

kqł-* ‘scared, afraid’

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The verb *kqł-* ‘scared, afraid’ is the basic Kwakwala verb used to express the emotion of fear. Its meaning is less specific than other fear-related verbs, such as *tṣandika/tṣamdika* ‘to be spooked’ or *tṣatka* ‘to be startled, shocked’, and it is used in a wide range of contexts.

The root *kqł-* does not occur alone, but is always followed (in active clauses)¹ by an aspectual suffix that marks event type. The stem *kqłq̣ala*, which contains the continuative aspect marker *-q̣ala*, denotes a process event. This means that the stem *kqłq̣ala* emphasizes the ongoing or dynamic nature of the fear emotion. The stem *kqł'id*, which contains the momentaneous aspect marker *-(x)'id*, denotes a transition event. In other words, *kqł'id* emphasizes the moment of becoming scared or afraid. As a rough approximation in English, we might translate *kqłq̣ala* as ‘to be scared’ and *kqł'id* as ‘to get scared’. Compare the examples and their translations in (1)-(2).

* *Ẉalas muł̣an noke' ka'an ḳakuł̣amasas Kwakwala. Yax Ruby Dawson Cranmer, Mildred Child, Julia Nelson, Violet Bracic, ḍhu' Lilian Johnny Gilakas'la ninogad.* This verb profile is a work in progress, and I take responsibility for any errors below. Questions, comments, and feedback are happily accepted. (KS)

¹ In passive clauses (which in Kwakwala are nominalized), *kqł-* sometimes lacks an aspectual suffix.

(1) *kíkɔ́lasu'sux* Betty_x, *tɬu:mux* *kɔ́łala* sada *ɬɔ́nikwɔ́la*.

<i>kíkɔ́lasu'sux</i>	Betty _x	<i>tɬu:mux</i>	<i>kɔ́łala</i>
<i>kíkɔ́lasu's</i> = ux	Betty	= (a) _x <i>tɬum</i> = ux	<i>kɔ́ł -ala</i>
poor.thing = D2	Betty	= v2 really = D2	afraid -CONT
sada		<i>ɬɔ́nikwɔ́la</i>	
= s	= a = da	<i>ɬɔ́nikw</i> -ala	
= INST	= D4 = DET	lightning -CONT	

'Poor Betty, she's really afraid of lightning.'

(20150618-MC VF)

(2) *wɔ́lasɔ́n* ***kɔ́ł'idɔ́x*** ganutɬ. *wɔ́lasida* nininidzi.

a.	<i>wɔ́lasɔ́n</i>	<i>kɔ́ł'idɔ́x</i>	ganutɬ
<i>wɔ́las</i> = ɔ́n	<i>kɔ́ł</i>	-(x)'id = x	ganutɬ
big/very = 1	afraid	-BEC = ACC	night

'I got really scared last night.'

(20140706-VB VF)

b.	<i>wɔ́lasida</i>	nininidzi
<i>wɔ́las</i> = i = da	ninini	-dzi
big/very = D3 = DET	earthquake	-AUG

'There was a big earthquake.'

(20140706-VB VF)

In what follows, I will refer to the verb simply as *kɔ́ł-*.

Argument Structure

The verb *kət-* can occur in a sentence with only one argument, the subject. In the second clause of (3), the subject (in **bold**) is =*ən* ‘first-person singular’.

(3) le'ex̄ kət̄alas badiyida ax̄e', lam̄an kał'ida.

le'ex̄				kət̄alas		badiyida		
l(a)	= a	= i'	= (a)x̄	kət̄ -ala	= s	badi	= i	= da
AUX	= EMB	= NMLZ	= V2	know-CONT	= GEN	cougar	= D3	= DET
	ax̄e'		lam̄an			kał'ida		
	ax̄	= e'	la	= 'm	= an	kał	-(x)'id	-a
	do	= I3	AUX	= VER	= 1	afraid	-BEC	-a

‘When you know there is a cougar around, I get scared.’ (20140325-RDC VF)

The verb *kət-* can also appear in a sentence with both a subject and an object in the instrumental case. The object then corresponds to what the subject is afraid of or scared by (the object of fear). If the object is in the third-person, it is indicated with the instrumental case marker, =*s*, which may be followed by determiners such as =*ga*, =*ux*, =*i*, =*da*, or =*a*. In (4), the instrumental object is *sa t̄te'* ‘the bear’.

