
**A PRACTICAL GRAMMAR
OF THE CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK
ESKIMO LANGUAGE**

Steven A. Jacobson
with Yup'ik readings written by Anna W. Jacobson
Alaska Native Language Center and Program
University of Alaska Fairbanks
1995

A Practical Grammar of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo Language
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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Jacobson, Steven A.

A practical grammar of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo language/
Steven A. Jacobson ; with Yup'ik readings written by Anna W. Jacobson.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 1-55500-050-9

1. Central Yup'ik language — Grammar. I. Jacobson, Anna W., 1944—

II. Title.

PM87.J33 1995

497'.1—dc20

94-16979
CIP

Front cover: George Chimugak and James Charlie of Toksook Bay seal hunting
off Nelson Island, 1980. Photo by James H. Barker.

Back cover: Illustrations reproduced from E.W. Nelson's *The Eskimo About
Bering Strait*, published in 1899 (reprinted 1983) by the Smithsonian Institution
(*taluyaq*, fish trap, pl. LXX: 12; *yaaruin*, story knife, pl. XCIV: 3).

First printing 1995

Second printing, with corrections, 1997 800 copies

Third printing, with corrections and addenda, 2000 500 copies

800 copies

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Fairbanks, AK 99775-7680

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PREFACE

The Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo language, which is spoken in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta and Bristol Bay areas of Southwestern Alaska, is one of four (or possibly five) Yupik Eskimo languages. The others are Central Siberian Yupik spoken on St. Lawrence Island and the Chukchi Peninsula of Siberia, Naukanski spoken only on the Chukchi Peninsula, and Alutiiq (also called Sugpiaq, Suk, Pacific Gulf Yupik, and, loosely, Aleut) spoken around Prince William Sound, the tip of the Kenai Peninsula, Kodiak Island, and the Alaska Peninsula. These Yupik languages along with the Inupiaq or Inuit language spoken in northern Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland constitute the Eskimo branch of the Eskimo-Aleut family of languages. The position of Sireniki, spoken only in Siberia and now nearly extinct, as another Yupik language or a third branch of Eskimo (along with Yupik and Inupiaq/Inuit) has not been definitively determined. The other branch of the Eskimo-Aleut family, Aleut, is spoken on the Aleutian chain and the Pribilof and Commander Islands.

In this book Central Alaskan Yup'ik will be mostly referred to simply as "Yup'ik," the apostrophe distinguishing the name from that of other Yupik Eskimo languages.¹

It is relevant to observe here that the term "Eskimo" is quite acceptable in Alaska. This is in contrast to the situation in Greenland and especially in Canada, where the term is often considered pejorative and "Inuit" is used instead. In Alaska "Eskimo" is used as a label to include both Yupiks and Inupiaqs; the term "Inuit" is too limited because it excludes Yupiks.

At the present time (1995) there are approximately 20,000 (Central Alaskan) Yup'iks, some 10,500 of whom speak their ancestral language. Children still grow up speaking Yup'ik as their first language in about one-third of the Yup'ik villages, mainly those on the lower Kuskokwim River, on Nelson Island, and along the coast and in the tundra area between the Kuskokwim River and Nelson Island. In the other Yup'ik villages most children grow up speaking English as their first language and only the older generations still speak Yup'ik.

The first part of this book (Chapters 1 through 12) presents nouns in all their forms, and verb forms enough to make statements, questions and commands, but basically limited to sentences with only one verb. The second part (Chapters 13

1. Some writers omit the apostrophe when using the word in an English text. However, here the apostrophe is maintained to avoid conflict with the spelling conventions of the language in question itself.

through 24) deals with sentences that have two or more verbs. These are sentences with clauses of various sorts, and with the very important — but easily neglected — matter of Yup'ik narrative and discourse. Review sections follow Chapter 12 and Chapter 18.

The predecessor of this book is *Yup'ik Eskimo Grammar (YEG)* (Reed et al., 1977). Like that work, the present grammar teaches how the language functions, how it is written and read, and gives a basic vocabulary.¹ It may be used in classes composed of speakers of Yup'ik, partial speakers, non-speakers or a mixture of these groups. The supplementary sections of each chapter give additional information concerning the vocabulary and grammatical topics discussed in that chapter, including alternative vocabulary from various Yup'ik dialects,² other information about dialect differences, a deeper analysis of various constructions, and some historical and comparative material. Depending upon the background and interests of the class, these supplementary sections may be either used or omitted, and the material in this book may be supplemented by oral practice, reading of texts, writing in Yup'ik or other activities not dealt with in the book. Several texts from various sources are included without footnotes at the end of the book.

The present book retains the same terminology as in *YEG* and in *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary* (Jacobson, 1984), with certain exceptions which are noted as they occur.

1. This book differs from *YEG* in the following ways:

1. In this book vocabulary is taken only from the dialects of the lower Kuskokwim and Nelson Island, since these are the areas where the language is used the most at the present time, and which have the greatest population of Yup'iks. Only high-frequency words are in the vocabulary.
 2. Grammatical topics are presented in an order such that the student will deal with a large number of common constructions fairly early on in his or her study of the language.
 3. Certain explanations of Eskimo grammar have been changed. In most cases they have been made less technical, but sometimes providing a deeper explanation of a certain topic ends up making that topic easier to understand.
 4. This book stresses the *patterns* in accordance with which the various inflectional endings are composed, both as an aid to learning the endings and due to the intrinsic interest which these patterns should have for the student.
 5. The variety of exercise material has been increased over that in *YEG* where the exercises were almost all translating individual Yup'ik sentences into English and vice versa. In this book besides having exercises that require various types of substitutions, there are connected dialogues and readings with all necessary footnotes. Nevertheless this book, like most classroom grammars for various languages, *does* lean heavily on translation exercises. There seems to be no substitute for them.
2. The dialect abbreviations are as in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*: K = Kuskokwim, UK = Upper Kuskokwim, Y = Yukon, NS = Norton Sound, NSU = Norton Sound Unaliq, NSK = Norton Sound Kotlik, HBC = Hooper Bay - Chevak, NI = Nelson Island, Nun = Nunivak, BB = Bristol Bay, NR = Nushagak River, LI = Lake Iliamna, plus the following new abbreviations: LK = Lower Kuskokwim, Eg = Egegik, and Can = Canineq (the coastal area between the mouth of the Kuskokwim and Nelson Island).

Non-speakers who wish to become able to speak and understand the language with some degree of facility will need many hours of oral practice beyond the time that could ever be provided in a college classroom. However, understanding the grammatical patterns of the language is very important for a person from an English-speaking background who is trying to learn to speak and understand Yup'ik as an adult, and who thus no longer has the opportunity to learn Yup'ik in the natural and seemingly effortless way that children learn their language from their parents and others.

For the author it was a difficult decision to de-emphasize and defer until the final chapter the treatment of the less frequent dual endings. Doing so seems to be teaching an Eskimo language according to the model of English and other modern European languages, since the dual *is* as intrinsic a part of Yup'ik as the singular or plural. However, it *does* simplify paradigms considerably to de-emphasize dual forms, and this may help to alleviate some of the frustration that learners of Yup'ik have expressed. Furthermore it is also true that most dual constructions are considerably less frequent than singular or plural constructions, so that if there has to be some simplification, this is a logical place for it. In addition, dual endings that *are* fairly common *are* treated along with the singular and plural endings. Other dual endings are given, enclosed in square brackets, on the charts of endings in the various chapters even though there are no examples or exercises given for them until the final chapter of the book.

It was also a difficult decision to break up some of the paradigms, giving part of a paradigm in one chapter and another part of it in a later chapter. The justification again was to expose the students to a variety of common constructions as soon as possible. Unfortunately the price is that some of the organizational beauty of each paradigm, which can only be seen as a whole, is lost this way. Complete charts of each paradigm, including all dual forms, will be found in an appendix.

Yup'ik (and Eskimo in general) is very much a gender-neutral language. It has no words comparable to "mankind" or "workman" which assume a certain gender bias. Moreover in Eskimo languages the various morphemes indicating third person singular are not marked for gender. Thus, the word that means 'he is here' also means 'she is here' and 'it is here,' and the word for 'she is asleep' also means 'he is asleep.' This situation leads to a certain problem in translating such words into English. Even though accurate, it is extremely cumbersome to repeatedly read (and write) 'he, she or it is here', 'he/she is asleep', '3s is here' or '(s)he is asleep' and even worse to have to say something like 'he or she is putting his or her son to sleep in his or her own bed!' To avoid such difficulties as well as to avoid the objectionable aspects of routinely using the masculine third person singular pronouns 'he,' 'him' and 'his' as a convention for 'he or she,' 'him or her,' 'his or her' (as has sometimes been done in Eskimo and other grammars and dictionaries), in this book every even-numbered chapter uses only

'he,' 'him' and 'his,' and every odd-numbered chapter uses only 'she' and 'her' for the third person singular (for humans that is; for non-humans of course the word 'it' is used). Thus in an even-numbered chapter one should understand the English gloss 'he is asleep' to mean 'he or she is asleep,' and in an odd-numbered chapter one should understand the gloss 'she is here' as meaning 'he, she or it is here.' The only exceptions will be cases where biology overrides such a convention, so that, for example, even in an even-numbered chapter one will see 'she is a mother' rather than 'he is a mother' (even though the Yup'ik word itself *could* also mean 'he ...'). On the other hand, no allowance is made for culturally determined gender roles no matter how fixed or traditional such roles are. Thus, for example, in an even-numbered chapter one may find 'he is sewing a parka' (meaning 'he or she is sewing a parka'), and in an odd-numbered chapter one may find 'she is hunting' (meaning 'he or she is hunting').

Differences between the examples, exercises and patterns given herein and the speech of any Yup'ik-speaking reader are due to dialect differences or to the fact that the language is changing rather rapidly now, and the speech of younger speakers is often not the same as that of older speakers. In some cases the Yup'ik herein represents older patterns of speech and in other cases it represents newer patterns, though the patterns not presented are at least mentioned in footnotes or supplementary sections if not in the text itself. It is no easy task to decide whether to present conservative or innovative patterns. If conservative patterns are presented as the standard in a language textbook, then the book could be criticized for not keeping pace with the language as it is actually spoken today. Conversely if innovative patterns are presented as the standard, then the book could be criticized for endorsing a form of the language which younger speakers themselves might well abandon as they grow older.

Although the Yup'ik has been checked by native speakers, the exercises and example sentences were written by the author, and may still in certain subtle ways give evidence of the fact that they were composed by someone who is not a native speaker of the language. Also, so as not to obscure the point being made, some Yup'ik sentences are written in a style that, while valid, is not the most idiomatic Yup'ik possible.

The background information for this book comes from a number of native Yup'ik speakers. For the most part they are the same group acknowledged in *YEG*: Paschal Afcan, Martha Teeluk, Sophie Shield, Joseph Coolidge, Marie Meade, also Lucy Coolidge, Balassia W. Nicolai, and above all others, my wife, Anna Jacobson (who is the source of most of the new information on Yup'ik grammar that is in the present book and was not in *YEG*). Thanks are due especially to those who worked with Yup'ik before I began studying it and who co-authored *YEG* with me: Irene Reed, Osahito Miyaoka, Michael Krauss and Paschal Afcan, to my colleagues at the Alaska Native Language Center with whom I have discussed Eskimo grammar in general and Yup'ik grammar in

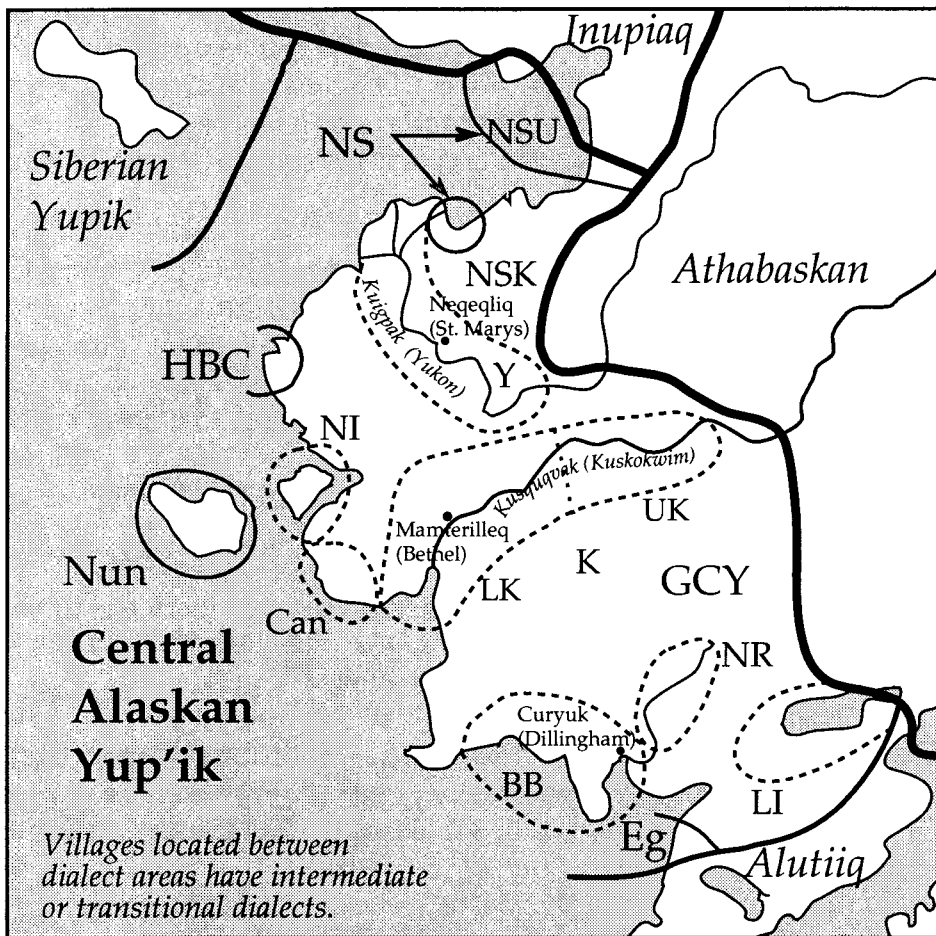
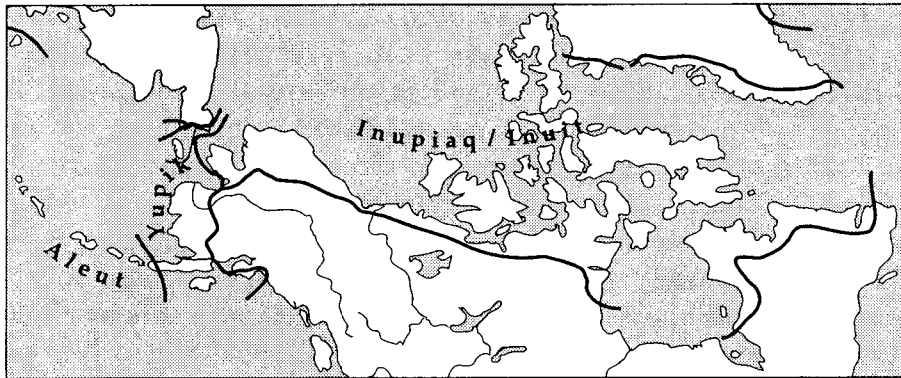
particular: Jeff Leer and Lawrence Kaplan, Anthony Woodbury, and Osahito Miyaoka whose articles on Yup'ik have been very informative, and to those whose writings on the grammar of other Eskimo languages preceded the effort that went into *YEG* and hence into the present book: Samuel Kleinschmidt, C. W. Schultz-Lorentzen, and Knut Bergsland for Greenlandic, and Francis Barnum and John Hinz for Yup'ik. An immense debt is owed to all the students, native Yup'ik speakers and others, who have taken Yup'ik classes from me over the years here at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and who have pointed out to me the errors and inadequacies in previous trial editions of this work, as well as in *YEG*. Unless noted otherwise, the stories, dialogs and other connected readings (excluding those at the end of the book) were written especially for this book by Anna Jacobson. Since it is likely that many students using this textbook will be native speakers of Yup'ik seeking to learn more about their language, the readings have not been simplified, as is the general practice in language textbooks. However, footnotes to the readings are provided as a way of explaining grammatical constructions and vocabulary not presented before the chapter in which the story appears.

Special thanks go to Jonathan Bobaljik, a graduate student in linguistics at MIT with a special interest in Eskimo, and to Abe Friendly, a native speaker of Yup'ik from Quinhagak, both of whom read through the entire manuscript and pointed out many errors and inadequacies of various sorts to me. Michael Fortescue of the Institute for Eskimology in Copenhagen also read through the manuscript and made a number of valuable comments. Thanks are also due to ANLC editor Tom Alton who prepared the manuscript for publication.

A set of two cassette tapes to go with this book is available from the Alaska Native Language Center. On these tapes all Yup'ik words from the first chapter (on pronunciation and spelling) and from the vocabulary sections of each subsequent chapter are read by a native speaker of Yup'ik.

Let no one think that this book is the final and definitive word on the Central Yup'ik language. Undoubtedly, certain fine points of grammar, usage, and style have been neglected or inadequately addressed. Comments, criticisms, and suggestions are welcome.

Steven A. Jacobson
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March, 1995



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|-----|------------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|---------------------|
| BB | Bristol Bay | LI | Lake Iliamna | NSU | Norton Sound Unaliq |
| Can | Canineq | LK | Lower Kuskokwim | Nun | Nunivak |
| Eg | Egegik | NI | Nelson Island | UK | Upper Kuskokwim |
| GCY | General Central Yup'ik | NR | Nushagak River | Y | Yukon |
| HBC | Hooper Bay-Chevak | NS | Norton Sound | | |
| K | Kuskokwim | NSK | Norton Sound Kotlik | | |

CHAPTER 1

Yup'ik Phonology and Orthography

Letters Used

Yup'ik has a different inventory of basic sounds than English, though there is considerable overlap. Some Yup'ik sounds are exactly the same as English sounds, and some Yup'ik sounds are almost but not quite the same as certain English sounds. There are sounds in Yup'ik that English totally lacks and conversely sounds in English that Yup'ik totally lacks.

The standard writing system for the Yup'ik language represents Yup'ik sounds by means of letters of the English (actually Latin) alphabet plus a very few other symbols. Not all English letters are used, however. The letters and symbols that are used are: **a, c, e, g, i, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, y** and the accent mark, the ligature, and the hyphen. Some of these letters represent exactly the same sounds as they do for English, some only slightly different sounds, and some completely different sounds. Also, some Yup'ik sounds are represented by combinations of two letters (*digraphs*), just as are the English sounds represented by 'sh' and 'ch.' Unlike English, the Yup'ik writing system is (almost) perfectly precise in that, except for several small classes of exceptions,¹ a given spoken word can have one and only one written representation, and a given written word can be pronounced in one and only one way. Thus, two words which differ in pronunciation, no matter how slight the difference, will be written differently, and a pair of homonyms (words that sound the same but have different meanings) will be written exactly the same despite having different meanings.

Consonants

It is beneficial to see the Yup'ik consonants displayed in a two-dimensional array:

	<i>labials</i>	<i>apicals</i>	<i>front velars</i>	<i>back velars</i>
<i>stops</i>	p	t c	k	q
<i>voiced fricatives</i>	v	l s/y	g	r
<i>voiceless fricatives</i>	vv	ll ss	gg	rr
<i>voiced nasals</i>	m	n	ng	
<i>voiceless nasals</i>	mí	ní	ńg	

1. See the section of the supplement to this chapter titled "Classes of Words Where the Relationship Between Sound and Spelling is Not One-to-One" for a description of the exceptions. It is advisable to study the rest of this chapter before reading that section.

The *stops* are so called because the passage of breath in one's mouth is completely stopped in making them. In Yup'ik, stops are technically *voiceless but unaspirated*.¹ In less precise terms this means that Yup'ik **p** is midway between English "p" and English "b," and Yup'ik **t** is midway between English "t" and English "d." Yup'ik words with these sound are **panik** 'daughter,' **apii** 'his grandfather,' **tang** 'look!' and **aata** 'father.' Yup'ik **c** is midway between English "ch" and "j" (and thus is totally unlike either the sound of English "c" in "cat" or in "city"). Yup'ik examples are **ca** 'thing' and **acak** 'aunt.' When it is followed by **e** however, **c** has the sound of English "ts" in "hits": **cetaman** 'four.' Yup'ik **k** is midway between English "k" and hard "g" (as in "good"). Yup'ik examples are **kina** 'who' and **ukuk** 'these two.' Yup'ik **q** is a sound not found in English. It is similar to Yup'ik **k** (and in fact is not easily distinguished from it by the inexperienced ear). It is made with the tongue arching up more toward the back of the mouth than is the **k**. Examples are **qayaq** 'kayak,' and **iquk** 'end.'

The words at the top of the columns in the above array, *labials*, *apicals*, *front velars*, and *back velars* describe what part of the mouth, going from the front of the mouth (the lips, hence labials) to the back of the mouth (the back velum, hence back velars), is constricted to make the sounds in the column. One can experience this by producing the sounds of **p**, **t**, **c**, **k**, **q** in fairly rapid sequence and in that order.

The *fricatives* are so called because they are made with the mouth constricting the airflow and causing friction in that way. *Voiced* fricatives (and nasals) involve vibration of the vocal cords, while *voiceless* fricatives (and nasals) involve no vibration. The **v** is like English "v," except that between vowels other than **e** it often has the sound of English "w." Examples are **avek** 'half' (where it has the sound of English "v") and **tuntuvak** 'moose' (where it has the sound of English "w" for most speakers). The voiceless counterpart of a voiced fricative is written by doubling the letter; the reasons for this convention will become apparent later. So the voiceless counterpart of **v** is written **vv**, and, as one can see by simple experimentation with one's own voice (first allowing the vocal cords to vibrate, then preventing them from doing so) the sound of **vv** is like English "f." Yup'ik examples are **kuuvviaq** 'coffee' and **avvutuk** 'they two split up.' Yup'ik **l** is much like English "l" but the tongue is held a little tighter. An example is **ila** 'relative, part'. However the voiceless fricative, **ll**, is entirely absent from English. It is made by holding the tongue in the position for **l**, and allowing air to escape through the gaps on the sides of the tongue while preventing the vocal cords from vibrating.² Yup'ik examples of **ll** include **alla** 'other' and **ulluvak** 'cheek.' Yup'ik

1. Thus, Yup'ik **p** is like the English "p" in "spy" rather than the "p" in "pie", and Yup'ik **t** is like the English "t" in "stop" rather than the "t" in "top." One can feel the aspiration in "pie" and "top," and the absence of aspiration in "spy" and "stop" by putting the hand in front of the mouth while making these sounds. There is a puff of air in the case of aspirated stops that is absent in unaspirated stops.

2. One can feel the difference between voiced and voiceless fricatives by putting the hand on the throat below the Adam's apple and feeling for the vibration.

y is like English “y,” and Yup’ik **s** is like the English “z” sound of “s” in “easy” or “resemble.” Yup’ik examples are **yuk** ‘person,’ and **casit** ‘what are you doing?’ The voiceless counterpart of both **y** and **s** is the same sound which is written **ss** and pronounced like the English sound of “ss” in “essay” or “assemble.” Yup’ik examples are **kass’aq** ‘white person,’ and **assiituq** ‘it is bad.’ Yup’ik **g** and **r** do not correspond to any English sounds. They are the voiced fricative counterparts of **k** and **q**. Examples are **igaq** ‘letter’ and **iruuq** ‘leg.’ Likewise the voiceless counterparts of these, that is **gg** and **rr**, are absent from English. Examples are **maaggun** ‘this way, through here,’ and **aturru** ‘use it, wear it!’ The tongue is arched up toward the middle and back of the roof of the mouth. New students should listen to these sounds from the mouth of a speaker of the language and try to imitate them. These sounds, and others not in English such as **q** and **ll**, may be difficult for a beginner to produce, and it may be difficult to hear the difference between **k** and **q** and between the four voiced and voiceless front and back velar fricatives, but it will become easier as one practices listening and speaking.

The *nasals* are so called because of the passage of air through the nose as they are made. The voiced nasals **m**, **n** and **ng** are just like their equivalents in English, though it should be noted that Yup’ik **ng** is to be pronounced like the “ng” in English “singer” and not the “ng” in “finger” (or “ungodly”). Yup’ik examples are **meq** ‘water,’ **nuna** ‘land,’ and **angun** ‘man.’ When the fricative **g** follows the nasal **n** they are written separated with an apostrophe to prevent this situation from being confused with that where the **ng** is a digraph. For example, compare **tan’geq** ‘darkness’ and **angeq** ‘chewing gum.’ Voiceless nasals do not exist in English and they are not that common in Yup’ik though they do exist. They are written with an accent mark or a horizontal line over them. Yup’ik examples are **pistemun** ‘to the servant,’ **asemnía** ‘he says she broke it,’ and **calisteniguciquq** ‘he will be a worker.’¹

In addition to the consonants on the grid above, there are also *rounded* or *labialized* front and back velar voiced and voiceless fricatives. These are versions of **g**, **gg**, **r**, **rr** made while holding the lips in a round position. The rounded version of **g** is written **ug̃** (that is, **ug** with a *ligature* or arch connecting the two letters), as in **aug̃na** ‘the one going away’ and **taug̃aam** ‘however.’ The rounded version of **gg** is written **w**, as in **watua** ‘just now’ and **wangkuta** ‘we, us’ (but for some dialects, Hooper Bay–Chevak, Tununak, and Norton Sound in particular, these words start with a voiced rounded **g**, but it is still written as **w** and not as **ug̃** in these words). The rounded version of **r** is **ur̃** as in **caur̃luq** ‘poor dear one.’ The rounded version of **rr** is very uncommon.²

1. Unlike voiced fricatives, voiceless fricatives and voiced nasals, it is virtually impossible to pronounce a voiceless nasal in isolation so that it will be distinguishable from the other voiceless nasals. Thus, while **v**, **l**, **s**, **g**, **r**, **vv**, **ll**, **ss**, **gg**, **rr**, **m**, **n**, and **ng** are all distinguishable even if pronounced in isolation, **m̃**, **ñ**, and **ng̃** will sound virtually identical unless pronounced with other sounds around them, for example as: **am̃a**, **aña**, **añga**.

2. It occurs only in certain suffixed forms of body part words ending in **quq**, and only for certain dialects. For example, for ‘on her neck’ some people say **uyaqũrani**, where the single **r** of **ur̃** nevertheless represents a voiceless fricative since it is next to the stop consonant **q** (see below). Other people say **uyaqũrrani** or **uyaquani** for this.

A digraph — that is, a consonant sound written with two letters, whether the same as in the voiceless fricatives such as **ll** or different as in **ng** and **uḡ** — is still a *single* consonant. This is important to remember because Yup'ik has limitations on the number of consonants that can occur together in various parts of the word. In a word like **tangrraa** 'he sees it', there are only two consonants in the center of the word, **ng**, the voiced front velar nasal, and **rr**, the voiceless back velar fricative, even though there are the four letters "n," "g," "r" and "r" again.

Exercise 1-1

Pronounce the following Yup'ik words (using the tape that goes with this book as a model if needed):

1) nuna ('land, village'), 2) patu ('cover'), 3) angyaq ('boat'), 4) arnaq ('woman'), 5) iquk ('end'), 6) kumluk ('thumb'), 7) tuntuvak ('moose'), 8) qusngiq ('reindeer, sheep'), 9) nayiq ('ringed seal'), 10) minguk ('ointment, paint'), 11) ilanka ('my relatives'), 12) nerluk ('let's (us two) eat'), 13) alla ('other'), 14) amlleret ('many'), 15) angun ('man'), 16) casit ('what are you doing?'), 17) qassaq ('raw meat'), 18) cavun ('oar'), 19) ciun ('ear'), 20) talliq ('arm'), 21) tayarneq ('wrist'), 22) keggun ('tooth'), 23) iirru ('hide it!'), 24) araq ('ash made from birch fungus and used with chewing tobacco'), 25) qamlleq ('fire ash'), 26) cetuk ('fingernail'), 27) cingiq ('shoelace'), 28) ateq ('name'), 29) nutek ('gun'), 30) uḡna ('the one by the exit'), 31) unegna ('the one down river').

Gemination

When the same consonant sound occurs twice together within a word, or, to put it another way, when one syllable ends with a certain sound and the next begins with the same sound as in English compound words like "bookkeeper" or "roommate", this is called *gemination*. It may be described as *lengthening* the consonant or as *pausing* at the consonant. It is a very common process in Yup'ik. This cannot be indicated simply by writing the consonant double, because doubling fricative letters already has another meaning (voicelessness). Instead, gemination is indicated with an apostrophe (for stops and nasals as well as for fricatives). Examples are **kuv'uq** 'it is spilling' where the apostrophe indicates that **v** is geminated (compare **kuuvviaq** 'coffee' where the doubled **v** indicates voicelessness), and the word **Yup'ik** itself where the **p** is geminated. Compare the pronunciation of the word **Yup'ik** with that of the word **pupik** 'skin sore,' and notice how gemination causes one to pause at the consonant which is geminated.

Exercise 1-2

Pronounce the following pairs of Yup'ik words (using the tape if needed):

1) anuk ('dog harness'), an'uk ('they (two) are going out'), 2) tenguk ('liver'), teng'uk ('they (two) are flying off'), 3) taquq ('braid'), taq'uq ('she quit'), 4) uluq ('tongue'), ul'uq ('the tide is coming in'), 5) qassaq ('raw meat'), kass'aq ('white person'), 6) pupik ('skin sore'), Yup'ik ('Eskimo'), 7) cavun ('oar'), cav'ut ('they are rowing'), 8) qunguq ('grave'), cunḡuq ('forehead').

Vowels

The vowels of Yup'ik are four in number:

	<i>front</i>		<i>back</i>
<i>high</i>	i		u
<i>mid</i>		e	
<i>low</i>		a	

The Yup'ik vowel **i** sounds like the English vowel “i” in “taxi” or “machine” (though the Yup'ik **i** is shorter in duration than in the “i” in the second English word). Yup'ik examples are **kina** ‘who’, and **ingna** ‘the one over there.’ Yup'ik **u** sounds like the “u” in “blue” (though shorter in duration). Yup'ik examples are **yuk** ‘person,’ and **nuna** ‘land’. Yup'ik **a** sounds like the “a” in “what” or “father” (though shorter in duration than in the second word). Yup'ik examples are **ca** ‘what’ and **ata** ‘let me see.’

To a person from an English language background Yup'ik **u** that is followed by a back velar, **q**, **r**, or **rr**, sounds more like English “o” than like the English “u” sound it has otherwise. For example, compare the sound of **u** in **alug**, ‘sole,’ and **aluk** ‘two soles’. Yup'ik **i** also sounds different when followed by a back velar; it sounds more like “i” in “hit” than like “i” in “taxi.” Compare the sounds of **i** in **aliq** ‘one sleeve’ and **alik**, ‘two sleeves.’ Yup'ik **a**, however, sounds virtually the same no matter what kind of consonant follows it. In **nacaq**, ‘hat,’ and **nacak**, ‘two hats,’ only the final consonant is different; the vowel preceding it is practically the same.

Yup'ik **e** sounds like the “e” in “roses” or “taxes.” Technically it is a *shwa* ([ə]). A Yup'ik example is **meq** ‘water.’ An **e** may be voiceless (or whispered) when between stops as in **ceteq** ‘mark’ and/or voiceless fricatives.¹ Also, an **e** may be silent or nearly silent at the beginning of a word as in **elituq** ‘she is learning’, **epu** ‘handle’, **egesgu** ‘throw it away.’ Such an **e** will still be written even if completely silent because of its effects on rhythmic length (discussed below), or its emergence as an audible vowel in inflected forms of the word in question.

Some people have trouble distinguishing Yup'ik **i** and **e**. Two Yup'ik words which differ only on the point of these two vowels are **tekiq** ‘earwax’ and **tekeq** ‘index finger’. It may also help to keep in mind the comparison of the “i” and the “e” in the English words “taxis” and “taxes”.

The vowels **a**, **i** and **u** are called *full vowels*. They can occur long as well as short. When long they are written double. Examples are **iinruq** ‘medicine,’ **uuneq** ‘burn on one’s flesh,’ and **aana** ‘mother.’ Also two different full vowels can

1. The voicelessness is sometimes optional, so that in a word such as **ceteq**, while the first **e** must be voiceless, the second can be either voiced or voiceless. At any rate the meaning of a word never hinges on whether an **e** is voiced or voiceless. The vowel **u** can also be voiceless when it occurs between **q** and **rr** as in **ciisqurra** ‘his knee,’ or between **k** and **gg** as in **atkugga** ‘his parka.’

occur together (i.e. in a *diphthong* or vowel cluster — there is no distinction between these two concepts for Yup'ik as there is for some other languages). Examples are **piani** 'up back there,' **painga** 'its mouth, entrance,' **kiunga** 'answer me!,' **kuik** 'river,' **tauna** 'that one,' and **tuani** 'there.' The vowel **e**, which is exceptional in neither lengthening nor clustering with other vowels, is called the *reduced vowel*.

Exercise 1-3

Pronounce the following Yup'ik words (using the tape as a model if needed):

1) irniuq ('she is giving birth'), iirniuq ('she says that she is hiding') 2) arnaq ('woman'), aarnakaa ('she finds it scary'), 3) ugna ('the one by the exit'), ugnaraat ('mice, voles'), 4) iquk ('end'), equk ('wood'), 5) arnaq ('woman'), erneq ('day'), 6) qanirluni ('snowing'), qanerluni ('speaking'), 7) qilut ('intestines'), qalut ('dipnets'), qelut ('taut strings'), 8) akiq ('money'), akeq ('stair'), akuq ('lower hem'), 9) qainga ('its surface'), qiaguq ('she is crying'), 10) nauguq ('it is growing'), nuaga ('her saliva'), 11) kuiget ('rivers'), kiuguq ('she is answering').

Automatic Devoicing of Consonants

There are several types of spelling conventions whereby due to their position in the word certain letters are pronounced differently than their basic description (as above) would suggest. These conventions take advantage of certain regularities in the language. These regularities are so strong, in fact, that they are almost forced upon the writing system.

One such convention can be termed *automatic devoicing* from a reader's point of view, or *fricative undoubling* from a writer's point of view. Because a fricative sound is generally voiceless if it occurs next to a stop or next to another voiceless fricative, it should not really be necessary to explicitly indicate its voicelessness by writing it double in those positions. This has led to the following rule: **a fricative is written single next to a stop and pronounced voiceless**. For example, the **l** in **qelta** 'scale' is voiceless (that is, like **ll**) because **t** is a stop, and the **v** in **ekvik** 'river bank' is voiceless (that is, like **vv**) because **k** is a stop.¹ Unlike English where a voiced fricative such as "l" often occurs next to a stop as in "alto" or "apply," in Yup'ik consonant clusters rarely have a mixture of voiced and voiceless consonants.²

The motivation for this rule is not merely to make written words shorter (though given the fact that words in Yup'ik — and Eskimo languages in general — are often quite long, this is no trivial consideration). In addition, it is often the case that a given word "core" will have a voiceless fricative when used with a suffix that begins with a stop, but will have the corresponding voiced fricative in

1. Thus, the rounded fricative **uḡ** as in **auḡna** 'the one going away' becomes voiceless when next to a stop as in **auḡkut** 'the ones going away,' however the voiceless counterpart of **uḡ** is written **w**, so this work **auḡkut** could also be written **awkut**.

2. Recall that Yup'ik stops are voiceless. One category of exception to the general prohibition of mixed clusters is that a nasal followed by a stop or voiceless fricative will be voiced. This is discussed latter in this sections, as are the infrequent cases that violate the general prohibition.

the same place when used with a suffix that begins with a vowel (or voiced consonant), and this situation makes the undoubling rule very natural and compelling. For example in **qilugtuq** 'it is barking' and **qilugaa** 'it is barking at her,' the common core conveying the idea of barking is **qilug-**, and the **g** is voiceless in **qilugtuq**, since it is next to the stop **t**, but voiced in **qilugaa**. Whether this sound is voiced or not depends only on the nature of the following sound, and is not a feature of that common core. Were we to require that the first of these two words be written "**qiluggtuq**" with a **gg** to show voicelessness, it would be very natural for Yup'ik speakers and for learners who are internalizing the language to persistently forget to write a double **g**. Thus, on account of the rule stated above, one will never see a fricative written double next to a stop.

A second rule says: *a fricative that follows a voiceless fricative is written single, but pronounced voiceless*. For example, in **pillruuq** 'he did it,' the **r** is voiceless because it follows the voiceless fricative **ll**, and similarly in **inarrvik** 'sleeping bag' the **v** is voiceless. Thus one will see two singly written fricative letters (and hence voiced fricatives) next to each other, for example in **asriq** 'naughty child,' or a doubly written fricative letter followed by a singly written fricative letter (both voiceless due to the rule), for example in **issran** 'grass bag,' but never two doubly written fricative letters together nor a singly written fricative letter followed by one written double.

Additionally, *an r at the end of a word, or an s at the beginning of a word are written single but pronounced voiceless*. For example, **r** in **necuar** 'little house' and the **s** in **suugiuq** 'she is scrubbing the floor' are voiceless, but the **l** in **luussitaq** 'horse' is voiced (but see footnote 1, p. 12).

Exercise 1-4

A. *In the following words, circle fricatives that are voiceless only because of their position in the word.*

1) **qistuuq** ('she is having a fit'), 2) **qatlinaq** ('stinging thing, nettle'), 3) **atrartuuq** ('she is going down'), 4) **kuvciuuq** ('it will spill'), 5) **angyarrluk** ('raft'), 6) **itellria** ('the one coming in'), 7) **nacessvik** ('lookout place'), 8) **aprun** ('game trail'), 9) **saaniigualler** ('old tea pot'), 10) **qimugkauyar** ('puppy'), 11) **ulpiartuuq** ('she's doing a somersault'), 12) **nutgaarluku** ('after shooting it'), 13) **pikegkut** ('the ones up there'), 14) **tuvtuuq** ('she is choking'), 15) **navvuu** ('break it!').

B. *Cross out unnecessary fricative letters (if there are any) where automatic devoicing / fricative undoubling holds in the following words.*

1) **itrra** ('come in!'), 2) **inarrlluni** ('lying down'), 3) **allrraku** ('next year'), 4) **iggvvikaa** ('she fell off it'), 5) **amllerrluni** ('being much'), 6) **tamarrrtuq** ('it is lost'), 7) **tamarraarluku** ('after losing it'), 8) **ssuugissuukssuarr** ('small scrub brush').

A nasal that follows a stop or voiceless fricative is written without an accent mark but pronounced voiceless. That is, the mark over the nasal is not used to show voicelessness; the preceding consonant shows it. For example, **ng** is (automatically) voiceless in **cavutnguuq** 'it is an oar' and in **allngik** 'patch

on sole of boot'. Nasals are different from fricatives in that it is quite possible, indeed common, for a voiced nasal to be followed by a stop or voiceless fricative (in fact a *voiceless* nasal cannot be followed by any other consonant), so a nasal that precedes a stop or voiceless fricative is not to be considered devoiced. For example the **ng** is voiced in **angtauq** 'it is that big' and in **angllurtuq** 'it is diving' (compare with **cavutnguuq** and **allngik** discussed above).

Exercise 1-5

In the following words, circle the nasals that are automatically voiceless.

1) atniluku ('saying she put it on'), 2) antaa ('she put it outside'), 3) iqmik ('chewing tobacco'), 4) cakneq ('very much'), 5) mingqaa ('she is sewing it'), 6) amlleret ('many things'), 7) ciutmurtuq ('it is going forward'), 8) ellmacuar ('a little bit'), 9) taqniluku ('saying she quit').

There *are* occasional words where a fricative or nasal is voiced despite its proximity to a stop or other voiceless fricative. An apostrophe is used, so to speak, to insulate the fricative or nasal from the devoicing influence of the stop or voiceless fricative. A moment's reflection will show how this use of the apostrophe cannot conflict with its use to show gemination, as in this use it is written between two consonants (as is the apostrophe that separates **n** and **g** in words where they represent two sounds) while in the gemination use it is written between a consonant and a following vowel. Some examples of the exceptional words are **tep'lek** 'one with an odor' (**l** voiced despite its following **p**; compare **tepluni** 'drifting ashore' where **l** is automatically voiceless), and **at'nguq** 'he is getting a name' (**ng** voiced; compare **cavutnguuq** 'it is an oar' where **ng** is automatically voiceless).

Rhythmic Length of Vowels

We have seen how vowels can be long and how this is shown in the writing by doubling the vowel letter, and how a consonant sound can also be long, that is geminated, and how this is shown in the writing by the use of an apostrophe. Both vowel length and gemination can also occur due to the inbuilt rhythm of the Yup'ik language. The presence of a system of rhythmic stress is one of the main differences between the Yupik languages on the one hand, and Inupiaq/Inuit on the other. This is why the Inupiaq/Inuit word for "thank you" is "quyanaq" with each vowel of equal weight and volume, whereas in the Yup'ik pronunciation of essentially the same word, **quyana**, the middle vowel is longer and louder than the other two. Rhythmic vowel length is not explicitly indicated in the writing; vowel letters are not doubled, nor is the apostrophe used for "automatic" gemination. As with automatic devoicing, if one were required to explicitly spell out rhythmic vowel length (so that one would be required to write "**quyaana**" rather than **quyana**), speakers of the language and learners who were internalizing the rhythm would quite naturally persistently neglect to follow this spelling requirement (and would only write **quyana** after a while). Note that a

rhythmically lengthened vowel will be the same length as a doubled vowel, but rhythmic length has a different origin, is not explicitly indicated in the writing and does not entail a certain “side effect,” discussed below, that length from doubling does.

To understand *rhythmic length* and *automatic gemination*, it helps to be able to divide a word into syllables. A syllable in Yup'ik has one vowel or two vowels (like or unlike) at its core, starts with a consonant (except at the beginning of the word where a syllable is allowed to start with a vowel), and may or may not end in a consonant. That is, using “C” for consonant, and “V” for vowel, a syllable can take the form CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, or, at the beginning of a word, V, VV, VC, or VVC. Thus, syllable division points will be first between pairs of adjacent consonants (C/C), and second between vowels and following consonants (V/C).¹ For example, the word **arnaq** ‘woman’ is divided **ar/naq**, and the word **nuna** ‘land, village’ is divided **nu/na** (not **nun/a**). Each syllable must have a core consisting of one or two vowels so one does *not* further divide **ar/naq** to get **a/r/naq**. Keep in mind that voiceless fricatives like **ll** or **rr** are single consonants, as is the digraph **ng**. For example, **talli**q ‘arm’ is divided **ta/lliq** (not **tal/liq**), and **angun** ‘man’ is divided **a/ngun** (not **an/gun**). An apostrophe indicating gemination, as in **ner'uq** ‘he is eating,’ counts as a consonant, so this word is divided **ner/’uq** (where the apostrophe is essentially a second **r**: **ner/’uq**). An apostrophe indicating separation, as in **can’get** ‘grass_{pl}’, or **it’gaq** ‘foot’ does not count as anything insofar as syllabification goes (it is not a consonant or a vowel), so these two words are divided **can/get** and **it/gaq**. Finally, an initial **e**, even if silent, can still constitute a syllable, as in **elaturraq** ‘enclosed porch’, which is divided **e/la/tu/rraq**. Though the description of syllable division seems complicated, in actual practice it is fairly simple and conforms to one’s intuitive ideas of what a syllable is.

Exercise 1–6

Mark the consonants and vowels in the following words and divide the words into syllables.

1) **angyarlluk** (‘raft’), 2) **acak** (‘paternal aunt’), 3) **acaka** (‘my paternal aunt’), 4) **kaigtuten** (‘you are hungry’), 5) **tangrramiu** (‘because she saw it’), 6) **ena** (‘house’), 7) **enii** (‘her house’), 8) **nek’aqa** (‘it is my house’), 9) **kegg’larai** (‘it bites them’), 10) **muluk’uuq** (‘milk’).

Syllables of the form CV (and also just V if at the beginning of the word) are termed *simple open syllables*. (The “simple” is because they have but one vowel, and the “open” because they don’t end in a consonant.) The rule for rhythmic length is that *in a sequence of simple open syllables, every second one gets rhythmic length unless it is at the end of the word*.

1. Never divide between vowels (V/V) nor between a consonant and the following vowel (C/V). However, in some formulations, as in Miyaoka and Mather’s *Yup’ik Eskimo Orthography*, syllables are defined differently and the rules for rhythmic stress are framed differently.

For example, given **nalluyagucaqunaku** 'don't forget it!', syllabification and counting of simple open syllables can be shown thus: **na₁/llu₂/ya₁/gu₂/ca₁/qu₂/na₁/ku₂**. In this word every syllable is simple and open. Rhythmic length can be indicated with "ˆ" (which we shall call a "hat"). This mark is not a part of the writing system, but merely an aid in showing proper pronunciation. In the word in question, rhythmic length falls on every syllable numbered "2" except at the end of the word: **na₁/llû₂/ya₁/gû₂/ca₁/qû₂/na₁/ku₂**.

Observe the differing rhythmic length patterns in the words **qa₁/yâ₂/li₁/qâ₂/ta₁/râ₂/qa₁/ma₂** 'whenever I'm going to make a kayak,' and **ang/ya₁/li₂/qa₁/tâ₂/ra₁/qâ₂/ma** 'whenever I am going to make a boat.' In the second of these two words, counting for rhythmic length starts with the second syllable, **ya**, because the first syllable, **ang**, is *not* simple and open (it is *closed*).

Observe how a break in a sequence of simple open syllables affects rhythmic length as in **qa₁/yâ₂/li₁/ciq/nga₁/tû₂/ten** 'it seems like you will make a kayak'. Here the syllable **li** is numbered "1," but the closed syllable **ciq** breaks the sequence and counting starts over again so that **nga** is numbered "1" and **tu** is numbered "2" and gets rhythmic length.

Exercise 1-7

Divide the following words into syllables, count off simple open syllables ("1," "2," "1," "2") and mark rhythmic length with a hat.

1) talliq ('arm'), 2) talliqa ('my arm'), 3) talliqaqa ('it is my arm'), 4) atkuk ('parka'), 5) atkuka ('my parka'), 6) atkukaqa ('it is my parka'), 7) kumaqatalliniluni ('evidently being about to be aflame'), 8) ekumaqatalliniluni ('evidently being about to be in a conveyance'), 9) qayangeciquten ('you will get a kayak'), 10) qayangciquten (alternate way of pronouncing the preceding word), 11) angyarpaliyuumiitaqama ('whenever I do not care to make a big boat'), 12) neryukapigtaqavet ('whenever you want to eat very much'), 13) kuv'aqata ('whenever they spill'), 14) it'gaqaqa ('it is my foot'), 15) it'gaqagka ('they₂ are my feet').

Automatic Gemination

The rule for automatic gemination is that *a consonant preceded by a single vowel which is not rhythmically lengthened (hatted), and is followed by two vowels (alike or unlike), is automatically geminated.*

Thus, there is automatic gemination (shown by a hat over the geminated consonant) in **aĉiani** 'under it,' and in **nuîiini** 'in his village.' However, gemination of a consonant followed by two vowels fails to occur in **piani** 'back there' because **p** is at the beginning of the word and therefore not preceded by a vowel, and in **atkua** 'his parka' because **k** is preceded by a consonant rather than a vowel, in **nacâcuar** 'little hat' because the second **c** is preceded by a rhythmically lengthened (hatted) vowel, and in **iicuar** 'little eye' because **c** is preceded by a double rather than a single vowel.

Exercise 1–8

Divide the following words into syllables, mark rhythmic length and automatic gemination.

1) alingevkenani ('(she) not being afraid'), 2) alingevkenii ('(I) not being afraid')
 3) qugyugcuqataraqama ('whenever I'm about to hunt swans'), 4) nuussilicqniluni
 ('(she) saying that she will make a knife'), 5) ikamrapialicqnilua ('saying that I
 will make an authentic sled') 6) qayarualingaitaqa ('I won't make her a toy
 kayak'), 7) qimugkauyaraunrituten ('you are not a puppy'), 8) iqvaryaqa-
 tallruyaaqua ('I had been about to go berry picking'), 9) ukatiini ('on this side of
 it'), 10) mingqutiikun ('with her needle'), 11) epuliqatarniluni ('(she) saying that
 he is about to make a handle'), 12) usviituten ('you're crazy'), 13) usvituuten
 ('you're wise'), 14) ikayunritaten ('you aren't helping them'), 15) ikayunritaaten
 ('she isn't helping you'), 16) mulutuuk ('they (two) generally stay out late'), 17)
 mulut'uuk ('hammer'), 18) elagtuq ('she is digging'), 19) elagaa ('she is digging
 it'), 20) elautaa ('she is burying it').

