Tsek'ene

- a.k.a. Sekani, Sékanais, etc.
- Kwadacha (a.k.a. Fort Ware)

from Kari 2008 *Distribution of Na-Dene languages.*

Acknowledgements

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Mike Abou

one of the keepers of the world's intellectual heritage

Outline

- 2 types of transitionals and causatives
- Periphrastic transitionals and causatives
  - in other Ath. languages
  - in Tsek'ene
- The Ath. prefix ʔa=, ʔə=

2 types of transitionals and causatives

- Morphological; i.e. formed with bound morphemes
- Syntactic (periphrastic); i.e. formed with words
- Kwadacha Tsek'ene orthography notes
  - u = [ə]/[ʌ]
  - i = [ɪ]
  - ii = [i]
  - oo = [u]
  - wu = [ʊ]
  - è etc. (low tone transcribed)

Morphological transitional

- n-ìì- 'become, get, turn'
  - dubùt 'he is hungry'
  - dinììbùt 'he is, got hungry'
  - suzul 'it's warm'
  - nunììdzììl 'it got warm'
- Lexicalized transitional
  - dinììdiììl 'it's ripe, it ripened'
  - cf. wididììl 'it (sky) is pink, purple'
  - P+i#n-ìì- 'start to' (with non-motion verbs (activities))
    - minììtsègh 'she started to cry'
    - cf. ghiitsègh 'she cried'

Morphological causative

- h-
  - mukàà' nuwajè' 'his wound healed'
  - yukàà' nuwii<u>h</u>jè' 'she healed his wound'
  - yhèlh su'o̧ 'a trap is set'
  - yhèlh sii<u>h</u>'o̧ 'I have a trap set'
- Lexicalized h-
  - dinììn<u>h</u>tl'ììs 'make it black'
  - cf. dinùstl'ùts 'it's black'

Periphrastic transitional and causative

- More productive than morphological
- u#D-jàh 'become, happen, occur'
  - deh jàh dììlh deh
  - prog: dììlh
  - cust: u-nu#D-'į̀į̀h
  - incp: u#d-t'è̜'
- u#O-làh 'make, do O'
  - leh làh lììlh leh

Causative/transitional verb prefix

- Leer 2006: 'thus, so (default adverb of manner)'
    - ʔa:= in Eastern, Tsuut'ina, Southern, Pacific
    - ʔə= in British Columbian
    - də-ʔa: >
        - t'a:= 'just so' in Eastern, Southern
        - t'ə= default manner adverb in Alaskan (Kut, Den)

Other languages

- Periphrastic transitional
  - Slave 'inchoatives' (Rice 1989:1301-2)
    - Nı̨hts'i nátse   'adadee. (BI)
      wind   3.is.strong 3.is.becoming
      'The wind is getting strong.'
  - Dene Sųłhiné (Cook 2004:358). The sentence is also 'well-formed without' *'ajá,* 'an auxiliary verb'.
    - T'axą   hots'į   k'oth bóret'į   'ajá.
      suddenly then-from cloud it-be-seen it-happen
      'Suddenly then clouds *became* visible.'
  - Witsuwit'en
    - Honzu   'igegh.
      area.is.good it.happened
      '(Something) good happened.'
  - Deg Xinag
    - Ngichox ts'i   didiyoq.
      3s.is.big COMP it.happened
      'She got big.'

Periphrastic causative

- Slave (Rice 1989:1302-6)
  - Tse   tadehkwį́ 'asį́hwhę.

    wood I.chop   he.makes.me

    'He makes me chop wood.' (BI)/ 'He lets me chop wood.'

- Dene Sųłhiné (Cook 2004:354)
  - Ghejën   'ásłá.

    he.sang I.made.him.so

    'I made him sing.'

Properties of periphrastic transitionals and causatives in Tsek'ene

- Semantic
- Phonological
- (Syntactic)

Semantic properties

- Transitional: change of state
  - dinììbut 'he's getting, got hungry'
    - MA: "getting hungry"
  - dubùdajàh 'he got hungry'

  dubùt   ujàh

  he's hungry he became
    - MA: "he's hungry…it's not any different"

Transitional

- ## Active verb complements possible
  - – Shòwak'èdahànujàh.

    shòwa-k'èdah   unujàh

    well-3s.is.walking.around   became

    'He's walking around good again.' (MA: "You see Alfred got broken leg. He broke his leg fall time. And now he start walking around pretty good.")
  - – Kòòla 'uyii ts'òòdane soonè' 'utsudzàjàh.

