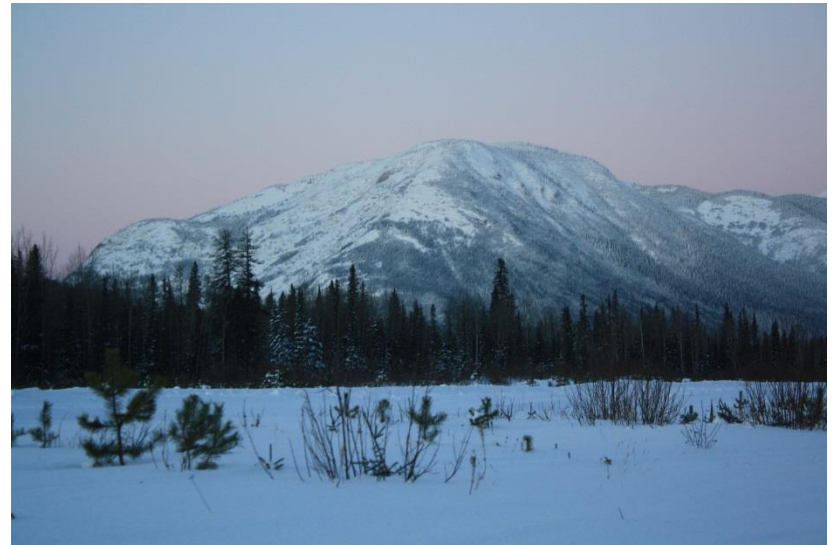


The lexical representation of Kwadacha classifiers

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Workshop on Dene Verb
Paradigms, University of
Toronto

