Kwak'wala Speaker:	Violet Bracic (VB)
Linguist:	Katie Sardinha (KS)
Recording date:	June 24, 2015

Short Text: *ixp'a* 'yummy'

English prompt[1]

Vicky came home one day when her mom was baking. When Vicky walked in the door, it smelled rea:lly good. She wasn't sure what it was that she smelled, but it was really really nice and appetizing. She asked her mom what the smell was, and her mom told her she was baking a strawberry cake. Vicky sniffed again, and she immediately recognized the smell of strawberry. Her mom opened the oven to check on it, and the smell got even stronger. It rea:lly smelled like strawberries. Uh, Mabel took a fork and tasted a little piece of the cake. It tasted good, but it wasn't sweet enough, so she sprinkled some sugar on top and put it back in the oven. Pretty soon the cake was finished. They let it cool down a bit, and then they tasted it. It tasted rea:lly good. It was nice and sweet. They ate the cake until they were satisfied, or full. And then the kitchen smelled like cake and strawberries that who:le day.

Kwak'wala Version

gax'mux Vickyx ne'nakwa. la'mux misala xada ha'miksilatsu'. la'misux watła xis abamp, " 'masus ha'miksilatsu'wo's? " "ha'miksilan xada lagu ke'gasa' ", 'nikida abamp. "o", 'nikux Vickyx. la'misux Vickyx 'nik'e'kala kis axstude' xada ka'abudat'si kis duxw'ide' xa ke'gas. la'misux p'ax'i xa ke'gas, 'i'st'akwe hił'ida sugwa. la'misux gan'wa sa sugwa laxa ke'gas. la'misux edakas laxada ka'abudat'si. la'mis gwałida ke'gas ha'miksila. la'misux ha'mx'i xa ke'gas dłu'wis abamp. tłu:ma la ixp'ida ke'gas. o'misuxda ha'miksi'lasax, o'am misala sada lagu xada 'nala.

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[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.

Kwak'wala Version, Line-By-Line[2]

(1)   gaẋ'muẋ Vickyẋ ne'nakwa.
        'Vicky came home.'

(2)   la̱'muẋ misa̱la ẋada ha'miksilatsu'.
        'She smelled what was cooking.'

(3)   la̱'misuẋ wa̱tła ẋis a̱ba̱mp, " 'masus ha'miksilatsu'wo's? "
        'Then she asked her mom, "What are you cooking?"

(4)   "ha'miksila̱n ẋada la̱gu ke'ga̱sa' ", 'nikida a̱ba̱mp.
        "I'm cooking a strawberry cake", said her mom.

(5)   "o", 'nikuẋ Vickyẋ.
        "Oh", said Vicky.

(6)   la̱'misuẋ Vickyẋ 'nik'e'k̲a̱la k̲is a̱ẋstude' ẋada k̲a̱'abudat'si k̲is duẋw'ide' ẋa ke'ga̱s.
        'Then Vicky thought she would open the oven to take a look at the cake.'

(7)   la̱'misuẋ p'a̱ẋ'i ẋa ke'ga̱s, 'i'st'akwe hił'ida sugwa.
        'Then she tasted the cake, and it didn't seem to have enough sugar.'

(8)   la̱'misuẋ ga̱n'wa sa sugwa laẋa ke'ga̱s.
        'Then she added some sugar to the cake.'

(9)   la̱'misuẋ edak̲as laẋada k̲a̱'abudat'si.
        'Then she put it back into the oven.'

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[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.

(10)   la̱'mis g̱wałida ke'g̱as ha'miksila.
        'And so the cake finished cooking.'

(11)   la̱'misux̱ ha̱'mx'i x̱a ke'g̱as dłu'wis a̱ba̱mp.
        'Then she ate the cake with her mom.'

(12)   tłu:ma la ixp'ida ke'g̱as.
        'The cake tasted really good.'

(13)   o'misux̱da ha'miksi'lasa̱x̱, o'a̱m misa̱la sada la̱gu x̱ada 'nala.
        'As for the kitchen, it smelled like strawberries that day.'

