Insubordination in Deg Xinag

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Overview

Subordination

“Insubordination” types:

- exclamations
- backgrounding
- change
“[She] participated in shows sponsored by the Institute of Alaska Native Arts and the University of Alaska Museum highlighting the works of Native artists. (Photo by Rose Atuk Fosdick from Interwoven Expressions, courtesy of the Institute of Alaska Native Arts.)” (Deacon 1985)
Thanks to Deg Xinag speakers

Phillip Arrow
Raymond Dutchman
Lucy Hamilton
Edna Deacon
James Dementi
Other acknowledgements

• Michael Krauss (and Jeff Leer)
• James Kari
• Chad Thompson
• Recent funding
  – National Science Foundation (OPP-0137483 and DEL-0651853)
  – Conoco-Phillips (grant to Michael Krauss)
  – Howard and Frances Nostrand (gift to University of Washington)
• Stories
  – in Deacon 1985
    • Taxghozr (Polar bear) (22:32)
    • Noɬdith gixidhoy (Hawk owl story) (2:29)
  – unpublished
    • Niɬoghda'ye (The cousins) (27:14)
    • Niɬdadrqaye (The sisters) (19:08)
    • Chel tr'igidiɬt'ighinh (The young man who wouldn't marry) (1:08:25)
    • Yixgitsiy (Crow story) (19:59)

• Historical events
  – unpublished
    • Plants, Christmas in Anvik (8:32)
    • True stories (28:23)
    • Death of Belle's first husband (11:33)
Subordination

• Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:309
  “a non-symmetrical relation, holding between two clauses in such a way that one is a...part of the other.”

• tux ‘when, while’

“[Xich’a’ingalyoq  tux] q’oded yit dhehon.
you got your period when fresh too you don’t eat
“When you get your period, you don’t eat fresh (food).’ (Chel)
More Deg Xinag subordinators

- da’ ‘when (non-past), if’

"[Yiggiy nixinedhida’], ngidigg Xiyghelinghdi nonsridididał. that when it came up Holikachuk let’s go again ‘When the time comes, we’ll go up to Holikachuk again.’ (True stories)"

★ Subordinators not in sentence-initial position
• xo’in ‘for, because’

[Iy niniłjikdi xo’in] q’ayit dit’anh that it it rots to ground because right away (people) do dandhu’on.
salmonberry

‘People do that right away because salmonberries rot to the ground.’ (Plants)

• dong ‘when (past)’

[Det’san’ dit’anh dong] xuxunig n’iy.
hunger is doing when (past) nonfiction it

‘This is a story about when there was starvation.’ (True stories)

• xo’in requires nominalized complement (verb suffixed with –di)
ts’in’/ts’i

- marks complements of
  - ‘become, occur’ and similar verbs

\[ \text{Ngichox ts’i daghnel.} \]

\[ \text{she’s big} \quad \text{she’s becoming} \]

‘She was getting bigger.’ (Chel)

- q’at “want”

\[ \text{Ngo sidedig sitr’i\-chets’i xiq’at.} \]

\[ \text{well me too someone marries me want} \]

‘I want to get married too.’ (Niłdadrqaye)
• xaxa (‘with it’)...xadi(nh) (‘without’) ‘unable’

Xaxa  ghutrix  ts’i  xiyif  xadinh.

unable  she’s crying  then  unable

‘She couldn’t cry any more.’ (Chel)
• ‘not know’

Ort xiłdi xiyił gan-ghullnik ts’i xantr’uxineg. she then too cooking she doesn’t know
‘She didn’t know how to cook very well yet.’ (Chel)

• xughon ‘so that’

Xivixatili’inh ts’i xughon go dir’it’anah” ne logot. they will be lucky so that this we do he says truly
‘We’re doing this to them so they’ll be lucky,” he said.’ (Chel)
ts’in’/ts’i in other contexts

- sequenced in time: ‘and then’

*Ngi’in che dina qa’ outdoors again person feet
  ntr’atitlghitl ts’i xidontr’et’ots.
  someone hit someone came back in

‘He cleaned his feet outdoors
  and then came back in.’ (Niłoghd’a’ye)
simultaneous in time: ‘and’

You’ve been crying and hollering for so long,” he told her.’ (Chel)
• overlapping in time: ‘as, being, having’ etc.