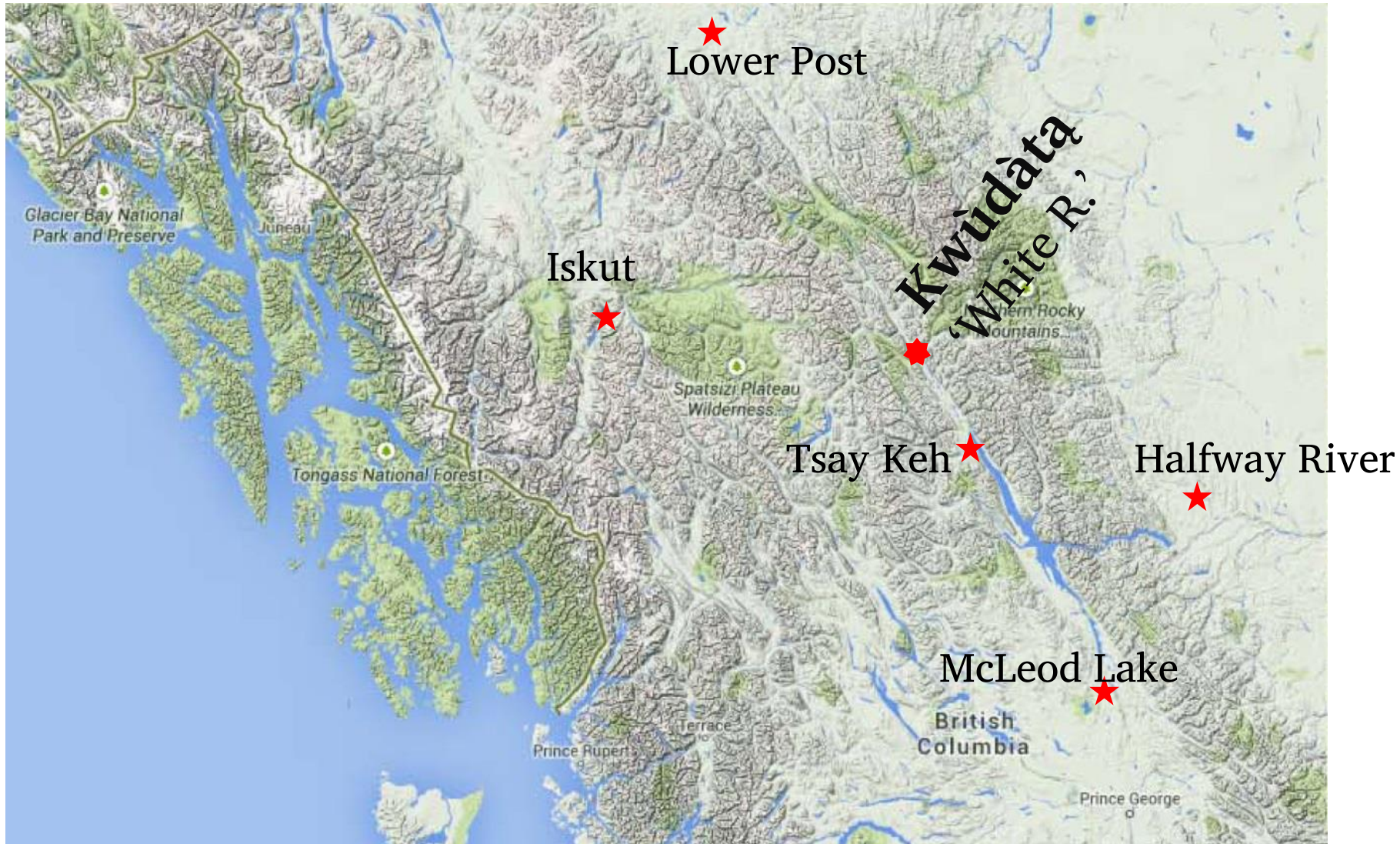
September 26, 2014



Presentation organization

- Introduction to Kwadacha
- Verb system overview
- Evolution of classifiers in Kwadacha
- Role of classifiers in verb paradigms
- Lexical representations of classifiers
- Conclusions

Kwadacha (Fort Ware), B.C.



Tsek'ene language

- Tsek'ene > (English) *Sekani*
etc.
 - > (French) *Sékanais*
- Other Tsek'ene dialects
 - Fort Grahame > Ingenika, Tsay Keh [tse k'eh]
 - McLeod Lake
- Kwadacha closely related to
 - Tsay Keh
 - Halfway R., Moberly Lake Dane zaa (Beaver)



Mike Abou



Grammatical uniqueness of Kwadacha

*q, *q' > w / oo [u], o __	lhoowe 'fish'
gh [ɣ] / other vowels __	'uzàghè' 'language'
syllable-final glottalization > low tone	tsà' 'beaver'
d t t' occur before ii [i], i [ɪ], e, oo	too 'water'
nasal vowels can have high quality	-tsɔɔ 'grandmother'
syllable-final h occurs	'èh 'with, by means of'
*ə > e / __ syllable-final h	'eht'ès 'he/she is frying (an object)'
innovative nasalization	sas 'black bear'
*nC > ii	-iilà' 'hand'
perfective *ŋ > ii-	ghiihut 'he/she shook (an object)'
2sg *ŋ > in-	'inht'ès 'fry it'
no verb stem initial voicing assimilation	suszul 'I'm warm'
3sg P m- with 3pl subject	mik'ights'idlii 'they love him/her'

Lexical uniqueness of Kwadacha

chuba	‘poplar’	gwùndàn	‘horse’
-chwè’	‘son’	dàna	‘money’
-twè’	‘daughter’	k’òòk	‘paper, book’
ghùje	‘goose’	ts’ik	‘tobacco’
tsits	‘duck’	’umawii	‘woman’
dloona	‘mouse’	’òòna	‘gun’
mun	‘lake’	’usk’ookàn	‘white person’
bàbìisa	‘butterfly’	-panè’	‘spouse, friend’

Current language teaching

- Aatse Davie School, Kwadacha

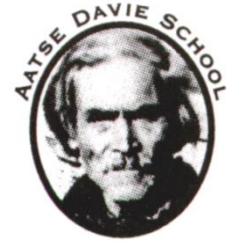
Angela Hocken



Kwadacha



Faye Seymour



Kwadacha verb overview

- 24 forms of every regular verb
 - 4 modes
 - 6 subjects
- No verb-internal negative
- McLeod Lake Tsek'ene: 28 forms (4 x 7)
- Witsuwit'en: 56 forms (4 x 7 x 2)
- Deg Xinag: 36 forms (3 x 6 x 2)

Subject prefixes

- 1sg: **s-** ~ **ii-**
 - 2sg: **in-**
 - 3sg
 - 1pl: **ts'-**
 - 2pl: **ah-**
 - 3pl: **gh-**
- outer subjects
- inner subjects
-
- ```
graph LR; OS[outer subjects] --> 1pl[1pl: ts'-]; OS --> 2pl[2pl: ah-]; OS --> 3pl[3pl: gh-]; IS[inner subjects] --> 1sg[1sg: s- ~ ii-]; IS --> 2sg[2sg: in-]; IS --> 3sg[3sg];
```

- no reflex of *\*idəd-* 1du subject in Kwadacha (nor in Tsay Keh)

Story, Gillian. 1989. 'The Athapaskan First Duoplural Subject Prefix.' In *Athapaskan Linguistics: Current Perspectives on a Language Family*, ed. by Eung-Do Cook and Keren Rice. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 487-531.

