistle	/taxuol/ blade	-

2.3 Phonotactics

The basic syllabic structure of Yinne is CV(C). Although vowel-initial syllables are avoided, there is a number of loan words which are realised in the language by adding a palatal fricative [j] at the beginning of the syllable. This is the case for the name of the language: /jinɛ/; or the word for ‘woman’ /nolja/, which is still spelled in the original Aarduch orthography *nolia*.

Whilst all consonants can appear on onset position in a syllable, only fricatives /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, nasals /n/, /ŋ/ and laterals /l/, /l:/ are allowed in the coda.

A common pattern identified across languages is that, when preceding a geminated consonant, vowels are more likely to be shorter, possibly to preserve syllable weight (Takeyasu & Giriko 2017). This is true for Yinne, which means that long vowels and diphthongs never occur within a syllable before or after /n:/, /m:/ or /l:/. Affixing of lexical particles can sometimes affect vocalic length, so that underlyingly long vowels are produced as their shorter variation in specific morphophonological contexts, such as the ones discussed in §2.4.

2.4 Morphophonology

Yinne is an agglutinative, mostly affixional language. Canonically, agglutinative languages are defined as those in which the grammatical changes of words are realised by attaching additional morphemes to stems *without* morphophonemic change; however, most languages which are widely considered agglutinative still present some level of phonological change at word boundaries. In Poppe's (1975) survey of Altaic languages, for example, it is shown how consonants often fuse at morpheme boundaries, and how affixing can also trigger vowel change within the words. In Yinne too, affixing can produce phonological changes within morphemes; some examples of this are:

- (1) Word-final fricatives + suffixes starting with another fricative fusion into /f/ :
 - a. /pal:is/ (*Pallis*, 'friend') becomes /pal:iʃu:/ if followed by the *-suu* suffix, with the meaning of 'and',
 - b. '*Yinnemuch*' /jin:emux/ becomes /ji.n:e.mu.ʃu:/.
- (2) Similarly, adjacent nasals are always realised as the longer version of /n/ when it comes to affixing:
 - a. *nnuyen-neng* ('rain-IF', *if it rains*) is produced as /n:u.je.n:ɛŋ/.
- (3) As discussed briefly in §2.3, vowel length can sometimes be affected by the morphological context in which the vowel appears. The most notable example of this is the shortening of the long vowel in specific realisations of lexical particles beginning with /n/, /m/ or /l/. In (3a), the long vowel /i:/ in the object marker *nii* is realised as [i] due to the consonant fusion exemplified in (2).
 - a. *mmo-ta nnuyen-ni kaohaseka*
I-SUB rain-OBJ look
'I watch the rain'

3 Morphosyntax

The syntactic structure of Yinne can be defined as SOV. Generally speaking, most sentences in the language follow this structure, and speakers will only deviate from the subject-object-verb word order as a strategy to emphasize a particular element of their construction. Verbal arguments are canonically marked by suffixes, which provides some limited room for movement of the different syntactic elements, as shown in examples (4a-b), which are both grammatical. However, more often than not speakers drop subject and object markers in informal speech, and rely solely on word-order to infer the argument structure in simple phrases (4c). It is not uncommon for speakers to drop arguments as well as markers; for example, '*nnuyen-ni yaliseka*' would also be a grammatical way of expressing (4).²

(4) a. *Mmo-ta nnuyen-ni yaliseka*

I-SUB rain-OBJ hear

'I hear the rain'

b. *Nnuyen-ni mmo-ta yaliseka*

rain-OBJ I-SUB hear

'I hear the rain', closer to the English 'The rain, I hear'

c. *Mmo nnuyen yaliseka*

I rain hear

As it is most common of SOV languages (Lyovin, Kessler & Leben 2017: 24), Yinne's phrase structure is also head-final, meaning that within the noun phrase adjectives and relative clauses appear before the head noun. Further discussion of adjectives and clausal connectives appear in the following sections §3.2 and §3.6 respectively.

²This level of optionality when it comes to the argument structure is similar to Korean or Japanese, where both subjects and objects can be dropped if they are easily inferable. Likewise, in Korean dropping case markers from arguments is acceptable in some registers. (Yeon & Brown 2019: 3-8)

The main lexical categories of Yinne are nouns, adjectives, verbs and grammatical particles. These particles function as adverbs, grammatical markers on nominal forms and verbs, or as derivational affixes. Other word classes found in the language are quantifiers, interrogatives, and personal pronouns.

The following sub-sections outline of some basic morphosyntactic aspects of nominal forms, adjectives, grammatical particles and verbs of Yinne, followed by a final section outlining the structure of complex sentences in the language.

