Deg Xinag disjunct verbal prefixes and positions

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AET verb structure

• “The most compelling evidence for [Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit] as a genetic grouping is the profound congruity in the makeup of the verb... The AET languages have a 'templatic' structure, such that each element assumes a predetermined position relative to the others.”

Pre-Proto-Athabaskan verb prefix order

9 disjunct prefix –
8 incorporated N –
7 Pronominal prefix –
6 Pluralizer *qə –
5 Lexical/derivational/classificatory prefix –
4 Aspect-mode prefix –
3 Subject prefix –
2 Stative prefix –
1 Classifier

disjunct prefixes

# disjunct boundary

conjunct prefixes

Table 1,
'Comparison of the verb template in the Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit (AET) languages'

## Known disjunct variability

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<th>Language(s)</th>
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<td>iterative-distr-incorp</td>
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<td>distr- iterative- inceptive- incorp-negative</td>
<td>Dakelh</td>
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</table>

Deg Xinag disjunct verb prefixes

• Goals of this presentation
  – inventory
  – order restrictions


Deg Xinag
(“local language”)

Data for this presentation

• Elicited
  – James Kari (1975-)
    • e.g. (CF/JK)
  – Sharon Hargus (1991-2, 2002-)

• Textual

• Presented in orthography
  – \(<i> = [ə]/[i]\)
  – \(<u> = [ɔ]/[u]\)
sample from work with Cleo Fairbanks, 9-16-76

xit'ontetjiy' slide down

xit'ontel.

xit'j'igadi'to'in'

jit'chon - his tanning
ghat'jon - tanned moose skin
gholdkon' a tanned skin

'ux#

night'ux - he's butchering
night'ux he did-

yanyito'ux - he butchered pl.

yanyito'ux he is

yanyito'ox - he will
Deg Xinag speakers

Phillip Arrow

Lucy Hamilton

Edna Deacon

Raymond Dutchman

Elizabeth Workman

James Dementi
Disjunct positions

• Closed classes of morphemes
  – iterative $ni#$
  – multiple $yi#$
  – distributive $n#$

• Open classes of morphemes
  – preverb
  – incorporate
Deg Xinag iterative \textit{ni\#}

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘back’, ‘again’, thematic 
\item \textit{ni}\#  
\begin{itemize}
\item \underline{nixitididi\~i}\ ‘they will come back’ 
\item ni\’idiyo ‘3s came back’ 
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{n}\#  
\begin{itemize}
\item \underline{coronal stop/affr}  
\begin{itemize}
\item ntoxdidi\~i ‘you (pl.) will go back’ 
\item ntr’ixodo’ ‘we called/phoned back’ 
\end{itemize}
\item V\underline{V}  
\begin{itemize}
\item xidon\~idiyo ‘3s came back inside’, x-idi- ‘through doorway’ 
\item diggan\~xiditl’iyo ‘they stood back up’, diggi- ‘up’ 
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Iterative prefix

• **ni#~n# / __dorsal stop**
  – _nigitasdeʃ _ n-gitasdeʃ ‘I’ll eat again’
  – cf. gitaseʃ ‘I’ll eat’

• **no# / __ gh**
  – Ngidodz _noghdol_ ‘3s is coming back from downriver.’
  – _Noght’ux. (ED, RD)/Noght’it. (AJ) ‘3s undressed’
  – (cf. Koy _no#_ iterative)
Lexicalized iterative

• ni#D + 'it ‘undress’
  – noght’ux/noght’it ‘3s undressed’
• ni#x + D + dhetl ‘snow softens’
  – Nix[i]didhetl. ‘The snow got soft.’ (MW/JK)
• ni#l + yiyh ‘rest’
  – Ni'igiyiyh. ‘I’m resting.’
Multiple yi#

- plural subject
  - yi\text{gixidiniɬ}dayh ‘they (3+) are writing’
  - cf. gixidiniɬdik ‘they’re writing’
  - yi\text{gixeheyh} ‘they (3+) are eating’
  - cf. gixuhonh ‘they’re eating’
  - yidetthon’ ‘they (3+) died’
  - cf. dathtthon’ ‘3s died’
Multiple yi#

- pluralize object
- yigedhox ‘3s is scraping many’ (CF/JK) (“sg. S scrape pl. O”)
- cf. gidhux ‘3s is scraping’
- yi'itlggingh ‘I dried pl.’ (CF/JK)
- cf. dhitlggingh ‘I dried it’ (CF/JK)
- Yigitasghoyh. ‘I'll make them.’ (CF/JK)
- cf. Tasghonh. ‘I'll make pl. O.’ (CF/JK)
Multiple yi#

• thematic

• yi#l + tlik ‘jump up and down’
  – yixałtlik ‘they’re jumping up and down’

