

LTS Torch – Xwere Gonom

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1 Text

Geum aratağa deme teğeri na Dıranadarın ken Niidžanoodžom. Odohgiš teğeri isağa Đarođa Goodige, xadla isekiipe ži lo'om gobom isadlaara ži dağin geen yidibauii ğopa na dzii'in gobom siin.

Somodloamii ğwama siin na xiidlin ğiažan na tsamiran ğiažan goamom. Goliiš ižhanii siid, yapopo'oga dan ğiažan goamom, seke'liğwed, ida'lian siid tsama. Sođogii ğwama siin, gehn gizin ihi'gian sii, ših iwaa'ian gizid, isoxoomiid Đarođa Goodige dzi ğwamaga siin. Simipeğwiid bee ken gizarin, setši'giğwed, ołobii siid ğiaža goamom yitsa'minen.

Sithešii Đarođ Goodi ğwamaga siin: Neteen atsama yah ğiaža goamom?

Soyorii ğwama siin: Ke' ihdiš žod meh! Dan tsamiran ğiažan goamom yegwiadeh yah na dzii'in gobom yahin!

Geum, žianin hoš aratsamira siid ğiaža goamom. Ken tsamiran, siitšii Đarođa Goodige teğeri ihatağad gizira dzi teğeri isağa dzii'ge gobom.

2 Grammar notes¹

2.1 Introduction and overview

Xwere Gonom [ˈxʷɛɾɛ kɔˈnɔ̃] is strongly head-initial, exhibiting a basic VSO constituent order, prepositions and postposed adnominal modifiers. It possesses a system of three cases and displays differential argument marking depending on the animacy of subjects and objects. Verbs agree with their absolutive argument in person and number. There are a total of eleven aspects/moods, which are conflated into a single morphological category, but no morphological tense or voice. Grammatical number is a salient morphological category for animate referents only. Pronouns and verbal agreement distinguish clusivity in the first person and consanguinity in the first per-

1 The following glossing abbreviations are used: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, AN = animate, ANT = anterior, CIRCUM = circumlocative, CIS = cislocative, COND = conditional, CONSEC = consecutive, CONT = continuative, COP = copula, CS = consanguineous, DAM = differential argument marking, DISTR = distributive, DU = dual, EXCL = exclusive, H = human, IMM = immediative, IMPF = imperfective, INAN = inanimate, INCL = inclusive, INT = intensive, NCS = non-consanguineous, NEG = negative, NH = non-human, NM = nominaliser, OBL = oblique, OPT = optative, PF = perfective, PL = plural, PREATER = preaterlocative, PROG = progressive, Q = question particle, REL = relative, SG = singular, SIMUL = simultaneous, TERM = terminative, TRANS = translocative.

son inclusive and second person; in the third person, there is a distinction between humans, other animates and inanimates.

2.2 Phonology

2.2.1 Phonemic inventory

There are thirty-six consonant phonemes. These are shown in Table 1 below in IPA alongside their romanisation.

	Bilabial	Dental/Alveolar		Retroflex	Palatal	Velar		Glottal
		Central	Lateral			Plain	Lab.	
Nasal	m /m/	n /n/						
Plosive	p /p/	d /t̪/		ɖ /t̪ʰ/		g /k/	gw /kʷ/	ʔ /ʔ/
	b /b/	t /t̪ʰ/		ɟ /t̪ʰʰ/		k /kʰ/	kw /kʷʰ/	
		th /t̪ʰʰ/						
Affricate		dz /ts/	dl /t̪l/	dž /t̪ʂ/				
		ts /tsʰ/	tl /t̪lʰ/	tš /t̪ʂʰ/				
		tsh /tsʰʰ/	tlh /t̪lʰʰ/	tšh /t̪ʂʰʰ/				
Fricative		s /s/	ɬ /ɬ/	š /ʂ/		x /x/	xw /xʷ/	h /h/
		z /z/		ž /ʒ/		ǰ /ɣ/	ǰw /ɣʷ/	
Approx.		r /r/	l /l/	ɽ /ɽ/	y /j/		w /w/	

Table 1: Xwere Gonom consonant phoneme inventory

There are sixteen contrastive monophthongal combinations of quality, length and nasality. These are given in Table 2 below.

	Front	Back
High	i /i/ in/im /ĩ/	
	ii /i:/ iin/iim /ĩ:/	
Mid	e /ɛ/ en/em /ẽ/	o /ɔ/ on/om /õ/
	ee /e:/ een/eem /ẽ:/	oo /o:/ oon/oom /õ:/
Low	a /a/ an/am /ã/	
	aa /a:/ aan/aam /ã:/	

Table 2: Xwere Gonom monophthong inventory

In addition to these monophthongs, there are seven diphthongal qualities, all of which can occur as oral and nasal. These can be seen in Table 3.

	Front	Back
High	ia /īa/ ian/iam /īã/	
Mid	ei /ēi/ ein/eim /ēĩ/ eu /ēu/ eun/eum /ēũ/	oi /ōi/ oin/oim /ōĩ/ oa /ōa/ oan/oam /ōã/
Low	ai /āi/ ain/aim /āĩ/ au /āu/ aun/aum /āũ/	

Table 3: Xwere Gonom diphthong inventory

2.2.2 *Stress*

Stress is weight sensitive and anchored towards the right edge of the word: a final syllable is stressed if it is heavy (i.e. contains a diphthong, long vowel, nasal vowel or coda consonant), otherwise stress is penultimate.

