| | |
|---|---|
| **<u>Kwak'wala Speaker</u>:** | **Mildred Child (MC)** |
| **<u>Linguist</u>:** | **Katie Sardinha (KS)** |
| **<u>Recording date</u>:** | **June 20, 2015** |

## Short text:
## *ḱaḱutˈłamas* 'teacher'

### English prompt[1]

Mabel is a schoolteacher who teaches young kids. This morning she woke up with a cough, and she had to decide if she was going to go to the school to work, or stay home and rest. She didn't know what to do. She worried that if she went to work, she might make the kids get sick. But she worried that if she stayed at home, they wouldn't be able to find another teacher to take her place. She didn't think that anyone else would be able to come in. But she didn't think she should cough around the kids, and that was more important. So she decided to stay home and rest.

### Kwak'wala Version:

ḱaḱutˈłamas x̱a g̱ang̱anan̠am, yax̱ux̱ Mabelx̱. 'walasux̱ tˈsax̱ḵ'a x̱wa g̱a'alax̱. olaḵ'ala 'yaksa'mux̱ noḵe'yax̱s. "'wix'itłạn? ḵutłạn lalax̱ lax̱ada ḱaḱutˈła'as, lida g̱ang̱anan̠am'manix̱ ugwaḵatł tˈsitˈsax̱ḵ'ax'idtł. ḵutłạn lax̱otł, lax̱otłlax̱." lạ'misux̱, "'wi:gilatłạn?" lạ'misux̱ tˈạms'i x̱is gig̱ạme', niłas tˈsax̱ḵ'a'a. lạ'mi "o, gwạnu gax̱lax̱. tˈsitˈsax̱ḵ'ax'idtłida g̱ang̱anan̠am ugwaḵa. olaḵ'ala ik la ḵus tˈạms'i gax̱ạn. lạ'mạn tˈạms'itł [*phone rings*][2] ḵe'ida ḱaḱutˈłamas ḵa gax̱e's ek'aḵila ax̱silax̱ga g̱ang̱anan̠am." o:laḵ'ala ikux̱ noḵe'yax̱s Mabel. lạ'mux̱ o'ạm la'edaḵa kwạlga'liła, tłuma'ma'ax̱s lax̱o'wa'.

---

[1] The methodology of this exercise was as follows: KS read a made-up story in English, and MC was instructed to tell the story back in Kwak'wala as she remembered it. The point of the exercise was not for MC to tell back the story exactly as it was said to her in English, but for MC to rephrase the gist of the story in her own words (and to embellish it if she wanted), in Kwak'wala.

[2] In the background we can hear MC's home phone ringing several times, followed each time by the answering machine saying "Call from British Columbia". Meanwhile, MC continues to narrate the story.

**Kwak'wala Version, Line-By-Line**[3]

(1)   ḵ'aḵ'ut̓łamas x̱a gang̱anan̲am, yax̱ux̱ Mabelx̱.
      'A teacher of young children, Mabel is.'

(2)   'walasux̱ t̓sax̱ḵ'a x̱wa g̱a'alax̱.
      'She was really sick this morning.'

(3)   olaḵ'ala 'yaksa'mux̱ noḵe'yax̱s.
      'She really felt bad in her heart and mind.'

(4)   "'wix'itł̲an?"
      "What will I do?"

(5)   "ḵutł̲an lalax̱ lax̱ada ḵ'aḵ'ut̓ła'as, lida gang̱anan̲am'man̲ix̱ ugwaḵatł
      t̓sit̓sax̱ḵ'ax'idtł."
      "If I go to the school, the little children will also get sick."

(6)   "ḵutł̲an lax̱otł,  lax̱otłlax̱."
      "If I go and cough, they could get a cough."

(7)   la̲'misux̱, " 'wi:gilatł̲an?"
      'And so (she thought), "What will I do?"'

(8)   la̲'misux̱ t̓am̲s'i x̱is gig̲ame', niłas t̓sax̱ḵ'a'a.
      'Then she phoned her boss, and told them that she was sick.'

(9)   la̲'mi "o, gwa̲nu gax̱lax̱."
      'Then (they said), "Oh, don't come in then."'

---

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

(10)  "t̕sit̕saxk̕ax'idtłida gangananam ugwaka."

  "The children will also get sick."

(11)  "olak̕ala ik la kus t̕ams'i gaxan."

  "It's really good that you phoned me."

(12)  "la'man t̕ams'itł ke'ida k̕ak̕ut̕łamas ka gaxe's ek̕akila axsilaxga gangananam."

