Aspectual /-x’id/ in modern Kwak’wala

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Kwak’wala Language

• Member of the Wakashan language family, Northern branch

• Fewer than 150 native speakers remaining, 2.2% of the population (FPCC 2018)

• Six language consultants, speaking two dialects, contributed knowledge to this presentation.

Gilakas’la to Ruby Dawson Cranmer, Mildred Child, Julia Nelson, Violet Bracic, Lilian Johnny, and one Anonymous
Introduction

• /-x’id/ is one of the most **frequent** and **functionally significant** suffixes in the language.

• It also has a very **complex morphophonology**, with 10 allomorphs:

  -x’id, -’id, -x’i, -’i, -nd, -ud, -d, -n, -u, -∅

• Of these, {-x’i, -’i, -n, -u, -∅} are new to the modern language

• This paper has **two goals**:

  1. To bring together what is currently known about /-x’id/

  2. To describe the morphophonology of /-x’id in the modern language
Early descriptions of /-x’id/

- “momentary aspect”, “inchoative” (Boas 1911, 1947)
- Boas (1947:289) also lists =x’îd, a homophonous clitic expressing recent past tense
- Greene (2013) finds =x’id has been replaced by =xd

Early 20th century

1. kas’idax’id
   kas -x’id =x’id
   walk -BEC =REC.PST
   ‘(he) took a walk’
   (Boas 1947:366)

Modern Kwak’wala

2. kas’idaxd
   kas -x’id =xd
   walk -BEC =REC.PST
   ‘(he) started to walk’
   (Greene 2013:80)
Syntax

• /-x’id/ can occur on lexical roots of any category (3)

(3) max’id ‘to punch, hit with fist’ V + /-x’id/
bagwanamx’id ‘to become a man’ N + /-x’id/
t’suł’id ‘to get black, to blacken’ Adj + /-x’id/
olax’id ‘really’ Adv + /-x’id/

• /-x’id/ attaches exclusively to the stem which it semantically modifies, patterning as a suffix and not a clitic
Semantics

• 

\(-x’id\) is a non-canonical perfective (Greene 2013)

• Like canonical perfectives, \(-x’id\) advances event time in narratives
• Unlike canonical perfectives, predicates with \(-x’id\) need not be telic
• \(-x’id\) only requires that an event began within reference time

(4) Context: Marion was scared of me as soon as she saw me walk into the room.

le’gan le’etła dzǝlkw’idi Marion
‘When I arrived, Marion ran.’ (Greene 2013:87)

(not ‘When I arrived, Marion had run.’)

• Predicates in Kwak’wala are classified according to three basic event types
  (lexical aspect classes): States, Processes, and Transitions (Greene ibid.).

  • -ala derives states, -la derives processes, -x’id derives transitions
    (Sardinha 2018)
Morphophonology

• There are 10 allomorphs of /-x’id/ in modern Kwak’wala:
  
a. -nd, -ud, -d  
   After lexical suffixes
  
b. -x’id, ’id  
   On stems without lexical suffixes
  
c. -x’i, -i, -n, -u, -Ø  
   Optional d loss syllable-finally

• Allomorphs in (a) and (b) are unchanged from Boas (1911, 1947)

• Allomorphs in (c) are new to the modern language
{-nd, -ud, -d}

- Occur on stems with **lexical suffixes** (a.k.a. “primary suffixes”)
- The selection of {-nd, -ud, -d} is phonologically conditioned:

  A. **Realize -d after {m, n}**

     /kus-/ + /-(g)am/ + /-x’id/ → [kusam\text{d}]

  B. **Realize –ud after a rounded vowel or semi-vowel \{u, o, aw\} and convert the vowel or semi-vowel to u**

     /nix-/ + /-wâko/ + /-x’id/ → [nixwâk\text{ud}]

{-nd, -ud, -d} cont.

C. Realize –nd elsewhere and apply the following three additional rules:

a. After consonants (other than m, n), insert a before -nd:

\[/t’sam-/ + /-(a)n\tilde{x}/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [t’sam\tilde{x}an\tilde{d}]\]

b. After non-rounded vowels \{a, i, e\} shorten this vowel to a:

\[/ax-/ + /-ba/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [axb\tilde{a}nd]\]

c. After obstruents, soften the obstruent (e.g. s → dz):

\[/la-/ + /-\tilde{o}\tilde{x}s/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [lax\tilde{dz}an\tilde{d}]\]
Exceptions with \textit{-ud}

- A small number of lexical suffixes invariably condition the use of \textit{-ud}

\begin{itemize}
  \item -\textit{ax}a ‘down’
  \item -\textit{t}le’ ‘on water’
  \item -\textit{t}l\text{\'a}la ‘above’
  \item -(x)t’a ‘seaward’
  \item -!a ‘ear’
\end{itemize}

e.g. /\textit{ax}-/ + /-\textit{ax}a/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [\textit{axaxud}] \quad (\text{Boas 1947:321})

\text{\textit{not axax\text{\text{and}}}}
{-x’id, -’id}

- Occur on stems **lacking lexical suffixes**
  - Also after –la ‘continuative’, -ała ‘stative’, -liq ‘in mind’, and –ap ‘each other’
- Phonological rules condition two morphophonological processes:
  1. the loss of initial x
  2. effects on the final consonant of the stem
{-x’id, -’id} cont.

