

t'sandika / t'samdika 'to be spooked'*

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Pronunciation of this Kwakwala verb varies between *t'sandika* and *t'samdika*. Some Kwakwala speakers use both forms interchangeably, while others prefer one form or the other.

The meaning of this verb is similar to *kətqala* 'to be scared, afraid' but is more specific, having to do with feeling spooked, creeped out, or horrified. It is used in contexts involving ghosts and the supernatural, as well as in relation to things that are ominous, invisible, unknown or unknowable, or that go bump in the night.

The following comments have been offered by speakers regarding its meaning:

MC: That's, like, uh, *t'samdika* we say for ghosts - you felt spooky.

(20150627-MC VF)

VB: Um, 'fearful'. Um, 'spooky'. (20150629-VB VF)

VB: I kinda felt that way last night, and I listened - and it was a *dzamidzami* ('cat') doing something. I thought it was something else. And I'm not, I'm not *t'samdikas* ('prone to being spooked'). (20150629-VB VF)

* *Walas mułan noke' ka'an ka'utłamasas Kwakwala. Yax Ruby Dawson Cranmer, Mildred Child, Julia Nelson, Violet Bracic, dhu' 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)*

Argument structure

The verb *ʔs̱andika / ʔs̱amdika* can occur in sentences containing only one argument, the subject. In (1), the **subject** is =*an* ‘first person singular’.

(1) *ḻamis̱an la ṯu:ma ʔs̱amdika.*¹

<i>ḻamis̱an</i>				<i>la</i>	<i>ṯu:ma</i>	<i>ʔs̱amdika</i>
<i>ḻa</i>	= 'm	= (w)is	= an	<i>ḻa</i>	<i>ṯuma</i>	<i>ṯs̱amdik -a</i>
AUX	= VER	= and.so	= 1	AUX	really	spooked -A
‘Then I got really spooked.’						(20160726-VB VF)

The verb *ʔs̱andika / ʔs̱amdika* can also appear in a sentence with two arguments, a subject and an object in the instrumental case. This instrumental object denotes what the subject is or was spooked by. Objects referring to a third person are indicated with the instrumental case marker, =*s*, which may be followed by other determiners (such as =*ga*, =*ux*, =*i*, =*da*, or =*a*). In (2), the **instrumental object** is *sa loḻiṉux̱w* ‘ghost(s)’.

(2) *ṯs̱amdiḵux̱ sa loḻiṉux̱w.*

<i>ṯs̱amdiḵux̱</i>		sa		loḻiṉux̱w
<i>ṯs̱amdik</i>	= <i>ux̱</i>	= s	= a	loḻiṉux̱w
spooked	= D2	= INST	= D4	ghost
‘She is spooked by ghosts .’				
(20150629-VB VF)				

¹ The glossing conventions and abbreviations used in the morphological analysis of Kwakwala examples are summarized at the end of the document.

If the object is first person singular (“me”), first-person plural (“us including addressee” or “us not including addressee”), or second-person (“you”), a special set of forms are used. These forms include *gaxan* (3), *gaxan’s* (4), *gaxanu’xw* (5), and *lot* (6).

(3) *tsandikalux* *Monicax* ***gaxan***.

<i>tsandikalux</i>			<i>Monicax</i>		<i>gaxan</i>
<i>tsandik</i>	- <i>ala</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Monica	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>gaxan</i>
spooked	-CONT	= D2	Monica	= v2	1.OBJ
‘Monica is spooked by me .’					(20150629-RDC VF)

(4) *tsandikalux* *Monicax* ***gaxan’s***.

<i>tsandikalux</i>			<i>Monicax</i>		<i>gaxan’s</i>
<i>tsandik</i>	- <i>ala</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Monica	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>gaxan’s</i>
spooked	-CONT	= D2	Monica	= v2	1.INCL.OBJ
‘Monica is spooked by us (inclusive) .’					(20150629-RDC VF)

(5) *tsandikalux* *Monicax* ***gaxanu’xw***.

<i>tsandikalux</i>			<i>Monicax</i>		<i>gaxanu’xw</i> .
<i>tsandik</i>	- <i>ala</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Monica	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>gaxanu’xw</i>
spooked	-CONT	= D2	Monica	= v2	1.EXCL.OBJ
‘Monica is spooked by us (exclusive) .’					(20150629-RDC VF)

(6) *tsandikalux* *Monicax* *loł*.