Kwak'wala Dictionary

a̱ba̱mp	'mother'
a̱x̱stud (=x̱)	'to open (something)'
dux̱w'id (=x̱)	'to look at (something)'
edaḵa (=s)(lax̱)	'to return, put back (something)(somewhere)'
ga̱n'wa (=s)(lax̱)	'to add (something)(to somewhere)'
gwał	'to stop, finish, quit'
ha'miksila (=x̱)	'to make food, cook (something)'
ha'miksilatsu'	'what is being cooked'
ha̱'mx'id (=x̱)	'to eat (something)'
hił'a	'to have enough, suffice'
ixp'a	'to taste good'
ka̱'abudat'si	'oven'
ke'g̱as	'cake'
(k')i's	'no, not'
la̱gu	'strawberry'
ne'nakw	'home'
'nala	'day'
'nik	'to say'

’nik’e’ḵala (ḵa)	'to think (to do something)'
misạla (=x̱)	'to smell, sniff (something)'
misạla (=s)	'to smell (of something)'
p’ax̱’id (=x̱)	'to taste (something)'
sugwa	'sugar'
wạtła (=x̱)	'to ask (someone)'
tłuma	'really, very'

Kwak’wala Analysis[3]

(1) gax̱’mux̱ Vickyx̱ ne’nakwa.

gax̱’mux̱			Vickyx̱		ne’nakwa		
gax̱	=’m	=ux̱	Vicky	=(ạ)x̱	ne’nakw	-a	
come	=VER	=D2	Vicky	=v2	home	-A	

'Vicky came home.'

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(2)   la̱'mux̱ mis̱ala x̱ada ha'miksilatsu'.

la̱'mux̱

la̱	='m	=ux̱	mis	-a̱l	-a	=x̱	=a	=da
AUX	=VER	=D2	smell	-CONT	-A	=ACC	=D4	=DET

ha'miksilatsu'

ha'miksila	-sa̱ẇ
make.food	-ACC.PASS

'She smelled what was cooking.'

(3)   la̱'misux̱ wa̱tła x̱is a̱ba̱mp, " 'masus ha'miksilatsu'wo's? "

la̱'misux̱

la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	wa̱tł	-a	=x̱	=i(')s	a̱ba̱mp
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	ask	-A	=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS	mother

'masus   ha'miksilatsu'wo's

'mas	=us	ha'miksila	-sa̱ẇ	-a	=us
what	=2.POSS	make.food	-ACC.PASS	-A	=2.POSS

'Then she asked her mom, "What are you cooking?"'

(4) "ha'miksilan̲ x̲ada la̲gu ke'ga̲sa' ", 'nikida a̲ba̲mp.

ha'miksilan̲				x̲ada		la̲gu	ke'ga̲sa'	
ha'miksila	=a̲n	=x̲	=a	=da		la̲gu	ke'ga̲s	=a'
make.food	=1	=ACC	=D4	=DET		strawberry	cake	=I3

'nikida			a̲ba̲mp
'nik	=i	=da	a̲ba̲mp
say	=D3	=DET	mother

"I'm cooking a strawberry cake", said her mom.

(5) "o", 'nikux̲ Vickyx̲.

o	'nikux̲		Vickyx̲	
o	'nik	=ux̲	Vicky	=(a̲)x̲
EXCLAM	say	=D2	Vicky	=V2

"Oh", said Vicky.

(6) la̱'misux̱ Vickyx̱ 'nik'e'ḵala ḵis a̱x̱stude' x̱ada ḵa̱'abudat'si ḵis dux̱w'ide' x̱a ke'ga̱s.

la̱'misux̱				Vickyx̱		'nik'e'ḵala			
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	Vicky	=(a̱)x̱	'nik	-!eḵ	-a̱l	-a
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	Vicky	=V2	say	-in.mind	-CONT	-A

ḵis			a̱x̱stude'					x̱ada		
ḵa̱=	=i(')s		a̱x̱	-stu	-x'id	=a	=i'	=x̱	=a	=da
PREP	=3.REFL.POSS	do	-open	-BEC	=EMB	=NMZ	=ACC	=D4	=DET

ḵa̱'abudat'si	ḵis			dux̱w'ide'			
ḵa̱'abudat'si	ḵa̱	=i(')s		dux̱w	-x'id	=a	=i'
oven		PREP	=3.REFL.POSS	see	-BEC	=EMB	=NMZ

x̱a		ke'ga̱s
=x̱	=a	ke'ga̱s
=ACC	=D4	cake

'Then Vicky thought she would open the oven to take a look at the cake.'