• yi#g + ɬ + dzoghdł ‘play with ball’
  – Yigixiɬdz[oghdl]. (CF/JK) ‘They're playing.’
Distributive

• n#
  – xeɬedz noɬxithinek ‘they healed well’
  – cf. xeɬedz idiyiɬ nixidinek ‘they healed well on their own’
  – Ggux aŋ[-g]idhitliyh. (CF/JK) “I snared pl.”
  – cf. Ggux igidhitliyh. (CF/JK) “I snared it” (rabbit)
  – ɬek xoɬthichith. “dogs were tied up in one place”
  – cf. Xithichith. ‘It's tied up.’
Distributive

• ghon#
  – dighondatlvinh (CF/JK) “I filled pl. container”
  – cf. didinitlvinh (CF/JK) “I filled [a container]”
  – dighon-ginastl'en’ (CF/JK) ‘I set pl. snares’
  – cf. diginastl'enh. (CF/JK) ‘I set a snare’
  – dighonxidiyoq (CF/JK) “pl. die”
  – cf. dixidiyoq ‘they died’
Distributive

• on#
  – Di'onyidi-vin'. (CF/JK) "he cust fills pl. O; not vinh"
  – cf. Diydini-vinh. (CF/JK) [he's filling it]
  – Ni'ondhis. (CF/JK) “I crossed diff trails.”
  – cf. nidhiso ‘I went and came back’
Distributive

• non#
  – niłtonondhitlch'ił (CF/JK) “I tore pl.”
• -la ‘be, become’
  – itlanh ‘I am’
  – ingilanh ‘you are’
  – ngilanh ‘3s is’
  – nontr'idelanh ‘we are’
  – nonduxlanh ‘you (pl.) are’
  – nonxidelah ‘they are’
Distributive

• ni’on#
  – cf. denatlquyh (CF/JK) ‘I chopped a tree down’
  – n[i]'onthidrokh (CF/JK) "in diff. places are piles of sand"
  – cf. ay’ot thoyh ithidrokh ‘there’s a pile of sand there’
  – ni’ondiniɬning’ ‘she tipped them over’
    • Tso yi\ ni’ondiniɬning’. ‘She knocked over the caches too.’ (Polar Bear)
  – cf. ditatlningh ‘I threw it’
Preverbs

• ti# ‘in water’ < *ta’:- "into water"
  – Tigheyo. ‘He walked in the water, waded.’
  – Ton-ghidiyo. ‘He walked in the water again.’
• tthidi# ‘all night’, tthida-n#
  – Tthidigigheyo. ‘3s walked all night.’
  – tthidan-gaghdiyo ‘3s walked all night again’
• P-tl’o# ‘give, hand to P’
  – Tavasr yitl_oghe'onh. ‘3s handed 3s an ulu.’
• tr’iye# ‘in boat’
  – Tr'iye'exet'iixdi ‘bluff on Yukon R. below Grayling’
    (lit. ‘where it's bad in the boat’)

Incorporates

• dlugg#d + l + ghusr ‘pl. laugh’
  – Dluggidilughusr. They're laughing.
  – cf. ni#g + dluq ‘sg./du. laugh’
• xina#d + l + ghusr ‘pl. talk’
  – Xinaxidilughusr. ‘They're talking.’
  – cf. xinag ‘language’ < xinayh ‘3s is talking’
• cf. d + l + ghusr ‘small bird sings, chirps, play’
  – xidil[u]ghusr (CF/JK) ‘they're playing’
• xina#d + n + D + yiɬ ‘stutter’
  – Xinadin-ghidiyiɬ. (CF/JK) ‘He stuttered.’
Incorporates

• visriɬde'o (MW/JK) ‘it's steaming’
  – cf. sriɬ ‘steam, vapor’

• Qiqingilingh. (CF/JK) “you install foot webbing”
  – cf. qa ‘footwear’

• viqitr’itlquyh ‘someone kicked it’ (Spruce Grouse and Mink)
  – cf. –qa’ ‘foot’

• Xitthidinagidhiyh. ‘I bumped my head.’
  – cf. –tthe’ ‘head’
Incorporates

• yen# ‘mind’ < “incorporate yi:na- 'mind' as highly irregular prefix, in some languages resembling *na- thematic”
  – Q'uyentr'ithidagh ts'in'. ‘We weren't thinking.’
  – Vanyendagidhiyh. ‘I thought about her.’
  – Vanyendagitsiɬ. ‘I had a sudden thought about her.’