<i>tsandikalux</i>			<i>Monicax</i>		<i>loł</i>
<i>tsandik</i>	- <i>ala</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Monica	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>lotł</i>
spooked	-CONT	= D2	Monica	= v2	2.OBJ
'Monica is spooked by you. '					(20150629-RDC VF)

The verb *tsandika* / *tsamdika* can also appear with a subordinate *when*-clause, which describes the circumstances leading to the subject feeling *tsandika* / *tsamdika*. An example with a ***when*-clause** is shown in (7).

(7) *tsandikux* *le'ax* *giga'e'kala* *xa* *lolinuxw*.

<i>tsandikux</i>		<i>le'ax</i>			<i>giga'e'kala</i>	
<i>tsandik</i>	= <i>ux</i>	<i>la</i>	= <i>a</i>	= <i>i'</i>	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	<i>giga'e'k</i> - <i>ala</i>
spooked	= D2	AUX	= EMB	= NMLZ	= v2	think.about -CONT
	<i>xa</i>		<i>lolinuxw</i>			
	= <i>x</i>	= <i>a</i>	<i>lolinuxw</i>			
	= ACC	= D4	ghost			
'She gets scared when she thinks about ghosts. '					(20150629-VB VF)	

Question formation

There are three words derived from *tsandika* / *tsamdika* that are used to form questions about what someone is or was spooked by. These include *tsandikayu* (8), *tsandigam* (9), and *tsandikasu'* (10).

(8) *masi tsandika'yo'sux Simonx?*

<i>masi</i>	<i>tsandika'yo'sux</i>					<i>Simonx</i>	
<i>mas</i> = i	<i>tsandik</i>	-a ²	-ayu	= e'	= s	= ux	<i>Simon</i> = (a)x
WH = D3	spooked	-A	-INST.PASS	= I3	= 3.POSS	= D2	<i>Simon</i> = v2
'What is Simon spooked by?'							(20150629-JN VF)

(9) *masi tsandigame'sux?*

<i>masi</i>	<i>tsandigame'sux</i>						
<i>mas</i> = i	<i>tsandik</i>	-°am		= e'	= s	= ux	
WH = D3	spooked	-NMLZ		= I3	= 3.POSS	= D2	
'What is he (she, it) afraid of?'							(20150629-JN VF)

(10) *masi tsandikasuwe'sux Monicax? hernida hikala.*

a.	<i>masi</i>	<i>tsandikasuwe'sux</i>				<i>Simonx</i>		
	<i>mas</i> = i	<i>tsandik</i>	-a	-saw	= e'	= s	= ux	<i>Simon</i> = (a)x
	WH = D3	spooked	-A	-ACC.PASS	= I3	= 3.POSS	= D2	<i>Simon</i> = v2
	'What's Monica <i>tsandika</i> about?'							(20150629-VB VF)

b.	<i>hernida</i>			<i>hikala</i>			
	he	= 'm	= i	= da		<i>hikala</i>	
	be.D2	= VER	= D3	= DET		sound	
	'It's the noise.'						(20150629-VB VF)

² The existence of underlying –a here gives rise to glottalization within the suffix -ayu.

Examples with complex stems

The verb *tʰsɑndika* / *tʰsɑmdika* can take various suffixes which modify its meaning. One such suffix is *-!qas*, which is used to indicate that someone is prone to feeling a certain way. In (11), the complex stem *tʰsɑmdikʰqas* is used to mean that someone is ‘easily spooked’. Speakers judge the sentence in (11) to have a very similar meaning to the sentence in (12) with the phrase *oʰam hayulis* ‘always’.

(11) *tʰsɑmdikʰqasux* *Monicax*.

<i>tʰsɑmdikʰqasux</i>			<i>Monicax</i>		
<i>tʰsɑmdik</i>	<i>-!qas</i>	= <i>ux</i>	<i>Monica</i>	= (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>	
spooked	-prone.to.feel	= D2	<i>Monica</i>	= v2	
‘Monica feels spooky.’					(20150629-VB VF)

VB: She gets *tʰsɑndika* lots.

KS: She’s in general kinda spooked all the time?

VB: Yeah — she’s, she’s easily spooked.’

(12) *oʰmux* *hayulis* *tʰsɑmdikux* *Monicax*.

