Kawlix

Esther Barnes

May 15, 2023

Contents

1 Language Context

My language is set in the early to mid 1st millennium CE.

The language I shall call 'Kawlix' is spoken by the Kawli people, who call their language *moamaj kawlix* or simply *moamaj* 'language'. All Kawli people (perhaps around 500 in total) are native speakers of the language. They live slightly south-west of the Cairngorms, with their over-wintering grounds around Loch Tay (modern English terminology). They are principally sheep, goat and cattle herders, travelling further north during summer for grazing, although they also hunt, fish and forage/garden.

According to Kawli tradition, there may have been speakers of languages related to Kawlix over a much wider area in the past (at least several generations ago), however none of these now survive. This leave Kawlix as an isolate.

Other languages spoken in the area are Celtic Indo-European, however the Kawli have very limited contact with these. All non-Kawli people are undifferentiated as foreigners (Kawlix: *polkinaj*) What contact does occur is primarily through traders (Kawlix: *maxnalaaj*) from further south who visit during the winter. There is some mutual knowledge of each other's languages between the two groups. Kawlix is robustly maintained by all Kawli despite being a small group with much larger neighbours, perhaps partly because they are fiercely independent.

Kawli society is organised around the clan (Kawlix: *nopat*) of which there are currently eight (*nimasaj*, *dolku*, *ampati*, *sufac*, xeɲy, *wewdami*, *djeduku*, *tlufaŋ*). Each clan has a few dozen members and is usually headed by a couple who hold joint power, although clan-internal decisions are often made by consensus. Marriage between clans is very common (although not obligatory) while such relations with foreigners is unheard of. The language varies somewhat between clans, but this is more akin to accent differences rather than dialects as morphosyntax is rarely affected.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Phonemic/Underlying

Kawlix has a total of seventeen phonemic consonants, spread across five places and four manners of articulation. Voicing is only contrastive in oral stops.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless oral stop	p		t	c	k
voiced oral stop	b		d		
fricative		f	s	ç	x
nasal stop	m		n	ɲ	ŋ
approximant			l	j	w*

*labiovelar

As is quite common, voiced oral stops are only found toward the front of the mouth (/b/ and /d/, but not /ɟ/ or /g/) probably due to articulatory ease (Gordon 2016). Similarly, there are no voiced fricatives. Kawlix is unusual (but not unique) in having a palatal place of articulation without any others between alveolar and palatal, particularly in having /c/ and /ç/ but not /tʃ/ or /ʃ/ (except in *tlufaŋ* variety) (Gordon 2016).The palatal fricative in particular, has a wide range of realisations existing in free variation, with alveolo-palatal [ɕ] and palato-alveolar [ʃ] being the most common besides the (non-sibilant) palatal [ç] (in *tlufaŋ* variety, [ʃ] is overwhelmingly the most common realisation). Note that (except for *tlufaŋ*) Kawlix has no affricates.

2.1.2 Rules

Word internal (including across morphological boundaries) only:
Intervocalic lenition
Voiced and voiceless oral stops and fricative (that is obstruents) are lenited when occurring between two vowels. For voiceless oral stop and fricatives this means becoming voiced. For the voiced bilabial oral stop (and in *ampati* and *sufac* the voiced dental oral stop), this means frication. For the voiced alveolar oral stop this means tapping.
Nasal place assimilation
All nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of an immediately following obstruent.
Nasalisation
Vowels and glides (/i y e a o u j w/) become nasalised when immediately followed by a nasal.
x-fronting
In tlufaŋ variety only, the velar fricative is fronted to a palatal fricative when immediately preceded or followed by a non-low, non-back vowel (i.e. /i y e/).

Intervocalic lenition is a fairly common pattern, as is palatalisation of a kind similar to that in x-fronting. Nasal assimilation to the place of a following obstruent and nasalisation of vowels (that of glides may not be so common, but the grouping of glides with vowels more generally is well established) are also common, particularly when, as here, applying regressively (Gordon 2016).

Across word boundaries only (external sandhi):
Devoicing sandhi
All consonants except /j w/ (all [+consonantal] segments) become devoiced at the start of a word when the immediately preceding word ends in a voiceless segment.
Nasal Sandhi
Oral stops become nasal stops when the immediately preceding word end in a nasal. (Note that this does not change voicing.)

The two sandhi rules always operate between words within a clause; often, but not always between words in the same sentence but different clauses; and sometimes between words in different sentences (the last of which is less common, but largely parallels the situation of 'r-insertion' in RP English (Vogel 2011).

Initial position is associated with fortition, which for oral stops may be realised as devoicing,

although the generalisation to all non-glide consonants appears rather less common (Gordon 2016).

2.1.3 Allophones/Surface

For allophonic/surface realisations, see tables on pp. 5-6.

2.1.4 Variations

Some of the differences between varieties of different clans have been noted above.
In *djeduku* variety, underlying C+j clusters have three realisations in free variation: Cj as in most other varieties; C^{j}j that is with noticeable palatalisation of the consonant; C^{j} with palatalisation of the consonant and deletion of j as a separate segment. Palatalisation of [c] is not really possible, so /cj/ is sometimes found as [c] indistinguishable from /c/. Palatalisation of [k] is barely audibly distinguishable from [c], so /kj/ can also sometimes be found as [c]. At the most extreme, this can mean /c/, /cj/ and /kj/ all sounding as [c]. (None of these are particularly common, so the number of minimal pairs for these are very small.)

In *tlufaŋ* variety, the clusters /pj/ /bj/, /tj/ and /dj/, are always realised as [p^{j}], [d^{j}], [t^{j}], [d^{j}]. The clusters /cj/ and /kj/ are both always realised as [c].

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Phonemic/Underlying

Kawlix has a six vowel system, of which five are the most common cross linguistically (Gordon 2016). The sixth, however, /y/ is unusual in such a system. This can be explained by the fact that /y/ comes from the monophthongisation and merged of two (or four) diphthongs: /iu/ and /ui/ (or /ju/, /iw/, /wi/, /uj/ see below). Each of these was quite uncommon, meaning the merger as /y/ did not produce a large number of homophones.

	front	back
high	i y	u
	e	o
low	a	

2.2.2 Allophones/Surface

Preceding or following palatal and velar consonants have a noticeable effect on vowels. If a vowel is preceded by a palatal and followed by a velar (or vice versa), the vowel follows the pattern for the *following* consonant (this follows a cross-linguistic pattern favouring the regressive (from a following segment) spreading of features (Gordon 2016)). None of these changes are extreme enough to cause the merger of underlyingly different vowels. The following table gives an idea (it is hard to be exact with vowels) of these different realisations.