Double-vowel Length with Automatic Gemination and Rhythmic Length

Consider now the two words, **tekituq** (**tekîtuq**) 'she arrived', and **tekiituq** (**tekiituq**) 'she doesn't have earwax.' The **ii** in the second word is not any longer than the rhythmically lengthened **i** in the first word, but the **k** in the second word is automatically geminated, and that is the difference in the pronunciation of the two words. It may seem perverse to show a difference in *consonant* length (gemination) by writing a difference in *vowel* length, but doing so taps into a deeper reality in a Yup'ik speaker's knowledge of the language, and ultimately becomes an easier way to write than merely writing what one superficially hears. The second word, **tekiituq**, is built from the word **tekiq** 'earwax', a derivational suffix, **-ite-** 'doesn't have any,' and an inflectional suffix **-uq** meaning 'he/she/it'. In the process of suffixation the **q** is dropped from **tekiq**, and the **e** from **-ite-**, and the end result is a double **i** in the middle syllable. The speaker "knows," in some deep sense, the constituents of the word **tekiituq**, just as the speaker "knows" that the gemination of the **k** here, and the length on the middle syllable of the other word, **tekituq**, are merely automatic consequences of the way the syllables sort out.

In a minority of cases a doubled vowel or vowel cluster does *not* cause gemination. This is indicated by the device of putting an apostrophe between the two vowels. Thus in **pika'antuq** 'it is up there' the **k** is not geminated, and in **apa'urluq** 'grandfather' the **p** is not geminated.¹

Let us now review the uses of the apostrophe: (1) between consonants either to separate **n** and **g** to avoid misreading, for example in **tan'gurraq** 'boy', or to separate a voiced fricative or nasal from a stop or voiceless consonant which

1. The apostrophe is acting *as if* it were a consonant since in **pikaCantuq** and **apaCurluq**, if such words existed, the **k** and **p** would not be geminated. However, historically there was no such consonant, at least in most cases where this orthographical device is used.

would otherwise devoice it,¹ for example in **tep'lek** 'one with odor,' (2) between a consonant and the following vowel to indicate gemination, for example in **ner'uq** 'she is eating, and (3) between two vowels to indicate the lack of gemination of a preceding consonant, for example in **apa'urluq** 'grandfather.' Yet a fourth use of the apostrophe is at the end of a word from which a segment has been deleted, for example in **qaill'** which is an optionally shortened form of **qaillun** 'how.' In this fourth use omitting the apostrophe would not change the sound of the word, but its use is merely a convention. An apostrophe may also be used in transcribing speech when a final **q** (or **k**) is replaced with voiced **r** (or **g**) if the following word begins with a vowel, as in **arnar' una** 'this woman' and **arnag' ukuk** 'these two women.'

Automatic Gemination Due to Retention of Hatted e

There is another, though less common cause of automatic gemination. An **e** which is the vowel of a syllable which would have rhythmic length by the rule above, that is, a hatted **e**, is generally eliminated as the word is constructed, as we shall see. However, if such a hatted **e** separates two same or almost same consonants, then it is kept and the consonant that follows it is automatically geminated.² For example **tumemi** (**tu₁/me₂/mi₁**) 'in the footprint' is pronounced **tumemi**. This is in line with the observation made earlier that the vowel **e** cannot be doubled; in general, **e** does not lengthen, either rhythmically or by being doubled.³

Enclitics

Enclitics are a small specialized group of suffixes which are written separated from the main part of the word and from each other by a hyphen. One reason for writing them this way is that they do not act quite like ordinary parts of the word insofar as rhythmic length is concerned. For this reason enclitics are presented in this book preceded by an equals sign, e.g. =**qaa** for the enclitic indicating a "yes" or "no" question. When written with a word they are separated from the rest of the word (and from any other enclitics) with a hyphen. For example, **nuna-qaa** 'the land?' is not pronounced as if it were **nunaqaa** (that is

1. Many Yup'ik writers write an apostrophe before a word that starts with **l**, **v** or **g** to indicate that such a fricative is voiced (in contrast to the situation of an initial **s** which is automatically devoiced as in **suugiuq** 'she is scrubbing the floor'), for example writing **luuskaa^q** 'spoon' where the present book has merely **luuskaa^q**. In the formulation here automatic devoicing of a single fricative applies only to **s** and not to other fricatives (and actually it is only **l** which is at issue since initial **v** and **g** are exceedingly rare). See Miyaoka and Mather *Yup'ik Eskimo Orthography* for a formulation of the spelling rules which require this use of the apostrophe.

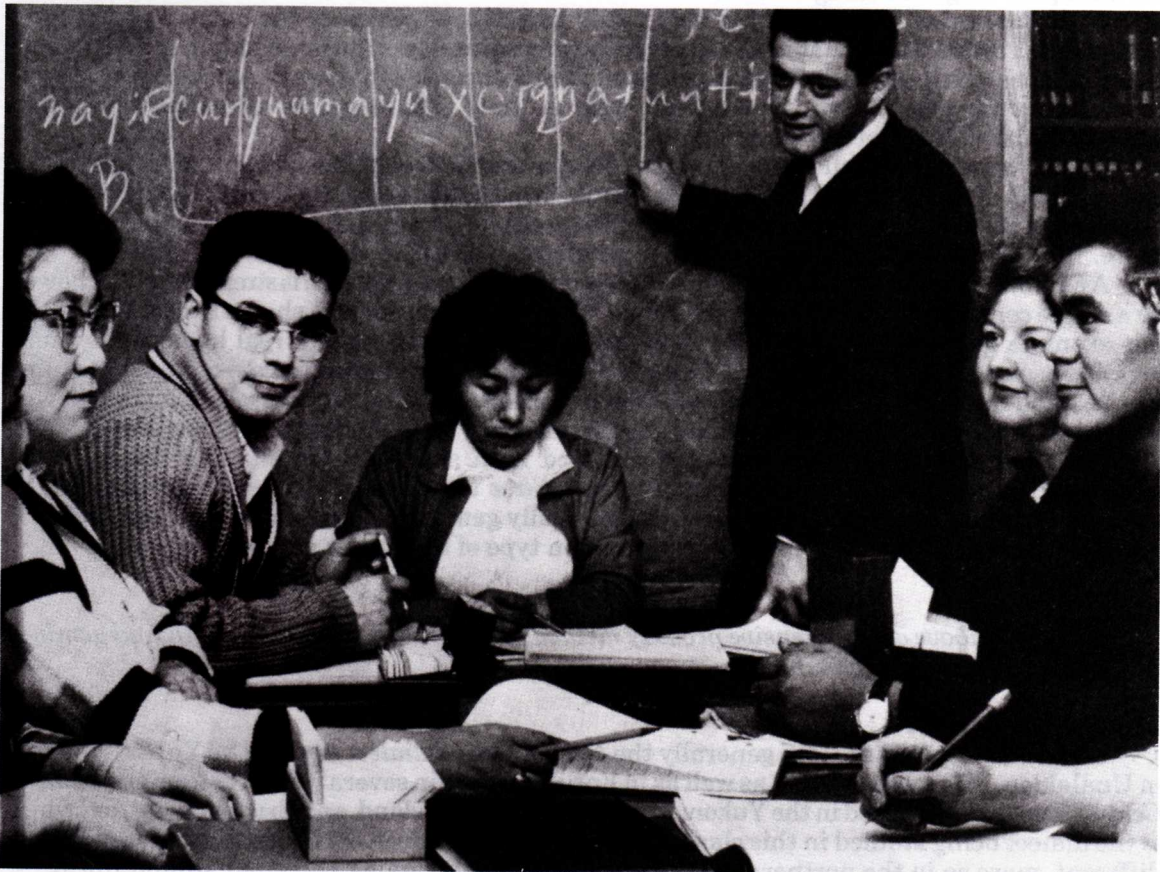
2. Since a hat indicates length and an **e** is never lengthened it might seem strange to call these "hatted" **e**'s. However, this label is much more convenient than calling them "e's which are in a position for rhythmic length" or "e's which would be rhythmically lengthened if they were full vowels." Consonants that are almost the same are **c** and **t**, and **c** and **n**.

3. Many Yup'ik writers write all words arising from **ena** 'house' without deleting the initial **e** as prescribed in the present book (see Chapter 4). Rather than writing, for example, **nek'a** for 'my house' and **nem'i** for 'in the house,' they write **eneka** and **enemi** respectively, where the second **e** is now hatted and thus its retention indicates the gemination of the following consonants.

nu₁/nâ₂/qaa) but rather as if it were **nunaq'aa** (that is **nu₁/naq/^qaa**). The enclitic **=wa**, indicating, roughly speaking, the completion of a thought, also acts this way. However, most enclitics deviate from the usual syllable pattern in a different way (but are still presented with “=,” and written with “-.” For example, adding the enclitics **=llu** ‘and,’ and **=gguq** ‘it is said’ to **kuigpagmi** ‘in the big river’ gives **kuigpagmi-llu-gguq** ‘also in the big river, it is said’ is not pronounced as if it were **kuigpagmillugguq** (that is **kuig/pag/mi₁/llû₂/gguq**), but rather as **kuig/pag/mî/llu/gguq**. This is best explained in terms of rhythmic *stress*, discussed in the supplement to this chapter. What happens is that rule (3) in the supplement does not apply in the case of enclitics. (See also Miyaoka, 1985.)

Hyphen with English Words

A hyphen is also used to separate an English word with English spelling from Yup'ik suffixes: **call-aqsaituq** ‘she hasn't called,’ **vote-artuq** ‘she is voting.’



Michael Krauss teaches an Eskimo language class at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1961. Note that a technical orthography is used rather than the standard Yup'ik orthography, which was developed in the years 1967-1972. Seated at the table left to right are Annette Bork (partially obscured), Maggie Panek, Charles Degnan, Martha Teeluk, Irene Reed, and Ambrose Towarak.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 1

Rhythmic Stress

Actually, both rhythmic length and automatic gemination can be viewed as part of a more comprehensive system of *rhythmic stress* or *prosody* in Yup'ik. One can study this system of prosody paying attention only to vowels and not to syllables.

Basically, every other vowel (2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.) of a word is stressed. However, the last vowel of a word isn't stressed. Examples showing this assignment of stress to alternating vowels, indicating stress by accent marks here (though this is not a part of the regular writing) are **qavárciqsúgnarquq** 'she probably will sleep' (note that the last vowel of the word isn't stressed), and **qavárngaícugnárquq** 'she probably won't sleep.' Actually when stress is assigned to one vowel (always the second, as we shall see) of a double (long) vowel, or diphthong, in effect both vowels are stressed, so that in the preceding example stress is distributed over the whole vowel cluster **ai**.

The assignment of stress to alternating vowels gets modified in several circumstances:

(1) If the first vowel in the word is followed by a cluster of two consonants (including a geminated consonant), then the first stress of the word falls on the first vowel of the word, and alternation proceeds from there. For example **nérciqsúgnarquq** 'she probably will eat,' and **ák'allárpak** 'large old thing.'

(2) If the first of two adjacent vowels would be assigned stress by the pattern of stress on alternating vowels, then the stress retracts to the preceding vowel and alternation proceeds from there. If there is only one consonant in between, then that consonant is automatically geminated. This automatic gemination shown here with a "hat." For example **qayárpagúara** → **qayárpáguára** 'her pretend large kayak.'

(3) If a vowel which follows a consonant cluster and is itself followed by a consonant and a vowel (i.e. V_2 of a sequence $V_1C_1C_2V_2C_3V_4$) would be assigned stress by the pattern of stress on alternating vowels, then the stress retracts to the preceding vowel and alternation proceeds from there.¹ For example **qayárpagkánun** → **qayárpágkanun** 'to the future big kayaks.'

A full vowel (i.e. **i**, **u** or **a**, not **e**) which is not preceded by a vowel and which is stressed and is followed by a single consonant will be pronounced long. This is rhythmic length, shown here with a "hat." For example **qayápilqatálliniluni** 'evidently being about to make a real kayak.' Rhythmic length is assigned after processes (1), (2) and (3) above. Thus in **qayárpagúara** → **qayárpáguára** 'her pretend large kayak,' though the **a** between **p** and **g** is single and stressed, it is not followed by a single consonant (since **g** is automatically geminated by (2)), so it does not get rhythmic length.

An **e** which is single, stressed and followed by a single consonant (and which is not eliminated as the word is formed because it separates two same or almost same consonants) causes the consonant that follows to be automatically geminated. Thus, **tumémi** → **tumémi** 'in the footprint.' (This is the second, less common type of automatic gemination).

Exercise 1-9

Using the above comprehensive prosody method, mark stress, rhythmic length and gemination in the words of Exercise 1-8.

The Kotlik Dialect

The *Kotlik dialect*, or more generally the *Norton Sound dialect* (spoken by Yup'ik speakers in Unalakleet, Elim and Golovin as well as in Kotlik), differs in several respects from the *General Central Yup'ik dialect* used in the Yukon, Kuskokwim, Nelson Island, and Bristol Bay — and which is the dialect being studied in this class. For one thing the lexicon of Norton Sound is somewhat different, more so in the northern part (Elim, Golovin and Unalakleet) than around Kotlik.

Secondly, Norton Sound uses **s** rather than **y** following a consonant or following a vowel if it in turn is followed by two vowels (whether this geminates the **y/s** or not). For example, General Central Yup'ik has **angyaq** 'boat,' **neryugtuq** 'he wants to eat,' **qayaa** 'his kayak' and **ikayuutuq** 'he is helping out,' and for these words Norton Sound has **angsaq**, **nersugtuq**,

1. In Chevak, the stress advances to the following vowel instead.

qasaa, and **ikasuutuq**. However Norton Sound does not replace every **y** with **s**. The words **yuk** 'person' and **qayaq** 'kayak' are the same in both dialects. In **yuk** the **y** is word-initial, and in **qayaq** the **y** is neither followed by two vowels nor preceded by a consonant.

Norton Sound has a somewhat different rhythmic pattern than the rest of Central Yup'ik (including Hooper Bay-Chevak and Nunivak and Egegik as well as General Central Yup'ik). Whereas the rest of Central Yup'ik counts only *simple open* syllables to determine rhythmic length, Norton Sound counts *simple closed* syllables (excluding any word-initial closed syllable) as well as simple open syllables to determine rhythmic length. However, in Norton Sound rhythmic length is assigned to the second of two adjacent simple syllables only if that syllable is open. For example, Central Yup'ik excluding Norton Sound pronounces the word for 'it is my big boat' thus: **ang/yar/pa₁/ká₂/qa₁**, but Norton Sound pronounces this word thus: **ang/sar₁/pâ₂/ka₁/qa₂**. As another example, consider the word for 'I'm fine.' Central Yup'ik excluding Norton Sound pronounces it: **ca/ngâ₂/ten/ri₁/tua**, and Norton Sound pronounces it: **ca₁/ngâ₂/ten₁/rî₂/tua**. Or again, consider the word for 'don't be inquisitive about it.' Central Yup'ik excluding Norton Sound pronounces it: **paq/nak/sa₁/qû₂/na₁/ku₂**, and Norton Sound pronounces it: **paq/nak₁/sâ₂/qu₁/nâ₂/ku₁**.

The above description makes Norton Sound rhythm seem more complicated than that of the rest of Central Yup'ik. Actually it is the other way around. In terms of vowel stress, as dealt with in this supplement to Chapter 1, Norton Sound lacks rule (3) above. Thus 'to the big future kayaks' stays **qayárpagkánun** in Norton Sound, rather than becoming (a) **qayárpágkanun** as elsewhere, and with rhythmic length shown the word in Norton Sound is (b) **qayárpagkánun**. The contrast with 'to her big future kayak' is more subtle in Norton Sound than elsewhere where this second form is (c) **qayárpágkaánun**. Only the presence or absence of stress on the syllable **pag** differentiates (b) and (c) in Norton Sound, whereas elsewhere (a) and (c) are distinguished by the short **ka** in (a) vs. the long **kaa** in (c).

Classes of Words Where the Relationship Between Sound and Spelling is not One-to-One

The members of a small class of words could be written starting with either **eC₁V₁C₂V₂** (were **V₁** will have rhythmic length) or **C₁V₁V₁C₂V₂**. That is, both spellings would represent exactly the same sounds. For example, one could write either **enítuq** or **niítuq** for 'she hears', and either **emútuq** or **muutuq** for 'she is seeking medical aid.' The decision which way to write these words is determined by reference to other forms from the same word "base." On these grammatical grounds it turns out that the first word is best written **niítuq**, and the second **emutuq**. For more on this see the section titled "The Problem of Initial **e** in Yup'ik words" in the introduction to the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

There are two circumstances which allow certain written representations to be pronounced in more than one way.

One is caused by the "stress-repelling" abstract or "empty" bases **ca** 'something, what thing' and verbally 'to do something, to do what' and **pi** 'thing' and 'to do (something)'. Even when these bases occur in words with an initial closed syllable that initial syllable is *not* stressed in contrast to usual initial closed syllable stress as described above. Thus, in contrast to the usual stress pattern in, for example, **ménqígcúgnarquq** 'she is probably drinking again,' note the unusual stress pattern (for some but not all dialects) in **pinqígcugnárquq** 'she is probably doing (something) again.' There is no conventionalized way to orthographically indicate this sort of unusual stress pattern, but then it only occurs with the two "empty" bases as indicated. Only extremely rarely could it lead ambiguity. For more on this subject see the author's paper "The Stress Conspiracy and Stress-Repelling Bases in the Central Yup'ik and Siberian Yupik Eskimo Languages", in *IJAL* Vol. 50, No. 3, July 1984.

The second circumstance is caused by a process known as (**ar**)-*deletion*, and the related process of deleting **a** between **r** and **q** or **g** and **q**. In certain cases a consequence of these processes is that a syllable is stressed which would not otherwise be stressed. Thus, from **qavarturartuq** 'she keeps sleeping,' comes (optionally but most frequently) **qavártúrtuq** where the stress on the syllable **tur** is not in accordance the stress rules as discussed above. Such "ghost" stress has been indicated orthographically with an apostrophe: **qavartu'rtuq**. Such a use of the apostrophe is rarely consistently followed, in part because sometimes the syllable in question would be stressed anyway as in **qavártúrtua** 'I keep sleeping' (where the two vowels in the following

syllable give stress to **tur**), so that here the apostrophe is *not* needed. Writers often use this apostrophe when it *isn't* needed, or omit when it *is* needed. Speakers of the language know when to stress the syllable in question even without the apostrophe, and if a learner of the language were to omit the stress it would only very rarely cause ambiguity and probably never render the spoken word incomprehensible. Perhaps this apostrophe could be considered "optional". It would be used in dictionaries, and, if a Yup'ik writer wishes to use this apostrophe, he or she may do so. For more on this subject see Jacobson 1985, and also the discussions of **(ar)** deletion and a deletion between **r/g** and **q** in Chapters 8, 11, and 16 of the present book.



Women of Tununak divide up the first bearded seal, *maklak*, killed by a young man of the village. Photo by James H. Barker.

CHAPTER 2

Intransitive Indicative Verbs; Yes–No Questions

Types of Yup'ik Words, and Suffixes

The majority of Yup'ik words are nouns and verbs. Nouns and verbs *inflect*, that is, they change, taking various endings. There are also a few adverbs, conjunctions, and the like, which do not in general inflect and which we shall call *particles*. However, there are no articles, adjectives, prepositions or words in some of the other categories familiar from English. *Suffixes* serve the same functions in Yup'ik that these categories of words serve in English. Suffixation is a very important and powerful process in Yup'ik, far more so than in English. Only nouns and verbs, and not particles (with certain exceptions), can take suffixes. Unlike English, Yup'ik has virtually no prefixes, and, also unlike English, Yup'ik does not form compound words.

Verbs and Their Combining Forms; Verb Endings

We shall start with verbs. The vocabulary of this chapter, given below, is a list of verbs (and particles as well). A sample verb entry is:

caliuq 'he is working'

Underlying a form such as this is the abstract form (called the *base form*) of the verb which combines with various suffixes to make actual spoken words. The base is the part of "**caliuq**" given in boldface type, and the suffix in regular (non-boldface) type. Since base forms are actually more fundamental than any one actual form in a lexical list, verbs are often given in their base forms written with hyphens following them and translated with English infinitives. Thus: **cali-** 'to work.' However, in this book verbs are cited with a suffix, usually **+uq** (or a variant), so that actual spoken forms, rather than abstract combining forms, are given.

A few observations are in order. With this particular suffix, **+uq**, (though not with all suffixes) one gets a complete sentence in one Yup'ik word; the subject is built in (though as we shall see it can also be given with a separate word).

The **+uq** ending does not specify the sex (or gender) of the person working. Yup'ik suffixes that take the place of pronouns specify only *person* (1st — 'I, we', 2nd — 'you', or 3rd — 'he, she, it, they') and *number* (singular, dual — more about this later — or plural), but not *gender* (masculine, feminine or neuter). Thus **caliuq**, which is **cali-** 'to work' with a 3rd person singular suffix, means 'he is working' or 'she is working', and if working were something an 'it' could do,

caliuq could also mean 'it is working.'¹

Tense in Yup'ik is somewhat different than in English, while **caliuq** means 'he or she is working', a verb which describes a momentary act (such as 'falling,' 'leaving,' 'dying,' etc.) can mean either that the act is occurring right this instant or that the act has just recently occurred. Thus from the verb base **tuqu-** 'to die' comes **tuquuq** which means either 'he is (right now in the process of) dying' or 'he (just) died.'

At this point the first vocabulary list will be presented. The student should memorize the spelling (and therefore the pronunciation) and the meaning of each of the following. The numbers written after certain of the vocabulary words refer to comments in the supplementary section at the end of the chapter. Alternate vocabulary words from dialects other than the lower Kuskokwim dialect, which is taken as the standard for this book, are given there.

Vocabulary

akwaugaq 'yesterday' (*particle*)

alinguq 'he is afraid'

an'uq 'he is going out; he went out'

aquiguq 'he is playing' (physically, not play as by pretending)

assirtuq 'it is good, nice; he is well'

ataam 'again' (*particle*)

aurreuq 'he is crawling'

ayagtuq 'he is leaving; he left'

cakneq 'very much' (*particle*)

cali 'more, still' (*particle*)

caliuq 'he is working'

ceñirtuq 'he is visiting' #1

cukauq 'it is fast'

elituq 'he is learning; he learned'

ii-i 'yes' (*the hyphen indicates a rise in pitch*) (*particle*)

inartuq 'he is (in the act of) lying down; he lay down'

iqauq 'it is dirty'

iqvartuq 'he is picking berries' #2

itertuq 'he is coming in; he came in'

kaigtuq 'he is hungry'

kuimartuq 'he is swimming' #3

kuuvviartuq 'he is having coffee' #4

naulluuguq 'he is ill' #5

ner'uq 'he is eating'

pissurtuq 'he is hunting'

1. Recall that, as mentioned in the preface, in even-numbered chapters, 3rd person singular will be translated by 'he,' whereas in odd-numbered chapters it will be translated by 'she.' In an even-numbered chapter 'he' should be understood as a sort of abbreviation for 'he or she' or 'he, she or it' depending on the nature of the verb, and likewise for 'she' in odd-numbered chapters.

qaang or **qang'a** 'no' (*particle*)

qalartuq 'he is talking, speaking' #6

qavartuq 'he is sleeping'

qiaguq 'he is crying' #7

taiguq 'he is coming over (toward speaker); he came over'

taq'uq 'he is quitting, finishing; he quit'

tuquuq 'he or it died'

unuamek 'today' (*particle*) #8

Yugcetun 'in the Yup'ik Eskimo language; like Yup'iks' (*particle — actually this is a form with an ending on it, but for now it can be considered a particle*) #9

yurartuq 'he is Eskimo-dancing'

Verb Citation Forms vs. Verb Bases

One can easily go from the concrete citation form of a verb to the abstract combining form or base form, and vice versa.

In the vocabulary list above, the actual verb base is in boldface type, while the ending is in regular type. To uncover the base, simply remove the part in regular type, adding **e** in certain cases described below.

Some bases end in the consonants **g** or **r**. For example, the base for **kaigtuq** 'he is hungry' is **kaig-** 'to be hungry,' and the base for **qavartuq** 'he is sleeping' is **qavar-** 'to be sleeping.'

Some bases end in a full vowel. For example, the base for **aquiguq** is **aqui-** 'to play,' and the base for **caliuq** 'he is working' is **cali-** 'to work.'

Some bases end in **e** which is dropped when the ending in question is added. If the part in boldface ends in a consonant other than **g** or **r**, then the base consists of the part in boldface plus **e** (which drops when the ending in question is used). For example, the base for **elituq** 'he is learning' is **elite-** 'to learn,' and the base for **qalartuq** 'he is speaking' is **qalarte-** 'to speak.' The base for **alinguq** 'he is afraid' is **alinge-** 'to fear.'¹

If the part in regular type begins with an apostrophe, then also the base consists of the part in boldface plus **e**. So the base for **ner'uq** 'he is eating' is **ner-** 'to eat.'

In summary:

<i>termination of citation form</i>	<i>termination of base</i>
gtuq	g-
rtuq	r-
'uq	e-
Cuq	Ce-
VVguq	VV-
Vuq	V-

1. Recall that **ng** is a single consonant only having the letter **g** in its written form so that the part in boldface does not really end in **g**.

Exercise 2-1

Determine the base forms of each of the verbs (not the particles!) on the vocabulary list above, and translate them with English infinitives. For example, from **alinguq** 'he is afraid', you would write **alinge-** 'to be afraid.'

From the discussion above, one can see that verb bases (and, as we shall see, noun bases as well) end only in certain ways, and that the 3rd person singular ending in question takes various forms depending upon the termination of the base.

If the base ends in **g** or in **r**, **t** is added before **uq**; thus **kaig-** and **kaigtuq**, **qavar-** and **qavartuq**. Note that bases do not end in consonants other than **g** and **r**, although completed words often do.

If the base ends in **e**, the **e** is dropped and **uq** is added; thus **alinge-** and **alinguq**. However, for a "short" base ending in **e**, that is a base of the form (C)V**Ce-**, the consonant preceding **e** is geminated. This is shown in the writing with an apostrophe, thus, **ner-** and **ner'uq**.

If the base ends in a single full vowel, **uq** is added directly to the base, thus **cali-** and **caliuq**. If the base ends in two vowels, **g** is added before **uq**, thus **aqui-** and **aquiguq**.

In symbols, the ending in question is **+'(g/t)uq**, where **+** indicates that base-final consonants are retained, **'** indicates gemination with "short" bases ending in **e**, and **g/t** in parentheses indicates that **g** and **t** are used between base and ending only with certain base-termination types and not others. Although base-final **e** is dropped, this is not indicated here because all suffixes which are vowel-initial (such as the one in question which is essentially **uq**) drop base-final **e**.

Exercise 2-2

Attach the ending **+'(g/t)uq** to the following verb bases (which are not to be learned as vocabulary words here) and translate: 1) **pellaa-** 'to lose one's way,' 2) **agnguar-** 'to dance (non-Native style),' 3) **nenge-** 'to stretch,' 4) **nala-** 'to wither, to get numb, to die,' 5) **kallagte-** 'to rattle,' 6) **nangteqe-** 'to suffer.'

Dual and Plural

The final **q** of the suffix discussed above marks 3rd person singular, 'he,' 'she' or 'it.' Replacing **q** with **t** changes it to 3rd person plural, 'they.' Thus, **caliut** 'they are working.'

Yup'ik distinguishes *dual* which is 'two in number,' from plural which is 'three or more,' so that **caliut** means only 'they, three or more, are working.' To indicate dual, **k** rather than **t** is used. Thus, **caliuk** 'they two are working,' which we'll write in English as 'they₂ are working.' If a subscripted "2" is not written in the English, one may assume that plural rather than dual is meant, and thus the qualifying phrase 'three or more' will be omitted.

Exercise 2-3

A. Translate the following into English.

1) taigut, 2) yurartuk, 3) ayagtuq, 4) alingut, 5) ner'uk, 6) ceñirtut, 7) kuimartuq, 8) kaigtut, 9) pissurtuk, 10) ataam kuuvviartut, 11) yugcetun qalartuq (*note that in these last two the particle precedes the verb, but it could also follow the verb; Yup'ik word order tends to be fairly free*).

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik.

1) they₂ are picking berries, 2) he is crying, 3) they are visiting, 4) he is going out, 5) they₂ are coming in, 6) he is sleeping, 7) they are (in the act of) lying down, 8) it is good, 9) they are still working, 10) he is hunting today.

Velar Dropping

The 1st person singular, 'I', ending is **+(g/t)u:nga**, so that, for example, **caliunga** is 'I am working.' The colon, :, before the **ng** indicates that this **ng** will be dropped when in the course of word construction it occurs flanked by single vowels, that is preceded by a single vowel and followed by a single vowel. This process is called *velar dropping* and we shall see much more of it later. Attaching this ending to the verb base **cali-** gives **caliunga** which is the final form of the word; here **ng** is *not* flanked by single vowels, so velar dropping does not occur. **Caliunga** is the form that means 'I am working.' On the other hand, attaching this ending to **aqui-**, **alinge-**, **ner-**, **inarte-**, and **kaig-**, gives first ***aquigunga**, ***alingunga**, ***ner'unga**, ***inartunga** and ***kaigtunga**, where the asterisk is the conventional symbol used to indicate that something is a preliminary, theoretical, or underlying, form, rather than an actual word. In these forms **ng** is flanked by single vowels and therefore velar-dropping occurs so ***aquigunga** becomes **aquigua** 'I am playing,' ***alingunga** becomes **alingua** 'I am afraid,' ***ner'unga** becomes **nerua** 'I am eating,' ***inartunga** becomes **inartua** 'I am (in the act of) lying down,' and ***kaigtunga** becomes **kaigtua** 'I am hungry.' Note that because of the two vowels following the **r** in **nerua** gemination is automatic, and it is not necessary to write an apostrophe as it is in **ner'uq**.

The 1st person plural, 'we,' ending is **+(g/t)ukut**. Note that velar dropping doesn't occur here. Some examples are **caliukut** 'we are working,' and **kaigtukut** 'we are hungry.' The 1st person dual ending is almost the same as this plural ending: **+(g/t)ukuk**, so that **caliukuk** is 'we₂ are working.' The 2nd person singular, 'you, one' (written in this book as just 'you'), ending is **+(g/t)uten**. For example, **caliuten** 'you are working,' and **kaigtuten** 'you are hungry.' The 2nd person plural, 'you, three or more' or 'you_{pl},' ending is **+(g/t)uci**. For example, **caliuci** 'you_{pl} are working,' and **kaigtuci** 'you_{pl} are hungry.' The 2nd person dual, 'you, two' or 'you₂' is **+(g/t)utek**, so that **caliutek** is 'you₂ are working.' As a matter of convention, we shall use the word 'you' without subscripts to indicate singular, 'you_{pl}' to indicate plural, and 'you₂' to indicate dual.

These endings can be arrayed in tabular form as:

he, she, it	+'(g/t)u	q	<i>3rd person singular</i>
they		t	<i>3rd person plural</i>
they ₂		k	<i>3rd person dual</i>
I		:nga	<i>1st person singular</i>
we		kut	<i>1st person plural</i>
we ₂		kuk	<i>1st person dual</i>
you		ten	<i>2nd person singular</i>
you _{pl}		ci	<i>2nd person plural</i>
you ₂		tek	<i>2nd person dual</i>

Exercise 2-4

A. Translate into English:

- 1) pissurtua, 2) alingukut, 3) kuimartua, 4) anua, 5) ayagtuten, 6) assirtut cakneq, 7) ceñirtuten, 8) kuuvviartutek, 9) ner'ukuk, 10) iqvartuci, 11) pissurtuk, 12) aurruten.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) you are going in, 2) you_{pl} are coming over, 3) we are learning, 4) I am playing, 5) you are crying again, 6) I am still hungry, 7) we are very much afraid, 8) today we are speaking in Yup'ik, 9) they₂ are crying, 10) we quit, 11) you (just now) went out, 12) it is dirty, 13) you are very ill, 14) they are sleeping.

"Yes or no" Questions

To form 'yes or no' questions, that is, questions which require only 'yes' or 'no' for an answer, one uses another suffix, the *enclitic* =qaa on the first word of the sentence. For example, **kaigtuten-qaa?** 'are you hungry?' **ataam-qaa itertuci?** 'are you_{pl} going in again?' and **assirtuq-qaa?** 'is it good?' Note that **qaa** is written separated from the word by a hyphen (see Chapter 1).

Exercise 2-5

Give a Yup'ik answer in the affirmative to each of the following questions and translate. For example, given Assirtuci-qaa?, you would write Ii-i; assirtukut 'yes; we are fine.'

- 1) Alingutek-qaa?, 2) Cali-qaa kuuvviartuten?, 3) Yugcetun-qaa qalartuci?, 4) Naulluagua-qaa cakneq?, 5) Qiaguq-qaa cali?

The equals sign in the formal listing of **qaa** indicates that this is an *enclitic*. The enclitics are a special small category of suffixes which go onto a word after the ending is in place. The suffixes **+'(g/t)uq**, **+'(g/t)u:nga** etc. dealt with above, and others which indicate person and number (and verb mood, or noun case) are called *endings*. Except for the possibility of an enclitic coming after it, the ending is at the end of the word. There are suffixes which can be fitted between the base and the ending, and these are called *postbases*.

Postbases

A Yup'ik word can have zero, one, two or more postbases between the base of the word and the ending. In this chapter we shall look at several postbases that go onto verb bases and keep them as verb bases, that is, as verbal "expanded" bases. In subsequent chapters, after nouns have been introduced we shall look at postbases that go onto noun bases and keep them as noun bases, at postbases which change verb bases into noun bases, and at postbases that go onto noun bases and change them into verb bases.

@~+yug- is a *postbase* which is used with verb bases and means 'to want to *V*', where *V* represents the action or state described by the verb base to which the postbase is added. The meaning of the symbols preceding it here will be explained shortly. Thus, from **cali-** 'to work' one gets **caliyug-** meaning 'to want to work'. This is still a verb base, and still requires an ending. For example **caliyugtuq** 'he wants to work,' **caliyugtua** 'I want to work,' **caliyugtutengaa?** 'do you want to work?' Note that the base, or rather "expanded" base, **caliyug-** (as well as any other formed with this postbase) ends in a consonant, **g**, and this is why the **t** is used with the ending. Also note that whereas the **ng** is not dropped in **caliunga** 'I am working' (because it is not flanked by single vowels), it *is* dropped to yield **caliyugtua** 'I want to work' from underlying ***caliyugtunga** where **ng** is flanked by single vowels. The plus sign with this postbase indicates that final consonants on bases are retained. For example, from **qavar-** 'to sleep' comes **qavaryug-** (with **r** retained) as in **qavaryugtuq** 'he wants to sleep.' The tilde, **~**, indicates that this suffix drops final **e** from bases. For example, from **nere-** 'to eat,' comes **neryug-** (with base-final **e** dropped) as in **neryugtuq** 'he wants to eat.' The sign **@** indicates that **te** at the end of a base is affected in ways described further below.

Two special things happen with this postbase **@~+yug-**, and in fact all postbases that start with **y**. One is that after a stop or voiceless fricative, **y**, being a fricative itself, will become voiceless. It then gets rewritten as **s** — as single **s** with the stop or voiceless fricative that precedes it indicating its voicelessness. For example, from **taqe-** 'to quit', and from **aurre-** 'to crawl,' come ***taqyug-** and ***aurryug-** which are rewritten **taqsug-** and **aurrsug-** as in **taqsugtuq** 'he wants to quit,' and **aurrsugtuq** 'he wants to crawl.'

The second special thing that happens with this and other postbases that start with **y**, is that the combination **ty**, or rather **ts** as it would be rewritten,

changes in pronunciation to **c**, and this is the reason for the sign: @. This is not to say that the sequence of consonants **ts** never occurs in the language. In fact it does occur (and so even does **ty** where **y** is voiced, but very infrequently), but with postbases starting with **y**, a resulting **ty** becomes **ts** and this in turn becomes **c**. For example, from **ceñirte-** 'to visit' and **elite-** 'to learn' come ***ceñirtyug-** and ***elityug-**, hence ***ceñirtsug-** and ***elitsug-**, which change to **ceñircug-** and **elicug-** as in **ceñircugtuq** 'he wants to visit,' and **elicugtuq** 'he wants to learn.'

For information on what happens to the **y** of the above postbase in the Norton Sound dialect, see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 2-6

A. Translate into English:

1) Ayagyugtuten-qaa? 2) Kuuvviaryugtua. 3) Ataam anyugtuq. 4) Qavaryugtuci-qaa?, 5) Cakneq elicugtua. 6) Taqsugtutek-qaa? 7) Unuamek yuraryugtukuk. 8) Cali-qaa elicugtuci? 9) Iteryugtuq. 10) Pissuryugtukut unuamek. 11) Inarcugtua.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I want to speak Yup'ik very much. 2) Do you want to eat? 3) He wants to come in. 4) We want to Eskimo dance some more. 5) Do you_{pl} want to drink coffee? 6) They₂ want to pick berries. 7) We₂ want to go outside again.

Past Postbase

The postbase **-llru-** indicates past time in Yup'ik, that is, it shows that something has happened in the past. This postbase, **-llru-** drops final consonants, **g** and **r**, of verb bases, and this is why it is preceded by a minus sign in our presentation of it. Note that if there is no final consonant (if the base ends in a vowel), then nothing is dropped. Note also that there are several possible translations; Yup'ik does not make the same kind of distinction into several different past tenses that English does.

Examples

<i>base</i>	<i>with postbase</i>	<i>with postbase and ending</i>
cali- 'to work'	calillru- 'to have worked'	calillruuq 'he has worked, he worked, he was working'
nere- 'to eat'	nerellru- 'to have eaten'	nerellruunga 'I ate'
qavar- 'to sleep'	qavallru- 'to have slept'	qavallruuten-qaa? 'did you sleep?'
ayag- 'to leave'	ayallru- 'to have left'	ayallruuq 'he left'

Exercise 2-7

Put into the past and translate:

1) Naulluugua. 2) Alingukut. 3) Itertuci. 4) Assirtua. 5) Ceñirtua. 6) Kaigtua. 7) Caliunga. 8) Qalarcugtuq. 9) Anyugtuten-qaa? 10) Yuraryugtukuk. 11) Yuraryugtuten. 12) Elitut.

With verbs which indicate an action that occurs more or less in an instant and then is done with, forms without the postbase **-llru-** may be used to indicate past, as mentioned previously. Thus **an'uq** can be translated either as 'he is going out' (meaning that he is right now in the process of going out), or as 'he went out'. In the case of such verbs, the postbase **-llru-** merely fixes the action definitely in the past, so that **anellruuq** also means 'he went out,' but the past time is emphasized more than in the form without the postbase, and the implication is that the action occurred further in the past, not just recently.

Two or more postbases can be used together if it is logical to do so, the order of the two again being determined largely — though not entirely — by logical considerations. For example, one can say **neryullruuq** 'he wanted to eat,' from **neryug-** 'to want to eat' and **-llru-**, but one does not normally say ***nerellruyugtuq**¹ which would have to mean something like 'he wants to have eaten' (even though in English it is possible to say 'he wishes now that he had eaten'). *In general, the order of the components of the Yup'ik word is the reverse of the order of the words in the English phrase or sentence that translates it.* So one can see that **neryullruuq** has the postbases in the proper order if one divides it into its meaningful pieces, for example **ner¹-yu²-llru³-uq⁴** and translates it piece by piece, 'to eat¹-want²-did³-he⁴' which in reverse order would read 'he⁴ did³ want² to eat.'¹

Another postbase is **-nrite-** 'to not V' which also drops final consonants.

Examples

base	with postbase	with postbase and ending
cali- 'to work'	calinrite- 'to not work'	calinrituq 'he's not working'
nere- 'to eat'	nerenrite- 'to not eat'	nerenrituq 'he's not eating'
qavar- 'to sleep'	qavanrite- 'to not sleep'	qavanrituq 'he's not sleeping'

Again various combinations of postbases are possible. In the following examples, note the permissible orderings of postbases: **nerellrunrituq** 'he didn't eat' (but not ***nerenritellruuq** even though logic might suggest this order; *in general negation will be put at or near the end of a series of verb-to-verb postbases*), **neryunrituq** 'he doesn't want to eat' (and not ***nerenricugtuq**), **neryullrunrituq** 'he didn't want to eat.' In the last example, the order of **-yug-** and of **-llru-** is fixed as discussed above, and so is the order of **-llru-** and **-nrite-** which determines the ordering of all three postbases. To summarize the ordering of these three postbases, **@~+yug-** comes first if it is used, **-llru-** comes second if it is used, and **-nrite-** comes third if it is used.

1. The asterisk at the beginning of this form indicates that this also is not an actual spoken form, but here it is an incorrect form rather than an underlying form.

A Postbase Replacing a Combination of Two Postbases

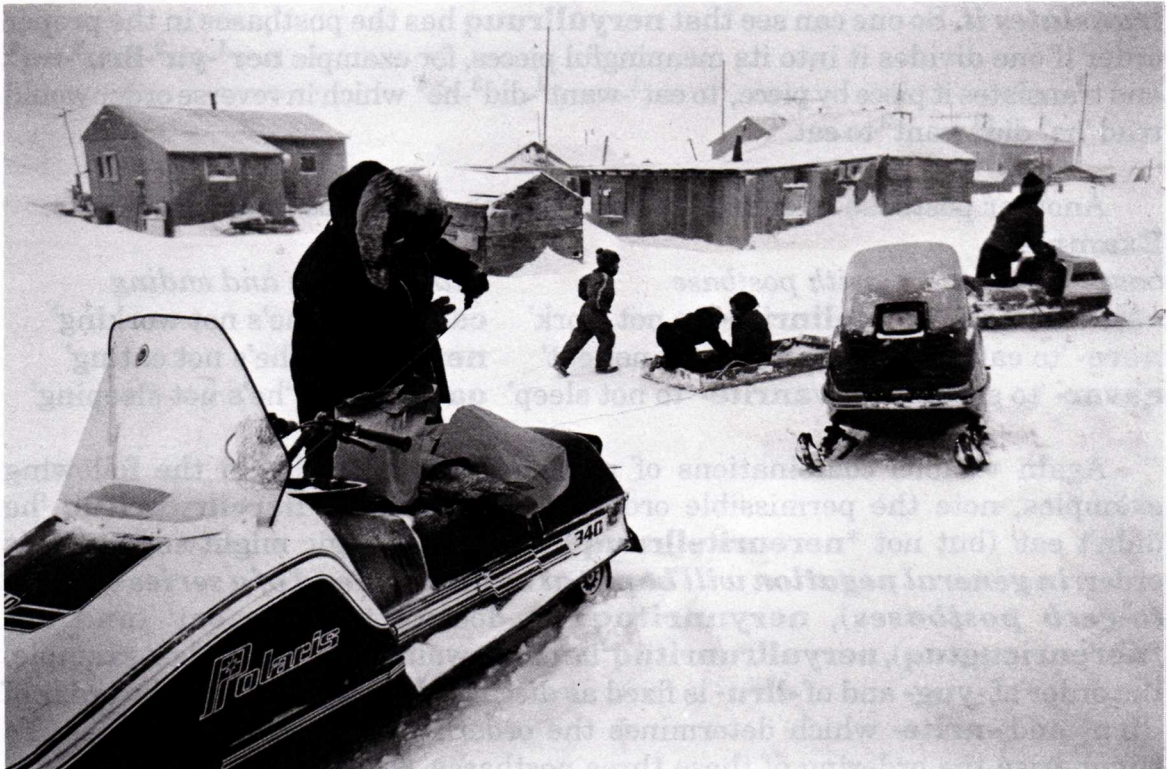
While it is perfectly correct to say, for example, **neryunritua** 'I don't want to eat,' there is also a postbase **@~+yuumiite-** for 'to not want to V,' so that 'I don't want to eat' can also be **neryuumiitua**. When this postbase is used with **-llru-**, it will precede **-llru-** (as is only logical). Thus one can say either **neryuumiitellruunga** or **neryullrunritua** for 'I didn't want to eat.'

There is also a single postbase that often replaces the combination **-llrunrite-** 'to not have V-ed' and there are postbases that can be used instead of the particles **cakneq** 'very much' and **ataam** 'again.' These postbases will be introduced later in the book.

Exercise 2-8

Put each of the following in the negative and translate:

- 1) Caliyugtuci. 2) Yugcetun elicugtut? 3) Qiallruutek. 4) Iqaunga. 5) Inarcullruuten.
- 6) Akwaugaq pissuryullruut. 7) Kuvviaryugtutek. 8) Aurrugtuq. 9) Assillruukut. 10) Cakneq yuraryullruuci akwaugaq.



Pilot Station. Photo by James H. Barker.

End-of-Chapter Exercises*A. Translate into English:*

1) Iqvallruunga akwaugaq. 2) Pissuryullruuk. 3) Kuimaryunritukuk unuamek. 4) Aquiyullrunrituten-qaa? 5) Iqaunga-qaa? 6) Alingenritua. 7) Cali kuuvviaryugtua. 8) Naulluullruutek cakneq. 9) Qavallruunga. 10) Yugcetun qalartellruuk. 11) Kainritua unuamek. 12) Neryullruuten-qaa? 13) Alingellruuci-qaa? 14) Iteryunritut. 15) Kuuvviaryunrituci-qaa? 16) Ataam ceñircugtukut. 17) Aquinritut. 18) Anyugtukuk. 19) Cakneq caliyunritua! 20) Ayagyugtuq-qaa? 21) Inartenritukut. 22) Cali yuraryunritua. 23) Yugcetun qalarcugtuq. 24) Unuamek ataam pissurtut. 25) Cakneq cukauq. 26) Assillrunrituq. 27) Akwaugaq kailruunga cakneq. 28) Taqsugtua. 29) Cali kuuvviartuten! 30) Ayallrunritut cali.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Weren't you hungry? 2) I wasn't scared. 3) I really (= very much) want to Eskimo dance. 4) We don't want to leave. 5) They₂ want to go out. 6) I really want to swim. 7) He didn't learn. 8) We didn't pick berries yesterday. 9) I didn't cry. 10) Do you₂ want more coffee? 11) Don't you want to sleep? 12) They₂ are crawling. 13) He went out. 14) He isn't coming. 15) They really want to learn Eskimo. 16) Are you afraid? 17) Did you₂ eat? 18) Do they want to Eskimo-dance today? 19) I didn't want to sleep. 20) We want to visit. 21) They didn't visit. 22) I ate. 23) They want to crawl. 24) He's hungry again. 25) I learned. 26) We aren't hungry. 27) I'm fine, well (= good). 28) They (just) went out. 29) They went out yesterday. 30) Were you swimming?

