

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Valerie Ruth Knight for the Master of Arts
in English presented on April 22, 2004

Title:

Bí Ril Thad Óotha Demedi Be (Writing a Window to the Soul): Suzette Haden Elgin and
the Path to a Constructed Language

Abstract approved: - 

Writers in the genre of science fiction often use their novels to explore our understanding of society by creating scenes outside the normal plan of existence in futuristic or parallel worlds. Since language is the ultimate reflection of society, it is understandable that some in the genre would create languages for their characters to encounter or use. Many of these authors find ways to avoid language construction completely by maintaining surroundings that promote the use of English. Others use only portions of the language construction principles to create their language environments. However, Suzette Haden Elgin, author of the *Native Tongue* series, fully embraced language construction by building upon the work of other science fiction writers to create Laádan, a women's language based upon linguistically sound principles.

BÍI RIL THAD ÓOTHA DEMEDI BE (WRITING A WINDOW TO THE SOUL):
SUZETTE HADEN ELGIN AND THE PATH TO A CONSTRUCTED LANGUAGE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of English

EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

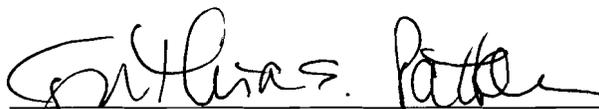
Master of Arts

Copyright 2004

Valerie Ruth Knight

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Thesis
2004
K



Approved by the Department Chair



Approved by the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank those that helped me on my way to understanding the world of invented language. First, I would like to show gratitude to Dr. Melvin Storm, my thesis committee chairman, who allowed me to explore a unique perspective on linguistics while keeping me in focus. In addition, I am appreciative of my other committee members, Dr. Gerrit Bleeker and Dr. Rachelle Smith, who took time out of their busy schedules to assist me in this process. I am also extremely grateful to my friends and coworkers in the Office of Lifelong Learning at Emporia State University who nagged and pushed me along my path. I would also like to express thanks to my family who always gives me support when I needed. Additionally, I want to remember the recently departed members of my family, as well as my mother, who all in some way have shaped who I am today. Thank you, Grandma, Aunt Caroline, Uncle Ed, and Mom! Lastly, I would like to give thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ for giving me strength and determination during this long stressful year. To you be the glory forever! Amen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
1 INTRODUCTION.....	2
<i>Suzette Haden Elgin</i>	2
<i>The Native Tongue Trilogy</i>	4
2 LANGUAGE IN SCIENCE FICTION.....	6
<i>No Treatment</i>	7
<i>Sampling</i>	9
<i>Variations on English</i>	12
3 LANGUAGE CONSTRUCTION.....	15
<i>Definition</i>	15
<i>Developing a Constructed Language</i>	16
<i>Creating a Living Language</i>	22
<i>Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis</i>	22
<i>Hypothesis Testing</i>	24
<i>Life after Failure</i>	26
4 THE LANGUAGE OF LAÁDAN.....	27
<i>Phonetics and Phonology</i>	28
<i>Morphology</i>	30
<i>Semantics</i>	42

Syntax 43

5 CONCLUSION 47

NOTES 48

WORKS CITED 49

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1: Relational Affixes in M.A. Foster's <i>Gameplayers of Zan</i>	9
Table 2: Marabak Masculine Noun Declension for <i>Hannas (Man)</i>	11
Table 3: Right-Branching Feature of Angurpiaq	12
Table 4: Verb Declension for Third Person in Angurpiaq	12
Table 5: Yilané Transcription Symbols (Incomplete Listing)	20
Table 6: Laádan Vowels.....	29
Table 7: Speech-Act & Evidentiality Morphemes in Laádan	31
Table 8: Laádan Suffixes Indicating Speaker's Intention	32
Table 9: Laádan Suffixes Indicating Speaker's State of Consciousness.....	32
Table 10: Sentence Usage Example for Speech-Act and Evidentiality Morphemes	33
Table 11: First Emotion Noun Declension.....	35
Table 12: Second Emotion Noun Declension	35
Table 13: Creation of Laádan Months Using Affixes.....	36
Table 14: Examples of Laádan Morphemes Used to Change Syntactical Categories	36
Table 15: Degree Markers for <i>Lóolo</i> (to be slow).....	37
Table 16: Laádan Duration Markers	38
Table 17: Creation of Laádan Days through Compounding	39
Table 18: Laádan Case Markers Laádan Pronouns.....	40
Table 19: Laádan Pronouns.....	41
Table 20: Laádan Tense Auxiliaries.....	44
Table 21: Laádan Word Order Patterns.....	45

Table 22: Complex Laádan Sentences	46
--	----

BÍI RIL THAD ÓOTHA DEMEDI BE (WRITING A WINDOW TO THE SOUL):
SUZETTE HADEN ELGIN AND THE PATH TO A CONSTRUCTED LANGUAGE

One of the most unifying elements of society is language. According to William O’Grady, author of *Contemporary Linguistics*, language provides humanity with “a system of communication, a tool for thought, a medium for self-expression, a social institution, [and] a source of ethnic pride and political controversy” (1). However, what can we do if the native languages of society don’t reflect exactly what we ourselves need to communicate in a language? What if we feel that our native language is somehow lacking in revealing our innermost thoughts and realities? Language, whether it is in fiction or reality is the ultimate reflection of society. Science fiction writers can explore these ideas in an attempt to understand society and how language reveals the true essence of individual members of society by setting the scene outside the normal plan of existence, often in futuristic or parallel worlds. In such settings, authors can address many societal issues that would never have even been considered by other authors. Language is one of those major considerations because of its extreme interaction between the characters, the setting, and ultimately the readers of the work. While some science fiction authors choose to either avoid language construction by setting their novels in surroundings that promote the use of English, by creating sample vocabularies, or by adjusting the English language to suit their own needs, others like Suzette Haden Elgin build on the work of other writers in the genre and embrace language construction by creating unique and fully usable languages based upon linguistically sound principles.

INTRODUCTION

Suzette Haden Elgin

Patricia Anne Suzette Haden Elgin was born in Louisiana, Missouri, on November 18, 1936, to Gaylord and Hazel Wilkins. She started writing when she was seven. By the time she turned eight, she had poems already published in newspapers. In 1955, while attending the University of Chicago, she married Peter Haden. The marriage produced three children before Haden died. Later, in 1964, she remarried, this time to George Elgin. As her family grew to include another child, she attended California State University, Chico, where she received her BA in French and English in 1967 (*Biography*; Bosky 244; Contemporary 66; Glatzer). By this time, Elgin had become interested in linguistics. In an interview, she commented:

The power of language – to change attitudes, to persuade, to comfort, to teach, to create whole worlds, to heal (and to hurt), to forge and maintain relationships, and much more – has always seemed to me to be the most interesting thing that exists in this universe. (Glatzer)

As her love of the field grew, Elgin entered the University of California, San Diego, as a linguistics major, receiving her MA in 1970 (*Biography*; Bosky 244; Contemporary 66). Her entry into graduate school also initiated her career in science fiction. Because Elgin had difficulty finding financial resources and believed that many still held the viewpoint that women were not considered PhD material, she started writing science fiction novels to pay for her graduate school tuition. This allowed her to receive her PhD in linguistics in 1973. Specializing in Amerindian languages, Elgin has the distinction of being the

only student at the University of California, San Diego ever to have to write two dissertations, one on English and one on Navajo (*Biography*; Bosky 244-45).

Suzette Haden Elgin's professional career included work as a folk music performer, a teacher of guitar and music theory, an adult instructor of French, and a basic Apache linguistics teacher. She retired as associate professor emeritus of linguistics from San Diego State University in 1980 and moved to the Arkansas Ozarks where she founded and currently directs the Ozark Center for Language Studies in Huntsville, an organization dedicated to reducing violence in the United States and promoting linguistics to the public. Elgin is presently a member of the Association of Women in Psychology, National Council of Teachers of English, Science Fiction Poetry Association and Science Fiction Writers of America (*Biography*; Bosky 244-45; Glatzer). She also holds the office of president for LovingKindness, a nonprofit organization that explores the effects of religious language. Some of her professional writings include *Guide to Transformational Grammar: History, Theory, Practice* (1973), *What is Linguistics?* (1973), *A Primer of Transformational Grammar for Rank Beginners* (1975), and her *Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* series (1980-97) about communication (Bosky 244-45; *Contemporary* 66-67). Elgin is also the editor and publisher of the bimonthly newsletter, *Linguistics and Science Fiction* (Squier and Vedder 306).

Elgin's science fiction novels all take place in approximately the same time in the future, with some shared references, but divide into three main fictional worlds, The *Coyote Jones* series (1970-79), the *Ozark* series (1981), and the *Native Tongue* series (1984-94), on which we will focus here. The major theme of all her books is communication, whether it is in the form of telepathy in the first series, transformational-

generative grammar based magic in the second, or the complete creation of a women's language in the third. Recently she has written a religious science fiction novel entitled *Peacetalk 101* (2003). Elgin has also published science fiction short stories. Some of her more recent short stories include "Only a Housewife" (1995) and "Soulfedge Rock" (1996) (*Biography*; Bosky 244-45; Contemporary 66-67).

