


# Insubordination in Deg Xinag

A wide, icy river or lake in a winter landscape. The water is covered in a layer of ice and snow, with some open water visible. In the background, there are mountains under a cloudy sky. In the foreground, there are bare trees and some evergreens. The overall scene is cold and desolate.

Sharon Hargus  
University of Washington

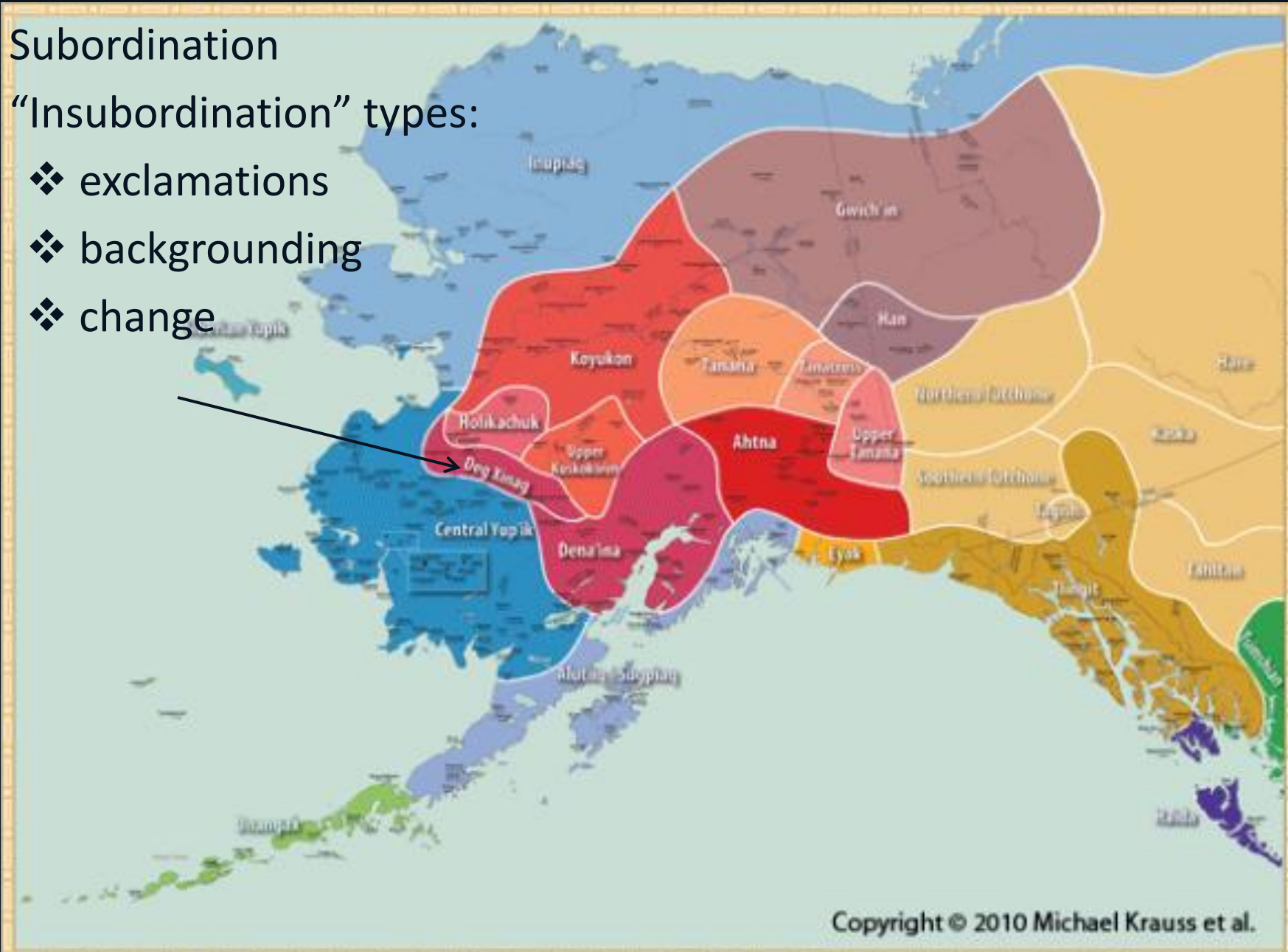


# Overview

Subordination

“Insubordination” types:

- ❖ exclamations
- ❖ backgrounding
- ❖ change



# Texts from the late Belle Deacon

*“[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*



*Edna Deacon*



*James Dementi*

*Raymond Dutchman*



*Lucy Hamilton*



# 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)
- Noᄥdith gixidhoy (Hawk owl story) (2:29)

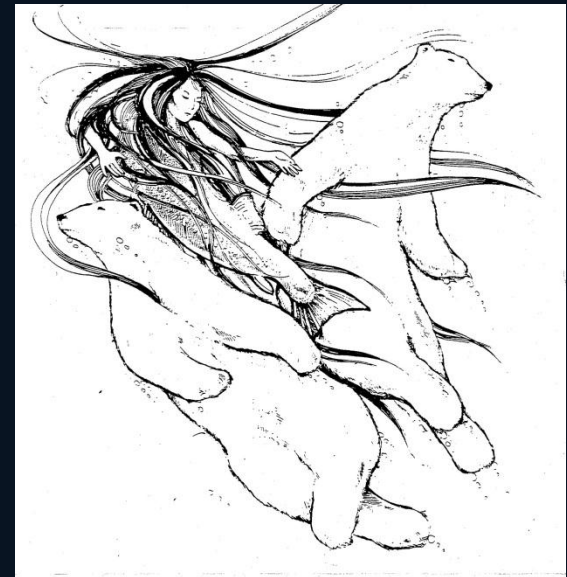
- unpublished

- Niᄥogħda'ye (The cousins) (27:14)
- Niᄥdadrqaye (The sisters) (19:08)
- Chel tr'igidiᄥt'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- unpublished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* *yił* *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 niniljikdi*      *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)'

[*Detsan'*    *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*) 9

# ts'in'/ts'i

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

*Ngichox* *ts'i* *daghneɬ.*

she's big                      she's becoming

‘She was getting bigger.’ (Chel)



- *q'at* “want”

*Ngo* *sidedig* *sitr'iɬchets'i*                      *xiq'at.*

well    me too    someone marries me    want

‘I want to get married too.’ (Niɬdadrqaye)



- **xaxa** ('with it')...**xadi(nh)** ('without') 'unable'

*Xaxa ghutrix ts'i xiyił xadinh.*  
unable she's crying then unable  
'She couldn't cry any more.' (Chel)





- ‘not know’

*Odit xiɫdi xiɣiɫ gan-ghuɫnik 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 ditr'it'anh" ne ɫogot.*  
 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'

*Ng'i'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.' (Niłoghda'ye)

- simultaneous in time: ‘and’

*Dixoghlingith ts'i*

how long

*ngitrix ts'i ngizriɬ ts'i at," yiɬne.*

you cry

you holler

FOC

he told her

‘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
  - \*(ŋʷ)ən ‘person’ -(i)nh (and voicing change)
  - \*-ne: ‘people’ -(hi)n
  - \*-dən ‘place’ -di
  - \*-qu’ (~ \*-qu:) ‘area’ -xi
  - \*-tʃ’əŋʷe: ‘side’ -ts’in

# Relative clauses

- *nh* → *n* ‘thing’

*Axaxiɫdi 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 xelanh*. ‘It's fat.’ (lit. ‘its fat exists’)

- *-(i)nh* ‘person’

*[Engodz dhidonh] che xiviniɫ'anh.*  
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 [xeʔedz dinatitl-'an'hin]*

our husbands well the ones who started to treat us

*ngogh'in uxudz dixidiyoq xaʔne 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.’ (Niʔdadrqaye)

- -xi ‘where’ (rare in DX)

*Xo'isrxi xiviting xuqul.*

where they're going their trail none

‘They left no trail.’ (Niʔ'oghda'ye)

(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  
*[didingiłdi]*      *xis'onh,"*   *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'ołdałin k'alye*

women dear pl.