# Modes

- imperfective **u-** ~ **i-**
  - \_\_ 'udoo 'not'
- perfective **ii-; u- ~ i-**
  - ≈ past tense
- future **d- ... a-/ii-**
  - immediate future
- optative **w- ~ oo-**
  - general future
  - \_\_ sù 'might, perhaps'
  - \_\_ nò 'don't'
  - \_\_ t'è' 'do/don't' (exhortative)
  - \_\_ dowa 'in order to'
  - \_\_ *P-ka#y-n-zun* 'want P'
  - \_\_ *ywà#h-t'e* 'be unable'
  - \_\_ *P#d-nii* 'tell P to'

# Conjugation prefixes

- Perfective
  - s-
  - n-
  - gh-
- Imperfective
  - s-
  - n-
  - (gh- = progressive)
- Lexically specified
  - by verb
    - **nì#w-d-’ą** (*n*) ‘tough it out, stick it out, endure difficult situation’
  - by verb prefix
    - **dùdzi#** (*n*) ‘take short-cut’

# Origin of Kwadacha classifiers

- Classifier = rightmost verb prefix
- not a serious “misnomer”; divide verbs into classes
- **h-** < \*ɬ
- **d- ~ 0** < \*də-
- **h- ~ 0** < \*lə-

Krauss, Michael. 1969. 'On the [Classifiers] in the Athapaskan, Tlingit and Eyak Verb.' *International Journal of American Linguistics Memoir* 24:51-83.



# Role of classifiers in verb paradigms

- Affect form of one subject prefix
- Affect form of conjugation and mode prefixes



# Effect of classifier on 1sg subject

- *ii-* 1sg.pf / \_\_ h
- *O-h-'q* 'hire'
- gh- perfective
- 1sg **ghiih'**à' 'I hired him/her'
- 2sg **ghiinh'**à'
- 3sg O **ghiih'**à' 'he/she hired O'
- 1pl **ts'iih'**à'
- 2pl **ghah'**à'
- 3pl **ghighiih'**à'
- *s-* 1sg
- *ti#h-'ine* 'be pitiful'
- imperfective
- 1sg **tes'**ine 'I'm pitiful'
- 2sg **tinh'**ine
- 3sg **teh'**ine
- 1pl **tits'eh'**ine
- 2pl **tah'**ine
- 3pl **tigheh'**ine

# Effect of classifier on subject

- “The 1sS prefix is **ii-** in **h-** classifier perfective verbs.”
- Historically
  - 1sg.pf \**i-* / \_\_\_ 0, *ɬ-*
  - 2pl.pf \**a-* / \_\_\_ 0, *ɬ*

Hargus, Sharon. in preparation. Kwadacha (Fort Ware Tsek'ene) Grammar, Seattle, Ms.

# More examples of 1sg.pf ii-

- *P-ghà#* ‘give to P’, *O-h-tẹ* ‘handle animate O’, *y-3sgO*
- n- perfective
- 1sg *màyniihte* ‘I gave it (animate) to him/her’
- 2sg *màyniinhte*
- 3sg *yàyniihte*
- 1pl *màyts’inihte*
- 2pl *màynahte*
- 3pl *màghighìnihte*
- *nù#h-’ij* ‘spot, catch sight of’, *w-* areal
- s- perfective
- 1sg *nàwsiih’ij* ‘I spotted it’ (areal)
- 2sg *nàwsinh’ij*
- 3sg *nùwèh’ij*
- 1pl *nawts’èh’ij*
- 2pl *nàwsah’ij*
- 3pl *nawwèh’ij*

# Effect of classifier on s- conjugation

- forms which lack inner subject prefix
- 3 main patterns

|                  | *ɬ-      | *lə-     | 0, *də-  |
|------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| qualifier__      | èh-      | èh-      | ùs-      |
| other conjunct__ | èh-, eh- | èh-, eh- | ùs-, us- |
| otherwise        | seh-     | su-      | su-      |