2.2.3 *Select phonological processes*

Vowel assimilations Let /i, e, o, a/ be cover symbols for all high front, mid front, back rounded and low vowels respectively.² In what is essentially a form of vowel harmony, lexically-specific instances of /i/ and /a/ assimilate to the quality of neighbouring vowels. Ignoring any intervening consonants, assimilable /i/ becomes /o/ when adjacent to rounded vowels and assimilable /a/ becomes /e/ when adjacent to front vowels. Such alternations can be found in many affixes as well as in a certain number of roots. In addition to this, certain instances of /i/ may not trigger the assimilation of /a/ to /e/. This assimilation is responsible for alternations in the vowels of affixes marking categories such as case (§2.3.2), number (§2.3.3), agreement (§2.4.1) and aspect (§2.4.2) among others.

Laryngeal dissimilation Aspiration, inclusive of /h/, is a powerful feature in Xwere Gonom phonology and its presence results in the neutralisation of certain contrasts in the syllable it is found in as well as directly adjacent syllables. This may result in active alternations (especially in verb conjugations; see §2.4), some of which are more motivated than others from a synchronic point of view (for example, /x/ acts as both a trigger and target of laryngeal dissimilation, as if it were aspirated even though it is not).

Laryngeal dissimilation causes the following neutralisations. It proceeds first regressively from the right-most instance of an aspirate or /h/ and then subsequently progressively:

² At least for our purposes here, the first vowel in a diphthong should be understood as the element that determines its primary features.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------|---|------|----|-------------------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) | a. | /b/ | → | /p/ | f. | /tʂ', tʂ ^h / | → | /tʂ/ |
| | b. | /t̥', t̥ ^h / | → | /t̥/ | g. | /x/ | → | /k/ |
| | c. | /ts', ts ^h / | → | /ts/ | h. | /x ^w / | → | /k ^w / |
| | d. | /tʰ', tʰ ^h / | → | /tʰ/ | i. | /h/ | → | /∅/ or /p/ |
| | e. | /t', t ^h / | → | /t/ | | | | |

In addition to this, immediately following coda /h/ specifically, the following extra neutralisations are made:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|---|------|----|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| (2) | a. | /z/ | → | /s/ | d. | /ɣ ^w / | → | /x ^w / |
| | b. | /z̥/ | → | /s̥/ | e. | /l/ | → | /ʎ/ |
| | c. | /y/ | → | /x/ | | | | |

In this position, the more general rule of rhotic fortition also applies. This is discussed below.

Rhotic fortition Rhotic fortition refers to a process in which /r, ɾ/ become and are neutralised with /t̥, t̥/ outside non-intervocalic position, inclusive of word-initial and -final positions.

Coronal retroflexion Coronal retroflexion is a type of consonant harmony in which the dental/alveolar plosives and rhotic, i.e. /t̥, t̥', t̥^h, r/ (but not nasals, fricatives or laterals) are neutralised with their retroflex counterparts /t̥, t̥', t̥^h, ɾ/ in their vicinity. More specifically, retroflexion spreads iteratively and bidirectionally from any retroflex plosive or rhotic to any dental/alveolar plosive or rhotic but is blocked by any other non-glottal consonant (i.e. only oral and nasal vowels as well /ʔ/ and /h/ are transparent to the propagation of retroflexion).

2.3 Nouns and pronouns

2.3.1 Humanness and animacy

Animacy is important in Xwere Gonom for whether a noun is able to be pluralised, what role the core cases indicate and also for determining agreement with pronouns and on verbs. Humanness is distinguished on pronouns and verbs. Neither inanimate nominals nor inanimate verb forms show any marking for number.

2.3.2 Case

Xwere Gonom possesses three grammatical cases: direct, inverse (= differential argument marking) and oblique. The direct is morphologically unmarked whereas the

inverse is marked by the suffix *-ga/-ge/-ige/-oga/-iga/-a/-e* and the oblique by the suffix *-n/-m/-in/-om*.

The language displays an integrated system of both differential object and subject marking dependent on an argument's animacy. The unmarked direct case is used on the subject of verbs with exception that inanimate subjects of both transitive and unergative verbs (i.e. intransitive verbs whose sole argument is agent-like) take the marked inverse case. The direct is also used on the objects of transitive verbs if inanimate whereas animate objects are marked with the inverse. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (3) Saradzoxa taž.
3.H.run.PROG woman
'The woman is running.'
- (4) Iteĥii taž ɖa'.
3.INAN.throw.PF woman rock
'The woman threw the rock.'
- (5) Soɖogii taž.
3.H.fall.PF woman
'The woman fell.'
- (6) Oɖogii ɖa'.
3.INAN.fall.PF rock
'The rock fell.'
- (7) Saṭhana taž ĥiinge.
3.H.see.IMPF woman man.DAM
'The woman sees the man.'
- (8) Odžotii ɖa'ga koom.
3.INAN.hit.PF rock.DAM house
'The rock hit the house.'

The oblique case has a variety of uses. Firstly, it is used to mark modifiers in phrasal noun–noun compounds:

- (9) ĥiin gondom
man fishing_rod.OBL
'fisherman, angler'
- (10) ɖoom gii'in
bridge crystal.OBL
'rainbow'

Oblique pronouns are used as possessive pronouns in all possessive relationships and bare full nouns are used in the oblique with inalienable adnominal possession (see also §2.3.5).