  "I will go and call for a teacher to come and take good care of the children."

(13)  o:lak̕ala ikux noke'yaxs Mabel.

  'Mabel's heart was really glad.'

(14)  la'mux o'am la'edaka kwalga'liła, tłuma'ma'axs laxo'wa'.

  'So she just went back to bed with her bad cough.'


## Kwak'wala Dictionary

| | |
|---|---|
| axsila (＝x) | 'to take care of (someone)' |
| ek̕akila | 'to take care of oneself' |
| gax | 'to come' |
| gangananam | 'children' |
| gigame' | 'boss' |
| ga'ala | 'morning' |
| gwanu | 'do not' |
| ik | 'good' |
| kwalga'liła | 'to go to bed' |
| la | 'to go' |
| la'edaka | 'to go back, return' |
| laxo | 'to cough' |
| niła (＝s) | 'to reveal, to tell (of something)' |
| noke' | 'heart, mind' |
| olak̕ala | 'really, truly' |

k̓ak̲ut̓łamas (=x̲)     'one who teaches (something), teacher'

k̓ak̲ut̓ła'as          'school'

ugwak̲a              'also, too'

t'ạms'i (=x̲)         'to phone (someone), to ring'

t'ạms'i (k̲a)         'to phone (for something), to ring'

t's̲ax̲k̓a             'sick'

tłuma               'really, very'

'walas              'big, very'

'yaksa'm            'bad'

## Kwak'wala Analysis[4]

(1)   k̓ak̲ut̓łamas x̲a gạngananạm, yạx̲ux̲ Mabelx̲.

| k̓ak̲ut̓łamas | | | | x̲a | gạngananạm | yạx̲ux̲ | | Mabelx̲ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| k̓ak̲ut̓ła | -mas | =x̲ | =a | | RED~gạnanạm | yạx̲ | =ux̲ | Mabel =(ạ)x̲ |
| learn | -CAUS | =ACC | =D4 | | PL~child | APPOS | =D2 | Mabel =v2 |

'A teacher of young children, Mabel is.'

(2)   'walasux̲ t's̲ax̲k̓a x̲wa gạ'alax̲.

| 'walasux̲ | | t's̲ax̲k̓a | | | | x̲wa | ga'alax̲ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'walas | =ux̲ | t's̲ax̲k̓a | =x̲ | =w | =a | | ga'ala | =(ạ)x̲ |
| big/very | =D2 | sick | =ACC | =D2 | =D4 | | morning | =v2 |

'She was really sick this morning.'

---

[4] 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.

(3)     olak̲ʼala ʼyaksaʼmux̲ nok̲eʼyax̲s.

| olak̲ʼala | ʼyaksaʼmux̲ | | nok̲eʼyax̲s | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| olak̲̓ala | ʼyaksaʼm | =ux̲ | nok̲eʼ | =(a)x̲ | =s |
| truly | bad | =D2 | heart/mind | =v2 | =3.POSS |

'She really felt bad in her heart and mind.'

(4)     "ʼwixʼitɫa̲n?"

ʼwixʼitɫan

| ʼwi | -xʼid | =tɫ | =a̲n |
|---|---|---|---|
| WH | -BEC | =FUT | =1 |

"What will I do?"

(5)     "k̲utɫa̲n lalax̲ lax̲ada k̲ak̲ʼut̓laʼas, lida ga̲nganana̲m'ma̲nix̲ ugwak̲atɫ t̓sit̓sa̲xk̲ʼaxʼidtɫ."

| k̲utɫa̲n | | lalax̲ | | lax̲ada | | | | k̲ak̲ʼut̓laʼas | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| k̲a̲ | =uʼ | la | =lax̲ | la | =x̲ | =a | =da | k̲ak̲ʼut̓la | -ʼas |
| PREP | =HYP | go | =HYP | PREP | =ACC | =D4 | =DET | learn | -LOC.PASS |

| lida | | | | ga̲nganana̲m'ma̲nix̲ | | | ugwak̲atɫ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la̲ | =i | =da | RED~ | ga̲nana̲m | =ʼma̲nix̲ | | ugwak̲a | | =tɫ |
| AUX | =D3 | =DET | PL~ | child | =DIM.PL | | also | | =FUT |

| t̓sit̓sa̲xk̲ʼaxʼidtɫ | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ci~ | t̓sa̲xk̲ʼa | -xʼid | =tɫ |
| PL~ | sick | -BEC | =FUT |

"If I go to the school, the little children will also get sick."