                               'utsuts   ujàh

    finally   that   child   bread   3s.is.eating.sth became

    'Finally that child has started to eat bread.' (MA: "little ones start eatin' bannock")

- Gwa nukhu'èh   nawnììdzulhawìjàh.   'Uwute'e.

      nawnììdzulh uwìjàh

  there with.you.pl. it's.getting.warm it.became it's.nice

  'Now the weather's getting warm for you (pl.). It's nice
  (outside).'

Causative

- Causative = cause change of state?
- Ditsììghà' dut'elàlàh.

     dut'el ulàh

  her.hair   red   she.made

  'She dyed her hair red.'
- Lìdii lhidììhaslàh.

       lhidììh   uslàh

  tea   it's.tasty I.made.it

  'I made the tea taste good.'
- No transitive complements found to date (unlike Slave).
    - *Barbara 'utsùn 'eht'èsaslàh.

                     'eht'ès   uslàh

      meat   she's frying s.th. I made her

      'I made Barbara fry some meat.'

Phonological changes

- Syllabification
- Vowel quality
  - C]$_{complement\ matrix}$[u $\rightarrow$ .C][a

  - CV][u
    - Cu/o][u $\rightarrow$ .Cw][a
    - Cii/e][u $\rightarrow$ .C][a, Cii/e][.a, .Cj][a
    - Ca][u $\rightarrow$ .C][a

- Tone

Vowel quality

- Leer 2006: 'thus, so (default adverb of manner)'
  - ʔa:= in Eastern, Tsuut'ina, Southern, Pacific
  - ʔə= in British Columbian

- Tsek'ene

1s	'us-
2s	'un- ~ 'an-
3s	'u-
1p	'uts'u-
2p	'ah-
3p	'ughu-

F2 x F1 vowel plot (MA): ts__d

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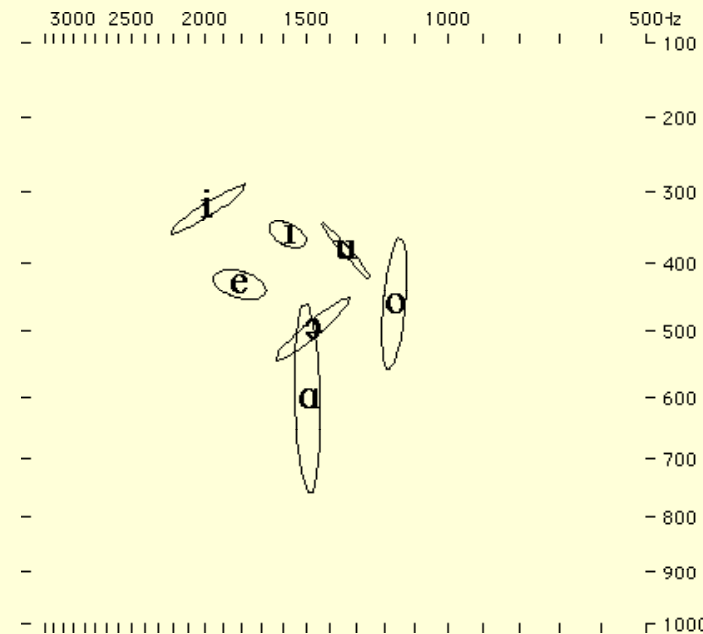
Vowel quality

	'make, build O', 'ulà' 'boat', -ǫ yes/no Q
1s	'ulà' 'u̱sleh 'I'm building a boat' 🔊
2s	'ulà' 'u̱nlehǫ 'are you building a boat?' 🔊
3s	'ulà' 'u̱leh 'he's building a boat' 🔊
1p	'ulà' 'u̱ts'uleh 'we're building a boat' 🔊
2p	'ulà' 'a̱hlehǫ 'are you (pl.) building a boat?' 🔊
3p	'ulà' 'u̱ghuleh 'they're building a boat' 🔊