- (11) *ğwama dein*
 mother 1SG.OBL
 ‘my mother’
- (12) *ğwama xaanin*
 mother girl.OBL
 ‘the girl’s mother’

The complements of prepositions are also marked with the oblique case:

- (13) *ži de’nin*
 at shade.OBL
 ‘in the shade’

The oblique is used in the adverbialisation of adjectives and nouns:

- (14) *Sadzoxa wiinin taž.*
 3.H.run.IMPF good.OBL woman
 ‘The woman runs well.’

It is also used without a preposition to mark certain inherently locative nouns to express a static location, origin of motion or goal of motion. If desired, this may be disambiguated by use of a preposition. This is illustrated with *dağ* ‘home’ below.

- (15) a. *Saɾaɟiiga dağin ħiin.*
 3.H.come.PROG home.OBL man
 ‘The man is coming home.’
- b. *Saɾaɟiiga ħiin na dağin.*
 3.H.come.PROG man to home.OBL
 ‘The man is coming home.’

Certain nouns with temporal meanings, such as *zii* ‘dawn’ below, behave in a similar manner:

- (16) a. *Gaarazomaan zii’in hau.*
 2SG.CS.sleep.CONT dawn.OBL 2SG.CS
 ‘You were still asleep at dawn.’
- b. *Gaarazomaan hau žii zii’in.*
 2SG.CS.sleep.CONT 2SG.CS at dawn.OBL
 ‘You were still asleep at dawn.’

The heads of noun phrases denoting a physical or temporal measurement also take the oblique case in order to express distances or durations.

- (17) Saradzoxa gihsaanin hoš ĩin.
 3.H.run.PROG hour.OBL many man
 ‘The man ran for many hours.’

2.3.3 *Number*

Nouns display a singular–plural but only for animate nouns, which are invariant with respect to number. This is marked by the suffix *-d/-ad/-ed*, which becomes *-r/-ar/-er* when a case suffix is added (see rhotic fortition in §2.2.3). Nouns do not generally take overt plural marking when used with numerals or plural-like quantifiers, though they may optionally to stress plurality or numerousness.

2.3.4 *Personal pronouns*

Personal pronouns distinguish first, second and third persons. Third person pronouns distinguish human, non-human animate and inanimate. All pronouns but the third person inanimate display number distinctions. This is singular–plural for third person animate and second person, with a singular–dual–plural distinction in the first person only. In the second person, there are different terms for blood relations and other people, termed consanguineous and non-consanguineous. Finally, in the first person dual and plural, there exists a clusivity distinction. The full declension of all personal pronouns is provided in Table 4.

2.3.5 *Adnominal possession*

In adnominal possession, possessors follow possesseees. The oblique pronouns are used as possessive adjectives and require a dummy head noun (e.g. *žod* ‘thing’) to be used pronominally. To be used as possessors of alienable possesseees, nouns occur in a prepositional phrase headed by *na* ‘to’. However, with inalienable possesseees (e.g. body parts, kinship terms), no preposition is required and a bare possessor in the oblique is used. See below for illustrative examples.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (18) | a. ģwen dein
hand 1SG.OBL
‘my hand’ | b. ģwen ĩinin
hand man.OBL
‘the man’s hand’ |
| (19) | a. bara dein
father 1SG.OBL
‘my father’ | b. bara ĩinin
father man.OBL
‘the man’s father’ |

	Ø	DAM	OBL
1SG	deme	dege	dein
1DU.INCL.CS	yan	yanga	yamin
1DU.INCL.NCS	ğan	ğanga	ğamin
1PL.EXCL	išiid	išiire	išiirin
1PL.INCL.CS	yah	yahga	yahin
1PL.INCL.NCS	ğah	ğahga	ğahin
2SG.CS	hau	hauga	haum
2SG.NCS	kii	kiige	kiin
2PL.CS	gayad	gayara	gayarin
2PL.NCS	kiid	kiire	kiirin
3SG.H	sii	siige	siin
3SG.NH.AN	hen	henge	henin
3.INAN	žen	ženge	ženin
3PL.H	siid	siire	siirin
3PL.NH.AN	hened	henere	henerin

Table 4: Personal pronoun declensions

- (20) a. toan dein
fishhook 1SG.OBL
'my fishhook'
- b. toan na hiinin
fishhook to man.OBL
'the man's fishhook'

2.4 Verbs

2.4.1 Verb agreement

Verbs agree with their absolutive argument, i.e. the subject of intransitive verbs and the direct object of transitive verbs. This is marked by a combination of prefixation and suffixation, summarised in Table 5.

	SG	DU	PL
1(EXCL)	d-	iš-/oš- -n	iš-/oš- -d
1INCL.CS	—	y- -n	y- -h
1INCL.NCS	—	ğ- -n	ğ- -h
2.CS	ga/ge-	—	aga-/ege- -h
2.NCS	m-	—	am-/em- -h
3.H	s-	—	s- -d
3.NH.AN	h-	—	h- -d
3.INAN	Ø-	—	Ø-

Table 5: Verb agreement affixes

Note that the /h/ of the third person non-human animate prefix is deleted if the next consonant in the word is /h/ or an aspirate, which may lead syncretism with the inanimate form. Similarly, the /h/ in the suffix of some plural forms may lead to laryngeal dissimilation of a preceding consonant.

In addition to these person- and number-marking affixes, verbs are also marked with affixes to mark aspect, for which see §2.4.2.