	/i/	/y/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/
Preceded/followed by palatal	[i]	[y]	[e]	[æ]	[o̟]	[ʉ]
Preceded/followed by velar, not /w/	[i̠]	[y̠]	[e̠]	[ɑ]	[o]	[u]
Precede/followed by /w/	[i̠]	[y̠]	[e̠]	[ɒ]	[o]	[u]
Otherwise	[i]	[ʏ]	[e]	[ä]	[o̞]	[u]

Note that although /y/ is most often realised as more mid-centralised than /i/ or the choice of 'y' might suggest, /y/ does pattern in phonological rules are a high front rounded vowel (a similar situation can be found in Northern Tosk Albanian (Coretta, Riverin-Coutlée, Kapia and Nichols 2022)).

As mentioned above, vowels (and glides) become nasalised when immediately followed by a nasal.

Kawlix phonotactics (see section 2.3) permit any non-high vowel (/e/, /a/, /o/) to be preceded or followed by a glide (/j/, /w/). I do not interpret these combinations, such as, /ej/ and /wa/ as [e͡i] or [u͡a]) due to different patterning in phonological rules. While a rule can target vowels and glides together (as in nasalisation), they often do not. For example, lenition is triggered for oral stops and fricatives when they occur between two vowels, but not between a vowel and glide, glide

Phonemic/Underlying	Allophone/Surface	Environment
/p/	[b]	intervocalic lenition
	[m̥]	nasal sandhi
	[p]	elsewhere
/b/	[β]	intervocalic lenition
	[p]	devoicing sandhi
	[m]	nasal sandhi
	[b]	elsewhere
/m/	[ɱ] [n̪] [n] [ɲ] [ŋ]	nasal place assimilation
	[m̥]	devoicing sandhi
	[m]	elsewhere
In *dolku* variety, /f/	[β]	intervocalic lenition
	[ɸ]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /f/	[v]	intervocalic lenition
	[f]	elsewhere
In *ampati* and *sufac* varieties, /t/	[d̪]	intervocalic lenition
	[n̥̪]	nasal sandhi
	[t̪]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /t/	[d]	intervocalic lenition
	[n̥]	nasal sandhi
	[t̥]	elsewhere
In *ampati* and *sufac* varieties, /d/	[ð]	intervocalic lenition
	[t̪]	devoicing sandhi
	[n̪]	nasal sandhi
	[d̪]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /d/	[ɾ]	intervocalic lenition
	[t]	devoicing sandhi
	[n]	nasal sandhi
	[d]	elsewhere
/s/	[z]	intervocalic lenition
	[s]	elsewhere
In *ampati* and *sufac* varieties, /n/	[m] [ɱ] [n] [ɲ] [ŋ]	nasal place assimilation
	[n̥̪]	devoicing sandhi
	[n̪]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /n/	[m] [ɱ] [ɲ] [ŋ]	nasal place assimilation
	[n̥]	devoicing sandhi
	[n]	elsewhere
/l/	[l̥]	devoicing sandhi
	[l]	elsewhere
In *tlufaŋ* variety, /c/	[dʒ]	intervocalic lenition
	[ɲ̊]	nasal sandhi
	[tʃ]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /c/	/ɟ/	intervocalic lenition
	[ɲ̊]	nasal sandhi
	[c]	elsewhere
In *tlufaŋ* variety, /ç/	[ʒ]	intervocalic lenition
	[ʃ]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /ç/	[j] or [ʑ] or [ʒ]	intervocalic lenition
	[ç] or [ɕ] or [ʃ]	elsewhere
/ɲ/	[m] [ɱ] [n̪] [n] [ŋ]	nasal place assimilation
	[ɲ̊]	devoicing sandhi
	[ɲ]	elsewhere
/j/	[j̃]	nasalisation
	[j]	elsewhere

Phonemic/Underlying	Allophone/Surface	Environment
/k/	[ɡ]	intervocalic lenition
	[ŋ̊]	nasal sandhi
	[k]	elsewhere
In *tlufaŋ* variety, /x/	[ç]	x-fronting
	[ɣ]	intervocalic lenition
	[j]	x-fronting and intervocalic lenition
	[x]	elsewhere
In all other varieties, /x/	[ɣ]	intervocalic lenition
	[x]	elsewhere
/ŋ/	[m] [ɱ] [n̪] [n] [ɲ]	nasal place assimilation
	[ŋ̊]	devoicing sandhi
	[ŋ]	elsewhere
/w/	[w̃]	nasalisation
	[w]	elsewhere

and vowel, or two glides. In *tlufaŋ* variety, the sequence /ew/ freely varies in its realisation between [e̯w] and [ø]. It seems that [ø] is particularly common when preceded by /w/. For example, the *nopat* (clan) *wewdami* is often pronounced [wø̯dãmi] by people from *tlufaŋ*.

2.3 Phonotactics

The permitted syllables in Kawlix are: CV, V, CVC, VC, CCV and CCVC (where C stands for consonants and V vowels). A complex onset must consist of an oral stop (/p b t d c k/) and an approximant (/l j w/). Also, a high vowel (/i y u/) may not be preceded or followed by /j/ or /w/ in the same syllable. Kawlix complex onsets show a large contrast in sonority between the first and second segments, which is typically cross-linguistically preferred (Gordon 2016). However, Kawlix is more unusual in all consonants being permitted in codas (Gordon 2016). There are no syllabic consonants; only vowels may form a syllable nucleus. There are no long/germinate consonants or vowels (including across syllable and morpheme boundaries).

3 Lexicon

3.1 Word classes

Word classes (parts of speech) in Kawlix can be distinguished on the basis of morphology and syntactic behaviour. The description of word classes mostly follows Croft (2022).

Verbs are principally inflected for aspect, mood, polarity and valency (the number of core argument). No other word class is inflected for aspect or mood. Verbs predicate actions and property concepts and no other word class predicates actions or properties.

Nouns and determinatives are inflected for number, noun class, and case. Determinatives are distinguishable from nouns in that they are dependent on a noun and cannot occur on their own. Also, the inflection of a determinative must agree with the noun it depends on. However, some pronouns (for example demonstrative pronouns) have forms identical to determinatives; these are not dependent on a noun. In Kawlix, a referent always takes the form of a noun, whether it is an object concept, property concept or action. Predication of an object concept also takes the form of a noun (in contrast to actions and property concepts).

Only adjectives are inflected for degree, however not all adjectives inflect. Otherwise, adjectives are distinguishable by modifying a noun, verb or another adjective. All *single word* modifiers (whether property concepts, object concepts or action) are adjectives, except when the relationship is possessive (broadly understood), which is show using clitics. Most adjectives are derived from nouns and verbs, with the small number of underived adjectives being closed (the meanings found in these closely align with those in closed adjective classes in a variety of African languages (Segerer 2008)).