# s- perfective, without and with D-

- -ke ‘go by boat’
  - with yà- ‘across’
  - 1sg yà**s**uske ‘I went across by boat’
  - 2sg yà**s**inke
  - 3sg yà**s**uke
  - 1pl yàts’**u**ske
  - 2pl yà**s**ahke
  - 3pl yàgh**u**ske
- -ke ‘go by boat’
  - with yà- ‘across’, nu#D- ‘back, again’
  - 1sg yànu**s**uske ‘I went back across by boat’
  - 2sg yànu**s**inke
  - 3sg yànu**s**uke
  - 1pl yants’**u**ske
  - 2pl yànu**s**ahke
  - 3pl yànugh**u**ske

# Cross-paradigm effects of D-

- **kìts'idì'ats** 'we (du.) came out on the shore'
- **kìnts'idìt'ats** 'we (du.) came back out on the shore'
  
- **nìdìya** 'he/she got up'
- **nìndìja** 'he/she got up again'

# More s-perfective paradigms

- < \*l̥-
- *H-tl'e* 'sg./du. run', *yà#* 'across'
- 1sg *yàsustl'a* 'I ran across'
- 2sg *yàsin-*
- 3sg *yàsu-*
- 1du *yàts'eh-* < *ɬ-* < *s-l-*
- 2du *yàsah-*
- 3du *yàgheh-*
- < \*ɬ-
- *O-h-tɛ* 'handle animate O', *ti#* 'in water'
- 1sg *tisihtɛ* 'I caught it (fish)'
- 2sg *tisinh-*
- 3sg *tiseh-*

# Effect of classifiers on gh-perfective

- forms which lack inner subject prefix

|              | *ɬ-, 0 | *də-, *lə- |
|--------------|--------|------------|
| word-initial | ghii-  | ghu-       |
| otherwise    | ii-    | a-         |

# Two gh- perfective paradigms

- *O-ghut* ‘shake, brush off O’
- 1sg *ghiisghut* ‘I shook it out’
- 2sg *ghiinghut*
- 3sg *gh*i*ighut*
- 1pl *ts’*i*ighut*
- 2pl *ghahghut*
- 3pl *gh*i*ighut*
- *O-D-tsèt* ‘eat O’
- 1sg *ghustsèt* ‘I ate it’
- 2sg *ghiintsèt*
- 3sg O *ghutsèt*
- 1pl *ts’atsèt*
- 2pl *ghahtsèt*
- 3pl O *ghatsèt*



# Two more gh- perfective paradigms

- *kù#O-d-h-dègh* ‘run out of O’
- 1sg *kùdiihdègh* ‘I ran out of it’
- 2sg *kùdiinhdègh*
- 3sg O *kùdiihdègh*
- 1pl *kùts'idiidhdègh*
- 2pl *kùdahdègh*
- 3pl O *kaghdiidhdègh*
- *'u#n-H-lìḡh* ‘dance’
- 1sg *'unaslìḡh* ‘I danced’
- 2sg *'uniinlìḡh*
- 3sg *'unalìḡh*
- 1pl *'uts'inlìḡh*
- 2pl *'unahlìḡh*
- 3pl *'ughnalìḡh*

# Effect of classifier on n- perfective

- forms which lack inner subject prefix
- 2 main patterns

|                  | *ɬ-, 0 | *də-, *lə- |
|------------------|--------|------------|
| qualifier__      | ini-   | è-         |
| other conjunct__ | ini-   | inu-       |
| otherwise        | nii-   | nu-        |

# Two n- perfective paradigms

- *ti-tsù#O-gh-'q* ‘criticize O’ (lit. ‘put one’s head in the water’)
- 1sg *titsìghniis'q* ‘I criticized him/her’
- 2sg *titsìghniin'q*
- 3sg *O titsìghnii'q*
- 1pl *titsights'inii'q*
- 2pl *titsìghnah'q*
- 3pl *titsìghhighnii'q* ‘they criticized him/her’
- *-ghà#* ‘give’, *'udu-...D-* reflexive, *O-'q* ‘handle compact O’
- 1sg *'udughàdnust'q* ‘I saved it for myself’
- 2sg *'udughàdniint'q*
- 3sg *'udughàydèt'q*
- 1pl *'udughàts'idèt'q*
- 2pl *'udughàdnaht'q*
- 3pl *'udughàghighdèt'q*