2.4.2 *Tense–aspect–mood*

Aspect and mood are conflated into a single morphological category (hereafter referred to simply as “aspect”) and there is no morphological tense marking.³ Verbs are inflected for eleven aspects and overt marking for one cannot co-occur with another. These eleven aspects can be divided into nine realis and two irrealis aspects, with realis aspects further subdivided into four imperfect and five perfective aspects. This is summarised in (21) below:

- (21) a. Realis:
- i. Imperfective:
 - imperfective, progressive, continuative, simultaneous
 - ii. Perfective:
 - perfective, terminative, immediative, anterior, consecutive
- b. Irrealis:
 - conditional, optative

These are marked on the verb by a combination of stem gradation, prefixation and suffixation (in addition to which verbs also bear agreement marking; see §2.4.1). Verb stems have three grades: plain (\emptyset), glottalised ($ʔ$) and aspirated (h). As one would expect, the \emptyset -grade of a verb stem is simply the verb stem without any additional special modifications. The laryngeal $ʔ$ - and h -grades are formed by right-edge-orientated infixation of coda / $ʔ$, h / in consonant-final stems and by a simple / $ʔ$, h / suffix in vowel-final stems. The addition of these laryngeal segments, especially / h /, may lead to alterations to the laryngeal features of consonants in the stem (see §2.2.3). The \emptyset -stem is used in all imperfective aspects (except the simultaneous), the perfective and the conditional; the $ʔ$ -stem is used in all perfective aspects (except the perfective itself) and the simultaneous; the h -stem is used only in the optative. Regarding prefixes, the imperfective aspects and the conditional take $a-/e-$, with the progressive first also adding $ra-/re-$ and the perfective aspects and the optative take $i-/o-$. The suffixes have much more varied forms, though the imperfective and progressive shows the same suffixal marking. The full range of different combinations of exponents for each aspect is provided in Table 6.

³ At least, matrix verbs do not display tense, though certain aspects arguably express pure/strict relative tense with dependent verbs.

	Prefix	Stem grade	Suffix
IMPF	a-/e-	∅	-a/-e/-ra/-re
PROG	ara-/ere-	∅	-a/-e/-ra/-re
CONT	a-/e-	∅	-aan/-een/-raan/-reen
SIMUL	a-/e-	?	-iḡwa/-oḡwa/-iḡwe/-ḡwa/-ḡwe
PF	i-/o-	∅	-ii/-yii
TERM	i-/o-	?	-itl
IMM	i-/o-	?	-in
ANT	i-/o-	?	-inen
CONSEC	i-/o-	?	-ian
COND	a-/e-	∅	-iza/-oza/-ize/-za/-ze
OPT	i-/o-	h	-iṣ/-ṣ

Table 6: Summary of inflection for aspect

The imperfective presents an action or state as being temporally unbounded and, typically, as habitual, though this forms can be used with stative verbs to express the progressive (see §2.4.4). The progressive describes an action or state as being performed or holding at a given moment in time, be that present, past or future. The continuative is similar to the progressive but focuses on the continuity in time of that action or state in question, especially when contrasts with the coming and going of other events in the discourse (roughly equivalent the use of the adverb *still* in English). The continuative can also be used to present an event as continuing for an unexpectedly long or excessive amount of time. The simultaneous expresses that an action or state overlaps temporally with another. The duration of the action/state describe by the simultaneous typically fully encompasses the other action/state; its may temporally even extend beyond it but this is not crucial to the way an event is presented using the simultaneous. With stative verbs especially, the simultaneous may be used in roles fulfilled by manner adverbs in other languages.

The perfective, in contrast to the imperfective, presents an action or change of state as lacking internal temporal structure. With stative verbs this often expresses an inchoative meaning. The perfective is also sometimes used as an imperative. The terminative expresses the end point of an action or state, which may be before or after some event in the discourse. The immediative is similar to the terminative but serves to stress the temporal proximity of events. The anterior is used to situate the entirety of one action or state as preceding another. This is often used in a similar function to the (plu)perfect in other languages. The consecutive, conversely, is used to situate one event after another. Both past and future actions/states may be described by the anterior and consecutive.

The most prototypical use of the conditional is to mark the antecedent, but not the consequent, in sentences expressing that some event or state is contingent on something else. The optative is used in expressing hopes, wishes, desires and similar on. Alongside the perfective, it is also functions as an imperative and (co)hortative.

2.4.3 Verbal negation⁴

Verbs are negated by way of a pre-verbal particle. This is most often *xen*, as in the example below.

- (22) *Xen eziže taž dił.*
 NEG 3.INAN.eat.IMPF woman meat
 ‘The woman doesn’t eat meat.’

However, there also exists a range of additional specialised negators, shown in Table 7. These are also used pre-verbally.

Form	Use
<i>dliži</i>	“ <i>non iam</i> ” negator: something that was the case prior to the reference time no longer holds, i.e. ‘no more, no longer’
<i>dzih</i>	irrealis negator: used with the conditional and optative in declarative clauses, also used with other aspects used in irrealis contexts
<i>ke’</i>	prohibitive negator: used to negate both optative and conditional imperatives
<i>maan</i>	assertive future-time negator: forcefully denies the possibility of something happening after the reference time, also used with perfective imperatives for added force
<i>te’</i>	<i>nondum</i> negator: expresses that something has yet to occur prior to the reference time, i.e. ‘not yet’
<i>tšorom</i>	avertive negator: expresses that an event was expected to happen but did not
<i>žein</i>	frustrative negator: expresses that an event happened but was not successful or did not have the expected result

Table 7: Specialised pre-verbal negators

2.4.4 Stativity

Verbs can be divided into dynamic and stative, such as those roots in (23) and (24) respectively.