<i>oʰmux</i>		<i>hayulis</i>		<i>tʰsɑmdikux</i>		<i>Monicax</i>
<i>o</i>	= 'm	= <i>ux</i> <i>hayulis</i>		<i>tʰsɑmdik</i>	= <i>ux</i>	<i>Monica</i> = (<i>a</i>) <i>x</i>
<i>so</i>	= VER	= D2 continuously		spooked	= D2	<i>Monica</i> = v2
‘Monica is always getting spooked.’						(20150629-VB JF)

The verb *tʰsɑndika* / *tʰsɑmdika* can also form complex stems with the causative suffix,

-mas, becoming *ʔsɑndikamas* or *ʔsɑmdikamas* ‘to frighten, to cause someone to be spooked’. In addition to changing the meaning, adding *-mas* to the stem affects the argument structure of the sentence. The subject of a sentence with *ʔsɑndikamas* / *ʔsɑmdikamas* corresponds to the thing that causes the spooking – in other words, the spooker. In (13), the spooker is *tikɑxe* ‘the thing that fell’. With *-mas* on the verb, the sentence will also contain an object in the accusative case corresponding to the one who gets spooked. If the object is third-person, it will be marked by =*x* (possibly followed by determiners, as noted above), while the first person and second person object forms are the same as those shown in (3)-(6). In (13), the accusative object is *xux Monicax*.

(13) *Context: Monica is home all alone. Suddenly, she hears something in another room fall to the ground.*

ʔsɑmdixʔidamasida tikɑxe xux Monicax.

<i>ʔsɑmdixʔidamasida</i>		<i>tikɑxe</i>	
<i>ʔsɑmdik</i>	<i>-xʔid -a</i>	<i>-mas =i =da</i>	<i>tik -ax -a =iʔ</i>
spooked	-BEC -A	-CAUS =D3 =DET	fall -down -A =NMLZ
<i>xux</i>		<i>Monicax</i>	
= <i>x</i>	= <i>ux</i>	Monica	=(a) <i>x</i>
=ACC	=D2	Monica	=v2

‘The thing that fell made Monica feel spooked.’ (20150629-VB VF)

(or ‘The thing that fell spooked Monica.’)

The following dialogue recounts an experience that KS had while walking along the edge of the forest behind U’gwamalis Hall in Fort Rupert in the summer of 2015.

Speaker VB narrates the event from KS' perspective in (14), using the word *tsandikamas* to describe what happened to KS.

(14) KS: The other day actually, so, maybe you can try and describe this for me. I was walking to the Bighouse...

VB: Oh yeah.

KS: ...and I heard, um, someone say 'Hello.'

VB: Oh yeah.

KS: And then I turned and I said 'Hello'. And I was looking for them and I couldn't find them.

VB: Yeah, oh!

KS: And I felt a little *tsandi*, *tsandika*.

VB: *tsandika*. Oh, me too!

KS: Yeah. [VB, KS giggle] Could you describe what happened to me?

VB: Oh yeah. Um, I'm talking as if I'm you now.

tsandikan le'kan watlala xada "yo", nik gaxan. lamisan kwisgamx'ida, kayosdla bagwanama'. lamis tsandikamas gaxan.

a.	<i>tsandikan</i>		<i>le'kan</i>				<i>watlala</i>
	<i>tsandik</i>	=an	la	=a	=i'	=(i)k	=an watlal -a
	spooked	=1	AUX	=EMB	=NMLZ	=v1	=1.POSS hear -A
	<i>xada</i>				"yo"	nik	<i>gaxan</i>
	=x	=a	=da		yo	nik	<i>gaxan</i>
	=ACC	=D4	=DET		hi	say	1.OBJ

'I was spooked when I heard someone say 'hello' to me.' (20150629-VB VF)

(15) *t̥u:m̩an t̥s̩andika le' p̩ad̩ak̩alida gukw.*

<i>t̥u:m̩an</i>		<i>t̥s̩andika</i>		<i>le'</i>			
<i>t̥um</i>	= <i>an</i>	<i>t̥sandik</i>	-a	<i>la</i>	=a	=i'	
really	=1	spooked	-A	AUX	=EMB	=NMLZ	
		<i>p̩ad̩ak̩alida</i>				<i>gukw</i>	
		<i>p̩ad̩ak</i>	-ala	=i	=da	<i>gukw</i>	
		dark	-CONT	=D3	=DET	house	

'I get really spooked when the house is dark.'

(20150629-VB VF)

(16) *ki:s ix'akan n̩ula n̩amugwile'e le ganu'ida. o'am hayu:lis tsandika.*

a.