C. From the forms given, determine the requested form. You may find it advisable to determine the base first.

1) kenirtuq = 'she's cooking'; kenillruuq = 'she cooked'; *how would you say 'she wants to cook'?* 2) aqumuq 'he is (in the act of) sitting down'; *how would you say 'he sat down'?* and 'he wants to sit down?' 3) maqiuq = 'they are taking a steam bath'; *how would you say 'they don't want to take a steam bath'?* 4) kiipirtellruunga = 'I stood up on tiptoes'; *how would you say 'I want to stand on tiptoes'?* 5) nalkutuq = 'he (just now) found something'; *how would you say 'he found something yesterday'?* 6) tuntuvagtua = 'I got a moose'; tuntuvagcugtua = 'I want to get a moose'; *how would you say 'I didn't get a moose yesterday'?* 7) iillruuten = 'you hid'; iiryugtuten-qaa? = 'do you want to hide?'; *how would you say 'are you hiding'?* 8) uirruq = 'it (a dog) is growling'; *how would you say 'it was growling'?* *how would you say 'it wants to growl'?* 9) qutegcugtuq = 'he wants to boast'; *how would you say 'he was boasting'?* 10) kavialiqukut = 'we're catching lots of foxes'; *how would you say 'we want to catch lots of foxes'?*

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 2

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 **Cenirte-** means 'to visit' only in the sense of visiting someone nearby, in the same village or city. For 'to visit' another locality, **nunate-** is used. In HBC (Hooper Bay - Chevak) **ci** is used wherever **ce** followed by an apical is used elsewhere (with a few exceptions), so HBC has **cinirte-** (with voiced **n**) for 'to visit.' In some areas **elalirte-** is used instead of **cenirte-**.
- #2 Instead of **iqvar-** for 'to pick berries,' there is **unatar-**, with this meaning, in NS (Norton Sound), some of Y (Yukon), Nun (Nunivak), Eg (Egegik), and HBC.
- #3 In addition to **kuimar-** 'to swim,' there is **kuime-**. For some speakers **kuime-** is 'to swim from one place to a different place,' while **kuimar-** is just 'to swim around.'
- #4 **Kuuvviar-** 'to have coffee' (and the associated noun, **kuuvviaq** 'coffee') is one of some 200 or so Yup'ik words from Russian. Most Yup'ik speakers use or know one third to one half of these words, but some areas use more words from Russian than other areas. Yup'ik words from Russian are primarily nouns (the present word is only superficially an exception — the noun form of it is more fundamental), dealing with things the Russians introduced, such as foods, tools, clothing, utensils and hardware, Christian religion and domesticated animals, and often stand out phonologically from other Yup'ik words (see the Appendix to the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary* for a complete listing of these words and their Russian sources).
- #5 Instead of **naullu-** for 'to be ill,' there is **nangteqe-** in Y, NI (Nelson Island), and HBC (and this word is also used in K (Kuskokwim) for 'to be suffering, to be in pain') and **qena-** in BB (Bristol Bay), NR (Nushagak River), LI (Lake Iliamna) and Eg.
- #6 In addition to **qalarte-** 'to speak' which is used primarily in K and BB, there is **qaner-** used everywhere (though in K and BB it is not quite as common as **qalarte-**).
- #7 Instead of **qia-** 'to cry,' there is **qeya-** in HBC, UK (Upper Kuskokwim — above Kalskag) and LI.
- #8 Instead of **unamek** 'today,' there is **ernerpak** in NS, Y, HBC and some NI. This word **ernerpak** is also used in K and BB where it means 'all day' rather than 'today.'
- #9 Variants of **Yugcetun** 'in the Yup'ik Eskimo language' are **Yugtun**, **Yup'igcetun**, and **Yup'igtun**.

Note A

In the NS dialect, **y** becomes (voiced) **s** in certain positions within a word. In particular, **y** becomes **s** when it follows a consonant, (or is geminated and/or is followed by two vowels). Thus, NS has **caliyugtua** for 'I want to work,' but **nersugtua** (rather than **neryugtua**) for 'I want to eat,' and **qavarsugtua** (rather than **qavaryugtua**) for 'I want to work.'



Uluat are made from old saw blades. In olden times they were made of stone with handles of wood, bone, antler, or ivory. Photo by Richard Veazey.

CHAPTER 3

*Absolutive Case as Subject of Intransitive Verb;
Ablative-Modalis Case as Indefinite Object
of Intransitive Verb; Ablative-Modalis of
Place from Which and of Specification*

Nouns

Nouns are the other major category of Yup'ik words besides verbs as introduced in the previous chapter. There is a natural choice for the *citation form* for nouns which is very similar to the abstract combining or base form. This citation form is the *unpossessed absolutive singular*. This is the form of the noun that means simply 'the —' or 'a —' or just '—.' For example, the unpossessed absolutive singular form **angyaq** can be translated as 'the boat,' 'a boat' or just 'boat.'

Vocabulary

- akutaq** 'Eskimo ice cream' #1
- ang'uq** 'it is big'
- angun** 'man, male human'
- angyaq** 'boat' #2
- arnaq** 'woman'
- asveq** 'walrus' #3
- atkuk** 'parka' #4
- atsalugpiaq** 'cloudberry,' *locally*: 'salmonberry' #5
- aturtuq** 'she is using or wearing something, she is singing'
- cavun** 'oar'
- elitnaurvik** 'school' #6
- estuuluq** 'table' #7
- igta** 'den, lair'
- ikamraq** 'sled' #8
- imaq** 'contents, bullet'
- kass'aq** 'white person' #9
- kaviaq*** 'fox' (*the * is explained below*)
- kemek** 'meat'
- kenirtuq** 'she is cooking' #10
- kuik** 'river'
- kuuvviaq** 'coffee' #11
- mik'uq** or **miktuq** 'it is small' #12
- mikelnguq*** 'child'
- mingquq** 'she is sewing'
- nacaq** 'hat, parka hood'
- nanvaq** 'lake'
- nateq** 'floor'
- nayiq*** 'ringed seal'
- neqa^e** 'fish, food' (*the superscript ^e is explained below*)

- nuliaq** 'wife'
nuna 'land, village'
nutegtuaq 'she is shooting; she shot'
nutek 'gun' #13
penguq 'hill' #14
qaiq* 'wave'
qanertuaq 'she is speaking, saying something; she said something'
qantaq 'bowl, dish, plate'
qimugta 'dog'
suupaq 'soup, stew' #15
tangertuaq 'she sees' (*this verb is somewhat irregular in that the base is **tangerr-** with final voiceless fricative; therefore one gets **tangerr-sugtuaq** 'she wants to see' from this verb base and the postbase @~+yug- 'to want'*) #16
tekituaq 'she arrived'
tuma^e 'footprint, trail'
tuntuvak 'moose'
ui 'husband'
uluq 'semi-lunar knife, woman's traditional Eskimo-style knife' #17
utertuaq 'she returned'
yuk 'person' #18
Yup'ik 'Yup'ik Eskimo' #19

Noun Citation Forms vs. Base Forms

One can easily go from the concrete citation form of a noun to the abstract combining form or base, and vice versa.

Nouns in their citation forms end only in the consonants **k**, **q**, and **n**, and in the full vowels **a**, **i**, and **u**.

If the citation form ends in **k**, then the base ends in **g**, and if the citation form ends in **q**, then the base ends in **r**. For example, the bases for **kuik** 'river' and **nanvaq** 'lake' are **kuig-** and **nanvar-** respectively.

If the citation form ends in **Vn**, then the base ends in **Vte**. For example, the base for **angun** 'man' is **angute-**.

If the citation form ends in **i** or **u**, then the base is exactly the same as the citation form. For example, the base for **ui** 'husband' is **ui-**.

If the citation form ends in **Cta**, then the base ends in **Cte**. For example, the base for **qimugta** 'dog' is **qimugte-**.

If the citation form ends in **a** not preceded by **t**, then the base may end in either **a** or in **e**. One must know the base termination as well as the citation forms of such words. In this book, if such a base ends in **e**, then the **a** on the citation form will have a superscript **e**: **neqa^e** 'fish,' indicating that the base is **neqe-**. Otherwise, the citation form will lack the superscript: **nuna** 'land,' indicating that the base is **nuna-** (that is, that the base is the same as the citation form).

In summary:

<i>termination of citation form</i>	<i>termination of base</i>
k	g-
q	r-
Vn	Vte-
Cta	Cte-
i	i-
u	u-
a^e	e-
a	a-

As we saw in the case of verbs, the base forms of nouns are important because it is to these forms that postbases and endings are added.

Exercise 3-1

Take each noun and verb on the vocabulary list above and change it from its citation form to its base form.

Nouns as Subjects of Verbs

A noun in its citation form (and in other absolutive forms) can serve as the *subject* of a verb in the 3rd person as discussed in Chapter 2. Note that the citation form is singular so the verb must be singular too. In the next chapter we shall see how to form absolutive plural and dual. Some examples of nouns being used as subjects of verbs are:

Angun ner'uq. 'The man is eating.'

Uluaq assirtuq. 'The semi-lunar knife is good.'

Arnaq qavaryugtuq. 'The woman wants to sleep.'

Yuk-qaq pissurtuq? 'Is the person hunting?'

Cali-qaq kuimaryugtuq mikelnguq? 'Does the child still want to swim?'

Yup'ik arnaq yurartuq. 'The Eskimo woman is dancing.'

Appositives

In the last example above, both **Yup'ik** and **arnaq** are the subject; the two words are said to be *appositives*, meaning that they fill the same role in the sentence and stand for the same thing. Appositives play a big role in Yup'ik, in part providing the apparatus that serves the same function as adjectives in English.

Word Order

Word order is much freer in Yup'ik than in English. Thus 'the dog is hungry' can be **qimugta kaigtug** or **kaigtug qimugta**.

Exercise 3-2*A. Translate into English:*

- 1) Asveq kuimartuq. 2) Mikelnguq ataam qiaguq. 3) Kass'aq cakneq neryugtuq. 4) Qaiq ang'uq. 5) Nateq-qaa iqauq? 6) Kass'aq mikelnguq anyullrunrituq. 7) Angun kuuvviaryugtuq.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) The moose is afraid. 2) Did the white woman arrive? 3) Is the gun still good? 4) Does the child want to lie down? 5) The ringed seal is big.

Indefinite Objects of Verbs; the Ablative-Modalis Case

Nouns can also be used as the *indefinite object* of a verb with an ending from Chapter 2, but then the noun must be changed from its citation form in the *absolutive case* to another form called the *ablative-modalis case*. This is because it is the ending of the noun which shows whether it is the subject or the object of the verb, rather than the position of the noun in the sentence as in English. For example in the sentence **angun ner'uq kemegmek** or **angun kemegmek ner'uq** 'the man is eating meat' or 'the man is eating some meat,' the word **kemegmek** is an *indefinite object* in the *ablative-modalis case*. **Kemegmek** is said to be an *indefinite object* because another construction with a definite object is used to express 'the man is eating *the* meat.' This latter type of construction will be dealt with later in this book.

The ending of the singular ablative-modalis is **~%mek**. The symbol % indicates that this suffix keeps some base-final consonants and drops others. Suffixes marked with % can be called "half-retaining type" suffixes. The final consonants that are kept are said to be *strong* and the final consonants that are dropped are said to be *weak*.

All base-final **g**'s are strong, as are all base-final **r**'s that are preceded by **e**. Thus **atkug-** (the base for **atkuk** 'parka') ends in a strong consonant (**g**), **asver-** (base for **asveq** 'walrus') ends in a strong consonant (**r** which is preceded by **e**). Therefore the ablative-modalis forms of these nouns are **atkugmek** and **asvermek**, where the strong consonant has been kept.

Most base-final **r**'s that are not preceded by **e** are weak. Thus **angyar-** (for **angyaq** 'boat') and **uluar-** (for **uluaq** 'semi-lunar knife') end in weak consonants (**r** preceded by a full vowel). Therefore the ablative-modalis forms of these nouns are **angyamek** and **uluamek**, where the weak **r** has been dropped. However, a minority of bases that end in **r** preceded by a full vowel have a strong final consonant, and these are marked in this book with an asterisk, for example **kaviaq***, **mikelnguq***, **nayiq***, and **qaiq*** meaning 'fox,' 'child,' 'ring seal,' and 'wave' in the vocabulary for this chapter. There is considerable variation with many of these unpredictably strong consonant-ending words, so that to some speakers, **kaviar-** (the base for **kaviaq** 'fox') ends in a strong consonant while to others it ends in a weak consonant. Therefore while the book prescribes **kaviarmek** as the ablative-modalis form of this word, some speakers will say **kaviamek** instead. Of course if the base ends in a vowel, whether a full vowel

or **e**, the question of weak vs. strong final consonant does not come up. The symbol ~ indicates that base-final **e** is dropped, as we have seen, so that the ablative-modalis form of **angun** (with base form **angute-**) is **angutmek**.

In the following examples note how the ablative-modalis ending ~%**mek** drops weak base-final consonants, keeps strong base-final consonants, and drops base-final **e**'s.

Angun ner'uq akutamek. 'The man is eating Eskimo ice cream.'

Pissullruunga tuntuvagmek. 'I hunted a moose.'

Qimugta-qaa neqmek nerellruuq? 'Did the dog eat a fish?'

Aturyugtuten-qaa angyamek? 'Do you want to use a boat?'

Atkugmek atullrunritua. 'I didn't wear a parka.'

Kaviarmek (or kaviamek) tangertut. 'They see a fox.'

Alingenrituq qimugteniek. 'She's not scared of a dog.'

In the last example above the base-final **e** of **qimugte-** (base for **qimugta**) is dropped in accordance with the symbol ~ of the ablative-modalis ending, but this leads to ***qimugtmek** which has a cluster of three consonants, **gtm**, and three-consonant clusters are not permitted in Yup'ik. There is the following general rule: *when a three-consonant cluster arises in the course of word construction, if the middle consonant is t, then an e is inserted after the t but the voicelessness which the stop t imparts to the third consonant of the cluster is preserved*, and this must be explicitly shown in the writing by the voiceless nasal mark as here (or by doubling a fricative letter if that is appropriate). We shall see later that if the middle consonant of a three-consonant cluster is not **t**, then the place of insertion of the **e** is more variable.

Exercise 3-3

A. Translate into English:

1) Kemegmek neryugtukut. 2) Estuulumek tangertuq mikelnguq. 3) Alingellruunga tuntuvagmek. 4) Aturyugtuten-qaa cavutmek? 5) Atkugmek mingeqsugtua. (From *mingqsugtua with e inserted between the first and second consonants of the cluster since the second consonant is not t; the cluster may also be broken so as to yield mingqessugtua)

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The woman is sewing a hat. 2) Did you eat some ringed seal? 3) I saw a river. 4) Did you_{pl} see a den yesterday? 5) The dog ate a fish today.

The ablative-modalis plural is ~%**nek**, exactly like the singular except for having **n** instead of **m**. For example:

Iqvallruukut atsalugpianek. 'We picked salmonberries.'

Tangertuq qairnek. 'He saw waves.'

Qimugta ner'uq neqnek. 'The dog is eating fish_{pl}.'

Exercise 3-4*A. Translate into English:*

1) Kass'aq ceñircugtuq Yup'ignek. 2) Keninritua kemegnek. 3) Mikelnguq neryuumiituq suupamek. 4) Tangerrugtukut kuignek. 5) Kaviaq nerellruuq neqnek. 6) Arnaq mingqellruuq nacanek atkugnek-llu (=llu means 'and').

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I see foxes. 2) We want to use guns. 3) They are hunting ringed seals. 4) Were you_{pl} using semi-lunar knives? 5) The fox ate some moose. 6) I am wearing a parka.

For the form of the ablative-modalis case used in Hooper Bay and Chevak, see Note A in the supplement for this chapter.

As observed above, the object in the ablative-modalis case in these constructions is something indefinite, and for this reason it is translated without the definite article "the." Thus **ner'uq neqmek** means 'he is eating fish,' 'he is eating a fish' or 'he is eating some fish.' To translate 'he is eating the fish' into Yup'ik requires a different construction which will be dealt with in Chapter 8. Similarly to say 'I saw you' or 'he saw me' where the object is 1st or 2nd person (and thus a definite thing) also requires that different construction.

Ablative-Modalis of Place from which

The ablative-modalis case can also mean 'from.'¹ This is the *place from which* use of the ablative-modalis case, as in the following examples:

Tekituq pengunek. 'She arrived from the hills.'

Akwaugaq ayallruukut nunamek.² 'We left (from) the village yesterday.'

Exercise 3-5*Translate:*

1) Kaviaq anellruuq igtemek. 2) Taillruuci-qaa nanvamek akwaugaq? 3) Angun ayallrunrituq kuigmek. 4) Qimugta-qaa taillruuq nunamek? 5) Mikelnguq utercugtuq elitnaurvigmek.

Postbases

The postbases for this chapter are used with noun bases and yield verb bases.

1. This second use explains the hyphenated name "ablative-modalis." In Inupiaq/Inuit Eskimo languages there are two separate cases, the *ablative* meaning basically 'from,' and the *modalis* used for indefinite object. The endings of the two cases are different in Inupiaq/Inuit. However in all the Yupik Eskimo languages there is only case, one ending, for both uses or meanings. It is not certain which is the innovation and which is the original pattern: separate ablative and modalis cases now combined in Yupik, or a single ablative-modalis case now split in Inupiaq/Inuit. The modalis is also called the "instrumental" in works on Eskimo grammar.

2. Or **nunaneq**; a village can be considered a plurality as can other things which consist of multiple parts.

The postbase **-li-** means 'to make *N*' where *N* is the thing that the noun denotes. This postbase drops all final consonants, weak or strong.

Arnaq atkuliug. 'The woman is making a parka.'

Kass'aq ikamraliyugtuq. 'The white person wants to make a sled.'

Cavutelillruuten-qaa? 'Did you make an oar?'

Kuuvvialiuten-qaa? 'Are you making coffee?'

Exercise 3-6

A. Translate into English:

1) Nacalillruunga. 2) Igteliut. 3) Qantaliyugtuten-qaa? 4) Suupalinritukut. 5) Angun angyaliyullruuq. 6) Cavuteliyugtua cakneq.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Do you want to make a parka? 2) I don't want to make a semi-lunar knife. 3) The fox wants to make a den. 4) They are making a river! 5) The white person made a table. 6) The Yup'ik woman is making a sled.

This postbase **-li-** does not indicate how many things are being made; the number of the ending on the verb only indicates how many people are making the thing. So **arnaq atkuliug** can mean 'the woman is making a parka' or 'the woman is making parkas.'

This postbase is one of a number of *consonant dropping* postbases that begin with **li**. When using one of these postbases, one can optionally delete the **l** and the vowel preceding it (except in the case of very short noun bases). Thus, **atkuliug**, above, can be shortened to **atkuiug** by deleting **u** and **l**, **ikamraliyugtuq** can be shortened to **ikamriyugtuq**.

If **cavutelillruuten** is shortened in this way to ***cavutillruuten**, then this shorter form further changes to **cavucillruuten** due to a general principle whereby **ti** becomes **ci** unless another **i** follows it. We shall see this general principle recur in many other places.

For more information on this postbase see Note B in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 3-7

Change long forms to short forms, and vice versa. For example, given ikamraliug 'she is making a sled' (which is the long form), you should write ikamriug (which is the short form, with the same meaning), or given angyillrunritua 'I didn't make a boat' (which is the short form) you should write angyalillrunritua (which is the long form with the same meaning); (note: you can always make the short form from the long form even if you don't know the noun in question, but to make the long form from the short form you will need to know the noun in question in order to restore the correct vowel).

1) Ipuuteliyugtukut 'we want to make a ladle', 2) Suupiuq. 'She's making soup.' 3) Qayalillruunga. 'I made a kayak.' 4) Qanciuten-qaa? 'Are you making a bowl?' 5) Piluguliug. 'She is making skin boots.'

Dropping of hatted e

Sometimes when this postbase **-li-**, or another postbase, is attached to a base, a hatted **e** arises, that is, an **e** which is in line to receive rhythmic length (see Chapter 1). **A hatted e is dropped, if doing so does not lead to a cluster of two same (or almost same¹) consonants.** This is illustrated by the following example, which, like the two examples after it, uses a word which is not in the vocabulary list for this chapter.

urluveq (base: **urluver-**) 'bow for use with arrows,' and postbase **-li-** 'to make,' yield ***urluvêli-** which becomes **urluvli-** as in **urluvliyugtua** 'I want to make a bow.'

If dropping hatted **e** causes **l** to come right after a stop consonant, then the **l** stays voiced as if the **e** were still there, and this is shown with an apostrophe. This is one instance of a more general principle: **if dropping a hatted e causes a voiced fricative or nasal to come right after a stop consonant or voiceless fricative, than that voiced fricative or nasal stays voiced,** and this is indicated in the writing with an appropriately placed apostrophe. (Note that this rule, in a way, compliments the rule given earlier stating that a fricative or nasal which is voiceless because it immediately follows a stop consonant stays voiceless even if **e** is inserted to break a three-consonant cluster).

issran (base: **issrate-**) 'woven grass bag,' and postbase **-li-** 'to make,' yield ***issratêli-** which becomes **issrat'li-** as in **issrat'liyugtua** 'I want to make a grass bag.'

If dropping such a hatted **e** would cause two same (or almost same) consonants, in this case two **l**'s, to be next to each other, then the **e** must be kept because it is not permissible to have two same consonants next to each other.² However **e** is not rhythmically lengthened because **e** cannot be lengthened in Yup'ik. Here we invoke another general principle: **if a hatted e is not dropped, then the following consonant is (automatically) geminated.** (And this gemination in effect closes the syllable with **e**, removing the "hat"). For example:

quagulek (base: **quaguleg-**) 'three-edged needle for sewing skin,' and postbase **-li-** 'to make,' yield **quagulêli-** which is pronounced **quaguleli-** as in **quaguleliyugtua** 'I want to make a three-edged needle.'

Even suffixes which drop final **e**'s, such as **~%mek**, cannot lead to clusters of two same consonants together, so that the final **e** is not dropped (or is dropped

1. Almost same consonants are **c** and **t**, and **c** and **n**.

2. Not counting gemination, but see Note C in the supplement to this chapter.

and reinserted), and if such an **e** is hatted, then the following consonant is (automatically) geminated. For example:

Tumemêk tangellruunga. ‘I saw a footprint.’ (Compare to: **tumnek tangellruunga** ‘I saw footprints.’)

More Postbases

The postbase **-ngqerr-** means ‘to have *N*’. It drops all final consonants.

Qimugtengqertua. ‘I have a dog (or dogs).’

Qantaq imangqertuq. ‘The bowl has something in it’ (*literally*: ‘has contents’).

Kass’aq angyangqerrisugtuq. ‘The white person wants to have a boat’
(note that **y** of **@~+yug-** becomes voiceless **s** after the voiceless fricative **rr**).

Recall that with endings such as **+(g/t)uq**, the **rr** is undoubled next to the stop **t**, and compare **tangerr-** and **tangertuq** ‘he sees’ (see Chapter 1).

The opposite of **-ngqerr-** is **:(ng)ite-** ‘to lack *N*, to not have *N*’. This postbase attaches in somewhat the same way as the **:nga** of the 1st person singular verb ending **+(g/t)u:nga**. With the present postbase however, **(ng)** is only used with bases that end in a vowel. If the base ends in a consonant, **r** or **g**, then the **(ng)** is not used, but in either case **ng** (if used) or **r** or **g** (if present from the base) are subject to *velar dropping*.

Examples

<i>noun base</i>	<i>with postbase</i>	<i>with postbase and ending</i>
nuna- ‘land’	* nunangite- → nunaite-	nunaituq ‘she lacks land’
ui- ‘husband’	uingite- (<i>velar kept</i>)	uingituq ‘she lacks a husband’
neqe- ‘fish’	* neqengite- → neqaite- (<i>see below</i>)	neqaituq ‘it lacks fish’
angyar- ‘boat’	* angyarite- → angyaite-	angyaituq ‘she lacks a boat’
atkug- ‘parka’	* atkugite- → atkuite-	atkuituq ‘she lacks a parka’
qair- ‘wave’	qairite- (<i>velar kept</i>)	qairituq ‘it lacks waves’

A few comments are in order here. First, whether a velar is dropped or kept with this postbase doesn’t depend at all on whether the velar is weak or strong. Rather, the velar **ng**, **g**, or **r** is dropped *if and only if* it is flanked by single vowels, and this explains why the velar is kept in **uingite-** and **qairite-**. In the case of ***neqengite-** becoming **neqaite-**, there is a general rule whereby **engi** becomes **ai** when the **ng** is velar-dropped.

Another general rule says that *when a suffix that starts with a vowel is added to a base ending in **er** or **eg**, then the **e** of the base (called the semi-final **e**) is dropped.*

nater- ‘floor’ **natrite-** (*velar kept*) **natrituq** ‘it lacks a floor’

If this leads to a three-consonant cluster, then an **e** is reinserted, but a velar following such a reinserted **e** is not subject to velar-dropping. The **e** may be reinserted between the first and second consonants of the cluster or between the second and third.

asver- 'walrus'	* asvrite- (<i>velar kept</i>) —> asverite- or asevrite-	asverituq or asevrituq 'it lacks walruses'
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The word **nuliaq** 'wife' is a special case. The base can be regarded as either **nuliar-**, in which case this postbase gives **nuliarite-**, or as **nulirr-**, in which case this postbase gives **nulirrite-**, and velar dropping does not apply to the voiceless fricative. Both **nuliarituq** and **nulirrituq** are common for 'he doesn't have a wife.'

Lexicalizations

Some combinations of this postbase with particular bases should be considered as bases in their own right and should be learned as such just as if they were words presented in the vocabulary section of the chapter. This happens with other postbases as well as with the one in question. These combinations are said to be *lexicalized* which is to say that the meaning of the combination in question is not totally predictable from the meanings of the individual parts. English also has many lexicalizations including "washing machine," which is understood not as any machine for washing anything, but specifically as a machine for washing clothes, and "hot dog," which of course isn't a dog at all. In this book lexicalized combinations will be indicated with a checkmark, that is, with the symbol "√". For example, **kemek** 'flesh' and the postbase **:(ng)ite-** (with an ending) lead to √ **kemgituq** which means literally 'she doesn't have meat or flesh', but which is understood by Yup'ik speakers as meaning 'she is skinny.' The base √ **kemgite-** is considered to be lexicalized because 'to be skinny' is not entirely predictable from the literal meaning 'to not have meat or flesh.' The reader should memorize **kemgituq** 'she is skinny' as another verb in the vocabulary of this chapter.

The same check mark will be used for combinations where the meaning is predictable but which correspond to a single English word or concept and therefore should also be memorized as bases in their own right. An example of this is that **imaq** 'contents' and the postbase in question (with an ending) yield √ **imaituq** 'it does not have contents' which (predictably) corresponds to the English 'it is empty.' The check mark indicates that **imaituq** should be memorized as the Yup'ik verb for 'it is empty.' That way when translating from English to Yup'ik one won't always have to follow this chain of thoughts: "empty' equals 'not have contents,' 'contents' is **imaq** and 'not have' is **:(ng)ite-**, so 'not have contents' is **imaite-**, and therefore that is the Yup'ik for 'empty'" (nor should one have to follow a similar multi-step chain of thoughts to get from the Yup'ik **imaite-** to the the English 'empty'), but rather go from 'empty' directly to **imaite-** (and likewise going from Yup'ik to English).

The woman in the front row second from right wears a traditional *atkuk*, 1903, probably in Bethel. Joseph H. Romig Collection (acc. #90-043-947) in the Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Dept. University of Alaska Fairbanks.



Exercise 3-8

Attach the postbase *:(ng)ite-* to the following words and make short sentences:

- 1) akutaq, 2) atsalugpiaq, 3) cavun, 4) elitnaurvik, 5) estuuluq, 6) igta, 7) ikamraq, 8) kass'aq, 9) kaviaq, 10) kuik, 11) kuuvviaq, 12) nacaq, 13) nanvaq, 14) nayiq, 15) nuliaq, 16) nutek, 17) penguq, 18) qantaq, 19) qimugta, 20) suupaq, 21) tuma, 22) tuntuvak, 23) yuk, 24) uluaq.

This postbase is also used with a very few verb bases:

assir- 'to be good	*assirite- → assiite- 'to lack goodness'	√ assiituq 'it is bad'
cuka- 'to be fast	*cukangite- → cukaite- 'to lack speed'	√ cukaituq 'it is slow'

As the check marks indicate, these two expanded bases, **assiite-** 'to be bad,' and **cukaite-** 'to be slow,' should be memorized as vocabulary.

Ablative-modalis of Specification

Closely related to the use of the ablative-modalis case for the indefinite object is the use of this case to give specific information about a noun inside a verb, that is, a noun which has on it a postbase such as **-li-** 'to make,' **-ngqerr-** 'to have,' or **:(ng)ite-** 'to not have.' Some examples of this *specification* use of the ablative-modalis case are:

- Suupaliuq tuntuvagmek.** 'She's making moose soup.'
Kass'amek uingqertuq. 'She has a white husband.'
Atsalugpianek imangqertuq. 'It contains salmonberries.'

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate into English:

1) Kass'aq angyaliyugtuq. 2) Arnaq nerellrunrituq asvermek. 3) Kass'aq angun ulualiyugtuq cakneq. 4) Tangellrunritua nayirmek. 5) Cavuteliyugtuten-qaa? 6) Mikelnguq atsalugpianek iqvaryunrituq. 7) Kass'aq tuntuvagmek pissuryullruuq cakneq. 8) Akutamek-qaa neryugtuten? 9) Akutaq atsalugpiarituq. 10) Mikelnguq nutengqerrsuqtuq cakneq. 11) Yup'ik arnaq suupalillruuq akwaugaq. 12) Nat'liuq. 13) Mingeqsugtua nacamek. 14) Yup'ik kaviarnek pissuryugtuq. 15) Nayirmek kenirtuq arnaq. 16) Uingitua. 17) Arnaq estuuluituq. 18) Qantaq imaitellruuq. 19) Angyaq cavutengqertuq. 20) Mikelnguq kemgituq cakneq. 21) Kaviaq igtelinrituq cali. 22) Nanvaq qairituq. 23) Akwaugaq arnaq suupamek kenillruuq. 24) Neryullrunrituq nayirmek. 25) Tuntuvak-qaa tangellruuq mikelngurnek? 26) Unuamek ikamriunga. 27) Kuik cakneq mikellruuq. 28) Nutegyullrunritukut kaviarnek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The man doesn't have a wife. 2) Did you make a bowl? 3) They₂ are hunting seals. 4) They made a lake! 5) The child wanted to play (physically). 6) The woman is afraid of dogs. 7) The white child doesn't want to return from the school. 8) The bowl has soup in it. 9) I didn't want to make oars. 10) The hat has salmonberries in it! 11) Is the white child still skinny? 12) I want to hunt walrus again today. 13) The dog is eating fish. 14) Were you_{pl} shooting fish? 15) I want to make a table. 16) The woman doesn't want to sew hats. 17) The boat arrived from the waves. 18) The child crawled from the table. 19) We want to eat salmonberries, but (taugaam) I don't want to pick berries. 20) Did she make a gun?



Camille Bolivar dancing in Marshall, 1968. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 3

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 **Akutaq**, commonly called "Eskimo ice cream" in Alaskan English, is a chilled mixture of berries, seal oil, sugar and shortening, often with the addition of flaked or crumbled flesh of boiled fish from which the liquid has been squeezed, and/or mashed potatoes. Other types of **akutaq** have shredded boiled greens in them rather than berries. More generally the word **akutaq** can refer to any 'mixture.' This noun comes from a verb **akute-** 'to make a mixture', however, in the absence of any context to the contrary, **akutuq** is understood as 'she is making "Eskimo ice cream,"', just as **akutaq** is understood as 'Eskimo ice cream'.
- #2 Instead of **angyaq** for 'boat', there is **palayaq** in BB, NR and LI. Some speakers use both words, reserving **palayaq** for a 'larger boat.' The word **palayaq** may be from a Philippine language, brought to Bristol Bay by Filipino cannery workers. NS says **angsaq** rather than **angyaq**.
- #3 Instead of **asveq** for 'walrus,' there is **kaugpak** in NI, HBC, and Nun, and **qecigpak** in LI and Eg. The word **kaugpak** means literally 'big "kauk"', but this word **kauk** is not used alone in Central Yup'ik. An Inupiaq cognate of **kauk** means 'edible layer of skin and fat of a walrus.'
- #4 **Atkuk** 'parka' refers only to a traditional Yup'ik pull-over parka. A parka with a zipper, no matter how traditional its design is otherwise, is referred to as a **paltuuk**, **pal'tuuk**, or **ullirtaaq**.
- #5 Instead of **atsalugpiaq** for 'salmonberry, cloudberry', there is **aqavsik** in NSU, **aqevyik** in HBC, **atsarpiaq** in parts of Y, **naunraq** in NI and Can (Canineq - the coast between NI and K) (this word **naunraq** however means 'plant' outside of NI and Can), or just **atsaq** in various places (and this word **atsaq** is also the general term for 'berry' everywhere). The postbase **-lugpiaq** is unproductive and found only a few other words, including **Kass'alugpiaq** 'Russian' from **kass'aq** 'white person' (see below). Evidently **-lugpiaq** means something like 'original N'.
- #6 Instead of **elitnaurvik** for 'school,' there is **elicarvik** in some Y and some HBC, **elissarvik** in some NI, **naaqivik** in NS, **(e)skuulaq** or **(e)skuularvik** in some Y, some HBC, some NI, Nun, and some K, and **(e)skuuluq** in some BB, NR, LI and Eg.
- #7 The word **estuuluq** 'table' is from Russian. It may also be pronounced, and therefore spelled, **stuuluq** or **cetuluq**. Some Russian loan words violate certain general characteristics of Yup'ik words such as the the limitation requiring that a word not start with a consonant cluster. The form closest to the original Russian is **stuuluq**, and the other two forms constitute efforts by the Yup'ik language to make this word become more Yup'ik, so to speak.
- #8 The meaning of the word **ikamraq** 'sled' has been extended to include also 'snow machine,' and even 'car' or 'truck.' Instead of **ikamraq** there is **qamauk** in NS.
- #9 The word **kass'aq** 'white person' comes from the Russian word which has entered English as "Cossack." The Cossacks were a group of Russians famous as frontiersmen, explorers and enforcers of the will of the tsars. In some of NR, LI and Eg **kass'aq** means 'priest' (including Natives who are Christian priests), and **kassaakaq** is 'white person.'
- #10 Instead of **kenir-** for 'to cook,' there is **ega-** in NS, Y, and HBC. The base **kenir-** means literally 'to provide with fire,' which is the meaning it has in NS, Y and HBC. In the other areas, where **kenir-** is used for 'to cook,' **ega-** is "known" only in **egan** 'cooking pot,' and **egamaarlluk** 'partially dried and then boiled fish.'
- #11 The word **kuuvviaq** 'coffee' is from Russian.
- #12 Although **mikte-** rather than **mike-** is used for 'to be small' only in HBC, NI, Nun and some Can, traces of the **te** can be seen in words used elsewhere as well, as in the **l** in **mikelnguq** 'child,' which comes from **te** (see postbase **@nguq** in Chapter 14).
- #13 The word **nutek** 'gun' is a nominalization of the verb base **nuteg-** 'to shoot,' which originally seems to have meant 'to pop, crackle, explode,' like pitch in spruce wood does in a fire.
- #14 In addition to **penguq** for 'hill' there is **qemiq**.
- #15 The word **suupaq** 'soup, stew' is from Russian reinforced by English.
- #16 With the base **tangerr-**, 'to see,' the postbase **-nrite-** 'to not V' yields both the predictable form **tangenrituq** and also **tangenrrituq** for 'he doesn't see.' Both forms are common. In the second form, apparently the voicelessness of the base-final back velar fricative is

transferred to the same fricative in the postbase.

- #17 The word **ulu**aq 'semi-lunar knife, woman's traditional Eskimo-style knife' has entered English (or at least the English of writers and speakers about Eskimo things) in the form of its Inupiaq cognate "ulu." Instead of **ulu**aq, the word **kegginalek** is used in HBC and Nun. In Can the word **ulu**aq is used for any type of cutting knife.
- #18 The word **yuk** 'person' is pronounced, and therefore spelled, **cuk** in Chevak (but not in Hooper Bay where it is **yuk**), and in Nun (actually pronounced with a voiceless **g** rather than **k**). Almost all words which elsewhere begin with **y** followed by a single vowel begin with **c** in HBC, Nun and Eg. This word becomes **suk** in some small parts of Y. The meaning of **yuk** is broader than just 'person,' it can mean 'child' in the sense of 'offspring,' 'Yup'ik Eskimo,' or 'animating spirit' in certain contexts.
- #19 The word **yup'ik** means literally 'real person' or more accurately perhaps 'authentic person' or 'our original kind of person.' In Chevak (and Nun) this word is **cup'ik**, and some people in K and BB prefer **yupiaq** since there **-piaq** rather than **-pik** is the more common postbase for 'real, authentic N.'

Note A

In the HBC dialect the ablative-modalis case endings are ~%**meng** and ~%**neng** instead of ~%**mek** and ~%**nek** as elsewhere. So HBC says, for example, **akutameng neryugtua** for 'I want to eat Eskimo ice cream,' and **tumneng tangertua** for 'I see some tracks.'

Note B

We've seen how a word formed with the postbase **-li-**, 'to make,' can be shortened by deleting **l** and the preceding vowel, so that **suupaliuten-qa**? 'are you making soup?' can be shortened to **suupiuten-qa**?. There is a special problem when a noun ends in two vowels followed by a consonant. An example of such a noun is **kuuvviaq** 'coffee.' The long form for 'are you making coffee?' is **kuuvvialiuten-qa**? but a short form also exists for some, but not all, Yup'ik speakers. The expanded base **kuuvviali-** 'to make coffee,' can be shortened to **kuuvvii-**, and then, when using an ending such as **+(g/t)uten**, it is necessary to use the **(g)** after the two vowels: **kuuvviiguten-qa**? 'are you making coffee?'

Note C

Hatted **e** will not be deleted if doing so leads to a cluster of two same consonants, and an **e** will be inserted to break such a cluster which may arise through word construction with an **e** dropping suffix (such as ~%**mek**). Thus one will not get **pp**, **mm**, etc. in a word. This same holds for clusters of "almost same" consonants, in particular the clusters **ct** and **cn**.

However, in the HBC dialect such same and almost same clusters *are* permitted. For clarity, and to avoid ambiguity in some cases, an apostrophe is used to separate the two like consonants. Thus in HBC ***quagul'liyugtua** *does* lead to **quagul'liyugtua** 'I want to make a three-edged needle,' and **tum'meng** rather than **tumemek** (as elsewhere) is the singular ablative-modalis of **tuma**^e. The clusters **l'l** and **m'm** here are different from geminated **l** and geminated **m** in that breath is released for a very short duration of time between the two **l**'s or two **m**'s of the cluster.

In the NSU dialect hatted **e** is not deleted even between unlike consonants, but rather the consonant following the **e** is always geminated. People there would say **urluv'liyugtua** for 'I want to make a bow.' Furthermore, in the NSU dialect many **e**'s come to the surface, so to speak, within morphemes in places where they have been deleted as hatted in other dialects and where their underlying existence would be at best suspected without recourse to NSU (and/or Eskimo languages other than Central Yup'ik). For example, non-NSU Central Yup'ik has **it'gaq** 'foot' where the voiced status of **g** (as indicated by the apostrophe) suggests a deleted hatted **e** between it and **t**. Siberian Yupik **itegaq** and Inupiaq/Inuit **isigak** or **itigak** for 'foot' add evidence of this, and indeed NSU has **itegaq**.

CHAPTER 4

*Formation of Absolutive Plural and Dual;
Terminalis Case for Place to Which;
Localis Case for Place at Which;
Preview of Content Questions and the Interrogative Mood*

Vocabulary

- agayuuq** 'he is praying, worshipping, or crossing himself' #1
agayulirta 'minister, priest'
agayuvik 'church'
ag'uq 'he is going over'
aqumuq 'he sat down'
ateq 'name'
atsaq 'berry, fruit'
curaq 'blueberry'
Curyuk 'Dillingham' #2
elitnaurista 'teacher' #3
ella 'outside, weather, awareness, world' #4
[e]na^e 'house' (*[e]* is explained below)
ingriq 'mountain'
kanaqlak 'muskrat' #5
kipusvik 'store' #6
kiputuq 'he is buying something'
makumi 'resident of this village (here where we are)'
Mamterilleq 'Bethel' #7
maqiuq 'he is taking a steam bath'
maqivik 'steambath house'
mit'uq 'it is landing (from the air)' (*the apostrophe here, and in other short bases ending in te, is part of the base, mit'e-, and thus one gets, for example, mit'ellruuq 'it landed,' compare taqe- 'to quit,' taqellruuq 'he quit'*)
nanituq 'it is short'
Negeqliq* 'St. Marys' #8
nunapik 'tundra' #9
qayaq 'kayak' #10
quyauq 'he is thankful' (**quyana** 'thank you' (*particle*))
tak'uq 'it is long'
tan'gurraq* 'boy' #11
taringuq 'he understands'
taugaam 'but, however' (*particle*)
teng'uq 'it is taking off (in flight); it took off'
tengssuun 'airplane'
uitauq 'he/it stays, lives, resides, is located'
yaqulek 'bird' #12

Weak Initial e

The word [e]na^e 'house' requires a special explanation. The square brackets around the initial e of the word (called a *weak initial e*) indicate that this e, in addition to being barely audible as initial e's generally are, will drop off altogether as suffixes are added. In compensation, so to speak, the first consonant of the suffix will be geminated whenever possible. For example, the ablative-modalis of this word is **nem'ek** as in **an'uq nem'ek** 'he is going out from the house'; one says **nel'iyugtuq** 'he wants to build a house', but **nengqertuq** 'he has a house' (without gemination since another consonant follows the first consonant of the suffix making gemination impossible). There are a handful of other words with weak initial e.

For more information on this word see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

Absolutive Plural and Dual for Nouns

The ending for nouns which pluralizes the citation form (the *unpossessed absolutive singular*) is %:(e)t, so that this is the ending of the *unpossessed absolutive plural*. We have seen how % indicates that weak base-final consonants are dropped and strong base-final consonants are retained. The (e) is used only when a strong base-final consonant is kept. The symbol : indicates that a velar, in this case only g or (strong) r from the base, will drop if it is flanked by single vowels. So even a strong base-final consonant which is retained when this ending is attached will subsequently be dropped if it meets certain conditions. There are a few further processes involved with this ending, but we shall first see some examples:

examples with vowel-ending bases:

nuna/nuna- 'land'	nunat 'lands'
makumiu/makumiu- 'resident of this village; localite'	makumiut 'localites'
neqa^e/neqe- 'fish'	neqet 'fish (plural), fishes'
qimugta/qimugte- 'dog'	qimugtet 'dogs'
angun/angute- 'man'	angutet 'men'

examples with weak-consonant-ending bases:

angyaq/angyar- 'boat'	angyat 'boats'
uluuq/uluar- 'semi-lunar knife'	uluat 'semi-lunar knives'

examples with strong-consonant-ending bases where velar-dropping does not occur because there are either two or no vowels to the left of the velar:

qaiq*/qair- 'wave'	qairet 'waves'
kuik/kuig- 'river'	kuiget 'rivers'
nateq/nater- 'floor'	natret 'floors'
asveq/asver- 'walrus'	*asvret → asevret or asveret 'walruses'

Concerning the last two examples, remember that a vowel-initial suffix — which is what %:(e)t is used when with a strong-final-consonant-ending base — will drop a semi-final e (see the discussion of the postbase :(ng)ite- in the previous chapter).

With strong-consonant-ending bases, if the velar is dropped (because it is flanked by single vowels), then the e which follows it changes to be the same as the vowel which precedes it, *and if the original VCV sequence was age then the result becomes ii*. This process by which age becomes ii is called *vowel raising*.

examples with strong-consonant-ending bases where velar-dropping does occur:

atkuk/atkug- ‘parka’	* atkuget → * atkuet → atkuut ‘parkas’
mikelnguq*/mikelngur- ‘child’	* mikelnguret → * mikelnguēt → mikelnguut ‘children’
tan’gurraq*/tan’gurrar- ‘boy’	* tan’gurraret → * tan’gurraet → tan’gurraat ‘boys’
kanaqlak/kanaqlag- ‘muskrat’	* kanaqlaget → kanaqliit ‘muskrats’ (since age is a special sequence of sounds, as discussed above)

As observed in the previous chapter, some nouns ending in a full vowel followed by r have a strong final consonant for some speakers and a weak consonant for other speakers. An example of this is **kaviaq** ‘fox.’ For those speakers for whom this word has a *strong* final consonant, the ablative-modal is **kaviarmek** and the absolutive plural is **kaviaret**, while for those speakers for whom this word has a *weak* final consonant, the ablative-modal is **kaviamek** and the absolutive plural is **kaviat**.

A plural noun used as a subject requires a plural ending on the verb. For example, to go from **mikelnguq aquiguq** ‘the child is playing,’ to a statement about **mikelnguut** ‘children’ requires the verb to be plural too: **mikelnguut aquigut** ‘the children are playing.’

Exercise 4-1

Form the plurals of the following nouns and translate.

- 1) arnaq, 2) cavun, 3) estuuluq, 4) igta, 5) kemek, 6) yuk, 7) nayiq, 8) ingriq, 9) maqivik, 10) ikamraq, 11) kass’aq, 12) elitnaurvik, 13) suupaq, 14) ateq, 15) ena, 16) atsaq, 17) elitnaurista.

Duals are formed in exactly the same manner as plurals except that **k** is used rather than **t**. That is, the plural ending is %:(e)t and the dual ending is %:(e)k.

Arnaq qavartuq. ‘The woman is sleeping.’
Arnat qavartut. ‘The women are sleeping.’

Arnak qavartuk. 'The women₂ are sleeping.'

Tuntuvak ang'uq. 'The moose is big.'

Tuntuviit ang'ut. 'The moose_{pl} are big.'

Tuntuviik ang'uk. 'The moose₂ are big.'

Tengssuun mit'uq. 'The airplane is landing.'

Tengssuutet mit'ut. 'The airplanes are landing.'

Tengssuutek mit'uk. 'The airplanes₂ are landing.'

Yaqulek teng'uq. 'The bird is taking off.'

Yaqulget teng'ut. 'The birds are taking off.'

Yaqulgek teng'uk. 'The birds₂ are taking off.'

Note that in the above examples the subject and verb always "agree" in number, but that doesn't mean that the particular letter or sound at the end of the noun must be the same as that at the end of the verb. For example, in the last trio of examples above, **yaqulek** ends in **k** but it is a singular so it goes with **teng'uq** which ends in **q**, however the subject and verb "agree" in number since they are both singular.

Exercise 4-2

A. Form the plurals of the nouns given below and use those plurals as the subjects of verbs from the vocabularies (including verbs formed with postbases) and translate. For example, starting with *mikelnguq* you could write something like: *mikelnguut iqvartut curanek* 'the children are picking blueberries,' and starting with *angun* you could write something like: *angutet angyaliyullruut* 'the men wanted to make boats.' The nouns to use are:

1) *atsalugpiaq*, 2) *elitnaurvik*, 3) *nacaq*, 4) *kipusvik*, 5) *nutek*, 6) *penguq*, 7) *qantaq*, 8) *tuma*, 9) *tuntuvak*, 10) *yuk*, 11) *yup'ik*, 12) *agayulirta*.

B. Form the dual of the following nouns and use those duals in sentences.

1) *agayuvik*, 2) *nanvaq*, 3) *nunapik*, 4) *qayaq*, 5) *tengssuun*, 6) *yaqulek*, 7) *tan'gurraq*, 8) *kuik*, 9) *kaviaq*, 10) *neqa*.

The Enclitic =llu

The enclitic =**llu** means 'and, also, too, including'. When it is used with two words, it goes with the *second* of the two. Note that there is still agreement in number between subject (taken as a whole) and verb.

Arnaq angun-llu quyauk. 'The woman and the man are thankful.'

Elitnaurista mikelnguuk-llu nunapigmek utertellruut. 'The teacher and the two children returned from the tundra.'

Mikelnguut-llu quyaut. 'The children are thankful too.'

Note particularly how this enclitic is used in the following example.

Angun-llu maqilruukuk. 'The man and I took a steambath' (*literally*: 'we₂, including the man, took a steambath').

Exercise 4-3

Translate into English:

- 1) Tan'gurraq qimugta-llu aquiguk.
- 2) Yupiit kass'at-llu pissurtut tuntuvagnek.
- 3) Net maqiviit-llu imaitut.
- 4) Makumiut iqvaryugtut atsalugpianek curanek-llu.
- 5) Kanaqlak neqek-llu kuimartut.
- 6) Natret-llu iqaut cakneq!
- 7) Kipusvik elitnaurvik-llu ang'uk.
- 8) Kuiget-llu nanitut.
- 9) Tengssuutet tengellruut mit'ellruut-llu.
- 10) Curat atsalugpiat-llu mik'ut.

Terminalis Case

The ablative-modal case is used for an indefinite object, and also to indicate the *place from which* motion occurs. Another case, the *terminalis case*, indicates the *place to which* motion occurs.¹ The terminalis case is marked by ~%mun in the singular and by ~%nun in the plural so it is like the ablative-modal case in regard to suffixation processes.

Arnaq agellruuq kipusvigmun elitnaurvigmek. 'The woman went over to the store from the school.'

Yuut ayallruut ingrinun. 'The people left for the mountains' (*literally*: 'to the mountains').

Tekitellruukut kuigmun. 'We arrived at the river' (*literally*: 'to the river').

Localis Case

Still another noun case, the *localis case* indicates the *place at which* something occurs.² The localis case is marked by ~%mi in the singular and by ~%ni in the plural, and thus is also like the ablative-modal case and the terminalis.

