<u>Kwak'wala Speaker:</u>	**Mildred Child (MC)**
<u>Linguist:</u>	**Katie Sardinha (KS)**
<u>Recording date:</u>	**June 21, 2015**

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Short Text

t'ławile' **'forgetting'**[1]

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English prompt[2]

So last time James went fishing, he forgot to bring his jacket and he got really cold out on the water. Now this time, James didn't want to forget his coat. So he left it by the door to help him remember to bring it. Sure enough, when it was time to leave, James didn't forget to bring his coat. He went and he fished until lunchtime, when he started to feel hungry. When he looked in his bag, he realized that he had forgotten his lunch. So suddenly he remembered that he had left it on the table in the kitchen. And that make James feel really silly.

Kwak'wala Version:

la̱'mux̱ la gwał a̱lux̱ Jamesa̱x̱ k̲as le' kitła. la̱'misux̱, a̱xaya, x̱is ha̱'me'tłe' dła'wis dadaťsa̱wakw, la̱'mux̱ a̱x̱'i sis dadaťsa̱wakw k̲a k'i'se's t'ła̱wile'x̱ lax̱ada 'na̱xwała x̱a ťax̱ala. 'wa:lasux̱ k'a̱na'is'id, k'i'sux̱ ma̱lk̲wa̱la x̱us dadaťsa̱wakw la'a kitłax̱ ła̱nswa̱ł. la̱'misux̱ o: ikux̱ nok̲e'yes, la̱'misux̱ la. la̱'mux̱ 'walas kitła. la̱'mux̱ ola pusk̲'ax̱'ida. la̱'misux̱ dux̱wťso x̱is gwoksa̱m. o: 'yaksa̱'mux̱ nok̲e'. lux̱ t'ła̱wile' x̱is ha̱'me'. o'misux̱ la pusk̲'aga̱sa'. la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m kił'i, waxa, k'iyo:s yana̱msux̱. la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m la wodza̱mała ne'nakwa.

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[1] The Kwak̓wala word for 'forget' is pronounced as either *t'ławile'* or *t'łiwe'* by different speakers.

[2] 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, in Kwak'wala.

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

(1) la̱'muẖ la gwała̱luẖ Jamesa̱ẖ k̠a̱s le' kitła.
     'James was getting ready to go fishing.'

(2) la̱'misuẖ, a̱ẖaya, ẖis ha̱'me'tłe' dła̱'wis dadat'sa̱wakw,
     'There was his to-go lunch and his coat,'

(3) la̱'muẖ ax'i sis dadat'sa̱wakw k̠a k'i'se's tła̱wile'ẖ laẖada 'na̱xwała ẖa t'a̱ẖa̱la.
     'he put his coat near the door so he wouldn't forget it.'

(4) 'wa:lasuẖ k'a̱na'is'id, k'i'suẖ ma̱lk̠wala ẖus dadat'sa̱wakw la'a kitłaẖ łanswa̱ł.
     'He had gotten really cold, he didn't remember his coat when he went fishing
     yesterday.'

(5) la̱'misuẖ o: ikuẖ nok̠e'yes, la̱'misuẖ la.
     'His heart felt good, and so he went.'

(6) la̱'muẖ 'walas kitła.
     'He went out and really fished.'

(7) la̱'muẖ ola pusk̠'ax'ida.
     'And he got really hungry.'

(8) la̱'misuẖ duẖwt'so ẖis gwoksa̱m.
     'Then he looked into his bag.'

(9) o: 'yaksa̱'muẖ nok̠e'.
     'Oh, his heart just sank.'

(10) luẖ tła̱wile' ẖis ha̱'me'.
     'He had forgotten his food.'

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[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.

(11)   o'misux̱ la pusḵ'agasa'.
       'He was just starving, poor guy.'

(12)   la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m kiⱡ'i, waxa, k'iyo:s yana̱msux̱.
       'So he just went out and tried to fish, but he didn't catch anything.'

(13)   la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m la wodza̱maⱡa ne'nakwa.
       'And so he just went home looking sad.'