	Predication	Reference
Action	Verb	Noun
Property concept	Verb	Noun
Object concept	Noun	Noun

Context	Word class
Core argument or oblique	Noun (sometimes with a preposition)
Copula complement	Verb (property concept) or Noun (object concept)
Head of intransitive predicate	Verb
Head of transitive predicate	Verb
Head of extended transitive predicate	Verb
Head of NP	Noun
Possessum in NP	Noun (with clitic)
Possessor in NP	Noun (with clitic)
Modifier in NP	Adjective
Modifier of a verb	Adjective
Modifier of a modifier	Adjective

Coordinators, prepositions, tense particles and numerals do not inflect/are invariant. This is typical for the first three, but languages with noun class systems usually require numerals to agree with their noun (Payne 1997).
Kawlix also has a number of clitics. These are invariant, are dependent on a host and participate in both word-internal and sandhi phonological rules.

Nouns fall into one or more of four classes:

- those referring to humans (alive or dead) or things considered equivalent to humans (human).
- those referring to nonhuman animate things, where animate basically refers to things which move themselves (animate).
- non-animate but natural things (inanimate).
- things which have been made, generally by humans (made).

Distinctions between humans and other nouns and animates and other nouns are both common among non-sex-based gender systems. It is also not uncommon to find the subdivision of inanimate nouns (for example, in many Niger-Congo languages), although the specific distinction between 'natural' and 'made' seems less common (Corbett 2013). There are different sets of case suffixes for each noun class. The same stem can be used in different classes with subtly different meanings. Below is an example (using the singular and absolutive case in all examples) for the stem *nisat* 'skin'.

Noun class	Phonemic	Meaning
Stem	nisat	Skin generally
Human	nisataj	Skin of a human (alive or dead)
Animate	nisatka	Skin of a living animal
Inanimate	nisatwe	Skin of a dead animal
Made	nisatkas	Skin which has been processed in some way, e.g., leather

Some derived nouns are tied to a particular noun class by the particular derivational affix used (this can sometimes seem arbitrary).

Kawlix has a range of derivation morphology, mostly based around affixation and conversion/zero-affixation.

3.2 Sample Lexicon

All items are presented as stems ready for (any) inflectional morphology. 'Category' refers to the term found on a Swadesh List.

Adjectives Underived

Phonemic	Gloss	Category
blok	black, dark, any very dark colour	colour
dafem	good	value
ikyp	small, young	dimension, age
jaŋ	big	dimension
klunit	new, young	age
supoc	pale	colour
tusi	bad	value

Colour

Phonemic	Gloss	Category
atblep	brown	colour
atcjat	white, pale yellow, pale brown, very pale pink	colour
atçuke	grey	colour
atklux	red, reddy-orange, most pinks	colour
atkwin	yellow, yellowy-orange	colour
atlun	green	colour
atsaki	blue	colour
atxeda	purple (not dark)	colour

Other (derived)

Phonemic	Gloss	Category
budix	male	
caŋe	very (intensifier)	
kakaklax	warm	property
kakakso	burning, alight	
odax	female	
wedesu	most (superlative)	
sytetu	tall	

Nouns

Phonemic	Gloss	Possible Noun Classes	Number	Category
budi	man (adult male)	HUM	SG	human
çuke	(rain, storm) clouds	AN	COLL	environment
lun	greenery, vegetation, foliage	INAN	COLL	environment
mo	human mouth	HUM	SG	body part
oda	woman	HUM	SG	human
xux	dog	AN/INAN	SG	animal
simat	animal	AN/INAN/MADE	COLL	animal
ybab	knife, dagger	MADE	SG	
ŋijaŋ	bowl, pot	MADE	SG	
esan	goat	AN/INAN/MADE	SG	
usawatçuke	wolf (lit. howl-grey)	HUM	SG	
clake	cliff, crag, precipice	INAN	SG	
xowan	friend	HUM	SG	
kajuf	pasture	INAN	COLL	
ekaku	child	HUM	SG	human
sutamo	story	AN	SG	
momby	tree	INAN/MADE	SG	environment

Determinatives

Demonstratives

proximal (1 person)	sejma	this here
medial (2 person)	tlowca	this
distal (3 person)	numa	that

Verbs

Phonemic	Gloss	Basic Transitivity	Category
çasaw	rain (v.)	impersonal	environment
felac	give/receive	(di)transitive	transfer
kakak	burn	intransitive	environment
moamt	speak, say	intransitive, transitive	perception action
nitom	eat	transitive	body action
plokis	swim	intransitive (unergative)	motion
tomul	walk (unergative)	intransitive	motion
sutat	lend/borrow	ditransitive	
kucas	break	transitive	
fanik	hit	tranitive	impact
sobdi	know	intransitive, transitive	
lalilt	see, look (at)		perception action
bawca	make, do , happen		

Coordinators

sadi	and
coti	inclusive or
dinu	exclusive or
mopu	but

Prepositions

Phonemic	Case required	Gloss
am	ERG	at
am	PREP	near
syt	ERG	on/on top of
faŋ	PREP	to/towards
wat	PREP	from/away from
tu	PREP	by (reintroduces demoted argument)

Numerals

aŋ	one
dy	two
son	three
pasim	four

Clitics

distributive	ef=
joint, non-distributive	uko=
negation	nu=
partitive	pwe=
possessor (PSOR)	ja=
possessum (PSUM)	=a

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns do not always take case and number affixes completely regularly, therefore the full sets have bee listed.

	absolutive	ergative	prepositional	causal	vocative
1sg	maj	bjat	blu	entu	maj
2sg.human	ula	ulat	ulu	ewtlu	ul
2sg.animate	ŋaca	ŋad	ŋaso	eŋaŋa	ŋa
3sg.human	dja	djat	dil	editu	dja
3sg.animate	kankan	kanad	kan	ekana	kan
3sg.inanimate	jafaw	jafajam	faby	ejafmat	jafa
3sg.made	edokas	edby	edowaj	edmat	edow

	absolutive	ergative	prepositional	causal	vocative
1du	majan	bjatan	blun	entun	majan
1sg.2sg	xojan	kwatan	xolan	exotan	xojan
2du.human	ulan	ulatan	ulun	ewtlun	ulan
3du.human	djan	djatan	dilan	editun	djan

	absolutive	ergative	prepositional	causal	vocative
1pl	majta	bjata	bluta	entuta	majta
1.2	xojta	kwat	xolta	exot	xojta
1.3	sekaj	sekjat	sel	ektu	sekaj
1.2.3	faj	fat	falu	efat	faj
2pl	ulat	ulata	ulut	ewta	ulta
3pl.human	djat	djata	ditla	edita	djat
3pl.animate	kanta	kanada	kanta	ekanta	kanta
3pl.inanimate	jafawta	jafjana	fata	ejafmata	jafata
3pl.made	edokasta	edbyta	edowajta	edmata	edowta

4 Verbs

Verbs in Kawlix are not inflected, nor otherwise show, any agreement/indexation (person, number, noun class/gender, or other) with any of the verb's arguments. These are rather less likely to be marked on the verb than other categories including aspect, mood and tense (Croft 2002, Greenberg 1966). Related to this, the core arguments of a verb must almost always be explicitly stated, including when these are pronouns.