(6)    "ḵutⱡan laẖotⱡ,  laẖotⱡlaẖ."

| ḵutⱡan | | | | laẖotⱡ | | laẖotⱡlaẖ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḵa | =u' | =tⱡ | =an | laẖo | =tⱡ | laẖo | =tⱡ | =laẖ |
| PREP | =HYP | =FUT | =1 | cough | =FUT | cough | =FUT | =HYP |

"If I go and cough, they could get a cough."

(7)    la'misuẖ, " 'wi:gilatⱡan?"

| la'misuẖ | | | | 'wigilatⱡan | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la | ='m | =(w)is | =uẖ | 'wi | -gila | =tⱡ | =an |
| AUX | =VER | =and.so | =D2 | WH | -do/make | =FUT | =1 |

'And so (she thought), "What am I gonna do?"'

(8)    la'misuẖ ťams'i ẖis gigame', niⱡas ťsaẖḵ'a'a.

| la'misuẖ | | | | ťams'i | ẖis | | | gigame' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la | ='m | =(w)is | =uẖ | ťams | -x'id | =ẖ | =i(')s | gigame' |
| AUX | =VER | =and.so | =D2 | ring | -BEC | =ACC | =3.REFL.POSS | boss |

| niⱡas | | ťsaẖḵ'a'a | |
|---|---|---|---|
| niⱡa | =s | ťsaẖḵa | =a |
| tell | =INST | sick | =EMB |

'Then she phoned her boss, and told them that she was sick.'

(9)     la̲'mi "o, gwa̲nu gax̲lax̲."

| la̲'mi | | | o | gwa̲nu | gax̲lax̲ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la̲ | ='m | =i | o | gwa̲nu | gax̲ | =lax̲ |
| AUX | =VER | =D3 | EXCLAM | do.not | come | =HYP |

'Then (they said), "Oh, don't come in then."'

(10)    "t̓sit̓sa̲x̲k̓ax'idtɬida ga̲nga̲nana̲m ugwaka̲."

| t̓sit̓sa̲x̲k̓ax'idtɬida | | | | | | ga̲nga̲nana̲m | ugwaka̲ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ci~ | t̓sa̲x̲k̓a | -x'id | =tɬ | =i | =da | RED~ ga̲nana̲m | ugwaka̲ |
| PL~ | sick | -BEC | =FUT | =D3 | =DET | PL~ child | also |

"The children will also get sick."

(11)    "ola̲k̓ala ik la k̲us t̓a̲ms'i gax̲a̲n."

| ola̲k̓ala | ik | la | k̲us | | t̓a̲ms'i | gax̲a̲n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ola̲k̓ala | ik | la̲ | k̲a | =us | t̓a̲ms -x'id | gax̲a̲n |
| truly | good | AUX | PREP | =2.POSS | ring -BEC | 1.OBJ |

"It's really good that you phoned me."

7

(12)  "la̱'ma̱n t'a̱ms'itɬ ḵe'ida ḵ'aḵ'ut'ɫamas ḵa gax̱e's ek'aḵila ax̱silax̱ga ganga̱nana̱m."

| la̱'ma̱n | | | t'a̱ms'itɬ | | | ḵe'ida | | | ḵ'aḵ'ut'ɫamas | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la̱ | ='m | =a̱n | t'a̱ms | -x'id | =tɬ | ḵa | =i | =da | ḵ'aḵ'ut'ɫa | -mas |
| AUX | =VER | =1 | ring | -BEC | =FUT | PREP | =D3 | =DET | learn | -CAUS |

| ḵa | gax̱e's | | | | ek'aḵila |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ḵa | gax̱ | =a | =i' | =s | ek'aḵila |
| PREP | come | =EMB | =NMZ | =3.POSS | take.care.of.self |

| ax̱sila | x̱ga | | | ganga̱nana̱m | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ax̱sila | =x̱ | =ga | | red~ | ga̱nana̱m |
| take.care.of | =ACC | =D1 | | PL~ | child |

"I will go and call for a teacher to come and take good care of the children."

(13)  o:la̱k'ala ikux̱ noḵe'ya̱x̱s Mabel.

| ola̱k'ala | ikux̱ | | noḵe'ya̱x̱s | | | Mabel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ola̱k'ala | ik | =ux̱ | noḵe' | =(a̱)x̱ | =s | Mabel |
| truly | good | =D2 | heart/mind | =V2 | =3.POSS | Mabel |

'Mabel's heart was really glad.'

