

# Deg Xinag disjunct verbal prefixes and positions

Sharon Hargus

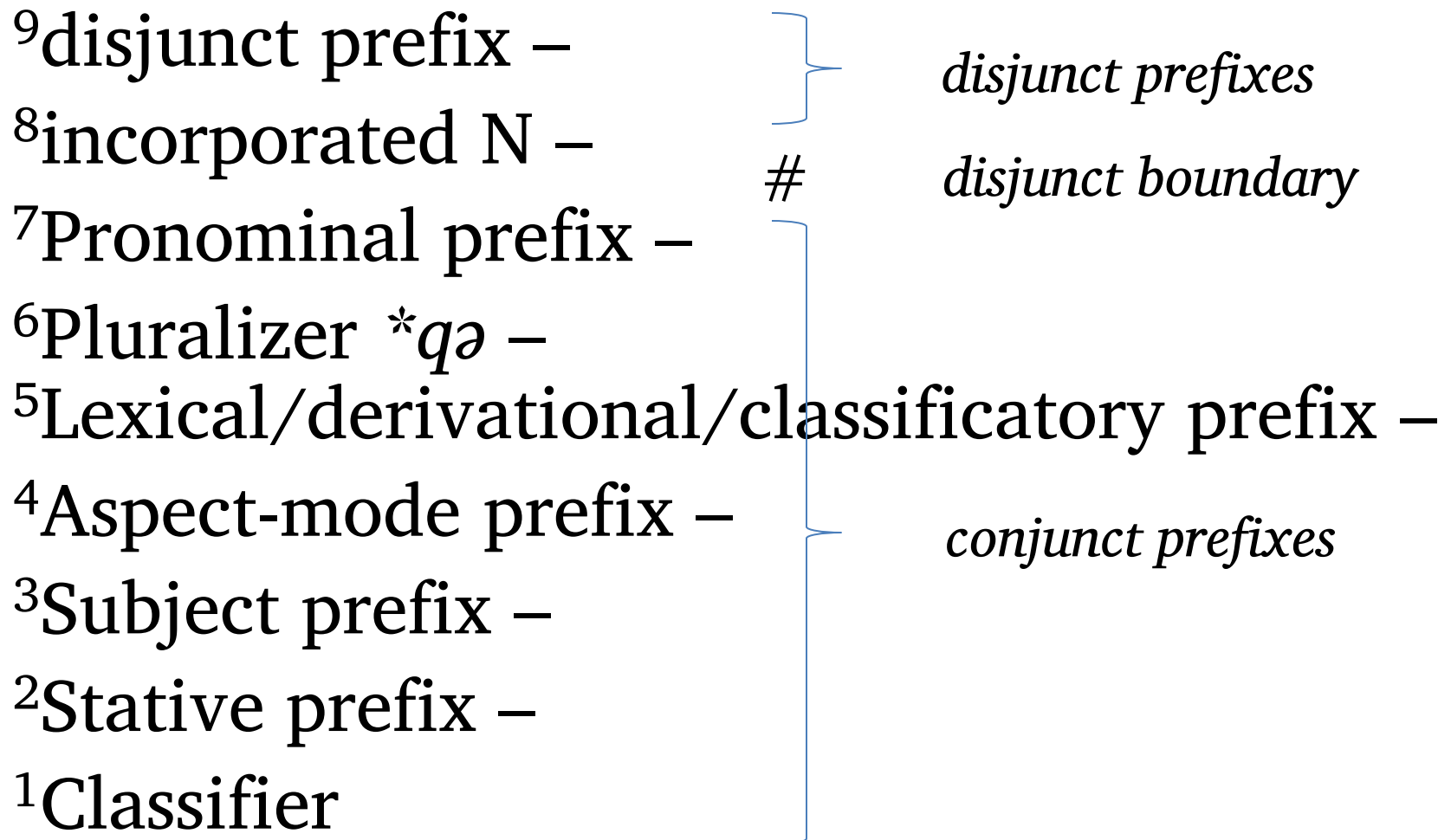
University of Washington

Athabaskan/Dene Languages Conference,  
Bellingham WA, August 15, 2012

# 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



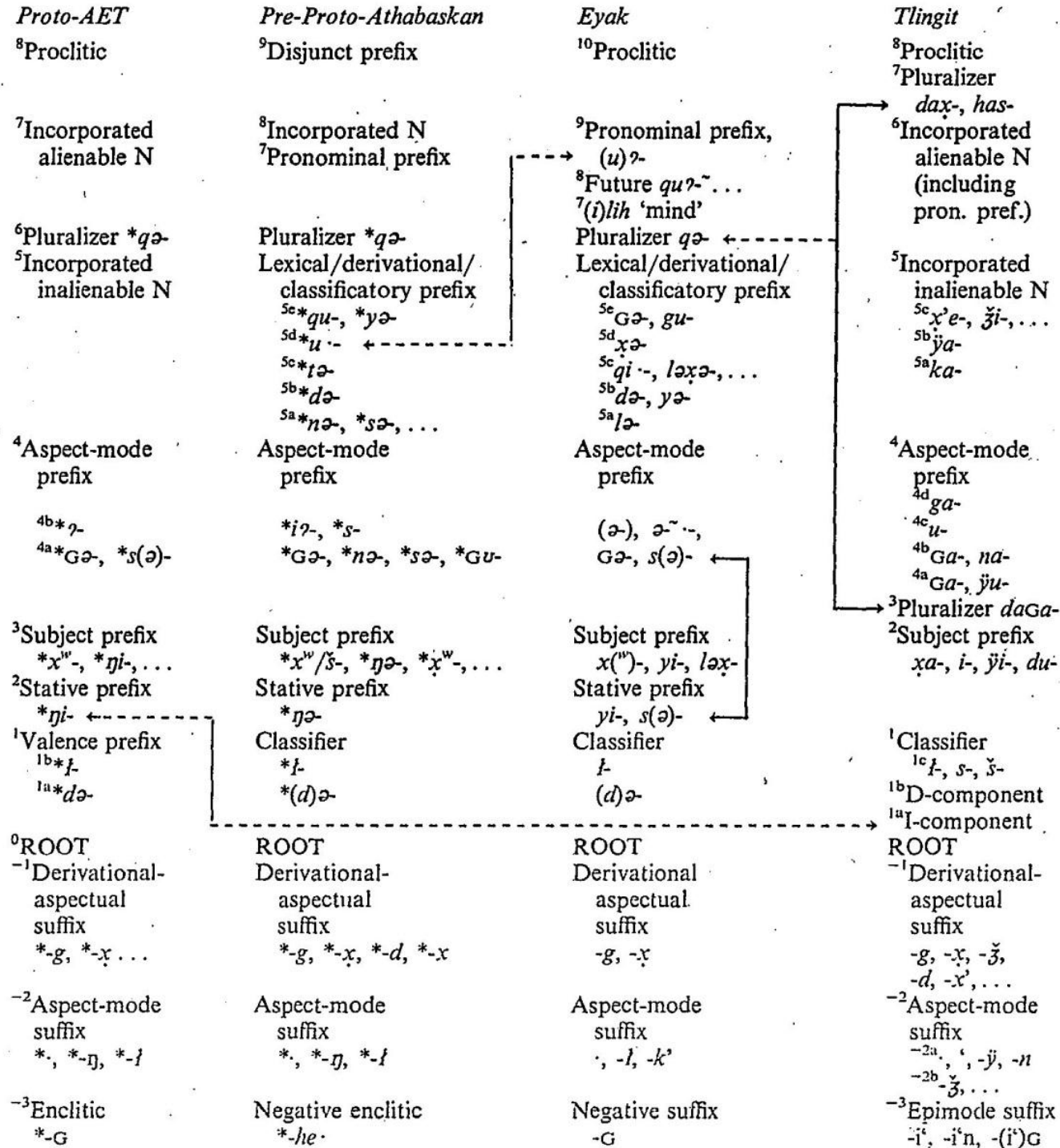


Table 1,  
'Comparison of the  
verb template in  
the Athabaskan-  
Eyak-Tlingit (AET)  
languages'

Leer, Jeff. 2006.  
'Na-Dene  
Languages.' In *The  
Encyclopedia of  
Language and  
Linguistics*, ed. by  
R.E. Asher and  
J.M.Y. Simpson.  
Oxford: Pergamon  
Press. 428-430.

