

Kwak’wala Speaker: Violet Bracic (VB)
Linguist: Katie Sardinha (KS)
Recording date: July 7, 2014

Short Text:

’namukwu’te’ ‘long-ago friend’

English prompt¹

Betty went out for a walk in the morning, when she saw a young girl walk by. Seeing this girl made a memory pop into Betty’s mind of her childhood friend, Rita. Betty hadn’t seen Rita in a long time, but this girl made Betty remember her, and this made Betty really happy. Betty thought about Rita all day.

Kwak’wala Version

la’mi Betty kasa xada ga’a:la. la’misi dukwala xa tsat’sadagam. la’misi Betty giga’ekala xis ’namukwu’te’ Rita. la’am thu:ma iki noke’yas Betty. la’am giga’ekalax Rita hi’manis xada ’nala. la’am ikamasax noke’yas Betty.

Kwak’wala Version, Line-By-Line²

- (1) la’mi Betty kasa xada ga’a:la.
‘Betty was out walking in the morning.’

¹ The methodology of this exercise was as follows: KS read a made-up story in English, and VB was asked to tell the story back in Kwak’wala as she remembered it. The point of the exercise was not for VB to tell back the story exactly as it was said to her in English, but for VB to rephrase the gist of the story in her own words, in Kwak’wala.

² The English translations provided here are paraphrases made by KS, based off of discussion that took place with VB after the text was recorded.

- (2) la'misi dukwala xa t'sat'sadagam.
'Then she saw young girl.'
- (3) la'misi Betty giga'ekala xis 'namukwu'le' Rita.
'Then Betty thought about her childhood friend, Rita.'
- (4) la'am thu:ma iki noke'yas Betty.
'And Betty's heart felt really happy.'
- (5) la'am giga'ekalax Rita hi'manis xada 'nala.
'She thought about Rita all that day.'
- (6) la'am ikamasax noke'yas Betty.
'It made Betty's heart feel good.'

Kwak'wala Dictionary

| | |
|------------------|--|
| dukwala (= x) | 'to see (something)' |
| giga'ekala (= x) | 'to think about, ponder, or imagine (something)' |
| ga'ala | 'morning' |
| hi'manis (= x) | 'always during (sometime)' |
| ik | 'good' |
| ikamas (= x) | 'to make (something) good' |
| noke' | 'heart, mind' |
| 'nala | 'day' |
| 'namukwu'ł | 'long-ago friend' |
| ƙasa | 'to walk' |
| t'sat'sadagam | 'young girl' |
| thuma | 'really, very' |

Kwak'wala Analysis³

(1) la'mi Betty kasa xada ga'a:la.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|--------|-------|---------|
| la'mi | | Betty | kasa | | xada | | ga'ala | | |
| la | = 'm | = i | Betty | kas | -a | = x | = a | = da | ga'ala |
| AUX | = VER | = D3 | Betty | walk | -A | = ACC | = D4 | = DET | morning |

'Betty was out walking in the morning.'

(2) la'misi dukwala xa tsat'sadagam.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|----------|------|---------|-------|----|-------|--------------|--------------|
| la'misi | | | | dukwala | | xa | | tsat'sadagam | |
| la | = 'm | = (w)is | = i | dukw | -al | -a | = x | = a | tsat'sadagam |
| AUX | = VER | = and.so | = D3 | see | -CONT | -A | = ACC | = D4 | young.girl |

'Then she saw young girl.'

(3) la'misi Betty giga'ekala xis 'namukwu'le' Rita.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|---------------|------|---------|-------------|-------|----|--------------|
| la'misi | | | | Betty | giga'ekala | | | |
| la | = 'm | = (w)is | = i | Betty | giga'ek | -al | -a | |
| AUX | = VER | = and.so | = D3 | Betty | think | -CONT | -A | |
| | | | | xis | | | | 'namukwu'le' |
| | = x | = i(')s | | 'namukw | = wu'ł | = e' | | Rita |
| | = ACC | = 3.REFL.POSS | | friend | = DIST.PAST | = I3 | | Rita |

'Then Betty thought about her childhood friend, Rita.'

³ The Kwak'wala analysis here was carried out by KS on December 22, 2021, and is a work in progress. All errors are my own.

(4) lā'ām thu:ma iki noke'yas Betty.

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|-----------------------|-------|--------------------|------|---------------------------|----------|-------|
| <u>l</u> ā'ā <u>m</u> | | t <u>h</u> uma iki | | no <u>k</u> e'y <u>as</u> | | Betty |
| <u>l</u> ā | = 'm | t <u>h</u> uma ik | = i | no <u>k</u> e' | = s | Betty |
| AUX | = VER | really good | = D3 | heart.mind | = 3.POSS | Betty |

'And Betty's heart felt really happy.'