(4) w̄alasan̄ kałala sa t̄te'. ki:'san̄ la kasa ke'eda t̄te' lax̄ gukw̄alases Christopher.

a.	w̄alasan̄		kałala		sa		t̄te'
	w̄alas	= an	kał	-ala	= s	= a	t̄t̄ayi
	big/very	= 1	afraid	-CONT	= INST	= D4	bear
	‘I’m scared of the bear .’						(20150617-MC VF)

b.	<u>ki</u> : <u>san</u>	la	<u>ka</u> sa	<u>ke</u> 'eda		<u>te</u> '	la <u>x</u>
	<u>ki</u> 's = <u>a</u> n	la	<u>ka</u> s -a	<u>ka</u> =i =da		<u>ta</u> yi	la = <u>x</u>
	NEG =1	go	walk -A	PREP =D3 =DET		bear	PREP =ACC
	guk <u>wa</u> lases				Christopher		
	gukw	- <u>ala</u>	-'as	=s	Christopher		
	house	-CONT	-LOC.PASS	=3.POSS	Christopher		

'I don't go walking to Christopher's house because of the bear.'

(20150617-MC VF)

If the instrumental object is first-person singular ("me"), first-person plural ("us including addressee", "us not including addressee"), or second-person ("you"), a special set of forms are used. The first-person forms include *gaxan* (5), *gaxan's* (6), and *gaxanu'xw* (7), while in the second-person two forms are possible, *loł* (8) and *kus* (9).

(5) *kałalx Simonx gaxan.*

<i>ka<u>ł</u>al<u>x</u></i>			<i>Simon<u>x</u></i>		<i>ga<u>x</u>an</i>
<i>kał</i>	- <u>ala</u>	= <u>u</u> <u>x</u>	<i>Simon</i>	=(<u>a</u>) <u>x</u>	<i>ga<u>x</u>an</i>
afraid	-CONT	=D2	Simon	=V2	1.OBJ

'Simon is afraid of **me**.'

(20160712-MC VF)

(6) *kałalx Simonx gaxan's.*

<i>ka<u>ł</u>al<u>x</u></i>			<i>Simon<u>x</u></i>		<i>ga<u>x</u>an's</i>
<i>kał</i>	- <u>ala</u>	= <u>u</u> <u>x</u>	<i>Simon</i>	=(<u>a</u>) <u>x</u>	<i>ga<u>x</u>an's</i>
afraid	-CONT	=D2	Simon	=V2	1.INCL.OBJ

'Simon is afraid of **us (inclusive)**.'

(20160712-MC VF)

(7) *kəɫəɫux* *Simonx* *gəxənu'xw*.

<i>kəɫəɫux</i>			<i>Simonx</i>		<i>gəxənu'xw</i>
<i>kəɫ</i>	- <i>əɫa</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Simon	= (<i>ə</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>gəxənu'xw</i>
afraid	-CONT	= D2	Simon	= V2	1.EXCL.OBJ
'Simon is afraid of us (exclusive) .'					(20160712-MC VF)

(8) *kəɫəɫuxda* *gənanəmax* *loɫ*.

<i>kəɫəɫux</i>			<i>Simonx</i>		<i>loɫ</i>
<i>kəɫ</i>	- <i>əɫa</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Simon	= (<i>ə</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>loɫ</i>
afraid	-CONT	= D2	Simon	= V2	2.OBJ
'The child is afraid of you .'					(20181123-RDC VF)

(9) *kəɫəɫux* *Simonx* *kus*.