3.1 Nominal Forms

Yinne does not usually mark gender in nouns. There are very few words in the language which can be said to possess natural gender, and many times the only way to specify gender is by compounding the noun with the words for man or woman, like in *nolia kummu* ('woman spouse', wife) or *paku kummu* ('man spouse', husband).

Number is generally unmarked, and most of the time plurality is inferred by context. Quantifiers such as numbers or free particles can be used for specificity when relevant, like in (5).

- (5) a. *Naabi tiake-keo*
 three person.SMALL
 'Three children'
- b. *Nnela llekie*
 Many snow
 'Lots of snow'

There is also an optional plural marker *-si* which can be affixed to the noun if needed. If both a quantifier and a plural marker are used in tandem, this implies the noun is being used as a group noun, i.e.: *Naabi tiakekeosi* → 'Three types of children'.

Lack of gender and number markings in nominal forms is a common feature of many agglutinative languages, particularly those of the Asian-Pacific area (Yeon & Brown 2019:

36-38). More notably, from the 257 languages surveyed in WALS, more than half do not mark gender on nominal forms (Corbett n.d.).

3.1.1 Pronouns

Additionally, Yinne has eight personal pronouns, as shown in Table (5). The second person formal pronouns *senna* and *sennalo* are generally not used as a mark of politeness and respect, like in many European languages (Helmbrecht n.d.); instead, they convey a rather negative attitude from the speaker to the person they are addressing, and are often used in lieu of an overt insult.

Table 5: Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	/m:o/ <i>mmo</i>	/n:i/ <i>nni</i>
2nd	/se/ <i>se</i>	/sero/ <i>selo</i>
	/sen:a/ <i>senna</i> (formal)	/sen:aro/ <i>sennalo</i> (formal)
3rd	/ju:fi/ <i>yussi</i>	/ju:firo/ <i>yussilo</i>

There is no separate set of possessive pronouns in Yinne. Instead, the possessive particle *-ko* is suffixed to either the name or pronoun, similar to the English possessive 's.

3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives can take two forms in Yinne: nominal and predicating. Nominal adjectives exist within the noun phrase as determiners and, when number is marked on the noun by the particle *-si*, the accompanying adjective must also take the plural marker. As Yinne has a tendency to ellipsis nouns from the phrase altogether, many times the adjective appears on its own. Some examples of nominal adjectives in use are shown in (6).

(6) a. *peal tiake-ta beltu kessau-nii yanseseka*

unknown person.SUBJ happy music.OBJ sing

‘A stranger sings happy music’

b. *mmo-ta beltu-nii yaliseka*

I.SUBJ happy.OBJ hear

‘I hear the cheerful (music)’

Adjectives can also predicate, creating forms such as the equivalent of the English ‘*The child is happy*’. In these cases, the bare adjective takes verbal inflection suffixes just like any verb would.

(7) *Yoko-ta chull-seka*

nigh.SUBJ dark.PRES

‘The night is dark’

Adjectives in Yinne are not unique in their making, Japanese adjectives, for example, also distinguish between nominal forms and inflecting forms, although the distinction between these types is bound to many affixional restrictions (Kageyama & Kishimoto 2016: 59-60). In Yinne, virtually any adjective can take either a nominal or a predicating form, to the extent that one could say adjectives are simply words which can behave both as nouns and verbs.

3.3 Nominal-modifying Particles

There is an extensive number of particles, some of which have been already featured in previous sections of this paper.

Grammatical particles which modify the noun phrase by adding information about the noun’s relationship with the rest of the sentence are commonly classified as case markers (Croft 2003). Although some of the grammatical particles in Yinne can be considered case markings, this terminology is avoided in the present grammar as Yinne speakers are inconsistent in their use of markers, and most of the time the argument structure of a sentence is inferred through word order rather than morphology. Nevertheless, some of the more commonly used markers are outlined below.

3.3.1 Argument marking particles

Subject and object are marked in Yinne through the particles *-(e)ta*, *-nii/-nni* respectively; examples of these markings can be found in (4). The object marker *-nii* is realised as *-nni* when attached to word ending in a nasal sound.

Generally, these markers are dropped in simple phrases where word order could suffice to decode the verbal arguments. Sometimes, they are added to the sentence with the direct purpose of emphasising the argument they attach to.

3.3.2 Location and time markers

Time and location often share grammatical markers in Yinne. Similarly to how the English preposition *at* can indicate both spacial and temporal relations (*'at the mall'*, *'at midnight'*), the locative marker *-nai* attaches to nominal forms to indicate locality.