# Known disjunct variability

iterative-distr-incorp	Ahtna, Koyukon
distr-iterative-incorp	Ahtna, Dene Sułiné, Slave
iterative-incorp-distr	Dena'ina, Tsuut'ina, Beaver, Tłı̨chǫ
incorp-distr-iterative	Slave
incorp-iterative-distr	Beaver, Koyukon
(distr)-incorp-iterative-distr-(iterative)-inceptive	Tsek'ene
(distr)-iterative-incorp-distr-(iterative)-inceptive	Tsek'ene
iterative-multiple-negative-incorp-inceptive-distr	Babine-Witsuwit'en
iterative-distr iterative-plural	Navajo, Apache Hupa
distr-iterative-inceptive-incorp-negative	Dakelh

# Deg Xinag disjunct verb prefixes

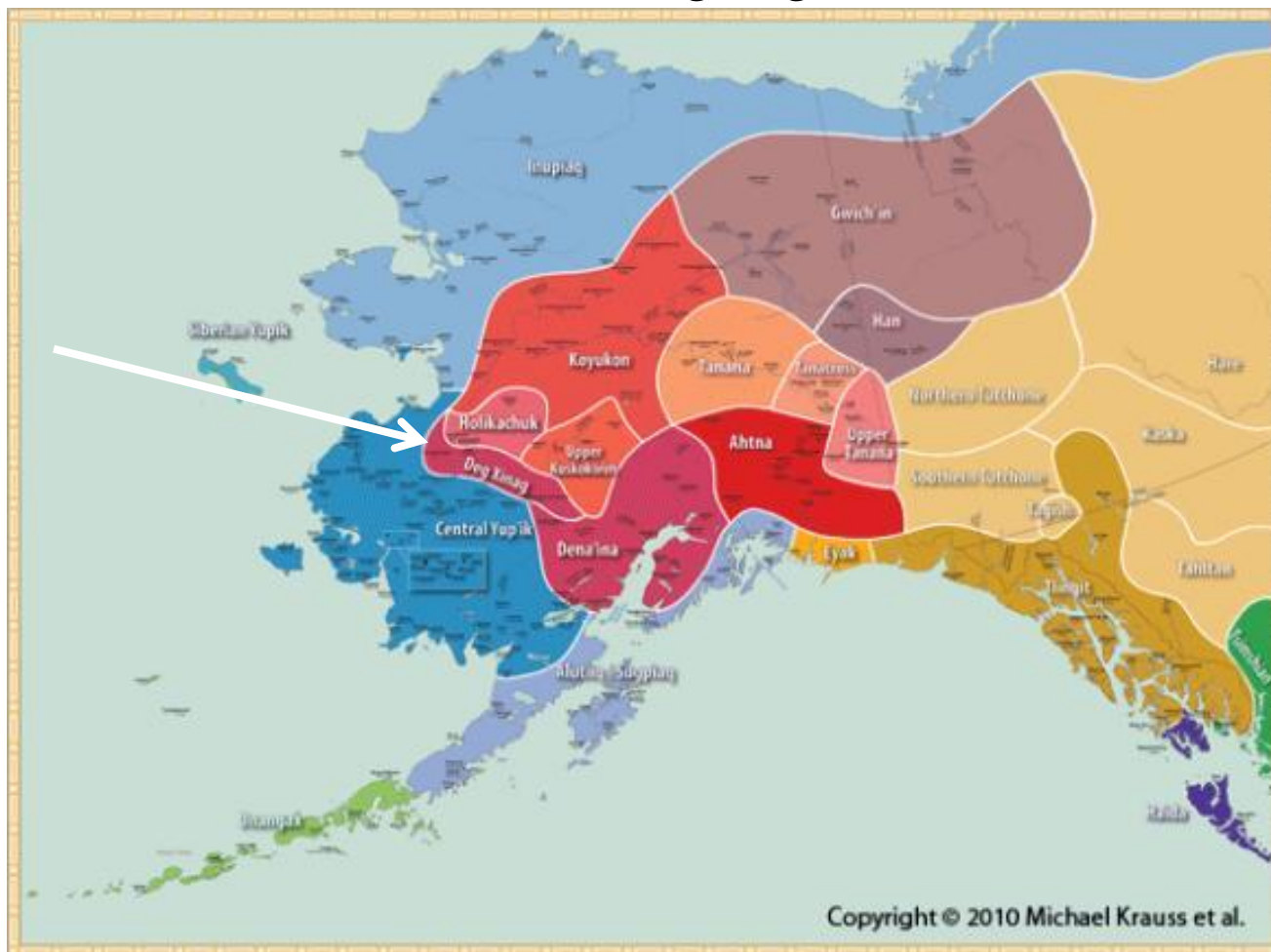
- Goals of this presentation
  - inventory
  - order restrictions

Hargus, Sharon. 2000. 'The qualifier prefixes in Yukon Deg Xinag (Ingalik).' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 66:1-21.

Hargus, Sharon. 2003. 'Compensatory Lengthening in Deg Xinag.' In *Proceedings of the 2003 Athabaskan Languages Conference, Arcata, California*, ed. by Siri G. Tuttle and Gary Holton. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks. 9-23.