<i>kəɫəɫux</i>			<i>Simonx</i>		<i>kus</i>
<i>kəɫ</i>	- <i>əɫa</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Simon	= (<i>ə</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>kus</i>
afraid	-CONT	= D2	Simon	= V2	2.OBJ
'Simon is afraid of you .'					(20160712-MC VF)

The verb *kəɫ-* can also appear with a subordinate *when*-clause, describing the conditions that lead to someone being or becoming afraid. An example with a *when*-clause is shown in (10a), where speaker VB is describing an earthquake she remembers experiencing in *Yəɫis*.

(10) o: *kəłala le'eda ninini nəłalamas xuxda gukwax. lamis:ənu'xw dɫaxwala laxa*
təxala, wila. o: nəłala. lamida watsi ugwaka kəłala.

a.	o	<i>kəłala</i>		<i>le'eda</i>				
	o	<i>kəł</i>	<i>-ala</i>	<i>lə</i>	= a	= i'	= i	= da
	EXCLAM	afraid	-CONT	AUX	= EMB	= NMLZ	= D3	= DET
		<i>ninini</i>		<i>nəłalamas</i>			<i>xuxda</i>	
		<i>ninini</i>	<i>nəł</i>	<i>-ala</i>	<i>-mas</i>	= x	= ux	= da
		earthquake	shake	-CONT	-CAUS	= ACC	= D2	= DET
			<i>gukwax</i>					
			<i>gukw</i>	= (a)x				
			<i>house</i>	= v2				

'O, it was scary **when the earthquake shook the house.**'

(20160722-VB VF)

b.	<i>lamisənu'xw</i>		<i>dɫaxwala</i>	<i>laxa</i>				
	<i>lə</i>	= 'm	= (w)is	= ənu'xw	<i>dɫaxw</i>	<i>-ala</i>	<i>lə</i>	= x = a
	AUX	= VER	= and.so	= 1.EXCL	stand	-STAT	PREP	= ACC = D3
		<i>təxala</i>	<i>wila</i>					
		<i>təxala</i>	<i>wila</i>					
		door	all					

'We stood in the doorway, all of us.'

(20160722-VB VF)

c.	o	<i>nəłala</i>	
	o	<i>nəł</i>	<i>-ala</i>
	EXCLAM	shake	-CONT

'O:h, it shook.'

(20160722-VB VF)

d.	<u>la</u> hida		wátsi	ugwaka	kałala		
	la	= 'm	= i	= da	wátsi	ugwaka	kał -ala
	AUX	= VER	= D3	= DET	dog	also	afraid -CONT
	‘The dog was also really afraid.’						(20160722-VB VF)

The verb can also appear together with a phrase headed by the preposition *ka*. This type of phrase is used to indicate the reason ‘why’ or the reason ‘for’ the subject’s being afraid. In (11), Mabel is scared on behalf of her father, = *us ump*.

(11) *Context: Mabel’s dad is having open-heart surgery, and she is scared that something could go wrong.*

kałalux Mabelx ka’us ump.

kałalux			Mabelx		ka’us
kał	-ala	= ux	Mabel	= (a)x	ka = us
afraid	-CONT	= D2	Mabel	= v2	PREP = 3.REFL.POSS(D2)
	ump				
	ump				
	father				

‘Mabel is scared for her dad.’ (20160721-JN JF)

One way to express being scared about something hypothetical is to combine a *ka* phrase with the hypothetical clitic = *u*’. In (12), speaker MC is talking about a time when her family was raising geese from chicks. At the moment she is describing, the little geese were all running around on the floor in the house.

(12) *kałalan kutlan tipsandzand xa amabidu geese-a'*.

