Aspectual /-x'id/ in modern Kwak'wala

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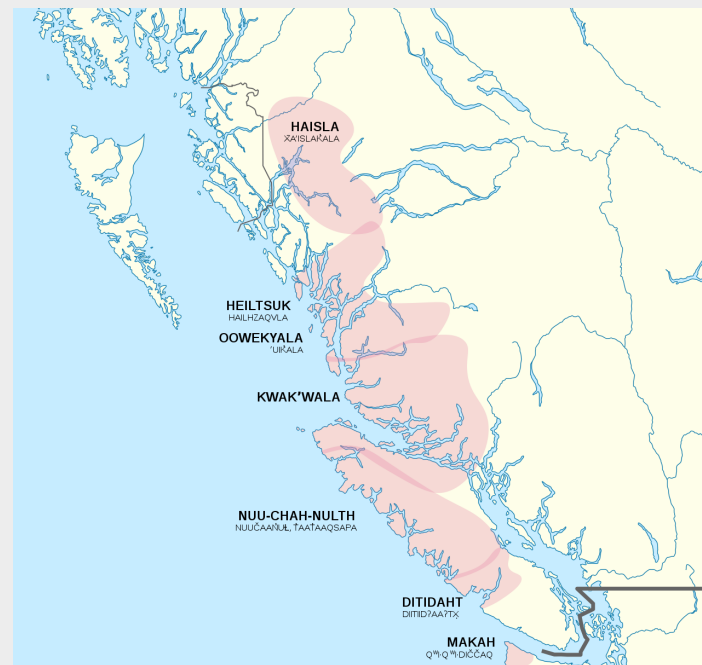
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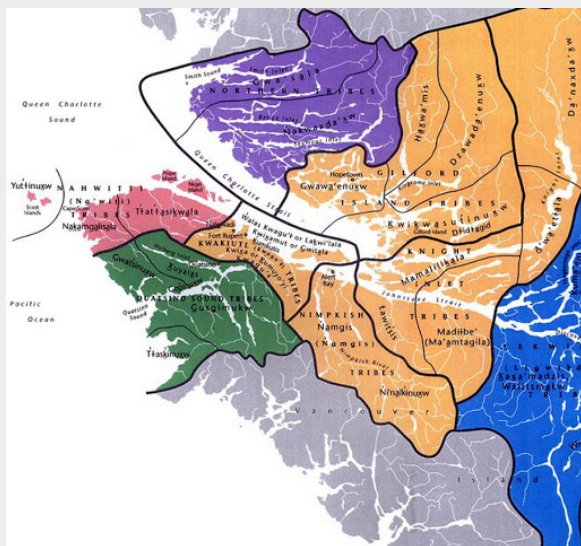
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Kwak'wala Language

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- Member of the Wakashan language family, Northern branch

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

Kwakwaka̱'wakw Territory: Uṁista Cultural Society

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

  G̱ilakas'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 <u>two goals</u>:

  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'id**, a homophonous clitic expressing recent past tense

  - Greene (2013) finds **=x'id** has been replaced by **=xd**

Excerpt from Boas (1947:365)

- **Early 20th century**

(1) ḵas'**id**a**x'id**
     ḵas   **-x'id**   **=x'id**
     walk **-BEC**   **=REC.PST**
     '(he) took a walk'
                    (Boas 1947:366)

- **Modern Kwak'wala**

(2) ḵas'**id**a**xd**
     ḵas   **-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)   ma̱x'id   'to punch, hit with fist'   **V** + /-x'id/
          ba̱gwana̱mx'id   'to become a man'   **N** + /-x'id/
          t'suɬ'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 <u>began</u> within reference time

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

    le'ga̱n le'etła   dza̱lkw'**id**i 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.).

  - *-**ała*** 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**, -∅   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. <u>Realize -*d* after {*m, n*}</u>

/kus-/ + /-(g)a̱**m**/ + /-x'id/ → [kusa̱m**d**]

B. <u>Realize –*ud* after a rounded vowel or semi-vowel {*u, o, a̱w*} and convert the vowel or semi-vowel to *u*</u>

/nix̱-/ + /-ẇa̱k**o**/ + /-x'id/ → [nix̱ẇa̱k**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*:

$$\text{/t's}\underline{a}\text{m-/ + /-(}\underline{a}\text{)n}\underline{x}\text{/ + /-x'id/} \rightarrow \text{[t's}\underline{a}\text{m}\underline{a}\text{n}\underline{x}\textbf{and]}$$

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

$$\text{/a}\underline{x}\text{-/ + /-b}\textbf{a}\text{/ + /-x'id/} \rightarrow \text{[a}\underline{x}\text{b}\textbf{and]}$$

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

$$\text{/la-/ + /-°}\underline{x}\textbf{s}\text{/ + /-x'id/} \rightarrow \text{[la}\underline{x}\textbf{dz}\underline{a}\textbf{nd]}$$