*[xididltth'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'

- xałts'in' 'evening'

*Tr'altthat*      *xałts'in'*      [*xits'ixodhiłdi*]  
after a while    evening      when it's getting to be

*tr'antasdoł.*

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

- *yh* → *y* 'thing'

*Dingit'a tidhisqay*  
should let me paddle

*[getiy vitr'iginoghginiiy godanh].*  
very my being tired of her this person

'I should paddle away, being very

tired of this person.' (Taxghozr)



- **-di** not attached to verb

*Axaxiɫdi yi'in idi- yixi noghdoɫ xiɣiɫ xizronche,*  
 then there she's walking back then EVID  
*[dodugg xizronche vith q'idz xizronche*  
 just on top EVID bank on EVID  
*xididhuq'un' xichuxdi].*  
 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?

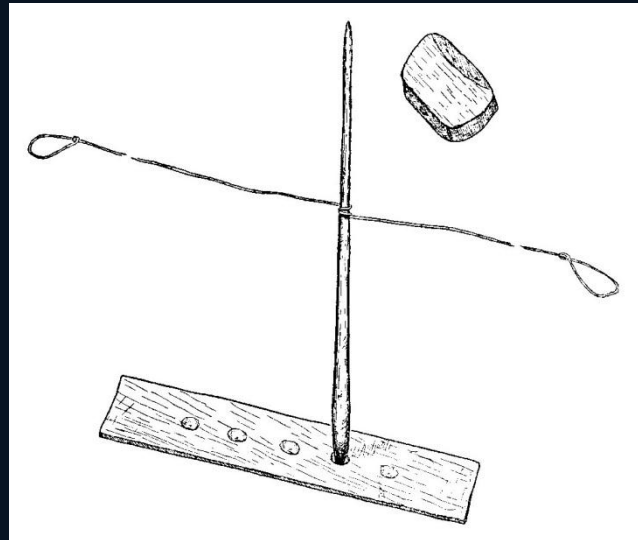
# Insubordination

- 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

## PROUD FIGHT SHOULD BE CALLED OFF



**Nicole Brodeur**

*Seattle Times staff columnist*

| JUNE 24, 2011



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.



# 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

*xinedhinh niłiyił.*

they think to each other

“‘What a no-good guy talking!’”

they thought to each other.’ (Niłoghda’ye)

“*Ye nuq’oʎonh yozr ndadz xineg tadhidinh anh,*”  
gee 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'eṭtluxdi.*

when he jumped out of it

‘What in the world—a handsome guy  
jumped out of it!’ (Niṭdadrqaye)

*“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 ngidug xizronche yiggi tthidinuon soghluq yił*

upriver over up EVID that orphan dear with

*xizronche ttha q’idz nu’ontth’inxitl’i’atth<sub>di</sub>.*

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)

- activity in progress

*Iłt'e*                      *gigixidi*— *gazrile*                      *ts'i*    *xidigał*    *xizronche*  
 continuously                      someone is singing    SUB    finally    EVID

*engthedz*                      *nuggidixidołninghdi.*  
 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.’

*Giḏixsnal viyed nuggoghdiḏdi.*

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!’ (Niḏdadrqaye)

- 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 titlcheth 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.’<sup>26</sup>



*Ngiiyixi 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’oʔonh 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!'

*Axaxiɫdi Q'unodle chux etthing xiq'antr'ididatldi, vidiɫghoy*

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.'

*Axaxiɫdi gidiqadi xitl'oxiydighelo xiyiɫ.*

then store they took them to then

'They brought them to the store.' (True stories)



# Discourse function: **temporal change**



- **uxuxiyit** ‘suddenly’

*Xiyit getiy dingit'a xiyit, 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.’

*Uxuxiyit xizronche di'nedi, "ngo, ngitthing etthing*  
suddenly EVID when he says well down down  
*siteghuŋ, 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' siyotr'a' anh ghun' tr'inxitasdaŋ.*  
well my daughter my daughter that person to I'll talk again  
‘I'm going to talk with my daughter.’<sup>10</sup> (Death)

- **de'** 'suddenly, just like that'

*Viqing'*      *yiye<sup>d</sup>olneyh*      *xiyiɫ* *idedig*      *che*  
 her husband he put his hand in it then she herself also  
*yiye<sup>d</sup>olnek*      *yiggiy*, *vanhgiq*      *ts'i* *giɫchet*.  
 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*      *diquing'*      *dhoyighe'onh*      *hingo* *viqing'*      *che*  
 that person her husband she put it in mouth while her husband also  
*yidhogighe'onh<sup>di</sup>*      *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'*.      *Niɫiyiɫ*      *gixitadhon'<sup>di</sup>*      *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)

*Nginugg tthiɬdi ithqayts'i xizrolochenh.*  
 up short ways he hasn't paddled apparently  
 'He hadn't paddled very far.'