⁴ See also my 2023 LCC talk on this topic: video at <https://youtu.be/wzm6u47ney4>, slides at <https://keras-saryan.github.io/docs/xwg-lcc10-2023.pdf>.

- (23) a. dzox- ‘to run’
 b. kaal- ‘to hide (sth)’
 c. tshoo- ‘to chase’
- (24) a. ɬan- ‘to see’
 b. xoš- ‘to be dry’
 c. xwaɖ- ‘to be in a rage’

The most crucial behavioural different between the two sets of verbs is their behaviour with respect to aspect. Where dynamic verbs are able to display the full range of aspectual distinctions, stative verbs lack the progressive or continuative aspects. For dynamic verbs, the imperfective aspect expresses a habitual meaning. For stative verbs, however, the imperfective is ambiguous between a habitual and progressive reading (insofar as the distinction makes semantic sense for a given stative verb). See the following illustrative examples:

- (25) a. Hatshoora ɖaha tšemenge.
 3.NH.AN.chase.IMPF dog cat.DAM
 ‘The dog chases the cat.’
- b. Haratshoora ɖaha tšemenge.
 3.NH.AN.chase.PROG dog cat.DAM
 ‘The dog is chasing the cat.’
- a. Haɬhana ɖaha tšemenge.
 3.NH.AN.see.IMPF dog cat.DAM
 ‘The dog sees the cat (habitually).’
- b. *Haratɬhana ɖaha tšemenge.
 3.NH.AN.see.PROG dog cat.DAM
 Intended: ‘The dog can see the cat (at this moment).’

2.4.5 Valency and transitivity

Verbs have a default transitivity. For example, *zom-* ‘to sleep’, being intransitive, does not take a direct object:

- (26) Harazoma xaan.
 3.NH.AN.sleep.PROG girl
 ‘The girl is sleeping.’

The verb *džot-* ‘to hit’, however, is transitive and does take a direct object:

- (27) Aradžota hiin ģodžo.
 3.INAN.hit.PROG man canoe
 ‘The man is hitting the canoe.’

Nevertheless, many transitive verbs, such as *ziğ-* ‘to eat’, may occur without an overt object in the clause or even without an object implied by context. However, the

verb itself still acts as a transitive verb and agrees not with the subject as it would with an intransitive verb (see §2.4.1) but with the omitted object. The agreement is always third person, with the humanness/animacy determined by the action of the particular verb. In the case of *ziğ-*, this agreement is inanimate. Compare the sentence in (28a) with an overt object with that in (28b) which lacks one but still shows object agreement and the ungrammatical example in (28c) which lacks an object but agrees with the subject.

- (28) a. Ereziğe deme hiða.
 3.NH.AN.eat.PROG 1SG cooked_fish
 ‘I am eating fish.’
- b. Ereziğe deme.
 3.NH.AN.eat.PROG 1SG
 ‘I am eating.’
- c. *Dereziğe deme.
 1SG.eat.PROG 1SG
 Intended: ‘I am eating.’

However, not all verbs are unable to change their agreement marking. Certain intransitive verbs may be used transitively without any overt morphological marking. This includes a lack of change in agreement marking but, crucially, the absolutive agreement being agreed with changes from a subject to an object. If appropriate (see §2.3.2), the object may then be required to take on overt case marking. Such intransitive–transitive alternations are most often equivalent to stative/inchoative–causative alternations. This typically also has the effect of converting a stative verbs into a dynamic one. This is illustrated with *xoš-* ‘to be dry’ below.

- (29) a. Axoša ḍaha.
 3.NH.AN.be_dry.IMPF dog
 ‘The dog is dry.’
- b. Araxoša deme ḍahaga.
 3.NH.AN.be_dry.PROG 1SG dog.DAM
 ‘I am drying the dog.’

Lastly, it should be noted that Xwere Gonom is a secundative language. That is, for ditransitive verbs, recipients are cast not as secondary or indirect objects but as primary direct objects. Ditransitive verbs thus agree with the recipient and not the theme. Ditransitive typically also use a double object construction, with the theme as the secondary object. This is exemplified below.

- (30) Siitšii ḥiin ḡeinge gondo.
 3.H.give.PF man boy.DAM fishing_rod
 ‘The man gave the boy the fishing rod.’

2.4.6 Associated motion

Associated motion is the marking on a verb of a direction of motion involved in the commission of an action. This is marked on verbs by prefixes, of which there are four: cislocative, translocative, circumlocative and praeterlocative. These prefixes attached directly to the verb stem before any agreement or aspect marking. The forms and functions of the associated motion markers are summarised in Table 8.

	Prefix	Use
CIS	ḍi-/ḍo-/ḍ-	motion towards the deictic centre
TRANS	mi-/mo-/m-	motion away from the deictic centre
CIRCUM	ža’-/že’-	motion generally proximal to or around the deictic centre
PREATER	xwaa-/kwaa-	motion past but proximal to the deictic centre

Table 8: Forms and functions of associated motion prefixes

The marking of associated motion is typically considered mandatory on verbs of motion but optional other verbs. The use of associated motion prefixes may be used in uses beyond those expressing literal movement, especially with verbs whose semantics do not easily lend themselves to this. For example, the cislocative may be used to indicate affectedness on the part of the verb’s absolutive argument with change-of-state verbs or even verbs of cognition.

