The verb *kal-* ‘scared, afraid’ is the basic Kwak’wala verb used to express the emotion of fear. Its meaning is less specific than other fear-related verbs, such as *isqndika/isqmndika* ‘to be spooked’ or *isqdxka* ‘to be startled, shocked’, and it is used in a wide range of contexts.

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

---

1 In passive clauses (which in Kwak’wala are nominalized), *kal-* sometimes lacks an aspectual suffix.
(1) ʼkikalasu’sux Bettyx, tłum kałała sada ţanıkwała.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʼkikalasu</td>
<td>Bettyx</td>
<td>tłum</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>sada ţanıkwała</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor.thing</td>
<td>Betty</td>
<td>=v2</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>=d2 afraid -CONT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Poor Betty, she’s really afraid of lightning.’  (20150618-MC VF)

(2) walasăn ka’idax ganutl. walasida nininidzi.

a. walasăn ka’idax ganutl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>walas</td>
<td>kał</td>
<td>-(x)’id</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big/very</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>-BEC</td>
<td>ACC night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I got really scared last night.’  (20140706-VB VF)

b. walasida nininidzi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>walas</td>
<td>=i</td>
<td>da ninini -dzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big/very</td>
<td>=d3</td>
<td>=DET earthquake -AUG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There was a big earthquake.’  (20140706-VB VF)

In what follows, I will refer to the verb simply as kał-.
Argument Structure

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

(3) le’ex kot’lasu badiyida axe’, lamân kal’ida.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>le’ex</th>
<th>kot’las</th>
<th>badiyida</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l(a) = a</td>
<td>Kotl’ala = s</td>
<td>badi = i da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX = EMB</td>
<td>= NMLZ = V2</td>
<td>know-CONT = GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe’</td>
<td>lamân</td>
<td>kal’ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax = e’</td>
<td>la = ’m = an</td>
<td>kal = -(x)’id = a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do = t3</td>
<td>AUX = VER = 1</td>
<td>afraid = BAC = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The verb *kgl-* 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 tle’* ‘the bear’.

(4) walaran kalala *sa tle’*. ki:’san la kasa ke’eda tle’ lax gukwalases Christopher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. walaran</th>
<th>kalala</th>
<th>sa</th>
<th>tle’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>walar = an</td>
<td>kal -ala = s</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>tlayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big/very = 1</td>
<td>afraid -CONT = INST</td>
<td>D4</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I’m scared of the bear.’ (20150617-MC VF)
b.  ki:'sang  la  kasa  ke'eda  tle'  lax
   ki' =an  la  kas  -a  ka  =i  =da  tla'yi  la  =x
   NEG  =1  go  walk-A  PREP  =D3  =DET  bear  PREP  =ACC

   gukwalases  Christopher
   gukw  -ala  -'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 ga̱xn (5), ga̱xn’s (6), and ga̱xnu’xw (7), while in the second-person two forms are possible, lo̱l (8) and kus (9).

(5)  kalałux Simonx ga̱xn.

kalałux  Simonx  ga̱xn
kəl  -ala  =ux  Simonx  =a)x  ga̱xn
afraid  -CONT  =D2  Simonx  =v2  1.OBJ

‘Simon is afraid of me.’
   (20160712-MC VF)

(6)  kalałux Simonx ga̱xn’s.

kalałux  Simonx  ga̱xn’s
kəl  -ala  =ux  Simonx  =a)x  ga̱xn’s
afraid  -CONT  =D2  Simonx  =v2  1.INCL.OBJ

‘Simon is afraid of us (inclusive).’
   (20160712-MC VF)
The verb kał- 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 Ḷalís.
(10) o: ka‘la le’eda ninini na‘lamas  xu‘da gukwax.  lam‘i:sanu’xw d laxwa‘a laxa

a.  o  ka‘la  le’eda

   o  kāl  -ala  la  =  a  =  i’  =  i  =  da

   EXCLAM  afraid  -CONT  AUX  =  EMB  =  NMLZ  =  D3  =  DET

   ninini  na‘lamas  xu‘da

   ninini  nāl  -ala  - mas  =  x  =  ux  =  da

   earthquake  shake  -CONT  -CAUS  =  ACC  =  D2  =  DET

   gukwax

   gukw  =  (a)x

   house  =  v2

‘O, it was scary when the earthquake shook the house.’