4.1 Aspect

Verbs are inflected for aspect, and there is minimal association of aspect with any notion of tense. There are seven possible aspects, exactly one of which must be used on each verb. These are:

- perfective (PFV) viewed as a single whole, in its entirety or completed.
- progressive (PROG) viewed as dynamic, that is, both ongoing and evolving.
- continuous (CONT) which is ongoing but not evolving.
- iterative (ITER) which involves the immediate repetition of an action, not to be confused with habitual.
- habitual (HAB) which indicates an action was/is/will be typical (over a period of time, unlike iterative).
- inchoative (INCH) referring to the beginning of an action (dynamic or stative).
- terminative (TERM) referring to the end(ing) of an action (dynamic or stative), also called cessative.

Kawlix distinguishes two groups of verbs when it comes to the forms of aspect suffixes. These are based upon the Aktionsart (also called lexical aspect) of each verb, a kind of inherent (that is,

semantic) tendency in the understanding of how the situation described by the verb unfolds over time. One groups of verbs basically consists of Vendler's Achievements (including Semelfactives or Cyclic Achievements), the other group being all other verbs; the key difference seems to be that the former are punctual and the latter durative (Croft 2012). Achievement verbs are very often used with perfective (grammatical) aspect, where there is no overt affix (unlike with other verbs). They also readily take iterative and habitual aspects; however speakers consider their combination with the inchoative or terminative unusual, and with the progressive or continuous very anomalous, sometimes borderline ungrammatical. In contrast, non-Achievement verbs freely take any aspect. Restrictions on the particular combinations of Aktionsarten and aspects in not uncommon (and has plausible sematic motivations), including in English (Croft 2012).

Aspect	Non-Achievment	Achievement
perfective (PFV)	-to	-∅
progressive (PROG)	-mim	-mim
continuous (CONT)	-sos	-sos
iterative (ITER)	-tato	∼RDP*
habitual (HAB)	-tim	-tim
inchoative (INCH)	-iɲ	-iɲ
terminative (TERM)	-ŋaç	-ŋaç

* ∼*RDP* means the suffix takes the form of a reduplication of the final syllable of the stem.

4.2 Mood

Verbs are also always inflected for exactly one of six moods (although the indicative uses a zero-affix/no overt marking):

- indicative (IND) for real, factual events, etc. and by far the most common mood.
- abilitative (ABL) expresses the ability or capacity to do the action, similar to one use of English 'can' or 'to be able to'.
- necessitative (NEC) indicates the action is needful, usually due to external or uncontrollable circumstance (not to be confused with obligative).
- imperative (IMP) which can be used with any person not only second, is used for commands, requests, instructions, etc. and pleas, exhortations, etc. and also prohibitions in the negative. This is not generally considered rude, although use towards the hearer without an overt subject is.
- obligative (OBLG) expresses the action is a duty, expectation, etc. similar to English 'ought to'.
- permissive (PERM) indicates that the action is allowed (or even approved of).

Mood	
indicative (IND)	-∅
abilitative (ABL)	-aŋ
necessitative (NEC)	-afu
imperative (IMP)	-ita
obligative (OBLG)	-fadu
permissive (PERM)	-law

4.3 Valency

In any particular use of a verb, the number of arguments (i.e., the valency) must be shown. The 'basic' use of a verb has a default valency (for example, *tomul* 'walk' in 'basic' use is intransitive and has a valency of one), but this also changes as part of the way to show a valency decreasing (passive or antipassive) or increasing (causative) operation has been applied. I have not come across any system like this in Croft 2002, 2022, Payne 1997 or elsewhere, suggesting this is unusual.

The three prefixes indicate the verb has no arguments (i.e., 'impersonal' verbs, abbreviated as V0), one argument (V1), or two (or more) arguments (V2). See section 6.1 for 'ditransitives'.

Valency	
V0	ydu-
V1	om-
V2	dwe-

4.4 Polarity

Polarity is also shown by a prefix on the verb. While both affirmation and negation prefixes exist, the affirmation affix need not be used in every instance of a positive use. Instead, it is mostly used for emphasis and answers to polar questions (see section 6.3).

Polarity	
affirmation (AFF)	suca-
negation (NEG)	majnu-

4.5 'Attitude'

The final group of verbal affixes are grouped together because only one from this set may apply at any one time rather than because they necessarily form a coherent group. All seven do, however, have to do with the speaker's outlook on the proposition. It is not obligatory to have any prefix from this group.

Positive and Negative emotional attitude (PEA and NEA) indicate that that the speaker has a broadly positive/good/happy/liking/etc. or negative/bad/sad/disliking/etc. respectively opinion on the content. These two seem to belong fairly clearly to boulomaic modality / attitude or emotional attitude (Nuyts 2006).

Three relate to how reliable the speaker considers the content: certainty (CERT), medium certainty/semi-certainty (MCERT) and uncertainty (NCERT). Some have viewed these a kind of evidentiality, however others restrict that term specifically to specification of the information source of the content (Aikhenvald 2018, Nuyts 2006, de Haan 2006) which is not the case here.

The mirative (MIR) indicates the content is surprising or unexpected. This feature and its relationships with other areas including modality and evidentiality are complex and not well understood. However, it seems that Kawlix's marking of the mirative using a separate morpheme from anything related to evidentiality may be unusual (de Haan 2006).

The desiderative (DES) is used for desire, hopes, wants, wishes, etc. and also for blessings and curses. Some consider this a type of modality (e. g., Palmer 1986) although others do not, and in Kawlix it is separated from the mood suffixes and may occur with them.

(1) wa- om- plokis -tim -aŋ maj
DES- V1- swim -HAB -ABL 1SG.ABS

'I want to be able to swim.'

It has also been suggested that this may belong to boulomaic modality, or possibly that it is something separate in its own right (Nuyts 2006).