Vowel quality

	'happen, become'; kòòla 'finished', kǫ, -ǫ yes/no Q
1s	kòòla 'usjàh 'I'm finished'
2s	kǫ 'anjàhǫ, kǫ 'unjàhǫ 'are you ready?'
3s	kòòla 'ujàh 'she's finished'
1p	kòòla 'uts'ujàh 'we're finished'
2p	kǫ 'ahjàhǫ 'are you (pl.) ready?'
3p	kòòla 'ughujàh 'they're finished'

Syllabification and vowel quality

- C-final complement verb
  - dubùt 'he's hungry'
  - 'u̱jàh 'he became'
  - dubùd̲ajàh 'he got hungry'
  - dinùstl'ùts 'it's black'
  - 'a̱nleh ~ 'u̱nleh 'make it'
  - dinùstl'ùdza̱nleh 'make it black'

Syllabification and vowel quality

- V-final complement verb
  - wìsdlịị 'it's cold'
  - wìsdlịị.awìjàh 'it's gotten cold'
    - "*over 2 months now* wùsdliiawìjàh"
  - nidòòwè ('it is absent') (negative existential)
  - siidìì' nidòò.wasjàh 'my mind went blank (temporarily or permanently)'

Why resyllabify?

- Leer 2006: 'thus, so (default adverb of manner)'
  - ʔa:= in Eastern, Tsuut'ina, Southern, Pacific
  - ʔə= in British Columbian

  add?

  - ə/a:= in Transitional (at least in Tsek'ene)
    - 'Transitional Athabaskan (a provisional grouping) (as a rule not included here: Tsetsaut, Tutchone, Tagish-Tahltan, Kaska, Sekani, (most?) Beaver)'

Word-initial glottal stop in Tsek'ene

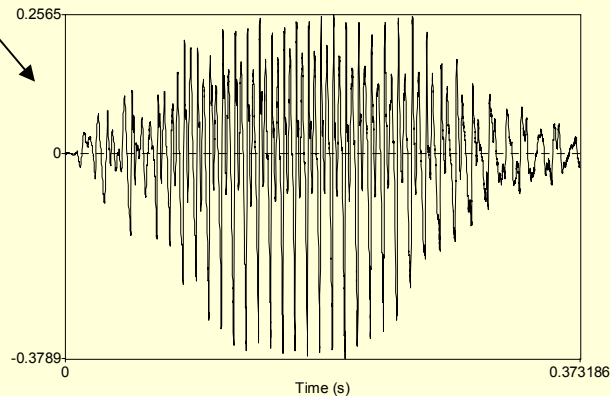- Surface contrasts
    - 'ǫ̀dze 'over here'
    - ǫ 'yes'
    - woo**w**ǫh 'because of them'
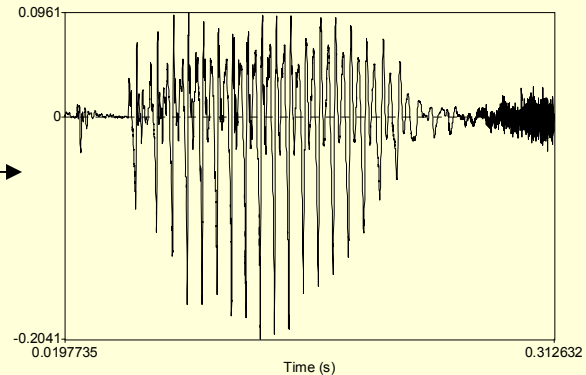   - 'Udoo k'udà' bùdii 'wahkèdǫ? 'Haven't you (pl.) bought groceries yet?'
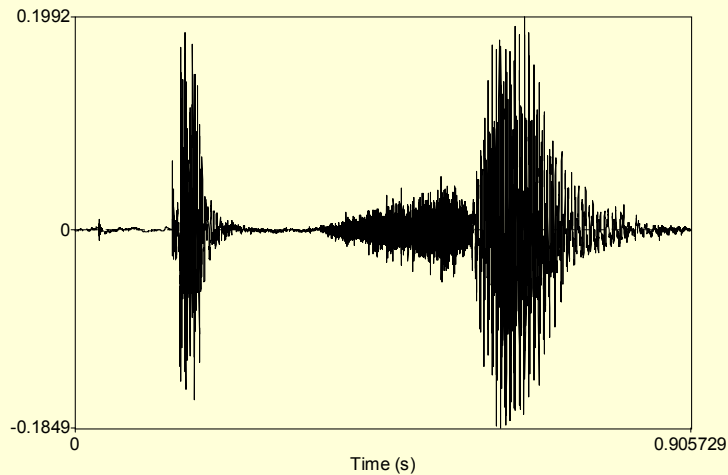   - 'udoo wahts'ììt   'don't lie (you pl.)'
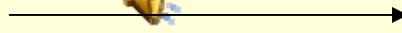
Word-initial glottal stop in Tsek'ene