(5) lā'ām giga'ekalax Rita hi'manis xada 'nala.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------|-------------------|------------|---------------|
| <u>l</u> ā'ā <u>m</u> | | giga'e <u>k</u> alax | | Rita | hi'm <u>a</u> nis | | x <u>a</u> da |
| <u>l</u> ā | = 'm | giga'e <u>k</u> ala | = x | Rita | hi'm <u>a</u> nis | = x | = a = da |
| AUX | = VER | think | = ACC | Rita | always.during | = ACC = D4 | = DET |
| | | 'nala | | | | | |
| | | 'nala | | | | | |
| | | day | | | | | |

'She thought about Rita all that day.'

(6) lā'ām ikamasax noke'yas Betty.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------|-------|
| <u>l</u> ā'ā <u>m</u> | | ikamas <u>a</u> x | | no <u>k</u> e'y <u>as</u> | | Betty |
| <u>l</u> ā | = 'm | ik -a | -mas = x | no <u>k</u> e' | = s | Betty |
| AUX | = VER | good -A | -CAUS = ACC | heart.mind | = 3.POSS | Betty |

'It made Betty's heart feel good.'

Glossing Conventions and Abbreviations

| Gloss | Morphs | Notes |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| - | | affix boundary |
| = | | clitic boundary |
| ~ | | reduplicant boundary |
| ! | | hardening mutation |
| ◦ | | softening mutation |
| : | v: | dramatic vowel lengthening |
| 1 | = <u>a</u> n | first person singular |
| 1.EXCL | = <u>a</u> nu' <u>x</u> w | first person plural exclusive (“we and not you”) |
| 1.EXCL.OBJ | ga <u>x</u> <u>a</u> nu' <u>x</u> w | first person plural exclusive object, instrumental or accusative case (“us and not you”, “to us and not you”, “from us and not you”, “of us and not you”) |
| 1.EXCL.POSS | = <u>a</u> nu' <u>x</u> w | possessed by first person plural exclusive |
| 1.INCL | = <u>a</u> n's | first person plural inclusive (“we including you”) |
| 1.INCL.OBJ | ga <u>x</u> <u>a</u> n's | first person plural inclusive object, instrumental or accusative case (“us including you”, “to us including you”, “from us including you”, “of us including you”) |
| 1.INCL.POSS | = <u>a</u> n's | possessed by first person plural inclusive |
| 1.OBJ | ga <u>x</u> <u>a</u> n | first person singular object, instrumental or accusative case (“me”, “to me”, “from me”, “of me”) |
| 1.POSS | = <u>a</u> n | possessed by first person |
| 2 | = s | second person |
| 2.OBJ | lotł (UR), loł | second person object, instrumental or accusative case; the final consonant frequently spirantizes in natural speech |
| 2.POSS | = u's, = us | possessed by second person |
| 3.POSS | = s | possessed by third person |

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 3.REFL.POSS | = i's, = is, = u's, = us | possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; = u's is used with medial (D2) referents, = i's is used with distal (D3) referents |
| A | -a, = a | the suffix is a default stem-final vowel, corresponding in many instances with Greene's (2013) 'final vowel', but which may have other functions as well; the clitic is epenthetic (Littell 2016:546-8) |
| ABIL | weł | ability modal, "can" |
| ACC | = x̄ | accusative case |
| ACC.PASS | -saŵ (UR), -su' | accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as -saŵ when followed by a vowel and as -su' elsewhere (Littell 2016:519) ⁴ |
| ADD.FOC | = xa | additive focus (Littell 2016) |
| APPOS | ya | appositive |
| AUG | -dzi | augmentative |
| AUX | la- | auxiliary verb, historically related to the verb <i>la-</i> 'to go' |
| BE.1 | nugwa | first person copula (Littell 2016) |
| BE.2 | su | second person copula (Littell 2016) |
| BE.D1 | ga | third person proximal copula (Littell 2016) |
| BE.D2 | yu | third person medial copula (Littell 2016) |
| BE.D3 | he | third person distal copula (Littell 2016) |
| BEC | -x'id (UR), -x'i, -'i, -d, -nd, -ud | become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; marks transition predicates (Greene 2013, Sardinha 2018, 2020); the allomorphy of this suffix is discussed in Boas (1947:365) |
| C | (various) | consonant |

⁴ The same phonological rule applies for the realization of dłaŵ (UR)/dłu', a conjunctive predicate which is glossed as 'with', 'and', or 'or' as appropriate given the context.