A. Realize –x’id after vowels {a, e, i, (o), u, (a)} or {m, n, l, m̊, n̊, l̊}

   /da-/   + /-x’id/ → [dax’id]
   /t’sam-/ + /-x’id/ → [t’samx’id]

B. Realize –x’id when the stem ends in {y, w, ɣ, Ɪ} and change these
   semi-vowels to a corresponding vowel: {y, ɣ} → i, w → o, Ɪ → u

   /day-/   + /-x’id/ → [dix’id]

C. Insert a after the stem and realize -x’id after glottalized plosives
   {ṗ, (t’), k’, k’w, k’, (k’w) t’s, t’l, ’}
   or voiced plosives {(b), d, (g), gw, (g), (gw), dz, (dł)}

   /t’lik’-/   + /-x’id/ → [t’lik’aX’id]
   /wa’d-/   + /-x’id/ → [wa’dax’id]
{-x’id, -’id} cont.

D. Elsewhere, initial \( x \) is lost and -’id is realized as follows:

a. Stem-final \{p, t\} fuse with the stem-initial glottal stop
   \((p \rightarrow p’, t \rightarrow t’)\)

\[
/\text{dap}-/ + /x’id/ \rightarrow [\text{dap}’\text{id}]
\]

b. Stem-final velars, uvulars and the unvoiced lateral affricate
   spirantize: \{k \rightarrow x, kw \rightarrow xw, k \rightarrow x, kw \rightarrow xw, tl \rightarrow l\}

\[
/\text{nik}-/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [\text{nikx’id}]
\]

c. Stem-final fricatives \{s, x, xw, x, xw, l\} remain unchanged

\[
/\text{yaxw}-/ + /-x’id/ \rightarrow [\text{yaxw’id}]
\]
{-x’id, -’id} cont.

- There are few known exceptions to the above pattern.

(5) a. t’səx-  
    t’səx’id  ‘to hurt, be in pain’

b. t’sək-  
    t’səkəx’id  ‘to be awake’

    t’səkəx’id  ‘to awaken’
{-nd, -ud, d} and {-x’id, -’id}

- {-x’id, -’id} occasionally occurs after lexical suffixes

(6) **-ba** ‘end of long horizontal object’
    dzaxband ‘to rub end’
    hilbax’id ‘to turn the right way’  (Boas 1947:336)

(7) **-t’saw** ‘inside, into’
    k’uxwt’sud ‘to get dressed’  (20181127 VF)
    k’uxwt’sox’id ‘to get dressed’  (20191205 VF)

- In a few instances, the difference has been conventionalized:

(8) la’st’and ‘to put in water’
    la’stax’id ‘to bathe the whole body in water’

(la- ‘go’, -’sta ‘liquid’)

- This pattern has been observed since Boas’ era (Boas 1947:365)

- This overlap does not affect the expressive potential of the language
{-x’i, -’i, -n, -u, -Ø}

- Modern speakers occasionally do not pronounce \( d \) in syllable-final position.

- This can be modelled as an optional post-lexical rule:

  \[
  \text{\textbf{d deletion}}: d \rightarrow \emptyset / [\sigma \ C \ V \ (C) \ _ _ ] \quad (d \ \text{is deleted syllable-finally})
  \]

- \( d \) deletion occurs most often in connected, conversational speech
A. -x’id → -x’i

(9) ləmux dax’idux Katieyax xa tłątamłax laxwa kwaxdamĩłąx.
‘Katie picked the hat up from off of the chair.’ (20160707 VF)

(10) ləmux waxux Mabelx dax’i xada kwax.
‘Mabel tried to grab the log.’ (20160714 VF)

B. -’id → -’i

(11) łax’idan gugwa’yu.
‘My leg got itchy.’ (20150621 JF)

(12) walasux Simonx łax’i sis alumas gwílgwela.
‘Simon got really itchy from his new clothes.’ (20160714 VF)

C. -nd → -n

(13) ləmux Simonx t’ipsidzanda.
‘Simon is putting on his new shoes.’ (20160718 VF)

(14) kałalan kutłan t’ipsidzan xa ’amabidu geese-a’.
‘I was afraid I would step on the tiny geese.’ (20181205 VF)
D. -ud → -u

(15) lą’am ma’ɬpa’na axstudí Eddie xa t’axala.
    ‘Eddie has opened the door twice now.’ (20160721 VF)

(16) lamisan axstu xa t’axala.
    ‘I opened the door.’ (20160715 VF)

E. -d → -∅

(17) lux Monicax k’walis’am t’sut’sxwamda.
    ‘Monica washed her own face.’ (20181127 VF)

(18) lux Shelliyax t’sut’sxwam[∅]bidu xux Simonx.
    ‘Shelly washed little Simon’s face.’ (20181127 VF)
Teaching and Learning /-x’id/

- /-x’id/ is fundamental to the grammar of Kwak’wala.
- The morphophonology of /-x’id/ is complex, but quite regular.
- Two issues for Kwak’wala teachers and L2 learners:
  - What attitude to take towards the use of {-x’id, -’id, -x’i, -’i} allomorphs after lexical suffixes.
  - How to approach the optionality of d deletion
- How will toddlers handle the complexity of /-x’id/?

-x’id, -’id, -x’i, -’i, -nd, -ud, -d, -n, -u, -∅
References