Arnat iqvaryugtut curanek nunapigmi. 'The women want to pick blueberries on the tundra.' (*But compare: tengssuun mit'ellruuq nunapigmun.* 'The plane landed on the tundra.' *Even though the English translation uses 'on' rather than 'to', the terminalis is used because motion from one place to another is involved.*)

Mikelnguut aquigut ellami. 'The children are playing outside' (*literally*: 'in the outside').

Calillruuten-qaa kipusvigmi akwaugaq? 'Were you working in the store yesterday?'

1. The terminalis case is also called the "allative" in works on Eskimo grammar, and corresponds to some extent to the dative case of many (especially Indo-European) languages.

2. The localis case is also called the "locative" in works on Eskimo grammar.

Uitauq Mamterillermi. 'He is staying in Bethel.'
Qavartuq nem'i. 'He is sleeping in the house.'

In the word **nem'i** 'in the house,' the localis ending drops the final **e** from [e]ne- (and the initial weak **e** as well) giving ***nmi**, but the final **e** must be restored to prevent a two-consonant cluster at the beginning of the word, which is not permitted in Yup'ik. The gemination here is as usual with this base.

The cases, their endings and the uses that we have studied so far are shown in the chart below. The dual endings for the cases other than the absolutive are in brackets since we haven't discussed them yet. They are listed here for reference. Be aware that there are several more cases yet to be studied.

case	singular	plural	dual	use(s)
absolutive	Ø	%:(e)t	%:(e)k	1) subject, 2) citation form
ablative modalis	~%mek	~%nek	[%:(e)gnek]	1) indef. object, 2) place from which, 3) specification
terminalis	~%mun	~%nun	[%:(e)gnun]	place to which
localis	~%mi	~%ni	[%:(e)gni]	place at which

Exercise 4-4

A. Translate into English:

- 1) Qantat uitaut estuulumu.
- 2) Kipucugtuten-qaq atkugmek Mamterillermi?
- 3) Aqumyunritua natermun.
- 4) Mikelnguq aurrellruuq nem'ek.
- 5) Tan'gurraq taringellrunrituq akwaugaq agayuvigmi.
- 6) Yuut ayallruut Negeqlirmun.
- 7) Kass'aq Yup'ik-llu uitauk Curyugmi.
- 8) Kiputellruunga nutegmek kipusvigmi.
- 9) Angutet pissurtut tuntuvagnek ingrini.
- 10) Kanaqlagnek pissullruukut nanvani kuigni-llu.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) The children are sleeping in the house.
- 2) I want to swim in the lake.
- 3) Did he go to the store?
- 4) The fox went into the den.
- 5) Do you_{pl} want to visit a priest in Bethel?
- 6) The oars₂ are in the boat.
- 7) The women are taking a steambath in the steambath house.
- 8) Did you come from the church?
- 9) The kayak reached (= arrived at or to) the waves.
- 10) I didn't learn any names in St. Marys.

C. Write ten Yup'ik sentences involving the terminalis, and / or the localis. If you use place names other than those in the vocabulary, be sure to spell them correctly for Yup'ik! Try to make your sentences have four or more words each.

Postbases

The postbase **-rpak** (combining form **-rpag-**) goes on nouns and yields nouns. It means 'big *N*.' This postbase, like the majority of suffixes (postbases and endings) that start with a velar stop or fricative (**k, q, r, g, rr, gg**) has the property that the initial velar of the suffix will change from back velar to front velar or vice versa so as to "agree" with the final velar on the base if the base ends in **r** or **g**. This is easier to illustrate with examples than to explain:

with vowel ending bases rpak remains as it is:

nuna/nuna- 'land, village'	√ nunarpak 'city, big land, big village'
neqa/neqe- 'fish'	neqerpak 'big fish'

with r-ending bases rpak remains as it is:

nanvaq/nanvar- 'lake'	nanvarpak 'big lake'
qaiq*/qair- 'wave'	qairpak 'big wave'

with g-ending bases rpak changes to gpak:

kuik/kuig- 'river'	√ Kuigpak 'big river' also 'Yukon River'
yaqulek/yaquleg- 'bird'	yaqulegpak 'big bird'

Examining the above examples, one can say that this postbase is essentially **+(r)pak**, where **(r)** is used only with vowel-ending bases, taking the form **+pak** if the base already has a final consonant.¹

This postbase ends in **ak/ag-** like nouns such as **tuntuvak/tuntuvag-** 'moose', and **kanaqlak/kanaqlag-** 'muskrat.' Just as the plural of these nouns end in **iit**, so does the plural of nouns expanded by the postbase in question: **nunarpak** '(one) big land,' but **nunarpiit** 'big lands'; **yaqulegpak** '(one) big bird,' but **yaqulegpiit** 'big birds.'

There is an alternative form of the above postbase for noun bases that end in a vowel followed by **te**, that is, for nouns that end in **n**. This alternative form is **@vak**, where the **t** of the bases changes to **l**, and the **e** drops. Thus, for example, from **angun/angute-** 'man,' one can get **angulvak** 'big man' as an alternative to **anguterpak**. Since the alternative form of the postbase also ends in **ak/ag-**, the plural of **angulvak** is **angulviit** 'big men,' just as the plural of **anguterpak** is **anguterpiit**. This alternative form of the postbase also works with one particular noun that does not end **n**, and that is **qimugta**. One can say √ **qimulvak** for 'big dog' as an alternative to **qimugterpak**.

For more information on this postbase and alternatives to it see Note B in the supplement to this chapter.

1. This alternate formulation, as **+(r)pak**, may be clearer than the first formulation, as **-rpak**, however other velar initial suffixes, such as **-rraar-** 'V-ing first' (Chapter 13), **-rugaq** 'lots of *N*' (Chapter 13), and **-ka** 'my *N*' (Chapter 5), cannot so easily be reformulated.

The postbase **-cuar(aq*)** (combining form: **-cuar(ar)-**) means 'small *N.*' The final **ar/aq*** is in parentheses since it is *dropped* when either no suffixes follow it (that is, when it ends the word), or when a consonant-initial suffix that retains the final consonant follows it. This includes suffixes such as *~%mek*, since **-cuar(aq*)** ends in a strong consonant which will be kept by this suffix. The **aq*/ar-** is *kept* if the suffix that follows it is consonant-dropping type (i.e. -), such as **-li-** 'to make', and **-ngqerr-** 'to have,' which will drop the **q*/r-** of the suffix in question but will keep the **a** that precedes it. The **(aq*)** will also be kept if the suffix begins with a vowel in the form to which it is attached after **-cuar(aq*)** (thus including *%:(e)t* (plural) and **:(ng)ite-** 'to lack.' Again, it is easier to illustrate this than to explain it:

ar/aq* *dropped*:

kanaqlacuar 'small muskrat' (from **kanaqlacuaraq**)

kanaqlacuarmek tangertuq 'he sees a small muskrat' (from **kanaqlacuarmek**).

ar/aq* *not dropped*:

kanaqlacuarangqertuq 'it has small muskrats' (with **r** of **aq*/ar-** dropped since suffix is - type, and the remainder of **ar/aq***, that is, **a** is kept)

nacacuaraliunga. 'I am making a small hat.'

kanaqlacuaraat 'small muskrats' (from **kanaqlacuararet* with **r** between **a** and **e** dropped by velar-dropping)

angyacuaraitukut. 'We don't have a small boat.'

For information on alternatives to this postbase see Note C in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 4-5

A. *Translate into English:*

- 1) Neqcuaraak kuimartuk nanvarpagmi (note that neqcuaraak is from neqcuaraak by deletion of hatted e).
- 2) Yaqulecuar mit'ellruuq kuicuar mun 3) Cavuterpiik assiituk.
- 4) Igtecuar imaituq.
- 5) Nayirpagnak pissurtuq angutecuar.
- 6) Tuntuvacuuar alinguq kaviarneq.
- 7) Unuamek atsalugpiacuarneq iqvaryunritua.
- 8) Arnarpak quyauq.
- 9) Kass'arpak necuaraliyugtuq.
- 10) Nerellruuten-qaa kemegpagmek?

B. *Translate into Yup'ik:*

- 1) Do you want to make a big sled?
- 2) The little women aren't picking any blueberries.
- 3) I saw some big fish in the small lake.
- 4) The men are hunting for small foxes in the big hills.
- 5) The big bowl has small blueberries in it.
- 6) We don't have a small semi-lunar knife.
- 7) Are you afraid of big moose?
- 8) The people built a large church.
- 9) Did you₂ see big stores in Dillingham?
- 10) The small planes landed at the city (= big village).

C. *Compose ten Yup'ik sentences involving these two postbases.*

The postbase **-piaq** means 'real, genuine, or authentic *N*.' A variant form is **-pik**. For example: **qayapiaq** or **qayapik** 'real kayak, authentic old-fashioned kayak'; **qayapiat** or **qayapiit** 'real kayaks.'

From the word for 'person,' **yuk** and the present postbase come the *lexicalized* derivatives √**yupiaq** or √**yup'ik**¹ which means literally 'real person,' but has the additional lexicalized meaning of 'southwest Alaskan Eskimo,' and √**nunapik** which means literally 'real land,' but has the additional lexicalized meaning of 'tundra.'

The postbase **+miu** means 'resident of *N*.' For example: from **Mamterilleq** 'Bethel' comes **Mamterillermiu** 'resident of Bethel,' from **Curyuk** 'Dillingham' comes **Curyugmiu** 'resident of Dillingham,' from **Negeqliq** 'St. Marys' comes **Negeqlirmiut** 'residents of St. Marys.' Also **kuigmiut** 'residents of the river (area),' and **Kuigpagmiut** 'residents of the big river (area)' or 'people who live along the Yukon River.' The word **makumiut** 'resident of this village here' incorporates this postbase on a base we shall study later.

Preview of Content Questions and the Interrogative Mood

The verb endings given in Chapter 2 are those of the so-called *indicative mood*. Indicative endings are used for making statements and asking "yes or no" questions (with the enclitic =**qaa**). Questions which require more than merely "yes" or "no" for an answer are called *content questions* or, for English, *wh questions* because they involve words such as "why," "when," "where," "who," "what," "which," (and "how"). In Yup'ik, content questions are formed using a set of verb endings different than the indicative, that is, endings of the *interrogative mood*. In this chapter some of the more common question words and interrogative endings are given.

Some common question words are:

- camek** 'what' (in the ablative-modal case)
- canek** 'what' (abl-mod.; expectation of plural answer)
- nani** 'where' (localis)
- natmun** '(to) where' (terminalis)
- naken** 'from where' (ablative-modal case)
- qangvaq** 'when' (in the past)

Note that the 'where' question words take special forms of the terminalis and ablative-modal case endings. Words for 'how' and for 'when' (in the future) are previewed in Chapter 7. Question words for 'why,' 'which,' 'who,' 'what kind' and 'how many' will be given in Chapter 11 along with other interrogative endings. The less common interrogative endings are left for Chapter 20.

1. The gemination in **yup'ik** is due to a peculiarity of the word for person, in that it causes gemination where possible.

We shall look at only the second person singular ending now. This ending is ~+(t)sit. The t (in the parentheses) is used only with bases ending in a consonant. Very important: a ts resulting from this ending becomes c both when the t is from a te-ending base and when it is from the parenthesized t of the ending.

The question word usually comes first in the sentence.

<i>base</i>	<i>with ending</i>	<i>in example sentence</i>
uita- 'to stay'	uitasit	nani uitasit? 'where are you staying?'
nere- 'to eat'	nersit	camek nersit? 'what are you eating?'
elite- 'to learn'	*elitsit → elicit	camek elicit? 'what are you learning?'
atur- 'to use'	*aturtsit → aturcit	camek aturcit? 'what are you using?'

Exercise 4-6

A. Translate the following into English, and give appropriate answers in Yup'ik. For example, given: camek neryugcit?, you would translate it as: 'what do you want to eat?', and you could give an answer such as: akutamek neryugtua 'I want to eat Eskimo ice cream.'

1) Qangvaq tekite llrusit? 2) Natmun ayagcit? 3) Nani pissullrusit? 4) Camek alingsit? 5) Canek nutellrusit? 6) Canek iqvaryugcit nunapigmi? 7) Naken taillrusit akwaugaq?

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik. Remember that you need both a question word and a verb with an interrogative ending.

1) Where did you build a house? 2) When did you buy an authentic parka? 3) Where did you arrive from? 4) What do you want to hunt in the mountains? 5) When did you sleep? 6) Where did you sit down in the church? 7) Where did you work? 8) What are you buying?

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate into English and parse (label grammatically) the following Yup'ik sentences.

example of parsing:

<i>particle</i>	<i>abs/subj</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>abl-mod/indef obj</i>	<i>loc/place at which</i>
		\		
Akwaugaq	Negeqlirmiut	iqvaryullruut	curanek	pengucuarni.

1) Cali tangenritua neqerpagnek kuigmi. 2) Qimugtecuarat alingut kaviarneq. 3) Nem'i tan'gurracuaraak qavartuk. 4) Kass'aq arnaq atkiyugtuq. 5) Mamterillermiu ataam agellruuq kipusvigpagmun. 6) Angutecuar nerpalillruuq nunami. 7) Yaqulget mit'ellruut nanvacuarnun. 8) Makumiut taringenritut. 9) Ikamracuaraituq tan'gurraq. 10) Qantaq imangqertuq atsalugpianek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik.

1) The oars₂ are very long. 2) They left to St. Marys yesterday. 3) I ate walrus in

the church in Bethel. 4) We wanted to build a steambath house in the city. 5) They are hunting walrus at Dillingham. 6) Did the plane land on the river? 7) The birds are eating the little blueberries in the tundra. 8) The people of this place are very skinny. 9) I wanted to take a steambath, but they don't have a steambath house. 10) The white people and Eskimos are building a school in the village.

C. Translate the words in parentheses into Yup'ik. Be sure to put them in the correct case. Then translate the resulting sentence into English.

1) Neryugtuten-qaa (authentic Eskimo ice cream)? 2) Elitnaurista-llu maqillruukuk (in the big steambath house). 3) Mikelnguut aquiuygutut (in the little church)! 4) Tangellruuci-qaa (Dillingham people) nunapigpagmi? 5) Qayacuaraat taillruut (from the big waves). 6) (The little man) kuuvviapialillrunrituq. 7) Kass'aq arnacular akutalillruuq (with the big blueberries). 8) Tengssuuterpiit mit'enritut (in the little village). 9) Pissullruukuk (small walrus_{pl} and big seals). 10) Aturyugtuten-qaa (a real gun?). 11) (Big men) uitayuumiitut (in little houses). 12) (Two little birds) mit'ellruuk ingricuarmun. 13) (The big children) qavaryugtut (outside). 14) (Two big oars) uitauk (in the little boat). 15) Iqvallrunritukut (big salmonberries and small blueberries). 16) (A big dog) ner'uq (real soup) (from a real bowl). 17) Yup'ik arnaq mingquq (an authentic parka) (on the floor). 18) Tangellruutek-qaa (a semi-lunar knife) (on the big table)? 19) (The Bethel people) utercugtut (to the small villages). 20) Yup'ik angun nuliangqertuq (— a white woman). 21) (The St. Marys people) tangellruut (little footprints) (in the hills). 22) (The little foxes) qavartut (in the big den.)



Steambath house, *maqivik*, in Marshall, 1968. Water is poured on heated rocks to make steam. In older times, dry heat was produced by building a fire in the communal men's house, *qasgiq*. With the abandonment of the men's houses in most areas, the word *qasgiq* has become synonymous with *maqivik*. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 4

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 Also **piicag-** 'to say a prayer' in some areas.
- #2 The name **Curyuk** 'Dillingham' apparently comes from the verb base **ecur-** 'to be murky', perhaps referring to the water of the Nushagak River there. An alternate form of the word is **Curyung**. Consequently, for example, **Curyungmi** is an alternative to **Curyugmi** for 'at Dillingham.'
- #3 Alternate words for **elitnaurista** 'teacher' are **elicarista**, **elissarista**, **naaqista**, **(e)skuularista** and **(e)skuulurista**. See the discussion of **elitnaurvik** in the Supplement to Chapter 3.
- #4 **Ella** 'outside, weather, awareness, world' is pronounced and therefore spelled **cella** in NS, Y, UK, and LI and **cilla** in HBC, and Eg.
- #5 Instead of **kanaqlak** for 'muskrat' there is **tevyuli** in Ni, Can, and some BB, **iligvak** or **ilegvak** in some NS and UK, **kevgaluk** in some NS and Eg, and **kuiguartaq** in some Y.
- #6 Instead of, or in addition to, **kipusvik** for 'store' there is **laavkaa** from Russian in many areas. HBC can use either word, but the word **kipusvik** becomes **kipuyvik** there because in that dialect there is no voiced **s** sound, **y** being used instead.
- #7 The name **Mamterilleq** 'Bethel' means literally 'the one that had lots of smokehouses'. The word for 'smokehouse' here is **mamteraq**, however that word is not used nowadays in the Bethel area. It is used in the Yukon, and it was used when the missionaries named the place "Bethel" because in their accounts they mention what the Yup'ik name means. Also, **Mamterat** is the Yup'ik name of Goodnews Bay.
- #8 The name **Negeqliq** 'St. Marys' means literally 'the one far to the north.'
- #9 The word **nunapik** 'tundra' means literally 'real, authentic land'. This word is used for 'tundra' even where the postbase for 'real, authentic *N*' is more commonly **-piaq** than **-pik**. **Nunapik** refers more to a 'patch of tundra' (often surrounded by firmer land) and therefore is used slightly differently than the English word "tundra."
- #10 The English word "kayak" is borrowed from the pan-Eskimo word **qayaq**. Some Yup'ik speakers feel uneasy about translating **qayaq** as "kayak" since this doesn't seem like a translation at all. However, "kayak" is now an English word in widespread use (and is often used even without association to its Eskimo origins) and it is better to use it to translate the Yup'ik **qayaq** rather than using "canoe" as is sometimes done. An '(open topped) canoe' is properly **aguun** or **eglerun** in Yup'ik.
- #11 Instead of, or in addition to, **tan'gurraq*** for 'boy', there is **tan'gaurluq*** in some areas.
- #12 Instead of **yaqulek** for 'bird', there is **tengmiaq** in some areas.

Note A

The base [e]ne- (for **ena**, 'house') has a *weak initial e* for most but not all Yup'ik dialects. In the HBC dialect and in Nun, the initial **e** is not weak. The base for those dialects is **ene-** with an ordinary **e** which does not drop at the beginning of the word. In HBC and Nun people say, for example, **enliyugtua** for 'I want to build a house' instead of **nel'iyugtua** as elsewhere, and **enmek** (HBC: **enmeng**) instead of **nem'ek** for the ablative-modalis. There are a number of other words which have weak initial **e**. A complete list of such words can be found in the introduction to the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*. All initial **e**'s that are weak in GCY (General Central Yup'ik) and NS are not weak in Nun, and some (such as that on **ena**) are not weak in HBC either.

In Tununak (at least among younger speakers) the word for house has become [e]nek. The effect of this can be seen with suffixes already presented and those to be presented in later chapters. For example, while the rest of GCY and NS has **nek'a**, **nen**, **enii**, **nenguuq**, and **net** for 'my house,' 'your house,' 'his house,' 'it is a house,' and 'houses,' respectively, and HBC and Nun have **enka**, **enen**, **enii**, **ennguuq**, and **enet** for these, Tununak (at least among younger speakers) has **nek'a**, **neg'en**, **neg'a**, **nenguuq**, and **neg'et** for these.

Note B

In addition to **@vak** as an alternative to **-rpak** 'big *N*', and **qimulvak** as an alternative to **qimugterpak** 'big dog,' there are several nouns whose bases do not end in **te** at all for which certain dialect or subdialect areas have an alternative in **vak** rather than in **-rpak**. Thus as an

alternative to **nanvarpak**, some areas can say **nanevpak** for 'big lake', and as an alternative to **arnarpak**, some areas can say **arenvak** for 'big woman'. Evidently the morpheme **vak** is present in **tuntuvak** 'moose' which comes from **tuntu** 'caribou,' even though a moose is not really a big caribou.

In HBC the postbase **-paarrluk** is used for 'big *N'*. One should be aware that the **aa** of this postbase will always be *compressed* (that is, has the length of a single vowel, but the stress and gemination potential of a double vowel, due to the consonant cluster following it — HBC, NUN, and Eg as well as Alutiiq have this process of compression; see Chapter 24). Thus, for example, in the HBC form **angyapaarrluk**, 'big boat,' only the gemination of **p** (and the stress on the preceding **a**) shows that that there is a double **a** following it, and in **qayapaarrluk**, 'big kayak,' only the stress on the syllable **paarr** shows that the **a** is double.

Note C

For NSK (and perhaps some other areas) where (**ar**)-deletion does not occur, the postbase for 'small *N'* is **-cuaraq***, so NSK does say, for example, **angsacuarq** for 'small boat,' rather than **angyacuar**.

In HBC the postbase **-kcuarq*** is used for 'small *N'*. Thus, for example, HBC has **angyakcuarq** for 'small boat' usually with partial (**ar**)-deletion or more exactly an (**ar**)-"reduction" giving **angyakcuareq** or **angyakcuarreq**. As this example illustrates, the initial **k** of this postbase does not become **q** even on bases which end in **r**.

In much of Yup'ik, including areas other than HBC, there is an alternative, **@ksuar(aq*)**, for 'small *N'*, which may be used on bases ending in a vowel followed by **te**. The **te** of the base is dropped. Thus one can say **anguksuar** as an alternative to **angutecuar** for 'small man.'

There are several other fairly common postbases which mean 'small *N'* though usually with a somewhat different connotation than **-cuar(aq*)**. These other postbases include **-rraq*** 'little bit of *N'* (Chapter 19) and **-ya(g)aq*** 'little *N*, baby *N'* (Chapter 21).

Rhythmic Stress

Rhythmic length and gemination are discussed in Chapter 1 of this book. There is also a rhythmic process that acts on strings of simple (one vowel) *closed* (ending in consonants) syllables, and that is *rhythmic stress*. The vowels of syllables stressed by this process are *louder* than those of unstressed syllables, but unlike the case with rhythmic length, the vowels of stressed closed syllables are not *longer* than those of unstressed syllables.

In one sense rhythmic stress is less important to study than rhythmic length and automatic gemination since inattention to those processes can lead to spelling errors considered from one direction, and to confusing mispronunciation from the other direction. In contrast to this, lack of attention to rhythmic stress can lead only to mispronunciation that *sounds* strange and only very rarely to the point where a word will not be understood or will be understood other than as intended.

Rhythmic length and automatic gemination can be viewed as part of the entire picture of rhythmic stress. Here, however we shall consider rhythmic stress as if it were an extension of the system of rhythmic length.

Rules for rhythmic stress

The following types of syllables all have stress even before the rhythmic stress process in question is considered:

- 1) rhythmically lengthened syllables (and syllables with retained hatted **e**)
- 2) both open and closed syllables with two vowels (alike or unlike), except at the end of the word
- 3) both open and closed syllables preceding syllables with two vowels
- 4) any closed word-initial syllable

Note that it is possible for a syllable to be stressed by more than one of the above, for example, if it is rhythmically lengthened, or word-initial closed, and precedes a syllable with two vowels.

On strings of two or more simple syllables not yet stressed by 1) through 4) above, the rhythmic stress process then assigns stress to every second syllable if that syllable is closed, but stress is not assigned to a syllable at the end of a word. If stress would be assigned to an open syllable following a closed syllable, then stress is reassigned to that preceding closed syllable instead with counting starting again with the open syllable.

To see how this works, consider the word **iqvallrunrituq** 'he wasn't picking berries'. There is no rhythmic length and there are no two-vowel syllables in this word so rules 1) through 3) don't apply, but the syllable **iq** gets stress by 4). The string of syllables to which the rhythmic stress process will then be applied is: **vall-run-ri-tuq**. The rhythmic stress process assigns stress to **run**, but not to **tuq** since it is at the end of the word. Putting all this together and indicating stress with an accent mark over the vowel, the word is to be pronounced: **iqvallrúnrituq**.

To take another example, consider the word **qayarpaliyullruunga** 'I wanted to make a big kayak.' The syllable **li** has rhythmic length, so by rule 1) it has stress. By rule 2) the syllable **ruu** gets stressed, and by rule 3) the syllable **yull** gets stressed. So at this point the word looks like **qayarpaliyúllruúnga**. Next the rhythmic stress process takes over. The string of syllables to which it is to be applied is: **qa-yar-pa**, and the process assigns stress to **yar**. Consequently the word is pronounced: **qayárpaliyúllruúnga**.

To take yet another example, consider the word **ikamrarpalinrituq** 'he isn't making a big sled'. There is no stress by 1) through 4). The rhythmic stress process therefore applies to the entire word. It assigns stress to **kam** and then to **pa**. However **pa** is an open syllable following a closed syllable so stress is reassigned to **rarp**, and next to **lin** (the second syllable after **rarp**), however not to **tuq** since that is at the end of the word. Consequently the word is pronounced **ikámrárpaliínrituq**.

Exercise 4-7

Divide the following words into syllables, mark rhythmic length and automatic gemination, and then mark rhythmic stress according to the rules above. Practice pronouncing the words according to the stress you have marked (and if you are a Yup'ik speaker¹ make sure your predicted stress agrees with the way the word actually should be stressed), and translate (Note that the enclitics here act just like additional syllables in these particular words.)

1) qimulvangqertuten-qaq? 2) atsalugpiarpaitukut-llu, 3) qayacuaralillrunrituten-qaq? 4) ikamrarpangqertuq, 5) Mamterillermiunun, 6) tengssuulvalinritua, 7) cavulvalinrituten, 8) tan'gurrarpagmek, 9) angyarpalinritukut, 10) qimugtengqerrisugtuten-llu?

1. That is, a Central Yup'ik speaker not from the NS area which has its own rhythmic stress pattern.

CHAPTER 5

*Possessed Absolutive Case with First and
Second Person Possessor;
Preview of the Optative Mood*

Vocabulary

aana 'mother'

aata 'father' (*base: aata-*)

ak'allaq* 'old thing'

aliiman 'mitten, glove' #1

alqaq 'older sister' #2

amiik 'door' #3

amlleq 'much'; **amlleret** 'many (things)'

amllertuq 'it is much'; **amllertut** 'they are many'

angayuqaq* 'parent, boss'

anngaq 'older brother'

ciun 'ear'

egaleq 'window'

ii 'eye' #4

irniq 'child' (*in the sense of 'offspring' as opposed to mikelnguq which is a
'child' in the sense of 'young human'*)

iruq 'leg'

it'gaq 'foot' #5

kameksak 'ankle-high skin boot, mukluk, house shoe' #6

kinguqliq* 'younger sibling, one farther or farthest behind' #7

kumlatuq 'it is cold' (liquid, solid, or body part)

nasaurluq* 'girl'

nengllirtuq 'it is cold' (weather)

nutaraq 'new thing'

nuyaq 'hair'

paltuuk 'coat, zippered parka' #8

panik 'daughter' #9

piipiq 'baby'

piluguk 'calf-high skin boot, mukluk' #10

qamiquq 'head' #11

qaneq 'mouth'

qerrutuq 'she is cold, feels cold' (person)

qetunraq* 'son'

qiiq* 'grey hair'

talliq 'arm'

unan 'hand' #12

ungak 'whisker, beard or mustache hair'

uyaquq 'neck'

Possessed Absolutive Nouns

In addition to showing case (*absolutive, ablative-modalis* etc.) and number (*singular, plural, dual*), endings for nouns can also indicate the person and number of a *possessor*. That is, they can show who owns something, which in English is shown by a possessive pronoun such as 'my,' 'your,' 'our,' 'his,' etc. In this chapter a selection of the more common possessed absolutive endings with 1st and 2nd person possessor are presented.

The ending **-ka** means 'my one *N*'. Since it begins with a velar (in this case a front velar), if the base ends in a back velar, then the ending will take the form **-qa** (see discussion of postbase **-rpak** in Chapter 3).

Examples

aana/aana- 'mother'	aanaka 'my mother'
ciun/ciute- 'ear'	ciuteka 'my ear'
[e]na°/ene- 'house'	nek'a 'my house'
panik/panig- 'daughter'	panika 'my daughter'
talliq/tallir- 'arm'	talliqa 'my arm'
necuar/necuar(ar)- 'small house'	necuararqa or more commonly, necuarqa 'my small house' (<i>where the a has dropped by a process that is related to the dropping of aq from necuar(aq)</i>)
ateq/ater- 'name'	* atêqa → atqa 'my name'
egaleq/egaler- 'window'	egaleqa 'my window'

Examine the last two examples above. The **e** drops from ***atêqa** only because it is hatted; the **e** remains in **egaleqa** because it is not hatted. This ending, **-ka**, basically retains semi-final **e**'s. Compare this with the behavior of the plural ending, %:(**e**)**t**, which is a vowel-initial suffix in the form in which it is used with strong-final-consonant bases (such as those ending in **eq/er-**), and thus drops semi-final **e**'s. This suffix yields **atret** 'names' and **egalret** 'windows,' where the semi-final **e** has been dropped from both words.

The word **nuliaq** 'wife' is a special case. The base can be the predictable **nuliar-**, in which case 'my wife' is **nuliaqa**, but it can also be **nulirr-**, in which case 'my wife' is **nulirqa**.¹

The word **aata** 'father' is also a special case. The base can be the predictable **aata-**, in which case 'my father' is **aataka**, but it can also be **ata-** in which case 'my father' is **ataka**.

1. Those few bases ending in an essentially voiceless fricative, such as **nulirr-** and **tangerr-**, 'to see,' often follow this pattern with deleting suffixes that start with a velar stop; that is, the fricative is *not* deleted when the suffix is attached. This applies to the postbase **-qatar-** 'to be about to *V*,' presented later in this chapter, and to the conditional mood presented in Chapter 16.

The ending %:(e)nka means 'my Ns,' and the ending %:(e)gka means 'my two Ns.' The **n** in the first of these two endings is a representation of the usual pluralizing **t**,¹ while the **g** in the second is a representation of the usual dualizing **k**,² and this is the reason that these two possessed endings go onto words exactly like the unpossessed endings %:(e)t and %:(e)k.

Examples

ii/ii- 'eye'	iigka 'my eyes ₂ '
ciun/ciute- 'ear'	ciutegka 'my ears ₂ '
nuyaq/nuyar- 'single hair'	nuyanka 'my hair _{pl} '
irug/irur- 'leg'	irugka 'my legs ₂ '
piluguk/pilugug- 'calf-high skin boot'	* pilugugegka → piluguugka 'my calf-high skin boots ₂ '
kameksak/kameksag- 'ankle-high 'skin boot'	* kameksageka → kameksiigka 'my ankle-high skin boots ₂ '
angayuqaq*/angayuqar- 'parent'	* angayuqaregka → angayuqaagka 'my parents ₂ '
irniaq/irniar- 'child'	irnianka 'my children _{pl} '
qiiq*/qiir- 'single grey hair'	qiirenka 'my grey hair _{pl} '
necuar/necuar(ar)- 'small house'	* necuararenka → necudaraanka 'my little houses'

Note in the above the difference in behavior of these two endings with bases that end in weak consonants and those that end in strong consonants.

It is a convention to use the *plural* rather than the dual for one person's 'two hands' and 'two feet', though the dual is acceptable too. Thus 'my hands are dirty' can be either **unatenka iqaut** or **unategka iqauk**. Either way grammatical agreement in number with the verb is generally maintained.

Unlike English where 'hair' is always singular (unless individual strands of hair are meant), so that one says 'my hair *is* long' and even 'our hair *is* long,' in Yup'ik one says **nuyanka tak'ut** for 'my hair is long' rather than **nuyaq tak'uq** which would only be used if one were speaking about a single strand of his or her hair.

1. Note that **t** and **n** are related sounds in that they are in the same column of the consonant chart, also that the plural ablative-modal, localis and terminalis endings begin with **n**.

2. Note that **k** and **g** are related sounds in that they are in the same column of the consonant chart. There is good reason to say that the dual ending is fundamentally **g**, but becomes **k** at the end of a word.

Exercise 5-1*A. Translate into English:*

1) Panika mingeqsugtuq aliimategnek (*dual ablative-modalis*). 2) Ciutegka-qaa tak'uk cakneq? 3) Kinguqliinka qavallruut agayuvigmi. 4) Irniagka neryugtuk curanek. 5) Piipiq qiallrunrituq. 6) Paniinka uitaut Mamterillermi. 7) Egaleqa ang'uq. 8) Nek'a imaituq. 9) Aanaka necuaraliyullruuq. 10) Angayuqaagka ayallruuk Negeqlirmun akwaugaq.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) My arms are long. 2) I have many grey hairs (= my grey hairs are many). 3) My mouth is not big! 4) My ears are cold. (*Assume, of course, that this means 'my ears₂'*.) 5) My child is very ill. 6) My feet are cold. 7) I have lots of hair. 8) My whiskers are short. 9) My skin boots₂ are not any good. 10) My gun was in the steambath house!

The ending %:(e)n means 'your one *N*'. Note that it goes onto bases in exactly the same way as the endings %:(e)t, %:(e)k, %:(e)nka and %:(e)gka.

Examples

aata/aata- 'father'

ui/ui- 'husband'

qimugta/qimugte- 'dog'

uyaquq/uyaqur- 'neck'

anngaq/anngar- 'older brother'

qetunraq*/qetunrar- 'son'

panik/panig- 'daughter'

piipiq/piipir- 'baby'

ateq/ater- 'name'

aatan (*or atan*) 'your father'

uin 'your husband'

qimugten 'your dog'

uyaqun 'your neck'

anngan 'your older brother'

***qetunraren** → **qetunraan**
'your son'

***panigen** → **paniin** 'your daughter'

piipin 'your baby'

atren 'your name'

Again, note the difference in behavior between bases that end in weak final consonants and those that end in strong consonants.¹

1. The three possessed endings, %:(e)nka, %:(e)gka and %:(e)n give a means of determining whether the final consonant is weak or strong on words that are generally possessed. For example, one rarely would say the Yup'ik equivalent of 'the sons' or 'the arms' or 'from a son' or 'from an arm' since sons and arms are always *somebody's* sons and *somebody's* arms, so one cannot use the unpossessed absolutive plural ending %:(e)t or the unpossessed ablative-modalistic ending ~%mek as a test for weak vs. strong final consonants. But 'my son,' 'your arms,' etc. are very common. One can use one of these possessed endings as a test.

Exercise 5-2*Translate:*

1) your kayak, 2) your river, 3) your lake, 4) your big boat, 5) your small boat, 6) your food, 7) your village, 8) your steambath house, 9) your head, 10) your real coffee, 11) your airplane, 12) your house, 13) your gun, 14) your window, 15) your door, 16) your mouth, 17) your real parka.

The endings for 'your_{sing} N_{sp1}, and 'your_{sing} N_{s2}' are **-ten**, and **%:(e)gken** respectively. Although the **t** of **-ten** is clearly the pluralizing **t**, this present plural ending drops *all* final consonants unlike the unpossessed plural ending **%:(e)t**.

Examples

qimugta/qimugte- 'dog'	qimugteten 'your dogs _{pl1} '
	qimugtegken 'your dogs ₂ '
kameksak/kameksag- 'skin boot'	kameksaten 'your skin boots _{pl1} '
	kameksiigken 'your skin boots ₂ '
qetunraq*/qetunrar- 'son'	qetunraten 'your sons _{pl1} '
	qetunraagken 'your sons ₂ '
egaleq/egaler- 'window'	egaleten 'your windows _{pl1} '
	egalregken 'your windows ₂ '

In the above examples, note the different behavior of the - type ending and the % type ending with bases that end in strong consonants.

Exercise 5-3*Translate:*

1) your window, your windows, your windows₂; 2) your whisker, your whiskers, your whiskers₂; 3) your grey hair, your grey hairs, your grey hairs₂; 4) your gun, your guns, your guns₂ 5) your bowl, your bowls, your bowls₂.

The ending **-put** means 'our *N*' or 'our *N*_{sp1}', and the ending **-ci** means 'your_{pl} *N*' or 'your_{pl} *N*_{sp1}.' There is a way to distinguish singular possessed from plural possessed (that is, 'our *one* thing' vs. 'our *many* things,' and 'your_{pl} *one* thing' vs. 'your_{pl} *many* things'), but this distinction is not usually made in the noun nowadays. It is dealt with in Note A in the supplement to this chapter. Instead, other clues, such as the ending of the verb tell whether a single thing or a plurality of things is meant.

Examples

Aataput pissurtuq. 'Our father is hunting' (**q** on verb indicates one father).

Aataput pissurtut. 'Our fathers are hunting' (**t** on verb indicates plural fathers).

Nec'i ang'uq. 'Your_{pl} house is big.'

Nec'i ang'ut. 'Your_{pl} houses are big.'

These possessed absolutive endings can be arrayed in tabular form as:

	<i>1 thing</i>	<i>3+ things</i>	<i>2 things</i>	
my	-ka	%:(e)nka	%:(e)gka	<i>1st person singular</i>
our _{pl}	-put	-put	[%:(e)gput]	<i>1st person plural</i>
our ₂	[-puk]	[-puk]	[%:(e)gpuk]	<i>1st person dual</i>
your ₁	%:(e)n	-ten	%:(e)gken	<i>2nd person singular</i>
your _{pl}	-ci	-ci	[%:(e)gci]	<i>2nd person plural</i>
your ₂	[-tek]	[-tek]	[%:(e)gtek]	<i>2nd person dual</i>
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	

In the above chart the endings enclosed in square brackets are used less frequently than the others.

Corresponding to the endings %:(e)nka, %:(e)gka, %:(e)n, and %:(e)gken there are “modernized” or “innovative” forms which drop *all* final consonants, strong as well as weak. So these forms of those endings are simply **-nka**, **-gka**, **-n**, and **-gken**. These forms are *not* acceptable to all Yup'ik speakers. Whether or not a given speaker regards these simplified forms as acceptable Yup'ik depends on such factors as the age of the speaker in question, where he or she lives, and also his or her own personal feelings. In general, however, it is most acceptable to use these simplified forms on those longer bases which end in strong **r** following a full vowel (that is, where the **r** is unpredictably strong and is marked in this book with an asterisk, for example **qetunraq*/qetunrar-**). It is generally less acceptable to use a simplified ending on a base that ends in **g** following a single full vowel (for example **atkuk/atkug-**), less acceptable still on an expanded base that ends in **g** from a postbase (for example **angyarpak/angyarpag-**), even less acceptable on a “short” base ending in **g** or **r** (for example **kuik/kuig-** or **qiiq*/qiir-**), and least acceptable of all on a base ending in **er** or **eg** (for example **ateq/ater-** or **nutek/nuteg-**). So, most speakers would accept **qetunran** rather than **qetunraan** for ‘your son,’ but few speakers would accept **aten** (rather than **atren**) for ‘your name,’ or **nuten** for ‘your gun’ (rather than **nutgen**). The older forms of these endings are acceptable by all; few would consider them “stilted.” Consequently the learner should learn these older forms, but be aware that he or she will encounter the other forms.

Exercise 5-4

Change each of the following from "my" to "our," or from "your₁" to "your_{pl}," and translate. For example, given Aataka pissurtuq nayirnek, you would write, Aataput pissurtuq nayirnek. 'Our father is hunting seals.'

- 1) Nuyaten tak'ut. 2) Egalrenka iqaut. 3) Nutgen assiituq. 4) Paniinka mingeqsullruut. 5) Nek'a amiigpangqertuq. 6) Yut'en qiallruut. 7) Qimugteten neqnek neryugtut. 8) It'gagka kumlatuk. 9) Qiirenka amllenritut. 10) Qanrenqaa akutamek imangqertuq?

Postbases

The postbase ~:(ng)u- 'to be *N*' goes on noun bases and yields verb bases. Compare the mode of attachment of this postbase to that of :(ng)ite- 'to lack *N*' from Chapter 3. The present postbase differs in that it drops base-final *e*'s. In the following examples, note how the derived verb base will end in either one or two full vowels and this will determine what form the endings +'(g)t)uq, +'(g)t)u:nga, etc. will take with it (if one of these endings follows immediately after the postbase in question with no other postbases intervening).

Examples

ana/aana- 'mother'	*aanangu- → aanau- 'to be a mother'	aanauguq 'she is a mother'
ui/ui- 'husband'	uingu- 'to be a husband'	uinguuq 'he is a husband'
cavun/cavute- 'oar'	cavutngu- 'to be an oar'	cavutnguuq 'it is an oar'
igta/igte- 'lair'	*igtngu- → igteŋgu- 'to be a lair'	igteŋguuq 'it is a lair'
qaiq/qair- 'wave'	qairu- 'to be a wave'	qairuuq 'it is a wave'
kuik/kuig- 'river'	kuigu- 'to be a river'	kuiguuq 'it is a river'
egaleq/egaler- 'window'	egalru- 'to be a window'	egalruuq 'it is a window'
asveq/asver- 'walrus'	*asvru- → asevru- or asveru- 'to be a walrus'	asevruuq or asveruuq 'it is a walrus'
angyaq/angyar- 'boat'	*angyaru- → angyau- 'to be a boat'	angyauguq 'it is a boat'
atkuk/atkug- 'parka'	*atkugu- → atkuu- 'to be a parka'	atkuuguq 'it is a parka'

In the examples above, note the dropping and re-insertion of *e* in *igtngu- (see the discussion of ~%mek in Chapter 3), and in *asvru- (see the discussion of %:(e)t in Chapter 4).

When this postbase follows the postbase **-cuar(aq*)**, the **(aq*)** should be used because the suffix being attached is vowel-initial and also will cause the final consonant to drop (by velar-dropping). For example, **necuar** 'small house', and **:(ng)u-** yield ***necuararu-**, hence **necuarau-** (by velar-dropping) as in **necuarauguq** 'it is a small house.'

With **ena/[e]ne-** 'house' this postbase yields first ***enngu-**, but then the initial weak **e** drops giving ***nngu-**; the prohibited initial consonant cluster is broken and **ng** is geminated (compare **nep'ik**, **nek'a**) giving **neng'u-** 'to be a house', as in **neng'ullruuq** 'it was a house', and **nenguuq** 'it is a house.'

With **yuk/yug'-** 'person' this postbase yields first **yug'u-** and then the **g** can either stay (because of the gemination) or drop by velar-dropping giving two forms which have taken on slightly different meanings. One is **yug'u-** 'to be a person' as in **yug'ullruuq** 'it was a person' and **yuguuq** 'it is a person.' The other is $\sqrt{\text{yuu-}}$ 'to be alive' (applying to humans only), as in **yuuguq** 'she is alive', and **yuunrituq** 'she's not alive.' (There is also a base **yuu-** meaning 'to get out or take out' (of a vessel), but this is a case of pure coincidence (or *homophony*)).

It is interesting to compare the results of attaching this postbase with the 1st person singular ending to a base expanded by the two versions of the postbase for 'real.' The form **elitnauristepik** for 'real teacher,' leads to ***elitnauristepigu-**, hence by velar-dropping to **elitnauristepiu-** 'to be a real teacher' which ends in two vowels, and thus ***elitnauristepiugunga** which by velar-dropping becomes **elitnauristepiugua** 'I am a real teacher.' On the other hand, the form **elitnauristepiaq** for 'real teacher,' leads to **elitnauristepiaru-** 'to be a real teacher' which ends in a single vowel, and thus **elitnauristepiaruunga** 'I am a real teacher.'

For more information on this postbase see Note B in the supplement to this chapter.



Dictionaries, grammars, stories new and old, and Bible translations are available at the adult level in Yup'ik. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Exercise 5–5*A. Translate into English:*

- 1) Kuuvviaruq. 2) Aanaka arnarpauguq. 3) Uin-qaa kassauguq? 4) Uluapiaruq.
- 5) Kanaqlaunritut. 6) Yaqulgullruuq. 7) Aataci angutecuaraugut.
- 8) Nanvauguq-qaa? 9) Makumiunguuten-qaa? 10) Irnianka piipiugut cali.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) They are big waves. 2) It's not real coffee. 3) Is your son a real priest? 4) My husband is a big man. 5) They₂ are oars. 6) It's a coat. 7) My sister is a teacher.
- 8) It used to be a school. 9) They aren't guns. 10) It's an eye!!! 11) They are children. 12) The baby is (a) white. 13) My little brother is still a baby. 14) Are they salmonberries? 15) They're blueberries. 16) It's a big dog. 17) It's a small fox.
- 18) My mother is not alive. 19) The white teacher is a big woman. 20) My children are girls.

C. Add the above postbase, :-(ng)u-, and then the appropriate form of the ending +'(g/t)uq to the following words and translate.

- 1) nacaq, 2) kameksak, 3) piluguk, 4) kemek, 5) ciun, 6) nateq, 7) qiiq, 8) makumi, 9) tuntuvak, 10) nayiq, 11) Yup'ik, 12) tan'gurraq, 13) atkugpak, 14) qayapiaq, 15) nerpak.

D. Translate into English:

- 1) Mamterillermi elitnauristeput angutngullruuq. 2) Agayulirteci-qaa makumiunguuq? 3) Nulirqa kassauguq. 4) Irniaten mikelngurpaugut! 5) Kuuvviapiarunrituq. 6) Qiiruut! 7) Atkupiullruuq. 8) Curyugmi-qaa agayulirtet Yupiugut? 9) Neqngunrituq. 10) Elitnaurvigpauguq.

E. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) My older brother was a teacher. 2) Your sister is a big woman. 3) My son wants to be a priest. 4) They are steambath houses. 5) It wasn't an airplane. 6) I am a white person. 7) It is not meat. 8) It's coffee. 9) They₂ are oars. 10) Are they seals?
- 11) Our windows are not doors! 12) My dad was a policeman (tegusta). 13) It is a mistake (alarneq). 14) It's the shore (ceña, pl. ceñat). 15) They are murre (a type of bird) (alpa, pl. alpat). 16) It's not a body (tema, pl. temet). 17) They are warts (utnguk). 18) My mother is a grandmother (maurluq). 19) Are your sisters little girls (nasaurluq)? 20) It was a fire (keneq). 21) It's a flake of dandruff (petgeq). 22) The small woman is a nurse (iinriurta). 23) My father was an Indian (Ingqiliq). 24) Was your mother Chinese? (Lerleraaq). 25) Our dogs aren't pets (qunguturaq). 26) I'm a resident of Chevak (Cev'aq). 27) My dog is not a wolf (kegluneq)! 28) My older sisters are residents of St. Marys. 29) It's not a river. 30) It is a little lake. 31) Are you a localite?

The two words **ak'allaq** 'old thing' and **nutaraq** 'new thing' are nouns in Yup'ik, while in English "old" and "new" are adjectives — a category of words that does not exist in Yup'ik. Other devices are used to do the same thing in Yup'ik that adjectives do in English. The examples below show how the two Yup'ik words are used as appositives to other nouns, with ablative-modal endings (specification use) to modify a verb within a noun, or verbalized with the postbase

~:(ng)u- 'to be *N*' yielding √ **ak'allau-** 'to be old' and √ **nutarau-** 'to be new.' Appositives (as in the first two examples below) agree in number and case, but possession, that is ownership, is indicated only on the main noun of the pair.

as appositives:

Angyaqa nutaraq assirtuq. 'My new boat is good' (*literally*, 'My boat, the new thing, is good').

Ikamraci ak'allaat cukaitut. 'Your_{pl} old sleds are slow.'

in the ablative-modalis or specification:

Nutengqertua ak'allarmek. 'I have an old gun' (*literally*, 'I have a gun, an old thing').

Nutaramek nel'iyugtua. 'I want to build a new house.'

verbalized with postbase ~:(ng)u-

Kameksiigken ak'allauguk. 'Your skin boots₂ are old' (*literally*, 'Your skin boots₂ are old things').

Maqiviput nutarauguq. 'Our steambath house is new.'

The noun **amlleq** 'much, many' works similarly.

as an appositive:

Amlleret yuut tekitellruut. 'Many people arrived.'

in the ablative-modalis of specification:

Irniangqertuk amllerneq. 'They₂ have many children.'

the verb base **amller-** 'to be much, many' that goes with the noun, is used (rather than changing the noun to a verb with ~:(ng)u-)

Qairet amllertut. 'The waves are numerous' (rather than **qairet amlleruut**).

The postbase **-ksaite-** means 'to not have *V*-ed' or 'to not have *V*-ed yet.' It is often used instead of the combination **-llrunrite-**. The **k** of this postbase will be changed to **q** with bases that end in **r**.