<i>kałalan</i>			<i>kutlan</i>			
<i>kał</i>	- <i>ala</i>	= <i>an</i>	<i>ka</i>	= <i>u'</i>	= <i>tł</i>	= <i>an</i>
<i>afraid</i>	-CONT	= 1	PREP	= HYP	= FUT	= 1
	<i>tipsandzand</i>		<i>xa</i>		<i>amabidu</i>	<i>geese-a'</i>
	<i>tipsandz</i>	-(x)'id	= <i>x</i>	= <i>a</i>	<i>ama</i>	= <i>bidu geese = a'</i>
	<i>step.on</i>	-BEC	= ACC	= D4	<i>small</i>	= DIM <i>geese = i3</i>
'I was afraid I would step on the little geese.'						(20181205-MC VF)

Question formation

There are two words derived from *kał-* that are used when asking what someone is afraid of or got scared by. These include *kałam* (13) and *kał'idayu* (14). Notice the difference in translations between the two examples.

(13) *masi kałama'sux Shellyx?*

<i>masi</i>		<i>kałama'sux</i>			<i>Shellyx</i>
<i>mas</i>	= <i>i</i>	<i>kał</i>	- <i>am</i>	= <i>a'</i> = <i>s</i>	= <i>ux</i> <i>Shelly = (a)x</i>
<i>what</i>	= D3	<i>afraid</i>	-NMLZ	= I3 = 3.POSS	= D2 <i>Shelly = v2</i>
'What is Shelly afraid of?' (20150630-JN VF)					

(14) *m̄asi k̄ał'idayu'we'sux* Shelly?

<i>m̄asi</i>	<i>k̄ał'idayu'we'sux</i>							
<i>m̄as</i> = i	<i>k̄ał</i>	<i>-(x)'id</i>	<i>-ayu</i>	= a	= i'	= s		= <i>ux</i>
what = D3	afraid	-BEC	-INST.PASS	= EMB	= NMLZ	= 3.POSS		= D2
	Shelly							
	Shelly							
	Shelly							
	'What scared Shelly?'							(20150630-JN JF)

Examples with complex stems

The verb *kqł-* can take various suffixes which modify its meaning. One such suffix is the body part suffix *-(g)am* 'face', which is used to express that someone has a scared look on their face. (The initial *g* in this suffix typically disappears after a preceding consonant. However, this is not always the case, as example (16) shows).

(15) *w̄alas k̄ałamałi Emma gaxe' kas'id lax̄an gukw, la'am p̄adax'ida gaxe'e. la: dux̄watłala xa t̄le'dzi, la dzalxw'i k̄a's gaxe' lax̄an gukw.*

a.

wałas	kałamali				Emma
wałas	kał	-(g)am	-ała	=i	Emma
big/very	afraid	-face	-stat	=D3	Emma
	gax̣e'		kas'id		lax̣an
	gax̣	=a	=i'	kas	-(x)'id la =x̣ =an
	come	=EMB	=NMLZ	walk	-BEC PREP =ACC =1.POSS
	gukw	la'am	padax'ida		
	gukw	la	= 'm	padak	-(x)'id -a
	house	AUX	=VER	dark	-BEC -A
	gax̣e'e				
	gax̣	=a	=i'	=i	
	come	=EMB	=NMLZ	=D3	

'Emma had a really scared look on her face as she came walking towards my

house while it was getting dark.'

(20150617-MC VF)

b.

la	duxwatłala	x̣a		tle'dzi	la
la	duxwatł	-ala	=x̣	=a	tle'yi-dzi la
go	see	-CONT	=ACC	=D4	bear -AUG AUX
	dzałxw'i	ka's			
	dzałxw	-(x)'id	ka	=(i)'s	
	run	-BEC	PREP	=3.REFL.POSS	
	gax̣e'		lax̣an		gukw
	gax̣	=a	=i'	la =x̣ =an	gukw
	come	=EMB	=NMLZ	PREP =ACC =1.POSS	house

'Then she saw a big bear and ran to my house.'

(20150617-MC VF)

(16) *w*alas **kəłgəmgasi** Suzie, *kəł*'id sada *w*a:ladzi *b*adiya' *n*axwala *x*i's gukw.