- Epenthetic
  - 'utsugh 'he's crying'

Tonal changes

- No tonal change
  - HL] [
    - nitsį̀į̀' 'he's bad'
    - nitsį̀į̀'ajàh 'he became bad'
  - LL] [
    - dinùstl'ùts 'it's black'
    - dinùstl'ùdzajàh 'it became black'
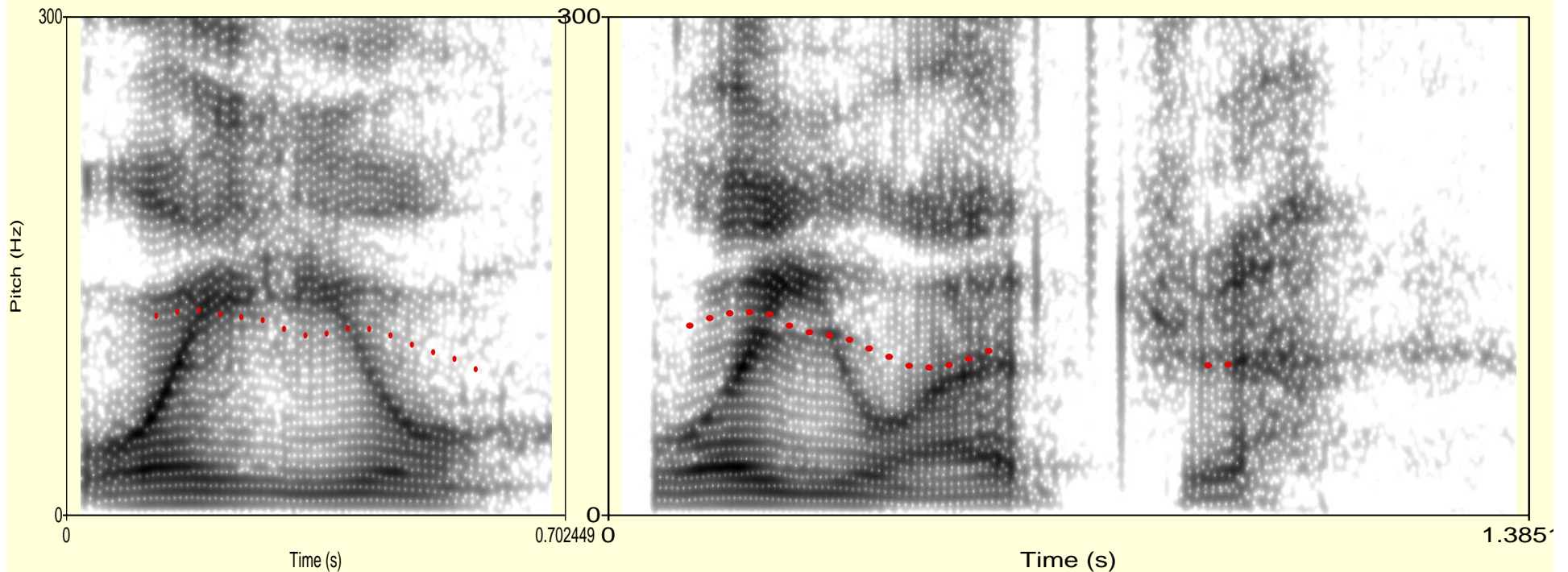
Tonal changes