The Native Tongue Trilogy

The major themes of the *Native Tongue* trilogy, as in all of Elgin's other works, revolve around communication. The plot splits its attention between "communication among alien races" and "communication between the genders, which might as well be alien races" (Bosky 246). Relating back to her work in linguistics and communication theory, Elgin created a future in which linguists are needed to communicate not only with people of other cultures, but also with extraterrestrials, thus giving tremendous power to those who can learn multiple languages (Petrini). The series is set in the twenty-second century after the repeal of the Nineteenth Amendment. Women have become property and are denied all civil rights. The society of *Native Tongue* completely relies upon the linguists, "a small clannish group of families whose women breed and become perfect translators of all the galaxies' languages," to conduct interplanetary commerce. While these linguists are powerful, they must live isolated from the populace because of the general public's hatred and fear of them. However, the main focus of the trilogy is on a group of women of one particular linguistic household who are secretly working to create a "language of their own to free them of men's domination" (Feminist Press).

Elgin's science fiction, and especially her *Native Tongue* trilogy, has had mixed reception. Some raved about her views on women and her ability to give women a voice (Feminist Press). Others disapproved of her depiction of a male dominated society (Bosky 245). While Elgin was surprised to find that her books were considered feminist (Bosky 245), she did instinctively understand the feminist backdrops that she inserted into her novels. In a 1999 interview, Elgin explained that when the first novel was published in the early 1980s, one of the most continuous themes of feminism was the fear that women would be demoralized through violent means. However, she felt that in the United States this outcome would not be as likely as the subjugation of women through more legal channels. By introducing a legislation of inferiority slowly over time, it can build into larger legislature with powerful consequences. Thus, in *Native Tongue*, she focused more on the nonviolent methods of legislation that Elgin considered more effective since the victims were not as likely to see it happening. Reflecting back on her decision, Elgin indicated that many things have happened that she had hypothesized as future events in *Native Tongue*. For instance, in the 1990s research was done on the supposed differences between the brains of females and males. It ranked female brains lower in performance. According to Elgin, once this neurological inferiority is assumed, it can be linked to behavior. That can eventually lead states to pass legislation to "protect the poor little things" (Wells).

Many considered Elgin's stance on nonviolent oppression in her novels to be silly. Bernadette Bosky indicates that while her books have resilient women, her books concentrate more on problems than solutions: "[In Elgin's] books, men are by nature

bumbling fools, but still strong enough to trouble and oppress women. This aspect bothers many readers . . .” (246). Nevertheless, Elgin, defends her stance:

Reader comments about [male characters] have always fallen into two groups – those who accuse me of being unfair to men and doing constant male-bashing, and those who accuse me of being way too *easy* on the male characters and constantly excusing them for their behavior. . . . What I was trying very hard to do was to show ordinary human men -- men who had grown up in a culture where they were taught to believe that they were superior to women in every way – behaving as they could logically be expected to behave, and convinced, most of the time, that what they were doing was moral and right. (*Native Tongue FAQ*)

Unfortunately, Elgin’s primary focus, the conception of her women’s language, Laádan, was overlooked by the media in preference for the more feminist treatments within the series. Only one reporter in all of her interviews ever asked her a question about the language. Even then, the reporter’s editor did not allow her to write a story about it. Elgin proposes that more attention is given to such languages as Klingon that are intended for war over peace because of society’s current male dominance (Wells).

LANGUAGE IN SCIENCE FICTION

Still, how is language addressed in science fiction? How *does* a society outside our contemporary English-speaking setting affect language? Myra Barnes of East Texas State University is especially concerned about this issue:

Language is not particularly a problem if the characters are speaking English to an English-speaking audience, but if the characters are French

and are supposedly speaking their own language, the problem of authenticity is insoluble. Either they speak in French, which will be unintelligible to a majority of the audience, or they speak in English which is unrealistic. When two or more nationalities are present, it is acceptable that they will speak a common language (the language of the audience or reader) with accompanying accents to denote that they are foreign speakers, but it is entirely unrealistic that any one of them, when speaking with his fellow countrymen, will speak in the same “foreign” language simply for the benefit of the audience. This facet of creative writing rarely seems like a problem in realism because it has always been one area in which the “suspension of disbelief” operates automatically. (15)

How is linguistic realism achieved then, especially since many authors create languages that only the author himself knows completely? Obviously, the author must make the novel readable to his audience. So, in order to convey the idea that his characters are speaking in some tongue other than that of the reader, an author may use one of several strategies.

No Treatment

Some authors of science fiction prefer to avoid the issue of language altogether. Usually, these novels, intended for English-speaking readers, are set in surroundings that promote English speech, calling for only minimal language changes. Others create an assumption of translation by developing foreign-looking-and-sounding place or character names based upon an English template.

Katherine Kurtz, the author of the *Deryni* novels uses the first instance by choosing settings that, although are not geographically identical to England, have cultural connections to England.¹ She sets them in a medieval type of England with an English feudal system as well as a religion very similar to Roman Catholicism. Because of this, there is no need for a language change other than the addition of new cultural words to incorporate the magical Deryni culture and customs into the plot line. However, these words themselves are English in origin, allowing the English reader easily to decipher meaning and context.

David and Leigh Eddings, on the other hand, use assumption of translation in their series, *The Belgariad* and *The Malloreon*.² Within the books, there are eight major kingdoms: Tolnedra, Maragor, Ugloland, Nyissa, Angarak, Alorn, Senaria, and Arendia. All save one has its own patron god through which each individual culture is expressed. Of special interest is the people of Nyissa, whose patron saint Issa is represented by a snake. The snake people illustrate their heritage in both the spoken and written tongue. Almost all Nyissan proper names have multiple s's, creating the representation of a snake's sound. Examples include *Sithiss Tor*, *Salmisra*, and even the patron god's own name, *Issa*. Writing examples tend to move across the page in snake-like tendencies as well. On the other hand, the peoples of Angarak, who are overseen by the evil god Torak, use harsh sounding names for places and people, often combining consonant sounds that are difficult for the English speaker. Instances include *Cthrag-Yaska*, *Cithol Mishrak*, *Nadraks*, and *Murgos*, none of which are pleasant-sounding to the ear. Thus, the people seem equally as harsh as their god. Meanwhile, the language of Arendria, illustrates a culture of chivalry with its extensive use of archaic English. There is frequent use of

such words as *ye, thee, thou,* and *hast* that make the kingdom seem just a little out of touch with reality – something of which its patron god, Chaldan, is often accused.

Sampling

However, much of science fiction makes references to fictional languages of one kind or another by providing a handful of words or phrases from these languages. Sometimes authors will create a small vocabulary of foreign words as well. These are often displayed in glossaries at the back of the novels, expanding the vocabulary or providing additional information (*Laádan Constructed*).

Some of these languages do have isolated grammatical rules within certain parameters. However, there is never a complete creation of all the elements of a language. For instance, in M.A. Foster's *The Gameplayers of Zan*, for his non-human characters Foster links together language elements through morphological changes that indicate relationships between words. As seen in Table 1, relationships based on rank have unique affixes, while the addition of *-h* and *-hosi*, for example, appear to indicate respectively people and people toward the end of a certain age. Yet, outside these samples it is uncertain if the roots and affixes hold the same meanings throughout the remainder of this language.

Table 1

Relational Affixes in M.A. Foster's *Gameplayers of Zan*

Affix	Word	Meaning
<i>dir-</i>	<i>dirklarnes</i>	3 rd players
<i>bes-</i>	<i>besklarens</i>	5 th players

<i>nan-</i>	<i>nanklarens</i>	nth players
<i>-h</i>	<i>hazh</i>	child (0-10)
	<i>rodh</i>	parent
	<i>starh</i>	elder
<i>-hosi</i>	<i>rodhosi</i>	<60, end of fertility
	<i>starhosi</i>	60+

Harry Harrison has also experimented with language creation in his *West of Eden* series by developing the languages of Marbak and Angurpiaq for his human-like peoples³. While these languages appear solely as poetry and quotations in between chapters, Harrison indicated that he used the languages to create a historical and social backdrop for his characters.

The Marbak language is highly descriptive of the Tanu culture of which Harrison writes. For example, the names of tribal groups include *wedamen* meaning “the island ones,” and *levrewasan*, meaning “tent-black-ones,” or “the people of the black tents” (*West of Eden* 501). In creating this language, Harrison developed partial structures for the language. For instance, the language exhibits gender inflections: *man / men* are *hannas / hannasan* while *woman / women* are *linga / lingi*. There is also the presence of a neutral gender. A person with no sex indicated is *ter*, while *tanu*, also the official name of the culture, is used to indicate the plural. In addition, Marabak relies heavily on noun declension (See Table 2). Furthermore, Harrison indicates that the language includes dialectic variations, much as the English does. For instance, in each of the different Tanu tribes, *hannas*, is pronounced and written slightly differently. For the Wedamans,

Levrewasans, and Lebnaroi, the word is actually *hennas*, *hnas*, and *nsese* respectively (*West of Eden* 501).