Kwak'wala Dictionary

a̱x̱aya	'whatnot [pause filler]'
a̱x'i(d) (=s)(lax̱)	'to put (something)(somewhere)'
dadat'sa̱wakw	'coat'
dux̱wt̓so (=x̱)	'to look inside (something)'
gwoksa̱m	'bag'
ha̱'me'	'food'
ik	'good'
kitⱡa	'to fish, go fishing'
ḵ̓a̱na'is'id	'to start to feel cold'
k̓i's	'no, not'
k̓iyos	'there is no, there are no'
la	'to go'
gwaⱡa̱la	'to get ready'
ma̱lḵwa̱la (=x̱)	'to remember (something)'
ne'nakw	'home, to go home'
noḵe'	'heart, mind'
ola	'truly'
p̓usḵax'id	'to get hungry'
t̓a̱x̱a̱la	'door'
wax	'try'
wodza̱maⱡa	'to look sad, to have a sad face'

yan<u>a</u>m (=s)   'catch, yield; what was caught (by someone)'

'n<u>a</u>xwała (=<u>x</u>)   'near (to something)'

'walas   'big, very'

'yaks<u>a</u>'m   'bad'

ł<u>a</u>nsw<u>a</u>ł   'yesterday'

t'ł<u>a</u>wile' (=<u>x</u>)   'to forget (something)'

Kwak'wala Analysis[4]

(1)   l<u>a</u>'mu<u>x</u> la gwał<u>a</u>lu<u>x</u> James<u>a</u>x k<u>a</u>s le' kitła.

l<u>a</u>'mu<u>x</u>			la	gwał<u>a</u>lu<u>x</u>			Jamesi<u>x</u>	
l<u>a</u>	='m	=u<u>x</u>	la	gwał	-<u>a</u>l	=u<u>x</u>	James	=(<u>a</u>)<u>x</u>
AUX	=VER	=D2	go	start	-CONT	=D2	James	=V2

k<u>a</u>s		le'			kitła	
k̲(<u>a</u>)	=is	la	=a	=i'	kitł	-a
PREP	=3.REFL.POSS	go	=EMB	=NMZ	fish	-A

'James was getting ready to go fishing.'

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[4] The Kwak'wala analysis here was carried out by KS on December 19, 2021, and is a work in progress. All errors are my own.

(2)　la̱'misux̱, a̱x̱aya, x̱is ha̱'me'tłe' dła̱'wis dadaťsa̱wakw,

la̱'misux̱				a̱x̱aya		x̱is
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	a̱x̱aya	=x̱	=is
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	whatnot	=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS

ha̱'me'tłe'			dła̱'wis		dadaťsa̱wakw
ha̱'me'	=tł	=e'	dła̱ẁ	=is	
food	=FUT	=I3	together.with	=3.REFL.POSS	coat

'There was his to-go lunch and his coat,'

(3)　la̱'mux̱ a̱x̱'i sis dadaťsa̱wakw ḵa k'i'se's ťła̱wile'x̱ lax̱ada 'na̱xwała x̱a ťa̱x̱ala.

la̱'mux̱			a̱x̱'i		sis		dadaťsa̱wakw	ḵa
la̱	='m	=ux̱	a̱x̱	-x'id	=s	=is	dadaťsa̱wakw	ḵa
AUX	=VER	=D2	do	-BEC	=INST	=3.REFL.POSS	coat	PREP

k'i'se's				ťła̱wile'x̱	
k̇i's	=a	=i'	=s	ťła̱wile'	=x̱
NEG	=EMB	=NMZ	=3.POSS	forget	=ACC

lax̱ada				'na̱xwała	x̱a		ťa̱x̱ala
la	=x̱	=a	=da	'na̱xw -ała	=x̱	=a	ṫa̱x̱ala
PREP	=ACC	=D4	=DET	near -STAT	=ACC	=D4	door

'he put his coat near the door so he wouldn't forget it.'

(4)   ’wa:lasux̱ k’a̱na’is’id, k’i’sux̱ ma̱lk̲wa̱la x̱us dadat’sa̱wakw la’a kitła̱x̱ ła̱nswa̱ł.

’walasux̱		k’a̱na’is’id		k’i’sux̱		ma̱lk̲wa̱la		
’walas	=ux̱	k̲a̱na’is	-x’id	ki̓’s	=ux̱	ma̱lk̲	-a̱l	-a
big/very	=D2	feel.cold	-BEC	NEG	=D2	remember	-CONT	-A

x̱us			dadat’sa̱wakw		la’a		
=x̱	=us		dadat’sa̱wakw		la̱	=a	=i’
=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS		coat		AUX	=EMB	=NMZ

kitła̱x̱			ła̱nswa̱ł
kitł	-a	=x̱	ła̱nswa̱ł
fish	-A	=ACC	yesterday

‘He had gotten really cold, he didn’t remember his coat when he went fishing yesterday.’

(5)   la̱’misux̱ o: ikux̱ nok̲e’yes, la̱’misux̱ la.

la̱’misux̱				o:		ikux̱	
la̱	=’m	=(w)is	=ux̱	o		ik	=ux̱
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	EXCLAM		good	=D2

nok̲e’yes			la̱’misux̱				la
nok̲e’	=s		la̱	=’m	=(w)is	=ux̱	la
heart/mind	=3.POSS		AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	go

‘His heart felt good, and so he went.’