   (20160722-VB VF)

b.  lam‘isantu’xw  d laxwa‘a  laxa

   lā  =  ‘m  =  (w)is  =  ānu’xw  d laxw  -ala  la  =  x  =  a

   AUX  =  VER  =  and.so  =  1.EXCL  stand  -STAT  PREP  =  ACC  =  D3

   t‘axala  wi‘a

   t‘axala  wi‘a

   door  all

‘We stood in the doorway, all of us.’

   (20160722-VB VF)

c.  o  na‘ala

   o  nāl  -ala

   EXCLAM  shake  -CONT

‘O:h, it shook.’

   (20160722-VB VF)
The verb can also appear together with a phrase headed by the preposition ƙa. 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, = ūs ump.

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

ƙałålùx Mabelƙ ƙa’us ump.

ƙałålùx  Mabelƙ  ƙa’us
ƙał  -ala  = uƙ  Mabel  =(a)x  ƙa  = us
afraid  -CONT  = d2  Mabel  = v2  PREP  = 3.REFL.POSS(D2)

ump
ump
father
‘Mabel is scared for her dad.’

One way to express being scared about something hypothetical is to combine a ƙa phrase with the hypothetical clitic = ū’. 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) kalalan kutlan tipsandzand xa amabidu geese-a’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kalalan</th>
<th>kutlan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>-cont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tipsandz -id = x = a ama = bidu geese = a’

Step.on -bec = acc = d4 small = dim geese = i3

‘I was afraid I would step on the little geese.’ (20181205-MC VF)

Question formation

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

(13) masi kalama’sux Shellyx?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masi</th>
<th>kalama'sux</th>
<th>Shellyx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas = i</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what = d3</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>-nmlz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘What is Shelly afraid of?’ (20150630-JN VF)
(14) реша́ кал’иду’ве’сух Shelly?

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{реша́} & \text{ка́л’и́ду’ве’сух} \\
\text{реша́ = i} & \text{ка́л} & \text{-(x)’ид} & \text{-а́ьу} & = \text{а} & = \text{i’} & = \text{s} & = \text{ux} \\
\text{what = D3} & \text{afraid} & \text{-BEC} & \text{-INST.PASS} & = \text{EMB} & = \text{NMLZ} & = \text{3.POSS} & = \text{D2} \\
\text{Shelly} & \text{Shelly} & \text{Shelly} & \text{‘What scared Shelly?’} & \text{(20150630-JN JF)}
\end{array}
\]

Examples with complex stems

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

(15) влажа́ ka’лама’ли Emma га́че’ қас’ид ла́шан гукв, ла’ам па́дая’ида га́че’е. ла: ду́шватла ла ɪ̀лэ’dзи, ла да́лху’и қа’с га́че’ ла́шан гукв.
a. wālas kalamañi

wālas kal -(g)am -ala = i

big/very afraid -face -stat = D3

Emma

gəx'e

kas'id laxan
gəx = a = i’ kas -(x)’id la = x = an
come = EMB = NMLZ walk -BEC PREP = ACC = 1.POSS
gukw la’am pədañ’ida
gukw la = ’m pədaŋ -(x)’id -a

house AUX = VER dark -BEC -A

gəx’e’e
gəx = 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 duñwatla la xa ɪñe’dzi la

la duñwat -ala = x = a ɪña’yi-dzi la
go see -CONT = ACC = D4 bear -AUG AUX
dəlaxwi’ ka’i

dəlaxw -(x)’id ka = (i)’s

run -BEC PREP = 3.REFL.POSS
gəx’e

laxan gukw

gəx = a = i’ la = x = 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) ḡlas kālgamgasi Suzie, kāl’id sada ᦜa:ladzi ᦗdiya’ ᓂaxwaɬa ɂi’s gukw.