Table 2

Marabak Masculine Noun Declension for *Hannas* (*Man*)

Case	Sing. Affix	Example	Pl. Affix	Example
Nominative	∅	<i>hannas</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>hannasn</i>
Accusative	∅	<i>hannas</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>hannasn</i>
Genitive	<i>-a</i>	<i>hannasa</i>	<i>-anna</i>	<i>hannasanna</i>
Dative	<i>-i</i>	<i>hannasi</i>	<i>-anni</i>	<i>hannasanni</i>
Locative	<i>-i</i>	<i>hannasi</i>	<i>-anni</i>	<i>hannasanni</i>
Instrumental	<i>-om</i>	<i>hannasom</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>hannasom</i>

Based Upon: Harry Harrison. *West of Eden*. (Toronto: Bantam, 1984) 501.

The other humanoid language of Harrison's series, Angurpiaq, has few terminal sounds. Of special interest in its phonology is that the *k* must be distinguished from the *q* sound which is almost equivalent to [rk]. Also, there are two forms of *l*, the voiced *dl* and the unvoiced *tl*. Additionally, Angurpiaq consists only of sentence-long nouns and verbs. A noun or verb root at the beginning of each word is combined with multiple affixes, creating a right-branching language (See Table 3). It is important to note, however, that whenever an affix is added, there can not be more than two consonants joined except in the case of a double *s*. The Angurpiaq language also has suffixes to mark case and person for the indicative, interrogative, subjunctive, and optative moods (See Table 4).

Table 3

Right-Branching Feature of Angurpiaq

Affix Branching	Meaning Branching	Word
<i>qingik</i>	a house	<i>qingik</i>
<i>quigik + rssuak</i>	a house + large	<i>quigirssuak</i>
<i>quigik + liorpoq</i>	a house + he builds	<i>quigiliorpoq</i>
<i>quigik + rssuak + liorfilik</i>	(a house + large) + he can build	<i>quigirssualiorfilik</i>

Based Upon: Harry Harrison. Winter in Eden. (Toronto: Bantam, 1987) 405.

Table 4

Verb Declension for Third Person in Angurpiaq

Mood	Sing. Suffix	Pl. Suffix	Example
Infinitive			<i>takugu</i> (to see)
Indicative	<i>-oq / -ut</i>		<i>takugoq / takugut</i>
Interrogative	<i>-auk</i>	<i>-assuk</i>	<i>takugauk / takugassuk</i>
Subjunctive	<i>-pagit</i>	<i>-patigik</i>	<i>takupagit / takupatigik</i>
Optative	<i>-liuk</i>	<i>-lissuk</i>	<i>takugliuk / takuglissuk</i>

Based Upon: Harry Harrison. Winter in Eden. (Toronto: Bantam, 1987) 405.

Variations on English

English derivatives are also used to experiment with language in science fiction novels. Often labeled as futuristic English, authors like Russell Hoban and George Orwell create grammatical rule changes within the English language itself to illustrate significant social changes in society.

Russell Hoban's novel, *Riddley Walker*, is written completely in an English derivative. Set approximately two thousand years after a nuclear holocaust, the novel explores relationships between science and language, creating an illustration of how a language can evolve into a more simple form based upon the spoken tongue in the absence of a formal written language. The language of the novel is completely based upon the oral sounds of English, changing historical spellings of its words to their actual phonetic equivalent, except for numerals that are always indicated by their shortened, numeric forms. For example, *river* is indicated as *rivver* to illustrate that the word is actually pronounced with two [v] sounds while *twice* is written as *2ce*. Also, Hoban frequently uses phonetic abbreviations that currently happen only in speech today. *Putcha* stands for the common saying *put ya*, or *put yourself*, in written English. *Riddley Walker* also exhibits contraction simplification. Apostrophes are removed to form words such as *whats*, *dont*, and *theres* while new written versions of contractions such as *Iwl* for *I will*, *whyve* for *why have*, and *dint* for *didn't* are created to represent words that are heard only in speech.

Newspeak from George Orwell's *1984*, on the other hand, is a simplified version of English entirely meant to be a political tool in his novel about a society where the government has taken complete control over its citizen's lives in both the public and private realms. *1984* is an attempt to understand if human nature can be changed through not only social control, but also through the tight control of language itself. Newspeak provided Orwell's socialistic government and its citizens a proper "medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits" by making "other modes of thought impossible." (246). Orwell writes, "Its vocabulary was so constructed as to give exact and often very

subtle expression to every meaning that a Party member could properly wish to express, while excluding all other meanings and also the possibility of arriving at them by indirect methods” (246).

Newspeak is divided into three distinct vocabulary classes, A, B, and C.

Vocabulary A is for everyday usage, while C consists purely of technical and scientific terms. Vocabulary B is the most important of the three because it includes compound words of political importance. Given that the major goal of this reduced form of English is a reduction of vocabulary, Newspeak includes interchangeability among the different parts of speech. One word can be a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and so on without any form alteration. Newspeak eliminates synonyms by selecting clear-cut words to stand for all instances. Similarly, it also abolishes antonyms by selecting one word that could be negated by *-un*. Affixes are used to indicate different uses and meanings of words. For instance, *-ful* is used for adjectives, *-wise* for adverbs, and *plus-* or *doubleplus-* for intensity. Thus, a single word like good can be used repeatedly for various functions:

<i>good</i>	<i>doubleplusgood</i>	<i>goodwise</i>
<i>ungood</i>	<i>plusgood</i>	<i>goodful</i>
<i>plusungood</i>	<i>doubleplusgood</i>	<i>ungoodful</i>

Newspeak also purges irregularities in the English language for nouns and verbs by always creating plurals by adding *-s* and past tenses by adding *-ed*. Comparative degrees use the customary *-er* and *-est* regardless of previous irregularities. Still, in spite of these standardizations, Newspeak leaves *to be* in its original form (247-54).

LANGUAGE CONSTRUCTION

While some science fiction authors choose to avoid dealing with the societal impact of language upon their characters or simply play with minor changes in the English language, others deal with it head on by creating brand new constructed languages, or conlangs, with full grammatical rules and structures. Language construction is an area in which many science fiction authors set themselves apart. They do not merely recreate preexisting cultures that have existing languages or rework the English language as in the above examples. These constructionists develop their societies through unique plot-specific languages (*Laádan Constructed*).

Definition

A constructed language is “a language put together with the intention that it should have enough grammar and vocabulary to make it possible for someone to use it to communicate, just as they would use an existing natural language” (*Laádan Constructed*). Yet, is constructing a language difficult? That is entirely dependant upon what is considered a language and what is considered to be a construction of that language. Elgin, illustrates:

By some definitions, a language could be made up of only A, B, and a repeat symbol; its utterances would be AB, ABB, AB BB, AB BB B, and so on. I could put together a dozen of those in five minutes, and nothing could be easier. If you’re talking about something intended to be useable as a human language, it’s more complicated – but not as complicated as looking at some constructed languages might lead you to believe. No law required a constructed language to have seventy different meaningful

sounds or fifty different personal pronouns or two hundred verb endings; the “constructors” may choose to provide all those things, but they don’t have to. The set of things that human languages *must* include isn’t very large; I could easily construct several languages in a single day. (*Laádan FAQ*)

Developing a Constructed Language

Usually, the narrative comes first and the language is added later if it is added at all. For instance, the Klingon language, constructed by linguist Marc Okrand, was created after the Star Trek series had achieved success.⁴ However, by examining the work of previous authors in the field, one can learn to avoid this trend in creating new languages as an afterthought in response to the writing. For instance, J. R. R. Tolkien actually wrote his novels as a showcase for his constructed languages (*Laádan Constructed*). His linguistic proficiency helped him to write many of the languages in *The Lord of the Rings* series. Some of these include Robirrim, Quenya, Sindarin, Aaci, Numernor, Westron, Telerin, Doriathrin, Nandorin, Old Sindarin, Ilkorin, Khuzdul, Entish, Orksih, Black speech, and various mannish tongues (*Ardalambion*). What can be learned from Tolkien’s example and others like him is that the true key to language construction is to devise a grammar first and then create a text to match. Reversing this order will yield inconsistent work that may not even be coherent (Rosenfelder). When authors attempt this, language construction remains incomplete because there is no consistent form of the language before it is used. Thus, many novels in the genre only have a sampling of vocabulary words or small bits and pieces of grammatical rules within their language because the grammatical elements were afterthoughts that were never fully

incorporated into their novels. When authors construct fictional language, they must start with basic linguistic principles that will hold true throughout the language.

According to Mark Rosenfelder of Zompist.com, a leader in the online language construction movement, one of the first decisions an author of a conlang must make is whether or not the language will be a natural or an unnatural language. Natural languages will have irregularities, lexical derivations, and possibly idioms. Thus, it may seem at first that it would be easier to create a more logical language. However, that has its own dangers. First, an extremely logical language may be so faultless and theoretical that it would be impossible to learn. Secondly, it may be difficult to spot an illogical term that was accidentally produced in the language. Elgin, on the other hand, suggests that one must first consider the possibility of inflections by determining if the new language will be agglutinating, whereby meaning is developed through piecing together different meaningful elements or if it will be isolating, like English, whereby words have only a few elements or a single meaningful element (*Language Construction 101*).

Quechua, a non-Indo-European language uses the first. For instance, in the word *wasikunapi*, the plural suffix, *-kuna* is completely separate from the case suffix *-pi*.

Chinese, conversely, is an isolating language with no suffixes. For example, *wô chi fán* can mean either “I eat” or “I was eating” depending upon its context. (Rosenfelder).

Elgin believes that the first tends to be a quicker path for new language construction than the second (*Language Construction 101*).