'Attitude'	
positive emotional attitude (PEA)	baj-
negative emotional attitude (NEA)	tuk-
certainty (CERT)	cu-
medium certainty (MCERT)	isu-
uncertainty (NCERT)	elo-
mirative (MIR)	jefe-
desiderative (DES)	wa-

4.6 Summary

These inflectional affixes must occur in a specific order, and only one from each category is permitted on a single verb.
The order is: 'attitude' – polarity – valency – stem – aspect – mood

'Attitude'		Polarity		Valency		Aspect		Mood	
PEA	baj-	AFF	suca-	V0	ydu-	PFV	-to / -∅	IND	-∅
NEA	tuk-	NEG	majnu-	V1	om-	PROG	-mim	ABL	-aŋ
CERT	cu-			V2	dwe-	CONT	-sos	NEC	-afu
MCERT	isu-					ITER	-tato / ∼RDP	IMP	-ita
NCERT	elo-					HAB	-tim	OBLG	fadu
MIR	jefe-					INCH	-iɲ	PERM	-law
DES	wa-					TERM	-ŋaç		

4.7 Tense

Tense is not morphologically encoded on the verb. There are eight non-obligatory tense particles, which may occupy the first, second or final position in a main clause, and second position in a subordinate clause; only one tense particle can be used per clause. The tense particles are:

- present.
- immediate past, usually being earlier the same day.
- near past, generally within the last few weeks, never earlier the same day.
- remote past, usually within living memory.
- (very) far past, often out of living memory, but also used figuratively.
- future-in-train, where it has already begun but will continue into the future.
- near future, generally within a few days, but also when it is expected to happen.
- remote future, anything else in the future.

The sharp distinction between 'today' and 'yesterday' is typical of languages which distinguish degrees of remoteness (Comrie 1985).

Tense Particles	
present (PRS)	tow
immediate past (IMM.PST)	dan
near past (NEAR.PST)	pek
remote past (REM.PST)	damek
(very) far past (FAR.PST)	isto
future-in-train (FUT.TR)	dudo
near future (NEAR.FUT)	ewyɲ
remote future (REM.FUT)	suxat

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

5.1 Case

Kawlix has ergative-absolutive morphosyntactic alignment. This means that the subject of an intransitive verb (S) and the object of a transitive verb (P) are treated as the same, with the subject of a transitive verb (A) being considered separately. In most circumstances, S and P receive absolutive case and A receives ergative case.

In total, Kawlix has five cases. Absolutive and ergative cases are also used in other situations than those outlined above. Prepositional case is so called because it is only ever found in combination with a preposition (a similar case can be found in Scottish Gaelic (Adger 2010, Ostrove 2020)). Causal case is essential in forming causatives (for which it is named) but can also be found in other

circumstances (where it generally has a strongly agentive or causal meaning). The final case is the vocative, used for addressing, calling, invoking, and also in a variety of quite complex ways relating to exclamation, interjection, etc. In the three noun classes other than human, the vocative is zero coded, which no other case is – this violates Greenberg's linguistic universal number 38 (1966). However, for these noun classes, the vocative is rarely used for address and much more commonly in exclamations, etc. Therefore, it is not clear if the vocative is actually a 'case'.

Case	absolutive (ABS)	ergative (ERG)	prepositional (PREP)	causal (CAUS)	vocative (VOC)
human (HUM)	-aj	-jat	-lu	e- -tu	-aj
animate (AN)	-ka	-ad	-so	e- -mat	-∅
inanimate (INAN)	-we	-jam	-by	e- mat	-∅
made (MADE)	-kas	-by	-aj	e- -mat	-∅

5.2 Number

Nouns also inflect for number. Most nouns contrast singular, dual, and plural. The singular is zero coded. Some nouns use an alternative system of singulative and collective, where the collective is zero coded. Number suffixes follow case affixes, a situation which is rather unusual and goes against Greenberg's linguistic universal number 39 (1966).

singular (SG)	-∅
dual (DU)	-an
plural (PL)	-ta

singulative (SGV)	-ni
collective (COLL)	-∅

5.3 Adjectives

Adjectives do not show any agreement with their noun. However, some do inflect for degree:

- downtoner ('somewhat'), the same suffix when followed by a standard indicates an equative (as X as Y).
- intensifier ('very'), the same suffix when followed by a standard indicates a comparative (more X than Y).
- superlative ('most').
- excessive ('too').

Degree	
downtowner (DWNT)	-ŋup
equative (EQT)	-ŋup Y
intensifier (INTS)	-caŋ
comparative (CMPR)	-caŋ Y
superlative (SUP)	-dasu
excessive (EXSV)	<dasu>

The excessive is infixed before the final syllable (if a one syllable word it is effectively a prefix).

(2) a. budi -aj sytetu
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall

'a tall man'

b. budi -aj sytetu -ŋup
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall -DWNT

'a fairly tall man'; 'a tallish man'

c. budi -aj sytetu -ŋup momby -we
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall -EQT tree -INAN.ABS[SG]

'a man as tall as a tree'

d. budi -aj sytetu -caŋ
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall -INTS

'a very tall man'

e. budi -aj sytetu -caŋ momby -we
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall -CMPR tree -INAN.ABS[SG]

'a man taller than a tree'

f. budi -aj sytetu -dasu
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall -SUP

'the tallest man'

g. budi -aj syte<dasu>tu
man -HUM.ABS[SG] tall<EXSV>

'a too tall man'; 'a man too tall'

There is a fairly strict word order in noun phrases:
Determinative, Numeral, Noun (head), Adjective, Relative Clause, Genitive.
That adjectives follow their noun but do not agree is unusual, and violates Greenberg's linguistic universal number 40 (1966).

6 Syntax

6.1 Basic Word Order

Ergative-absolutive morphosyntactic alignment is also reflected in Kawlix's basic word order.
Transitive: AVP
Intransitive: VS
This is much less common than ergative aligned case systems but is not unheard of (Payne 1997).

Kawlix has verbs to denote transfer events of physical or mental things, as well as offers, promises, etc., which are widely understood to have three core participants: agent, recipient(-like) and theme (Croft 2014). It seems, however, that these verbs are not treated any differently from mono-transitive verbs. The same valency prefix is used, and they are treated basically the same in antipassives, passives and causatives. Also, only two core participants are required to be expressed (as core arguments), while the third (if expressed) must take the form of a prepositional phrase. The theme is always required and is treated like P in mono-transitives; either of the others may be the other obligatory argument (which is treated like A). Related to this, most transfer verbs have two possible translations into English, for example, *sutat* can mean either 'lend' or 'borrow'. A similar situation can be found with the English 'learn' in some varieties, where it can mean 'impart knowledge', as well as the standard 'acquire knowledge' (OED); unlike English, in Kawlix this is pervasive.