<i>ki:s</i>	<i>ix'akan</i>	<i>n̩ula</i>					
(k)i's	ix'ak = <i>an</i>	<i>n̩ula</i>					
NEG	like	=1.POSS	older.sibling				
	<i>n̩amugwile'e</i>					<i>le</i>	
	<i>n̩am</i> -ukw	- <i>if</i>	=a	=i'	=i	<i>la</i>	=i
	one -person	-in.house	=EMB	=NMLZ	=D3	AUX	=D3
		<i>ganu'ida</i>					
		<i>ganut̩</i>	-x'id	-a			
		night	-BEC	-A			

'My older sibling doesn't like being alone in the dark.'

(20150627-MC VF)

b.

<i>o'am</i>	<i>hayu:lis</i>	<i>tsandika</i>	
o	= 'm	<i>hayulis</i>	<i>t̥sandik</i> -a
so	=VER	continuously	spooked -A

'She always gets spooked.'

(20150627-MC VF)

(17) tsuma t'sandiki Verna laxis gukw, n'ike'kala dukwala xa lolinuw.

a. tsuma t'sandiki Verna laxis gukw
 tsuma t'sandik =i Verna la =x = (i)'s gukw
 really spooked =D3 Verna PREP =ACC = 3.REFL.POSS house
 'Verna is really spooked in her house.' (20150629-VB VF)

b. n'ike'kala dukwala xa lolinuw
 nik -!ek -ala duk -ala =x = a lolinuw
 say -in.mind -CONT see -CONT =ACC =D4 ghost
 '(She) thinks she's seen a ghost.' (20150629-VB VF)

(18) *Context: Monica is afraid of ghosts. She's stayed at home and her mom's gone out to the store, it's late out and dark.*

tsumux Monicax t'sandika le'ax higela.

tsumux Monicax t'sandika
 tsuma =ux Monica =(a)x t'sandik -a
 really =D2 Monica =v2 spooked -A
 le'ax higela
 la =a =i' =(a)x higela
 AUX =EMB =NMLZ =v2 alone.in.house

'Monica gets really spooked when she's alone in the house.' (20150629-VB VF)

The verb *t'sandika / t'samdika* is also used to talk about how you might feel walking around at night when you know that cougars and bears are also wandering about.

Speaker MC describes a situation of this sort in (19).

(19) lanaxwi *Chris* kas'id laxa kalwilasbidu laxis gukw, lax *Jokerville*. tlu:ma nina'sa ke'eda badi ḍḥụwida gala. ṭḥu:maṇ tṣamdika, ki'saṇ ṇamp̣ana kasa laxis gukw. kaḷala sada badi ḍḥụwida gala.

a.	lanaxwi		<i>Chris</i>	<u>kas</u> 'id		<u>lax</u> a		
	la	= naxwa	= i	Chris	<u>kas</u> -x'id	la	= <u>x</u>	= a
	go	= sometimes	= D3	Chris	walk -BEC	PREP	= ACC	= D4
	<u>ka</u> lwilasbidu			<u>lax</u> is		gukw	<u>lax</u>	
	<u>ka</u> lwilas	= bidu	la	= <u>x</u>	= (i)'s	gukw	la	= <u>x</u>
	store	= DIM	PREP	= ACC	= 3.REFL.POSS	house	PREP	= ACC
				<i>Jokerville</i>				
				<i>Jokerville</i>				
				<i>Jokerville</i>				

'Sometimes Chris walks along the little road to his house in Jokerville.'

(20150629-MC VF)

b.	tlu:ma	nina'sa		<u>ke</u> 'eda		<u>ba</u> di		ḍḥụwida
	ṭḥuma	nina's	-a	<u>ka</u>	= i	= da	<u>ba</u> di	ḍḷ̣aẉ
	really	brave	-A	PREP	= D3	= DET	cougar	and
								= D3
								= DET
				<u>ga</u> la				
				<u>ga</u> la				
				bear				

'He's really brave because of the cougars and bears.'