(6)   la̱'mux̱ 'walas kitła.

la̱'mux̱			'walas	kitła	
la̱	='m	=ux̱	'walas	kitł	-a
AUX	=VER	=D2	big/very	fish	-A

'He went out and really fished.'

(7)   la̱'mux̱ ola pusḵ'ax'ida.

la̱'mux̱			ola	pusḵ'ax'ida		
la̱	='m	=ux̱	ola	pusḵa	-x'id	-a
AUX	=VER	=D2	truly	hungry	-BEC	-A

'And he got really hungry.'

(8)   la̱'misux̱ dux̱wt'so x̱is gwoksa̱m.

la̱'misux̱				dux̱wt'so	x̱is		gwoksa̱m
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	duḵw	-t'so	=x̱	=is	gwoksa̱m
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	see	-inside	=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS	bag

'Then he looked into his bag.'

(9)   o: 'yaksa'mux̱ nok̲e'.

o:		'yaksa'mux̱			nok̲e'
o		'yaksa'm	=ux̱		nok̲e'
EXCLAM		bad	=D2		heart/mind

'Oh, his heart just sank.'

(10)   lux̱ t̓ɫ̲awile' x̱is ha̲'me'.

lux̱		t̓ɫ̲awile'	x̱is			ha̲'me'
la̲	=ux̱	t̓ɫ̲awile'	=x̱	=is		ha̲'me'
AUX	=D2	forget	=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS	food

'He had forgotten his food.'

(11)   o'misux̱ la pusḵ̓ag̲asa'.

o'misux̱				la	pusḵ̓ag̲asa'		
o	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	la̲	pusḵ̓a	=g̲as	=a'
so	=VER	=and.so	=D2	AUX	hungry	=poor.thing	=I3

'He was just starving, poor guy.'

(12)   la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m kiɬ'i, waxa, k'iyo:s yana̱msux̱.

la̱'misux̱						o'a̱m		kiɬ'i		waxa	
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	o	='m			kitɬ	-x'id	wax	-a
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	so	=VER			fish	-BEC	try	-A

k'iyo:s		yana̱msux̱		
k'iyos		yana̱m	=s	=ux̱
NEG.EXIST		catch	=3.POSS	=d2

'So he just went out and tried to fish, but he didn't catch anything.'

(13)   la̱'misux̱ o'a̱m la wodza̱mała ne'nakwa.

la̱'misux̱						o'a̱m		la	wodza̱mała		
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	o	='m	la			wos	-(g̱)a̱m	-ała
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	so	=VER	go			sad	-face	-STAT

ne'nakwa	
ne'nakw	-a
home	-A

'And so he just went home looking sad.'

Glossing Conventions and Abbreviations

Gloss	Morphs	Notes
-		affix boundary
=		clitic boundary
~		reduplicant boundary
!		hardening mutation
°		softening mutation
:	v:	dramatic vowel lengthening
1	=a̱n	first person singular
1.EXCL	=a̱nu'x̱w	first person plural exclusive ("we and not you")
1.EXCL.OBJ	gax̱anu'x̱w	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	=a̱nu'x̱w	possessed by first person plural exclusive
1.INCL	=a̱n's	first person plural inclusive ("we including you")
1.INCL.OBJ	gax̱an'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	=a̱n's	possessed by first person plural inclusive
1.OBJ	gax̱an	first person singular object, instrumental or accusative case ("me", "to me", "from me", "of me")
1.POSS	=a̱n	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

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[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	=x̲a	connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers consistently uses =x̲a for this purpose, while some other speakers use =tła in the same position for the same purpose
CONT	-a̲la	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	=ux̲, =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	='ma̲nix̲w	diminutive plural
DIR.ATEL	-(g)a̲ł	atelic directional (Rosenblum 2013)
DIST.PAST	=wa̲'ł	distant past tense
do	a̲x̲-	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	-'inaẏi	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	=i̓a, =ga	imperative
INDEF	g̱wi	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	-a<u>l</u>	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	(k̓)i's	negation
NEG.EXIST	k̓<u>a</u>yos	negative existential ("there is no", "there are no")
NMLZ	=i', =ay̓, -<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
RECIP	=ap'	reciprocal ("each other", "one another"); triggers vowel lengthening in the stem
REPORT	=l̓	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	g̱an	vocative; g̱an 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	ẉi	generic wh-element