<i>w</i> alas	kəłgəmgasi			Suzie	<i>kəł</i> 'id
<i>w</i> alas	kəł	-(g)am	= gas	=i Suzie	<i>kəł</i> -(x)'id
big/very	afraid	-face	= poor.thing	=D3 Suzie	afraid -BEC
sada			<i>w</i> a:ladzi	<i>b</i> adiya'	<i>n</i> axwala
=s	=a	=da	<i>w</i> alas	-dzi =i	<i>b</i> adi =a' <i>n</i> axw -ala
=INST	=D4	=DET	big/very	-AUG =D3	cougar =I3 near -STAT
	<i>x</i> i's				gukw
	= <i>x</i>	=(i)'s			gukw
	=ACC	=3.REFL.POSS			house

'Poor Suzie's got a really scared look on her face, there's a big cougar near her house.'

(20150617-MC VF)

The verb *kəł-* can form complex stems with the causative suffix, *-mas*, becoming *kəłələmas* 'to scare, to cause someone to be scared' or *kəł'idamas* 'to scare, to cause someone to get scared'. Adding *-mas* to the stem has an effect on argument structure in the sentence. When *-mas* is present, the sentence may contain an object in the accusative case corresponding to the one who gets scared. In the third-person, this object is marked by =*x*, while the first and second-person forms are the same as those in (5)-(8) above. In (17), the accusative object is =*x* *Karen* 'Karen', and in (18) it is *gəxən* 'me'. The subject of a sentence with *kəłələmas* or *kəł'idamas* corresponds to the thing that causes the scaring. In (17), the scarer is =*ida lolinuxw* 'ghost(s)', while in (19) it is =*i ninini* 'the/an earthquake'.

(17) *kə́ləlamasida lolinuwə́x Karen sa pə́dəka.*

<i>kə́ləlamasida</i>			<i>lolinuwə́x</i>		<i>Karen sa</i>
<i>kə́l</i>	<i>-ələ</i>	<i>-mas =i =da</i>	<i>lolinuw</i>	<i>=x</i>	<i>Karen =s =a</i>
<i>afraid</i>	<i>-CONT</i>	<i>-CAUS =D3 =DET</i>	<i>ghost</i>	<i>=ACC</i>	<i>Karen =INST =D4</i>
	<i>pə́dəka</i>				
	<i>pə́dək</i>	<i>-a</i>			
	<i>dark</i>	<i>-A</i>			

‘Ghosts make Karen afraid of the dark.’

(20160711-JN VF)

(18) *kə́l'idamasi ninini gə́xən.*

<i>kə́l'idamasi</i>			<i>ninini</i>		<i>gə́xən</i>
<i>kə́l</i>	<i>-(x)'id</i>	<i>-a -mas =i</i>	<i>ninini</i>		<i>gə́xən</i>
<i>afraid</i>	<i>-BEC</i>	<i>-A -CAUS =D3</i>	<i>earthquake</i>		<i>1.OBJ</i>

‘The earthquake scared me.’

(20140706-VB VF)

To question about the accusative object of the causativized verb, the verb takes the passive suffix *-səw* and forms either *kə́ləlamatsu'* or *kə́l'idamatsu'*, as shown in (19).

(19) *angwi kɔt'idamatsu'we'sux Shellyx?**angwi**angw = i*

who = D3

*kɔt'idamatsu'we'sux**kɔt* -(x)'id -a -mas -su' = a = i' = s = ux

afraid -BEC -A -CAUS -ACC.PASS = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS = D2

Shellyx

Shelly = (a)x

Shelly = v2

'Who did Shelly scare?'

(20150630-JN JF)

Contexts of use

The verb *kɔt-* is the most commonly-encountered fear verb in Kwakwala and is used in a wide variety of situations. In some contexts, *kɔt-* is interchangeable with other fear-related verbs that have more specific meanings, such as *tsandika* / *tsamdika* 'to be spooked' and *tsatka* 'to be startled, shocked'. Examples (20)-(22) illustrate some contexts where speakers have volunteered the verb *kɔt-*.