# Two more n- perfective paradigms

- *P-ta#w-n-h-yhḡ* ‘raise pl. P’
- 1sg *wootawnìniihyhḡ* ‘I raised them’
- 2sg *khutawnìniiinhyhḡ* ‘you raised us’
- 3sg *khutawnìniihyḡ* ‘he/she raised us’
- 1pl *wootawts’inìniihyḡ* ‘we raised them’
- 2pl *khutawnìnahyḡ* ‘you (pl.) raised us’
- 3pl *khutawoonìniihyḡ* ‘they raised us’
- *n-H-’ij* ‘sneak’, with *dù#* ‘through opening’
- 1sg *dùnìnis’ij* ‘I sneaked inside’
- 2sg *dùnìniin’ij*
- 3sg *dùnè’ij*
- 1pl *dùts’inè’ij*
- 2pl *dùnìnah’ij*
- 3pl *daghnè’ij*

# H- only overt in s-perfective

- *H-tl'e* 'sg./du. run'
  - s-pf *yàts'ehl'a* 'we (du.) ran across'
  - impf *'udoo yàts'utl'à* 'we (du.) didn't run across'
  - gh-pf *ts'ìiyetl'a* 'he/she ran away'
  - impf *k'ìts'utl'eh* 'we're running around'
  - opt *ts'idootl'à'ii* 'let's (du.) run (off)'



# Lexical representations of classifiers

- Some lexical verbs
- **h-**
  - **d-h-’èsha** ‘be ragged’
  - **O-h-’àtl** ‘chew on O’
  - **h-’ats** ‘pl. animals walk, go’
- **D-**
  - **w-d-D-dèh** ‘speak’
  - **d-D-dlòw** ‘laugh, smile’
  - **nu#D-jè** ‘heal’
  - **D-da** ‘sg. sit’
- **H-**
  - **d-H-ts’ii** ‘pl. sit’
  - **H-get** ‘crawl’
  - **n-H-yeh** ‘grow’

Hargus, Sharon, Mike Abou, Mary Charlie, Edna McCook, et al. in preparation. Kwadacha (Fort Ware Tsek’ene) Dictionary, Ms.

# Alternative representations

- Instead of **H-**, (**h-**)?
  - there are other verbs with optional **h-** and **H-**
    - **'-d-(h-)'òòt** ‘whistle’
    - **(H-)ch'ègh** ‘go in anger’
    - **O-n-(H-)yoot** ‘chase O, drive O (animal)’
    - **n-(H-)'ij** ‘sneak’
- Instead of **D-**, (**D-**) or (**d-**)?
  - there are other verbs with optional **D-** and **d-**
    - **(D-)tsugh** ‘cry, howl, wail’
    - **'òòya#(d-)lẹ** ‘be shy, polite’

# Leave out the classifiers?

- Dictionary currently
    - **D-ke** ‘du., few sit’ (*pos*)
      - ... *impf* (1d *ts’uske*, 2d *sah-*, 3d *ghus-*)
      - ... (*pf*) (1d *ts’akè*’, 2d *ghah-*, 3d *gha-*)
    - **-ke** ‘go by boat’ (*mot*)
  - Grammar
    - *pos* = positional
      - *impf* is s-perfective, *gh-* perfective
    - *mot* = motion
      - perfective determined by derivational prefix
- Dict without classifiers?
    - **-ke** ‘du., few sit’ (*pos*)
      - ... (*pf*) (1d *ts’akè*’, 2d *ghah-*, 3d *gha-*)
      - ... (*pf*) (1d *ts’akè*’, 2d *ghah-*, 3d *gha-*)
    - **-ke** ‘go by boat’ (*mot*)
  - Grammar without classifiers?
    - *gh<sub>a</sub>-* conjugation
    - *gh<sub>ii</sub>-* conjugation
    - *n<sub>u</sub>-* conjugation
    - *n<sub>ii</sub>-* conjugation
    - *s-*, *s/h-*, *s<sub>h</sub>-* conjugations?

# Conclusions

- Classifiers affect form of subject and conjugation,
- Kwadacha classifiers are currently represented in pedagogical materials as **h-**, **D-**, **H-**
- Two of these representations are abstract
  - **D-** realizations are **t**, **d**, **0**
  - **H-** realizations are **h**, **0**
- Grammatical rules refer to these representations
- The lexical verb (e.g. ***h-jit*** ‘stink’) itself is an abstraction
- A compromise?
  - Explain system in grammar, give model paradigms (some users will ignore)
  - Give copious examples of patterns in dictionaries (ideally a perfective paradigm for every verb and verb prefix)