Incorporates

• **drinxodhił** ‘day is passing’ (*Polar bear*)
  – cf. **dranh** ‘day(time)’

• **dhaghgdinek** ‘3s had a snack’ (*Polar bear*)
  – cf. –**dhaq** ‘inside mouth, throat’
Disjunct order

Preverb – multiple – iterative – distributive – incorporate

probably;

some analytical uncertainty
Preverb – multiple

- ti# ‘in water’ + y- multiple
  - teydolaɬ (CF/JK) “pl. float”
  - cf. doliɬ. CF/JK “it's floating (prog)”
Preverb - distributive

- q’u#D- perambulative, n# distributive
  - Q’onxili'aɬ. ‘They (people) are swimming around.’
- niɭto# ‘crosswise’ + non# distributive
  - niɭtonondhitlch'iɬ (CF/JK) “I tore pl.”
Preverb - iterative

• srik'ili# ‘hidden’ + n# iterative
  – srik'ityine'onh (CF) he hid it again
• ni# continuative + n# iterative
  – dingi't'a chenh nondhisdoy (GJ) “better if I return again”
• xi + ye# ‘inside’ + n# iterative
Venhdida' xiy'dik yuxudz xiyenxiti'tl'iyak.
tomorrow then just they started loading up again
‘The next day they started loading it up again.’
(Chel)
Preverb - incorporate

• xi + trix#d + 'o ‘howl’
  – xitrixdi'o'yh ‘it’s howling’

• q’u#D- perambulative, yen# ‘mind’
  – gits'in' q'uyengididhik (GJ) ‘you think evilly’

• q’u#D- perambulative, tthi#x +ɬ+ datl ‘pl. go in fear’
  – Q'utthixaɬdaɬ. ‘They're going around scared.’
  – cf. Wit. tsë#l+ cot ‘sg./du. go in fear’,
    tsë#l+ diɬ ‘pl. go in fear’
Multiple - distributive

• yi# multiple + n# distributive
• yan[x][i]dadhizrisr (CF) “he drank tea pl. O”
  • cf. yighezrisr ‘she drank it’
  • cf. chay nagh dizrisr. ‘She drank tea again.’
Multiple - iterative

• yi# multiple + n# iterative
• yanxidiqeyh. (CF/JK) “pl. vomit”
  – cf. ni’idiqiyyh ‘he’s vomiting’
  – q'igidiqiyyh (CF/JK) “he quit vomit[ing]”
• yanxiditl'enh. (CF/JK) “pl. got dress[ed]”
  – nidhisitl'enh (CF/JK) “I got dress[ed]”
• Yan’itl'triɬ. (CF/JK) ‘I wet them.’
  – cf. niyiɬtriɬ ‘3s is wetting it’
Iterative-distributive

• Xeɬedz idiyiɬ nonxithinek. ‘They healed well on their own.’
  – cf. Xeɬedz nixidinek. ‘They healed well.’
• xinonngitthiych dist -(CF/JK) “put in pl. sticks, stick them in”
  – cf. xiningitthayh (CF/JK) “put on[e] in”
Iterative-distributive analysis

• Iterative allomorphs n#, ni#, no#
• Distributive allomorphs n#, ghon#, on#, non#, ni’on#
• Analysis of non-
  – probably no- iterative + n- distributive
  – alternatives
    • no- distributive + n- iterative (otherwise unattested distributive allomorph)
    • n- distributive + on- iterative (otherwise unattested iterative allomorph)
Multiple - incorporate

• yi# multiple, viɭ#(n + )l + tingh ‘sleep’
  – yiviɭxineɭteyh (CF/JK) ‘they're sleeping’
Distributive - root

• xi# ‘up’, non# distributive, tthi# head
  – xinontthixitl'uquyh ‘they came to the surface’ (Polar Bear)

• cf. xi# ‘up’, n# iterative, tthi# head
  – cf. xantthaghluquyhdì ‘where she came to the surface’ (Polar Bear)
Iterative - root

• ni + li#l + ya ‘pl. wave’
  – Nilixalyax. (CF/JK) ‘they're waving’
  – cf. –lo’ ‘hand’
• ni# ‘on ground’, n# iterative, xaɬ# trap
  – nonxaɬnelo ‘he set traps again’ (Man who came down)
• P + i + qi#ɬ + quyh ‘kick P’, ni# iterative
  – vanqitr'ititl'uquyh ‘someone kicked it again’ (Spruce Grouse and Mink)
# Interpretation of data

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<td>xi-trix</td>
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<tr>
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### Koyukon vs. Deg Xinag

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<th>Postpositional Object</th>
<th>Derivational/Thematic/Postpositional</th>
<th>Distributive</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Incorporative</th>
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**DX:** preverb – multiple – iterative - distributive - incorporate
## Situating Deg Xinag

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Xisrigidisddhinh

• ‘thank you’