Once these initial decisions are made, constructionists can turn toward the actual make-up of their language. The most common mistake at this point is to create an alphabet first and then add apostrophes and diacritical marks. Authors should be warned

that this may result in a language that is too similar to English or that has more sounds than needed. Instead, the first focus should be on the phonology of the language. What type of consonants can the characters use? What about vowels? Authors can consider using different phonemes by experimenting with different sound combinations. Varying their place of articulation and degree of closure can create new consonants. Interesting vowel systems can be invented by using a mixture of dimensions of height, frontness, roundedness, length, nasalization, and tenseness. One can even add stress or tone. The important element, however, is for authors to understand their characters and their audience. Does this culture require a language that resembles English or not? Does the creator of the language want the readers actually to pronounce it? Some of the resulting phonemes from experimentation can easily be those that English speakers do not use. For example, a new language could have unvoiced nasals like German's *ch* phoneme in *Bach* (Rosenfelder). Elgin notes, however, that there is no set limit to the phonemes one can choose. Hawaiian has eleven, while English has around thirty-five. Nevertheless, seventy is pushing the upper limit of possible human language phonemes if a writer should choose that direction (*Language Construction 101*).

Then again, not all constructed languages of science fiction are human-like. While Harry Harrison had a small sampling of human-like languages in his *Eden* series, he also created a unique language for his race of dinosaur-like creatures, the Yilané, in the trilogy. For such non-human languages, authors can consider even more phonetic variations. According to Rosenfelder, characters could have different shaped mouths, allowing for the addition of one or more areas of articulation. Sounds could also be adjusted because the characters don't have noses. Some writers have even created

creatures with two vocal tracts that allow for the pronunciation of two sounds at once. The Yilané language is made up of linked chains of “gestalts,” morpheme strings of phonemes containing one to four concepts, plus a control sign indicated by stylized body posture or movement by the creatures’ tails. The control signs can create up to 125,000,000,000 combinations alone. In spite of that, the phonemes within the gestalts are extremely similar to English phonemes with a few exceptions. The *zh* is equivalent to [ǰ] in *rouge* while the *x* is equivalent to [k] in *loch*. Yilané also has the phonemes *th* and *dh*, but rarely uses them. Four special sounds also exist: a glottal stop [ʔ], a tock [<], a click [!], and a smack of the lips [*] (*West of Eden* 491). Fortunately, most of these sounds are easily pronounced. Still, some authors choose unpronounceable sound systems. Elgin discourages this method of constructing languages whereby human readers cannot pronounce the language. She writes, “It’s not wise to annoy your readers that way” (*Language Construction* 101).

Once the sounds of a language are established, an author must then create an orthography, or a standard way of representing those sounds in a Roman alphabet. Of course, there is always an option to use a non-Roman alphabet as well. However, such an alphabet would be difficult to write and incorporate into the publishing world (Rosenfelder). Harrison indicates that the transcription of his Yilané into English is extremely difficult and that creating a written version of the Yilané control signs that most humans cannot adequately perform is awkward at best. To explain how the language works, he uses transcription symbols for those control signs (See Table 5).

Table 5

Yilané Transcription Symbols (Incomplete Listing)

Control Sign	Transcription Symbol
	Cower
	Stoop
	Tailsweep (clockwise)
	Fall
	Swim

Source: Harry Harrison. West of Eden. (Toronto: Bantam, 1984) 490-91.

However, Harrison does not use the control signs in the text of his novels since the signs are actually internally incorporated with the gestalt string by native speakers and the motions can be explained in common English. This can be demonstrated by examining the Yilané phrase, *Enge hantèhei agatè embokèka iirubueshei kakasheisè, hèawahei; hèvai'ihèi kaksheintè, enpeleiuu asahen enge*, meaning “To leave father’s love and enter the embrace of the sea is the first pain of life – the first joy is the comrades who join you there” (*West of Eden* 491-92). To obtain such a meaning, Yilané speakers understand that the phrase is actually broken down into several gestalts, each with its own controller. The literal English version with control signs in parenthesis, is this:

(Bask) Love (Lie) Maleness. Friend. Senses of Touch/Smell/Feel (Push)

Departure. Self (Fall) Pressure. Stickiness. Cessation (Fall) Entry.

Weightlessness. Cold (Swim) Salt. Cold. Motion (Cower) Numeral 1.

Pain. Senses of Touch/Smell/Feel (Star) Numeral 1. Joy. Senses of
 Touch/Smell/Feel (Swim) Salt. Cold. Hunt (Stretch) Vision. Discovery.
 Increase (Swim) Beach. Male/Female (Reach) Love. (*West of Eden* 492)

This is phonetically written as the following in Yilané:

× *Enge* 𐄂 *han.natè.ihei* 𐄃 *aga.pte* 𐄄 *embo. *kè.ka<* 𐄅 *igi.rubu.eshei*
 ~ *kakh.shei.sèsè.* 𐄆 *hè.awa.ihei;* * *hè.vai<.ihei* *kakh.shei.intè,*
 𐄇 *end.pelei.uu* ~ *asak.hen* 𐄈 *enge* (*West of Eden* 491-92).

However, true language construction goes beyond phonology and orthography.

Word building from linguistic principles creates fully functional languages. Authors who follow such principles consider syllabic rules, as well as plurality, tense, and case markers. They also examine the issues of gender, verb inflections, pronouns, numbers, and articles. Of course, writers can even decide if they want certain parts of speech. An option is to eliminate adjectives by treating them as verbs, or do as Jack Vance did in *The Languages of Pao*, and remove the verbs. Attention to semantics in syllables and single words is also important for language construction (*Language Construction 101*). While Rosenfelder warns authors against giving meanings for every possible syllable in their languages, languages with high stress on meaning like Elgin's Laádan may have more syllabic meanings than others.

Creating a Living Language

Grammar creation is just the beginning of what can be accomplished through constructed language. It is one thing to construct a language, but another to create a functioning language. The construction itself is not terribly difficult. It is its transition into a living language that takes time and resources. Elgin writes:

Languages don't live because they meet a list of specifications. They live because they are used and loved and worked with and treasured; they live because they are associated with a culture. ... Constructing a language that might become a living human language is like writing a novel or composing a symphony, with all that that entails. It's not just a matter of meeting technical specifications. It could take a lifetime. (*Laádan FAQ*)

Elgin wanted the opportunity to take this next step in the creation of languages of science fiction. Consequently, she used her woman's language, Laádan, as a linguistic experiment to create a functioning language outside of the series itself.

Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Elgin's major reason for writing the *Native Tongue* series grew out of her belief that language is a powerful advocate for social change and that science fiction provides a way for "trying out social changes before we make them, to find out what their consequences might be" (qtd in Squier and Vedder 305). She subscribes to the controversial theory known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, or linguistic relativity hypothesis. According to Susan Squier and Julie Veddar, this hypothesis claims that language structures and restricts the human perception of reality. It also proposes that "languages vary dramatically and in ways not easily anticipated, and that such variations

encode dramatically different understandings of reality, so that people speaking different languages actually see the word in widely divergent ways” (307). Therefore, one’s perception of the world is entirely dependant upon how language is structured and how language programs our understanding of the world (307).

Women have often complained that they do not have the words to express what they mean. Perhaps language itself lacks the vocabulary for things that are important to women and lack ways to express emotional information outside of body language. The *Native Tongue* trilogy tells a story of women who wanted and needed a language of their own and of their attempt to create one, allowing Elgin to explore how women could encode their perceptions into language. According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, gender is especially subject to perception encoding because of the human habit of “binary thinking” that creates such pairs as right/left and strong/weak, in which one takes a higher preference over the other. Thus, the assumed paring of male/female creates an unfounded inclination toward the male gender that is accomplished not only by word choice, but also by the how we place those words in context (Squier and Vedder 307). Elgin believes that the inability of women to express emotional information has left them vulnerable to hostile language in which they have to defend what they actually mean (*First Dictionary* 3). Often speakers have to resort to the “Oh, you ARE not!” and “Oh, you DID not!” response patterns to express words that can only be articulated with body language in English, as well as statements such as “But all I SAID was. . .” and “Hey, I was Only kidding AROUND!” (*Laádan Language Materials*).

Hypothesis Testing

Elgin's new series was the perfect opportunity to explore the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It allowed her understand how and why a language could actually express the perceptions of women. As she considered the implications that the hypothesis would have both socially and politically, Elgin began her *Native Tongue* trilogy as a ten-year "thought experiment" to test four interrelated hypotheses:

(1) that the weak form of the linguistic relativity hypothesis is true (that is, that human languages structure perceptions in significant ways); (2) that Goedel's Theorem applies to language, so that there are changes you could not introduce into a language without destroying it and languages you could not introduce into a culture without destroying it; (3) that change in language brings about social change, rather than the contrary; and (4) that if women were offered a women's language one of two things should happen – they would welcome and nurture it, or it would at minimum motivate them to replace it with a better women's language of their own construction. (*Laádan Constructed*)

Elgin admits that her experiment did not have the results for which she had hoped. While she believed that the first proved true, the last failed because *Laádan* was never embraced by women in society. Also, without the success of the fourth, Elgin never had the chance to test the middle two (*Laádan Constructed*; Squier and Veddar 308).