- (8) a. *mmo-ta nochu-nai muisseka*
I.SUBJ tunnel.LOC whistle
'I whistle in the tunnel.'
- b. *se-ta yoko-mal-nai muisseka*
You.SUBJ night.big.LOC whistle
'You whistle at midnight'

To indicate direction **towards** a place or time, the lative *-nna* is used. Many location words which in English may be classed as adverbs or prepositions (up, down, ahead) are instead purely nominal in Yinne, and require a marker to express directionality. A good example of this is the expression used for 'remembering':

- (9) *sail-nna kaochaseka*
down.LAT look
'look down/towards the bottom' ³

The opposite of *-nna* is the ablative *-naru*, which indicates directionality **away** from the marked element. A particularly fun sentence in Yinne with *-naru*:

- (10) *nanuu-naru nanu*
 outside.ABL come
 ‘to come from outside’

The particles *-naru* and *-nna* can be combined to express movement (going from one place to another), duration (‘I was at work from nine to five’), and even more abstract changes of state like in (11).

- (11) *tossiong soesi-naru ssillsa-nna tailseka*
 forest green.ABL red.LAT goes
 ‘the forest goes from green to red’

3.3.3 The relativizer *-lue*

Besides quantifiers and adjectives, Yinne nominal forms can also take a relative clause as a complement. Just like other complements of the noun phrase, relative clauses appear before the noun, but unlike other complements they must be followed by subordinating particle *-lue* to be grammatical, like in (12).

- (12) *sail-naru nanuseka **lue** tiake-ta ssillsa-nii neoteseka*
 down.ABL come REL person.SUBJ red.OBJ wear

‘The people coming from down below are wearing red’.

³*Sail* roughly means the bottom/end, but merely in a spacial perspective, *kesako sail* ‘the bottom of the day’, is used to refer to ‘dawn’, which in English is usually associated with a beginning rather than an end. In Yinne, temporality is associated with growth, which is envisioned from small to big, but also from bottom to top. *Yokomal* ‘midnight’ is literally ‘big night’, and future events are often referred as upwards rather than forward.

This strategy for subordination is common in many languages of the world. For example, Mandarin also uses a subordinating particle to introduce both relative clauses and as a possessive marker (Lyovin, Kessler & Leben 2017: 162). In Yinne, *lue* is also used in subordinate clauses which complement the verb, this use is expanded in section §3.6.

3.4 Verbs

The verbal paradigm of Yinne is remarkably simple. Verbs do not agree with any of their arguments in person, gender or number, and there are a total of two verb tenses: past and non-past. Finally, verbs are marked for aspect.

Despite the very limited inflectional paradigm, verbs are one of the only aspects of Yinne in which traces of fusional morphology are evident. There are a total of four verbal endings in Yinne (plus two allophonic variations, related to the phonological processes discussed in §2.4), which indicate tense and aspect inflections, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Inflectional paradigm of Yinne verbs

Verb	Past simple	Past perfective	Non-past simple	Non-past perfective
<i>kate</i> (return)	<i>kate-lino</i> /ka.te.ri.no/	<i>kate-nike</i> /ka.te.ni.ke/	<i>kate-seka</i> /ka.te.se.ka/	<i>kate-ke</i> /ka.te.ke/
<i>koich</i> (wait)	<i>koich-lino</i> /koix.li.no/	<i>koich-nike</i> /koix.ni.ke/	<i>koich-seka</i> /koi.fe.ka/	<i>koich-ke</i> /koix.ke/
<i>tail</i> (go)	<i>tail-lino</i> /tail.li.no/	<i>tail-nike</i> /tail.ni.ke/	<i>tail-seka</i> /tail.se.ka/	<i>tail-ke</i> /tail.ke/

The perfective forms are used for both past and non-past tenses to refer to events or actions as a whole unit and imply there is a delimited beginning and end of said event or action (Genetti 2018: 414). For example, *selonii banness-nike* (‘loved you’) implies the speaker no longer loves the other person; in contrast, *selonii banness-lino* does not make such distinction, the love may still exist, or not. Future events can also be expressed in perfective forms, *Yokomalnai kate-ke* (‘will return at midnight’) indicates there is a specific plan for the return, and it can be interpreted as a promise, whilst *Yokomalnai kate-seka* is interpreted as a request or order (‘please return at midnight’) or a likely event (‘should be back by midnight’).