Exceptions with *-ud*

- A small number of lexical suffixes invariably condition the use of –**ud**

        -ax̱a   'down'
        -°t̓e'   'on water'
        -t̓a̱la   'above'
        -(x̱)t'a   'seaward'
        -!a   'ear'

        e.g. /a̱x̱-/ + /-ax̱a/ + /-x'id/ → [a̱x̱ax̱**ud**]   (Boas 1947:321)

                (*not* a̱x̱ax̱a̱nd)

{-x'id, -'id}

- Occur on stems **lacking lexical suffixes**

  - Also after *–la* 'continuative', *-aɬa* 'stative', *-!iq* 'in mind', and *–aṗ* '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**, (**a̱**)} or {**m**, **n**, **l**, **ṁ**, **ṅ**, **'l̓**}

/d**a**-/   + /-x'id/   → [da**x'id**]
/t's**a̱m**-/   + /-x'id/   → [t's**a̱**m**x'id**]

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

/d**a̱y**-/   + /-x'id/ → [d**i****x'id**]

C. Insert ***a̱*** after the stem and realize -***x'id*** after glottalized plosives
{**ṗ**, (**t'**), **k'**, **k'w**, **k̲'**, (**k̲'w**) **t's**, **t'ł**, **'**}
or voiced plosives {(**b**), **d**, (**g**), **gw**, (**g̲**),(**g̲w**), **dz**, (**dł**)}

/t'łi**k̲'**-/   + /-x'id/ → [t'łik̲'**a̱****x'id**]
/ẇa̱**d**-/   + /-x'id/ → [ẇa̱d**a̱****x'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 → p', t → t'**)

/da**p**-/ + /x'id/ → [da**pid**]

b. Stem-final velars, uvulars and the unvoiced lateral affricate
spirantize: {**k → x, kw → xw, k̲ → x̲, k̲w → x̲w, tł → ł**}

/ṅi**k**-/ + /-x'id/ → [ṅi**x'id**]

c. Stem-final fricatives {**s, x, xw, x̲, x̲w, ł**} remain unchanged

/ya̲**x̲w**-/ + /-x'id/ → [ya̲x̲w**'id**]

{-x'id, -'id} cont.

- There are few known exceptions to the above pattern.

(5)   a.   t'sa̱x-   'to hurt, be in pain',
                         t'sa̱x'id   'to become in pain'

             b.   t'sa̱k-   'to be awake'
                         t'sa̱ka̱x'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'
        dzax̱ba**nd**   'to rub end'
        hiłba**x'id**   'to turn the right way'   (Boas 1947:336)

(7)   **-t'saw** 'inside, into'
        k̠'ux̱wt's**ud**   'to get dressed'   (20181127 VF)
        k̠'ux̱wt'so**x'id**   'to get dressed'   (20191205 VF)

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

(8)   la'**st**a**nd**   'to put in water'
        la'**st**a**x'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, -⦸}

- Modern speakers occasionally do not pronounce *d* in syllable-final position.

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

  d deletion: d $\rightarrow \varnothing$ / [$_\sigma$ C V (C) __]   (*d* is deleted syllable-finally)

- *d* deletion occurs most often in connected, conversational speech

A. -x'id → -x'i

(9)   laṁux **dax'id**ux Katieyax̱ x̱a ƛ̓atamłax̱ lax̱wa ḵ̓waxdaṁiłax̱.
        'Katie picked the hat up from off of the chair.'   (20160707 VF)

(10)   laṁux waxux Mabelx̱ **dax'i** x̱ada ḵ̓wax̱.
        'Mabel tried to grab the log.'   (20160714 VF)

B. -'id → -'i

(11)   **łax̱'id**an gugwa̱y̓u.
        'My leg got itchy.' (20150621 JF)

(12)   ẇalasux̱ Simonx̱ **łax̱'i** sis alumas gwiłgwela.
        'Simon got really itchy from his new clothes.'   (20160714 VF)

C. -nd → -n

(13)   laṁux Simonx̱ **t'ipsidza̱nd**a.
        'Simon is putting on his new shoes.'   (20160718 VF)

(14)   ka̱łala̱n ḵutła̱n **t'ipsidza̱n** x̱a a̱mabidu *geese*-a'.
        'I was afraid I would step on the tiny geese.'   (20181205 VF)

17

D. -ud → -u

(15)   la̱'am ma'ɬba̱na **a̱xstud**i Eddie x̱a t'a̱xa̱la.
         'Eddie has opened the door twice now.'   (20160721 VF)

(16)   la̱ṁisa̱n **a̱xstu** x̱a t'a̱xa̱la.
         'I opened the door.'   (20160715 VF)

E. -d → -∅

(17)   lux̱ Monicax̱ ḵ'wa̱lis'a̱m **t'sut'sa̱x̱wa̱md**a.
         'Monica washed her own face.'   (20181127 VF)

(18)   lux̱ Shelliya̱x̱ **t'sut'sa̱x̱wa̱m**[∅]bidu x̱ux̱ Simonx̱.
         '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, -⌀

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