(14)  la̱'mux̱ o'a̱m la'eda̱k̲a kwa̱lga'liła, tłuma'ma'ax̱s la̱xo'wa'.

| la̱'mux̱ | | | o'a̱m | | la'eda̱k̲a | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| la̱ | ='m | =ux̱ | o | ='m | la | -eda̱k̲a |
| AUX | =VER | =D2 | so | =VER | go | -return |

| kwa̱lga'liła | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kwa̱l | -ga'ł | -°ił | -a |
| lie.down | -DIR.TEL | -indoors | -A |

| tłuma'ma'ax̱s | | | | | la̱xo'wa' | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tłuma | ='m | =a | =(a̱)x̱ | =s | la̱xo | =a' |
| really | =VER | =EMB | =v2 | =3.POSS | cough | =ɪ3 |

'So she just went back to bed with her bad cough.'

## Glossing Conventions and Abbreviations

| Gloss | Morphs | Notes |
| --- | --- | --- |
| - |  | affix boundary |
| = |  | clitic boundary |
| ~ |  | reduplicant boundary |
| ! |  | hardening mutation |
| ° |  | softening mutation |
| : | v: | dramatic vowel lengthening |
| 1 | =a̲n | first person singular |
| 1.EXCL | =a̲nu'x̲w | first person plural exclusive ("we and not you") |
| 1.EXCL.OBJ | gax̲anu'x̲w | 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 | =a̲nu'x̲w | possessed by first person plural exclusive |
| 1.INCL | =a̲n's | first person plural inclusive ("we including you") |
| 1.INCL.OBJ | gax̲an'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 | =a̲n's | possessed by first person plural inclusive |
| 1.OBJ | gax̲an | first person singular object, instrumental or accusative case ("me", "to me", "from me", "of me") |
| 1.POSS | =a̲n | possessed by first person |
| 2 | =s | second person |
| 2.OBJ | lotł (UR), loł | second person object, instrumental or accusative case; the final consonant frequenly 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 | =x̱ | accusative case |
| ACC.PASS | -sa̱ẇ (UR), -su' | accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as –sa̱ẇ when followed by a vowel and as –su' elsewhere (Littell 2016:519)[5] |
| ADD.FOC | =x̱a | additive focus (Littell 2016) |
| APPOS | ya̱ | appositive |
| AUG | -dzi | augmentative |
| AUX | la̱- | auxiliary verb, historically related to the verb *la-* '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 |

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

| CAUS | -mas | causative (Sardinha 2015) |
|---|---|---|
| CONN | =x̱a | connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers consistently uses =x̱a for this purpose, while some other speakers use =tła in the same position for the same purpose |
| CONT | -a̱la | 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 | =ux̱, =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 | ='ma̱nix̱w | diminutive plural |
| DIR.ATEL | -(g)a̱ł | atelic directional (Rosenblum 2013) |
| DIST.PAST | =wa̱'ł | distant past tense |
| do | a̱x̱- | 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 | -'ina̓yi | gerund |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GRAD.ADV | -ṅakw<u>a</u>la | a gradual advancement; indicates progression towards a telos |
| HYP | =u', =la<u>x</u> | 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 | =l̕a, =ga | imperative |
| INDEF | g̲wi | 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 | (k̕)i's | negation |
| NEG.EXIST | k̕<u>a</u>yos | negative existential ("there is no", "there are no") |
| NMLZ | =i', =aẏ, -<u>a</u>m, -<u>a</u>ł, -an<u>a</u>m, -'ima | nominalizer; -<u>a</u>m, -<u>a</u>ł, and –an<u>a</u>m weaken (lenite) a preceding consonant, while -'ima hardens (glottalizes) a preceding consonant |
| PEJ | -o'ł | pejorative |
| PL | Ci | plural |
| PART | -kw | participle, result nominalizer |

| PREP | la, ḵa | preposition; la is a preposition that introduces locative arguments ("at", "to", "from", etc.), while ḵa 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 |
| RED | (various) | reduplicant |
| RECIP | =ap' | reciprocal ("each other", "one another"); triggers vowel lengthening in the stem |
| REPORT | =i̓ | reportative evidential |
| so | o | "so", "just"; used to signal object or VP focus (Littell 2016) |
| sound.BEC | -ga'ł | 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 | ga̱n | vocative; ga̱n refers specifically to an infant girl |
| v1 | =(i)k (UR), =(i)x | third person proximal visible; the final consonant often spirantizes |
| v2 | =(i)x̱ | third person medial visible |
| VF | | volunteered form |
| WH | ẇi | generic wh-element |

Feedback welcome at [katie.sardinha@gmail.com](katie.sardinha@gmail.com)!