2.4.7 Verbal intensive

The verbal intensive is used to express that a state holds to a high degree or that an action is performed with especial speed, determination, vigour or competence, such as in the examples below.

- (31) Sakokoošoga xaan.
 3.H.be_happy.INT.IMPF girl
 ‘The girl is very happy.’
- (32) Iteteligii xaan loža.
 3.INAN.throw.INT.IMPF girl fishing_net
 ‘The girl threw the fishing net really well.’

Intensives are formed by a combination of the suffix *-ig/-og* and prefixed reduplication of the verb stem. These apply after aspectual stem alterations but before tense and number suffixes.

The remainder of property concepts are expressed by stative verbs or nouns. To be used attributively, stative verbs must be relativised (see §2.8.2). When used predicatively they simply behave as normal stative verbs. This is exemplified with *xoš-* ‘to be dry’ below.

- (36) a. *Tlama yaxoša.*
 cloth REL.3.INAN.be_dry.IMPF
 ‘The dry cloth.’
- b. *Axoša tlama.*
 3.INAN.be_dry.IMPF cloth
 ‘The cloth is dry.’

Lastly, nouns which express property concepts occur either as bare post-nominal oblique modifiers or in a following modifying prepositional phrase when used attributively. To be used attributively, a dummy head noun such as *žod* ‘thing’ is used as the subject and complement occurs either in apposition or in a copular clause, similar to true adjectives. This is illustrated using the noun *dožaa* ‘black colour’ by the following examples.

- (37) a. *Ḑa’mii dožaan.*
 pebble black.OBL
 ‘The black pebble.’/‘The pebble is black.’
- b. *Agara Ḑa’mii dožaan.*
 3.INAN.COP.IMPF pebble black.OBL
 ‘The pebble is black.’

2.6 Deixis

Deixis is sensitive to location relative to the main river running through the territory where the language is spoken with respect to the speaker (or alternatively the deictic centre of the discourse in narratives excluding both speaker and addressee). There are six deictic terms in the language, given in Table 9.

These terms overlap to a certain extent and the choice is often governed by the immediate context in which the deictic term is used as well as position relative to the river and speaker.

Deictic terms may be used as postnominal demonstratives, demonstrative pronouns and as location adverbs; however, though it is possible to use them on their own as pronouns or adverbs, they also often occur as a modifier alongside a generic head noun, e.g. *liin* ‘man’, *žod* ‘thing’ or *yil* ‘place’.

5 As noted above, the attributive and predicative uses have different intonation but this is not reflected in the romanised transcription here.

No.	Form	Use
1	geen	generic but typically closely proximal to the speaker or otherwise proximal in the discourse but not appropriately covered by other terms
2	giyi	upriver from the speaker, particularly when not proximal to the speaker; otherwise agnostic w.r.t. to location relative to the water
3	bala	downriver from the speaker, particularly when not proximal to the speaker; otherwise agnostic w.r.t. to location relative to the water
4	džiri	on the same side of the river as the speaker but most often not closely proximal to them
5	dzorom	on the opposite side of the river to the speaker
6	go'	in the river, on the surface of the water or on an island in the river, especially when vaguely proximal to the speaker

Table 9: Deictic terms

2.7 Questions

Polar (AKA yes–no) questions are most often formed by adding the question particle *gaa* in clause-initial position to the corresponding declarative statement, as illustrated below.

- (38) a. Obolii taž šom.
 3.INAN.drink.PF woman milk
 ‘The woman drank the milk.’
- b. Gaa obolii taž šom?
 Q 3.INAN.drink.PF woman milk
 ‘Did the woman drink the milk?’

Content (AKA *wh-*) questions are typically formed by fronting the question word and its modifiers, as seen in the example that follows.

- (39) Teen obolii taž?
 what 3.INAN.drink.PF woman
 ‘What did the man drink?’

An inexhaustive list of question words is given below:

- (40) a. Dziteen ‘why, how come’ f. Ti’ yił ‘where’
 b. Neteen ‘why, what for’ g. Ti’ žod ‘which (INAN)’
 c. Ti’ lo’ ‘when, if’ h. Teen ‘what’
 d. Ti’ mořo ‘how much’ i. Toš, tošad ‘who (SG, PL)’
 e. Ti’ tsoi ‘which (AN)’

2.8 Clauses

2.8.1 Constituent order

The basic constituent order in an intransitive clause is VS:

- (41) Sarazoma taž.
 3.H.sleep.PROG woman
 ‘The woman is sleeping.’

In a (mono)transitive clause, the basic constituent order is VSO:

- (42) Abola ħiin šom.
 3.INAN.drink.IMPF man milk
 ‘The man drinks milk.’

However, word order is moderately flexible and constituents may be moved around in order to help convey the information structure of an utterance. There is even limited tolerance of discontinuous noun phrases, with nouns and modifiers being able to be separated from one another when only one is fronted.

SVO/OVS may be used to focus a subject/object that is already present in the discourse. The element fronted for focus is typically accompanied by an intonational peak.