Why did Elgin think that such a test was important? She believed that if the hypothesis had proven true, it would have meant that the effort to avoid sexist language was "useful and worthwhile." Change in language could change attitudes about gender.

However, if it had been proven false it would have meant that language is only a reflection of social change, proving that those who think nonsexist language is silly are correct. In her novels, Elgin presupposes that the hypothesis is true and writes from that point of view (*Judas Rose FAQ*).

After writing the first two books in the series, *Native Tongue* and *Judas Rose*, Elgin “released Laádan into the real world” and “stood by to observe what happened to it,” in an attempt to test the theory. She believed that one of two things would happen. Either it would have been welcomed as Klignon had, initiating the development of a Laádan Institute, a Laádan Journal, or even the development of Laádan coffee mugs and bumper stickers, or it would have been dropped or replaced, as people looked at it and said, “That’s all wrong – that’s not what a language designed to express women’s perceptions should be like!” (*Earthsong FAQ*). However, neither of those two happened by the end of the ten-year span. “The conclusion that the male scientific paradigm would draw from this result is that it proved definitively that existing human languages are adequate to express women’s perceptions,” explains Elgin. However, she continues, “I’m well enough trained to know that that is the conclusion dictated by the principle of economy; I’m also experienced enough to know that the principle of economy doesn’t always apply in the real world” (Wells).

Perhaps part of the reason for Laádan’s failure in the real world is due to the perception of science fiction as a genre. According to Squier and Veddar, science fiction has often been considered a sub-par genre. It also has a propensity to be male-centric because of its scientific themes and the tendency of feminists to reject science. They believe that women have tended to avoid such issues, preferring to focus their efforts on

resurrecting forgotten female writers and questioning the dominance of male literature in the literary canon. However, Squier and Veddar also stress that feminists should give the genre attention “precisely because science and science fiction have seemed the rightful terrain of men at their most macho” (309). Regardless, it appears that the novels and the language never attained a strong enough fan base to promote further expansion of Laádan into society. conflation

Life after Failure

Despite these reasons and possibly because of them, Elgin used her third book in the series, *Earthsong* (1994), to move away from Laádan in an attempt to illustrate what linguists would do in such a situation. Thus, paralleling how Laádan was received in the real world, the women of *Earthsong* move their focus from Laádan to a different project with the same goal: to prevent human violence (Contemporary). However, Elgin was criticized for abandoning the gender discussions (Quilter). Yet, Elgin defends her choice:

Many people were angry with me because I didn't go on with Laádan in this book; they felt that since we were talking about fiction, not history, I should have written a book in which the Laádan project *did* succeed, never mind what happened in the real world. ... But the lack of attention paid to the language during the ten years after *Native Tongue* was published gave me no reason to think readers would react that way, and so I made a different decision. (*Earthsong FAQ*)

THE LANGUAGE OF LAÁDAN⁵

Regardless, Laádan is the essence of *Native Tongue*, so much so that it was actually developed before Elgin wrote any of the novels. As Elgin considered the implications of her narrative, she became aware early on that if she were to write about women creating a woman's language, she would have to create the language in its entirety first to understand her characters' motivations and struggles in developing it. Elgin also considered it her linguistic obligation to be as accurate as possible in its development. Science fiction has two major components: science and fiction. As a linguist, Elgin wanted to be true to the science of linguistics in her novels just as other writers with scientific backgrounds in chemistry and astronomy have done (Glatzer; *Laádan Constructed*; *Laádan FAQ*). For her, faking the language or "inserting a handful of hypothetical words and phrases to represent it" as some science fiction writers have done was just not ethical. She needed to create at least a "basic grammar" and a "modest vocabulary" to meet this responsibility (Sperling) and to understand better the process that her characters would undergo (*Laádan FAQ*). By constructing Laádan first, she would be less likely to have errors (*Laádan Constructed*).

Elgin began creating Laádan on June 28, 1982, two years before the publication of *Native Tongue*. With a goal to have a vocabulary of 1000 well-chosen words that would allow for everyday conversation and writing, she studied existing languages from several different language families before selecting features that seemed to be "valuable and appropriate." By the fall of 1982, she had the beginning of a Laádan grammar, signified by the publishing of a Laádan Nativity story in *Women and Language News* written from the standpoint of the Virgin Mary. Afterwards, she continued to discuss the

concept of a women's language at meetings and conferences and among her friends and contemporaries, gathering ideas for concepts that were difficult to express, eventually settling upon the complete linguistic form Laádan currently possesses (Sperling). All of this preparation was successful since it allowed Elgin to create detailed dialog between characters regarding Laádan:

“*Boóbin Na delith lethath oma Nathanan,*” she said easily, reading off the line. “You see that it is easily pronounced [...] *Boóbin*: that is the verb to braid. It has no other meaning, although it has a transparent relationship to the numeral three, which is *boó*. [...] *Na*: that is the subject pronoun, second person singular, with the suffix from the grammatical class designated as ‘beloved.’ Perhaps Beloved Thou is the closest I can come to it . . .” (*Judas Rose* 209-10)

Phonetics and Phonology

Laádan was constructed and tailored for English. However, the sound system was designed “to present as few difficulties as possible, no matter what the native language of the learner” (*First Dictionary* 7). Laádan has five vowels and thirteen consonants. Each is pronounced in only one way. Because constructed languages are not native languages actually in use by a people, there cannot be any systematic phonetic variation in conlangs. Often, as in the case of Laádan, phonemic transcription is direct. Thus, any notable variation is based solely upon the rules of the native language of the reader or speaker.

Upon examining Elgin's novels, one will notice that Elgin constructed Laádan so that its consonantal sounds are restricted to the stops, [b] and [d]; the fricatives [š], [θ], [ž], and [h]; the nasals [m] and [n]; the liquids [l] and [r]; and the glides [w] and [j],

written as their English counterparts. She also adds an additional consonant in Laádan that has no English equivalent. The sound of *lh* is created by putting the tip of the tongue firmly against the roof of the mouth just behind the alveolar ridge, drawing the corners of the lips back in an exaggerated smile while vocalizing the *sh* [š] sound. This hissing sound is purposely unpleasant to hear. Patterned after a similar feature in Navajo, the change from *l* to *lh* can be done for any Laádan word to give it a negative meaning. For instance the word *éelen*, meaning grapes, can take a negative connotation by using *éelhen* (*First Dictionary* 7). The vowels of Laádan consist of the typical English *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. However, these vowels, unlike those in English, have only one individual sound. The first three use the English simple vowels, while the latter are equivalent to two English diphthongs (See Table 6).

Table 6

Laádan Vowels

Vowel	Sound	Place of Articulation	Example
<i>a</i>	[a]	low back unrounded	as in “calm”
<i>e</i>	[ɛ]	low front unrounded	as in “bell”
<i>i</i>	[I]	mid front unrounded	as in “bit”
<i>o</i>	[ow]	mid back rounded	as in “home”
<i>u</i>	[u]	high back rounded	as in “soothe”

Based Upon: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed.

Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 7.

Laádan is a tone language because its words can have different meanings based upon pitch. This difference in tone is usually indicated by an accent mark or, in the case of some computer programs, by a capitalized letter. For example, *eduthá* is an engineer, while *edutha* is medicine. To pronounce the differences between the two words, one could consider the way a strongly-stressed English syllable is pronounced. The variation is similar to the distinction between the English word *convert* which can be either a verb or a noun. In this case, the verb would have stress on the *con-* while the noun would have stress on the *-vert*. Fortunately, Elgin purposely created Laádan to exclude the English stress as to not confuse the speaker. The most common usage of Laádan tone occurs when two identical vowels are side by side. As in *rahéeda*, to be unholy, one of the vowels will always take a high tone (*First Dictionary* 8). It is also important to point out that Laádan does not permit consonant clusters or sequences of more than one vowel where neither has a tone marker. Elgin therefore uses epenthesis when morphemes are combined. An *h* is inserted to break up vowel sequences while an *e* is inserted to break consonant clusters.

Morphology

While Laádan's lexicon is short by at least 600,000 words as compared to English, its morphological components provide enough resources to continue adding new words indefinitely. Elgin encourages people to use the rules of Laádan to create even more words for the language. Some of the most semantically significant morphemes occur at the beginning and end of Laádan sentences. The initial word, or speech-act morpheme, in a sentence tells you what type of sentence it is (statement, question, request, etc.), while the last word, or evidentiality morpheme, indicates why the speaker

considers the sentence to be true (See Table 7). Each of the speech-act morphemes can be further defined semantically by adding suffixes to indicate the speaker's intentions or state of consciousness (See Tables 8 & 9).

Table 7

Speech-Act & Evidentiality Morphemes in Laádan

Speech-Act Morpheme	Type of Sentence
<i>Bii</i>	Declarative
<i>Báa</i>	Question
<i>Bó</i>	Command (children)
<i>Bóo</i>	Request/Command
<i>Bé</i>	Promise
<i>Bée</i>	Warning
Evidentiality Morpheme	Why Considered True
<i>wa</i>	claimed to be true because speaker has perceived it as so
<i>wi</i>	self-evident to everyone
<i>we</i>	perceived through a dream
<i>wáa</i>	understood as true because one trusts the source
<i>waá</i>	understood as false because one does not trust the source
<i>wo</i>	imagined, invented, or hypothetical
<i>wóo</i>	speaker lacks knowledge of its truth
∅	no comment made on truth

Based Upon: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed.

Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 131.

Table 8

Laádan Suffixes Indicating Speaker's Intention⁶

Speaker's Intentions	Suffix to be Added	Example
said neutrally	-Ø	<i>Bée</i>
said in anger	- <i>d</i>	<i>Béed</i>
said in pain	- <i>th</i>	<i>Béeth</i>
said in love	- <i>li</i>	<i>Béli</i>
said in celebration	- <i>lan</i>	<i>Béelan</i>
said in jest	- <i>da</i>	<i>Béeda</i>
said in fear	- <i>ya</i>	<i>Béeya</i>
said in narrative	- <i>de</i>	<i>Béede</i>
said in teaching	- <i>di</i>	<i>Bédi</i>

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 132.

Table 9

Laádan Suffixes Indicating Speaker's State of Consciousness⁶

Speaker's State of Consciousness	Suffix to be Added	Example
neutral	-Ø	<i>Bée</i>
ecstasy	- <i>iyon</i>	<i>Béehiyon</i>
deliberately shut off to all feeling	- <i>ib</i>	<i>Béehib</i>
in a sort of shock, numb said in	- <i>ihed</i>	<i>Béehihed</i>
linked empathically to others	- <i>itha</i>	<i>Béehitha</i>

in meditation said in fear	-o	<i>Béeho</i>
in hypnotic trance	-óo	<i>Béehóo</i>
in astonishment, positive	-imi	<i>Béehimi</i>
in astonishment, negative	-imilh	<i>Béehimilh</i>

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane

Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 132.

Therefore, a statement starting with *Bóoliho* would indicate that the speaker is making a request with love while in meditation. Fashioned after similar uses in languages like Hidastsa (O’Grady 260), the proper use of evidentiality morphemes is extremely important. For instance, if a speaker would utter a statement with *-wa* and it proved to be false, she would be considered a liar. Yet, if the same had happened when she used the ending *-wo*, the speaker would have been considered mistaken. Also note that when several sentences are used together by a single individual, these morphemes do not have to be put on every sentence. In addition, when asking a question, because the intent is not to provide information but instead to ask for some, an evidentiality morpheme will not appear (See Table 10).

Table 10

Sentence Usage Example for Speech-Act and Evidentiality Morphemes

Question	Translation
<i>Bûi owa rana wi.</i>	<i>The drink is hot. (Obvious)</i>
<i>Bûi owa rana wáa.</i>	<i>The drink is hot. (Trusted with no evidence)</i>
<i>Báa owa rana?</i>	<i>Is the drink hot?</i>

There are several examples of derivational affixes that change either the meaning or syntactic category of a base in Laádan. The most obvious is the negative prefix, *ra*. Also, a free morpheme, it can be inserted immediately after the verb in a sentence to reverse the entire meaning of a sentence:

Bíi hal obeth wa. The neighbor works.

Bíi hal ra obeth wa. The neighbor doesn't work.

However, it is primarily used as a prefix on individual words. For instance, *radama* from *dama*, to touch, means not to touch. This negativity can be extended even further by adding *-lh* as a suffix, creating *radamalh*, meaning not to touch with evil intent.

There are several other affixes that can change the meaning of words. Since Laádan is a woman's language, all words denoting humans naturally default to the female. Therefore *with*, meaning person, usually indicates a woman. However, by using the suffix *-id* to create *withid*, one can designate that the person is male. Other suffixes that change meaning include such examples as *-hul* to indicate *to an extreme degree*, and *-tha* to indicate *possession by reason of birth*. The prefix *e-* signifies the science of whatever word it is added to. For example, *emina* (transportation or the science of movement) is created by adding *e-* to *mina* (to move). Other instances include the use of *me-* to indicate "greater weight, size, or importance" and *no-* to indicate "completion."

Emotion nouns such as *grief*, *anger*, or *joy* can have numerous forms through the use of affixing. Two declensions exist. The first indicates a specific type of reason while the second indicates whether or not there is reason, blame, or futility in the emotion (See Tables 11 & 12).

Table 11

First Emotion Noun Declension

Type of Reason	Suffix	Form of Joy
for no reason	<i>-ina</i>	<i>thina</i>
for good reasons	<i>-ena</i>	<i>thena</i>
for foolish reasons	<i>-ona</i>	<i>thona</i>
for bad reasons	<i>-una</i>	<i>thuna</i>
despite negative circumstances	<i>-(e)hena</i>	<i>thehena</i>

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 132.

Table 12

Second Emotion Noun Declension ⁷

	<i>-ara</i>	<i>-ala</i>	<i>-ama</i>	<i>-ana</i>	<i>-ina</i>
Reason	+	+	+	+	-
Blame	+	+	-	-	-
Futility	+	-	+	-	-
(grief)	<i>shara</i>	<i>shala</i>	<i>shama</i>	<i>shana</i>	<i>shina</i>

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 133.

Also useful are the verb prefixes *-du* and *-dúu*. For instance, if you have the verb *wida*, meaning *to carry*, you can create *duwida* (to try to carry) or *dúuwida* (to try in vain to carry). Furthermore, even the names for Laádan months are also created with the use of an affixes (See Table 13).

Table 13

Creation of Laádan Months Using Affixes

Month	Laádan Form	Affixing Process	Meaning
January	<i>Alel</i>	A- + <i>lel</i> (seaweed)	Seaweed Month
March	<i>Ahesh</i>	A- + <i>hesh</i> (grass)	Grass Month
April	<i>Athil</i>	A- + <i>thil</i> (vine)	Vine Month
July	<i>Ameda</i>	A- + <i>meda</i> (vegetable)	Vegetable Month
September	<i>Aede</i>	A- + <i>ede</i> (grain)	Grain Month
November	<i>Athon</i>	A- + <i>thon</i> (seed)	Seed Month

Morphemes can also be used to change syntactic categories of words (See Table 14) which can in turn be combined with other affixes. A case in point is the Laádan equivalent for linguist, *edaná*. The root is *dan* (language). It is changed to *edan* (linguistics) by adding the prefix *e-* (science of) and then finally to *edaná* (linguist) by adding the suffix *-á* (doer).

Table 14

Examples of Laádan Morphemes Used to Change Syntactical Categories

Affix	Syntactical Change	Example
<i>-á</i>	V → N	<i>hal</i> (to work) → <i>halá</i> (worker) <i>dutha</i> (to heal) → <i>duthahá</i> (healer)
<i>-nal</i>	N → Adv	<i>rile</i> (silence) → <i>rilenal</i> (silently)
<i>-wáan</i>	V → N	<i>héeya</i> (to fear) → <i>héeyawáan</i> (fear)

Moreover, since there are no independent adjectives or adverbs in Laádan, the language there is a need to transform nouns and verbs into the equivalent. An alternate form can be used to designate forms similar to an English adjective plus noun sequence such as *blue moon* or *tiny bird*. This is done by taking any sequence of verb and subject and adding the prefix *wo-* to each word. Therefore, beautiful woman is *woháya wowith* from *to be beautiful* and *woman*. However, the use of *wo-* can only be used if there is only one verb. There are also several markers that are used in place of adverbs to indicate degree or duration (See Tables 15 & 16).

Table 15

Degree Markers for *Lóolo* (to be slow) (These markers are considered neutral.

Additional sets also exist for both negative and positive contexts.)⁶

Marker	Degree	Word Example	Meaning
∅	to an ordinary degree	<i>lóolo</i>	slow
<i>-hel</i>	to a trivial degree, slightly	<i>lóolohel</i>	slightly slow
<i>-hil</i>	to a minor degree, rather	<i>lóolohil</i>	rather slow
<i>-hal</i>	to an unusual degree, very	<i>lóolohal</i>	very slow
<i>-hul</i>	to an extreme degree	<i>lóolohul</i>	extremely slow
<i>-háalish</i>	to an extraordinary degree	<i>lóoloháalish</i>	extraordinarily slow

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane

Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 130.

Table 16

Laádan Duration Markers⁶

Marker	Duration	Word Example	Meaning
<i>na-</i>	to start to	<i>nahoshana</i>	to start to menstruate
<i>ná-</i>	to continue to	<i>náhoshana</i>	to continue to menstruate
<i>ne-</i>	to repeat	<i>nehoshana</i>	to menstruate again
<i>no-</i>	to finish , complete	<i>nohoshana</i>	to finish menstruating
<i>nó-</i>	to cease to	<i>nóhoshana</i>	to cease to menstruate

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 130.

Word building can also be done by compounding two already existing words in Laádan. Most compound words are nouns. A case in point is *dalemath* (object building or warehouse) created by combining *dale* (object) and *math* (building). Another example is *ezhahith* (lightning bolt) from *ezha* (snake) and *ith* (light). However, the best examples of compound words are found by examining the Laádan days of the week. Similar to the names of Laádan months, each day consists of a descriptor plus *sháal*, the term for day (See Table 17). Larger numerals are also created in a similar way. For instance, *nedethab* (eleven) is created from *nede* (one) and *thab* (ten) while *debeinede* (one hundred and one) is created from *debe* (one hundred) *i* (and), and *nede* (one).