(20150629-MC VF)

- c. ṭu:m̄an ṭṣam̄dika k̄i's̄an n̄am̄p̄ana k̄asa
 ṭum = an ṭṣam̄dik -a (k̄)i's̄ = an n̄am -p̄an -a k̄as -a
 really = 1 spooked -A NEG = 1 one -times -A walk -A
 l̄ax̄is gukw
 la = x̄ = (i)'s gukw
 PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS house
 'I'm really spooked, I've never once walked to his house.' (20150629-MC VF)

- d. kał̄ala sada bađi d̄h̄ūw̄ida
 kał̄ -ała = s = a = da bađi d̄ł̄aw̄ = i = da
 afraid -CONT = INST = D4 = DET cougar and = D3 = DET
 gała
 gała
 bear
 'I'm afraid of the cougars and bears.' (20150629-MC VF)

The verb *tṣandika* / *tṣamdika* reminds speaker RDC of her childhood, when parents told their children not to play outside after dark or else ghosts (or Dzunuḵwa!) would get them. Example sentences related to this topic are shown in (20)-(22).

(20) gwano: lawaḵs̄ la gaḵida loḵinuḵw!

gwano: lawaḵs̄ la gaḵida loḵinuḵw
 gwano la -waḵ -!s la gaḵ = i = da loḵinuḵw
 do.not go -out -on.ground AUX come = D3 = DET ghost
 'Don't go outside, or the ghosts will come out!' (20150806-RDC VF)

(21) t_humanaxw_{anu}'xw tsandikas le' ganuł lax gwayi. nixsu'naxw_{anu}'xs ki:namida dzunuł_{wa} yalagalis xa ganuł. lanaxwar_{nisux} amla, ki'sme' padax'ida. o'mux hayu:lis dukwalala le'kanu'xw wa:las tsandika xu gaxlaxida lolinoxw, dax'i gaxanu'xw. he gwix'ida'ases Dzunuk_{wa}.

a. t_humanaxw_{anu}'xw tsandikas
 t_hum -a =naxwa =anu'xw tsandik -a =s
 really -A =sometimes =1.EXCL spooked -A =INST
 le' ganuł lax gwayi
 la =a =i' ganuł la =x gwayi
 AUX =EMB =NMLZ night PREP =ACC Kingcome

'Sometimes were got really spooked when it was nighttime in Kingcome.'

(20150806-RDC VF)

b. nixsu'naxw_{anu}'xws ki:namida
 nik -saw =naxwa =anu'xw =s kinam =i =da
 say -ACC.PASS =sometimes =1.PL.EXCL =INST many =D3 =DET
 dzunuł_{wa} yalagalis
 dzunuł_{wa} ya -ala -(g)al -°is
 dzunuł_{wa} move -CONT -DIR.ATEL -on.land.outdoors
 xa ganuł
 =x =a ganuł
 =ACC =D4 night

'We were told that there were a lot of *dzunuł_{wa}* moving all over the land at night.'

(20150806-RDC VF)

- c. lanaxwaṁṁisanu'xw amla
 la = naxwa = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw aml -a
 go = sometimes = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL play -A
 ki'sme' p̣adax'ida
 (ḳ)i's = 'm = a = i' p̣adək -x'id -a
 NEG = VER = EMB = NMLZ dark -BEC -A

'Sometimes we would go out playing before it got dark.' (20150806-RDC VF)

- d. o'manu'xw hayu:lis dukwalala
 o = 'm = anu'xw hayulis dukw -ala -ala
 so = VER = 1.EXCL continuously see -CONT -CONT
 le'kanu'xw ẉa:las tṣandika
 la = a = (i)k = anu'xw ẉalas tṣandik -a
 AUX = EMB = v1 = 1.EXCL.POSS big/very spooked -A
 xu gaxlaxida lolinuxw
 ka = u' gax = lax = i = da lolinuxw
 PREP = HYP come = HYP = D3 = DET ghost

'We were always looking around, and we'd get really spooked that ghosts would come.'
 (20150806-RDC VF)

- e. dax'i gaxanu'xw
 da -x'id gaxanu'x
 take.in.hand -BEC 1.EXCL.OBJ
 'To take us.' (20150806-RDC VF)

- f. he gwix'ida'ases Dzunuḱwa
 he gwi -x'id -'as =s Dzunuḱwa
 be.D3 INDEF -BEC -LOC.PASS = 3.POSS Dzunuḱwa
 'Just like *Dzunuḱwa* does.' (20150806-RDC VF)

RDC: We were told, and are - or, when we were young, to uh, beware of, uh, the ghosts. [...] And we were only allowed to play until it got dark. If you stayed out till dark, the ghosts would get you. Yeah. And you had to listen to your parents and never go out after dark. The ghosts might get you, just like *Dzunuḱwa*! (20150806-RDC VF)