# Deg Xinag

(“local language”)



Krauss, Michael. 2011. Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska. Fairbanks and Anchorage: UAF Alaska Native Language Center and UAA Institute of Social and Economic Research.

# Data for this presentation

- Elicited
  - James Kari (1975-)
    - e.g. (CF/JK)
  - Sharon Hargus (1991-2, 2002-)
- Textual
- Presented in orthography
  - <i> = [ə]/[ɪ]
  - <u> = [ʊ]/[u]



# James Kari field notes

sample from  
work with  
Cleo  
Fairbanks, 9-  
16-76

xit'ontetjiyh slide down  
xit'ontel.

xit'i'ilqadi to'in'

git dronh - his tanning iT  
ghat jounh - tanned moose skin  
ghaldhon' a tanned skin

'ux #

nigit'ux - he's butchering  
nigitl'ux he did -

yanyit'ux - he butchered pl.

yanyit'ox he is

yanyitit'ox - he will

'ox 'ux 'ox

# 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 *ni*#

- ‘back’, ‘again’, thematic
- *ni*#
  - nixitididił ‘they will come back’
  - ni’idiyo ‘3s came back’
- *n*#
  - \_\_coronal stop/affr
    - ntoxdidił ‘you (pl.) will go back’
    - ntr’ixodo’ ‘we called/phoned back’
  - V\_\_
    - xidonn’idiyo ‘3s came back inside’, x-idi- ‘through doorway’
    - diggannxiditl’iyo ‘they stood back up’, diggi- ‘up’

# Iterative prefix

- $ni\# \sim n\# / \_\_ \text{dorsal stop}$ 
  - $\underline{n}igitasde\text{ł} \sim \underline{n}\text{-}gitasde\text{ł}$  ‘I’ll eat again’
  - cf.  $gitase\text{ł}$  ‘I’ll eat’
- $no\# / \_\_ gh$ 
  - Ngidodz  $\underline{n}oghdo\text{ł}$  ‘3s is coming back from downriver.’
  - $\underline{N}oght'ux$ . (ED, RD)/ $\underline{N}oght'it$ . (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*
- yigixidiniłdayh ‘they (3 + ) are writing’
- cf. gixidiniłdik ‘they’re writing’
- yigixeheyh ‘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 + ł + dzoghdł ‘play with ball’
  - Yigixiłdz[oghdł]. (CF/JK) ‘They’re playing.’

# Distributive

- n#
  - xełedz nonxithinek ‘they healed well’
  - cf. xełedz idiyił nixidinek ‘they healed well on their own’
  - Ggux angidhitliyh. (CF/JK) “I snared pl.”
  - cf. Ggux igidhitliyh. (CF/JK) “I snared it” (rabbit)
  - łek xonthichith. “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'onyidiłvin'. (CF/JK) "he cust fills pl. O; not vinh"
  - cf. Diydiniłvinh. (CF/JK) [he's filling it]
  - Ni'ondhiso. (CF/JK) "I crossed diff trails."
  - cf. nidhiso 'I went and came back'

# Distributive

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

# Distributive

- ni'on#
  - Ni'ondenatlquyh. (CF/JK) 'I chopped down trees.'
  - cf. denatlquyh (CF/JK) 'I chopped a tree down'
  - n[i]'onthidrok (CF/JK) "in diff. places are piles of sand"
  - cf. ay'ot thoyh ithidrok '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’iyexet’ixdi ‘bluff on Yukon R. below Grayling’  
(lit. ‘where it's bad in the boat’)

# Incorporates

- $d + l + g + husr$  ‘pl. laugh’
  - $Dluggidilughusr$ . They're laughing.
  - cf.  $ni + g + dluq$  ‘sg./du. laugh’
- $xina + d + l + g + husr$  ‘pl. talk’
  - $Xinaxidilughusr$ . ‘They're talking.’
  - cf.  $xinag$  ‘language’ <  $xinayh$  ‘3s is talking’
- cf.  $d + l + g + husr$  ‘small bird sings, chirps, play’
  - $xidil[u]ghusr$  (CF/JK) ‘they're playing’
- $xina + d + n + D + yi\ddot{t}$  ‘stutter’
  - $Xinadin-ghidiyi\ddot{t}$ . (CF/JK) ‘He stuttered.’