Examples

cali- 'to work'	caliksaituq 'she hasn't worked (yet)'
tekite- 'to arrive'	tekiteksaitut 'they haven't arrived (yet)'
ayag- 'to leave'	ayaksaituq 'she hasn't left (yet)'
qavar- 'to sleep'	qavaqsaitua 'I haven't slept (yet)'

The postbase **-qatar-** means 'to be about to *V*, to be going to *V*.' The **q** of this postbase will be changed to **k** with bases that end in **g**.

Examples

tai- ‘to come’	taiqatartuq ‘she is going to come’
ane- ‘to go out’	*anêqatartuq → anqatartuq ‘she’s going to go out’
ayag- ‘to leave’	ayakatartuq ‘she’s going to leave’
yurar- ‘to dance’	yuraqatartuq ‘she’s going to dance’
iter- ‘to come in’	*itêqatartuq → itqatartuq ‘she’s going to come in’

From **aqume-** ‘to sit down’ comes **aqumeqatartua** ‘I’m going to sit down’. Even though the **u** and the next **a** after it, and not **e**, have rhythmic length, one can optionally drop that **e** at the boundary between base and postbase and say **aqumqatartua**.

Exercise 5–6*A. Translate into English:*

1) Unuamek aneksaitua. 2) Cali-qaa nereksaituci? 3) Ceñirteqatartukuk. 4) Kiputeksaituten-qaa kipusvigmi? 5) Tengssuulviit mit’eqatartut. 6) Ageksaitut agayuvigmun. 7) Maqiksaitua.

B. Translate into Yup’ik:

1) My children haven’t come in yet. 2) We haven’t seen any moose on the tundra. 3) Your daughter is going to cry. 4) The preacher hasn’t visited yet. 5) Our children are about to play outside. 6) Are you going to make coffee? 7) The boy hasn’t hunted seal.

Preview of Commands and the Optative Mood

In addition to the *indicative* mood (for making statements and asking “yes/no” questions) and the *interrogative* mood (for asking content questions) there is the *optative* mood which is used for making commands (and requests and suggestions). In this chapter a few of the more common optative endings are given. Other optative endings will be given in Chapter 12, and the less common optative endings are left for Chapter 21.

Here we shall look at only the way to make commands or requests to one person (i.e. the 2nd person singular optative). This ending takes several forms, as follows:

for bases ending in a single full vowel the base itself is used:

maqi- ‘to steam-bathe’ **maqi** ‘take a steam bath!’

~(g)i is used with bases ending in two (full) vowels or in e that is not preceded by t:

tai- ‘to come’ **taigi** ‘come here!’ (or, irregularly, **taimai**, for this one verb)
aqume- ‘to sit’ **aqumi** ‘sit down!’

+n is used with bases ending in te:

inarte- ‘to lie down’ **inarten** ‘lie down!’

however for bases ending in the postbase **-nrite-**, the **te** is replaced with **lu**:
qianrite- 'to not cry' **qianrilu** 'don't cry'

:a is used with bases ending in a consonant:

nuteg- 'to shoot' **nutga** 'shoot!'
kuuvviar- 'to have coffee' **kuuvviara** 'have coffee!'
qavar- 'to sleep' ***qavara** → **qavaa** 'sleep!'
ayag- 'to leave' ***ayaga** → **ayii** 'leave!'

These Yup'ik optative forms pertain to the present time only. In English an imperative such as 'sit down!' can be used to tell someone to sit down at the time the speaker is speaking or at some time in the future (as in "when you finish your chores, sit down and eat"). The Yup'ik optatives introduced above are for telling someone to do something right now. To request action in the future, a special optative future suffix, **@-kina**, is used.

@-kina attaches in much the same manner as the ending **-ka** 'my':

aqume- 'to sit down' **aqumekina** or **aqumkina** 'sit down (at some time in the near or far future)!'
maqi- 'to bath' **maqikina** 'take a steam bath (in the future)!'
tai- 'to come' **cali taikina** 'come (here) some more' or come (here) again!
ayag- 'to leave' **ayakina** 'leave (future)!'
qavar- 'to sleep' **qavaqina** 'sleep (future)!'

however with bases ending in **te**, the **e** is dropped, the **t** is changed to **s**, and **e** is inserted before that **s** if needed to prevent a three-consonant cluster:

elite- 'to learn' **eliskina** 'learn (future)!'
ceñirte- 'to visit' **ceñireskina ataam** 'visit again!'

for negative future, instead of **@-kina**, another suffix, **@~+yaqunak**, is used; it attaches just like the postbase **@~+yug-** 'to want to V' does:

ane- 'to go out' **anyaqunak** 'don't go out (future)!'
taqe- 'to quit' **taqsaqunak** 'don't quit (future)!'
inarte- 'to lie down' **inarcaqunak** 'don't lie down (future)!'
qavar- 'to sleep' **qavaryaqunak** 'don't sleep (future)!'

As in English, tone of voice is important in Yup'ik optatives, and Yup'ik has special postbases, particles and alternative constructions that can be used to "soften" a command, much as the force of 'sit down!' in English can be modified by changing the tone of voice in which it is said or altering it to 'please sit down,' 'would you please sit down,' etc. These will be discussed in Chapter 12.

Exercise 5-7*A. Translate into English:*

1) Itra. 2) Ani. 3) Neri suupamek. 4) Kuuvviali. 5) Qimugteñek alingyaqunak. 6) Iqvaa curanek. 7) Kiputen paltuugmek nutaramek. 8) Keniryaqunak ak'allarmek kemegmek nem'i. 9) Nerkina. 10) Ataam ut'reskina. 11) Iqvaryaqunak nunapigmi. 12) Inarcaqunak natermun. 13) Neqnek kenia. 14) Akutalikina.

B. Translate two ways each — one for the present and the other for the future.

1) Go over to the church. 2) Pray. 3) Don't hunt in the village! 4) Speak Yup'ik. 5) Use a semi-lunar knife. 6) Come back. 7) Don't sit on the floor. 8) Don't go outside. 9) Don't visit. 10) Learn (some) names. 11) Buy a hat in the store. 12) Don't swim in the lake. 13) Make a new sled. 14) Play outside.



These skin boots, *piluguuk*, have seal skin uppers and soles made of the dehaired skin of bearded seal. One name for this dehaired skin is "laftack," a local English or trade jargon word originally from Siberian Russian. The English word "mukluk," which refers to the boot itself, comes from the Yup'ik word *maklak* for bearded seal. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

End-of-Chapter-Exercises*A. Translate into English:*

1) Nuliaqa arnacuarauquq. 2) Nanvarpauguq. 3) Ikamrapiaruquq. 4) Irnianka angutnguut. 5) Mamterilleq nunarpauguq. 6) Anngan-qaa kiputeksaituq nutegmek? 7) Irnianka qavaqatartut. 8) Tengssuuteput mit'eqatartuq. 9) Nek'a angenrituq. 10) Amllernek qiingqertua. 11) Agayulirteŋgullruuq qetunraqa. 12) Talligken tak'uk. 13) Aanaka mingqeqatartuq nacamek. 14) Taqueqatartukut. (*note retention of hatted e between same consonants and the consequences of this for pronunciation*) 15) Irniaput piipiugut cali. 16) Panika nerqatartuq curanek. 17) Nereksaitua akutamek unuamek. 18) Nep'ut ak'allauguq. 19) Angyiksaitua. 20) Nutgen nutarauguq. 21) Alqan-qaa elitnauristeŋguuq. 22) Agayuqatartuq. 23) Agayuksaituq unuamek. 24) Nutaraq agayulirteput kassaunrituq. 25) Yaqulecuaaraat tengqatartut nanvarpamek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Are your skin boots new? 2) Your parents have lots of grey hair. 3) There are a lot of foxes in the tundra. 4) Our old house has new windows. 5) The minister is buying a new hat at the store in Anchorage. 6) Your ears are very big! 7) My new baby is crying again. 8) Our sons haven't yet spoken. 9) My younger sister wants to make a coat. 10) My children didn't understand yesterday. 11) I'm going to go in. 12) Are my eyes very big? 13) Did you see any new teachers? 14) My hair is short. (*recall that in Yup'ik 'hair' is plural unless a single 'hair' is meant*). 15) Do you want to have a new parka? 16) I'm going to have a new younger sibling! 17) Is your husband a Yup'ik? 18) My mother was a white person. 19) It isn't a dog. 20) The people of this place are going to go to the mountains. 21) My mother hasn't picked salmonberries yet. 22) Have you eaten any meat? 23) Our house used to be a store. 24) My brother is going to go over to the church. 25) Our children aren't about to play outside. 26) My ears are cold. 27) Our door is big. 28) My mittens are small. 29) I don't have any younger siblings. 30) My older brother has lots of grey whiskers. 31) Your mouth is empty. 32) My skin boots₂ are short. 33) Is your daughter a minister? 34) Our new house has lots of little windows. 35) Your_{pl} old sled was very slow. 36) I'm going to eat lots of blueberries in the big tundra. 37) It's not cold but my feet are cold. 38) Are you cold? 39) The lake is very cold. 40) Doesn't the little bird have a neck? 41) My old coat is no good. 42) My older sister is going to sew new skin-boots, hats and mittens. 43) My parents are staying in a big house. 44) My legs and my feet are cold. 45) Your_{pl} necks are still very dirty! 46) Your girl didn't understand. 47) My younger siblings are playing in the school. 48) Is your mother afraid of big dogs too? 49) My ears and my eyes too are cold today. 50) Our river has big fish.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 5

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 The word **aliiman** 'mitten, glove' is also pronounced **aliuman**. Some speakers, especially in NI and Can, use **kauman** instead, and in NS, HBC, and Nun they use **aritvak** instead. In Y and HB there is a special word for 'glove,' **aasgaaq** (**aaygaaq** in HBC), as opposed to 'mitten.'
- #2 The word **alqaq** 'older sister' is pronounced **al'qaq** in HBC. A colloquial form of **alqaq** is **al'aq**. In NSU the word is **alleqaq**.
- #3 The word **amiik** 'door' is pronounced **amik** in various areas.
- #4 A regularized form of the word **ii** 'eye,' **iingaaq** is used by some speakers, but it is generally not the preferred form.
- #5 Instead of **it'gaaq** for 'foot,' there is **tukullek** in HBC and Nun. In NSU 'foot' is **itegaaq**.
- #6 For comments on the word **kameksak** see #10 below.
- #7 In addition to the word **kinguqliq** 'younger sibling, one who comes after, follower,' there is also a more specific term for younger sibling: **uyuraaq***.
- #8 The word **paltuuk** 'coat, zippered parka' is pronounced **pal'tuuk** in Y, UK and HBC. There are other words, **ullirtaaq** used in BB, NR, LI, and Eg for this, and **uligaaq** use in NS.
- #9 Instead of **panik** for 'daughter,' there is **kitugta** in UK.
- #10 There are three Yup'ik words for traditional skin boot (and several more words for special types of skin boot). **Kamguk** is used in NS, **piluguk** in some Y, HBC, NI, Can, some K, and some BB, and **kameksak** in some Y, some K, and most BB. Some speakers use both of these words, **piluguk** for higher skin boots and **kameksak** for shorter boots (or for house shoes nowadays). The English word "mukluk" comes from the Yup'ik word **maklak** 'bearded seal.' Evidently this is due to the fact that the soles of skin boots are made from the skin of bearded seal. Perhaps there was an element in confusion wherein a Euro-American asked "what's that?" wanting to know what the *boot* itself was called, and the Yup'ik who was asked understood the question to be about the material that the boot was made of.
- #11 Instead of **qamiquq** for 'head,' there is **nasquq** in NS, HBC, and some Y, and **uqsuq** in some Y, UK, LI, and Eg.
- #12 Instead of **unan** for 'hand,' there is **aiggaq** in NS, LI, and Eg.

Note A

Although to many Yup'ik speakers, at least nowadays, a word like **aanaput** can mean either 'our_{pl} one mother' or 'our_{pl} three or more mothers,' and a word like **angyaci** can mean either 'your_{pl} one boat' or 'your_{pl} three or more boats' with the difference between singular and plural shown only in the ending of the verb, there *is* also a way of differentiating singular and plural in the noun ending. According to this more precise way of speaking the ending for 'our_{pl} one thing' is **.vut**¹ for vowel-ending bases and **+put** for consonant-ending bases, while **-put** is the ending for 'our_{pl} three or more things.' Thus 'our mother' (if we all have the same mother) would be **aanavut**, as opposed to 'our mothers' which is **aanaput**, and 'our boat' is **angyarput**, as opposed to 'our boats' which is **angyaput**. Likewise the endings for 'your_{pl} one thing' are **.si** for vowel-ending bases and **+ci** for consonant-ending bases, while **-ci** is the ending for 'our_{pl} three or more things.' Thus 'your_{pl} mother' would be **aanasi**, as opposed to 'your_{pl} mothers' which would be **aanaci**, and 'your_{pl} boat' would be **angyarci**, as opposed to 'your_{pl} boats' which would be **angyaci**. Similarly the endings for 'your₂ one thing' is **.sek** for vowel-ending bases and **+tek** for consonant-ending bases, while **-tek** is the ending for 'your₂ three or more things.' Thus 'your₂ mother' would be **aanasek**, as opposed to 'your₂ mothers' which would be **aanatek** (of course, from a practical point of view two people can't have plural mothers), and 'your₂ boat' would be **angyartek**, as opposed to 'your₂ boats' which would be **angyatek**.

But what exactly is the status of this more precise way of speaking? It may be that the precision discussed above reflects an older pattern in the language. Evidence of this is the fact

1. The dot written in front of the ending shows that this ending only goes on vowel-ending bases without making any changes at the juncture.

that translations of The Lord's Prayer, made over 100 years ago, have **aatavut** or **atavut** for 'our father,' rather than **aataput** or **ataput**. On the other hand, perhaps use of the more precise forms of the endings has always had the optional status for many speakers as it has nowadays, being employed only when precision is strongly desired, as in addressing God as 'our (one) father,' and ruling out the possibility that it be interpreted as 'our fathers.'

From the above discussion we see that basically the 1st and 2nd person non-singular possessor possessed absolutive endings are **vut** for 'our_{pl} one thing,' **vuk** for 'our₂ one thing,' **si** for 'your_{pl} one thing,' and **sek** for 'your₂ one thing'. Now it is clear that in going from **ka**, the ending for 'my one thing,' to **nka** for 'my things,' and from **n**, the ending for 'your₁ one thing,' to **ten** for 'your₁ things,' the **n** in **nka** and the **t** in **ten** are plural markers corresponding to the unpossessed plural ending **%(e)t** (the suffixation pattern of **nka**, that is **%(e)nka** — though not of **-ten** — is further evidence of this). Furthermore the **p** in the endings **-put** for 'our_{pl} things,' **-puk** for 'our₂ things,' and the **c** in **-ci** for 'your_{pl} things,' come ultimately from **tv**, and **ts** respectively (compare **~+(t)vaa** in Chapter 10 and **~+(t)sit** in Chapter 11), and the **t** here is evidently the plural marker **t**. To make this more concrete, consider the following trio of words where the indicator for plural or dual possessive is in italics: (1) **nunaka** 'my land,' (2) **nunanka** (ultimately from ***nunafka**) 'my lands_{pl},' and (3) **nunagka** 'my lands₂,' and compare them to (1) **nunavut** 'our_{pl} land,' (2) **nunaput** (ultimately from ***nunafvut**) 'our_{pl} lands_{pl},' and (3) **nunagput** (ultimately from ***nunagtvut** 'our_{pl} lands₂' — where the **t** is inserted before **vut** because of the consonant **g**, just as **t** is inserted before the verb ending **-uq** when it is used with a base such as **ayag-** that ends in a consonant, giving **ayagtuq**).

As for the indicators of the possessor, there is no connection between 1st person possessor indicators **ka** and **vut** (any more than there is a connection between the words 'my' and 'our' in English), but there is a clear connection between **vut** and **vuk** (**t** indicating plural possessor; **k** indicating dual possessor). There is some kind of connection between the verb endings **nga** (as in **caliunga** 'I am working'), **kut** (as in **caliukut** 'we_{pl} are working'), and **kuk** (as in **caliukuk** 'we₂ are working') on the one hand, and **ka** (as in **nunaka** 'my land'), **vut** (as in **nunavut** 'our_{pl} land'), and **vuk** (as in **nunavuk** 'our₂ land') respectively on the other hand. However it is not clear why in going from **ka** to **nga** the stop is replaced with the corresponding nasal while in going from **vut** and **vuk** to **kut** and **kuk** the voiced labial fricative is replaced with the front velar stop (note that the expression "in going from" is not intended as meaning that the first trio of endings is more fundamental than the second, but merely to express the correspondence between the two trios). There is a connection between 2nd person possessor indicators **n**, **si**, and **sek**. The 2nd person singular possessor indicator **n** consists of an apical followed by \emptyset (or perhaps **e**), the plural indicator **si** consists of an apical followed by **i**, and the dual indicator **sek** consists of an apical followed by **k** (with **e** inserted). This pattern of \emptyset (or perhaps **e**), **i**, **k** for singular, dual, and plural is like the object markers of the 3rd person possessor possessed absolutive **:(ng)a**, **:(ng)i**, and **%(e)k** (see Chapter 7) as in **uluara** 'her knife,' **uluari** 'her knives_{pl},' and **uluak** 'his knives₂.' Also, there is a fairly clear correspondence between the 2nd person possessor possessed absolutive endings **n**, **si**, and **sek** and the 2nd person subject endings **ten** (as in **caliuten** 'you₁ are working'), **ci** (as in **caliuci** 'you_{pl} are working'), and **tek** (as in **caliutek** 'you₂ are working'). Evidently, for some reason, a **t** is placed before the 2nd person possessor possessed absolutive endings **n**, **si**, and **sek**, to yield the 2nd person subject endings **ten**, **ci**, and **tek**.

Note B

In many areas the combination of the postbase **-rpak** 'big *N*' and **:(ng)u-** 'to be an *N*,' that is **-rpau-**, can mean 'to have a big *N*,' if this is a more appropriate meaning, given the context, than 'to be a big *N*.' This is particularly true for body parts. Thus **angun iirpauguq** would be understood as 'the man has big eyes' (and would be an alternative to **angun iirpangqertuq**), rather than as 'the man is a big eye' which is its literal meaning.

CHAPTER 6

*Vialis Case; Equalis Case;
Overview of Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs
and First Group of These to be Memorized (others
distributed through later chapters)*

Vocabulary

ayuquq 'he is like (something), resembles (something)'

ciku 'ice' #1

egan 'pot'

ete- 'to be' (*obsolete verb base, discussed below*)

igtuq 'it fell' (from a height)

imarpik 'ocean, sea' #2

ipegtuq or **ipegcetuq** 'it is sharp'

iqtuuq 'it is wide'

kayanguq 'egg' #3

kelipaq 'bread' #4

kenurraq 'light, lamp' #5

kiircetuq 'it is hot' (weather)

kiiryugtuq 'he is hot, feels hot' (person)

kiuguq 'he is answering'

mamtuuq 'it is thick'

masslaq 'butter' #6

meq 'water' (*actually [e]meq*) #7

mernurtuq 'he is tired' #8

mingqun 'needle' #9

nip'uq 'it went out' (light, fire, radio, TV) #10

puqigtuq 'he is smart'

qimugkauyar(aq*) 'puppy'

saayuq or **caayuq** 'tea' #11

saskaq or **caskaq** 'cup' #12

uuqnarquq 'it is hot' (liquid, solid)

further vocabulary presented below

Vialis Case

Yup'ik nouns have two more cases in addition to the cases discussed in previous chapters. One of these is the *vialis*, the ending of which is %**kun** in the singular and %**tgun** in the plural, and which means 'by way of, through, or via *N*' (the *vialis of route*, or *vialis of place through which*), or 'by means of *N*' (the *vialis of instrument*).¹

1. The vialis case is also called the "translocative" or "perlative" in works on Eskimo grammar. Note that there is also an instrumental use of the ablative-modalis in HBC.

Examples**nuna/nuna-** 'land'**nunakun** 'by land'**angyaq/angyar-** 'boat'**nunatgun** 'by the lands'**angyakun** 'by boat'**kuik/kuig-** 'river'**angyatgun** 'by boats'**kuigkun** 'by river'***kuigtgun** → **kuigteggun** 'by the rivers'

Note that with the above suffix when a three-consonant cluster arises as with ***kuigtgun**, since the middle consonant is **t**, an **e** is inserted after this consonant rather than before it. The **g** after the inserted **e** remains voiceless and must be written double.

Equalis Case

The other case is the *equalis*, the ending of which is %**tun** in the singular and %**cetun** in the plural.¹ It essentially has only one use and means 'like (a) *N*'. This use has been extended to include 'in the language of *N*' as the examples below illustrate.

There is often little difference between using the singular equalis and the plural equalis. The reason for this is that when one thing is said to be similar to a second thing, then it could just as well be said to be similar to others of the same type as that second thing, and when several things are said to be similar to a second group, then they could just as well be said to be similar to one member of that second group.

Examples:**kass'aq/kass'ar-** 'white person'**kass'atun** 'like a white person' or 'in English'**kass'acetun** 'like white people' or 'in English'**yuk/yug-** 'person, Eskimo'**yugtun** 'like a person' or 'like a Yup'ik Eskimo' or 'in the (Yup'ik) Eskimo language'**yugcetun** 'like people' or 'like Yup'ik Eskimos' or 'in the (Yup'ik) Eskimo language'

Qimugtetun² ayuquq. 'It is (or looks) like a dog.' (Note that **ayuquq** uses the *equalis* rather than the *ablative-modalis* for what with other verbs would be an indefinite object.)

1. The word "equalis" is also spelled "aequalis." This case is also called the "equalitive" in works on Eskimo grammar.

2. Or **qimugcetun**; **tet** becomes **cet** for many speakers.

Exercise 6-1*A. Translate into English:*

1) Qimugkauyaraan ayuquq kaviartun. 2) Ayagyugtuten-qaq kuigkun? 3) Mikelnguut ner'ut qimugtetun. 4) Kass'aq yurartuq yugtun. 5) Uin puqigtuq elitnauristetun. 6) Taigut nunapigkun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The lake looks like the ocean. 2) The window is thick like ice. 3) We didn't want to go through the mountains. 4) The waves are like hills. 5) The boy is taking a steambath like a man. 6) The child went out through the window. 7) The tea is hot like the coffee.

Demonstrative Pronouns

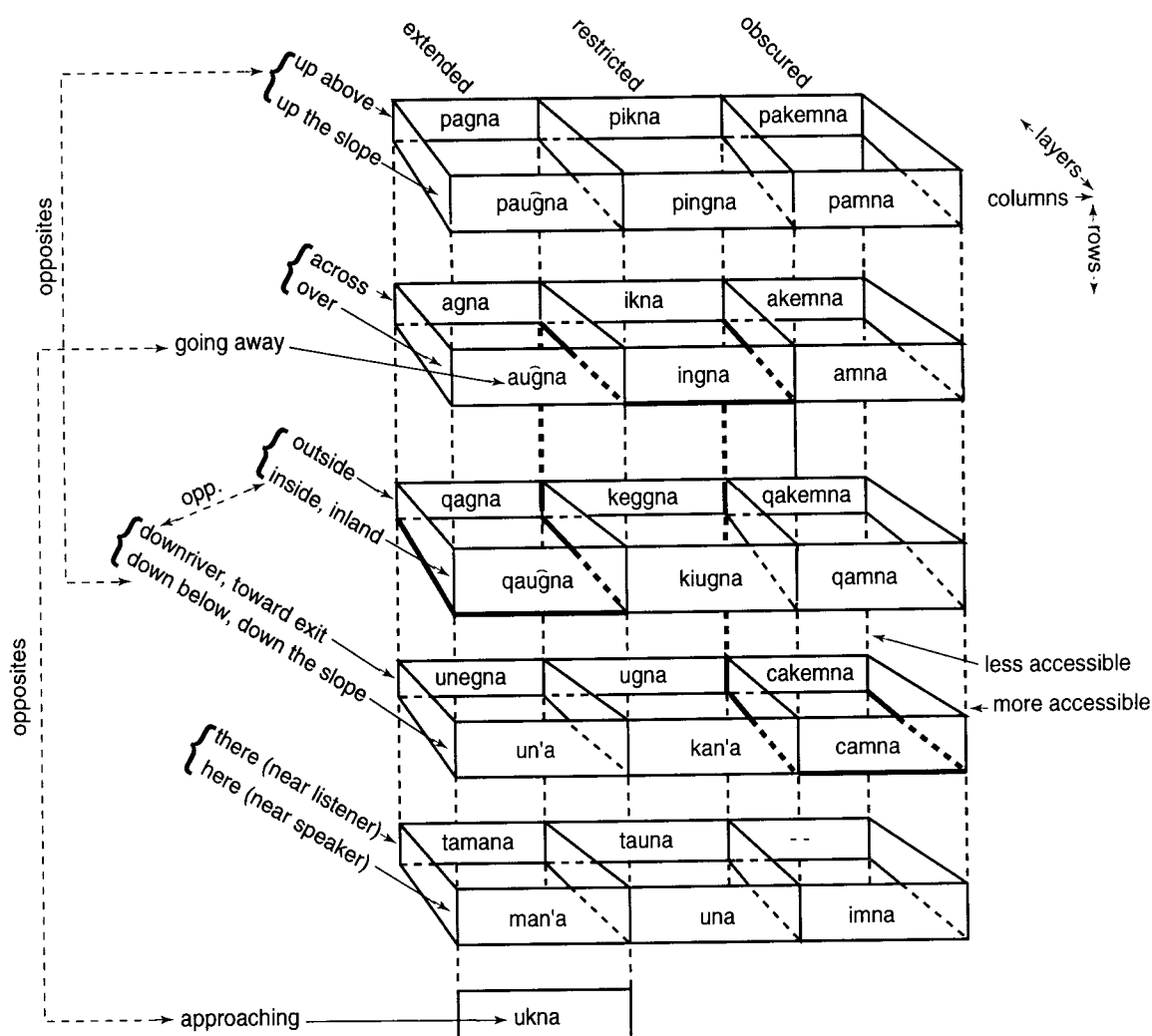
Yup'ik has a highly developed system of *demonstrative pronouns* and *demonstrative adverbs*. Demonstrative pronouns are words like the English words "this" and "that" (and their plurals "these" and "those"), while demonstrative adverbs are like the English words "here" and "there." In Yup'ik however, there are some 30 different sets — far more than the two sets in English: "this/these/here," "that/those/there." In English, the difference between the two sets of demonstratives is based on one criterion: the distinction between 'near the speaker' and 'away from the speaker.' In Yup'ik the difference is based on three different criteria.

First is the question of whether the entity or area is (1) *extended* (which means spread out or moving), (2) *restricted* (which means in sight and stationary or moving within a confined area), or (3) *obscured* (which means not visible). This gives the three vertical columns on the chart below.

Second is the question of whether the entity or area is (1) *up* from speaker ('up overhead,' and 'up following the slope of the land' as in 'up the hill'), (2) *over or across* from speaker (where 'across' means 'across a river, road, trail, long table, etc.),' (3) *in or out* (where 'in' includes 'inland or upriver' as well as 'inside a building'), (4) *down* from speaker ('down below or down following the slope of the land,' and 'down river or toward an exit'), or (5) *near speaker or near listener*. This gives the five horizontal rows on the chart below.

Third is the question of (1) *more accessible* or (2) *less accessible*, which is 'up the slope' as opposed to 'up above' (for the top row on the chart), 'over' as opposed to 'across' (for the second row), 'in' as opposed to 'out,' 'down below or down the slope' (both) as opposed to 'down river or by the exit' (for the third row), and 'near the speaker' as opposed to 'near the listener' (for the fourth row). This gives the two "layers" on the chart below.

If all this is mysterious now, it is because this is a far more complex or developed system than in English. Furthermore, the beautiful organization of it is something of which native speakers of Yup'ik are often not consciously aware even though they use the system every day! Before explaining further, let us just note that almost all combinations of the 3 columns, the 5 rows and the 2 layers are possible, and 3 times 5 times 2 is 30; thus there are 30 different demonstratives in Yup'ik.



The chart on this page shows the demonstrative pronouns arrayed according to the division described above. *In this chapter all the demonstrative pronouns are presented together as a system, so that the student can see how the system functions as a whole, but students will be required to learn thoroughly only part of the chart at a time. The part required for this chapter will be specified later.*

In the part of the chart above the heavy dividing line, the *form* (in sounds or letters) of a demonstrative reveals its meaning, so it is not as though the 30 demonstratives are to be learned as if they were totally independent of each other. For example, demonstratives that start with **p** refer to *up*; those that start with a vowel rather than a consonant generally refer to *over* or *across*; those that start with **q** refer to *in* or *out*. The presence of **m** in a demonstrative means *obscured*, the presence of **g** or **uḡ** means *extended*, while having the vowel **i** rather than **a** means *restricted*. Having **k** or **g** means *less accessible* rather than more

accessible. For example, **pikna** starts with **p** so it is something *up*, it has **i** in it so it is something *restricted* (visible but not spread out or moving), it has **k** in it so it is *less accessible*. Putting all this together tells one that **pikna** refers to something that is up from the speaker, stationary or moving within a confined area, and 'up above' rather than 'up the slope', that is, something like a light fixture on the ceiling overhead, a bird sitting in a tree above one, etc. Another example: **qamna** starts with **q** so it something *in or out*, it has **m** in it so it is *obscured*, and it does not have **k** or **g** so it is *in* rather than *out*. Putting all this together tells one that **qamna** refers to something inside or upriver, and not visible, such as an object inside a closed box, a person inside the house, something upriver or inland, etc. A third example: **augna** starts with the vowel **a** so it is something *over or across*, it has **ug** in it so it is extended, and it does not have **k** or **g** so it is *more accessible* making it *over* rather than *across*. Putting all this together tells one that **augna** refers to something like a person moving over there, or an expanse of land over there, or a road over there. (It can also be a person or thing moving away from one or which one is moving away from — this is a secondary meaning for this particular demonstrative.)

On the part of the chart below the heavy dividing line, there is a pattern only in regard to meaning and not form. Thus, while **un'a**, **kan'a**, **unegna** and **ugna** are connected in meaning, they are not connected in any clear-cut way in form (although there certainly are apparent links in regard to form between them). On the other hand there is a pattern in the last two complete rows at the very bottom of the chart. Thus, **man'a** and **una** mean 'here near speaker' (*extended* and *restricted* respectively) while **tamana** and **tauna** mean 'there near listener' (*extended* and *restricted* respectively) so evidently **ta-** is a *prefix* (the *only* prefix in Eskimo in fact) which changes 'here' to 'there' (but see Note A in the supplement to this chapter). Additionally, **tamana** can be the extended one (e.g. a place or time) in which the subject matter of an account or story or conversation is set (and similarly with **tauna**). **Imna** is something not readily describable through its location, but whose reference or identity would be immediately recognized by the listener.

There are connections between certain demonstratives that cut across the columns, rows and layers on the chart, and are shown by dashed lines beside the chart. One is that the secondary meaning of **augna** noted above, as 'something going away' entails an opposite, 'something coming' and this is the demonstrative **ukna** which really doesn't fit too well onto the chart. Also, note that 'up above' and 'up the slope' are separate (**pagna/pikna/pakemna** vs. **paugna/pingna/pamna**), but the opposites of these, 'down below' and 'down the slope' are combined (**un'a/kan'a/camna** means both 'something down below' and 'something down the slope'). The 'down toward exit' trio of demonstratives (**unegna/ugna/cakemna**), which is the *less accessible down* trio, has as its opposite the 'in' trio of demonstratives (**qaugna/kiugna/qamna**), which is the *more accessible in/out* trio.

Exercise 6-2

A. Write English descriptions of the sort of thing that would be described by each of the following Yup'ik demonstratives, and give an example. For example, given *kiugna*, you could write 'something inside and not moving, visible, such as a table seen inside a room by a person standing by the door'. You may use the chart, but try to analyze the regular demonstratives (i.e. the ones above the heavy line on the chart) according to the meanings of the parts of these demonstratives. 1) *ikna*, 2) *pakemna*, 3) *qauḡna*, 4) *camna*, 5) *qagna*, 6) *kan'a*, 7) *man'a*, 8) *ingna* 9), *kiugna*, 10) *agna* 11) *cakemna* 12) *ugna*, 13) *imna*, 14) *tauna*, 15) *pingna*.

B. Give the most appropriate Yup'ik demonstrative for each of the following. For example, given 'a person on the floor below you (you are upstairs) where you can hear him but not see him', you should write *camna*.

1) a dog on a chain seen from inside the house looking out the window, 2) an airplane flying overhead, 3) the person in the room above you who is making a lot of noise, 4) the person who is somewhere such that we can't see him or really describe him but both of us would know who we are talking about, 5) the town where the person you are talking to on the telephone is now, 6) a spider dangling over our heads, 7) a dime on the floor at our feet, 8) a mouse running across the floor under our feet, 9) the person we can see fishing across the river, 10) a person sitting across the room from us, 11) a boat at the beach while we are up on the bank, 12) the snow all around the house in which we are now talking to each other, 13) a trail on the hillside back behind the village, 14) a person out in the storm porch whom we cannot see from where we are inside, 15) a thing in your (the speaker's) hand, 16) a thing in my (the listener's) hand, 17) a boat not moving seen downriver from us, 18) a village downriver, 19) a village upriver, 20) the entire downriver area, 21) the entire upriver area, 22) the sun obscured by clouds above us.

Yup'ik demonstrative pronouns, like the English demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'that,' can take the place of nouns or function alongside of other nouns as appositives. Thus, just as in English one can say both 'this is dirty' and 'this table is dirty,' so in Yup'ik one can say **una iqauq** and **una estuuluq iqauq**. In the first of these two Yup'ik sentences, **una** is the subject of the sentence, while in the second both **una** and **estuuluq** are the subject, and are *appositives*.

Inflection of Demonstrative Pronouns

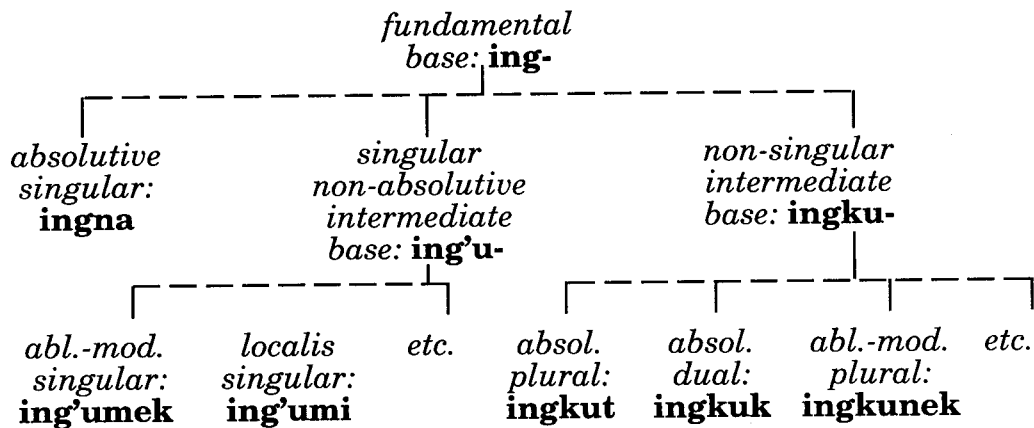
Just as the English words 'this' and 'that' have special irregular plurals 'these' and 'those', so in Yup'ik the plurals of the demonstratives are *not* formed by merely attaching the ending %:(e)t as with ordinary nouns, nor, for example, is the ablative-modalis formed by merely attaching ~%mek.

Instead, the plural (and dual) are formed from what may be called the *non-singular intermediate base* of the demonstrative. This is formed by adding **+ku-** to the result of removing **na** from the absolutive singular form of the demonstrative as presented on the chart above, which may be called the *fundamental base*.

The pluralizing **t** (and dualizing **k** and all other non-singular case endings, such as the plural ablative-modalis **nek**) are added to this *non-singular intermediate base*. For example, the fundamental bases of **una**, **ingna** and **augna** are **u-**, **ing-** and **aug-**, the non-singular intermediate bases are **uku-**, **ingku-** and **augku-**, and the absolutive plurals are **ukut** 'these,' **ingkut** 'those over there,' and **augkut** 'the ones going away or spread out over there.'

To form the singular ablative-modalis and other non-absolutive case singular forms, one goes to the *fundamental base* again, and adds **+u-** (just **+u-** if gemination is not possible) to get the *singular non-absolutive intermediate base*, and it is to this that the singular ablative-modalis and other non-absolutive case endings are added. For example, from **una**, **ingna** and **augna** come singular non-absolutive bases **uu-**, **ing'u-** and **aug'u-**, and singular ablative-modalis forms **uumek** 'of, from this,' **ing'umek** 'of, from that over there,' and **aug'umek** 'of, from that one going away or spread out over there.' In the case of **tauna**, the process for deriving the singular non-absolutive intermediate base gives ***tauu-**, and this becomes simply **tau-**.

The diagram below illustrates the formation of various forms of the demonstrative pronouns using **ingna** as an example:



With certain of the demonstratives, there are special subpatterns for forming the non-singular intermediate base and the singular non-absolutive intermediate base. Knowing three forms, the absolutive singular, the absolutive plural, and the ablative-modalis singular, will allow one to figure out the fundamental base, the non-singular intermediate base, and the singular non-absolutive base, and hence all other forms of the pronoun.

The demonstrative pronouns for this chapter (which should be considered vocabulary words for memorization) are:
una 'this, the one near the speaker' restricted; such as an item in the speaker's

hand or next to the speaker; plural is **ukut** 'these'; ablative-modalis singular is **uumek** 'from this.'

man'a 'this, the one near the speaker' extended; such as the room, house or village where the speaker is; plural is **makut**; ablative-modalis singular is **mat'umek**.

tauna 'that, the one near the listener (or in the situation discussed)' restricted; plural is **taukut** 'those'; ablative-modalis singular is **taumek** 'from that.'

ingna 'that, the one over there, not near speaker or listener' restricted; plural is **ingkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **ing'umek**.

imna 'that, the aforementioned one known to both speaker and listener' obscured, but not located in any place where it can be conveniently referred to on the basis of its location; plural is **imkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **im'umek**.¹

pikna 'the one up above' restricted; plural is **pikegkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **pik'umek** (note insertion of **eg** in forming the plural).²

kan'a 'the one down below or down toward the water' restricted; plural is **kankut**; ablative-modalis singular is **kat'umek** (note **t** here instead of **n**).

augna 'the one spread out or moving over there,' also has the meaning 'the one going away from speaker or which speaker has gone past' extended; plural is **augkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **aug'umek**.³

kiugna 'the one in there, the one further in the house from the exit than the speaker' restricted; plural is **kiugkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **kiugumek**.⁴

ugna 'the one further toward the exit than the speaker (who is also inside the house), or the one toward the mouth of the river' restricted; plural is **ugkut**; ablative-modalis singular is **ug'umek**.

Exercise 6-3

Determine the fundamental base, the singular non-absolute intermediate base, and the non-singular intermediate base of the above demonstratives, and then use these to write the singular and plural terminalis of the above demonstratives and translate. For example, if pingna were on the above list, you would write: fundamental base is ping-; singular non-absolute base is ping'u-; non-singular intermediate base is pingku-; singular terminalis is ping'umun 'to that one in sight, not moving and up the slope'; plural terminalis is pingkunun 'to those in sight, not moving, and up the slope.'

1. Some people also have **imumek**, etc. without gemination, making a distinction between **im'umek** 'from/of/about that aforementioned one', and **imumek** 'from that aforementioned (past) time.'

2. Some people say **pikeggna**, **pikegkut** and **pikgumek** instead (and similarly with **ikna** and **ukna**).

3. **augkut** could also be written **awkut**, since **ug** next to a stop is voiceless, that is, has the sound **w**.

4. In HBC these have **ug** instead of **ug**: **kiugna**, **kiugkut**, and **kiug'umek** (though the first two would sound exactly the same for HBC as forms with **ug** on account of "compression.")

Postbases

The use of postbases and possessed endings on demonstratives is quite limited. However, the postbase **+miu** ‘resident of *N*’ (Chapter 4) can be used with those demonstratives for which it makes sense to do so. It is used with the non-singular intermediate base (even if used in the singular!). For example, from **man’a** comes **makumi** ‘a resident of this village here,’ and its plural **makumiut**, both via the non-singular intermediate base **maku-**.

Exercise 6-4

A. Translate into English:

1) Pikna kenurraq igteqatartuq. 2) Kayangungqertukut taumi egatmi. 3) Ingkut yaqulget tengqatartut. 4) Kan’a saskaqa igtellruuq estuulumek. 5) Augna arnaq elitnauristemek uingqertuq. 6) Man’a kuik iqtuuq cakneq! 7) Aqumeqatartua ug’umun. 8) Kiugna qavaryugtuq. 9) Ingkut mikelnguut aquiuyullrunritut ellami. 10) Imna mikelnguq puqigtuq. 11) Ingna saskaq imangqertuq saayumek. 12) Kan’a ciku mamtunrituq. 13) Neryugtuten-qaa taumek kelipamek? 14) Augkut arnat ayuqut imkucetun. 15) Una qimugkauyar cakneq iqauq cali-llu cakneq kaigtuq. 16) Pikna mikelnguq igteqatartuq mermun! 17) Kiugkut yuut saayuitut. 18) Qayalillruunga im’ukun. 19) Tauna masslaq assiituq. 20) Ingkut uitallruut kat’umi nem’i. 21) Pikegkut yaqulguut.

B. Translate into *Yup’ik*, using the words written as subscripts to choose a demonstrative. Don’t translate the words written as subscripts. For example, given *That*_{the up on a shelf above us} *dish is going to fall on the floor*, you would write *Pikna qantaq igteqatartuq natermun*.

1) It’s hot in *this*_{the one we are in} *church*. 2) *That*_{near you} *tea is cold*. 3) *That*_{over there, away from you and me} *egg is about to fall off the table*. 4) I want to eat some of *this*_{near me} *bread and butter*. 5) *That*_{down there} *water is dirty*. 6) *That*_{near you} *woman’s-knife is very sharp*. 7) *Those*_{going away from us} *women are very tired*. 8) My mother was sewing a parka with *that*_{the one in your hand} *needle*. 9) *This*_{the one near me} *pot is full of that*_{you know which I mean} *soup*. 10) *That*_{down there} *child is going to play on the ice*. 11) *That*_{up above} *light went out*.

Demonstrative Adverbs

Just as in English there are demonstrative *pronouns* (“this,” “that”) which are used for *things*, and demonstrative *adverbs* (“here,” “there”) which are used for *locations*, so in *Yup’ik* corresponding to each demonstrative pronoun there is a demonstrative adverb. With some exceptions and/or modifications, the *demonstrative adverb base* is derived from the *fundamental demonstrative base* by adding **a**, sometimes with velar dropping having occurred as a historical process.

There are no absolute case forms nor is there a singular/plural/dual distinction for demonstrative adverbs.

The ending for the localis is **+ni**, just like the ordinary *plural* localis ending. So from the pronoun **pikna** with fundamental base **pik-** comes demonstrative adverb base **pika-** and hence localis **pikani** ‘(at) up there.’

For the other cases, there is a special set of case endings for the demonstrative adverbs. The ablative-modalis ending is **.ken**, hence **pikaken** 'from up there.' The dot written in front of the ending shows that this ending only goes on vowel-ending bases without making any changes at the juncture. The terminalis is **.vet**, hence **pikavet** 'to up there,' and the vialis is **.ggun**.

Here is a list giving the more common demonstrative adverb forms from the demonstrative pronouns given above for memorization with this chapter:

<i>demonstrative pronoun</i>	<i>demonstrative adverb</i>
una 'this' (restricted)	wani 'right here in front of me'
	wavet 'to right here'
	waken 'from right here'
	uuggun 'through right here; with this' (<i>this irregular form replaces both *waggun and *uukun, the vialis form of the pronoun</i>)
man'a 'this' (extended)	maani 'here in this area'
	maavet 'to here'
	maaken 'from here'
	maaggun 'through here'
tauna 'that near you'	tuani 'there near you' ¹
	tuavet 'to there'
	tuaken 'from there'
	tuaggun 'through there'
ingna 'that over there'	yaani 'over there'
	yaavet 'to over there'
	yaaken 'from over there'
	yaaggun 'through over there'
imna 'aforementioned one'	<i>no adverb exists for this</i> ²
pikna 'that up there'	pikani 'up there', etc.
kan'a 'that down there'	kanani 'down there', etc.
augna 'that over there' (ext.)	avani 'over there' (extended), etc.
kiugna 'that in there'	kiani 'in there'
	kiavet 'to in there'
	kiaken 'from in there'
	kiaggun 'through in there'
ugna 'that toward exit'	uani 'in the area near the exit'
	uavet 'to the exit'
	uaken 'from the exit'
	uaggun 'through near the exit'

All demonstratives in their forms are given in Appendix C for reference.

1. **tavani**, **tavavet**, etc. (with the **v** between the **a**'s sounding like English "w") in HBC and NS.
 2. There is, however, the form **imuken** 'from that time on' (equivalent to **imumek**), which has the demonstrative *adverb* ablative-modalis ending, but on the demonstrative *pronoun* base.

The question of whether to use a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative adverb, is often a matter of style or emphasis more than meaning, as the following examples, concerning a bird on a branch of a tree above us, illustrate.

Pikna yaqulecuar tengqatartuq. 'That, up there, little bird is about to fly off.'

Yaqulecuar tengqatartuq pik'umek. 'The little bird is about to fly off from that thing up there (*for example*, from a particular branch).'

Yaqulecuar tengqatartuq pikaken. 'The little bird is about to fly off from up there.'



New Stuyahok. Photo by James H. Barker.

Exercise 6–5*A. Translate:*

1) Maavet taiguq. 2) Piipiqqa qavartuq kiani. 3) Yaani qimugteka ner'uq. 4) Tangellruukut amllerneq kaviarneq avani. 5) Tuani qantan uitauq. 6) Yaqulek mit'eqatartuq pikavet. 7) Kanaken angyaq ayallruuq Mamterillermun. 8) Maani kiircetuq cakneq. 9) Nengllirtuq uani. 10) Aqumeqatartuq kiavet.

B. Translate into Yup'ik choosing a suitable demonstrative form from the memorization list for this chapter.

1) The sled is coming from upriver. 2) My parents went in the big boat downriver. 3) Your gun is going to fall into the water down there. 4) Your hat is still on the table in there. 5) Your son and my daughter are playing out(side) there. 6) Did the puppy come in through that window over there? 7) The bird is going to land up there. 8) I don't see anyone in there. 9) My wife, your sister and the children are picking berries (somewhere) over there. 10) I came from over there and sat down here. 11) It's hot in here but the floor down below is very cold. 12) Did the Dillingham people really come here by boat? 13) That knife up there is very sharp and it is about to fall! 14) Your son in there is eating bread and butter. 15) My tea was hot and my cup fell on the floor down there! 16) The river here is wide like the ocean. 17) The water in the pond over there is very cold. 18) My mother in there is sewing an authentic parka using an old needle. 19) Your child went in there. 20) Your gloves fell in the area by the door. 21) There are many people here. 22) Your child is playing down there. 23) The light is no good up above there. 24) It fell in the water down there. 25) Your children went over there to the store.

C. Write ten sentences using demonstrative pronouns and/or adverbs; you may use those from the memorization list for this chapter or others from the chart.