Table 17

Creation of Laádan Days through Compounding

Day	Compounding Process	Laádan Form	Meaning
Monday	hene (east) + <i>sháal</i>	<i>Henesháal</i>	East Day
Wednesday	hune (north) + <i>sháal</i>	<i>Hunesháal</i>	North Day
Friday	rayil (above) + <i>sháal</i>	<i>Rayilesháal</i>	Above Day
Sunday	hatham (center) + <i>sháal</i>	<i>Hathamesháal</i>	Center Day

Words can also be created by clipping or the use of onomatopoeia. The word *delethodiwan* (writing instrument) uses the first type of word formation to shorten its length to *thode*, while examples of onomatopoeia include the use of *wée* for the cry of babies, *limlim* for a bell, and *húumid* (*húu* + creature) for an owl.

Laádan uses inflectional affixes to modify a word's form, as well. The most common use of inflectional affixes in Elgin's language is to indicate a noun's class or grammatical role (See Table 18). Case markers are attached to noun phrases when there is no ambiguity. Thus, they can be considered optional. While these noun cases also do away with the need for prepositions, Laádan does have a few postpositions to indicate more precise information as needed. Such words are added to the end of the case phrase. For instance, *Bíi hal le náaleyá obée wa* added *obée* to indicate, "I work **during** the night." rather than "I work **at** night."

Table 18

Laádan Case Markers

Case	Marker
Subject	∅
Identifier	∅
Object	<i>-th</i>
Source	<i>-de</i>
Goal	<i>-di, -dim</i>
Time	<i>-ya</i>
Place	<i>-ha, sha</i>
Manner	<i>-nal</i>
Instrument	<i>-nan</i>
Associate	<i>-den, -dan (with pleasure)</i>
Beneficiary	<i>-da, -dá (forced), -daá (accidentally), -dáa (obligation), -dan (voluntarily)</i>
Cause	<i>-wan (in order to, for the purpose of) -wáan (due to, because of)</i>
Possessive	<i>-tha (by birth), -the (no known reason), -thi (by chance), -tho (by law, custom, gift), -thu (false possessive)</i>

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane

Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 129.

All of these cases can also apply to pronouns. However, Laádan pronouns have two distinct types of plurals. Plural (several), created by adding the suffix *-zh*, indicates 2-5 people, while plural (many), created by adding the suffix *-n*, indicates more than 5 people. Elgin also incorporated the perception of regard into each of the pronouns (See Table 19). This pattern could be confusing because the conjunctions *i* (*and*) and *izh* (*but*) have construction similar to that of the plural (few) pronouns. However, one needs to remember that these are the base forms of pronouns to which case markers can be added. Therefore, *le* is equivalent to the English *I*, *leth* to *me*, *lethe* to *mine*, and so forth.

Table 19

Laádan Pronouns

	Regard	Singular	Plural(several)	Plural (many)
First Person	neutral	<i>le</i>	<i>lezh</i>	<i>len</i>
	beloved	<i>la</i>	<i>lazh</i>	<i>lan</i>
	honored	<i>li</i>	<i>lizh</i>	<i>lin</i>
	despised	<i>hele</i>	<i>lhelezh</i>	<i>lhelen</i>
Second Person	neutral	<i>ne</i>	<i>nezh</i>	<i>nen</i>
	beloved	<i>na</i>	<i>nazh</i>	<i>nan</i>
	honored	<i>ni</i>	<i>nizh</i>	<i>nin</i>
	despised	<i>lhene</i>	<i>lhenezh</i>	<i>lhene</i>
Third Person	neutral	<i>be</i>	<i>bezh</i>	<i>ben</i>
	beloved	<i>ba</i>	<i>bazh</i>	<i>ban</i>
	honored	<i>bi</i>	<i>bizh</i>	<i>bin</i>

	despised	<i>lhebe</i>	<i>lhebezh</i>	<i>lheben</i>
Demonstrative		<i>hi</i>	<i>hizh</i>	<i>hin</i>
Infinitive		base form + <i>-ye-</i> + case marker		
Reflexive		base form + <i>-yóo-</i> + case marker		
Interrogative		base form + <i>-báa-</i> + case marker		

Based Upon: Suzette Haden Elgin. *A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan*. Ed.

Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 136-37.

With the exception of pronouns, plurality is solely determined in the verb. In order to make a verb plural, one should put the prefix *me-* at the beginning of a verb. As indicated before, Laádan uses a pattern of alternating consonants and vowels, for ease of pronunciation. Thus, an insertion of *meh-* is required before verbs that start with vowels. Thus, *hal* becomes *mehal* while *ayá* becomes *mehayá*. One exception is for verbs beginning with *d*. The plural prefix is the syllabic *n*. Speakers who find the syllabic *n* uncomfortable could also use *ne-* informally. In this case, *di be* becomes *ndi ben* or *nedi ben*. If there is more than one marker, the plural marker always appears first. However, plurality may be needed when there is no verb available to take the plural marker. In such an instance, the word *menedebe* (many) can be inserted immediately after the noun phrase. Other similar terms including numbers, *nedebe* (few, several), and *woho* (all, every) can be used in the same fashion. These words never change form.

Semantics

As noted before, meanings are extremely important in Laádan. The vocabulary of language has a strong emphasis in emotions because those are the encodings that Elgin felt women were missing the most. As encodings were created, Elgin discovered that

there was a need for several different words to indicate multiple levels of emotion. For instance, there are at least twelve different types of love in Laádan:

áayáa mysterious love, not yet known to be welcome or unwelcome

áazh love for one sexually desired at one time, but not now

ab love for one liked but not respected

ad love for one respected but not liked

am love for one related by blood

ashon love for one not related by blood, but kin of heart

aye love that is unwelcome and a burden

azh love for one sexually desired now

éeme love for one neither liked nor respected

maha pure sexual desire, no love

oham love for that which is holy

sham love for a child of one's body, presupposing neither liking nor respect nor their absence (*First Dictionary*).

Semantic relationships can be seen between words in Laádan as well. For instance, polysemy is present in the word *rahana* (*ra* + food). It can mean either junk food or famine since the prefix *ra-* can be considered not or no. An instance of homophony is seen in the word *bod*. Its first meaning is *a line on a surface or of a computer program*. *Bod* can also be translated into *a dish*.

Syntax

Laádan is a V-S-O language. An English Equivalent of this order would be “Hates dogs she.” verses the typical S-V-O order of English expressed as “She hates

dogs.” Instead of using inflectional affixes to indicate tense, Laádan creates tense by placing auxiliaries immediately before the verb (See Table 20). These auxiliaries never change their shape in a sentence even if the verb is made plural. Also, just like evidence morphemes, only one auxiliary is needed in discourse by a single individual. The basic order of a sentence is a speech act morpheme, followed optionally by an auxiliary, followed by a verb, followed by one or more noun phrases, followed by an evidence morpheme. Word-order options include the five basic patterns (See Table 21). An important part of this word order is the case phrase. Elgin indicates that the case phrase is equivalent to the English prepositional phrase that includes a preposition and its following noun phrase. In Laádan, the case phrase is usually indicated a noun phrase and its case-marker ending (*First Dictionary* 9).

Table 20

Laádan Tense Auxiliaries ⁶

Auxiliary	Tense	Example	Meaning
<i>eril</i>	Past	<i>Báa eril hal ne?</i>	Did you work?
<i>aril</i>	Future	<i>Báa aril hal ne?</i>	Will you work?
<i>ril</i>	Present	<i>Báa ril hal ne?</i>	Are you working (now)?
<i>eríli</i>	Far Past	<i>Báa eríli hal ne?</i>	Did you work long ago?
<i>rilrili</i>	Hypothetical	<i>Báa rilrili hal ne?</i>	Would/Might you work?
<i>aríli</i>	Far Future	<i>Báa aríli hal ne?</i>	Will you work sometime far ahead?

Source: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane

Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988) 129.

Table 21

Laádan Word Order Patterns

Laádan Sentences	Direct Translation	Meaning
[Verb (Negative)Case Phrase-Subject]		
<i>Bíi yod be wa.</i>	to eat she	She eats.
<i>Báa híya dala wa.</i>	to be small plant	Is the plant small?
<i>Bíi mehal ra ben wa.</i>	to work(pl)(neg) they(many)	They don't work.
[(Auxiliary) V (Neg) CP-S]		
<i>Bíi eril wú mid wa.</i>	(past)to be alive creature	The creature was alive.
<i>Bíi aril mehóoha with wa.</i>	(future)to be weary(pl) person	The women will be weary.
[(Aux)V (Neg) CP-S CP-Object]		
<i>Bíi eril néed le losheth wa.</i>	(past)to want I money	I wanted money.
<i>Báa aril yod be yuth?</i>	(future)to eat she fruit	Will she eat fruit?
<i>Báa yod be worúsho woyuth?</i>	to eat she bitter fruit	She eats the bitter fruit?
[(Aux) Verb Complex (Neg) CP-S]		
<i>Bíi néed hal with wáa.</i>	to want to work person	The woman wants to work
<i>Báa néed lith withid?</i>	to want to think man	Does the man want to think?.
[(Aux) Verb (Neg) CP-S (CP-O) CP-OTHER]		
<i>Bíi aril sháad le bethedi wa.</i>	(future)to go I home	I will go home.