# Incorporates

- visriłde'o (MW/JK) 'it's steaming'  
– cf. srił 'steam, vapor'
- Qigingilingh. (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

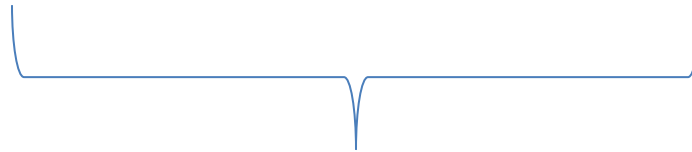
- yen# ‘mind’ < “incorporate *yi:nə-* ‘mind’ as highly irregular prefix, in some languages resembling *\*nə-* thematic”
  - Q'uyentr'ithidagh ts'in'. ‘We weren't thinking.’
  - Vanyendagidhiyh. ‘I thought about her.’
  - Vanyendagitsił. ‘I had a sudden thought about her.’

# Incorporates

- drinxodhił ‘day is passing’ (*Polar bear*)
  - cf. dranh ‘day(time)’
- dhaghdinek ‘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
  - teydolał (CF/JK) “pl. float”
  - cf. dolił. CF/JK “it's floating (prog)”

# Preverb - distributive

- q'u#D- perambulative, n# distributive
  - Q'onxili'ał. 'They (people) are swimming around.'
- niłto# 'crosswise' + non# distributive
  - niłtonondhitlch'ił (CF/JK) "I tore pl."

# Preverb - iterative

- sriłti# ‘hidden’ + n# iterative
  - sriłtonyine'onh (CF) he hid it again
- ni# continuative + n# iterative
  - dingit'a chenh nondhisdoy (GJ) “better if I return again”
- xi + ye# ‘inside’ + n# iterative

Venhdida' xiłdik yuxudz xiyenxititl'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'oyh 'it's howling'
- q'u#D- perambulative, yen# 'mind'
  - gits'in' q'uyengididhik (GJ) 'you think evilly'
- q'u#D- perambulative, tthi#x + † + datl 'pl. go in fear'
  - Q'utthixa†da†. 'They're going around scared.'
  - cf. Wit. tsë#l + cot 'sg./du. go in fear', tsë#l + di† 'pl. go in fear'



# Multiple - distributive

- yi# multiple + n# distributive
- yanx[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’idiqiyh ‘he’s vomiting’
  - q’igidiqiyh (CF/JK) “he quit vomit[ing]”
- yanxiditl’enh. (CF/JK) “pl. got dress[ed]”
  - nidhisitl’enh (CF/JK) “I got dress[ed]”
- Yan’itltrił. (CF/JK) ‘I wet them.’
  - cf. niyiłtrił ‘3s is wetting it’

# Iterative-distributive

- Xełedz idiyił nonxithinek. ‘They healed well on their own.’
  - cf. Xełedz nixidinek. ‘They healed well.’
- xinonngitthiyh 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, vił#(n + )l + tingh ‘sleep’
  - yiviłxinełteyh (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. xantthagluquyhdi ‘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, xał# trap
  - nonxałnelo ‘he set traps again’ (*Man who came down*)
- P + i + qi#ł + quyh ‘kick P’, ni# iterative
  - vanqitr'ititl'uquyh ‘someone kicked it again’ (*Spruce Grouse and Mink*)

# Interpretation of data

	mult	iter	distr	incorp
preverb	te-y	xiye-n	niłto-n	xi-trix
mult		ya-n	ya-n	yi-vił
iter			no-n	ni-li
distr				non-tthi



# Koyukon vs. Deg Xinag

3 <sup>rd</sup> Plural-2	Postpositio nal Object	Derivation al/Themati c/Postposit ional	Distributiv e/ Multiple	Iterative	Verbal	Incorporat e	'attached'
			ne/yen	no	do		haa

DX: preverb – multiple –iterative - distributive - incorporate

# Situating Deg Xinag

iterative-distr-incorp	Ahtna, Koyukon, <b>DEG XINAG</b>
distr-iterative-incorp	Ahtna, Dene Sułiné, Slave
iterative-incorp-distr	Dena'ina, Tsuut'ina, Beaver, Tłıchǫ
incorp-distr-iterative	Slave
incorp-iterative-distr	Beaver, Koyukon
(distr)-incorp-iterative-distr-(iterative)-inceptive	Tsek'ene
(distr)-iterative-incorp-distr-(iterative)-inceptive	Tsek'ene
iterative-multiple-negative-incorp-inceptive-distr	Babine-Witsuwit'en
iterative-distr iterative-plural	Navajo, Apache Hupa
distr-iterative-inceptive-incorp-negative	Dakelh

# Xisrigidisddhinh

- ‘thank you’