Contractions with the Obsolete Verb Base etc-

Just as English has “you'll” as a contraction of “you will,” and “don't” as a contraction of “do not,” Yup'ik has a process of contraction. In the Yup'ik case, however, the underlying uncontracted two-word form is not used in most areas. Eskimo has a verb base **ete-**, meaning simply ‘to be,’ which is not used by itself at the present time (in most Central Yup'ik areas).¹ However, contractions of this base and the localis case are very common. For example, to say ‘it is in the village’, one can say **nunami uitauq** (*literally* ‘it is situated in the village’), but one can also say **nunametuq** which comes from an obsolete two-word phrase **nunami etuq**. The two words have joined together in present-day Yup'ik. To say ‘it is up above,’ one can say, of course, **pikani uitauq** or, from obsolete **pikani etuq** one can get **pikanetuq**, and, this undergoes one further change, which occurs only

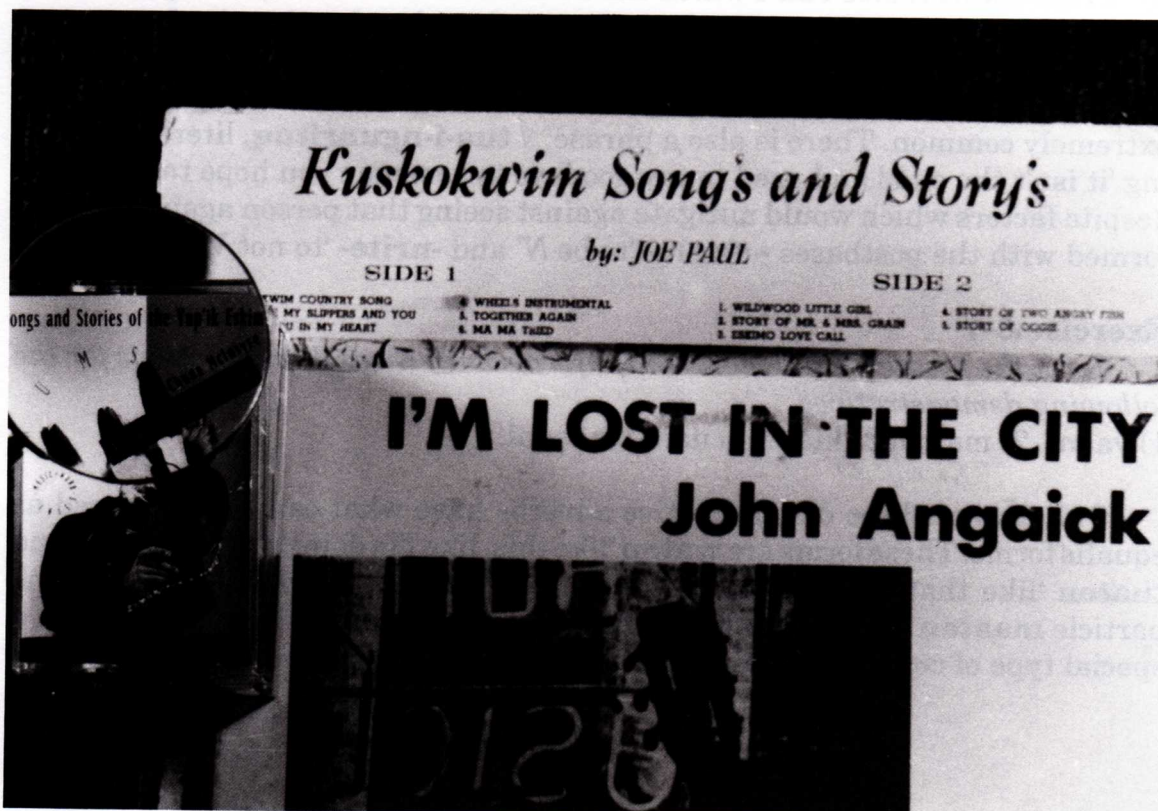
1. This base **ete-** ‘to be’ can be used by itself in Nun and to some extent in HBC, and also it is found in Christian prayers translated into Yup'ik 75 to 100 years ago such as the following (in the modern orthography) from the Moravian Brethren hymnal, *Yuarutet*: **Tuaten piqarraami etellruuq, watura-llu etuq eterrlainararkauluni-llu akwanun** ‘Thus He (God) was in the beginning, is now, and always will be forever.’ This is good evidence that the base in question could be used independently in Lower Kuskokwim Yup'ik until relatively recently.

with demonstratives, for most areas. The **e**, though not hatted, drops but the **a** in front of it retains its (rhythmic) length “**pikântuq**.” To write this requires doubling the **a** (since a single **a** followed by two consonants **nt** would not have rhythmic length), but then an apostrophe must be written between the two **a**'s to show that there they don't cause gemination (see also the discussion of the apostrophe in **apa'urluq** ‘grandfather’ in the next chapter). Thus **pikanetuq** turns into **pika'antuq** for most areas. Rhythmic length on the part of the word coming *after* the deleted **e** is reassessed, so **pikânetûci-llu** turns into **pika'antuci-llu** ‘you_{pl} are also up there’ (for most areas).

Exercise 6-6

Translate:

- 1) angyantuq, 2) kana'antuq, 3) yaantuq, 4) maantuq, 5) uantuq, 6) kiantuq, 7) wantuq, 8) tuantuq, 9) kipusvigmetuq (*the third i of kipusvigmi is gone, but the e of etuq cannot drop since that would lead to a cluster of three consonants*), 10) elitnaurvigmecullrunritut.



A number of Yup'ik songs and stories have been recorded over the years. Joe Paul's records contain gospel and country-western songs in English and Yup'ik as well as traditional stories, *qulirat*, in Yup'ik. John Angaiak's original songs in Yup'ik went on to become quite popular in Greenland even though Yup'ik is at best minimally intelligible to speakers of Greenlandic Eskimo. Chuna McIntyre's tape added Yup'ik songs and stories to his own repertoire of dancing and art work. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Vocative Forms of Demonstratives

Demonstrative bases give rise to several special sets of words. One such set consists of *vocative forms* used for calling to someone or more generally getting someone's attention. The suffix, **~+suuq** is used with the *fundamental* demonstrative base. Thus, from **una** (with fundamental base, **u-**) comes **usuuq** 'you, here not too far from me,' from **auḡna** comes **auḡsuuq** 'you, going away.'¹ From **pikna** comes **piksuuq** 'you, up there,' and from **kan'a** (with fundamental base, **kat-** as in **kat'umun**) comes **kacuuq** 'you, down there.' By far the most common of such vocative forms is **usuuq**.

Predicative Demonstrative Forms

Another special set of words consists of *predicative demonstrative forms* used to call one's attention to something in a particular area. The enclitic **=i** is used with the demonstrative *adverb* base. Thus from **pikani** comes **pika-i** 'up there!' From **kanani** comes **kana-i** 'down there!' Similarly for the other demonstratives, however from **wani** there is no form with **=i**. Instead there is $\sqrt{\text{waniwa}}$ 'right here!'

From **tuani** comes **tua-i** which can be used for 'over there, near you!' but it also has many other meanings which are only loosely related to the demonstrative meaning of **tauna/tuani**. $\sqrt{\text{Tua-i}}$ can mean 'enough!' or 'that's all!' $\sqrt{\text{Tua-i-llu}}$ means 'and then,' and $\sqrt{\text{tua-i-qaa}}$ means 'what else?' These expressions are extremely common. There is also a phrase, $\sqrt{\text{tua-i-ngunrituq}}$, literally meaning 'it isn't the end,' and used to say goodbye to someone you hope to see again despite factors which would mitigate against seeing that person again, which is formed with the postbases **~:(ng)u-** 'to be *N*' and **-nrite-** 'to not *V*.'

Exercise 6-7

Form the predicative demonstrative forms with English translations for the following demonstratives.

1) yaani, 2) maani, 3) kiani, 4) uani, 5) avani.

Only two or three demonstrative adverbs have what can be considered as equalis forms. These forms are **waten** 'like this, like I'm doing it,' from **wani**, and **tuaten** 'like that, like you're doing it,' from **tuani**. In addition, there is the particle **maaten** 'lo and behold,' probably from **maani**, but now used only in a special type of construction which is discussed in Chapters 19 and 21.

1. In HBC (where there is no voiced **s** but only **y**) and in Y, UK, LI and some NR (in all of which places there is voiced **s** as well as **y**), this vocative ending is **~+yuuq**, so in these areas people say **uyuuq** 'you nearby', **auḡyuuq** 'you going away' etc. rather than **usuuq** and **auḡsuuq**.

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate the following into English:

1) Avani pissullruukut tuntuvagnek. 2) Angayuqaagka utertellruuk maavet kat'ukun angyakun. 3) Akwaugaq kinguqliqa igtellruuq pikaken! 4) Ingkut yaqulget tengqatartut. 5) Agyullruuci-qaa maaggun? 6) Piipiqqa qavartuq kiani. 7) Nacan igtellruuq natermun uani. 8) Alqaqa uitauq ug'umi necuarmi. 9) Yaqulecuar mit'ellruuq wavet! 10) Tangellruunga mingqutmek tuani. 11) Usuuq aanaka akutalillruuq waten.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

1) The puppy came here from out there (near the door). 2) Your mother went in there (further in the house). 3) They were playing over there. 4) I wanted to swim down there. 5) The priests went to the church from over there. 6) The woman answered from in there. 7) I saw a pair of skin boots out there (near the door). 8) He shot a fox from up there. 9) The footprints go through here to the old church. 10) The little bird came into the house through here. 11) I didn't sew like that.

C. Rewrite the following sentences, changing demonstrative pronouns to demonstrative adverbs and vice versa. For example, given Ingna angun qavanrituq you would write Angun qavanrituq yaani.

1) Ingkut yuut iqvartut atsalugpianek. 2) Maani curat cakneq ang'ut. 3) Kanani mikelnguut aquiqatartut cikumi. 4) Mat'umi nem'i nengllirtuq. 5) Kan'a ciku iqtuuq. 6) Aug̃kuni nanvacuarni neqerpiit amllenritut. 7) Tuani meq egatmi uuqnarquq. 8) Pikegkut kenurraat nipqatartut. 9) Kat'umun iteqsaitua. 10) Ing'ukun egalerkun mikelngucuar anellruuq.



Commercial fishermen selling king salmon, Bethel, 1976. Photo by James H. Barker.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 6

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary:

- #1 Instead of **ciku** for 'ice,' some speakers in BB use **qenu**. This word, **qenu**, is used for 'slush ice, brash ice on water' in places where **ciku** is the general word for 'ice.'
- #2 The word **imarpik** 'ocean, sea' is from **imaq** 'contents' and a non-productive postbase **+pik** related to **-pik** 'real, authentic *N.*' The consonant-retaining **+pik** occurs in only a few words including (aside from **imarpik**) **tallirpik** 'right hand side' from **talliq** 'arm,' and **iqallugpik** 'dolly varden' from **iqalluk** 'dog salmon.'
- #3 Instead of **kayanguq** for 'egg,' there is **peksuq** in Y, UK, and LI, and **manik** in NS.
- #4 The word **kelipaq** 'bread' is from Russian. Instead of this word, there is **qaq'uq** in NS and some Y. In addition **mukaaq** 'flour,' which is from Russian, is also used for 'bread' by some speakers in HBC and Nun, and **avukaq**, literally 'supplement,' is used for 'sliced bread' in in many places.
- #5 Instead of **kenurraq** for 'light, lamp,' there is **naniq** in NS and Y, and **kuman** in Nun, Eg and some UK.
- #6 In addition to the word **masslaq** 'butter' which is from Russian, some people use **minguk** for 'butter' instead. This word **minguk** also means 'ointment, paint, or anything else that is spread on a surface,' and by extension means 'color.'
- #7 The word **meq** 'water' is actually **[e]meq** (see Chapter 2 for discussion of **[e]** as in **[e]na^e**). Evidence of the existence of the **[e]** on this word is the gemination in **meq'a** 'my water' (compare **nek'a** 'my house'), and in Nun the word is **emeq** so that 'my water' is **emqa** (just as 'my house' is **enka** since 'house' in Nun is **ena^e**).
- #8 In addition to **mernur-** for 'to be tired,' there is **taqsuqe-** in much of the Yup'ik area. This word **taqsuqe-** is perhaps milder than **mernur-** which means 'to be physically tired, exhausted,' in areas where both words are used.
- #9 In Nun the word **cikuq** is used for 'needle' instead of **mingqun** (which is literally 'device for sewing').
- #10 In addition to the base **nipe-** 'to go out (of a fire or light),' there is the base **qame-** 'to die down.' In NS **qame-** is used instead of **nipe-** for 'to go out' as well as 'to die down.'
- #11 In addition to **saayuq/caayuq** for 'tea,' there is the word **yuurqaq** meaning 'hot beverage' (and a verbal form, **yuurqar-** 'to drink a hot beverage'), but often used for tea specifically. In LI and NR there is **carca-** or **sarrsa-**, from Aleut, meaning 'to drink tea.' There is a native plant, **ayuq** (*Ledum sp.*), used for making 'Labrador tea' or 'Hudson's Bay tea,' and another called **qanganaruaq** (literally 'pretend squirrel!'), **naunerlluk** or **caiggluk** (*Artemisia sp.*), used for making a medicinal tea.
- #12 The words **saayuq/caayuq** 'tea,' and **saskaq/caskaq** 'cup' are from Russian. For these words the **s**-initial form is used in K and BB, and the **c**-initial form elsewhere. See also the discussion for **saarralaq/caarralaq** 'sugar' in the supplement for Chapter 10 for information on the distribution of the **s**-initial and the **c**-initial forms of these words.

Note A

In NSU (that is Elim, Golovin, and Unalakleet) the prefix **ta-** (**tas-** before consonants) can be used with any demonstratives for anaphora, for example **taspikna** 'that very one (up above),' **taugna** 'that very one (near exit).' The adjoining Eskimo languages — Siberian Yupik and Inupiaq/Inuit — also do this. For more information see Miyaoka, 1984.

CHAPTER 7

*Possessed Absolute with Third Person Possessor;
Unpossessed Relative and its use as Possessor;
Third Person Possessor Oblique Cases;
Positional Bases; Second Terminalis*

Vocabulary

aipaq 'partner, companion, spouse, other of a pair'

allaneq 'visitor' #1

apa'urluq* 'grandfather' (*the apostrophe between vowels indicates that the consonant preceding them is not geminated*)

ceña 'shore, rim, edge'

ila 'relative, one (of), part (of), some (of)' (*explained below*)

ingleq 'bed'

keggun 'tooth'

manaq 'fish hook; hook, line and rod for fishing' #2

manartuq 'she is fishing (with hook and line, as through the ice)'

manignaq 'burbot, loche'

maurluq* 'grandmother'

meqsugtuq 'she is thirsty'

mertuq 'she is drinking a cold beverage' (*actual base: [e]mer-*)

navegtuq 'it broke, got broken'

neqerrluk 'dried fish'

neqlilleq or neqlivik 'summer fishing camp, "fishcamp"' #3

nuusiq 'knife' #4

pamyuq 'tail'

patu 'lid, cover'

qilugtuq 'it is barking'

tepa^e 'odor, fish head aged for eating' #5

tepsarquq 'it stinks'

tutgar(aq*) 'grandchild'

unuaqu 'tomorrow' (*particle*)

yaassiik 'box' #6

yuurqaq 'hot beverage'

yuurqertuq 'she is drinking (or sipping) a hot beverage' (*base: yuurqar-; as a general rule qar becomes qer hence the e in yuurqertuq, but yuurqallruuq 'she drank a hot beverage,' yuurqaqatartuq 'she is going to drink a hot beverage' etc. reveal that the base does indeed end in qar*)

further vocabulary presented below

Possessed Absolute with Third Person Possessor

3rd person possessor absolute endings are **:(ng)a** 'her one N,' **:(ng)at** 'their one N,' **:(ng)ak** 'their₂ one N,' **:(ng)i** 'her Ns,' **:(ng)it** 'their Ns,' and **%:(e)k** 'her Ns₂.'

The pattern here is best seen when these endings are arrayed on a grid. Endings which are less frequently encountered are presented enclosed in square brackets.¹

his/her/its	:(ng)a	:(ng)i	%:(e)k	<i>3rd person singular</i>
their _{pl}	:(ng)at	:(ng)it	[%:(e)gket]	<i>3rd person plural</i>
their ₂	:(ng)ak	[-kek]	[%:(e)gkek]	<i>3rd person dual</i>
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	

The ending %**(e)k** is exactly the same as the unpossessed dual ending so that **ciutek** means not just 'the two ears,' but also 'her two ears,' 'his two ears,' or 'its two ears.' The rest of the endings go on to bases much as does the postbase **:(ng)ite-** 'to not have *N*' (Chapter 3). Recall that under velar dropping, **engi** becomes **ai**. We shall now see that under velar-dropping, **aga**, and **anga** become **ii**. This second rule is the same process whereby **age** becomes **ii**, as was noted in Chapter 4 at the discussion of the plural ending %:(e)**t**. The second rule can be summarized as: *when a front velar (i.e. g or ng; not r) drops between two non-high vowels (i.e. e or a; not i or u) the result becomes ii*. This is called *vowel-raising*.

Examples where velar-dropping does not occur:

ui 'husband'	uinga 'her husband'	uingit 'their husbands'
irniaq 'child'	irniara 'her child'	irniarit 'their children'
yaassiik 'box'	yaassiiga 'her box'	yaassiigit 'their boxes'

Examples where velar-dropping occurs without vowel-raising:

patu 'lid'	patua 'its lid'	patuit 'their lids'
panik 'daughter'	pania 'her daughter'	paniit 'their daughters'
atkuk 'parka'	atkua 'her parka'	atkuit 'their parkas'
nacaq 'hat'	nacaa 'her hat'	nacait 'their hats'

Examples where velar-dropping and vowel-raising occur:

ceña 'shore'	ceñii 'its shore'	ceñait 'their shores'
tepa^e 'odor'	tepii 'its odor'	tepait 'their odors'
ciun 'ear'	ciutii 'her ear'	ciutait 'their ears'
kameksak 'boot'	kameksii 'her boot'	kameksait 'their boots'

1. One of the most common occurrences of the plural to dual ending %:(e)**gket** is with **angayuqaq*** 'parent,' thus: **angayuqaagket** 'their_{pl} parents₂.' Likewise, one of the most common occurrences of the dual to plural ending **-kek** is with **irniaq** 'child,' thus: **irniakek** 'their₂ children_{pl}.' One could learn these two words, **angayuqaagket** and **irniakek**, as special vocabulary words even if one does not add the two endings involved to one's active stock of endings.

In the last four examples, **ceñii** comes from underlying ***ceñanga**, **tepii** comes from underlying ***tepenga**, **ciutii** comes from underlying ***ciutenga**, and **kameksii** comes from underlying ***kameksaga**.

Another way to view the endings on the chart above is to observe that these endings essentially consist of two elements, first an indicator of the grammatical number of the thing in question (**a** for singular, **i** for plural, and **k** for dual), which is followed by an indicator of the grammatical number of the possessor (lack of a consonant for singular, **t** for plural, and **k** for dual). Thus, in a word such as **uluarat**, the **a** of the ending indicates a single knife, and the **t** indicates a plurality of owners: 'their knife', while on the other hand in **uluari** the **i** indicates a plurality of knives, and the lack of a consonant after it indicates a single owner: 'her knives.'

To summarize:

<i>Number of thing itself</i>	<i>Number of possessor</i>
a i k	\emptyset t k

To determine the meaning of a Yup'ik word with one of these endings (if that meaning doesn't immediately come to mind) one must return it to its theoretical underlying form. So **paniit**, ending in **iit**, is 'their daughters' because it comes from ***panigit** where the ending is **:(ng)it** meaning 'plural owners' plural things', while **aaniit**, which also ends in **iit**, is 'their one mother' because it comes from ***aanangat** by vowel-raising where the ending is **:(ng)at** meaning 'plural owners' singular thing.'

For more on these endings see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.



Nastasia Andrew and son Willie in Marshall, 1968. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Exercise 7-1

A. Translate from Yup'ik to English using either the chart above or the method of analysis outlined above and write the underlying form or forms (that is, the form(s) before velar-dropping) of the Yup'ik word given. For example, given the word *qimugtiit* you should give the translation 'their dog' and give the underlying form **qimugtengat*.

1) *patuit*, 2) *keggutai*, 3) *paniak*, 4) *paniik*, 5) *uinga*, 6) *mer'a*, 7) *pamyuit*, 8) *getunraak* (three meanings one of which is unpossessed if the base is taken as having a strong final consonant), 9) *atrit*, 10) *enait*, 11) *unatii*, 12) *eniik*, 13) *nek* (two meanings one of which is unpossessed), 14) *nutgit*, 15) *nutgat*, 16) *nutget*, 17) *angyat*, 18) *angyaat*, 19) *angyak* (two meanings one of which is unpossessed), 20) *angyaak*, 21) *necuarat* (two meanings one of which is unpossessed), 22) *nerpii*, 23) *nerpiit* (two meanings one of which is unpossessed), 24) *it'gaa*, 25) *nuliarit*, 26) *piipicuarait*, 27) *kuuvviari*, 28) *igtii*, 29) *cavutek* (two meanings one of which is unpossessed), 30) *cavutiik*.

B. Translate from English to Yup'ik:

1) her grandfather, 2) their kayaks, 3) their sled, 4) her head, 5) their knives, 6) her bowls, 7) her ears₂, 8) their₂ daughter, 9) her dogs, 10) its berries, 11) its shore, 12) their tails, 13) her husband, 14) her grey hairs, 15) her hair(s), 16) his whisker, 17) his whiskers, 18) her eye, 19) her eyes₂, 20) its odor, 21) their covers, 22) its legs (for example, a table's), 23) its hills, 24) her table, 25) their sled, 26) its waves, 27) their airplanes, 28) her teachers, 29) their store, 30) her hot beverage.

The 3rd person possessor forms above are absolute and can be used in place of other absolute nouns studied in earlier chapters:

Kuuvviara uuqnarquq. 'Her coffee is hot.'

Kuuvviarit uuqnarqut. 'Their coffees (that is cups of coffee) are hot.'

Exercise 7-2*A. Translate:*

- 1) Qimugtiit qilugtuq. 2) Anngaa pissurtuq imarpigmi. 3) Enii yaantuuq. 4) Ciutek cakneq ang'uk. 5) Nuyai tak'ut. 6) Nuniit nanvacuarangqertuq amllernek. 7) Paniak mingquq kiani. 8) Angyaat kan'a tekitellruuq Mamterillermek. 9) Irniari neryugtut tepmek. 10) Nerpiit egalecuarangqertuq. 11) Yuurqaa igteqatartuq. 12) Inglera iqtuuq. 13) Aanii manignanek manaryugtuq. 14) Keggutait mik'ut. 15) Tengssuutiit mit'eksaituq. 16) Qetunraa qayapialiyugtuq. 17) Saayumek yuurqeryuumiitellruuq nuliara. 18) Apa'urluat kassaulruuq. 19) Pania elitnauristengqertuq yup'igmek. 20) Enait ava'antut.

B. Translate:

- 1) Its water is very cold. 2) Her coffee is hot. 3) Her ears₂ are cold. 4) Her relatives are Eskimo-dancing. 5) Their boat stinks. 6) Its odor is very bad. 7) Its shore is wide. 8) Their children are large children. 9) Her partner saw visitors at the store. 10) Her knife fell in the water. 11) Their fishcamp has a small house. 12) Its tail is long. 13) Their₂ visitor ate dried fish over there. 14) Her grandchildren want to learn Yup'ik. 15) Her hot beverage isn't coffee. 16) Her big sled broke. 17) Its small cover is not here. 18) Its ice is thick. 19) Their lights went out. 20) Their bread is old.

Relative Case as Possessor

Forms such as **kuuvviara** can also have an explicitly stated possessor, like "the man's" in "the man's coffee is hot" in English. In Yup'ik such a possessor will be put in the *relative* case. The unpossessed relative singular ending is %:(e)**m**, which attaches just like the unpossessed absolutive plural ending %:(e)**t**. The unpossessed relative plural and dual endings are exactly the same as the unpossessed absolutive plural and dual endings, %:(e)**t**, and %:(e)**k**.

Examples

Angutem kuuvviara uuqnarquq. 'The man's coffee is hot.'

Arnarnam apa'urlua keggutaituq. 'The woman's grandfather doesn't have teeth.'

Qimugtem pamyua nanituq. 'The dog's tail is short.'

Angutet nuussiit ipegtut. 'The men's knives are sharp.'

Kanani nanvam cikua mamtuuq. 'Down there the lake's ice is thick.'

Imarpiim ceñii tak'uq cakneq. 'The shore of the sea is very long' or 'The sea's shore is very long.'

Egatem patua iqauq. 'The lid of the pot is dirty' or 'The pot's lid is dirty.'

The last two examples above illustrate how a possessor can be rendered in English by a prepositional phrase with "of" rather than with the English possessive in apostrophe and "s."

The relative singular of a demonstrative pronoun is formed by adding **m** to the singular non-absolutive intermediate base (see Chapter 6). For example:

Uum suupam tepii assirtuq. 'The aroma of this soup is good.'

Auġ'um uinga elitnauristeŋguuq. 'That_{going away} person's husband is a teacher.'

Taum patua iqauq. 'That one's lid is dirty.'

Notice that grammatical agreement in number goes in both directions, to possessor and to verb, when the possessor of a possessed noun is explicitly given:

Arnām qimugtii qilugtuq. 'The woman's dog is barking.'

Arnām qimugtai qilugtut. 'The woman's dogs are barking.'

Arnat qimugtiit qilugtuq. 'The women's dog is barking.'

Arnat qimugtait qilugtut. 'The women's dogs are barking.'

The relative plural and dual of demonstrative pronouns are just like the absolutive plural and dual. For example:

Ukut egatet iqaut. 'These pots are dirty' (**ukut** is absolutive as subject along with **egatet**).

Ukut egatet patuit iqaut. 'The lids of these pots are dirty' (**ukut** is relative as possessor appositive to **egatet**).

Auġkuk maqiqatartuk. Those_{2 going away} are going to take a steambath (**auġkuk** is absolutive as subject).

Auġkuk mikelnguuk aatiik maqiqatartuq. 'Those_{2 going away} children's father is going to take a steambath' (**auġkuk** is relative as possessor appositive to **mikelnguuk**).



Joseph Romig Collection (acc. #90-043-883) in the Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Dept. University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Exercise 7-3

A. *Translate the following.*

1) Taum qimugtem keggutai ipegtut. 2) Makumiut enait egalecuarangqertut. 3) Mikelnguun unatai iqaut cakneq. 4) Piipim iik ang'uk. 5) Nem natra assiituaq. 6) Agayulirtem angayuqaak manaryugtut kuigmi. 7) Arnam panii iqvartut curanek nunapigmi. 8) Kass'am irniari alingut qimugtefek. 9) Curyugmiut angyait ang'ut. 10) Imarpiim ceñii tak'uq. 11) Apa'urluum angyaa ak'allauguq. 12) Arnam aanii aatii-llu ceñirtuk. 13) Egatem imaa tepengqertuq. 14) Nanvam cikua kumlatuq. 15) Allanret saskait imaitut. 16) Kat'um angyam cavutek nanituk. 17) Ing'um qimugkauyaraam pamyua mik'uq cakneq. 18) Nem egalri amllertut. 19) Kiugum allanrem atra assirtuq. 20) Mikelnguun uyaqua tak'uq.

B. *Translate the following into Yup'ik (being careful to distinguish between apostrophe followed by "s", and "s" followed by apostrophe).*

1) Father's plate is full of butter. 2) The birds' eggs are very small. 3) The woman's arms are long. 4) The white person's children are Eskimo-dancing like Eskimos. 5) The teacher's daughter has a new parka. 6) Her new parka is very wide. 7) The baby's mouth is very big! 8) The river's shore is very wide. 9) The foxes' den is empty. 10) The berries' odor isn't nice. 11) The child's big dog and little puppies are barking. 12) The legs of that (toward the exit) table are dirty. 13) The woman's grandchildren are fishing at the lake. 14) The box's contents really stink. 15) Sister's teeth are very sharp! 16) The man's airplane landed on the shore.

C. *Write ten sentences using third person possessor possessed endings.*

Words for 'other,' 'some,' 'one' etc.

The word **aipaq** means 'partner, companion, spouse, other of a pair.' Notice in the following examples how it can be used to mean 'other of a pair.'

Arnam aipaa naulluuguq 'The woman's spouse is ill' or 'The other woman is ill' (*literally*: 'the woman's partner ...').

Kameksiim aipaa kiantuq 'The other boot is in there' (*literally*: 'the boot's partner ...').

The word **ila** can mean 'relative' in the kinship sense as in **angutem ilai tekiteellruut** 'the man's relatives arrived,' or it can mean 'one,' 'some,' or 'part' as in the following examples:

Qimugtet iliit ner'uq. 'One of the dogs is eating' (*iliit is from underlying *ilangat, and thus means 'their "ila," their one, one of them'; this sentence is grammatically of the same form as qimugtet aaniit ner'uq 'the mother of the dogs is eating'.*)

Qimugtet ilait ner'ut. 'Some of the dogs are eating' (*ilait is from underlying *ilangit, and thus means 'their "ilas_{pl}," their ones, some of them'; this*

sentence is grammatically of the same form as qimugtet aanait ner'ut 'the mothers of the dogs are eating'.

Ilaput tamaantellrunritut. 'Some of us weren't there' or 'Our relatives weren't there.' (*Either interpretation is possible.*)

Kemgem ilii assiituq. 'Part of the meat is no good.'

Ila used this way for 'one of' or 'some of' can be termed a *selectional base*. Other selectional bases will be given later.

Exercise 7-4

A. Translate:

- 1) Angutet iliit manallrunrituq akwaugaq.
- 2) Mikelnguut ilait qiagut.
- 3) Atsalugpiat ilait assinritut.
- 4) Kass'at elitnauristet ilait elicugtut Yugcetun.
- 5) Qimugkauyaraat iliit qilugtuq ellami.
- 6) Kiugkut iliit paningqertuq amllerneq.
- 7) Mikelnguun aipaa meqsugtuq.
- 8) Angutem aipaa manartuq.
- 9) Yaassiiget iliit imaituq.
- 10) Egatet ilait patuitut.

B. Translate:

- 1) One of those_{going away} people is a resident of St. Marys.
- 2) Some of those_{up above} lights are about to go out.
- 3) My relatives arrived yesterday from Dillingham.
- 4) Did one of you shoot a dog?
- 5) Part of the sled broke.
- 6) One of these fish stinks.
- 7) Do some of you want to go to the fishcamp with the big boat?
- 8) One of the local people is Eskimo-dancing in Fairbanks.



Simeon and Paul John pull in a bearded seal, Toksook Bay. Photo by James H. Barker.

Possessed Oblique Cases

The *oblique* cases, which is to say all the cases other than the absolute and relative, have possessed forms. These forms are used to express things such 'to her boat,' 'from their houses,' 'at our fishcamp.' For a 3rd person possessor, these endings consist of a *possessor component* which is just like the 3rd person possessor possessed absolute ending but with any final **k** changed to **g**, and then following that is an *oblique case component*. The terminalis, localis, and ablative-modalis mood components are **nun**, **ni** and **nek** respectively (like the unpossessed plural for these cases).

Agellruunga angutem angyaanun. 'I went over to the man's boat.'

(Compare: **angutem angyaa** 'the man's boat.')

Nerellruukut enaitni. 'We ate at their houses.' (Compare: **enait** 'their houses.')

Neqlillragnek-qaq taiguten? 'Did you come from their₂ fishcamp?' (Compare: **neqlillrak** 'their₂ fishcamp.')

For the vialis the case component takes the form **kun** unless the possessor component ends in **t**, and there the vialis component takes the form **gun**. For example: **angyaakun** 'with her boat,' and **angyaatgun** 'with their boat.' For the equalis the case component takes the form **tun**. For example: **angyaatun** 'like her boat.' But if the possessor component ends in **t**, then that **t** is replaced with **ce** before the equalis component **tun** is affixed. For example: **angyaacetun** 'like their boat.'

One should be aware that if the verb has a 3rd person subject, then an oblique case ending with a 3rd person possessor *refers to someone other than that subject*.

Agellruuq angyaanun. 'She went over to her (someone else's) boat.'

To say, for example, 'she went over to her (own) boat', a different terminalis ending must be used. These so-called 4th person possessor or *reflexive* endings will be presented in Chapter 10.

For a complete listing of possessed (as well as unpossessed) oblique case endings, see the charts on pages 470 and 471.

Exercise 7-5*A. Translate into English:*

1) Qetunraqa nutellruuq tuntuvagmek agayulirtem nutgakun. 2) Arnaq qavartuq mikelnguun inglerani! 3) Akwaugaq utertellruukuk neqlillratnek. 4) Paniin nerqatartuq manignamek allanrem qantaanek. 5) Aug'um angutem maqiviani maqiyuumiitua. 6) Uum tepii ayuquq ak'allaam kemgem tepiitun. 7) Nereksaitua elitnauristek eniigni. 8) Manartuten-qaa aug'um manaakun? 9) Meq'atartuten ing'um saskaanek. 10) Nengllirtuq imkut yuut nuniitni. 11) Tangellruuci-qaa irniaritnek maqiviatni? 12) Tangellruunga nuyamek maurluum akutaani! 13) Angun yurartuq kiugum arnam uingatun. 14) Taillruukut agayulirtem tengssuutiikun. 15) Masslaq elitnaurviim estuuluanetuq. 16) Keniqsaitua kayangut ilaitnek. 17) Nerellruuq qantam imainek. 18) Mikelnguut aquigut kuigem ceñiini.

B. Incorporate the word in parentheses into the given sentence and translate. For example, given Qetunraqa manartuq angyamek (man's boat), you would write: Qetunraqa manartuq angutem angyaanek. 'My son is fishing from the man's boat.'

1) Arnam piipia kiani qavartuq inglermi (child's bed). 2) Qimugtet iliit ner'uq akutamek (grandfather's Eskimo ice cream). 3) Allaret tekitellruut uaken neqlillermun (grandmother's fishcamp). 4) Pania meryugtuq saskamek (preacher's cup). 5) Qantan igteqatartuq estuulumek (people's table). 6) Neqerrluut uitaut natermi (house's floor). 7) Yaassiigpak igtellruuq pamyumun (little dog's tail). 8) Qimugteput qiluksaituq elitnaurister¹ek (children's teachers). 9) Kanani manallruukut manignanek manatgun (dad's hooks). 10) Kass'at irniarit aquigut ceñami (shore of the sea). 11) Arnam keggutii navellruuq kipusvigmi (big man's store). 12) Im'um angutem pania yuurqallruuq saayumek (grandma's tea). 13) Kelipat yaassiigmetut (the box of the person going away). 14) Pikna egaleq mamtuuq cikutun (the ice of the lake down there). 15) Kayangut navegtut egatmi (the pot of the person further in). 16) Mamterillermun ayagyugtua tengssuutkun (priest's airplane). 17) Qimugkauyar anellruuq amiigkun (the house's door). 18) Uum manignam tepii ayuquq teptun (the smell of old dried fish). 19) Qimugteci-qaa qilullruut ceñamek (the shore of the river)? 20) Kass'at tekitellruut angyatgun (the Eskimos' boat).

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The visitors are picking berries in the local people's tundra. 2) I saw a puppy through that house's window. 3) The girls went into the school through the other door (= through the door's other). 4) We have a small house in his village. 5) Did the child crawl into the fox's den? 6) His relatives are hunting seal with his boat. 7) I ate some of the berries. 8) We sat down on the floor of that big house. 9) I saw new hats at the other store in Dillingham. 10) She's smart like the teacher's wife. 11) He came into grandmother's house through the eye of the needle! 12) Yesterday we didn't buy anything at their store. 13) Your cup is about to fall on the boy's foot. 14) I sewed skin boots with her needle. 15) They arrived at the shore of the sea.

1. Or **elitnaurister^{un}**, because for some speakers **qilug-** can take terminalis of place to which, as well as abl.-mod. indefinite object.

Positionals

There is a set of nouns which when used with possessed endings indicate a space or area with respect to the possessor. Below is a list of some of the more common of these *positionals* which should be considered as part of this chapter's vocabulary. Some of the words on this list, for example **elata** (or **elan**), are never used without a possessed ending and as such may sound quite strange to Yup'ik speakers when presented in this form. Others have specialized meaning when used without possessors or when used in certain contexts (discussed later).

- aci** 'space under' (as in **estuulum acia iqauq** 'the space under the table is dirty,' and **piipiq aurrellruuq inglerem acianun** 'the baby crawled under the bed'; *literally*: to the space under the bed')
- aki** 'space across' (as in **tengssuun tengellruuq kuigem akianek** 'the airplane took off from across the river')
- caniq** 'space to the side' (**cania** 'the space beside it')
- ciu** 'front (of boat or other vehicle), time before' (**ciunga** 'its front, its bow; before it in time')
- elata^e** 'space outside' (**elatii** 'the space outside it')
- ilu** 'space inside' (**ilua** 'the space inside it')
- kelu** 'area behind (building), area back from river' (**kelua** 'the area behind it, the area back from the river with respect to it')
- keta^e** 'area in front (of building), area toward river or further out in water' (**ketii** 'the area in front of it, the area toward the river with respect to it')
- kingu** 'rear (of boat or other vehicle), time after' (**kingua** 'its rear, its stern; after it in time')
- pai** 'opening, mouth (of river, den, bottle, etc.)' (**painga** 'its mouth')
- qai** 'surface, top' (**qainga** 'its top')
- qula^e** 'space above' (**qulii** 'the space above it')

Although the above set of *positionals* have the same sorts of meanings as the *demonstratives*, they don't seem to be related in form to the demonstratives, nor do they have the same characteristics as demonstratives in regard to structure or inflection (adding endings). In their inflections positionals behave just like ordinary nouns.

It should be observed that some of the words on the above list have special meanings when *not* used as positionals. Thus √ **aci** means 'bed,' √ **aki** means 'money,' √ **qula** means the number 'ten,' and √ **ilu** means 'internal organs.'

The positionals greatly increase the precision of the ablative-modal, localis, terminalis and vialis cases. For example:

Kenurraq estuulum quliini uitauq or **Kenurraq estuulum quliinetuq.**
 'The lamp is above the table' (*literally*: 'in the table's above area').

Mikelnguq aqumuq estuulum acianun. 'The child sat down underneath the table' (*literally*: 'to the under-area of the table').

Kaviaq ner'uq igtem paingani. 'The fox is eating at the mouth of the den.'

Manaryugtua angyam ciungani. 'I want to fish at the front of the boat.'

Maqivilillruukut nem keluani. 'We made a steambath house behind the house.'

Irniaten aquigut elitnaurviim ketiini. 'Your children are playing in front of the school.'

Kayanguq igteqatartuq estuulum qainganek. 'The egg is about to fall off the table' (*literally*: 'from the surface of the table').

Exercise 7-6

Translate and parse:

- 1) Irniari aquillruut ing'um nem elatiini.
- 2) Aanii manartuq kuigem paingani.
- 3) Maqiviliqatartut ak'allaam nem caniani.
- 4) Kenurraq igtuq estuulum quliinek.
- 5) Apa'urluqa aqumyullrunrituq ikamram ciunganun.
- 6) Im'um pania kuimaqatartuq maavet kuigem akianek.
- 7) Mikelnguq itellruuq igtem iluanun!
- 8) Yaassiik inglerem aciantuq.
- 9) Nutaramek agayuvilillruuq ak'allaam keluani.

Positionals from Demonstrative Adverbs

Some, but not all, of the *demonstrative adverbs* can be used to form further *positionals*. One goes to the *demonstrative adverb base* (found by removing **ni** from the localis form of the adverb), and one then adds **ta^e**. In some cases the positionals so formed have meanings slightly different from what one would predict on the basis of the original demonstratives. Here is a complete list of positionals formed from demonstrative adverbs. These positionals should also be considered part of the vocabulary of this chapter:

from **yaani** comes **yaata^e** as in **yaatiini** 'in the area over from it, near it (though not right beside it)'

from **avani** comes **avata^e** as in **avatiini** 'in the area around it'

from **kiani** comes **kiata^e** as in **kiatiini** 'in the area further into the room from it, or upriver from it'

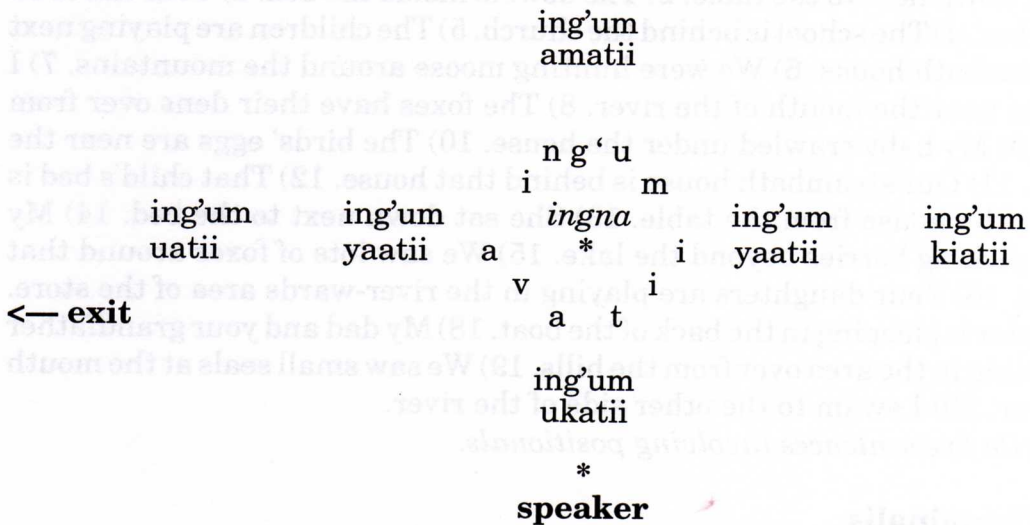
from **uani** comes **uata^e** as in **uatiini** 'in the area further toward the door or downriver from it'

from **amani** 'over there, obscured' comes **amata^e** as in **amatiini** 'in the area behind or beyond it (away from speaker)'

from **ukani** 'toward it' comes **ukata^e** as in **ukatiini** 'in the area in front of it (toward speaker)'

If there is already a *positional* which serves the desired function, then a positional is *not* created from a demonstrative adverb. For example, 'in the area above it' is **quliini** *not* ***pikatiini**, 'in the area up slope from it' is **keluani** *not* ***piatiini**, and 'in the area across (from) it' is **akiani** *not* ***ikatiini**.

The positionals which come from demonstratives can be illustrated with the following drawing:



Note that **ing'um amatii** 'the space beyond that thing' is further away and more obscured than **ing'um akia** 'the space on the other side of that thing'. Also **ing'um yaatii** 'the space over from that thing' is further away from it and more definitely to the side of it than **ing'um cania** 'the space next to that thing.' **Ing'um avatii** is 'the entire space around that thing,' and to say, for example **uitaut ing'um avatiini** means either that 'they are located in various places spread out around that thing,' or 'they are located *somewhere* around that thing.'



Caribou hunters on the east fork of the Andreafsky, 1968. The author of this book is at the far left. Subsistence activities continue to provide the larger part of the Yup'ik diet, and are a source of Yup'ik ethnic and cultural identity.

Exercise 7-7*A. Translate.*

1) She sat down next to the table. 2) The bowl is inside the box. 3) Your hat is on top of the box. 4) The school is behind the church. 5) The children are playing next to the steambath house. 6) We were hunting moose around the mountains. 7) I saw a boat near the mouth of the river. 8) The foxes have their dens over from the lake. 9) My baby crawled under the house. 10) The birds' eggs are near the fishcamp. 11) Our steambath house is behind that house. 12) That child's bed is further in the house from the table. 13) She sat down next to the bed. 14) My family is picking berries beyond the lake. 15) We saw lots of foxes around that mountain. 16) Your daughters are playing in the river-wards area of the store. 17) My sister is sleeping in the back of the boat. 18) My dad and your grandfather were hunting in the area over from the hills. 19) We saw small seals at the mouth of the river. 20) I swam to the other side of the river.

*B. Write five sentences involving positionals.***Second Terminalis**

There is a *second terminalis case* for some (though not all) of the demonstrative adverbs. This second terminalis ending is **.tmun** and means 'toward,' in contrast to the normal *terminalis* ending for demonstrative adverbs, **.vet** which means 'to.' Thus:

- √ **maatmun** 'toward here' (*compare* **maavet** '(to) here')
- √ **yaatmun** 'toward over there' (*compare* **yaavet**)
- √ **uatmun** 'toward the exit' (*compare* **uavet**)
- √ **kiatmun** 'toward away from the exit' (*compare* **kaivet**)

In general the second terminalis is used with those demonstratives that are convertible to positional bases by means of the postbase **te** discussed above. The second terminalis, **.tmun** is also used with most of the positional bases; it never has a possessor.

- √ **acitmun** 'downward'
- √ **quletmun** 'upward'
- √ **ilutmun** 'inward'
- √ **ciutmun** 'forward'
- √ **kingutmun** 'toward the back'
- √ **ketetmun** 'down toward the water or further out in the water'
- √ **kelutmun** 'up back away from the water'

Exercise 7-8

Write five sentences involving these words.

Future Postbases

The postbase **+ciqe-/@ciiqe-** indicates action to take place in the future, 'will V.' This postbase drops base-final **te**, and when this happens, the second form, **@ciiqe** is used. Recall that the symbol **@** indicates that something is done with base-final **te**.¹ This particular postbase is rather unusual in dropping **te** and giving, in compensation so to speak, **ii**.

<p><i>verb base</i></p> <p>iqa- 'to be dirty'</p> <p>ane- 'to go out'</p> <p>kuve- 'to spill'</p>	<p><i>with postbase</i></p> <p>iqaciqe-</p> <p>*anêciqe- → anciqe-</p> <p>*kuvêciqe- → kuvciqe-</p> <p><i>(with v voiceless due to this fricative coming before a stop, unlike the situation with hatted e dropped putting a fricative after a stop)</i></p>	<p><i>with postbase and ending</i></p> <p>iqaciquq 'it will be dirty'</p> <p>anciquq 'she will go out'</p> <p>kuvciquq 'it will spill'</p>
<p>alinge- 'to fear'</p>	<p>alingeciqe- or alingciqe-</p> <p><i>(even though e is not hatted)</i></p>	<p>alingeciquq or alingciquq</p> <p>'she will be afraid'</p>
<p>inarte- 'to lie down'</p> <p>qavar- 'to sleep'</p>	<p>inarciiqe- <i>(note dropped te and use of ii)</i></p> <p>qavarciqe-</p>	<p>inarciiquq 'she will lie down'</p> <p>qavarciquq 'she'll sleep'</p>

See Note B in the supplement to this chapter for more on this postbase.

The postbase discussed above is usually not used with **-nrite-**. Instead, another postbase, **@~+ngaite-** is used to express the negative future, 'won't V.' This also is a **te** altering postbase, as the previous one is, but has a different pattern of altering **te** which will be seen also in other postbases that go on verbs and begin with **ng, v** or **m**.

What happens to base-final **te** is that (1) if it is preceded by a vowel then it becomes **s**, and (2) if it is preceded by a fricative then the **te** drops and the fricative plus **ng** cluster becomes voiceless in compensation.

Examples with bases ending in te:

tekite- 'to arrive'	tekisngaituq 'she won't arrive'
mit'e- 'to land'	misngaituq 'it won't land'
kipute- 'to buy'	kipusngaituq 'she won't buy'
inarte- 'to lie down'	inarrngaituq 'she won't lie down'
ceñirte- 'to visit'	ceñirrngaituq 'she won't visit'
igte- 'to fall'	iggngaituq 'it won't fall'

1. Exactly what is done to base-final **te** depends on the particular suffix, although there are regular patterns depending on how the suffix begins.

Examples with bases not ending in te:

cali- 'to work'

ayuqe- 'to be like, alike'

qavar- 'to sleep'

puqig- 'to be smart'

calingaituq 'she won't work'

ayuqngaituk 'they won't be alike'

(*e dropped even though not hatted since suffix is e-dropping (~)*)

qavarngaituq 'she won't sleep'

puqigngaituq 'she won't be smart'

Note in particular how the fricative plus nasal cluster is *voiceless* in **inarrngaituq** and **iggngaituq** due to the **te** that was on the base, but *voiced* in **qavarngaituq** and **puqigngaituq** where no **te** was on the base. Recall that a nasal following a voiceless fricative (or a stop) is automatically voiceless.

Special te

For those bases, and bases formed with postbases ending in **te** which are generally *descriptive* or *negative* in nature, the above postbase changes the **te** to **l**. So from **nanite-** 'to be short' (descriptive) comes **nanilngaituq** 'it won't be short,' and from **imaite-** 'to be empty' (negative) comes **imailngaituq** 'it won't be empty.'

In later chapters we shall encounter many more situations where descriptive or negative bases ending in **te** act very differently from other bases ending in **te**. We shall refer to such a **te**, as a *special te*, using the word *special* as a technical label to denote a base-final **te** which goes to **l**, rather than **s**, with postbases such as this and which acts in a special way with various other suffixes. One should be aware that not quite every **te** which is on a base that is apparently descriptive is a *special te*. For example, **qerrute-** 'to be cold' (of a person), seems to be just as descriptive as **kumlate-** 'to be cold' (of a liquid, solid or body part), but the **te** on **qerrute-** is not a *special te*, while the **te** on **kumlate-** is *special*. One says **qerrusngaituq** (rather than ***qerrulngaituq**) for 'she will be cold,' but **kumlalngaituq** for 'it will be cold.' The reason that the **te** on **qerrute-** is not *special* is that it is actually from the postbase **+te-** 'to act on so as to cause to V' (Chapter 9) which is basically active rather than descriptive; **qerrute-** means literally something like 'she is is being made cold.'