Getiy idiyonh ts’in’,
too he’s shy
“gitr’oditlt’a ts’i nasyonh,” ts’in’ ne.
I’m poor I grew up he says
‘Being very shy, he said, “I was raised poor.”’ (True stories)

• ts’i/ts’in’ in all cases a subordinator
• interpretation depends on temporal relation of clauses in sentences

★ apparently no conjunctions in Deg Xinag
Relative clauses

• Leer 2005: ‘nominalizing suffixes added to verbs, demonstratives, directionals, and numerals’

• Proto-Athabaskan > Deg Xinag
  - *(y)i: ‘thing’ -iy and/or voicing changes
  - *(ŋ)yǝn ‘person’ -(i)nh (and voicing change)
  - *-ne: ‘people’ -(hi)n
  - *-dǝn ‘place’ -di
  - *-qu’ (~ *-qu:) ‘area’ -xi
  - *-ʧ’ǝŋye: ‘side’ -ts’in
Relative clauses

• nh → n ‘thing’

Axaxiɗi ggagg yux’oxo itatlax [vuq’ux xelan].
then animal for you pl. I’m going to get its fat which there is
‘I’m going to kill you guys a fat animal.’ (Niłoghda’ye)

— cf. Vuq’ux xelaṉ. ‘It’s fat.’ (lit. ‘its fat exists’)

• -(i)nh ‘person’

[Engodz dhidoṉh] che xivinił’aṉh.
from across person who is sitting again he’s looking at them
‘The one seated on the other side was looking at them again.’ (Niłoghda’ye)
- (hi)n ‘people’

Dinaqing’qay [xeɬedz dinatitl-’añhìn]  
our husbands well the ones who started to treat us  
ngoh’ìn u xuudz dixidiyq xaɬne ts’i yuxudz.  
on account of you thus they did they told her SUB just  
‘Our husbands, who were starting to treat us very well, did that on account of you,” they told her.” (Nił’dadrqaye)

- xi ‘where’ (rare in DX)

Xo’isrxî xiviting xuqul.  
where they’re going their trail none  
‘They left no trail.’ (Nił’oghda’yè)

(cf. Koyukon –denh ‘the place...’ vs. –hu ‘the area/places...’ (Thompson 1996))
*dən > -di

• Leer 2006-10:
  – (1) ‘place where, time when'
  – (2) [w/ numerals] ‘--times'. (And in some of the languages, [w/numerals] ‘(so many)'
-di ‘place where’

- xit’ogh ‘underneath’

“Itsa’a,” yiłne “go tritr long xit’ogh grandmother she said to her here wood lots underneath
[didingiļdi] xis’ohnh,” yiłne.
where it’s thrown I found she told her

“Grandmother, I found lots of wood piled under (the bank),” she told her.’

(Chel)
-di ‘place where’

• (no locational ‘head word’ in sentence)

Nuq’ođatìn k’alye
women dear pl.

[xididlth’edi] xiq’adidene.
where they are you say you want

‘You say you want to go over
to where those dear girls are.’ (Chel)
-di ‘time when’

• xaɬts’ı̨n’ ‘evening’

Tr’altthat xaɬts’ı̨n’ [xits’ixodhiɬdi]
after a while evening when it’s getting to be

tr’antashdoɬ.
I’ll come back out

‘Towards evening I’ll come back.’ (Niłdadrqaye)
-di ‘time when’

• no temporal word in sentence

[Genoq’uth tr’ixinelodi]
flatfish when they brought out
yigixite’otl.
they started to chew
‘They brought out flatfish and
started to chew them.’ (Chel)