(7) la̱'misux̱ p'a̱x̱'i x̱a ke'ga̱s, 'i'sdak'we hił'ida sugwa.

la̱'misux̱				p'a̱x̱'i			x̱a		ke'ga̱s
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	p'a̱ḵ	-x'id		=x̱	=a	ke'ga̱s
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	TASTE	-BEC		=ACC	=D4	cake

'i'st'akwe			hił'ida			sugwa
(k)'i's	–xst'akw	=i	hił'	-x'id	-a	sugwa
NEG	-seem	=D3	enough	-BEC	-A	sugar

'Then she tasted the cake, and it didn't seem to have enough sugar.'

(8)   la̱'misux̱ g̱an'wa sa sugwa lax̱a ke'g̱as.

la̱'misux̱					g̱an'wa	sa		sugwa
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	g̱an'wa		=s	=a	sugwa
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	add		=INST	=D4	sugar

lax̱a			ke'g̱as
la	=x̱	=a	ke'g̱as
PREP	=ACC	=D4	cake

'Then she added some sugar to the cake.'

(9)   la̱'misux̱ edaḵas lax̱ada ḵa̱'abudaťsi.

la̱'misux̱				edaḵas		
la̱	='m	=(w)is	=ux̱	edaḵ	-a	=s
AUX	=VER	=and.so	=D2	return	-A	=INST

lax̱ada				ḵa̱'abudaťsi
la	=x̱	=a	=da	ḵa̱'abudat'si
PREP	=ACC	=D4	=DET	oven

'Then she put it back into the oven.'

(10)   la̱'mis gwał̱ida ke'g̱as ha'miksila.

la̱'mis			gwał̱ida			ke'g̱as	ha'miksila
la̱	='m	=(w)is	gwał	=i	=da	ke'g̱as	ha'miksila
AUX	=VER	=and.so	finish	=D3	=DET	cake	make.food

'And so the cake finished cooking.'

(11) la̱'misux̱ ha̱'mx'i x̱a ke'ga̱s dłu'wis a̱ba̱mp.

la̱'misux̱				ha̱'mx'i		x̱a		ke'ga̱s
la̱	= 'm	= (w)is	= ux̱	ha̱'m	-x'id	= x̱	= a	ke'ga̱s
AUX	= VER	= and.so	= D2	eat	-BEC	= ACC	= D4	cake

dłu'wis		a̱ba̱mp
dła̱ẇ	= i(')s	a̱ba̱mp
together.with	= 3.REFL.POSS	mother

'Then she ate the cake with her mom.'

(12) tłu:ma la ixp'ida ke'ga̱s.

tłuma	la	ixp'ida				ke'ga̱s
tłuma	la̱	ik	-p'a	= i	= da	ke'ga̱s
really	AUX	good	-taste	= D3	= DET	cake

'The cake tasted really good.'

(13) o'misuxda ha'miksi'lasax, o'am misala sada lagu xada 'nala.

o'misuxda ha'miksi'lasax

o	='m	=(w)is	=ux	=da	ha'miksila	-'as	=(a)x
so	=VER	=and.so	=D2	=DET	make.food	-place	=v2

o'am misala sada lagu

o	='m	mis	-al	-a	=s	=a	=da	lagu
so	=VER	smell	-CONT	-A	=INST	=D4	=DET	strawberry

xada 'nala

=x	=a	=da	'nala
=ACC	=D4	=DET	day

'As for the kitchen, it smelled like strawberries that day.'

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)[4]
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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[4] 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	-ṅakwa̱la	a gradual advancement; indicates progression towards a telos
HYP	=u', =la̱x	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	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	-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	=x̱ant, wax	modal; =*x̱ant* 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	k̕a̱yos	negative existential ("there is no", "there are no")
NMLZ	=i', =aẏ, -a̱m, -a̱ł, -ana̱m, -'ima	nominalizer; -a̱m, -a̱ł, and –ana̱m 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, ka	preposition; la is a preposition that introduces locative arguments ("at", "to", "from", etc.), while ka 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	=ì	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	gan	vocative; gan refers specifically to an infant girl
v1	=(i)k (UR), =(i)x	third person proximal visible; the final consonant often spirantizes
v2	=(i)x	third person medial visible
VF		volunteered form
WH	ẇi	generic wh-element