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|-----------|--------------------|---|
| CAUS | -mas | causative (Sardinha 2015) |
| CONN | = <u>x</u> a | connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers consistently uses = <u>x</u> a for this purpose, while some other speakers use = <i>t</i> a in the same position for the same purpose |
| CONT | - <u>a</u> la | continuative aspect; marks process predicates (Greene 2013; Sardinha 2018, 2020) |
| D1 | = ga | third person proximal deictic determiner (this, right here”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009) |
| D2 | = u <u>x</u> , = w | third person medial deictic determiner (“this, close by”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009); The = w morph is realized in some third person medial DPs in the accusative case |
| D3 | = i | third person distal deictic determiner (“that, over there”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009) |
| D4 | = a | existential deictic determiner (Black 2011) |
| DET | = da, = d | determiner, ostensive marker (Black 2011); the distribution of = d is unique from = da and is restricted to copular clauses (Littell 2016:111-112) |
| DIM | = bido, = bidu | diminutive; the two variants are in free variation |
| DIM.PL | = ’man <u>i</u> xw | diminutive plural |
| DIR.ATEL | -(g) <u>a</u> ł | atelic directional (Rosenblum 2013) |
| DIST.PAST | = wa’ł | distant past tense |
| do | <u>a</u> x- | dummy verbal root |
| EMB | = a | embedding vowel (Littell 2016:604-606) |
| EMPH | -dzo | emphatic |
| EXCLAM | o | exclamatory (“Oh!”); the tongue root is back and low compared with the English exclamation “Oh!” |
| FUT | = tł | future |
| GER | -’ina <u>y</u> i | gerund |

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| GRAD.ADV | - <u>n</u> akw <u>al</u> a | a gradual advancement; indicates progression towards a telos |
| HYP | = u', = lax | hypothetical, uncertain; these clitics appear in conditional and modal clauses, but their precise semantics is not well understood |
| I3 | = e', = a' | third person distal invisible |
| IMP | = <u>l</u> a, = ga | imperative |
| INDEF | gwi | indefinite root (“do thusly”) |
| INST | = s | instrumental case (Sardinha 2017) |
| INST.PASS | -ayu | instrumental passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with instrumental case in in active clauses |
| INTENS | = kas | intensifier |
| JF | | judged form |
| LOC | -al | locative lexical suffix (“on”) |
| LOC.PASS | -'as | locative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that occur in locative prepositional (la) phrases in active clauses |
| make.noise.CONT | -(k)'ala | continuative aspect; form used for describing events involving emissions of sound |
| MOD | = <u>x</u> ant, wax | modal; = <u>x</u> ant is an epistemic modal; wax is glossed as ‘try’ in contexts where this meaning is apparent and as MOD elsewhere |
| NEG | (k)i's | negation |
| NEG.EXIST | kayos | negative existential (“there is no”, “there are no”) |
| NMLZ | = i', = ay', - <u>a</u> m, - <u>a</u> ł, - <u>a</u> nam, -'ima | nominalizer; - <u>a</u> m, - <u>a</u> ł, and - <u>a</u> nam weaken (lenite) a preceding consonant, while -'ima hardens (glottalizes) a preceding consonant |
| PEJ | -o'ł | pejorative |
| PL | Ci | plural |
| PART | -kw | participle, result nominalizer |

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|-----------|------------------------|--|
| PREP | la, <u>ka</u> | preposition; la is a preposition that introduces locative arguments (“at”, “to”, “from”, etc.), while <u>ka</u> is a preposition that introduces causes, reasons, and purposes (“because”, “for”, “in order to”) |
| PRSNTV | = as | presentative (Littell 2016:263) |
| QUES | = a | question |
| REC.PAST | = xd | recent past tense |
| RECIP | = ap’ | reciprocal (“each other”, “one another”); triggers vowel lengthening in the stem |
| REPORT | = ǐ | reportative evidential |
| SO | o | “so”, “just”; used to signal object or VP focus (Littell 2016) |
| sound.BEC | -ga’ɫ | become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; used for describing events involving emissions of sound |
| STAT | -ała | stativizer (Sardinha 2018) |
| VER | = ’m | verum focus (Littell 2016). |
| VOC | <u>gan</u> | vocative; <u>gan</u> refers specifically to an infant girl |
| v1 | = (i)k (UR), = (i)x | third person proximal visible; the final consonant often spirantizes |
| v2 | = (i) <u>x</u> | third person medial visible |
| VF | | volunteered form |
| WH | wi | generic wh-element |

Feedback welcome at katie.sardinha@gmail.com!