(bilingual speaker’s translation)
General subordinative usage of relative clause suffixes

- $\text{yh} \rightarrow \text{y ‘thing’}$
-di not attached to verb

Axaxi\textsuperscript{\textordmasculine}di yi’in id-i- yixi noghdo\textsuperscript{\textordmasculine} xiyi\textsuperscript{\textordmasculine} xizronche, then there she’s walking back then EVID

[dodugg xizronche with q’idz xizronche just on top EVID bank on EVID xididhuq’un’ xichux\textsuperscript{\textordmasculine}i].

where fire is burning big

‘She was walking back there, and just on top

‘of the bank there was a big fire burning.’ (Chel)

• hallmark of a more general subordinator?
Insubordination

• Evans (2007:367): “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses.”
Insubordination in Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit

• Navajo (Mithun 2008)
  – discourse marking functions

• Tlingit (Cable 2010, 2011)
  – syntactic and discourse marking functions
A case of insubordination in English

I’m proud to live in a city where the rainbow troops are ready to rumble round the clock.

Where Dan Savage launched his “It Gets Better Project” and where corporations pledged thousands of dollars to see the rainbow flag fly atop the Space Needle this weekend.

But I think there’s such a thing as letting your pride get in the way of your patience.

Nicole Brodeur
Seattle Times staff columnist

JUNE 24, 2011
Deg Xinag insubordination

• Syntactic function
  – Exclamations

• Discourse functions
  – Temporal change
  – Backgrounding

• Subordination markers
  – relative clause suffixes, especially –di
  – ts’i/ts’in’ general subordinator
Structure of exclamations

• wh- word
• subordination marker
subordination marker –(i)nh human sg.

“Che diva tlagg anh di’nenh,”
EXCL who no-good that person who is saying

xinedhin xiliyil
they think to each other

“‘What a no-good guy talking!’
they thought to each other.’ (Ni’loghda’ye)
“Ye nuq’ołonh yozr ndadz xineg tadhidinh anh,“

ggee girl how person who is well-behaved her

sixi’ne ts’in’.

they’re saying to me SUB

““Gee, what a well-behaved girl”, they said to me.’ (True stories)
• subordination marker –di temporal/locative

Gan xizronche chel k’al gida’
what in the world guy dear handsome

viyetr’i’eł̄tluxdi.
when he jumped out of it

‘What in the world—a handsome guy jumped out of it!’ (Niłdadrqaye)
“Xiday luq tthidinaghso’di!” inedhinh.
where poorly where I grew up orphan she thought
“I grew up such a poor orphan!” she thought.’ (Chel)
Discourse function of insubordination: “backgrounding”

- state exists
- activity in progress or complete
- background information
state exists

“Sigitr’igidiłt’ighinh sidetthat vogh my [one who does not want to marry] me first to her q’udhisiyonh ts’i dist’anh,” tr’i’ne.
the one I walked around to SUB I’m doing he said
“I’m going to my Tr’igidiłt’ighinh, the one who I saw first,” he said.’

Ngine’ ngu’o ngiduq xizronche yiggi tthidinuhon soghluq yił upriver over up EVID that orphan dear with xizronche ttha q’idz nu’ontth’inxitl’i’atthdi. EVID cliff on where their legs are hanging over ‘Upriver over there she and the dear orphan were sitting up there with their legs hanging over the cliff.’

Ye, dinayexidolningh. hey someone got furious ‘He (Crow) got furious.’ (Crow)
Ht'e gigixidi— gazrile ts'i xidigale xizronche continuously someone is singing SUB finally EVID engthedz nuggidixidoklinghdi.
from out there where it’s coming to shore
‘Someone was singing over and over and finally that singing was coming to the shore.’
Ye! hey ‘hey!’

Engthi nixinot’an’ engthedz xizronche. out there they’re coming back from out there EVID

‘Maybe they’re coming back.’

Giłixsnał viyed nuggoghd interle.
five canoe where they’re coming ashore

‘Five canoes were coming to the shore.’