- (22) maḱwala kus le'ṭ neḱakw i'sme' paḁax'ida, aḱi loḱlaxida loḱinuxw loṭ.

maḱwala		kuṣ		le'ṭ		neḱakw		
maḱkw	-ala	ka	=us	la	-iḱ	neḱakw		
remember	-CONT	PREP	= 2.POSS	go	-in.house	home		
	i'sme'				paḁax'ida		aḱi	
	(k)is = 'm	= a	= i'	paḁak	-x'id -a	atḱ	= i	
	NEG = VER	= EMB	= NMLZ	dark	-BEC -A	else	= D3	
	loḱlaxida					loḱinuxw loṭ		
	la -utḱ	= lax	= i	= da	loḱinuxw loṭ			
	go -obtain	= HYP	= D3	= DET	ghost	2.OBJ		

- 'Remember to get home before dark, or the ghosts will get you.' (20150806-RDC VF)

Speaker MC recounts another context where the verb *tṣandika* / *tṣamdika* is appropriate in (23). It involves a ghost (specifically, a *dzunuḱwa*) who is known to come upstairs

from the basement of her grandchild's house... Except, that is, when the cat is sitting on the upstairs' steps!

(23) *ḳoṭalaṃaṃ tsux̣ṭama gax̣e'eda loḷinux̣w lax̣ada ḅana'dzi.*

a.

<i>ḳoṭalaṃaṃ</i>					<i>tsux̣ṭama'</i>
<i>ḳoṭ</i>	<i>-ala</i>	= 'm	= an		<i>tsux̣ṭama'</i>
know	-CONT	= VER	= 1.POSS		grandchild
	<i>gax̣e'eda</i>				<i>loḷinux̣w</i>
<i>gax̣</i>	= a	= i'	= i	= da	<i>loḷinux̣w</i>
come	= EMB	= NMLZ	= D3	= DET	ghost
	<i>lax̣ada</i>				<i>ḅana'dzi</i>
<i>la</i>	= x̣	= a	= da		<i>ḅana'dzi</i>
PREP	= ACC	= D4	= DET		basement

'My grandchild knows when a ghost comes up from the basement.'

(20150627-MC VF)

b. *But ki:s gax̣ lax̣ada iḳix̣ ke'eda busi.*

<i>but</i>	<i>ki's</i>	<i>gax̣</i>	<i>lax̣ada</i>		<i>iḳix̣</i>			
<i>but</i>	(ḳ)i's	<i>gax̣</i>	<i>la</i>	= x̣	= a	= da	<i>iḳi</i>	= (a)x̣
<i>but</i>	NEG	come	PREP	= ACC	= D4	= DET	up.high	= v2
	<i>ke'eda</i>		<i>busi</i>					
	<i>ḳa</i>	= i	= da		<i>busi</i>			
	PREP	= D3	= DET		cat			

'But it won't come upstairs because of the cat.'

(20150627-MC VF)

Verbs with related meanings

kq̄t- (*kq̄tala*, *kq̄t'id*) 'to be scared, afraid'

t'sq̄tka 'to be startled'

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	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	weł	ability modal, "can"
ACC	= x̣	accusative case
ACC.PASS	-saŋ (UR), -su'	accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as -saŋ when followed by a vowel and as -su' elsewhere (Littell 2016:519) ³
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)

³ The same phonological rule applies for the realization of dłaŋ (UR)/dłu', a conjunctive predicate which is glossed as 'with', 'and', or 'or' as appropriate given the context.

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
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'ɬ	distant past tense
do	aɣ-	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	= tɬ	future
GER	-'inaɣi	gerund
GRAD.ADV	-ɳakwala	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	= ɭa, = 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 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	(ḳ)'i's	negation

NEG.EXIST	ḵayos	negative existential (“there is no”, “there are no”)
NMLZ	= i’, = aʔ, - am, -aḷ, - anam, -’ima	nominalizer; -am, -aḷ, and -anam weaken (lenite) a preceding consonant, while -’ima hardens (glottalizes) a preceding consonant
PEJ	-oḷ	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	= ḷ	reportative evidential
so	o	“so”, “just”; used to signal object or VP focus (Littell 2016)
sound.BEC	-gaḷ	become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; used for describing events involving emissions of sound
STAT	-aḷa	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)ḵ	third person medial visible
VF		volunteered form
WH	wi	generic wh-element