- (43) a. Ļiin abola šom.
 man 3.INAN.drink.IMPF milk
 ‘It’s the *man* that drinks milk.’
 b. Šom abola ħiin.
 milk 3.INAN.drink.IMPF man
 ‘It’s *milk* that the man drinks.’

In certain contexts, fronting may also be used to express various types of topic. Fronted topics are usually followed by an intonational break and, unlike with focus, do not display an abnormal intonational peak.

- (44) Hedž, abola deme.
 water 3.INAN.drink.IMPF 1SG
 ‘As for water, I drink that.’
 (45) Tshe’, adžaara kii ti’ moɾo?
 egg 3.INAN.need.IMPF 2SG.NCS how_many
 ‘When it comes to eggs, how many do you need?’

In actual fact, fronting for focus and fronting for topicalisation are slightly different processes: the focus position is pre-verbal (which more often than not also happens

to be clause initial) and the topic position is clause initial. This can be seen in very rare instances where both focalising and topicalising fronting occur, as below. This can then result in the order SOV or OSV.

- (46) Tshe', liin eziḡe.
 egg man 3.INAN.eat.IMPF
 'When it comes to eggs, it's the *man* who eats them.'

It is not uncommon, however, to see the order VOS. This is one way in which Xwere Gonom may express what would, in other languages, be conveyed by the passive voice.

- (47) a. Sitigii ḡaha xaanga.
 3.H.bite.PF dog girl.DAM
 'The dog bit the girl.'
 b. Sitigii xaanga ḡaha.
 3.H.bite.PF girl.DAM dog
 'The girl was bitten by a dog.'

2.8.2 *Relative clauses*

Relative clauses are formed by addition of the prefix *i-/o-/y-* to an already conjugated verb. The clause in which this verb is found is then able to act as a post-nominal modifier. The slot that the modified noun would occupy in the relative clause is left blank, though the relativised verb nevertheless agrees if the head noun is the omitted absolutive argument of the relative clause. This is illustrated by the examples below.

- (48) a. Siṡhanii deme liinge.
 3.H.see.PF 1SG man.DAM
 'I saw the man.'
 b. Liin isiṡhanii deme.
 man REL.3.H.see.PF 1SG
 'The man (whom) I saw.'
 c. Hiredžii liin isiṡhanii deme tshadla.
 3.NH.AN.hunt.PF man REL.3.H.see.PF 1SG fish.DAM
 'The man whom I saw caught a fish.'

Though Xwere Gonom lacks participles, relativised verbs can be used in a similar way to some participial forms in other languages.

2.8.3 Coordination

Phrases, most often noun phrases, can be coordinated with conjunctions, e.g. *dzi* ‘and’, as in the example below.

- (49) Eziḡe deme hiḡa dzi boan.
 3.INAN.eat.IMP 1SG cooked_fish and roe
 ‘I eat fish and roe.’

Clausal coordination, however, is usually asyndetic, as can be seen in the following example sentences.

- (50) Arakama deme booh, sarazomad siid.
 3.INAN.do.PROG 1SG work 3.NH.AN.sleep.PROG 3PL.H
 ‘I am working and they are sleeping.’
- (51) Diḡhanii tḡemen dege, hipe’ḡwian hen.
 1SG.eat.PF cat 1SG.DAM 3.NH.AN.flee.CONSEC 3SG.NH.AN
 ‘The cat saw me and then ran away.’

3 Vocabulary

The following part-of-speech abbreviations are used in the entries provided:

<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>prep.</i>	preposition
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>q.</i>	quantifier
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction	<i>v.i.d.</i>	intransitive dynamic verb
<i>n.a.</i>	animate noun	<i>v.i.s.</i>	intransitive stative verb
<i>n.i.</i>	inanimate noun	<i>v.t.d.</i>	transitive dynamic verb
<i>num.</i>	numeral	<i>v.t.s.</i>	transitive stative verb

Declinable forms are entered in their unmarked direct form followed by the marked inverse (DAM) and oblique forms. Animate nouns are also followed by the corresponding plural forms. Verbs are entered with the uninflected stem followed by the third person inanimate singular forms of the imperfect (\emptyset -stem), terminative (?-stem) and optative (h-stem).

bau-, **abaura**, **ibau’itl**, **ipauhiḡ** *v.t.s.* 1 • to know. 2 • to learn, to discover, to find out, to hear about.

bee, **-ge**, **benen** *num.* 1 • two. 2 • second (as oblique ordinal numeral). 3 • other (as oblique adnominal modifier).

dağ, -iga, -in *n.i.* house, home, abode, residence, dwelling, settlement, inhabited area.

dan *prep.* 1 • via, through, along, by way of (perlative). 2 • by means of, with, using (instrumental). 3 • over, through, during (temporal duration).

dlaa-, adlaara, idlee'itl, idleehiš *v.i.s.* to live, to dwell.

dloam-, adloama, odloa'mitl, odloahmiš *v.t.d.* 1 • to lead, to guide, to drive, to conduct. 2 • to command, to be in charge of. 3 • to drive (of vehicles). 4 • to use, to operate (of machinery, devices).

dzii', -ge, -in *n.i. & n.a.* 1 • blood. 2 • consanguineous relation (most often as an oblique adnominal modifier). *Note:* This word is invariably animate in sense 2 and variably animate in sense 1.

dzii' gobom *n.a.* ancestors, forefathers, forebears. *Note:* This is treated as a mass noun.

ḍal-, aḍala, iḍa'litl, iḍahłmiš *v.t.d.* to start, to begin.