(3) oda -jat dwe- sutat -tim ɲijaɲ -kas (faŋ budi
woman -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- lend -HAB[IND] bowl -MADE.ABS[SG] (to man
-lu)
-HUM.PREP[SG])

'A/the woman (habitually, often) lends a/the bowl (to a/the man).'

(4) (faŋ) budi -jat dwe- sutat -tim ɲijaɲ -kas (wat oda
to man -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- lend -HAB[IND] bowl -MADE.ABS[SG] (from woman
-lu)
-HUM.PREP[SG])

'A/the man (habitually, often) borrows a/the bowl (from a/the woman).'

The verb *felac* 'give/receive' is somewhat exceptional. As well as the usual strategy as above, a double-object strategy may be used (for the 'give' meaning only). It is not uncommon to find a small subset of the predication of trivalent events use the double object strategy while others do not. This is particularly common for 'give' verbs perhaps because, like in Kawlix, they are rather more common than other ditransitives (Croft 2014, Croft 2022).

(5) oda -jat dwe- felec -tim budi -aj ɲijaɲ -kas
woman -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- give -HAB[IND] man -HUM.ABS[SG] bowl -MADE.ABS[SG]

'A/the woman (habitually, often) gives a/the man a/the bowl.'

Note that, like in English, the indirect object precedes the direct object here, unlike in (4).

There is an alternative word order (SV) for some intransitive verbs. The verb must be unergative (that is, controlled activity predicates and (some) body position predicates, see Croft 2022; compare (7b) where the verb is not unergative) and the S takes causal case. This alternative has a difference of emphasis compared to the default VS intransitive.

(6) a. om- tomul -mim oda -aj tow
V1- walk -PROG[IND] woman -HUM.ABS[SG] PRS

'A/the woman is walking.'

b. e- oda -tu om- tomul -mim tow
HUM.CAUS- woman -HUM.CAUS[SG] V1- walk -PROG[IND] PRS

'*A/the woman* is walking.'

(7) a. om- kakak -ŋaç numa -kas momby -kas pek
V1- burn -TERM[IND] DEM3 -MADE.ABS[SG] tree -MADE.ABS[SG] NEAR.PST

'That wood stopped burning.'

b. *e- numa -mat e- momby -mat om- kakak
MADE.CAUS- DEM3 -MADE.CAUS[SG] MADE.CAUS tree -MADE.CAUS[SG] V1- burn
-ŋaç pek
-TERM[IND] NEAR.PST

intended meaning '*That wood* stopped burning.'

Kawlix also has impersonal verbs which have no core arguments. These denote events which are (at least perceived as) avalent – lacking any participants. They do not require or allow a 'dummy subject', a situation which is generally acknowledged to be unusual for a language which does not typically permit null-subjects. A possible explanation for this may be related to the specific V0 'no arguments' prefix.

6.2 Valency Changing

Every verb has a (usually single) 'basic' valency, but there are three ways in which this can be changed.

- Antipassive, reduces the valency by one and can be applied to transitive.
- Passive, reduces the valency by one and can be applied to intransitives and transitives.
- Causative (two different types), increases the valency by one. One type applies to impersonals and intransitives, the other to transitives.

For the antipassive of a transitive: A receives absolutive case; the verb takes V1; the (erstwhile) P is demoted from core argument status – it may be omitted altogether or occur as a prepositional phrase headed by *tu*, 'by' with the complement in prepositional case. Word order: ex-A V (*tu* ex-P).
A basic transitive:

(8) budi -jat dwe- kucas ybab -kas
man -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- break[PFV.IND] knife -MADE.ABS[SG]

'A/the man broke a/the knife.'

(8) as an antipassive:

(9) budi -aj om- kucas (tu ybab -aj)
man -HUM.ABS[SG] V1- break[PFV.IND] (by knife -MADE.PREP[SG])

'A/the man broke (the knife).'

For the passive of a transitive: the (erstwhile) A is demoted from core argument status – it may be omitted altogether or occur as a prepositional phrase headed by *tu*, 'by' with the complement in causal case; the verb takes V1; P remains in absolutive case. Word order: V ex-P (*tu* ex-A).
(8) as a passive:

(10) om- kucas ybab -kas (tu e- budi -tu)
V1- break[PFV.IND] knife -MADE.ABS[SG] (by HUM.CAUS- man -HUM.CAUS[SG])

'A/the knife was broken (by a/the man).'

For the passive of an intransitive: the verb takes V0, and S is omitted (it cannot be reintroduced as a PP, unlike in the transitive case).
Passive of (6a)

(11) ydu- tomul -mim (*tu e- oda -tu)
V0- walk -PROG[IND] (by HUM.CAUS- woman -HUM.CAUS[SG])

'There was walking.'; 'Walking happened.'

Both antipassives and passives broadly follow the prototypical patterns (Payne 1997). In contrast, while causatives are fairly common cross-linguistically, the strategies Kawlix uses seem to be quite unusual.

For causative from impersonal and intransitive verbs, the causer (the new argument being added) takes causal case and immediately precedes the verb. Impersonal verbs take V1 (but permit only a few options as causer), and have word order: CAUSER V. Intransitive verbs take V2, and have word order CAUSER V CAUSEE. In (12) and (13), (b) is a causative applied to (a).

(12) a. ydu- çasaw -mim tow
V0- rain -PROG[IND] PRS

'It's raining.'

b. e- çuke -ma om- çasaw -mim tow
AN.CAUS- cloud -AN.CAUS[COLL] V1- rain -PROG[IND] PRS

'The clouds are raining.'; 'It's raining from the clouds.'

(13) a. om- kakak -to numa -kas momby -kas
V1- burn -PFV[IND] DEM3 -MADE.ABS[SG] tree -MADE.ABS[SG]

'That wood burned.'

b. editu dwe- kakak -to numa -kas momby -kas
3SG.HUM.CAUS V2- burn -PFV[IND] DEM3 -MADE.ABS[SG] tree -MADE.ABS[SG]

'S/he made that wood burn.'; 'S/he burnt that wood.'

Given the explicit change in the valency prefix, it might be expected that the causer would be treated as a typical A and the causee as a typical P (Croft 2022). While the causee follows this, the causer does not take ergative case as an ordinary A would, but causal case.

Causatives applying to transitive verbs are periphrastic. It is quite common to find different strategies applying to monovalent events compared to those with two or more participants (Payne 1997). Again, the causer takes causal case and precedes the verb *bawca* 'make, do, happen'; *bawca* takes a complement dependent clause (see section 6.4) which contains the original content.

(14) a. ulat dwe- fanik kankan
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

'You hit it.'

b. entu dwe- bawca -to nama -ka ulat dwe- fanik kankan
1SG.CAUS V2- make -PFV[IND] COMP -AN.ABS 2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

'I made you hit it.'