- ## Inserted L
  - HH] [
    - wuyǫ 'she's smart' wuywàjàh 'she got smart'
      (MA: "baby when they started to grow bigger they gettin smart eh")

Tonal changes

- Inserted L
  - LH] [
    - moonèlę 'she's pretty'
    - moonèelàjàh 'she became pretty'
    - nùstlǫ 'there's a lot'
    - soonè' nustlwą̀làh 'she made a lot of bannock (fry-bread)'

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 L  H] [H L        L  H] [L L
 |  |   |  |        |      | |
ne le] [u jah  →   ne  l  ] [a jah
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  L    H] [H L        L      H] [L L        LH        ] [L  L
  |    |   |  |        |         | |         |           |  |
 nus tlǫ] [u lah  →   nus  tlw  ] [a lah  →  nus  tlw  ] [a lah
```

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- He, nòòwa   joo *more* nustlwàjàh.

                        nùstlǫ ujàh

            wolverine too   many became

  'Wolverine increased in number.'

Why insert L?

- Other complements in Tsek'ene
  - L] [w~k- areal object of postposition
- 'learn'
  - Ts'òòdane 'utsùn dut'èsìì koodi'įįh. 'The child is learning how to cook meat for herself.'
  - Ts'òòdane 'utsùn dut'èsii oodi'įįh.
- 'know'
  - Ka'ììlhahìì keedììh. 'He knows how to work.'
  - 'Udoo ka'ììlhahii eedììh. 'He doesn't know how to work.'

COMP in Slave

- 'The complementizer, if present, is gú.' (p. 1302)

- Causative

  – w'a k'ará'erehsi gú   'asį́lá.

    dish 1sg.wash   COMP 3.caused.1sg

    'We had her wash dishes.'

- Inchoative

  – sefigha dek'ale   gú   'agodadee. (Hr)

    1sg.hair 3.is.white COMP area.is.becoming

    'My hair is turning white.'

Summary and questions

- Verb complements of causative and transitional verbs fuse phonologically with matrix verb
  - why: prefix is vowel initial

- Inserted L in some causatives and transitionals
  - why: L as COMP
    - elsewhere in Tsek'ene L marks complements to areal object of P prefix
  - cf. Slave COMP gú

- Vowel quality change
  - make matrix V prominent?

ǝ= 'thus, so (default adverb of manner)'

- Attested (historical) derivatives of u#D-ja`h 'become, happen' in Tsek'ene
  - u#d+n+D+ja`h 'be stuck'
  - du`#D-ja`h 'what happened to?'
  - ka#D-ja`h 'do, happen'
  - P+ka#D-jja`h 'look for P, go for P'
  - ko`o`la#D-ja`h 'finish'
  - P+gha tiiya#w-D-ja`h 'P is tired'
  - P+e`#D-ja`h 'imitate, do like P'
  - de`#D-ja`h 'sound' (sound occurred)
  - dza#D-ja`h 'do poorly, be in poor shape'
  - -k'e`h dza#D-ja`h 'copy, imitate'
  - so`o`na#D-ja`h 'fail'
  - -ta#D-ja`h 'join, become member of group, go among'
  - ts'ula#D-ja`h 'get hurt'
  - k'ula#D-ja`h, k'ula la#D-ja`h 'almost die'
  - 'uma#D-ja`h 'be gone'
  - P+k'o`~wa#D-a`h 'help P'

ə= 'thus, so' beyond X?

- Witsuwit'en 'i#D-gegh 'happen, occur'
    - 'i#d+D+gegh 'make noise'
    - -c'a 'i#w+D+gegh 'fail at hunting/trapping'
    - -cats 'i#w+D+gegh 'defecate'
    - lha'#d+D+gegh 'be finished'
    - 'et di#D+gegh 'happen thus'
- Deg Xinag di#D+yoq 'happen, die'
    - P+q'a di#D+yoq 'P falls in love'
    - di+ni#D+yoq 'become (state)'

Musii cho