Ḍarḍ Goodi, -a -ge, -om -n *n.a.* personal name of a particular individual.

Ḍıranad, -a, -in; -ad, -ara, -arin *n.a.* individual of a particular ethnic group.

dog-, aḍoga, oḍo'gitl, oḍohgiš *v.i.d.* to fall.

gehn, -ige, -n *n.i.* 1 • barrel. 2 • trunk, bole. 3 • torso. 4 • mound.

gehn gizin *n.i.* beehive.

geum *adv. & conj.* 1 • now, right now, at this moment. 2 • then, after which, that being the case, at that a point in time (expresses a logical consequence and/or connects a subsequent event to a preceding event).

giaža, -g, -n *n.i.* fruit, nut.

giz, -iga, -in; -id, -ira, -irin *n.a.* bee (though usually not bumblebees).

goa:n, -ga, -mom *n.i.* blue, violet, purple colour.

goliiš, -e, -in *n.i.* 1 • plant, vegetation. 2 • growth (e.g. sprout on a tuber, tumour). 3 • offshoot, offspring.

gwiad-, agwiadā, igwia'ḍitl, igwiahḍiš *v.t.d.* to tie, to link, to connect.

ḡop-, aḡopa, oḡo'pitl, oḡohpiš *v.t.s.* to respect.

ḡwama, -ga, -n; -d, -ra, -rin *n.a.* 1 • mother. 2 • mother's sister (consanguineous maternal aunt).

hig-, ahiga, ihi'gitl, ipihgiš *v.i.d.* to break.

hoš *q.* many/much, a lot of.

itš-, aitša, ii'tšitl, iihtšiš *v.t.d.* to give.

kel-, ekele, ike'litl, igełhiš *v.i.s.* to be happy, to be glad, to be jolly, to be enthusiastic.

kiip-, **ekiipe**, **ikii'pitl**, **igiihpiš** *v.i.s.* to be strong, to become strong, to get strong.
ło' gobom, **-ga ~**, **-om ~** *n.i.* far past, long ago, olden days, days of yore, ancient times.

łob-, **ałoba**, **oło'bitl**, **ołohpiš** *v.t.d.* to drop, to let go of, to let loose, to relinquish, to yield, to cede, to free, to liberate.

meh *adj.* such, that/this kind/sort.

na *prep.* 1 • to, towards (indicating a destination). 2 • up to, until. 3 • to (indicating a recipient). 4 • for (indicating a beneficiary). 5 • for (indicating a purpose). 6 • for (i.e. in exchange). 7 • of (i.e. denoting attributive possession).

Niidžanoodžo, **-ga**, **-m** *n.i.* name of a particular settlement.

peğw-, **epeğwe**, **ipe'ğwitl**, **ipehxwiš** *v.t.d.* to flee, to escape (that being fled from is cast in a prepositional phrase headed by *ken*).

po', **apo'a**, **opo'itl**, **opohiš** *v.i.s.* 1 • to bear, to carry, to contain. 2 • to be laden with, to be full of. 3 • to produce (e.g. flowers), to bear (e.g. fruit), to give birth, to produce.

ših, **-iga**, **-in** *n.i.* cloud.

t-, **ata**, **i'titl**, **ihdiš** *v.t.d.* to say, to tell, to mention.

thaš-, **athaša**, **ithe'šitl**, **idehšiš** *v.t.d.* to ask.

thog-, **athoga**, **otho'gitl**, **odohgiš** *v.t.d.* to listen to, to hear, to pay attention to.

tsam-, **atsama**, **itsa'mitl**, **idzahmiš** *v.t.d.* 1 • to gather, to collect. 2 • to harvest.

Note: Frequently co-occurs with the distributive, especially in sense 2.

tsamira, **-ga**, **-n** *n.i.* harvest (event), gathering (event), collection (event).

tšig-, **etšige**, **itši'gitl**, **idžihgiš** *v.i.s.* 1 • to be quick, to be fast, to be swift. 2 • to act quickly, to do something quickly.

tağ-, **ațağa**, **ițe'gitl**, **idehxiš** *v.t.d.* to tell, to recount, to report, to relate, to describe, to talk about, to present.

teğeri, **-ge**, **-n** *n.i.* tale, story, account.

ṭhan-, **aṭhana**, **iṭha'nitl**, **iḍahniš** *v.t.s.* to see (i.e. to perceive something by sight but not necessarily volitionally or intentionally).

ṭian, **-ge**, **-in** *n.i.* day, daytime, daylight (a period of time when the sun is up, i.e. from dawn to dusk).

waa-, **awaara**, **iwaa'itl**, **iwaahiš** *v.t.s.* to resemble, to look like, to have the shape of, to take the form of.

xadl, **-a**, **-in**; **-ad**, **-ara**, **-arin** *n.a.* 1 • person, human being.

xiidl, **-ige**, **-in** *n.i.* forest, wood.

xoom-, **axooma**, **oxoo'mitl**, **ogoohmiš** *v.t.d.* 1 • to drown. 2 • to sink. 3 • to overwhelm.

yoṛ-, **ayora**, **oyo'ditl**, **oyohdiš** *v.t.d.* to reply, to answer.

ži *prep.* 1 • in, at, on. 2 • during. 3 • under (e.g. the sun, pressure, etc.).

žod, **-a**, **-in** *n.i.* 1 • thing (generic inanimate dummy word). 2 • object, item, article.