(15) a. oda -jat dwe- sutat -tim ŋijaŋ -kas (faŋ budi -lu)
woman -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- lend -HAB[IND] bowl -MADE.ABS[SG] (to man -HUM.PREP[SG])

'A/the woman (habitually, often) lends a/the bowl (to a/the man).'

b. ewtlu dwe- bawca -to nama -ka oda -jat dwe- sutat -tim ŋijaŋ -kas (faŋ budi -lu)
2SG.HUM.CAUS V2- make -PFV[IND] COMP -AN.ABS woman -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- lend -HAB[IND] bowl -MADE.ABS[SG] (to man -HUM.PREP[SG])

'You make a/the woman (habitually, often) lend a/the bowl (to a/the man).'

6.3 Interrogatives

There are two main ways to form polar questions. Both are almost identical to the equivalent declarative, one with a rising intonation contour, the other with the addition of the question particle *el* in first, second or final position. Intonation and question particle are probably the two most common strategies for polar questions cross-linguistically (Croft 2022).

(16) ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'You hit my dog.'

(17) a. ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'Did you hit my dog?' (when uttered with a rising intonation contour)

b. el ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
Q 2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'Did you hit my dog?'

c. ulat el dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
2SG.HUM.ERG Q V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'Did you hit my dog?'

d. ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj el
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS Q

'Did you hit my dog?'

Using the certainty, medium certainty and uncertainty, and affirmation and negation prefixes on the verb in a question give a complex set of biased variations. The uncertainty prefix *elo-* is noticeably similar to the question particle *el* and seems to be derived from it. The close connection between (un)certainty and interrogativity has been noted in a number of languages (Croft 2022).

Polarity questions are answered using an echo strategy, meaning Kawlix has no words equivalent to 'yes' or 'no'. In this situation, the affirmation prefix *suca-* is nearly always used. How much of the question is repeated as the answer varies, but the fully inflected verb is the absolute minimum. A somewhat similar situation can be found in Welsh (King 2015).

(18) a. bjat suca- dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= ula
1SG.ERG AFF- V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 2SG.HUM.ABS

'Yes.'; lit. 'I did hit your dog.' (very formal, very uncommon)

b. bjat majnu- dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= ula
1SG.ERG NEG- V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 2SG.HUM.ABS

'No.'; lit. 'I did not hit your dog.' (very formal, very uncommon)

(19) a. bjat suca- dwe- fanik kankan
1SG.ERG AFF- V2- hit[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

'Yes.'; lit. 'I did hit it.' (neutral formality, most common)

b. bjat majnu- dwe- fanik kankan
1SG.ERG NEG- V2- hit[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

'No.'; lit. 'I didn't hit it.' (neutral formality, most common)

(20) a. suca- dwe- fanik
AFF- V2- hit[PFV.IND]

'Yes.'; lit. 'Did hit.' (very informal or colloquial, fairly common)

b. majnu- dwe- fanik
NEG- V2- hit[PFV.IND]

'No.'; lit. 'Didn't hit.' (very informal or colloquial, fairly common)

Alternative questions also use the question particle *el* (in this case specifically in first position) and list the various options in the same place as would be expected in a declarative.

(21) el djat dwe- fanik ula dinu xux -ka =a
Q 3SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] 2SG.HUM.ABS or.EXCL dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM
ja= ula
PSOR= 2SG.HUM.ABS

'Did s/he hit you or your dog?'

Information (content) questions can be divided into two kinds. 'Who(m/se)? What? Which?' questions use the interrogative pronoun *lo-*, 'who, what' or determinative *kelo-*, 'which, what' (with the relevant case affix; when the noun class is uncertain, the highest reasonable/likely/plausible noun class is used), which is substituted in place of the unknown/questioned element in the normal declarative word order.

(22) a. lo -jat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
who -HUM.ERG[SG] V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'Who (or what) hit my dog?'

b. ulat dwe- fanik lo -aj
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] who -HUM.ABS[SG]

'Who (or what) did you hit?'

c. ulat dwe- fanik kelo -ka xux -ka
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] which -AN.ABS[SG] dog -AN.ABS[SG]

'Which (or what) dog did you hit?'

d. ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= lo -aj
2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= who -HUM.ABS[SG]

'Whose dog did you hit?'

'When? Where? How? Why?' questions use their relevant question word in first position. Kawlix does not distinguish between the English 'how?' and 'why?'.

gloss	
who	lo
which	kelo
when	locos
where	lom
how/why	kesol
Q	el

(23) a. locos ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
when 2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'When did you hit my dog?'

b. lom ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
where 2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'Where did you hit my dog?'

c. kesol ulat dwe- fanik xux -ka =a ja= maj
how/why 2SG.HUM.ERG V2- hit[PFV.IND] dog -AN.ABS[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.ABS

'How/why did you hit my dog?'

The placing of some interrogative words specifically in initial positions follows a pattern observed specifically in prepositional languages (Greenberg 1966).

6.4 Complement Dependent Clauses

There are two types of complement dependent clause, both of which are balanced (have the same form, including inflection, as main clauses).

The first uses a quotative marker *mu* and preserves grammatical person. This can be used with utterance verbs (where it is effectively direct speech) and the verb *sobdi* 'know'. This complement clause is not considered to be a core argument so the valency marker is that of one less than might be expected. The direct report of an utterance is very independent of its matrix clause, more so than other type to complement dependent clause, which may explain why a language may not view it as a core argument; this is found in languages including Cahuilla and Yup'ik Eskimo (Croft 2022:568).

(24) pek om- moamt -mim oda -aj -an mu sekjat dwe-
NEAR.PST V1- say -PROG[IND] woman -HUM.ABS -DU QUOT 1.3.ERG V2-
banti esan -ka -ta
catch[PFV.IND] goat -AN.ABS -PL

'The (two) women said, "We catch/caught some goats"'.

The other strategy is always used with other complement taking predicates and may be used with *sobdi* 'know' and utterance verbs (being indirect speech). This uses a complementiser *numa* (which is identical in form to the distal (3rd person) demonstrative) which takes animate case affixes as if it were a noun argument. This strategy may also involve adjustments of grammatical person etc. This complement clause is considered to be a core argument.

(25) pek oda -jat -an dwe- moamt -mim numa -ka
NEAR.PST woman -HUM.ERG -DU V2- say -PROG[IND] COMP -AN.ABS[SG]
djatan dwe- banti esan -ka -ta
3DU.HUM.ERG V2- catch[PFV.IND] goat -AN.ABS -PL

'The (two) women said that they caught some goats.'

7 Sample Text

A traditional story told in the *nimasaj* clan. Compare Æsop's Fable of The Wolf and The Goat.