Verb profile for kə̤l-

The verb kə̤l- can form complex stems with the causative suffix, -mas, becoming kə̤ḻamas ‘to scare, to cause someone to be scared’ or kə̤l’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 gaxan ‘me’. The subject of a sentence with kə̤ḻalamas or kə̤l’idamas corresponds to the thing that causes the scaring. In (17), the scarer is =ida lōlinuxw ‘ghost(s)’, while in (19) it is =i ninini ‘the/an earthquake’.
(17) kalamasida lolinuxwaₕ Karen sa ṭadaka.

kalamasida           lolinuxwaₕ           Karen sa
kāl        -ala       -mas = i = da    lolinuxw₁ = x           Karen = s = a
afraid       -CONT     -CAUS = D3 = DET     ghost = ACC           Karen = INST = D4

ṭadaka
ṭadak       -a

dark       -A

‘Ghosts make Karen afraid of the dark.’          (20160711-JN VF)

(18) kalidamasi ninini gaxan.

kalidamasi           ninini           gaxan
kāl       -(x)’id      -a       -mas = i      ninini           gaxan
afraid       -BEC      -A       -CAUS = D3      earthquake 1.OBJ

‘The earthquake scared me.’          (20140706-VB VF)

To question about the accusative object of the causativized verb, the verb takes the passive suffix -sqw and forms either kalamatuₕ or kalidamatuₕ, as shown in (19).
(19) angwi kał’idamatsu’we’su’x Shellyx?

angwi
angw = i
who = D3
kał’idamatsu’we’su’x
kał - (x)’id - a - mas - su’ = a = i’ = s = uxlsx
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 kał- is the most commonly-encountered fear verb in Kwakwala and is used in a wide variety of situations. In some contexts, kał- is interchangeable with other fear-related verbs that have more specific meanings, such as isgndika / isgmdika ‘to be spooked’ and isgdlka ‘to be startled, shocked’. Examples (20)-(22) illustrate some contexts where speakers have volunteered the verb kał-.
(20) walašan kał’id sa wa:ladzi waši. wa:las wokwa gašan le’ kaš’id laxada gukwdzi. o’am wokwa, ki’s ñaxwała gašan.

a. walašan kał’id sa wa:ladzi waši
walas = an kał -(x)’id = s = a walas -dzi waši
big/very = 1 afraid = BEC = INST = D4 big/very -AUG dog
‘I get really scared of a big dog.’ (20150617-MC VF)

b. walaš wokwa gašan le’ kaš’id
walas wok’w -a gašan la = a = i’ kaš -(x)’id
big/very bark -A 1.OBJ AUX = EMB = NMLZ walk -BEC
laxada gukwdzi
la = খ = 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’i’s ñaxwała gašan
o = ‘m wok’w -a ki’i’s ñaxw -ala gašan
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.*


a. ləmux Georgie-boy kəsa
   lə = ’m = uχ Georgie-boy kas -a
   AUX = VER = D2 Georgie-boy walk -A
   ‘Georgie-boy was walking.’
   (20150617-MC VF)

b. ləmux gwali skul
   lə = ’m = uχ gwali = i skul
   AUX = VER = D2 stop/finish = D3 school
   ‘He was finished school.’
   (20150617-MC VF)

c. ləmux neŋakwala
   lə = ’m = uχ neŋkw -ala
   AUX = VER = D2 home -CONT
   ‘He was on his way home.’
   (20150617-MC VF)

d. wa:lasux ǐsaltka la duxwatla
   walas = uχ ǐsaltk -a lə duxwat -ala
   big/very = D2 startled -A AUX see -CONT
   ḡada ǐte’
   = x = a = da ǐtla’yi
   = ACC = D4 = DET bear
   ‘He was really startled when he saw a bear.’
   (20150617-MC VF)
e.  olakala  kał'igasa

olakala  kał  -(x)'id  =  gas  -a
truly  afraid  -BEC  =  poor.thing  -A

‘He got really scared, poor thing.’  (20150617-MC VF)

f.  lamux  ḫọlka

la  =  'm =  ux  ḫọlka  -a
AUX  =  VER  =  D2  startled  -A

‘He was really shocked.’  (20150617-MC VF)

g.  lamisux  ṭalam  dzalxwalala

la  =  'm =  (w)is  =  ux  ṭalam  dzalxw  -ala
AUX  =  VER  =  and.so =  D2  big/very  run  -CONT

   ka's  nenakwe'  ñwasabidu
   ka  =  (i)'s  nenakw  =  a  =  i'  ñwas  -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 neňakwa

la  =  gas  neňakw  -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)
Verb profile for *ka̱l*

(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.

ləmux Billx du ámbala xi’s sayə. wa:lasux ḥałka. ləmux o’am yaxwaliṣala.

ləmux Eddieyə dzəłx’i kə’s a’eḵašala. wa:las wosux noke’yes, kał’i ko’ox Billx.