(20) *wałasaŋ kɔ́l'id sa wa:ladi wɔ́si. wa:las wokwa gaxan le' kas'id laxada gukwɔ́zi.*
o'am wokwa, ki:s naxwala gaxan.

a. *wałasaŋ kɔ́l'id sa wa:ladi wɔ́si*
wałas =an kɔ́l -(x)'id =s =a wɔ́las -dzi wɔ́si
 big/very =1 **afraid** -BEC =INST =D4 big/very -AUG dog
 'I get really scared of a big dog.' (20150617-MC VF)

b. *wałas wokwa gaxan le' kas'id*
wałas wokw -a gaxan la =a =i' kas -(x)'id
 big/very bark -A 1.OBJ AUX =EMB =NMLZ walk -BEC
laxada gukwɔ́zi
la =x =a =da gukw -dzi
 PREP =ACC =D4 =DET house -AUG
 'It really barks at me when I walk to the bighouse.' (20150617-MC VF)

c. *o'am wokwa ki's naxwala gaxan*
o =m wokw -a ki's naxw -ala gaxan
 so =VER bark -A NEG near -STAT 1.OBJ
 'It just barks, it's never near me.' (20150617-MC VF)

(21) *Context: Georgie-boy was walking home from school and saw a bear.*

lámux Georgie-boy kasa. lámux gwaŋi skul. lámux neŋakwala. wa:lasux tsalka la
duxwatŋala xada tte'. o:lakala kaŋ'igasa. lámux tsalka. lami:sux wa:las dzalxwala
ka's neŋakwe', kwa:sabidu. lagas neŋakwa, o: wosis abamp ko'ox. la kapibidux.

a. lámux Georgie-boy kasa
la = 'm = ux Georgie-boy kas -a
AUX = VER = D2 Georgie-boy walk -A
'Georgie-boy was walking.' (20150617-MC VF)

b. lámux gwaŋi skul
la = 'm = ux gwaŋ = i skul
AUX = VER = D2 stop/finish = D3 school
'He was finished school.' (20150617-MC VF)

c. lámux neŋakwala
la = 'm = ux neŋakw -ala
AUX = VER = D2 home -CONT
'He was on his way home.' (20150617-MC VF)

d. wa:lasux tsalka la duxwatŋala
walas = ux tsalk -a la duxwatŋ -ala
big/very = D2 startled -A AUX see -CONT
xada tte'
= x = a = da tŋayi
= ACC = D4 = DET bear
'He was really startled when he saw a bear.' (20150617-MC VF)

- e. olākala **kał'igasa**
 olākala **kał** **-(x)'id** = gas -a
 truly **afraid** **-BEC** = poor.thing -A
 'He got really **scared**, poor thing.' (20150617-MC VF)
- f. lamux tsafka
 la = 'm = ux tsafk -a
 AUX = VER = D2 startled -A
 'He was really shocked.' (20150617-MC VF)
- g. lamisux walas dzalxwala
 la = 'm = (w)is = ux walas dzalxw -ala
 AUX = VER = and.so = D2 big/very run -CONT
 ka's neñakwe' kwasabidu
 ka = (i)'s neñakw = a = i' kwas -a = bidu
 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS home = EMB = NMLZ cry -A = DIM
 'Then the little guy ran to his house, crying.' (20150617-MC VF)
- h. lagas neñakwa
 la = gas neñakw -a
 go = poor.thing home -A
 'Then he arrived home, poor thing.' (20150617-MC VF)
- i. o wosis abamp ko'ox
 o wos = (i)'s abamp ka = ux
 EXCLAM sad = 3.REFL.POSS mother PREP = D2
 'Oh, his mother felt sorry for him.' (20150617-MC VF)

- j. la k̑ap̑ibidux
 la k̑ap̑ -(x)'id = bidu = ux
 AUX hug -BEC = DIM = D2
 'They hugged.' (20150617-MC VF)

(22) *Context: Bill's just had a haircut. When he looks in the mirror and sees how much has been cut off, he gets so shocked that he falls to the ground. Eddie rushes over to him to make sure he's okay.*

lamux Billx duxwatłala xi's saɣa. wa:lasux tsalka. la'mux o'am yaxwaliłala.
 lamux Eddiyax dzalxw'i ka's a'ekakilax. wa:las wosux noke'yes, kał'i ko'ox Billx.

