A Teaching Grammar of Argument Structure in Kwak'wala

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G̱ilakas'la. W̓alas mul̓a̱n no k̲e' k̲a̱n k̲a̓k̲ut'ɬamassu'e' sa kwak̓wala'inux̲wa',
Ruby Dawson Cranmer, Mildred Child, Julia Nelson, Violet Bracic, Lilian Johnny, Spruce Wamis, and anonymous.

1. Introduction

- Ongoing project: 2-year SSHRC postdoc with Henry Davis, *A Dual-Purpose Grammar of Causation in Kwak'wala* (End date: Dec. 2024)

- The purpose of this presentation is to outline the project, pose topical questions to the audience, and obtain feedback.

- This handout will be circulated online at www.kwiistup.net.

- Feedback on any part of the project or this handout is encouraged and should be sent to kaotiva@gmail.com.

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2. Overview of the project

Introduction
Part 1: Events, event roles, and argument mapping
Part 2: Expressing causation
Part 3: Verb dictionary
    Argument structure information
    Verb classes
Part 4: Annotated texts
    Causal sequence storyboards
    Other short/medium-length stories
Appendices
    Learner-oriented exercises (in collaboration with community educators)
    Rule cheat sheet (for learners)
    Theoretical analysis (for linguists)

- Intended audiences:

  - Intermediate-level Kwak̓wala language learners (teens and adults)
  - Researchers interested in Kwak̓wala/Wakashan linguistics
  - Teen and adult language learners of other languages interested in learning how to do linguistic analysis.

3. Inductive learning paradigm

- Traditionally, grammars are often written using a deductive learning paradigm:
  A State a rule
  B Apply the rule to examples

- In contrast, many linguistics courses are taught using an inductive learning paradigm:
  A Provide a set of examples
  B Generalize a rule through observing and analyzing examples.

- Our grammar will primarily make use of an inductive learning paradigm.

- This will involve repetition of 4 steps:
  A Establish a question
  B Provide a pattern/structured data set
  C Describe/analyze the pattern
  D Generalize over the pattern

- Example

A. Question: What is a *Location?*** (**Location is a type of event role.)

B. Pattern (1)-(5):

(1) ƙʷiḵʷeɬi Caitlin λu? Mervin **laxada cəya**.
'Caitlin and Mervin were sitting **on the couch**.'

(2) ləṁisux̌ dapala x̌ida kiλaċi **laxida ẇap.**
'Then she towed the little fishing-boat (toy) **to the water.**'

(3) kax?ida?s x̌a həṁe?x̌ **laxuxda q̇ʷəlẏakʷəx̌.**
'Serve some food **to the elder**.'

(4) tiqax̌ida ke?gəs **laxʷa tebəl**.
'The cake fell **from the table**.'

(5) qʷisałağawaẏi Simones Hope **laxa gukʷ.**
'Simon is farther **from the house** than Hope.'

(6) gełağaweẏən mix̌a **lax̌**.
'I slept longer **than her**.'

C. Description/Analysis of the pattern:

- In sentence (1), the *laǰ* phrase refers to a spatial location, the place where sitting is happening.
- In sentence (2), the *laǰ* phrase refers to a goal of the subject's motion, the place the little fishing boat is being towed to.
- In sentence (3), the *laǰ* phrase refers to a goal again, but this time the goal is a person.
- In sentence (4), the *laǰ* phrase refers to a place that the cake falls from.
- In sentence (5),degree symbol the *laǰ* phrase refers to a relative distance between how far Simon is from the house and how far Hope is from the same house.
- In sentence (6), the *laǰ* phrase refers to a metaphorical relative distance between how long 'I' slept and how long 'she' slept.

D. Generalizations/Significance of the pattern.

The *Location* event role, which is encoded within *laǰ* phrases in Kwaǩwala, can include spatial locations, locations or people that an action is directed towards or from, and metaphorical extensions of this category, such as relative distances or lengths in comparative statements.

- Inductive learning requires more effort on the part of students/readers, but tends to result in deeper learning (Brown 2007, Thornbury 1999).

  - In the context of language revitalization, inductive learning may cultivate a sense of discovery and ownership.

Questions for WWM1 participants:

- Have you used a deductive, inductive, or mixed learning paradigm in your work, and what have your experiences with each been?

3. Events, event roles, and argument mapping

- What is an **event**?
    - We will work downwards from holistic language data (a Kwak'wala text) to explain the notion of a linguistic event (natural language data > meaning > grammar).
- What is an **event type**?
    - **State** (-ała), **Process** (-la), **Transition** (-(x)ʔid), plus default (-a) marking
    - Some roots can occur marked for any type (7), while others are constrained (8)-(9).