*Q'a! Anugg xizrolochenh yuxudz yix dixidhu'onhdi.*  
 (surprise) back from water apparently just house where it's up  
 'Oh my, (then he saw) a house standing back from the river.'

*Tso yozr che— xi— ngidugg che didhu'onh ɬogot.*  
 cache little up too it's up truly  
 'And a cache was standing up there too.' (Taxghozr)

- Non-sudden change: **vinxiṭyigg** ‘(in the) morning’

*Go nigidzigh viyiṭ xinayh ine’ xiṭdi xantr’uxuneg,*  
 this owl to him it’s talking however then he doesn’t know  
*hingo q’utithitthiyh 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

*Vinxiṭyigg 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 ṭogo.*  
 unable stove he walks to SUB unable EVID

‘He couldn’t even walk to that stove over there.’ (Death)





- Non-sudden change: **xidiga†** ‘finally’

*Axaxi†di xiyequn’ dilayh ts’i xi†di tth’inh yoxo*  
 then they put spark in fire SUB then bone for her  
*i†lit ts’ixiyan’.*  
 she cooks hard only then

‘Then they put a spark in the fire and she boiled bones for her.’<sup>16</sup>

*Xidiga† xiyoZR xizronche q’aghdidhi†di.*  
 finally a little bit EVID when she’s growing up  
 ‘Finally it seemed to her like she was growing up.’

*Axaxi†di “itsa’a,” yi†ne, “diyogh ngittheqh 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)





• **xiyi†** ‘then’



“Belle!” *sazrdiyuq.*

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.’

*Xiyi† 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.’

*Uxuxiyi† 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

*Sitthidił'o* *xiyił* *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.’

*Uxuxiyił* *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

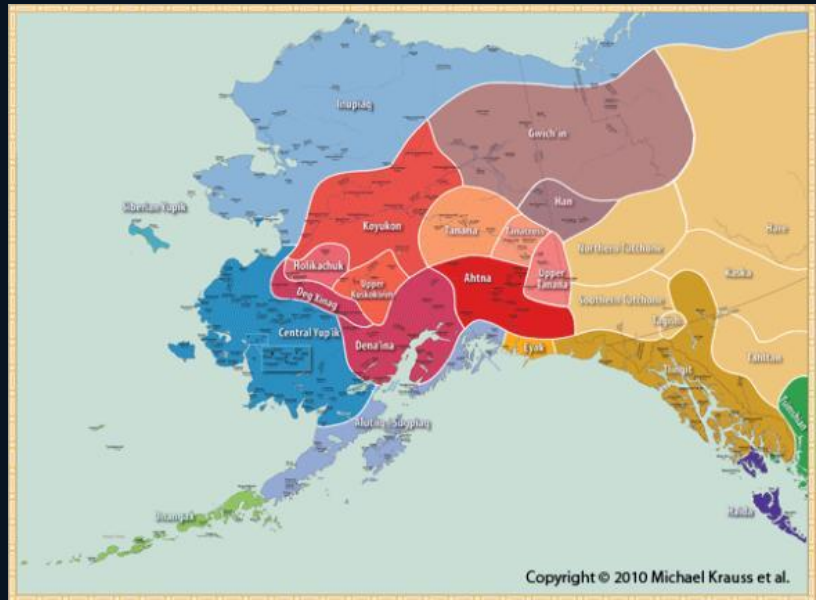
# Possibly wider implications

- Deg Xinag insubordination functions
  - backgrounding  also found in Navajo (Mithun 2008)
  - change 
  - exclamations  also found in Tlingit (Cable 2011)

# Explanations for similarities

- coincidence?
- contact?

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



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



# Xisrigidisddhinh