(26) a. /bajommatuntmimita ekakuajta faŋ sutamoso a ja blu/
‘Children, listen to my words.’

b. /esanka kankan omnitommim syt clakejam sytetu dwelaliltsos usawatçukeaj/
‘A wolf saw a goat feeding on top of a high crag.’

c. /mopu majnuompwetiŋtoaŋ dja faŋ numaby sadi djat dwebanti kankan/
‘But he was not able to get there and catch her.’

d. /djat dwealoamim kankan sadi djat dwemoamtmim numaka isuompwetiŋtoita kankan watsyt numaby las kesol tukomoçute kankan/
‘He called to her and said that she should come lower, lest she fall;’

e. /sadi djat dwemoamtmim numaka omdafemsos wedesu lunwe am dil/
‘And he said that the vegetation near him was the best.’

f. /ommoamtmim kankan mu majnuompwetiŋto maj xowanaj a ja maj ulat majnudwekjolum faŋ tlowcabyta kajufby mopu ulat waombawcamim simatkas/
‘She replied, “No, my friend, you do not invite me to those pastures, but you want meat”.’

(27) a. baj- om- matunt -mim -ita ekaku -aj -ta faŋ sutamo -so =a
PEA- V1- listen -PROG -IMP child -HUM.ABS -PL to story -PREP[SG] =PSUM
ja= blu
=PSOR 1SG.PREP

‘Children, listen to my story.’

b. esan -ka kankan om- nitom -mim syt clake -jam sytetu
goat -AN.ABS[SG] 3SG.AN.ABS V1- eat -PROG[IND] on crag -INAM.ERG[SG] high
dwe- lalilt -sos usawatçuke -aj
V2- see -CONT[IND] wolf -HUM.ABS[SG]

‘A wolf saw a goat feeding on top of a high crag.’

c. mopu majnu- om- pwetiŋ -to -aŋ dja faŋ numa -by sadi
but NEG- V1- go -PFV -ABL 3SG.HUM.ABS to DEM3 -INAN.PREP[SG] and
djat dwe- banti kankan
3SG.HUM.ERG V2- catch[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

‘But he was not able to get there and catch her.’

d. djat dwe- aloa -mim kankan sadi djat dwe- moamt
3SG.HUM.ERG V2- call -PROG[IND] 3SG.AN.ABS and 3SG.HUM.ERG V2- say
-mim numa -ka isu- om- pwetiŋ -to -ita kankan watsyt
-PROG[IND] COMP -AN.ABS MCERT- V1- go -PFV -IMP 3SG.AN.ABS from.above
numa -by las kesol tuk- om- oçute kankan
DEM3 -INAN.PREP[SG] for why NEA- V1- fall[PFV.IND] 3SG.AN.ABS

‘He called to her and said that she should come down lest she fall;’

e. sadi djat dwe- moamt -mim numa -ka om- dafem -sos
and 3SG.HUM.ERG V2- say -PROG[IND] COMP -AN.ABS V1- good -CONT[IND]
wedesu lun -we am dil
most vegetation -INAN.ABS[COLL] near 3SG.HUM.PREP

'And he said that the vegetation near him was the best.'

f. om- moamt -mim kankan mu majnu- om- pwetiŋ -to maj
V1- say -PROG[IND] 3SG.AN.ABS QUOT NEG- V1- go -PFV[IND] 1SG.ABS
xowan -aj =a ja= maj ulat majnu- dwe-
friend -HUM.VOC[SG] =PSUM PSOR= 1SG.VOC 2SG.HUM.ERG NEG- V2-
kjolum maj faŋ tlowca -by -ta kajuf -by
invite[PFV.IND] 1SG.ABS to DEM2 -INAN.PREP -PL pastures -INAN.PREP[COLL]
mopu ulat wa- om- bawca -mim simat -kas
but 2SG.HUM.ERG DES- V1- do -PROG[IND] meat -MADE.ABS[COLL]

'She replied, "No, my friend, you do not invite me to those pastures, but you want meat"'

8 References

Adger, David 2010. Gaelic Morphology. In *The Edinburgh Companion to the Gaelic Language* Watson, Moray, Macleod, Michelle (eds.) pp. 283-303. Edinburgh University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2018. Evidentiality: The Framework. In *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality* Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (ed.) pp.1-44. Oxford Handbooks.

Comrie, Bernard 1985. Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, Greville G. 2013. Sex-based and Non-sex-based Gender Systems. In *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online* Dryer, Matthew S. and Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. http://wals.info/chapter/31

Coretta, Stefano, Riverin-Coutlée, Josiane, Kapia, Enkeleida, and Nichols, Stephen (2022). Northern Tosk Albanian. Journal of the International Phonetic Association, 1-23. doi:10.1017/S0025100322000044

Croft, William 2002. Typology and Universals. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511840579.009

Croft, William 2012. Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structure. Oxford Academic.

Croft, William 2014. Comparing categories and constructions crosslinguistically (again): The diversity of ditransitives. Linguistic Typology 2014; 18(3): 533 – 551. De Gruyter Mouton.

Croft, William 2022. Morphosyntax: Constructions of the World's Languages. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316145289

de Haan, Ferdinand 2006. Typological approaches to modality. In *The Expression of Modality* Frawley, William, Eschenroeder, Erin, Mills, Sarah, Nguyen, Thao (eds.) pp. 27-69. De Gruyter, Inc.

Gordon, Matthew K. (2016) Phonological Typology, Oxford Survey In Phonology and Phonetics. Oxford https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199669004.001.0001

Greenberg, Joseph H 1966. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In *Universals of Grammar* Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed.) (2nd edition), pp.73–113. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

King, Gareth 2015. Modern Welsh: A Comprehensive Grammar : A Comprehensive Grammar. Taylor and Francis Group.

Nuyts, Jan 2006. Modality: Overview and linguistic issues. In *The Expression of Modality* Frawley, William, Eschenroeder, Erin, Mills, Sarah, Nguyen, Thao (eds.) pp. 1-26. De Gruyter, Inc.

Ostrove, Jason 2020. Adjacency and Case Morphology in Scottish Gaelic. Linguistic Inquiry 2020; 51 (3): 521–552. doi: https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1162/ling_a_00344

"learn, v." OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/106716. Accessed 20 December 2022.

Palmer, Frank R. 1986. Mood and Modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511805066.008

Segerer, Guillaume (2008). Closed adjective classes and primary adjectives in African Languages. ffhalshs-00255943f. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00255943/document

Vogel, Irene (2011). External sandhi rules operating between sentences. In *Sandhi Phenomena in the Languages of Europe* pp. 55-64. Andersen, Henning (ed.). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1515/9783110858532.55