- a. lamux Billx duxwatłala
 la = 'm = ux Bill = (a)x duxwatł -ala
 AUX = VER = D2 Bill = v2 see -CONT
 xi's saɣa
 = x = (i)'s saɣa
 = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS hair
 'Then Bill saw his (own) hair.' (20181127-MC VF)

- b. w̑alasux tsalka
 w̑alas = ux tsalk -a
 big/very = D2 startled -A
 'He was really shocked.' (20181127-MC VF)

- c. *la'mux* *o'am* *yaxwalilala*
la = 'm = *ux* *o* = 'm *yaxw* *-(g)al* *-°il* *-ala*
 AUX = VER = D2 so = VER fall.down -ATEL.DIR -indoors -CONT
 'Then he just fell down onto the floor.' (20181127-MC VF)

- d. *lamux* *Eddiyax* *dzalxw'i*
la = 'm = *ux* *Eddie* = (a)*x* *dzalxw* *-(x)'id*
 AUX = VER = D2 Eddie = v2 run -BEC
ka's *a'ekakilax*
ka = (i)'s *a'ekakila* = *x*
 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS take.care.of = ACC
 'Then Eddie ran over to take care of him.' (20181127-MC VF)

- e. *walas* *wosux* *noke'yes* *ka'i*
walas *wos* = *ux* *noke'* = s *ka* *-(x)'id*
 big/very sad = D2 heart = 3.POSS **afraid** -BEC
ko'ox *Billx*
ka = *ux* *Bill* = (a)*x*
 PREP = D2 *Bill* = v2
 'His (Eddie's) heart was really sad, **he got scared** for Bill.' (20181127-MC VF)

Verbs with related meanings

<i>isandika/ʔsamdika</i>	'to be spooked'
<i>tʔatka</i>	'to be startled, shocked'
<i>kike'kala</i>	'to worry'
<i>nula</i>	'to be concerned (scared for)'

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'xw	first person plural exclusive (“we and not you”)
1.EXCL.OBJ	ga <u>x</u> anu'xw	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'xw	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> an'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> an	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	possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; = i's is used with distal (D3) referents
3.REFL.POSS(D2)	= (u)'s	possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; = u's is used with medial (D2) 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	węł	ability modal, "can"
ACC	= <u>x</u>	accusative case
ACC.PASS	-sąw̄ (UR), -su'	accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as -sąw̄ when followed by a vowel and as -su' elsewhere (Littell 2016:519) ²
ADD.FOC	= <u>x</u> a	additive focus (Littell 2016)
APPOS	yā	appositive
AUG	-dzi	augmentative
AUX	lā-	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)

² The same phonological rule applies for the realization of *dłāw̄* (UR)/*dłu'*, a conjunctive predicate which is glossed as 'with', 'and', or 'or' as appropriate given the context.

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
CAUS	-mas	causative (Sardinha 2015)
CONN	= x̣a	connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers consistently uses = x̣a for this purpose, while some other speakers use = ṭa in the same position for the same purpose
CONT	-a _l a	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	= ux̣, = 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	= 'm̄anix̣w	diminutive plural
DIR.ATEL	-(g)aṭ	atelic directional (Rosenblum 2013)
DIST.PAST	= wa'ł̄	distant past tense
do	a _{x̣} -	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	= tʃ	future
GEN	= s	genitive (“of”)
GER	-’inaŋi	gerund
GRAD.ADV	-ṅakwala	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	= ʔa, = 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	= xant, wax	modal; = xant 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	ḱayos	negative existential (“there is no”, “there are no”)

NMLZ	= i', = aý, - am, -ał, - anam, -'ima	nominalizer; -am, -ał, and -anam 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	= i	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	wi	generic wh-element