Given that present actions and events are generally understood as *ongoing*, the non-past perfective form is seldom used in everyday conversation in reference to the present. However, Yinne speakers use the non-past perfective as a narrative tense, as shown in (13).

- (13) *Yuni-ta yokomal-nai kate-ke, pallis yussi-ko koro-ke*
 Yuni.SUBJ midnight.LOC return.PFV, friend 3SG.POSS kill.PFV

‘Yuni returns at midnight, kills their friend.’

The choice of the non-past distances the events being told from a specific point in time, but the perfective aspect still marks the actions as completed. In practice, because Yinne does not distinguish between present and future in the verb, (13) could also be interpreted as a prediction (‘Yuni will return at midnight, will kill their friend’), but the context of the utterance (most likely as part of a story, or anecdote) does not favour this interpretation — This use of the present is similar to how English speakers may recount anecdotes in present tense (‘One day on a walk, my dad finds a stray dog barking at a tree, next thing you know we own an animal shelter!’) .

3.5 Modality marking particles

There are four grammatical particles which appear before the verb and indicate modality. These are *bo* (negation), *sha* (possibility), *che* (ability) and *pak* (necessity), they are somewhat parallel to the negative *not* and the modal verbs *may*, *can* and *must* in English. Generally, one would expect modal verbs to appear after the verb in an SOV language (Greenberg 1963); the fact that these modal particles appear before the main verb in the sentence leads to analysing them not as modal verbs, but simply as unbound case morphemes.

- (14) a. *Yunita senii bo bannesslin.*
 Yuni.SUBJ you.OBJ not loved

‘Yuni didn’t love you.’

b. *Yunita pallis yussiko bo sha banneseka*

Yuni.SUBJ friend 3SG.POSS not may love

‘Yuni may not love their friend’

c. *Yunita che yanseseka*

Yuni.SUBJ can sing

‘Yuni can (is able to) sing’

d. *Yunita pak beltuyale yanseseka*

Yuni.SUBJ must happy.CAUS sing

‘Yuni has to be happy to sing’

e. *Yunita bo pak beltuyale yanseseka*

Yuni.SUBJ not must happy.CAUS sing

‘Yuni doesn’t have to be happy to sing’

Modal particles can attach to predicating adjectives the same way as verbs, such as shown in (14.d-e). The negation particle behaves uniquely in two ways: Firstly, it must come before any other modal particle in a predicate (as shown in (14.b)). Secondly, *bo* can also negate predicating nominal constructions, such as in (15).

(15) a. *Bo yachu-si*

Not yellow.PL

‘Not the yellow ones’

b. *Bo nanuu-nai*

Not outside.LOC

‘Not outside’

3.6 Clausal connectives

There are two main strategies for creating complex sentences in Yinne. The first one, briefly discussed in section §3.3.3, is the use of the particle *-lue* between the subordinate construction and the subordinating element. A second way of marking complex sentences is by replacing the verbal inflection of the subordinate verb by special particles known as *connectives*, such as in (16).

- (16) *Peal tiake-ta yussi-nii bate-yale nnitosi-nai kaelino*
unknown man.SUBJ 3SG.OBJ take.CAUS stars.LOC explored
‘A strange man took them to explore the stars’

The reason for these two separate processes is a semantic one. Croft (2022) notes how there are two semantic processes that lead us to create complex sentences: firstly, when we’re linking clauses in a *temporal or causal continuum*, such as ‘Angie woke up and turned off her alarm’, or ‘If she fails her exam she won’t graduate’. In these types of complex sentences, there is a semantic relation between the clauses which is expressed through the overall structure of the complex sentence. A second type of complex constructions is the one where the subordinate clause acts as a *propositional argument* of the main clause, such as in the relative clauses discussed in §3.3.3. The relationship between the subordinate and the matrix clauses in these constructions are semantically more integrated.

The fact that the semantic relationship of the clauses differs does not necessarily translate to different syntactic structures in all languages, but it does in Yinne. As such, the relativizer *-lue* is used to connect propositional arguments, whilst all other clausal relationships are realised by attaching a clausal connective particle to the uninflected subordinate verb. This second subordination strategy, called *deranking* (Croft 2022: 476), is not unique to Yinne. In fact, many languages including English, make changes on the subordinate verb in complex sentences (Radford et al. 2009: 252).

There are six connective particles in Yinne, which will be discussed in the sections below.

3.6.1 sequential connectives

There are a total of four sequential connectives: *-pa* (17) is used to order clauses in a temporal sequence, similar to the English ‘then’; *-ssu* (18) is used to concatenate, enumerate or link events together in time and space, without a specific sequential order, just like one would use ‘and’ in English. *-chas* (19) is used to contrast two clauses, much like ‘but’. Finally, there is an optional connective *-ki* (20), akin to the English ‘or’.