<i>Bíi eríl ban le beth hudi wa.</i>	(past)to give I it boss	I gave it to the boss.
<i>Báa eríl láad ne nith oyinan?</i>	(past)to see you cup eye	Did you see the cup?
<i>Bíi eríl delishe be ibewáan wáa.</i>	(past)to weep she crime	She wept because of the crime.

Based Upon Examples: Suzette Haden Elgin. A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan.

Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: SF3, 1988).

Elgin also creates complex sentences by embedding a sentence between the last case phrase and the evidence morpheme. If the embedded sentence is declarative, the ending *-hé* is added to the last word of that sentence. If it is a question, *-hée* is added. If it is a relative clause, *-háa* is added unless the place case ending of *-ha* is present. In that instance, the alternate form of *-sháa* is used (See Table 22).

Table 22

Complex Laádan Sentences

Laádan Sentence	Meaning
<i>Bíi lith le rahowa hishehé wa.</i>	I think that the snow is cold.
<i>Báa lith ne rahowa hishehée?</i>	Do you think that the snow is cold?
<i>Bíi dome le hal withehé wa.</i>	I remember that the woman works.
<i>Bíi dome le hal witheháa wa.</i>	I remember the woman that works.

CONCLUSION

Science fiction writers understand that language is an important element in society. It can help or hinder an individual's expression of self through its internal structures. They also recognize that since the genre of science fiction allows them to create new realities, language can be transformed into new and exciting forms that impact society in numerous ways. While some writers prefer to avoid addressing this aspect of the field or only sample portions of its capability, Suzette Haden Elgin used her linguistic skills to explore how new developments in language can free people from preconceptions created by society. While it is true that her intended linguistic experiment in the *Native Tongue* series was not entirely successful, her creation of Laádan provides an extraordinary example of how a fictional, yet fully functional language can be created through the application of linguistic principles. Authors like Elgin have initiated the proliferating interest in using constructed languages in literature and on the Internet to address social issues. When we look closely at the role of language, its hidden meanings, and the reasons why we use it, we gradually understand what language truly is and why language is so important to ourselves and society as a whole. To reword a commonly used cliché, our eyes are not the windows to our souls. Rather, language is the window to our souls, a reflection of all that we hold dear. It is little wonder that Elgin wanted that window to show how women truly think and feel.

Lometha

*Thi with lometh nede neda
Bedi be lom wobameya—
Woshana wolom,
Woshana wolom,
Meshule dáan lometha*

Birthsong

A woman has only one song,
The song she learns at birth.
A sorrowing song,
A sorrowing song—
Words don't fit her birthsong.
(*First Dictionary* 139)

NOTES

1. The *Deryni* series consists of several different series. The first, *Chronicles of the Deryni*, includes three novels: *Deryni Rising*, *Deryni Checkmate*, & *High Deryni*. Other series titles include *The Legends of Camber of Culdi* with *Camber of Culdi*, *Saint Camber*, and *Camber the Heretic*; *The Heirs of Saint Camber* with *The Harrowing of Gwynedd*, *King Javan's Year*, and *The Bastard Prince*; and *The Histories of King Kelson* with *The Bishop's Heir*, *The King's Justice*, and *The Quest for Saint Camber*.
2. The *Belgarian* series includes five novels: *Pawn of Prophecy*, *Queen of Sorcery*, *Magician's Gambit*, *Castle of Wizardry*, and *Enchanter's End Game*. The *Mallorean* series includes five novels: *Guardians of the West*, *King of the Murgos*, *Demon Lord of Karanda*, *Sorceress of Darsiva*, and *The Seeress of Kell*.
3. The *Eden* series includes three novels: *West of Eden*, *Return to Eden*, and *Winter in Eden*.
4. The Klingon language has produced a journal published by an university institute, two competing Bible translation projects, a Shakespeare translation project, and even summer camps to teach the language (*Laádan Constructed*).
5. The analysis of Laádan grammar and tables is based upon the study of Elgin's *Native Tongue* trilogy and her explanations of it in *A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan*. Examples are not direct quotations unless indicated otherwise.
6. The examples were created to demonstrate usage.
7. Thus, *shina* would be grief for which there is no reason, for which no blame can be ascribed, but which is not futile because something can be done about it.

WORKS CITED

- Ardalambion: Of the Tongues of Arda, the Invented World of J.R.R. Tolkien. Ed. Helge Kåre Fauskanger. 12 Jan. 2003. University of Bergen. 22 Sept. 2003
<<http://www.uib.no/People/hnohf/>>.
- Barnes, Myra J.E. Linguistics And Languages In Science Fiction – Fantasy. Diss. East Texas State U, 1971. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1971. ATT 7210788.
- Bosky, Bernadette. “ELGIN, (Patricia Anne) Suzette Haden (née Wilkins).” Twentieth-Century Science-Fiction Writers. 3rd ed. 1991.
- Eddings, David. The Belgariad. New York: Ballantine, 1982-84.
- Eddings, David. The Mallorean. New York: Ballantine, 1987-91.
- Eddings, David, and Leigh Eddings. The Riven Codex. New York: Ballantine, 1998.
- “Elgin, (Patricia Anne) Suzette Haden.” Contemporary Authors: New Revision Series. Vol. 83. 2000.
- Elgin, Suzette Haden. “Biography.” Suzette Haden Elgin. 22 Feb. 2004. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 3 Mar. 2004 <<http://www.sfwaworld.org/members/elgin/>>.
- . The Communionpaths. New York: Ace, 1970. (First of the *Coyote Jones* series.)
- . Earthsong. New York: Feminist Press, 2000.
- . “Earthsong: Frequently Asked Questions.” Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 5 Mar. 2004
<http://www.sfwaworld.org/members/elgin/NativeTongue/NT3_ES_FAQ.html>.

- . A First Dictionary and Grammar of Laádan. Ed. Diane Martin. 2nd ed. Madison, WI: SF3, 1988.
- . The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- , and John Grinder. Guide to Transformational Grammar: History, Theory, Practice. New York: Holt, 1973
- . Judas Rose. New York: Feminist Press, 2000.
- . "Judas Rose: Frequently Asked Questions." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 5 Mar. 2004
<http://www.sfw.org/members/elgin/NativeTongue/NT2_JR_FAQ.html>.
- . "Laádan: The Constructed Language in *Native Tongue*." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 8 Oct. 2003
<<http://www.sfw.org/members/elgin/laadan.html>>.
- . "The Laádan Language: Frequently Asked Questions." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 8 Oct. 2003
<http://www.sfw.org/members/elgin/nativetongue/laadan_faq.html>.
- . "Laádan Language Materials." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 5 Mar. 2004 <<http://www.sfw.org/members/elgin/NativeTongue/ladaanlang.html>>.
- . "Language Construction 101." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003. Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 5 Mar. 2004 <<http://www.sfw.org/members/elgin/SHE-Excerpts01.htm#LC101>>.
- . Native Tongue. New York: Feminist Press, 2000.

- . "Native Tongue: Frequently Asked Questions." Suzette Haden Elgin. 12 Jan. 2003.
 Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America. 5 Mar. 2004
 <http://www.sfwaw.org/members/elgin/NativeTongue/NT1_NT_FAQ.html>.
- . "Only A Housewife." Fantasy And Science Fiction, 1995.
- . The Ozark Trilogy. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981.
- . Peacetalk 101. Maple Shade, NJ: Lethe, 2003.
- . A Primer of Transformational Grammar for Rank Beginners. Urbana: NCTE, 1975.
- . "Soulfedge Rock." Space Opera. Eds. Anne McCaffrey and Elizabeth Ann
 Scarborough. New York: DAW, 1996.
- . What is Linguistics? Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973.
Feminist Press. 5 Mar. 2004 <<http://www.feministpress.org/book/index.cfm/>>.
- Foster, M.A. The Gameplayers of Zan. New York: DAW, 1977.
- Glatzer, Jenna. "Interview with Suzette Haden Elgin." Absolute Write. 5 Mar. 2004
 <http://www.absolutewrite.com/novels/suzette_haden_elgin.htm>.
- Harrison, Harry. West of Eden. Toronto: Bantam, 1984.
- Harrison, Harry. Winter in Eden. Toronto: Bantam, 1987.
- Hoban, Russell. Riddley Walker. New York: Summit, 1980.
- Kurtz, Katherine. The Chronicles of the Deryni. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973.
- O'Grady, William, et al. Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction. Boston: Bedford/St.
 Martin's, 2001.
- Orwell, George. 1984. New York: Penguin Putnam, 1961.
- Petrini, Catherine. "Snapshot." Training & Development 50 (1996): 11.

Rosenfelder, Mark. "The Language Construction Kit." The Metaverse. 22 Sept 2003

<<http://www.zompist.com/kit.html>>.

Sperling, Kathleen. History of Laáadan. 12 June 2003. Rogers Communications. 5 Mar.

2004 <<http://members.rogers.com/kmsperling/laadan/history.html>>.

Squier, Susan, and Julie Vedder. "Encoding a Woman's Language." Afterward. Native

Tongue. By Suzette Haden Elgin. New York: Feminist Press, 2000. 305-24.

Vance, Jack. The Languages of Pao. New York: Avalon, 1958.

Wells, Kim. "Interview with Suzette Haden Elgin." Women Writers Net. 3 Aug. 1999. 5

Mar. 2004 <<http://www.womenwriters.net/editoirals/hadenelgin.htm>>.