Erring by treating a *special te* as if it were not *special* is far less serious than erring in the opposite direction: treating a **te** that isn't *special* as if it were *special*. Consequently, while **kumlalngaituq** is the preferred form for 'it won't be cold,' **kumlasngaituq** is at least marginally acceptable, but only **tekisngaituq** and not ***tekilngaituq** is acceptable for 'she won't arrive.'

See Note C in the supplement to this chapter for more on this postbase.

The postbase **@~+vik** means 'place to V.' It goes onto verb bases like the preceding postbase but changes them to nouns. Many words derived by means of this postbase are lexicalized with fixed, conventionalized meanings.

Examples**maqi-** 'to take a steambath'**agayu-** 'to pray'**nere-** 'to eat'**ane-** 'to go out'**taqe-** 'to stop'**kipute-** 'to buy'**mit'e-** 'to land'**inarte-** 'to lie down'**qavar-** 'to sleep'**elitnaur-** 'to study'√ **maqivik** 'steambath house'√ **agayuvik** 'church'**nervik** 'place to eat, *including, depending on context:* table, kitchen, dining hall, restaurant'**anvik** 'place to go out, exit' (*also the source of the name of the Athabaskan (!) village of Anvik*)**taqvik** 'place to stop', *such as,* 'a place where one stops for the day when working on a project'√ **kipusvik** 'store'√ **misvik** 'airport, landing strip'√ **inarrvik** 'sleeping bag'√ **qavarvik** 'bed, bedroom'√ **elitnaurvik** 'school'

Note the three differing sounds of **v** in these examples: after a vowel it sounds like English "w" for most Yup'ik speakers, after a voiced fricative or nasal it sounds like English "v," and after a stop or voiceless fricative it sounds like English "f."

The postbase **-kuciq** 'one of the same kind as *N*' is used with several demonstratives, going onto the fundamental demonstrative base.

ma(n'a) 'this one'**tau(na)** 'that one'**im(na)** 'the aforementioned'√ **makuciq** 'a thing like this'√ **taukuciq** 'a thing like that'√ **imkuciq** 'a thing like the aforementioned one which we know about', 'what-cha-ma-call-it', 'thing-a-ma-jig'

Merciqua mermek imkucikun. 'I'll drink some water with a what-cha-ma-call-it.'

To a certain extent this postbase can be used with ordinary nouns as well. In such cases a possessed ending indicates that the possessor possesses the thing denoted by the noun within this postbase.

Kipucugtua elitnauristem angyakucianek. 'I want to buy the same kind of boat as the teacher's.'

More on Content Questions and the Interrogative Mood

In Chapter 4 an interrogative ending and several question words were introduced. Now let us add the following question words:

qaillun or qaill' 'how'

qaku 'when' (in the future; *vs.* **qangvaq** 'when' in the past')

Examples

question: **Qaill' ayuqsit?** 'How are you?'

sample answer: **Assirtua.** 'I'm fine.'

question: **Qaillun taillrusit maavet?** 'How did you come?'

sample answer: **Taillruunga ikamrakun.** 'I came by sled.'

question: **Qaku ayagciqsit?** 'When will you leave?'

compare: **Qangvaq tekite llrusit?** 'When did you arrive?'

Exercise 7-9

Translate and compose suitable Yup'ik replies.

- 1) Natmun ayakatarcit?
- 2) Qaillun neqlillermun ayagciqsit unuaqu?
- 3) Nani uitaciqsit nunarpagmi?
- 4) Qaku kelipiciqsit?
- 5) Qaillun ikamralillrusit uumek?
- 6) Nani qavarcicqsit?
- 7) Nani unuaqu manarcicqsit manignanek?
- 8) Qangvaq pissullrusit nayirnek imarpigmi?
- 9) Naken kiputellrusit ukunek mingqutnek?
- 10) Nani tep'licicqsit?



Connected Reading for Chapter 7

Read the following description of a village, and draw a map or sketch of this village following the description.

Nunaput kuigem caniani uitauq tallirpilirnerani¹ kuigem asgulriani.²
 Nep'ut nunam qukaani³ uitauq. Nem-wa⁴ keluani agayuvik. Wani-wa nem uakaraani⁵ qulvarviput.⁶ Qulvarviim-wa aciani ikamraq. Qulvarviim-wa kek'araani⁷ angyaput ak'allaq. Qimugteput petuumaut⁸ taum angyam avatiini. Nem-llu⁹ ketiini maqiviput.

Nem-wa keluani agayuvik. Agayuviim-llu uatiini kelinikaaq.¹⁰ Nunam-wa keluani misvik. Amatiini-wa misviim nanvacuar. Nanvacuaraam-wa avatiini nunapigtarluni.¹¹ Tuani iqvaraqluteng¹² nunamta¹³ yui.

Misviim-llu ketiini taugaam nemta cali-llu agayuviim keluagni nutarat net uaqliqluteng.¹⁴ Nemta,¹⁵ cali-llu maqiviim ketiigni unani cali ak'allat net uaqliqluteng. Taukut-llu net ketiitni un'a kuik.

Kuigem-llu taum akiani akemkut uitaluteng¹⁶ taliciviit.¹⁷ Kiakaraitni-wa¹⁸ tamakut taliciviit, qulvarviit. Taukut-wa taliciviit amatiitni¹⁹ nanvacuar.

1. **tallirpilirneq** = 'right-hand side.'

2. **asgulriani** = 'as one goes upriver.'

3. **qukaq** = 'center, middle.'

4. The enclitic **=wa** indicates that something is omitted from the sentence, in this case another **uitauq**.

5. **uakaraani** = 'in the space a little in the direction downriver of it'; from **uate-** and the postbase. **@kar(aq*)** 'little *N*,' which drops **te** and is used only with bases that end in **te**.

6. **qulvar-** = 'to put up, to put away in a high place'; so **qulvarvik** = 'cache' (there are various words for 'cache' used in different areas).

7. **kek'araani** = 'in the space a little in the riverward direction of it'; from **kete-** and the postbase **@kar(aq*)** 'little *N*' (see footnote 5 above); the gemination here is to keep the initial stress on the stem.

8. **petuuma-** = 'to be tied to something, to be fastened.'

9. The enclitic **=llu** also implies that an omitted part, in this case **uitauq**, is to be understood.

10. **kelinikaaq** is from English.

11. **nunapigtarluni** = 'there is a **nunapik**'; forms ending in **luni**, **luteng** etc. are in the *subordinative* (Chapter 13) which is often used in continuing discourse in place of the *indicative* verb forms studied in these early chapters.

12. **iqvaraqluteng** = 'they regularly **iqvar-**'

13. **nunamta** = 'our village' in the relative case so that it can be a possessor (Chapter 9).

14. **uaqliqluteng** = 'each is in a **uavet** direction of the others,' that is 'they are in a row in the **uavet** direction,' that is, 'parallel to the river.'

15. **nemta** = 'our house' in the relative case so that it can be a possessor (Chapter 9).

16. **uitaluteng** = **uitaut**.

17. **talici-** = 'to keep in the shade,' here with reference to fish being dried.

18. **kiakaraitni** = 'in the spaces a little in the direction upriver of them.'

19. **taukut taliciviit amatiitni** indicates a single area beyond the fish sheds taken as restricted group, while on the other hand, **kiakaraitni tamakut taliciviit** in the preceding sentence indicates separate areas a little upriver from each fish shed, the fish sheds to be taken as an extended or spread out group; that is, each fish shed has a cache a little upriver of it.

Facing page: Herring drying at Toksook Bay. Photo by James H. Barker.

Taum-llu nanvacuaraam kuicuaraa anumaluni¹ uatiitni taukut taliciviit. Akiani-wa tamatum kuicuaraam ak'allaat qungut.²

Elitnaurvik-wa taum misviim kiatiini. Taum-llu elitnaurviim ukatiini³ elitnauristet enait. Ketiitni-wa taukut kipusvik tauḡaam net⁴ kiatiitni.

Taukut-wa nunamta⁵ uatiitni kalikivik.⁶ Keluani-wa taum kalikiviim kallugvik.⁷ Akuliigni-wa⁸ taukuk ervigivik.⁹

Taukut-llu kalikiviim, ervigiviim, kallugviim-llu uatiitni ugna ingricuar. Taum-llu ingrim amatiini kuicuar nunamta kuiganun anumaluni.

Qavani-wa¹⁰ nunam kiatiini penguk. Taukuk-llu penguk ketiigni nunamta yuin¹¹ manarviat uksumi.¹² Kuigem akiani napacuaraat¹³ amllertut.

1. **anumaluni** = 'it flows out.'

2. **qunguq** = 'grave.'

3. **ukatiini** depends on where the speaker is positioned; we may assume that the speaker is near his or her house.

4. **net** here refers to the houses of the village rather than to the teachers' houses.

5. **nunamta** = 'our village' in the relative case and in the plural now (the form is the same as the relative singular); plural is used since the village is viewed as consisting of multiple components.

6. **kalikaq** = paper; **kalikivik** = 'post office' (lexicalized); literally: 'place to make papers.'

7. **kalluk** = 'thunder and lightening,' and by extension 'electricity'; the postbase @~+vik is sometimes used with noun bases as here.

8. **akula**^e = 'space in between.'

9. **ervigi-** = 'to wash clothes.'

10. **qavani** = 'upriver' (extended).

11. **nunamta yuin** = 'our village's people's ...'; the **n** on **yuin** makes this word relative case (compare **nunamta yui** = 'our village's people' (where **yui** is absolutive)).

12. **uksuq** = 'winter.'

13. **napa** = 'tree.'



End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate these sentences into English, and parse (grammatically label) the first ten of them.

- 1) Pikegkut saskat igngaitut. 2) Aug'um aipaa aturciquq mingqutmek. 3) Mikelnguun alqai nerqatartut kelipamek neqerrlugnek-llu. 4) Kiircetuq cakneq maani, cali-llu mikelnguut angayuqait meqsugtut. 5) Irniaten kaaltartut kiani inglerem qaingani. (*the verb base, kaaltar- which is also pronounced kaal'tar-, and has a noun form kaaltaq or kaal'taq, comes from a Russian word reinforced by a similar English word; try to figure out what it means if you don't already know; hint: the l is the "closest" Yup'ik equivalent of a certain common Russian and English sound that doesn't exist in Yup'ik*) 6) Angutet nularit manarciqut manignanek kuigem paingani unuaqu. 7) Tangerrngaituten manignanek cikum aciani. 8) Ing'um qimugtem pamyua nanituq, taugaam iqtuuq. 9) Kass'am arnam piipia aurrellruuq kiugum inglerem acianun. 10) Kuigem cikua mamtungaituq kanani. 11) Imarpiim ceñiini tangellruunga amllernek nayirnek. 12) Irnianka meryugciqut paapanek. (*this word is from English*). 13) Allanrem qetunrai taiciqut unuaqu. 14) Una manignaq tepsarquq cakneq! 15) Manaryugtuten-qaa uuggun manakun? 16) Neqerrluut kat'um ikamram iluantut. 17) Aataka ingleliciquq calivigmi. 18) Arnat makumiut tekiciiqt manarvigmun. 19) Kuigem paingani manignat ang'ut. 20) Yuurqeryugtut allanret Curyugmiut. 21) Qimugkauyaraat ilait puqigngaitut.

B. Translate into Yup'ik.

- 1) I will fish at the little lake behind the village. 2) We won't hunt moose in the mountains around the big lake. 3) The airplanes will land at the landing strip down from the old church. 4) Our teacher won't want to eat loche in that man's fishcamp. 5) That cup up there will fall. 6) It won't fall! 7) I won't visit tomorrow. 8) Will your parents make a fishcamp across the river? 9) I won't go into that house over there. 10) My daughter will return from school tomorrow. 11) It's a place to sleep. 12) I'll eat dried-fish. 13) You won't be thirsty. 14) I'll be tired. 15) It will be a place for making boats. 16) These two people's child won't be in church tomorrow. 17) Will you come over? 18) You won't see any white people there. 19) That bird up there is going to fly off from on top of the house. 20) Those lights up above won't go out. 21) My brother will stay at the teacher's house in Bethel. 22) Won't your wife eat at the restaurant here? 23) Her children are playing at the preacher's fishcamp. 24) Will his wife be here tomorrow? 25) She won't be here. 26) The light won't break. 27) I'll buy a new light from the local people's store. 28) She has no place to go. 29) You'll be very tired. 30) We won't have a new sled. 31) I won't sleep in her sewing place.

C. Write ten sentences using the postbases from this chapter and the new set of possessed endings.

Facing page: Salmon roe and filleted salmon drying on a fish rack near Kwethluk. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

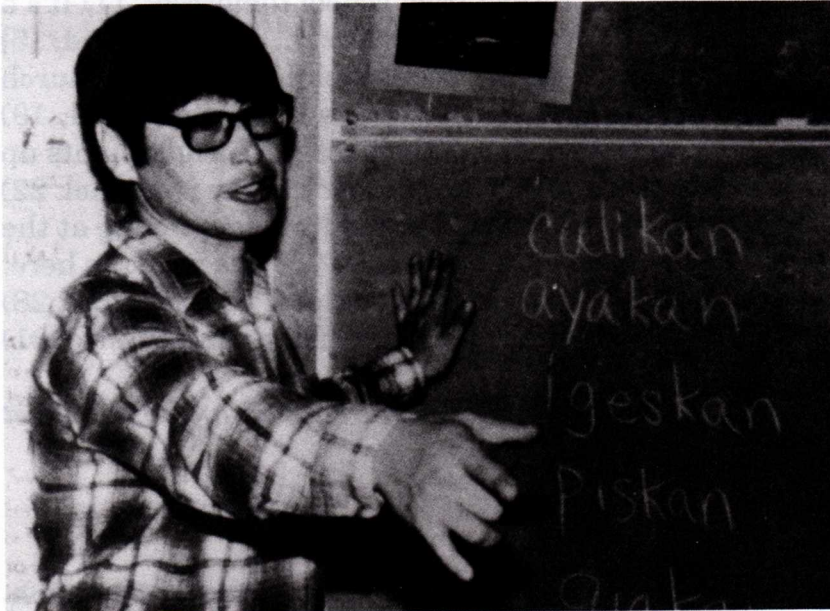
SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 7

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 The word **allaneq** 'visitor' comes from **alla** 'other thing, strange thing,' and it is perhaps because of this that it is sometimes translated 'stranger,' but the actual meaning is 'visitor from out of town' (who is rarely a complete stranger).
- #2 Instead of **manaq** 'fish hook' and its verbal counterpart **manar-** 'to fish with a hook,' there is **iqsak** and its verbal counterpart **iqsag-** in some K, in BB, NR, and Eg. In NI and Can both words are used.
- #3 Instead of **neqlilleq** or **neqlivik**, there is **kiagivik** (lit. 'place to spend the summer') in some Y.
- #4 The word **nuusseq** 'knife' (meaning the type with a shaft-like handle in contrast to a semi-lunar knife (**uluq**)) is from Russian. Another word, not from Russian, **cavik** is used in NS, and a derivative of it, **caviggaq** is used in NI, HBC and Y. The word **uluq** is used for this type of knife as well as for a semi-lunar knife in Can.
- #5 Instead of **tepa** for 'aged fish head,' there is **uqsuq** in NS and HBC, and **uqsunaq** in UK and LI. The fish heads are buried, wrapped in dried grass, a foot or so underground, and left to age for about a week at the end of which time they are dug up and eaten. They have an odor and taste somewhat similar to very strong cheese.
- #6 The word **yaassiik** 'box' is from Russian.

Note A

A number of words for body parts end in **quq**, including **uyaquq** 'neck,' **ciisquq** 'knee,' **qamiquq** and **nasquq**, both meaning 'head,' **ircaquq** 'heart,' **iqelquq** 'little finger,' and **alarcaquq** 'appendix.' The ending **:(ng)a** 'his/her one thing' can be used on these in the same way as it is used on other nouns, yielding **uyaqua** 'her neck,' **ciisqua** 'her knee,' etc., but there is another way of attaching this ending so as to yield **uyaqurra** 'her neck,' **ciisqurra** 'her knee,' etc., where the **u** between **q** and **rr** is voiceless (or "whispered"). This second way is generally considered more proper. Certain areas — K and BB in particular — can go one step farther in cases where the **q** is preceded by a vowel (such as in **uyaqurra** but not **ciisqurra**) and get, for example, **uyuqura**, where **ur** is a voiceless (since next to a stop) rounded back velar (and in fact the only situation in which this sound occurs in the language). The difference between **uyaqua**, **uyaqurra**, and **uyuqura** will be most evident in longer form such as that for 'also her neck, so it's said' where one will get **u/yâ/qua/-llu/-gguq**, **u/yâ/qu/rrâ/-llu/-gguq** or **uy/âq/urâ/-llû/-**



Bilingual teachers James Michael (at left), giving a lesson in the conditional mood, and Lola Evon (at right), giving a lesson in the cardinal directions, in Kwethluk, 1978. Education in Yup'ik has become a regular part of the school curriculum over the last two decades. In areas where the children still speak Yup'ik, the language is used as a medium of instruction

gguq. Certain areas — Y in particular — can do the same sort of things with **atkuk** ‘parka,’ getting **atkugga** (with voiceless **u**), as an alternative to **atkua** for ‘her parka.’

Similarly one can say **uyaqurrituq** (or **uyaquřrituq**) rather than **uyaqituq** for ‘it has no neck,’ **atkuggituq** rather than **atkuituq** for ‘she has no parka.’

Note B

When the postbase **@+ciqe-**, or another suffixes that begins with a stop, comes right after a hatted **e**, then that **e** is dropped and the result is a voiced fricative immediately preceding the stop in question. That fricative will be devoiced (as explained in the text) only for K, BB and NI. Elsewhere (Y, HBC, NS, etc.) the fricative stays voiced, and this is shown by writing an apostrophe. Thus, while the “southern” areas of Yup’ik say **kuvciquq** (with voiceless **v**) for ‘it will spill’ and **nerciquq** ‘she will eat,’ from ***kuvêciquq** and ***nerêciquq**, the “northern” areas say **kuv’ciquq** (with voiced **v**), and **ner’ciquq** (with voiced **r**). One can say that in the “southern” areas a voiced fricative cannot occur right before a stop, but it can in the “northern” areas.

This pattern also pertains to suffixes that begin with a voiceless fricative such as **-llini-** ‘to evidently have V-ed’ (Chapter 9) and **-ggu** ‘V it/her/him!’ (Chapter 11). Thus, while the “southern” areas say **kuvvliniuq** (with voiceless **v** and voiceless **l**; from ***kuvêlliniuq**) for ‘evidently it spilled,’ and **kellgu** (with voiceless **l** and voiceless **g**; from ***kelêggu**; from base **keleg-** ‘to invite’) for ‘invite her!’, the “northern” areas say **kuv’lliniuq** (with voiced **v**) for ‘evidently it spilled,’ and **kel’ggu** (with voiced **l**) for ‘invite her!’

In HBC the basic form of the postbase **+ciqe-**, rather than **@ciiqe-**, may be used with bases that end in **te**, so that in HBC ‘she will arrive’ may be **tekiteciquq** rather than **tekiciquq** as elsewhere.’

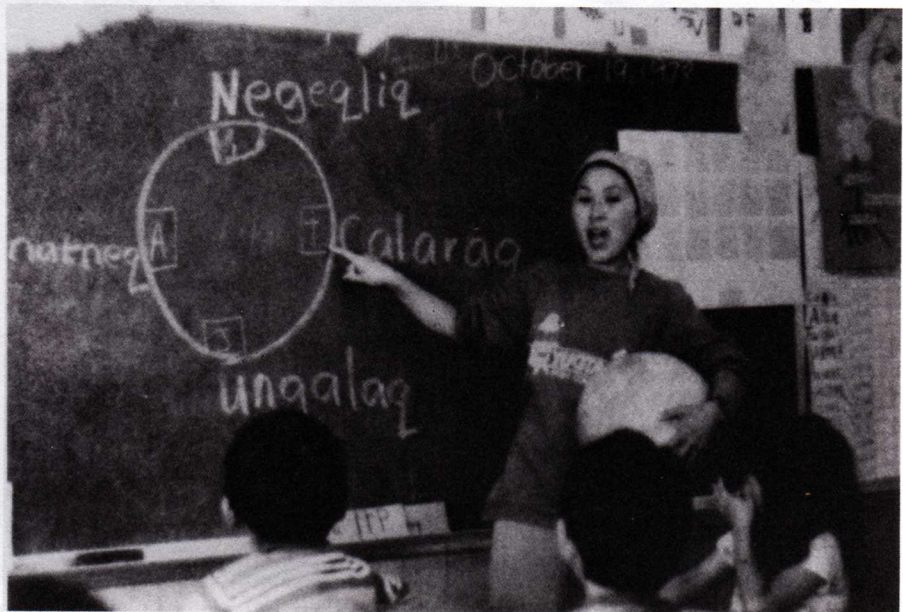
In Nun the postbase takes the form **+ciqiar-/@ciiqiar-**.

Note C

There is a (relatively small) number of verb bases that end in **te** preceded by a stop or a nasal, for example **apte-** ‘to ask,’ and **maante-** ‘to be here.’ The postbase **@~+ngaite-** can follow either one of its two ways of treating **te** with these bases. Thus one can either say **apesngaituq** or **apngaituq** for ‘she won’t ask,’ and either **maanelngaituq** (I because the **te** in **maante-** is a *special te*), or **maanngaituq** for ‘she won’t be here.’

The postbase **@~+vik** ‘place to V’, the postbase **@~+mi-** ‘to also V’ (used only in the “northern” area), and by many other postbases and endings that begin with **ng**, follow the same pattern as **@~+ngaite-** with respect to final **te** on verb bases.

(“first language” Yup’ik programs), while in areas where the children speak only English, Yup’ik is the subject of instruction (“second language” Yup’ik programs). Photos from the Primary Eskimo Program newsletter published by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.





Umkumiut fishcamp, Nelson Island, 1980. Photo by James H. Barker.

CHAPTER 8

*Transitive Indicative Verbs with Third Person Object and any Subject;
Transitive vs. Intransitive and Related Case Assignments;
Agentive vs. Patientive Verbs and the "half-transitive" Postbase;
Fourth Person Absolutive Objects; Further Preview of the Optative*

Transitive vs. Intransitive Verbs

In Chapter 3 we studied how the ablative-modalis case is used for an *indefinite object* as in **arnaq ner'uq neqmek** 'the woman is eating (a) fish.' With a very different construction one can make the object a *definite* thing as in the English, 'the woman is eating *the* fish.' This type of construction is very useful especially when the object is something that in English would be expressed with a pronoun as in 'the woman is eating *it*,' 'the woman is helping *me*,' 'the woman likes *you*,' 'did you see *him*?', 'I will visit *you*.' Such a Yup'ik construction is said to be *transitive* while the constructions previously studied are said to be *intransitive even if an (indefinite) object is expressed with the ablative-modalis*. In this chapter we shall study the set of transitive verb endings used when the (definite) object is 3rd person whether that object is expressed with a separate word, as in the Yup'ik equivalent of 'the woman is eating *the* fish,' or indicated only in the verb ending, as in the Yup'ik equivalent of 'the woman is eating *it*.'

The Yup'ik transitive indicative verb endings are very much like the possessed absolutive noun endings presented in Chapters 5 and 7. Thus:

- ner'aqa** 'I am eating it' (*compare* **angyaqa** 'my boat')
- ner'anika** 'I am eating them' (*compare* **angyanika** 'my boats')
- ner'agka** 'I am eating them₂' (*compare* **angyagka** 'my boats₂')
- ner'an** 'you are eating it' (*compare* **angyan** 'your boat')
- ner'aten** 'you are eating them' (*compare* **angyaten** 'your boats')
- ner'aput** 'we are eating it or them' (*compare* **angyaput** 'our boat or boats')
- ner'aci** 'you_{pl} are eating it or them' (*compare* **angyaci** 'your_{pl} boat or boats')
- neraa** 'he is eating it' (*compare* **angyaa** 'his boat')
- nerai** 'he is eating them' (*compare* **angyai** 'his boats')
- neraat** 'they are eating it' (*compare* **angyaat** 'their boat')
- neraak** 'they₂ are eating it' (*compare* **angyaak** 'their₂ boat')
- ner'ak** 'he is eating them₂' (*compare* **angyak** 'his boats₂')

These endings all consist of two parts, a *transitive indicative marker*, **+(g)ar-**, and a *subject/object person and number marker* which is exactly the same as the possessed absolutive noun endings presented previously. The transitive indicative marker attaches to verb bases in much the same way as the intransitive indicative marker, **+(g/t)u-** does. As with the intransitive endings, the **(g)** is used only with bases that end in two vowels. So from the verb base **kiu-**

'to answer,' the transitive indicative marker **+'(g)ar-**, and the 'he to them' (that is, 3rd person singular to 3rd person plural) person and number ending **:(ng)i**, comes **kiugai** 'he is answering them.'

An apostrophe for gemination is used with short bases ending in **e**, hence **ner'aqa** 'I am eating it,' and this apostrophe is omitted if followed by two vowels, hence **neraa** 'he is eating it.'

With transitive endings, t is not used with consonant-ending verb bases. Thus, from **pissur-** 'to hunt' comes **pissurtuq** 'he is hunting,' but **pissuraa** (without a **t** right after the base) for 'he is hunting it.'

Also, if the attachment of a transitive ending results in a cluster of three vowels, then the middle vowel is dropped. For example, from the verb base **nerellru-** 'to have eaten,' the transitive indicative marker **+'(g)ar-**, and the 'he to them' person and number ending **:(ng)i**, comes ***nerellruai** hence **nerellrui** 'he ate them.'¹ But see Note A in the supplement to this chapter for more information about the use of the postbase **-llru-** with transitive endings.

In chart form with the transitive indicative marker incorporated in each ending, and with less common endings in brackets:

	to him/her/it	to them	to them ₂	
I	+'(g)aq a	+'(g)an ka	+'(g)ag ka	<i>1st pers. singular</i>
we _{pl}	+'(g)ap ut		[+'(g)ag put]	<i>1st pers. plural</i>
we ₂	[+'(g)ap uk]		[+'(g)ag puk]	<i>1st pers. dual</i>
you ₁	+'(g)an	+'(g)at en	+'(g)ag ken	<i>2nd pers. singular</i>
you _{pl}	+'(g)ac i		[+'(g)ag ci]	<i>2nd pers. plural</i>
you ₂	[+'(g)at ek]		[+'(g)ag tek]	<i>2nd pers. dual</i>
he/she/it	+(g)aa	+(g)ai	+'(g)ak	<i>3rd pers. singular</i>
they _{pl}	+(g)aa t	+(g)ai t	[+'(g)ag ket]	<i>3rd pers. plural</i>
they ₂	+(g)aa k	[+'(g)ak ek]	[+'(g)ag kek]	<i>3rd pers. dual</i>

3rd pers. singular 3rd pers. plural 3rd pers. dual

For most verbs, given the meaning of the intransitive, it will be clear what the meaning of the transitive is. Thus knowing that **kenirtuq** means 'he is

1. One might well ask why **nerellru-**, **+'(g)ar-** and **:(ng)i** don't yield **nerellruari** with velar-dropping of **r** blocked by the two vowels preceding it thus eliminating the need to delete the vowel **a**. Apparently velar-dropping occurs within the verb ending ending first so that ***+'(g)ari** becomes **+'(g)ai**, and this is the form that goes onto **nerellru-**.

cooking', any learner (at least any English speaker) could guess correctly that in **keniraa** 'he is cooking it', the object, 'it', will be the food cooked. For some verbs however, the meaning of the transitive isn't exactly the same as with English. Thus, since **nutegtuq** means 'he is shooting' one might think that in **nutgaa** 'he is shooting it' the object could be either the animal (or target) or the gun as in English. In fact, in Yup'ik it can only be the animal, and not the gun. For other verbs the meaning with a transitive ending will not be so obvious given only the meaning with an intransitive ending. For example, the intransitive **qilugtuq** means 'it is barking,' but with a transitive ending the meaning becomes: 'subject is barking *at* object,' so **qilugaa** means 'it is barking *at* him/her/it.' Also, the intransitive **ikamraliuq** means 'he is making a sled,' but with a transitive ending the meaning becomes: 'subject is making a sled *for* object,' so **ikamralia** means 'he is making a sled *for* him/her.'

Exercise 8-1

A. Translate:

- 1) Tangrraqa. 2) Taringellruan-qaa? 3) Aturngaitanka. 4) Pissurai. 5) Kiputenritaten-qaa? 6) Pissurciqait. 7) Qilugaat. 8) Nerellruit. 9) Nerellruaput. 10) Ceñirngaitagka. 11) Meryugaqa. 12) Taqsugan-qaa? 13) Kiputellrua. 14) Kiputagken. 15) Elisngaitaa. 16) Mingeqsugciqaa. 17) Iqvarciqait. 18) Ikamralillruaqa. 19) Taqellruaci-qaa? 20) Ayuqaa-qaa?

B. Translate the following intransitive and then transitive pairs:

- 1) I want to hunt. I want to hunt them. 2) Did you visit? Did you visit him? 3) I didn't eat. I didn't eat it. 4) Did they finish? Did they finish them? 5) I didn't cook. I didn't cook them. 6) Do you want to sew? Do you want to sew it? 7) I drank. I drank them. 8) Will you make hats? Will you make hats for them? 9) They won't cook. They won't cook it. 10) I'm about to eat. I'm about to eat it. 11) We didn't understand. We didn't understand them. 12) Do you see? Do you see them? 13) Will you_{pl} make a house? Will you_{pl} make a house for him? 14) I'm learning. I'm learning them. 15) He's making coffee. He's making coffee for her. 16) I want to use something. I want to use them. 17) They₂ are like each other. They₂ are like it. 18) We₂ won't see. We₂ won't see him. 19) Haven't you picked berries yet? Haven't you picked them yet? 20) They want to buy (something). They want to buy it.

Types of Verb Bases with respect to Transitive and Intransitive

Some verb bases take only intransitive endings. For example, from **igte-** 'to fall' comes only **igtuq** 'it is falling'; there is no such form as ***igtaa**. Also descriptive or adjectival verb bases naturally can only take intransitive endings. For example, from **take-** 'to be long' comes only **tak'uq** 'it is long'; there is no such form as ***takaa**. Such bases are said to be *intransitive-only verb bases*.

Other verb bases take only transitive endings. For example, from **tegu-** 'to take' (introduced in the vocabulary which is coming up in this chapter) comes

only **tegua** 'he is taking it'; there is no such form as ***teguuq**.¹ Such bases are said to be *transitive-only verb bases*.

However one should be aware that if certain postbases are added one *can* use a transitive ending with an originally intransitive-only base, and one *can* use an intransitive ending with an originally transitive-only base. We shall see examples of this later on.

Many verbs can take both types of endings. For example, from **kenir-** 'to cook' comes **kenirtuq** 'he is cooking' and **keniraa** 'he is cooking it.'

In the vocabulary below and in the following chapters, verb bases that can take only intransitive endings or only transitive endings are given in only one form, and verb bases that can take both intransitive and transitive endings are given in both forms, with translations of each form.²

Vocabulary

ak'a 'already' (*particle*)

aqvaa 'he is going somewhere to get it, is fetching it'

assikaa 'he likes it, him'

avelngaq* 'mouse, vole' #1

elitnaurtuq 'he is studying'; **elitnauraa** 'he is teaching him' (*the intransitive can be thought of as 'he's teaching himself'*)

ellia 'he put it'

igartuq 'he is writing'; **igaraa** 'he is writing to him' #2

ikayuraa 'he is helping him' #3

inia 'he hung it up to dry' #4

issuriq 'spotted seal'

kaminiaq 'stove' #5

kenkaa 'he loves him'

kitugtaa 'he is fixing it'

kuv'uq 'it spilled'; **kuvaa** 'he spilled it'

nalkuq (*or nalaquq or nataquq*) 'it has been found'; **nalkaa** (*or nalaqaa or nataqaa*) 'he found it' #6

nalluuq 'he doesn't know'; **nallua** 'he doesn't know it'

nallunrituq 'he knows'; **nallunritaa** 'he knows it/him' #7

nerqaa 'he is feeding it/him; he fed it/him'

niicugniyuq 'he is listening'; **niicugnia** 'he is listening to him'

nunurtuq 'he is scolding'; **nunuraa** 'he is scolding him'

1. Actually the word **teguuq** is at least marginally possible given the right context both within the sentence and without, so that for example **ak'a teguuq** could mean 'it's already been taken.' Almost all of the forms said here to be impossible, are in fact at least marginally possible given suitable contexts. Even an adjectival base such as **take-** can occur with a transitive ending in the subordinative mood (see Chapter 13); one can say **mingqaa takluku** 'he is sewing it (making it) long.'

2. Information about verbs given in the vocabularies of previous chapters can be found in the Yup'ik-to-English vocabulary at the end of this book and in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*. The category of each verb base in this book is explicitly stated in the English-to-Yup'ik vocabulary.

paiguq 'he is staying home'; **paigaa** 'he is staying with him, babysitting him' #8
pi 'thing' (*this and the next base are "empty" or abstract bases taking their meanings from context or from postbases*) #9

piuq 'he is doing, going, saying'; **pia** 'he is doing something to it, saying something to him'

qanrutaa 'he told him'

qaspeq 'lightweight cloth pullover parka'

tamartuq 'it got lost'; **tamaraa** 'he lost it' (*takes terminalis for place at which thing is lost*) #10

taqukaq *inland*: 'brown bear'; *in Nelson Is., Hooper Bay, Chevak*: 'seal'

tegua 'he took it into his hands; he picked it up'

tuqutaa 'he killed it'

uquriuq 'he/it is fat'

yungcarista 'doctor' #11

Exercise 8-2

A. Translate into English:

1) Tegullruanka natermek. 2) Neqlivigmi tamallruaqa akwaugaq. 3) Ak'a-qaa nalkaten? 4) Ikayurciqai. 5) Elitnaurngaitai. 6) Niicugniyugan-qaa? 7) Kuvqataran. 8) Piksaitan-qaa? 9) Piksaitanka.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I don't like it. 2) I put them₂ on the table. 3) They're going to hang them up outside. 4) She wrote to them. 5) We don't want to fix them. 6) Did you feed it fish? 7) She's scolding him again. 8) Do you know them₂? 9) I won't kill it. 10) He told them already.



Dogsled racing in Marshall, 1968. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Subject and Object with Transitive Verbs

The *grammatical cases* used for subject and object with a transitive verb are different than those used with an intransitive verb.

If the object of a transitive verb is expressed with a separate noun, then that noun is put in the absolutive case, just like the subject of an intransitive verb:

Neqa neraa. 'She is eating the fish.' (*The object **neqa** of the transitive verb here is absolutive as it is when it is the subject of an intransitive verb as in **neqa taiguq** 'the fish is coming.'*)

If the subject of a transitive verb is expressed with a separate noun, then that noun is put in the relative case, just like the possessor of a possessed noun:

Arnam neraa. 'The woman is eating it.' (*The subject **arnam** of the transitive verb here is relative as it is when it is the possessor of a possessed noun as in **arnam atkua** 'the woman's parka.'*)

Both subject and object may be expressed with nouns in the appropriate cases:

Arnam neraa neqa. 'The woman is eating the fish.'

One must be fully aware that the role of the absolutive case shifts from indicating the subject with an intransitive verb to indicating the object with a transitive verb:

intransitive verb: subject (in absolutive case) does something or is some way:

Qimugta qilugtuq. 'The dog is barking.'

transitive verb: subject (in relative case) does something to, or bears some relation to object (in absolutive case); for example:

Agayulirtem nunuraa qimugta. 'The preacher is scolding the dog.'

This characteristic of the language, that the form or case used for the subject of the intransitive is the same as the form or case used for the object of the transitive, is called *ergativity*.

Statements that give the (main) uses of absolutive and relative cases are:

Uses of the absolutive case:

- (1) subject of intransitive verb, as in **qimugta qilugtuq**
- (2) object of a transitive verb, as in **qimugta nunuraa**

Uses of the relative case:

- (1) subject of a transitive verb, as in **qimugtem qilugaa**
- (2) possessor of another noun, as in **qimugtem pamyua**.

As has been stated before, word order is not as important in Yup'ik as in English. In general however, the preferred word order is *subject — object — verb*, though *subject — verb — object* is also common. Thus, the most common Yup'ik version of 'the dog bit the man' is **qimugtem angun keggellrua**, and the next most common would be **qimugtem keggellrua angun**. Other orderings are also possible, and in any event, case marking rather than word order in most cases shows which one did the biting and which one got bitten.

Transitive endings agree in number with both subject and object. This means that the form of the ending is linked to object as well as subject (whereas intransitive endings agree only with the subject).

Arnam mikelnguq nunuraa. 'The woman is scolding the child.' (*The first a in nunuraa is the transitive marker; the a after the transitive marker, that is, the second a, agrees with the singular object mikelnguq, and the "empty place" after that a (that is, the lack of anything after that a) agrees with the singular subject arnam.*)

Arnam mikelnguut nunurai. 'The woman is scolding the children.' (*The verb here has a different ending than in the preceding sentence since the number of the object has changed even though the number of the subject has stayed the same; the i after the transitive marker agrees with the plural object mikelnguut and the "empty place" after that i agrees with the singular subject arnam.*)

Arnat mikelnguq nunuraat. 'The women are scolding the child.' (*The a after the transitive marker agrees with the singular object mikelnguq and the t after that a agrees with the plural subject arnat.*)

Arnat mikelnguut nunurait. 'The women are scolding the children.' (*The i after the transitive marker agrees with the plural object mikelnguut and the t after that i agrees with the plural subject arnat.*)

Mikelnguq nunuraqa.¹ 'I am scolding the child.'

Mikelnguut nunuranka. 'I am scolding the children.' (*The verb here has a different ending than in the preceding sentence because the number of the object has changed even though the number of the subject has stayed the same; the n in the ending agrees with the plural object mikelnguut.*)

In the fourth example above, **arnat mikelnguut nunurait**, since both the subject and object are plural and since the unpossessed relative plural ending %:(e)t is the same as the unpossessed absolutive plural ending, word order — the fact that **arnat** precedes **mikelnguut** — and context — the fact that women scold children and not vice versa — tell which is the subject and which the object, though in fact there is always some ambiguity in principle at least.

1. Optional alternative form is **nunu'urqa** for many areas; see Note B in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 8-3*A. Translate:*

1) Qimugtem neqerpak nerellrua. 2) Aug'um arnam irnianka assikenritai. 3) Aturyugaqa tauna nuussin. 4) Taringellruan-qaa kass'aq agayulirta? 5) Kiugum mikelnguom saayun kuvellrua. 6) Angutet pissurait tuntuvit ing'um ingrim avatiini. 7) Makut atsalugpiat iqvarngaitanka. 8) Qimugtet qiluksaitaat aanaka, tauḡaam tuqucullui. 9) Ing'um nasaurloom nalkellui ukut kayangut nunapigmi nanvacuaraam keluani. 10) Tamallruaqa nutka neqlillrem avatiinun. 11) Tan'gurraam meq aqvaciqaa kuigmek kanaken. 12) Allanrem neqerrluut kipucullui kipusvigmek maani. 13) Ak'a kitugtellruaput kiugna kaminiaq. 14) Igallruan-qaa imna alqan? 15) Mikelnguut apa'urluum niicugniksaitaat agayuvigmi. 16) Tuqusngaitaqa una avelngacuar. 17) Kiani elitnauristem irniaput elitnaurai. 18) Nalluaqa allanrem atra. 19) Maurloom mingeqsunritaa mikelnguom qaspera. 20) Nacan ellillruaqa tuavet estuulum qainganun. 21) Kuuvvian kuv'an qimugtem pamyuanun! 22) Pissuryugaput taqukat. 23) Issuriq uquriuq cakneq.

B. Translate into Yup'ik and parse (grammatically label) your translations (from now on you should label verbs as either "intransitive" or "transitive"):

1) Did you take the money from the table in there? 2) I won't scold the other boy. 3) I lost my knife behind the steambath house. 4) I saw lots of birds over there. 5) Did you_{pl} help the new teachers' children? 6) I already put the big bowl next to that_{toward the door} box. 7) That_{over there} dog is drinking the water from the woman's bowl! 8) I took the bread, eggs, and butter from the box and put them on the table in there. 9) I already found my coat in the boat down there. 10) The boy is like my dad. 11) Did you eat your Eskimo ice cream already? 12) I already told your dad. 13) The visitor is making a real semi-lunar knife for my mother. 14) My needle fell into the water down there, but I found it. 15) The girl already lost my mittens! 16) Those_{going away} women are going to pick the blueberries around the pond over there. 17) I fed my babies already.

Absolute For Included Subject

If a transitive verb has a non-singular first person ('we') or second person ('you') subject, and more precision is desired in specifying just who the 'we' or 'you' consists of, then the *absolute for included subject* is used:

Arnaq-llu ceñircugapuk. 'The woman and I want to visit them' (*literally*: 'we₂, the woman too, want to visit them'). (*Contrast this to: arnam ceñircugai* 'the woman wants to visit them' *with a relative subject for the transitive third-person subject verb.*)

Intransitive plus Indefinite Object vs. Transitive plus Object

With agentive verbs there is a choice between intransitive plus indefinite object in the ablative-modalis vs. transitive plus (definite) object in the absolute.

Compare:

with singular object:

Arnaq tangertuq mikelngurmek. 'The woman sees *a* child.'

vs.

Arnam tangrraa mikelnguq. 'The woman sees *the* child.'

with plural object:

Arnaq tangertuq mikelngurnek. 'The woman sees (*some*) children.'

vs.

Arnam tangrrai mikelnguut. 'The woman sees *the* children.'

The difference is in the *definiteness* of the object. So if, for example, the person seen or otherwise acted upon is a particular person, then the more definite construction would be more common than the other. For example:

Arnam tangrrai elitnauristem irniari. 'The woman sees the teacher's children' (*rather than* **arnaq tangertuq elitnauristem irniarinek**).

Imkut yuut niicugniyuganka. 'I want to listen to those_{aforementioned} people' (*rather than* **imkunek yugnek niicugniyugtua**).

At most, the intransitive verb plus ablative-modalis indefinite object construction might emphasize the object of the sentence slightly less than the other construction.



In this scene from the late 1800s, some of the people are wearing cloth *qasperet* and scarves. Note the metal pots, but the bucket in front left is the traditional bent wood. Joseph H. Romig Collection (acc. #90-043-1002) in the Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Dept. University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Exercise 8-4

A. Change the following intransitive constructions to transitive constructions changing the meaning only by going from an indefinite to a definite object; know the translation of both the given sentence and your new sentence. For example, given *Qimugta kemegnek nerellruuq* ('The dog ate some (pieces of) meat') you would write *Qimugtem kemget nerellrui* ('The dog ate *the* (pieces of) meat').

1) *Angun nuussinek kiputeksaituq* 2) *Nayirnek pissuryuumiitua*. 3) *Iqvarngaitut atsalugpianek*. 4) *Mingqeciquten-qaa atkugmek?* 5) *Tangeqsaitukut neqcuarneknanvami*. 6) *Angutet nutegnek aturyullruut*. 7) *Ceñirciiqukut nutaraneke litnauristeñek*. 8) *Aturyugtuten-qaa arnam atkuanek?* 9) *Eliteksaitukut mikelnguut atritnek*. 10) *Tangertua kass'at enaitnek*. 11) *Nerqatartut atsanek*. 12) *Mikelngurmek nunurtuq yuk*. 13) *Kass'aq taringellrunrituq Yup'ignek*.

B. Change the following transitive constructions to the corresponding intransitive constructions; know the translation of both the given sentence and your new sentence:

1) *Tangellruanka qimugtem tumai*. 2) *Meryugan-qaa paapaq?* 3) *Ak'a-qaa kuuvviaq yuurqallruan?* 4) *Kiputeqataraputingna nutaraq ena*. 5) *Taringenritaci-qaa agayulirtet?* 6) *Asveret pissuranka*. 7) *Makut atsalugpiat iqvaraten!*

Those bases that can take both intransitive and transitive endings divide into two groups. Those in one group mean 'subject is V-ing' or 'subject is V-ing something' when used with an intransitive ending, and merely add a definite object ('subject is V-ing object') when used with a transitive ending. The action of the subject stays the same. These are called *agentive verb bases*. For example:

nuteg- 'to shoot'; *intransitive: nutegtuq* 'he shot'; *transitive: nutgaa* 'he shot it'

ner- 'to eat'; *intransitive: ner'uq* 'he is eating'; *transitive: neraa* 'he is eating it'

qilug- 'to bark'; *intransitive: qilugtuq* 'it is barking'; *transitive: qilugaa* 'it is barking at him'

Those in the other group add someone (or something) that is acting on the object causing it to V when used with a transitive ending. The subject of the intransitive becomes the object of the transitive. These are called *patientive verb bases*. For example:

naveg- 'to break'; *intransitive: navegtuq* 'it broke'; *transitive: navgaa* 'he broke it'

kuve- 'to spill'; *intransitive: kuv'uq* 'it spilled, it is spilling'; *transitive: kuvaa* 'he spilled it, he is spilling it'

tamar- 'to lose, get lost'; *intransitive: tamartuq* 'it got lost'; *transitive: tamaraa* 'he lost it'

Often, but not always, the question of whether a particular verb base is intransitive-only, transitive-only, agentive, or patientive, will be exactly the same as in English (as is the case for the bases (except for qilug-) given in the examples above). A learner of Yup'ik need pay attention primarily in cases where Yup'ik and English differ. For an example of a case where the two languages differ, consider that “bark” is intransitive-only in English (one cannot say ‘it barks him’), but in Yup'ik **qilug-** is agentive as we have seen — one does not need anything in Yup'ik to correspond to the English preposition “at”; the transitive ending takes care of this. Conversely, in English “leave” is a transitive verb; one can say ‘I will leave the village tomorrow’, but in Yup'ik one cannot use **ayag-** ‘to leave’ with a transitive ending: ***ayagciqaqa** to mean ‘I will leave it’, but must rather use an intransitive ending on the verb and an ablative-modalis noun: **ayagciqua nunamek unuaqu**, literally ‘I will leave from the village tomorrow’.

One should be aware that there is some variation from dialect to dialect and from person to person concerning the category of various verb bases.

The “Half-Transitive” Postbase

With a patientive base like **tamar-** ‘to lose’ one cannot say ***arnaq tamallruuq akinek** for ‘the woman lost some money’ since **arnaq tamallruuq** means ‘the woman got lost’. Instead, patientive and transitive-only bases take a postbase, **+(g)i-**, to form the intransitive verb construction meaning: ‘subject (from transitive) is V-ing something’ (with or without an indefinite object in the ablative-modalis). This postbase has traditionally been called the “*half-transitive*” postbase.¹ Thus, ‘the woman lost some money’ is **arnaq tamarillruuq akinek**, and ‘the woman lost something’ is **arnaq tamarillruuq**.

The following examples show how this postbase attaches to verb bases which end in various ways:

from ini- ‘to hang up to dry’, comes **inii-** ‘to hang something up to dry’, as in **iniiguq** ‘he is hanging something up to dry’ and **iniiguq paltuugmek** ‘he is hanging a parka up to dry’ (compare **inia paltuuk** ‘he is hanging the parka up to dry’)

from pai- ‘to babysit’, comes **paigi-** ‘to babysit someone’, as in **paigiuq** ‘he is babysitting someone’ and **paigiuq mikelngurnek** ‘he is babysitting children’ (compare **paigai mikelnguut** ‘he is babysitting (or staying home with) the children’ and **paiguq** ‘he is staying home’)

from kuve- ‘to spill’, comes **kuv'i-** ‘to spill something’, as in **kuviuq** ‘he is spilling something’ and **kuviuq mermek** ‘he is spilling some water’ (compare **kuvaa meq** ‘he spilled the water’ and **kuv'uq** ‘it spilled’)

1. Despite this name it is merely a verb-elaborating postbase and not a third category in addition to intransitive and transitive. It is also called the “anti-passive.”

from **kitugte-** 'to fix', comes **kitugci-** 'to fix something' from ***kitugi-** as in **kitugciuq** 'he is fixing something' and **kitugciuq levaamek** 'he is fixing a motor' (compare **kitugtaa levaaq** 'he is fixing the motor' from **elitnaur-** 'to teach', comes **elitnauri-** 'to teach someone'. as in **elitnauriuq** 'he is teaching someone' and **elitnauriuq mikelngurnek** 'he is teaching children' (compare **elitnaurai mikelnguut** 'he is teaching the children' and **elitnaurtuq** 'he is studying (i.e. teaching himself)')

A few bases take a different postbase for the "half-transitive". These are: **aqva-** 'to fetch', **ikayur-** 'to help', **nalke-** 'to find', **tegu-** 'to take' and several others. The half-transitive postbase used with these bases appears as **-te-** with bases ending in full vowels (**a, i, u**), and **-ute-**¹ with the other bases:

Aqvatuq. 'He is fetching something' (from base **aqva-**) (however **aqvaiguq** is also possible but with the specialized meaning 'he is fetching things (e.g. dried fish) from fishcamp').