(7) √duqʷ-

duqʷa	'to see (s.t.)'
duqʷała	'to watch (s.t.)'
duqʷəla	'to see (s.t.), be able to see (s.t.), look over (s.t.)'
duǩʷʔid	'to glance at (s.t.), to look at (s.t.), 'to suddenly see (s.t.)'

(8) √da-

*da	--
dała	'to hold (s.t.) in hand'
dala	'to carry (s.t.) in hand'
dax?id	'to take (s.t.) in hand, to grab (s.t.)'

(9) √kəɬ-

*kəła	--
*kəɬała	--
kəɬəla	'to be scared (of s.t.)'
kəɬʔid	'to get scared (of s.t.)'

- See Greene (2013), Sardinha (2018) for background.

- Event roles and argument mapping:

  - **Event roles***:* Initiator, Co-initiator, Non-initiator, Location, Reason, Companion
  - **Grammatical roles:** subject, =s object, =x̌ object, laxˇ object, qa object, λuʔ subject
  - **Voice suffixes (outer):** -suʔ, -ayu, -ʔas, -giɬ, -ẇət

cf. **Voice suffixes (inner):** -°ayu, -°əm, -°anəm, -°əɬ,-°ʔas

Table 1: Argument-mapping correspondences

Event Role	Initiator	Co-initiator	Non-initiator	Location	Reason	Companion
Grammatical Role	Subject*	=s object	=x̌ object	laxˇ object	qa object	λuʔ subject
Voice Suffix	–	-ayu	-suʔ	-ʔas	-giɬ	-ẇət

**Initiators in active clauses are always subjects. However, not all subjects are initiators.*

- Event roles are semantic categories, defined using criteria that are arrived at through inductive generalization over language data.

- Example criteria for two of the above event roles (from Sardinha 2017):

Co-initiator Conditions (=s)	**Non-initiator Conditions (=x̌)**
Dependent Cause • The argument is a means by which the Initiator instigates the event. *Initial Bound* • The argument's existence or presence with an Initiator delimits the initial bound of the event. *Possession (Initial Bound)degree symbol* • The argument is possessed by an Initiator at the initial bound of the event. ~ 'do with x'	*Change* • The argument undergoes some causally-induced change. *Final Bound* • The argument's existence or presence delimits the final bound of the event. *Possession (final bound)* • The argument comes to be possessed by the Initiator by the final bound of the event. ~ 'do to x'

- Argument alternations in Kwaḵwaka are semantically predictable:

Alternation Condition:

An argument which satisfies the conditions for two event roles simultaneously can be mapped to either corresponding grammatical role. (Word order in the clause is then determined by general constraints.)

- Examples of composite event roles and corresponding argument alternations:

(10) *Direct manipulation alternation (Co-initiator/Non-initiator)*

a. yaǰ?idi Monica **sa ƛ̓uǰʷ** laǰis ?i?əy̓asu?.
'Monica melted **the ice (=s)** in her hands.'

b. yaǰ?idi Monica **ǰa ƛ̓uǰʷ** laǰis ?i?əy̓asu?.
'Monica melted **the ice (=ǰ)** in her hands.'

(11) *Caused motion alternation (Co-initiator/Non-initiator)*

a. pukʷstowi Shelly **sa loi̓noǰ həmumu** laǰa ƛ̓asanoy̓i.
'Shelly blew **the moth (=s)** outside (through a window).'

b. pukʷstowi Shelly **ǰa loi̓noǰ həmumu** laǰa ƛ̓asanoy̓i.
'Shelly blew **the moth (=ǰ)** outside (through a window).'

- Some other Co-initiator/Non-initiator alternations:
  - Verbs of expression (e.g. dənǰ- 'to sing', n̓ik- 'to say', ?əmɬ- 'to play')
  - Thought-vehicle/thought alternation (e.g. gigə?e?qəla 'to think', q̓oƛəla 'to know')

(12) *Recipient Alternation (Non-initiator/Location)***

a. ċəwida babagʷəme**x̌is ʔəbəmp** sa ƛ̓ətəmɬ.
'The little boy gave **his mom** a hat.'

b. ċəwida babagʷəmesa ƛ̓ətəmɬ **laxis ʔəbəmp**.
'The little boy gave a hat **to his mom**.'

**This alternation occurs with Locations that refer to people, not places.

(13) *Motivating-thought alternation*

a. q̓iq̓eʔqəlux̌ Mabelx̌ **sis ʔump.**
'Mabel is concerned **about her dad**.'

b. q̓iq̓eʔqəlux̌ Mabelx̌ **qeʔis ʔump**.
'Mabel is concerned **about her dad**.'

- Weak verbs: ʔəx̌-, ǧʷəy-, ẇik-
  - In sentences containing verb roots with minimal (or no) semantic entailments, the abstract meaning of event roles becomes visible.
  - The correspondences outlined above are well exemplified using these verbs (which are also very common, and must be mastered).

In (14) and (15), the semantic value of case-marking is revealed.