a. ləmux Billx du ámbala
   lə = ’m = uχ Bill = (a)x du ámb -əla
   AUX = VER = D2 Bill = v2 see -CONT
   xi’s sa’yə
   = x = (i)’s sa’yə
   = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS hair

   ‘Then Bill saw his (own) hair.’  (20181127-MC VF)

b. wala sax ḥałka
   wala = uχ ḥałk -a
   big/very = D2 startled -A

   ‘He was really shocked.’  (20181127-MC VF)
c. lā’mux o’ām yaxwaličala
   lā = ’m = ux o = ’m yaxw -(g)āl -iš -ala
   AUX = VER = D2 SO = VER fall.down -ATEL.DIR -indoors -CONT
   ‘Then he just fell down onto the floor.’ (20181127-MC VF)

d. lā’mux Eddiyāx dzəlxw’i
   lā = ’m = ux Eddie = (a)x dzəlxw -(x)’id
   AUX = VER = D2 Eddie = v2 run -BEC
   ka’s a’eḵaḵilač
   ka = (i)’s a’eḵaḵila = x
   PREP = 3.REFL.POSS take.care.of = ACC
   ‘Then Eddie ran over to take care of him.’ (20181127-MC VF)

e. wālas wosux noke’yes kāl’i
   wālas wos = ux noke’ = s kāl -(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

išandika/išmadika ‘to be spooked’
išatka ‘to be startled, shocked’
kihe’kala ‘to worry’
nula ‘to be concerned (scared for)’
### Glossing Conventions and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Morphs</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>affix boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>reduplicant boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!</td>
<td>hardening mutation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◦</td>
<td>softening mutation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>v: dramatic vowel lengthening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>= an</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.EXCL</td>
<td>= an’xw</td>
<td>first person plural exclusive (“we and not you”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.EXCL.OBJ</td>
<td>ga’xan’an’xw</td>
<td>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”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.EXCL.POSS</td>
<td>= an’xw</td>
<td>possessed by first person plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.INCL</td>
<td>= an’s</td>
<td>first person plural inclusive (“we including you”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.INCL.OBJ</td>
<td>ga’xan’an’s</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.INCL.POSS</td>
<td>= an’s</td>
<td>possessed by first person plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.OBJ</td>
<td>ga’xan</td>
<td>first person singular object, instrumental or accusative case (“me”, “to me”, “from me”, “of me”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.POSS</td>
<td>= an</td>
<td>possessed by first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>= s</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.OBJ</td>
<td>lotl (UR), lol</td>
<td>second person object, instrumental or accusative case; the final consonant frequently spirantizes in natural speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.POSS</td>
<td>= u’s, = us</td>
<td>possessed by second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.POSS</td>
<td>= s</td>
<td>possessed by third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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** | = x̌ | accusative case

**ACC.PASS** | -sa'w (UR), -su’ | accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as –sa’w when followed by a vowel and as –su’ elsewhere (Littell 2016:519)