JD: hmm

BD:

Ye! Diva xizronche yiggi xiviqing’qay neg xizro’ye! hey who in the world that their husbands nice-looking EVID-pl.

‘Hey! Who in the world but their handsome husbands!’ (Niłdadrqaye)
• activity completed

“Agidet,” yiłne, “a’iy łeq’ath da’ yadz tiłcheth hingo now he said to her that fish skin parka take off while ngo da’ k’idz ngoxo ghitlchith,” yiłne.
well parka little for you I’m carrying he said to her
“Take off that fish skin parka. I brought you a new parka,” he said to her.’

Iy xiłdik yadz tiłcheth hingo giłts’ayath da’ it then she started to take off while summer caribou skin parka k’idz neg yindaghłcheth.
little nice he put on her
‘She took it off and he put a nice little parka on her.’

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Ndqiiqxi che qatrith neg xiday.
down too moccasins nice somewhere
‘Down there were nice moccasins too.’

Leq’ath tl’idz yan’ ye niyaghinh.
fish skin black only in the one who grew up
‘She had grown up in only black fish skin.’

Nuq’ołonh yozr xit’ache iy yuxudz, degha
woman dear sure it just her older brother
antitlnek.
she started to work for
‘Then the dear woman started to work for her older brother.’ (Chel)
• background information

Che xizronche vits’antitr’ithidatl che xizronche gitsighiy again EVID we went back to them again EVID marten viyedhidodi.
when it’s sitting in it

‘Then we went back (to check our traps) again and there was another marten in (one of her traps).’

Yuxudz sidigits’eyh!
completely I’m happy

‘I was really happy!’
Yuxudz sidigits’eyh!
completely I’m happy
‘I was really happy!’

Axaxiłdi Q’unodle chux etthing xiq’antr’ididatldi, vidiłghoy then Christmas down when we went back its price
ngichoxdi xizronche go teqa gitsighiy.
when it’s high EVID this two marten

‘Then at Christmas time when we went back down, the price for two marten was high.’

Axaxiłdi gidiqadi xitl’oxiydighelo xiyił.
then store they took them to then
‘They brought them to the store.’ (True stories)
Discourse function: temporal change

• **uxuxiyiɬ ‘suddenly’**

Xiyiɬ getiy dingit’a xiyiɬ, sichidl Lucius sughon- xiyu-
then he’s sick then my younger brother
dinaghonxididatl.
they reached us

‘Then when he was sick, my younger brother Lucius (and others) came to us.’

_Uxuxiyiɬ xizronche di’nedi, “ngo, ngitthing etthing suddenly EVID when he says well down down
siteɬghul, ngitthing Chapman ts’in’. you’ll take me by sled down to
‘Suddenly her husband said, “take me down by sled to Chapman.’

_Ngo, sittha’ siyot’ɬa’ anh ghun’ tr’inxitasdaɬ. well my daughter my daughter that person to I’ll talk again
‘I’m going to talk with my daughter.’¹⁰ (Death)
• de’ ‘suddenly, just like that’

Viqing’ yiyyedolneyh xiyił idedig che
her husband he put his hand in it then she herself also
yiyyedolnek yiggiy, vanhgiq ts’i giłchet.
she put her hand in it that ice cream she took some

‘Her husband put his hand in the bowl, and then she herself also put her hand in and took some ice cream (in her hand).

Eyigginh diqing’ dhoyighe’onh hingo viqing’ che
that person her husband she put it in mouth while her husband also
yidhogighe’onhdì xizronche.
when he put some in her mouth EVID

‘She put some in her husband’s mouth and her husband put some in hers.’