(14) a. ʔəx̌ʔidux̌ Mabelx̌ **sa ƛ̓ətəmɬ.**
'Mabel used/wore **the hat (=s)**.'

b. ʔəx̌ʔidux̌ Mabelx̌ **x̌a ƛ̓ətəmɬ**.
'Mabel used/wore/took/obtained/did something to **the hat (=x̌)**.'

(15) *Caused motion alternation (Co-initiator/Non-initiator)*

a. luǰ Katieyəǰ ʔəǰʔid**suǰda ƛ̓ətəmɬ** laǰʷa ẇədəʔaċi.
'Katie is putting **the hat (=s)** into the fridge.'

b. luǰ Katieyəǰ ʔəǰʔid**x̌uǰda ƛ̓ətəmɬ** laǰʷa ẇədəʔaċi.
'Katie is putting **the hat (=x̌)** into the fridge.' OR
'Katie got **the hat (=x̌)** out of the fridge.'

- Lexical suffixes alter the meaning of the predicate, which affects which arguments may be realized, and in what grammatical role(s).

(16)

a.	ʔəǰ-	(no entailments)
b.	ʔəǰċo	'to be inside'
c.	ʔəǰċola	'to do/put through'
d.	ʔəǰċoliɬ	'to do/put through (in the house)'
e.	ʔəǰwəɬċo	'to be out from inside'
f.	ʔəǰwəɬċola	'to do/put through from inside'
g.	ʔəǰwəɬċoliɬ	'to do/put through from inside (in the house)'

- This might be the only time in the grammar that I will specifically bring in discussion of lexical suffixes.

Question for WWM participants:

- Does it make more sense to work from simple to complex, or complex to simple, when it comes to explaining the role of lexical suffixes in argument structure and predication, with data like that in (16)?

- Summary:
  - By the end of Part 1, readers should have a good grasp of events and event roles, and should be able to use this abstract set of concepts to determine argument structure possibilities for any predicate.

4. Expressing causation

- The point of this section is to describe the conditions under which the following constructions appear (and which verbs occur in which constructions):

(17) **Bi-clausal causative**

V.cause	*V.result*
li Monica **təx?id** laxa ɬəxəla.	lə?əm ∅ **ƛax̌ʷstud**a.
‘Monica **bumped** against the door.’	‘Then it **closed**.’

(18) **Mono-clausal *-mas* causative** = *Indirect causation (two events)*

V.result-mas causer =x̌ undergoer

ƛax̌ʷstudamasi Monica xa ɬəxəla.

‘Monica made the door **close**.’

(19) **Mono-clausal zero causative** = *Direct causation (one event)*

V.result causer =x̌ undergoer

ƛax̌ʷstudi Monica xa ɬəxəla.

‘Monica closed the door.’

(20) **Unaccusative**

V.result undergoer

ƛax̌ʷstudida ɬəxəla.

‘The door closed.’

- Some additional ways of expressing causality to be described are shown in (21)-(22):

(21) ƛax̌ʷstudida ɬəxəla **le? Monica təx?id lax̌.**

‘The door closed **when Monica bumped into it.**’

(22) ƛax̌ʷstudida ɬəxəla **qe?ida yola.**

‘The door closed **because of the wind.**’

- Argument alternations arise due to the interaction between root meaning and real-world knowledge.

  - Direct-indirect causation alternation (*-mas* versus zero causatives):

(23) a. **gəlɬ̓idamas**ƛuǔ Hope-aǔʷa q̓ʷəmdzuy̓u. (***Indirect causation, two events***)
'Hope is gonna lengthen the dress.'
(*Context: Hope is going to sew additional material onto the bottom.*)

b. **gəlɬ̓id**uǔ Hope-aǔʷa q̓ʷəmdzuy̓u. (***Direct causation, one event***)
'Hope lengthened the dress.'
(*Context: Hope stretched the dress with her hands.*)

  - Causative-inchoative alternation (causative versus unaccusative)

(24) a. yaǔʔidi Eddieyeǔada bada. (***Causative alternant***)
'Eddie melted the butter.'

b. yaǔʔidida bada. (***Unaccusative alternant***)
'The butter melted.'