(17) *nochuko-nai tail-pa kate-nike*

tunnels.LOC go.SEQ return.PPFV

‘Went to the tunnels and then came back’

(18) *Senna-ta muiss-ssu⁵ molsa-nike*

you.SUBJ sing.ADD

‘ You(formal) whistled and laughed’

(19) *kesa-ta kuari-chas tiyan-ta yengse-seka*

day.SUBJ hot.CNTR water.SUBJ cold.NPST

‘The day is hot but the water is cold ’

(20) *tiyan-ta kuari-ki yengse-seka?*

water.SUBJ hot.OPT cold.NPST

‘Is the water hot or cold?’

⁵The correct form of the verb in this sentence is *muissu* /muifu/ but it is being glossed as *muiss-ssu* for clarity

3.6.2 causal connectives

Causal connectives link clauses together on the basis of perceived or possible causality between each other. The particle *Neng* indicates the matrix clause's truth condition is dependant on the subordinate clause (roughly equivalent of the English 'if ... then ...') as shown in (21).

- (21) *Se-ta minga kesa-nai nanu-neng mmo-ta beltu-seka*
you.SUBJ new day.LOC come.COND I.SUBJ happy.NPST
'if you come tomorrow I'll be happy'

The last connective particle is *-yale*, which is used as both a causative and causal marker. This leads to some ambiguous interpretations at times, like in example (22), where discursive context may not be enough to interpret the direction of the causality.

- (22) *Yuni-ta belltu-yale yanse-seka*
Yuni.SUBJ happy.CAUS sing.NPST
'Yuni is happy because she's singing' / 'Yuni is happy and therefore she's singing'

4 Storytelling

Although Yinnemuch is small, remote and not exactly anyone's first choice of a holiday stay, people all across the galaxy are very enamoured with the place and, more than anything, its people. The Yinne people are known for two things: they can sing, and they can *talk*.

Oral storytelling is a tradition that the locals work hard to maintain. Stories are told in family gatherings, public holidays, celebrations and many more special occasions. There are many traditional tales which are passed down through generations, almost like a family heirloom. Oftentimes, these stories are so ingrained in the popular culture that it is hard to ascertain if they correspond to historical events or not.

One such story is the popular poem titled *Bo kessau yuchnai* (‘No music in hell’), allegedly composed by an unknown bartender whom, upon realising that both of his lovers had been killed in a local uprising, decided he would overthrow the government as retribution. Despite very little evidence of his real existence, the unnamed bartender is a beloved idol and the hero of many other local tales. A fragment of this poem is transcribed below, including glosses and translations.

4.1 Bo kessau yuchnai

Keche-nna kaocha-seka, sail-nna kaocha-seka. Mui-ssu molsa-seka.

up.LAT look.NPST, down.LAT look.NPST whistle.ADD laugh.NPST

I imagine, I remember (Lit:I look up, I look down). I whistle and laugh.

Mmo-ta noche lull-ko-nai koich-yale tabanness mmo-ko-ta kate-ke,

1SGPRON.SUBJ shore city.POSS.LOC wait.CAUS beloved 1SGPRON.POSS.SUBJ return.PPFV

On the space-port (Lit: city’s shore) I wait for my beloved’s return,

Peal tiake-ta yussi-nii bate-yale nnito-nai kaelino

unknown person.SUBJ 3SG.OBJ take.CAUS star.LOC explore.PST

A strange man took them to explore the stars.

Kesa-si-ta nanu-ssu yaapa-si-ta chull-seka,

day.PL.SUBJ come.ADD cloud.PL.SUBJ dark.NPST

The days go by and the clouds get dark,

Yussilo-ta bo kate-pa ssakuu-ta nanu-ke.

3PLPRON.SUBJ NEG return.SEQ storm.SUBJ come.NPSTPFV

They won’t be back before the storm arrives.

Bo kessau yuch-nai lue bung-ke,

NEG music hell.LOC REL say.NPSTPFV

It is said that there is no music in hell,

kian sseuli-nii kaocha-neng yobe tiake-ko-nii che yali-seka,

quiet eternity.OBJ see.COND scream person.POSS.OBJ MOD hear.NPST

if a quiet eternity I must face to hear the screams of this person,

beltu muiss-pa tachuol-nii lulo-seka.

happy whistle.SEQ blade.OBJ clean.NPST

I happily whistle and then clean the blade.

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