**ADD.FOC** | = xa | additive focus (Littell 2016)

**APPOS** | yǎ | appositive

**AUG** | -dzi | augmentative

**AUX** | la- | 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)

---

2 The same phonological rule applies for the realization of dła’w (UR)/dłu’, a conjunctive predicate which is glossed as ‘with’, ‘and’, or ‘or’ as appropriate given the context.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEC</strong></td>
<td>-x'id (UR), -x'i, -'i, -d, -nd, -ud</td>
<td>become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; marks transition predicates (Greene 2013, Sardinha 2018, 2020); the allomorphy of this suffix is discussed in Boas (1947:365)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C</strong></td>
<td>(various)</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAUS</strong></td>
<td>-mas</td>
<td>causative (Sardinha 2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONN</strong></td>
<td>= xa</td>
<td>connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers consistently use = xa for this purpose, while some other speakers use = tla in the same position for the same purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONT</strong></td>
<td>-ala</td>
<td>continuative aspect; marks process predicates (Greene 2013; Sardinha 2018, 2020)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d1</strong></td>
<td>= ga</td>
<td>third person proximal deictic determiner (this, right here”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d2</strong></td>
<td>= ux, = w</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d3</strong></td>
<td>= i</td>
<td>third person distal deictic determiner (“that, over there”) (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d4</strong></td>
<td>= a</td>
<td>existential deictic determiner (Black 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DET</strong></td>
<td>= da, = d</td>
<td>determiner, ostensive marker (Black 2011); the distribution of = d is unique from = da and is restricted to copular clauses (Littell 2016:111-112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIM</strong></td>
<td>= bido, = bidu</td>
<td>diminutive; the two variants are in free variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIM.PL</strong></td>
<td>= 'mānixo</td>
<td>diminutive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIR.ATEL</strong></td>
<td>-(g)ał</td>
<td>atelic directional (Rosenblum 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIST.PAST</strong></td>
<td>= wa'lı</td>
<td>distant past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>do</strong></td>
<td>a x-</td>
<td>dummy verbal root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMB</strong></td>
<td>= a</td>
<td>embedding vowel (Littell 2016:604-606)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Verb Profile for kəł-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMPH</strong></td>
<td>-dzo</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXCLAM</strong></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>exclamatory (&quot;Oh!&quot;); the tongue root is back and low compared with the English exclamation “Oh!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT</strong></td>
<td>=tɬ</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
<td>=s</td>
<td>genitive (“of”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GER</strong></td>
<td>-’inayi</td>
<td>gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAD.ADV</strong></td>
<td>-ńakwala</td>
<td>a gradual advancement; indicates progression towards a telos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HYP</strong></td>
<td>=u’, =lax</td>
<td>hypothetical, uncertain; these clitics appear in conditional and modal clauses, but their precise semantics is not well understood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I3</strong></td>
<td>=e’, =a’</td>
<td>third person distal invisible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMP</strong></td>
<td>=ɪa, =ga</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEF</strong></td>
<td>gwi</td>
<td>indefinite root (“do thusly”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INST</strong></td>
<td>=s</td>
<td>instrumental case (Sardinha 2017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INST.PASS</strong></td>
<td>-ayu</td>
<td>instrumental passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with instrumental case in active clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTENS</strong></td>
<td>=kas</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JF</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>judged form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOC</strong></td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>locative lexical suffix (&quot;on&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOC.PASS</strong></td>
<td>-’as</td>
<td>locative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that occur in locative prepositional (la) phrases in active clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>make.noise.CONT</strong></td>
<td>-(k)’ala</td>
<td>continuative aspect; form used for describing events involving emissions of sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOD</strong></td>
<td>=ɔ̃nt, wax</td>
<td>modal; =ɔ̃nt is an epistemic modal; wax is glossed as ‘try’ in contexts where this meaning is apparent and as MOD elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEG</strong></td>
<td>(k)i’s</td>
<td>negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEG.EXIST</strong></td>
<td>ˌkayos</td>
<td>negative existential (”there is no”, “there are no”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>= ʔi’, = aʔy, -ʔam, -ʔał, -ʔanam, -ʔima</td>
<td>nominalizer; -ʔam, -ʔał, and -ʔanam weaken (lenite) a preceding consonant, while -ʔima hardens (glottalizes) a preceding consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEJ</td>
<td>-ʔo’l</td>
<td>pejorative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>-kw</td>
<td>participle, result nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>la, ʔa</td>
<td>preposition; la is a preposition that introduces locative arguments (“at”, “to”, “from”, etc.), while ʔa is a preposition that introduces causes, reasons, and purposes (“because”, “for”, “in order to”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRSNTV</td>
<td>= ʔas</td>
<td>representative (Littell 2016:263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUES</td>
<td>= a</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC.PAST</td>
<td>= ʔxd</td>
<td>recent past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIPI</td>
<td>= ʔap’</td>
<td>reciprocal (“each other”, “one another”); triggers vowel lengthening in the stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td>= ʔał</td>
<td>reportative evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SO</td>
<td>ʔo</td>
<td>“so”, “just”; used to signal object or VP focus (Littell 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound.BEC</td>
<td>-ʔga’l</td>
<td>become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; used for describing events involving emissions of sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>-ʔala</td>
<td>stativizer (Sardinha 2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VER</td>
<td>= ’ʔm</td>
<td>verum focus (Littell 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>ʔan</td>
<td>vocative; ʔan refers specifically to an infant girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>= (ʔi)k (UR), = (ʔi)x</td>
<td>third person proximal visible; the final consonant often spirantizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>= (ʔi)x</td>
<td>third person medial visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VF</td>
<td></td>
<td>volunteered form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>ʔwi</td>
<td>generic wh-element</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>