De’. Nitiyil gixitadhon’dì xizronche.
just like that with each other when they started to eat EVID

‘Now all of a sudden they started to eat together.’ (Chel)
• q'a ‘oh my’ (surprise)

\[\text{Nginugg tthi:di ithqayts'i xizrolochenh.} \]
\[\text{up short ways he hasn't paddled apparently} \]
\[\text{‘He hadn't paddled very far.'} \]

\[\text{Q'a! Anugg xizrolochenh yuxudz yix dixidhu'ohnhdi.} \]
\[\text{(surprise) back from water apparently just house where it's up} \]
\[\text{‘Oh my, (then he saw) a house standing back from the river.'} \]

\[\text{Tso yozr che— xi— ngidugg che didhu'onh 1ogot.} \]
\[\text{cache little up too it's up truly} \]
\[\text{‘And a cache was standing up there too.' (Taxghozr)} \]
Non-sudden change: **vinxiɬyigg** ‘(in the) morning’

Go nigungviiq viyiɬ xinayh ine’ xiɬdi xantr’uxuneg, this owl to him it’s talking however then he doesn’t know hingo q’utithitiyih yetr q’at. while he’s starting to move around breath wanting ‘The owl was talking to him but he didn’t understand, while he was moving around, trying to breathe.’

’n

**Vinxiɬyigg nonxididhidi, tr’inedhidi.**

morning when it’s become again when he woke up ‘In the morning he woke up.’

**Xaxa viyexididhuq’un ghonoghyo’ ts’i xadi ɬogo.**

unable stove he walks to SUB unable EVID ‘He couldn’t even walk to that stove over there.’ (Death)
• Non-sudden change: xidigaɬ ‘finally’

Axaxiɬdi xiyequn’ dilayh ts’i xiļdi tth’inh yoxo
then they put spark in fire SUB then bone for her
iɬtli ɬ ts’ixiyan’.
she cooks hard only then

‘Then they put a spark in the fire and she boiled bones for her.’

Xidigaɬ xiyoξr xizronche q’aghridoɬdi.
finally a little bit EVID when she’s growing up

‘Finally it seemed to her like she was growing up.’

Axaxiɬdi “itsa’a,” yɬı̓ne, “diyogh ngitthegh ngi’in tidhisoy.
then grandma she says to her should down over let me go

‘Then she said, “grandma, I should walk over there.’ (Chel)
• xiyiɬ ‘then’

“Belle!” sazrdiyaq.
someone called me

“Belle!” someone called me.’

“Xayh?” ditasne’ ine’ xididaghstrit.
what I started to say however I stopped myself quickly
‘I started to say “what?” but I quickly stopped myself.’

Xiyiɬ xizronchiche yuxudz “Belle” santr’ididiyoqdi
then EVID just just when someone called me again
dodixi xits’in’.
just up there from

‘Then something called “Belle” again from up there.’

Uxuxiyiɬ xizronche yuxudz sidzet yuxudz xidiginedatl yuxudz.
then EVID just my inner ear just they closed just

‘Then my ears just closed up.’ (Death)
No temporal adverb

- temporal change inferred from insubordination

Sitthidi'l'o xiyi'l xizronche.

his head is leaning on me then EVID

‘His head was leaning on me.’

Xinonghiduquyhdi yit.

when he sat up straight there

‘(Then) he sat up straight there.’

Uxuxiyi'l xizronche di'nedi ngidiggi dinaxito’ ts’i

suddenly EVID when he’s saying our lord to

tr’ixinengodi xizronche.

when he spoke out EVID

‘All of a sudden, he started to pray.’ (Death)
Summary and questions

• Insubordination markers seems to exist in Deg Xinag
• Just Belle?
• Correlation with verbal aspect?
• Correlation with time adverbs?
• Deg Xinag intonation needs more study
Possibly wider implications

• Deg Xinag insubordination functions
  – backgrounding
  – change
  – exclamations

  also found in Navajo (Mithun 2008)
  also found in Tlingit (Cable 2011)
Explanations for similarities

• coincidence?
• contact?

- inheritance from common ancestor?
  - not in Eyak (Michael Krauss, p.c.)

Central Alaskan Yup’ik insubordination: subordinative mood suffixes (Mithun 2008)