- Some roots undergo *both* types of alternations (subject to conditions on real-world knowledge). Most of these roots name *states*.
  - ƛaǔʷ- 'to close' (= closed), yaǔ- 'to melt' (= melted)

- Some roots cannot be used to form zero-causatives (they cannot be construed as caused 'directly'). Psych verbs fall into this category.
  - kəɬ- 'to be scared', ɬawis 'to be angry'

- Roots entailing agentive initiators form causatives marginally, if at all.
  - ɬ̓us- 'to cut', ğəlq- 'to swim', k̓ilak 'to beat up, kill'

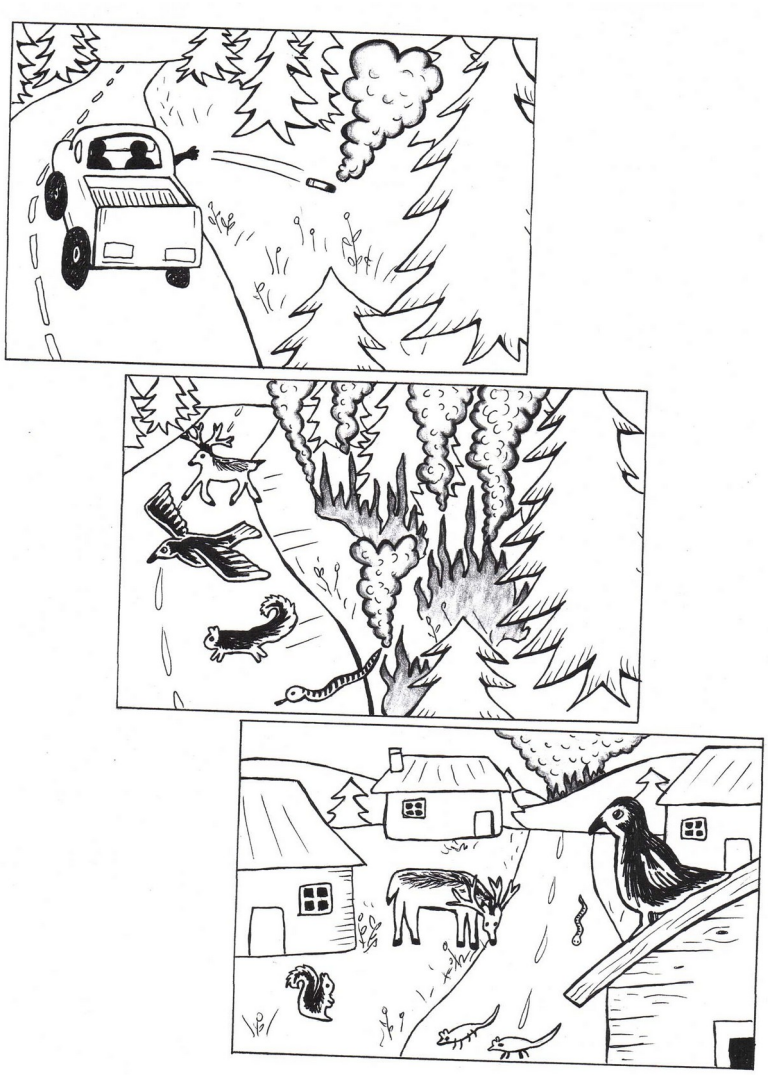
5. Verb Dictionary

- Lexical information
- Argument structure information (event roles, alternations), including hypotheses (clearly marked as such) wherever direct speaker data is lacking.
- Example sentences
- Verb classes

6. Annotated Texts

- Causal sequence storyboards (multiple instances of each)
- Other short and medium-length stories

- **Causal Sequence Storyboard example (narrated by Violet Bracic)**



1. lą̓uxda bibągwanąm kąlxa laxida a̓tɬi.
‘The men were driving through the forest.’

2. lą̓isi Charlie t̓sąx̱’isis k̓wąmdayu laxida a̓tɬi.
‘Then Charlie threw out his cigarette into the forest.’

3. lą’ąm hix̱’idida a̓tɬi.
‘Then the forest caught on fire.’

4. ga:x̱ida g̱i:was, dłąẇida p̓ąsp̓ąt̓łoma, tąminas, siłąm.
‘The deer came (out), together with all of the bird life, squirrels, snakes.’

5. ẇi:l̓a, ąx̱aya, bosida at̓łi, le’ kąłąla.
‘All of them left the forest, because they were scared.’

6. lą’ąm o’ąm laxida ąwiṅagwise’sa ląlk̲wąlatłe’.
‘Then they went into the territory of the tribe.’

7. lą̓ida p̓ąsp̓ąt̓ła, dłąẇida tąminas, dłąẇida ṅa:xwa gąlgą’omas... o, dłąẇida g̱iwas.
‘And the birds, together with the squirrels, and all the animals… oh, and the deer.’

8. la ẇil̓a dłąẇida siłąm, ẇil̓a laxida guk̓wąs, lax̱ T̓saxis.
‘They all, together with the snakes, all went to where the houses are, in T̓sax̱is.’

Speakers’ summary:

(9) yuduxda bągwanąmx̱ hix̱’idamas x̱a at̓łi k̲e’is k̓wąmdayu.
‘The man made the forest catch fire with his cigarette.’

7. Appendices

- Learner-oriented exercises (collaboration with Sara Child)
- Rule cheat sheet (for learners)
- Theoretical analysis (for linguists)

Questions?

References

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