Ikayuutuq. 'He is helping out' (but also **ikayuriuq yugnek** 'he is helping some people').

Nalkutuq akinek. 'He found some money' (from **nalke-**).

Tegutuq. 'He is taking something' (from **tegu-**).

An intransitive-only or agentive verb base ordinarily will not be used with a half-transitive postbase. The form with just an intransitive ending and without the half-transitive postbase is sufficient for indefinite object (explicitly stated or otherwise) constructions.²

A simple way to determine whether or not a half-transitive postbase is needed with a particular verb is to ask what the verb means when used directly with an intransitive ending. If it means either 'subject (from transitive verb) is V-ing' or 'subject is V-ing something', then it does not need the half-transitive. Otherwise it does need the proper half-transitive postbase.

To illustrate this, **ner'uq** means 'he (the subject from **neraa**) is eating or is eating something', hence a half-transitive postbase is not needed and should not be used. On the other hand, **kuv'uq** does not mean 'he (the subject from **kuvaa**) is spilling or is spilling something', so a half-transitive postbase is needed giving **kuviuq** for that meaning. Also, ***aqvauq** doesn't mean 'he (the subject from **aqvaa**) is fetching or is fetching something', in fact ***aqvauq** doesn't mean anything, so a half-transitive postbase is needed giving **aqvatuq** or **aqvaiguq** for this meaning.

1. This postbase is actually the postbase @:(u)te- 'to V with, for, to, etc.'; see Chapter 10.

2. Also the half-transitive postbase ordinarily is not used with a transitive ending. However there is an extension of the half-transitive postbase—or perhaps it is more accurate to say that the half-transitive postbase is a limited case of a more general postbase—which can be used on intransitive-only and agentive verb bases. Concerning this see Note C in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 8-5

Translate the following transitive and intransitive pairs of sentences (being careful to use the half-transitive postbase when needed and only when needed!) and parse the first ten:

- 1 a) I spilled the coffee. b) I spilled (some) coffee. 2 a) Are you going to cook that meat? b) Are you going to cook (some) meat? 3 a) I lost my hat. b) I lost a hat. 4 a) We found these eggs in the tundra. b) We found eggs in the tundra. 5 a) The children are helping him. b) The children are helping out. 6 a) Did the girl feed those_{over there} dogs? b) Was the girl feeding dogs? 7 a) Do you want to use my parka? b) Do you want to use a parka? 8 a) Grandfather was fixing those lights up there. b) Grandfather fixed lights here. 9 a) Did you sew this? b) Did you sew? 10 a) I wrote to my grandfather already. b) I already wrote. 11 a) The boy won't want to babysit your children. b) The boy won't want to babysit. 12 a) Are you_{pl} going to hunt the foxes in the hills? b) Are you_{pl} going to hunt in the hills? 13 a) The preacher answered the woman. b) The preacher answered. 14 a) I didn't take your hat from the table. b) I didn't take a hat from the table. 15 a) The doctor hasn't hung up the coats (to dry). b) The doctor hasn't hung up anything (to dry). 16 a) That_{going away} big man made a boat for my son. b) That_{going away} big man made a boat. 17 a) The child doesn't know the doctors' names. b) The child doesn't know any names. 18 a) That_{over there} little person is breaking my dishes! b) That_{over there} little person is breaking dishes! 19 a) The big teacher is shooting the dogs! b) The big teacher is shooting dogs! 20 a) The visitor loves them. b) The visitor loves someone. 21 a) I won't scold your children. b) I won't scold any children. 22 a) That man put your cup on top of the stove. b) That man put a cup on top of the stove. 23 a) You found my oars! b) You found a pair of oars! 24 a) Will you buy that_{mentioned} new coat in Dillingham? b) Will you buy a new coat in Bethel? 25 a) I won't kill the mice. b) I won't kill any mice. 26 a) The child lost my mittens. b) The child lost a pair of mittens. 27 a) We don't want to learn them. b) We don't want to learn. 28 a) The dog barked at our children. b) The dog barked at some children. 29 a) I picked these salmonberries. b) I picked salmonberries. 30 a) The white woman wants to listen to the man's wife. b) The white woman wants to listen. 31 a) I don't understand the doctor. b) I don't understand.

Fourth Person

An English sentence such as 'he is scolding his child' is ambiguous because it doesn't say whether it is his own child or someone else's. The ambiguity can be resolved in English by context or by the word 'own.' In Yup'ik, however, there are different endings for 'his (another's) child' and 'his (own) child' for use in a sentence like this:

Irniara nunuraa. 'He is scolding his (another's) child.'

vs.

Irniani nunuraa. 'He is scolding his (own) child.'

The ending **a** in **irniara** is for 3rd person possessor; the ending **ni** in **irniani** is said to be 4th person. It “reflects” or refers back to the subject of the sentence.¹ The endings for the 4th person absolutive are **-ni**² for one person’s own one or more things, and **-teng** for plural persons’ own one or more things. As the following examples show, only the ending on the verb indicates whether the object is singular or plural.

Arnam qaspeni mingqaa. ‘The woman is sewing her (own) lightweight cloth pullover parka.’

Arnam qaspeni mingqai. ‘The woman is sewing her (own) lightweight cloth pullover parkas.’

Angutet angyateng aturaat. ‘The men are using their (own) boat.’

Angutet angyateng aturait. ‘The men are using their (own) boats.’

Teguit piteng estuulumek. ‘They took their (own) things from the table.’

Note also the use of the 4th person when the subject comprises part but not all of the possessor of the object (though not all Yup’ik speakers would accept this):

Tegui piteng estuulumek. ‘He took their (own, *that is*, his and others’) things from the table.’

These 4th person absolutive forms can only be used for objects of transitive verbs and not for subjects of intransitive verbs. An exception is with a compound subject like ‘the man and his (own) wife are eating’ which is **angun nuliani-llu ner’uk**, or even ‘the man and his (own) wife are eating the soup’ which is **angutem nuliani-llu neraak suupaq** where **nuliani** is another instance of the *absolutive for included subject* (see above). In English one can distinguish between ‘his dog is barking,’ and ‘his own dog is barking,’ but in Yup’ik these are both **qimugtii qilugtuq**. Also, Yup’ik reflexive forms are not used with 1st or 2nd person. ‘I scolded my child’ and ‘I scolded my own child’ (which mean the same except for the emphasis) are, in Yup’ik, both **nunullruaqa irniaqa**; there is no exact equivalent to the English word “own” here.

1. For this reason 4th person is called 3rd person Reflexive, or 3R person, in many works on Yup’ik grammar including Reed, et. al. *Yup’ik Eskimo Grammar*, 1977 and Jacobson’s *Yup’ik Eskimo Dictionary*, 1984. In some situations with the *connective* moods (Chapters 15, 16, and 17) a 4th person ending refers back only to the subject of the clause in which it occurs rather than to the subject of the main clause (which would be “the subject of the sentence”); see Chapter 15. With the *subordinative* mood (Chapter 13) used *autonomously* in a narrative, 4th person may refer to the subject of a previous sentence or it may function as if it were 3rd person; see Chapter 13 and Chapter 19.

2. With bases ending in Cte the n is devoiced by many speakers.

Exercise 8-6*A. Translate into English:*

1) Ingkut net'eng assikenritaak. 2) Angutem nutellrua qimugteñi. 3) Mikelnguun nunullruak angayuqaagni! 4) Saskani navellrua. 5) Yuut irniateng kenkait. 6) Aug'um tan'gurraam aatani ikayurngaitaa. 7) Kuuvviani natermun kuvqataraa. 8) Qaspeteg iniksaitait allanret. 9) Paiyuumiitai kinguqlini. 10) Igallrui elitnauristeñi. 11) Piipim nallua at'ni. 12) Avelngaam igteñi itellrua. 13) Im'um nasaurluum niicugniyuumiitaa mauluni. 14) Anngaqa nuliani-llu maqiciquk agayulirtem maqiviani. 15) Arnam irniani-llu iqvaqatarait makut.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The child won't wear his (own) hat. 2) That ^{going away} man lost his (own) gun. 3) The women spilled their (own) berries. 4) He told his (own) wife. 5) The man and his (own) wife are taking a steam bath. 6) The man and his (own) wife scolded my son. 7) That dog out there is barking at its (own) mate. 8) The dogs saw their (own) footprints. 9) He doesn't want to cook his (own) food. 10) They lost their (own) guns.

Postbases

The postbase @~+**yugnga-** means 'to be able to V' or 'can V.' It attaches like @~+**yug-** 'to want to V' does (see Chapter 2), so that the initial **y** of the postbase becomes **s** after a stop or voiceless fricative, and combines with **t** to yield **c**.¹

Kuimaryugngaunga. 'I can swim.'

Aturyugngaaqa. 'I can use it' or 'I can sing it.'

Mingeqsugngauten-qaa? 'Are you able to sew?'

Angutem kaminiaq kitugcungnaa. 'The man can fix the stove.'

The postbase +(s)**ciigate-** is the negative of the preceding postbase and thus means 'to not be able to V' or 'can't V.' The (s) is used with bases that end in a vowel.²

Neresciigatanka. 'I can't eat them.'

Pisciigatua. 'I can't.'

Ukut aturciigataput. 'We can't use these.'

Qavarciigatellruunga. 'I wasn't able to sleep.'

Note that for many speakers **te** becomes **ce** before this postbase:

Kitugtesciigataqa → **kitugcesciigataqa.** 'I can't fix it.'

1. In Y, HBC and some NI @~+**yuuma-** is used for 'to be able to V,' and this postbase means 'to be ready to V' in areas where @~+**yugnga-** is used for 'to be able to V.'

2. A more recent version of this postbase is **-sciigate-**, where the **s** is always used and the postbase drops final consonants, giving **qavasciigatellruunga** for 'I couldn't sleep' rather than **qavarciigatellruunga**.

Exercise 8-7*A. Translate into English:*

1) Qalarcugngauten-qaq Kass'alugpiacetun? (Kass'alugpiaq = Russian, *literally*: "genuine or original white person") 2) Tuquscisciigatua kankunek avelngarneq. 3) Tangerrsugngaan-qaq pikna tengssuun? 4) Kass'aq elitnaurista pissuryugngayugtuq yup'igcetun. 5) Ingna yaqulek tengesciigatuq. 6) Panika ikayurciigataqa. 7) Tegusciigataa kan'a neqa. 8) Maaken ayagyugngaukut kuigkun Mamterillermun, taugaam ayagciigatukut kuigkun Negeqlirmun. 9) Nuliaqa mingeqsugngauq atkupianek. 10) Imkut mikelnguut taringesciigataat apa'urluteng.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I can't fix it. 2) Couldn't that airplane up there land on the shore of the river? 3) My son can fish in the lake over there. 4) The visitor from Dillingham can't find his money. 5) The teacher couldn't teach his own children. 6) I couldn't find any berries in the tundra. 7) Can you shoot that bird? 8) The little children can help their mothers. 9) The men can sew their own skin boots. 10) Can't you stop?

The postbase **-lar-** means 'to regularly V' or 'to generally V.'¹ It can be translated with the English "simple or habitual present."

Nerlarait. 'They regularly eat them' or 'They eat them' (vs. **nerait** 'they are eating them').

Yuralartuq. 'He regularly dances' or 'He dances' (vs. **yurartuq** 'he is dancing').

Taq'lartut. 'They often quit' (from ***taqêlartua**) (vs. **taq'ut** 'they quit').

Maani uitalartuq. 'He lives here' (vs. **maani uitauq** 'he is staying here').

Qayapianek atulallruut maani. 'They used to use real kayaks here.'

For more information about this postbase see Note D in the supplement to this chapter.

The postbase @~-**yuite-** is the negative of the above postbase and thus means 'to never V.' It can also be translated with the English 'doesn't ...' This postbase attaches like other postbases that start with **y** do, but note that it is a consonant dropper.²

Caliyuituq. 'He never works' or 'He doesn't work' (vs. **calinrituq** 'he isn't working').

Yurayuituq. 'He never dances' or 'He doesn't dance' (vs. **yuranrituq** 'he isn't dancing').

Taqsuituq. 'He never quits.'

Nutyuitanka. 'I don't shoot them' (from ***nutêyuitanka**).

1. Another postbase with more or less the same meaning, 'to regularly V,' and common especially in the NI, Nun, and HBC areas is **-tu-**, giving **yuratuq** for 'he (regularly) Eskimo-dances' instead of, or as an alternate to, **yuralartuq**. (See Chapter 17.)

2. In the more "northern" area of Yup'ik, that is in Y and NS, this postbase can be a consonant keeper giving, for example, **yuraryuituq** for 'he never dances' instead of **yurayuituq**.

Exercise 8–8

Take the following verb bases and make sentences using either of the above two postbases:

- 1) kenir- 2) alinge- 3) tuqute- 4) atur- 5) ceñirte- 6) nere- 7) elli- 8) qilug- 9) igar-
 10) ikayur- 11) kipute- 12) maante- 13) mingqe- 14) nel'i- 15) qerrute- 16) elite-
 17) ipeg- 18) ane- 19) iqvar- 20) qia-

The postbase **+(s)ta** means 'one who Vs' usually implying habitual action or action as an occupation.¹ Many of the words formed with this postbase are lexicalized. Remember that nouns ending in **ta** have bases that end in **te**.

- √ **elitnaurista** 'teacher'; from **elitnauriuq** 'he is teaching' which in turn comes from **elitnauraa** 'he is teaching her' plus the half-transitive
 - √ **yungcarista** 'doctor'; from **yungcariuq** 'he is treating someone medically' literally 'he is restoring someone's personhood'
 - √ **calista** 'worker'
 - √ **pista** 'worker, helper'; from **pi-** 'to do'
 - √ **neresta** 'louse'
 - √ **agayulirta** 'minister, priest'; ultimately from **agayu-** 'to pray'
 - √ **qimugta** 'dog' from **qimug-** 'to pull hard'
 - √ **tegusta** 'policeman' from **tegu-** 'to take' (also for 'policeman': **qillerqista** from **qillerqi-** 'to tie up', and **itercista** from **iterci-** 'to put in (jail)')
- Paigista tekiteksaituq.** 'The babysitter hasn't arrived.'
Tangerrsuqtuq yurartenek. 'He wants to see some dancers.'
Ikayurtengqerciquten. 'You will have a helper.'

The postbase **.ssuun**²/**+cuun** means 'device for V-ing'. The **ss** form is used with bases that end in a vowel, and the **c** form with bases that end in a consonant.³ Many of the words formed with this postbase are lexicalized.

- √ **calissuun** 'tool'
- √ **nerrsuun** 'fork'
- √ **tengssuun** 'airplane'
- √ **igarcuun** 'pencil, pen'
- √ **mingqessuun** or **mingeqsuun** 'sewing machine'

1. A more recent version of this postbase is **-sta**, giving for example **ikayusta** for 'helper' rather than **ikayurta**.

2. Recall that the dot written in front of the ending shows that this ending only goes on vowel-ending bases without making any changes at the juncture.

3. In NI, Nun and HBC this postbase takes the form **+ssuun**, giving **igarrsuun** for 'pencil, pen' rather than **igarcuun**. See also the postbase **.ssur-/+cur-** in Chapter 15. There is also an older, now non-productive postbase **@:(u)n** for 'device for V-ing' (see Chapter 16).

- √ **iqairissuun** 'washing machine' (from **iqaq** 'dirt' and the postbase **:(ng)ir-** 'to remove *N*' giving **iqairaa** 'he is removing dirt from it, washing it', and the half-transitive postbase giving **iqairiuq** 'he is washing things')
- √ **niicugnissuun** 'radio'
- √ **qavarcuun** 'sleeping bag'
- Tauna-qaq pissurcuutnguuq?** 'Is that something for hunting?'

Exercise 8–9

A. Translate into English:

- 1) Yungcaristem igarcuuteñi atuyuitai.
- 2) Nerlartuq akutamek nerrsuutekun!
- 3) Una calissuutngunrituq.
- 4) Kass'at elitnauristet makut kiputelarait.
- 5) Agayulirtem mingqessuuteñi navellrua.
- 6) Nerestenggertua-qaq??
- 7) Makumiut nayirnek pissuyuitut kuigem paingani.
- 8) Paigistem pailarai irniaput.
- 9) Imkut irniateng nunuyuitait.
- 10) Kitugcugngaciqaa imna kenircuun.
- 11) Mikelnguq mermek kuv'ilartuq natermun.
- 12) Angayuqaagni niicugniyuitak.
- 13) Tuqucilaruq-qaq avelngarneq nem'i?
- 14) Qalarcugngaukut Yup'igcetun tauḡaam igarciigatukut.
- 15) Taringesciigat'laranka agayulirtet.
- 16) Ikayuucularuq qetunraan.
- 17) Ak'a tamaani makumiut qayapialilallruut nayiit amiitnek. (*the first two words constitute an idiom meaning 'long ago'*)
- 18) Ulualiyugngauten-qaq?
- 19) Ellilaranka neqerrluut uavet.
- 20) Kinguqliqa iniilartuq keggani.
- 21) Kiuyuitaa elitnauristeñi.
- 22) Allanernek alingelartut.
- 23) Ingna tan'gurraq angyaliyugngaciquq nasaurloom aatiitun.
- 24) Mikelnguut nerqelarait qimugteng.
- 25) Ikayurtenggertua amllerneq tauḡaam iqairissuun aqvasciigataqa neqlillermek.
- 26) Niicugnissuuteteng kitugtesciigat'larait ukutgun calissuutetgun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) My dad is a hunter.
- 2) My daughter wanted to be a police officer.
- 3) The cook in the school never cooks moose.
- 4) My grandmother makes berry-picking devices.
- 5) He can't fix his radio.
- 6) We didn't have any helpers.
- 7) The singers couldn't dance.
- 8) That stove in there is not (a device) for cooking.
- 9) I can't find my swimsuit.
- 10) Did you put my fishing equipment under the table?

Preview: More on Commands and the Optative

Just as there are transitive endings for the indicative mood so are there transitive endings for the optative mood (and for the interrogative mood). One common intransitive optative ending was previewed in Chapter 5, and here we shall see a common transitive optative ending which also takes various forms depending upon the base. A fuller discussion can be found in Chapter 12.

vowel (other than **te**) ending bases use **(g)(i)u** where the **(g)** and **(i)** are used as with the intransitive optative:

niicugni-	niicugni 'listen'	niicugniu 'listen to him'
pai-	paigi 'stay'	paigiu 'stay with him'
nere-	neri 'eat'	neriu 'eat it'

for **te** ending bases, add **gu** to the base changing **te** to **s** or **l** and inserting **e** as needed:

ceñirte-	ceñirten 'visit'	ceñiresgu 'visit him'
nerenrite-	nerenrilu 'don't eat'	nerenrilgu 'don't eat it'

for consonant ending bases use **-ggu** (which will be **-rru** for bases ending in **r**) on the base:

nuteg-	nutga 'shoot'	nutgu 'shoot it' (from * nutêggu)
igar-	igaa 'write'	igarru 'write to him'

note the special formation of the transitive optative forms for future time (explained at length in Chapter 12):

nerkina 'eat'	nerkiu 'eat it'
neryaqunak 'don't eat'	neryaqunaku 'don't eat it'

Johnnie Boots with lamprey eels, Marshall, 1968. Lampreys come up the Yukon River every fall in great masses and are caught either with dip nets or with "eel sticks" (poles with spikes that impale the eels when swung through the water). Lampreys have also been an important source of dog food. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.



Exercise 8-10*Translate:*

- 1) Una teguu. 2) Maurluun ikayurru. 3) Una yaassiik elliu natermun. 4) Atkuka mingqiu. 5) Neryaqunaku una tepa. 6) Una calissuun aturru. 7) Taum mikelnguun atra elisgu. 8) Kemek kenirru. 9) Ataam agayulirta ceñireskiu. 10) Irniaqa nunuryaqunaku. 11) Mingqessuuten kitugeskiu. 12) Mingqutka tamaryaqunaku. 13) Qanrusgu yuk yugcetun. 14) Tuqusgu kan'a avelnqaq. 15) Natermun kuvyaqunaku saayun. 16) Piipin nerqiu akutamek. 17) Imna allaneq ikayuqiu. 18) Ikamracuaraan navegyaqunaku. 19) Elitnaurista kiugiu. 20) Kipusgu ingna nacaq. 21) Qimugteka tuqucaqunaku. 22) Una tangrru. 23) Qaspeqa aqvau ellamek.

End-of-Chapter Exercises

Translate into Yup'ik and parse your translation (be sure to label "transitive" or "intransitive" for verbs):

- 1) We couldn't buy the new washing machine at the store. 2) Didn't you find your pencil yet? 3) My brother can speak in Yup'ik, and I can write in Yup'ik. 4) I didn't spill coffee on the floor in there. 5) The dancer doesn't have anyone to sing with him (= doesn't have a singer). 6) Do you have any helpers? 7) We weren't able to visit your relatives. 8) Can the big airplane land on the runway here? 9) I can't eat soup with a fork. 10) Does your son feed puppies inside the house? 11) The woman never wants to scold her own children. 12) The little girl wears my old cloth cover parka. 13) My sister and her husband Eskimo-dance, but I am unable to. 14) Does the white person eat Eskimo ice cream? 15) Do you_{pl} help the local people? 16) That woman fixes her sewing machine. 17) The child put his mittens on the bed further in the house from the table. 18) We couldn't drink tea with their cups. 19) The ice is never thick down there. 20) They fish (with a hook and line) for burbot here. 21) I can see a mouse down there. 22) They love their grandmother, and she loves them. 23) I didn't know the new teacher's name. 24) Did you already tell your mother and your father? 25) You₂ are always scolding those children. 26) The teacher and his wife like the helper at the school, but he doesn't like them₂.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 8

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 Instead of **avelngaq*** for 'mouse', there is **uugnar(aq*)** in HBC, NS, Can, and along the coast down to BB; and **avcellngaq*** in Y. Actually these words, refer to a 'vole', which is the Alaskan rodent commonly called "mouse." There is however the 'meadow jumping mouse', which is **uiluruyak**, and also the 'shrew' which is **angyayagaq**, which literally means 'little boat'!
- #2 Instead of **igar-** for 'to write', there is **alngar-** in NS, Y, HBC and Nun. Both originally referred to 'marking' or 'decorating.'
- #3 In addition to **ikayur-** for 'to help', there is **ukisqir-** used along the coast from the mouth of the Yukon to BB, in Nun and NR.
- #4 In addition to **ini-** for 'to hang up', there is **agarte-** 'to hang up', but not necessarily 'to dry'; (i.e. 'to hang up to get it out of the way,' 'to hang up for display' etc.).
- #5 The word **kaminiaq** 'stove' is from Russian. In HBC and Y another word from Russian, **pelit'aaq**, is used for 'stove.'
- #6 All three, **nalke-**, **nalaqe-**, and **nataqe-**, take the same half-trans. postbase, **@:(u)te-** rather than the usual **+'(g)i-**
- #7 Since **nallu-** is 'to not know,' a negative postbase must be used to get 'to know': thus **nallunrituq** 'he knows' and **nallunritaa** 'he knows it.' The expanded base **nallunrite-** 'to know' has become so much a base in its own right, that one can now say **nallunritellruuq** as well as the normal ordering of postbases, **nallunrunrituq** for 'he knew.'
- #8 In addition to **pai-** there are several other bases for 'to babysit,' including **icaqe-**, **murilke-**, **uamqe-**, **auluke-** and **cumike-** used in various areas, all meaning in general 'to take care of' or 'to amuse.'
- #9 For many speakers especially in the K and BB areas **pi** 'thing' (as well as its verbal counterpart **pi-** 'to do') is a "stress-repelling" base (as is **ca** 'what, something'/ **ca-** 'to do what, to do something' (Chapter 11)) which means that even if it is part of a closed initial syllable the alternating stress pattern will start on the second syllable instead of the one with **pi-**. Compare the stress pattern of **pirpángyugtuq** 'he wants to get a big thing' with that of **nérpangyúgtuq** 'he wants to get a big house'. The exceptional stress pattern induced by the two stress-repelling bases is not indicated in the orthography. See the section in the supplement to Chapter 1, titled "Classes of words where the relationship between sound and spelling is not one-to-one." See also the note concerning **cange-** in the supplement to Chapter 20.
- #10 In addition to **tamar-** for 'to lose,' there is also **cagmar-** used in various areas (undetermined) and perhaps with the specific meaning of 'to misplace.'
- #11 The word **yungcarista** 'doctor' is pronounced **yuungcarista** in some areas. The word becomes **cungcarista** in HBC, and **sungcarista** for some BB.

Note A

In HBC, Nun and among some speakers in Tununak the postbase **-llru-** is not used with transitive endings (at least not with transitive *indicative* (statement forming) endings). Instead, another postbase **-lqe-** is used with transitive endings in those areas. Thus while the areas in question say **qilullruuq** for 'it barked' along with most of the rest of Yup'ik, they say **qilulqaa** for 'it barked at him' instead of **qilullrua** like other Yup'ik. The reason for this is that the postbase **-llru-** is actually a combination of two postbases **-lleq** 'the thing that V-ed; the thing possessor V-ed' (see Chapter 14) and **~:(ng)u-** 'to be N' (see Chapter 5), so that **qilullruuq** 'it barked' literally means 'it is a thing that barked'. Now the postbase **~:(ng)u-** normally does not take transitive endings, but outside of HBC, Nun and Tununak **-llru-** has become a postbase in its own right with the ability to take transitive endings. In HBC, Nun and Tununak, however, it still cannot take transitive (indicative) endings when combined with **-lleq** to form **-llru-**. The postbase **-lqe-**, used for the past with transitive endings in HBC, Nun and Tununak, is itself a combination of **-lleq** with its possessed meaning 'the thing possessor V-ed' and the postbase **-ke-** 'to have as one's N' (see Chapter 10), so that **-lqe-** literally means 'to have as the thing that one has V-ed,' so that **qilulqaa** 'it barked at him' literally means 'it has him as the thing it barked

at.' In fact outside of HBC, Nun and Tununak the word **qilulqaa** would be understood more or less in its literal meaning: 'he is the one it barked at.' On the other hand, in HBC, Nun or Tununak the form used elsewhere, **qilullrua**, would sound clumsy or awkward to anyone there who hadn't already heard it from a speaker from outside one of those places.

Note B

In the "core" area of Central Yup'ik, **a** between **r** and **q** as in **nunûraqa** 'I am scolding him' or **g** and **q** as in **piyûgaqa** 'I want it' may be optionally deleted giving **nunu'urqa** and **piyu'ugqa** where the doubled vowel with an apostrophe in between shows length without gemination of the preceding consonant, the length coming from the rhythmic length in the longer forms (see also the discussion of the deletion of **e** from **pikânetuq** to get **pika'antuq** in Chapter 6). Also, **a** between **r** (or **g**) and **q** as in **ikâyurâqa** may be optionally deleted giving **ikâyúrqa** where the syllable **yur** has a kind of "ghost" stress on account of the deleted vowel. Compare the lack of stress on that syllable in **ikâyurta** 'helper,' to give one example, which follows the normal stress pattern. This "ghost" stress is not always explicitly indicated in the writing (but see the supplement to Chapter 1 about the practice of writing an apostrophe to indicate ghost stress so that the word in question can be written **ikayu'rqa**).

Note C

The postbase **+(g)i-** has a broader use than the "half-transitive" or detransitivizing use seen in this chapter. In this broader use the meaning is something like 'to suffer the V-ing of something,' or 'to have something V on one.' As such it can be used with agentive and intransitive-only bases, and it can take transitive as well as intransitive endings. For example:

Tuquigukut qimugkauyarnek. 'We suffered the puppies' dying' or 'The puppies died on us.'

Qimugtem neria angun neqerrlugmek. 'The dog ate some dried fish on the man' (*that is*, 'the dog ate the dried fish that the man intended to eat').

Tua-i-llu piqerlutek piyuaninganermegni teng'ilute malrugnek uqsuqagnek. 'Once (**piqerlutek**) while they₂ were walking (**piyuaninganermegni**), they had two pin-tails (**uqsuqaq**) fly off on them (**teng'ilutek**)' (*from Elnguq by Anna Jacobson, p. 36*).

This so called "sufferer" use of the postbase **+(g)i-** is much less common than the half-transitive use, and is apparently subject to considerable variability. It seems likely that the postbase **+(g)i-** is actually a shortened form of the combination of **+(g)aq** 'thing that results from V-ing' (Chapter 14) and **-li-** 'to make N (for).' Thus **kuviuq** 'he spilled something,' could be considered as a shortened form of **kuv'aliuq** 'he made a spilled thing,' **tuquigukut** 'we had something die on us,' would be a shortened form of **tuqualiukut** 'we "made"¹ dead things,' and **neria** 'it ate something "on" him,' would be a shortened form of **ner'alia** 'it made an eaten thing "for"² him.'

Osahito Miyaoka has written extensively on this postbase from a somewhat different point of view. The interested reader should see Miyaoka, 1984.

Note D

The postbase **-lar-** attaches differently in the more "northern" Yup'ik regions such as Y and NS. There it keeps base-final consonants but drops **e**'s: **~+lar-**. Thus while the "southern" version as presented in this text gives **yuralartuq** 'he (regularly) Eskimo-dances' and **taringelaraqa** 'I (regularly) understand him,' the "northern" version gives **yurarlartuq** and **taringlaraqa** (note the difference between the stress patterns of **taringelâraqa** and **taringlarâqa**). Also,

1. But only in a very loose sense of the word "made" where it means more "experienced the making of" as in **uksi-** 'to spend the winter' from **uksuli-** 'to "make" a winter.'

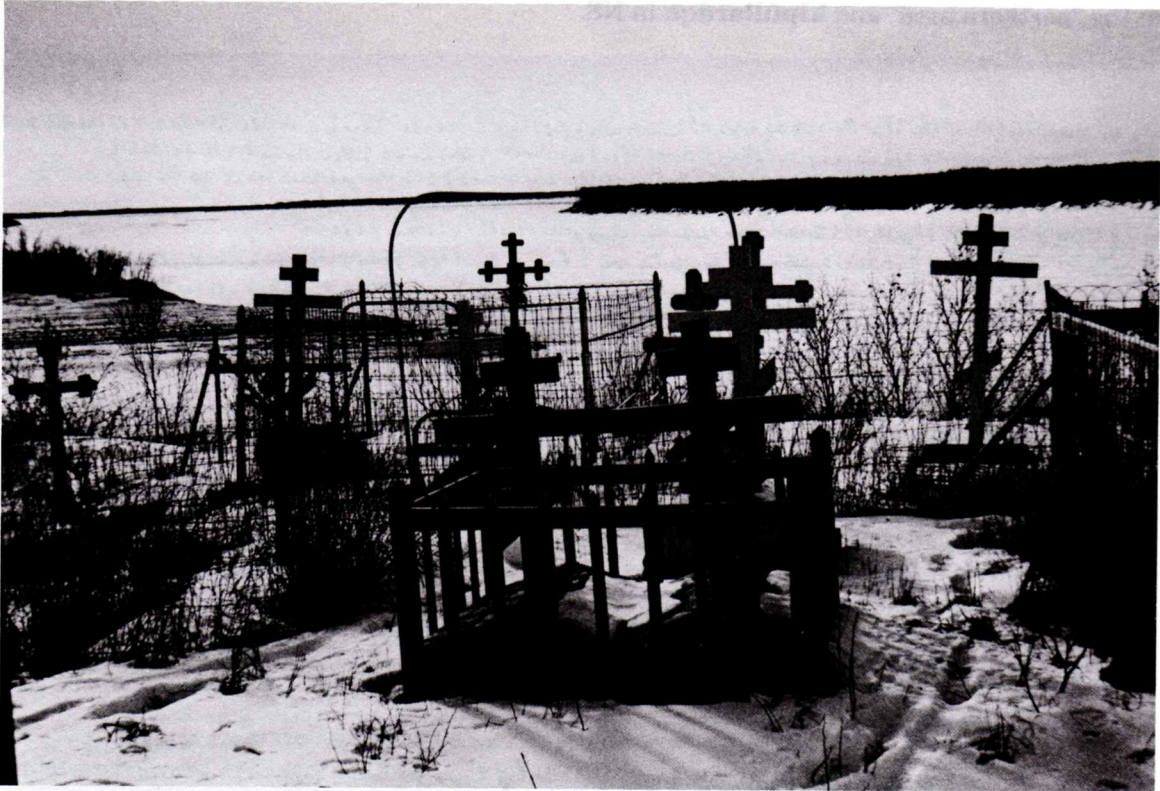
2. But only in a very loose sense of the word "for" where it means more "to the detriment of."

from **taqe-** the “southern” version gives ***taqêlartuq** hence **taq'lartuq** for ‘he (regularly) finishes or quits,’ whereas the “northern” version gives **taqlartuq** for this, with voiceless l since the e has been dropped since that version of the postbase drops base-final e, and not just because the e is hatted as is the case with the “southern” version. Furthermore, from **ceñirte-** the “southern” version gives **ceñirtelâraqa** ‘I (regularly) visit him,’ and the “northern” version gives **ceñirtellâraqa** for this, with e re-inserted and voicelessness shown by doubling the l. In NS a base-final **te** is dropped and the postbase takes the form **llar-** with such bases, giving in this case **ceñirllarâqa**. Thus also ‘I (regularly) buy it’ is **kipûtelâraqa** in the “southern area,” **kipûtlarâqa** in the “northern area” and **kipûllarâqa** in NS.

23

[Handwritten text in a phonetic script, likely representing the Yup'ik language, covering the majority of the page.]

This is a page from the writing of Uyaquq (Helper Neck). Uyaquq was a shaman who became a Christian lay preacher for the Moravian Church in about 1900. After experimenting with picture writing, he devised the phonetic orthography for Yup'ik shown here. His Bible translations and other religious writings fill several notebooks. His orthography was more accurate than those of the missionaries from outside Alaska. Recently Sophie Barnes and Oscar Alexie of the Yup'ik Language Center in Bethel have made a thorough study of this Yup'ik writing system. Helper Neck Collection (acc. #89-113) in the Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Dept. University of Alaska Fairbanks.



As these Russian Orthodox crosses indicate, Yup'iks have been Christians for many generations. Most are Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, or Moravian Brethren. Some elements of pre-missionary Native spiritual and ceremonial practice exist alongside Christianity in many areas. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

CHAPTER 9

*Ablative-Modalis with Verbs of Giving and with Verbs of Communicating;
Transitive Indicative with Third Person Subject and First or Second Person
Objects; Possessed Relative with First or Second Person Possessors;
Possessed Oblique Cases with First or Second Person Possessors;
Impersonal Subject Verbs*

Vocabulary

alikaa 'she is afraid of her/it' #1

amiq 'skin'

aptuq 'she is asking; **aptaa** 'she is asking her'

asmuq (or **asemtug**) 'it broke in two' (of a relatively long object)

atrartuq 'she is going down'; **atraraa** 'she is going down it'

cikiraa 'she is giving something to her' (see comments below)

cikuuq 'it froze' #2

ek'uq 'she got in; **ekaa** 'she put it in'

elagtuq 'she is digging'; **elagaa** 'she is digging it'

kegg'uq 'it bit'; **keggaa** 'it bit her'

kalikaq 'paper' #3 (plural, **kalikat**, used for 'book')

kuvyaq 'fishnet'

mayurtuq 'she is going up'; **mayuraa** 'she is going up it'

nangertuq 'she stood up'

niituq 'she hears something'; **niitaa** 'she hears it' #4

pairtuq 'she met someone'; **pairtaa** 'she met her, encountered her'

paluqtaq 'beaver'

payugtaa 'she is giving her a gift of food' (see comments below)

qerrulliik (*dual*) 'pair of pants' #5

qercuaguq 'it got frostbitten'

quliraq 'traditional story, legend' #6

quliriuq 'she's telling a story'

taluyaq 'fishtrap'

tunaa 'she is selling it or giving it to someone' (*the recipient is in the terminalis*) #7

tupagtuq 'she woke up'

tuyuraa 'she is sending something to her' (see comments below)

ukineq 'hole'

ulik 'blanket'

urugtuq 'it is melting'

wall'u or **wall'**¹ 'or' (*particle*)

yuuguq 'she got out; **yuugaa** 'she took it out; she took it (article of clothing) off';
(**yuuguq** also means 'she is alive' (see Chapter 5); *this is a case of homophony*)

1. The word **wall'**, along with other words that end in (voiceless) **ll**, are shortened forms. This shortening is indicated by the apostrophe.

Ablative-Modalis with Verbs of Giving

In addition to the uses of the ablative-modal case studied earlier (*place from which, indefinite object, specification*), this case is also used for the thing given *with verbs of giving* (in the above vocabulary, **cikir-**, **payugte-** and **tuyur-**, but not **tune-** which is a verb of giving but works differently). Thus:

Arnam angun cikiraa akinek. 'The woman gave the man some money.'
Tuyurciqaa panika neqerrlugnek. 'I'll send my daughter some dried fish.'
Payugtellruan-qaa imna akutamek? 'Did you take that person "Eskimo ice cream"?''

Ablative-Modalis with Verbs of Communicating

Still another use of the ablative-modal case is to express the thing talked about *with verbs of communicating* such as **qanrute-** 'to tell' and **apte-** 'to ask':

Aptuq qimugtemek. 'She's asking about a dog.'
Qanrutellruan-qaa akinek? 'Did you tell her about (the) money?'

Miscellaneous uses of Ablative-Modalis

There are various other *miscellaneous* uses of the ablative-modal case. One such use, where the postbases **-li-** and **-ngqerr-** apply to the noun in the ablative-modal case as well as to the noun to which they are attached, is illustrated in the following sentences:

Atkulillruunga nacamek-llu. 'I made a parka and a hat.'
Paningqertuten-qaa wall'u qetunrarmek? 'Do you have a daughter or a son?'

Transitive with First and Second Person Objects

In the last chapter we saw the transitive verb endings for a 3rd person object. In this chapter we shall see the transitive verb endings for 1st and 2nd person object, with a 3rd person subject (e.g. 'she to me,' 'she to us,' 'they to you').

These endings are essentially the 3rd person to 3rd person endings **aa**, **aat** and **ait**, followed by the 1st or 2nd person object markers which are like the subject markers for intransitive verbs (see Chapter 3), but there are some important differences, as we shall see.

tangrraanga 'she sees me'	tangrraakut 'she sees us'	tangrraaten 'she sees you'	tangrraaci 'she sees you _{pl} '
tangrraatnga 'they see me'	tangrraitkut 'they see us'	tangrraatgen 'they see you'	tangrraiceci 'they see you _{pl} '

In the endings illustrated above note that the 2nd person singular, 'you₁,' object indicator is **ten** for singular subject, 'she,' but **gen** for plural subject 'they.' Note also that for plural to plural, 'they to us' and 'they to you_{pl},' the subject indicator is **it** and **ice** instead of **at** as for plural to singular, 'they to me' and 'they to you.'

In chart form:

	to me	to us _{pl}	to us ₂	
he/she/it	+(g)aanga	+(g)aakut	[+(g)aakuk]	<i>3rd pers. singular</i>
they _{pl}	+(g)aatnga	+(g)aitkut	[+(g)aitkuk]	<i>3rd pers. plural</i>
they ₂	[+(g)aagnga]	[+(g)aagkut]	[+(g)aagkuk]	<i>3rd pers. dual</i>
	<i>1st pers. singular</i>	<i>1st pers. plural</i>	<i>1st pers. dual</i>	

	to you ₁	to you _{pl}	to you ₂	
he/she/it	+(g)aaten	+(g)aaci	[+(g)aatek]	<i>3rd pers. singular</i>
they _{pl}	+(g)aatgen	+(g)aiceci	[+(g)aicetek]	<i>3rd pers. plural</i>
they ₂	[+(g)aagten]	[+(g)aagci]	[+(g)aagtek]	<i>3rd pers. dual</i>
	<i>2nd pers. singular</i>	<i>2nd pers. plural</i>	<i>2nd pers. dual</i>	

Examples

Qimugtem keggugaanga. 'The dog wants to bite me.'

Qimugtet qilugaitkut. 'The dogs are barking at us.'

Arnam cikirciqaaten neqerrlugnek. 'The woman will give you dried fish.'

Imkut yuut igarngaitaiceci Yugcetun. 'Those people won't write to you_{pl} in Eskimo.'

Exercise 9-1*A. Translate into English:*

1) Ing'um-qaa mikelnguom alikaakut? 2) Arnam cikirciqaaten uligmek. 3) Maurluum nunullruanga. 4) Allanrem niiciiqaaten. 5) Pairtellruiceci-qaa kuigem paingani? 6) Im'um-qaa tuyurngaitaaten qerrulliignek? 7) Apa'urloom ikamralillruanga. 8) Augkut ce'irciiqaitkut unuaqu. 9) Ukut mikelnguut ikayuyuitaatnga. 10) Nallunritaaten-qaa? 11) Nallunritaten-qaa? 12) Ak'a qanrutellruaci. 13) Im'um tan'gurraam assikenritaanga. 14) Payugtelaraakut akutamek. 15) Angutem kenkaaten.

B. Take the preceding fifteen sentences and "reverse" them so that subject becomes object and vice versa and translate your results. For example, if one of the sentences was Yungcaristem-qaa kiuqataraaten? ('Is the doctor going to answer you?'), you would change it to Yungcarista-qaa kiuqataran? 'Are you going to answer the doctor?'

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) They never listen to me. 2) Those women in there are going to scold you. 3) They sent me money! 4) The teacher doesn't want to teach us. 5) It is going to kill us! 6) They didn't hear you. 7) The white people didn't understand me in Bethel. 8) Will she make you a pullover parka or a zippered parka? 9) Did she see me there? 10) They don't know you_{pl}.

Transitive Verbs with Impersonal Subjects

A few verbs which one generally thinks of as intransitive can be used with a 3rd person singular subject transitive ending where the subject is something like "nature", but is not explicitly expressed with a noun. Such a transitive has virtually the same meaning as the intransitive.¹

Qerrutaanga. 'I am cold' (*literally*: 'it (nature) is making me cold'; *equivalent to qerrutua*).

Nanvaq cikua. 'The lake froze' (*literally*: 'it (nature) froze the lake'; *equivalent to nanvaq cikuuq*).

It'ganka kumlatai. 'My feet are cold' (*literally*: 'it (nature) is making my feet cold'; *equivalent to it'ganka kumlatut*).

Ciku urugaa. 'The ice is melting' (*literally*: 'it (nature) is melting the ice'; *equivalent to ciku urugtuq*).

First and Second Person Possessor Relative Case

In addition to the unpossessed relative endings %:(e)m, %:(e)t, %:(e)k used for the possessor of a possessed noun or the subject of a transitive verb, there are also *possessed relative endings*. These are needed, for example, to combine the

1. Verb bases that can be used like this may be considered a fifth category along with *intransitive-only*, *transitive-only*, *agentive*, and *patientive*. In the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary* they are called *elemental verb bases*.

ideas in **qimugteka qilugtuq** 'my dog is barking,' and **qimugtem qilugaanga** 'the dog is barking at me,' so as to give a form that will express, 'my dog is barking at me.' The desired ending is **-ma** as in **qimugtema¹ qilugaanga**. This same possessed relative ending, **-ma**, is used to express, for example, 'my dog's tail . . . ' which is **qimugtema pamyua . . .**

The possessed relative case ending for 1st and 2nd person possessor ('my', 'our', 'your') are **-ma** 'my thing or things', **-mta** 'our thing or things', **-vet** 'your₁ thing or things', and **-vci** 'your_{pl} thing or things' (but see variants below).

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for the historical origin of these endings.

Examples showing use as a possessor:

anngama irniara 'my older brother's child'

anngama irniari 'my older brother's children'

anngama irniarit 'my older brothers' children' (here the **t** for plural possessor of the ending on **irniarit** shows that **anngama** means 'my more than two older brothers', rather than 'my one older brother's' as in the two previous examples)

anngamta irniara 'our older brother's child'

anngamta irniarit 'our older brothers' children'

anngavet irniara 'your₁ older brother's child'

anngavet irniari 'your₁ older brother's children'

anngavci irniara 'you_{pl} older brother's child'

anngavci irniarit 'you_{pl} older brothers' children'

Examples showing use as the possessor of the absolutive subject of an intransitive verb, and as the possessor of the absolutive object of a transitive verb:

Anngama irniara qiaguq. 'My older brother's child is crying.'

Nunullruaqa anngama irniara. 'I scolded my older brother's child.'

Examples showing use as the subject of a transitive verb:

Anngama aturaa. 'My older brother is using it.'

Anngama aturaat. 'My older brothers are using it.'

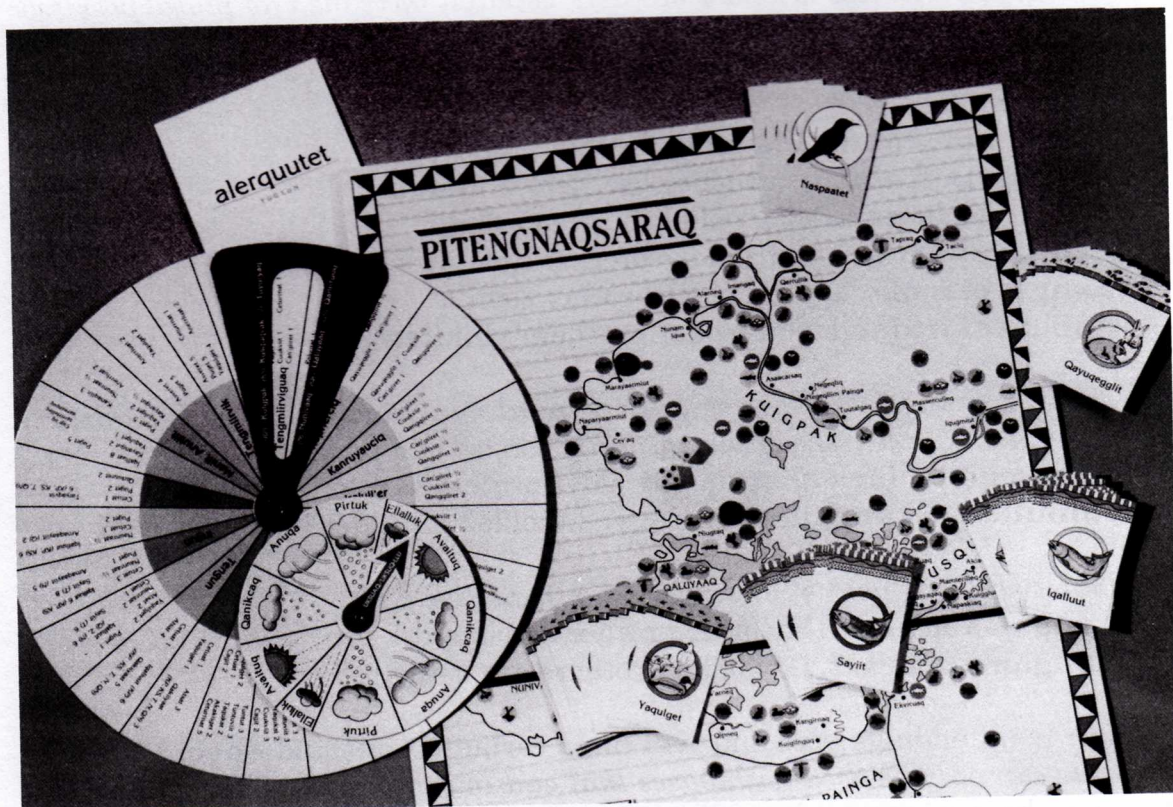
The noun endings **-vet** and **-vci** have variants **+pet** and **+peci**, but these variants can only be used with bases that end in consonants. So from **anngaq** 'brother' (base **anngar-**) in addition to **anngavet** and **anngavci** one can say **anngarpet** and **anngarpeci**, but the corresponding forms for **aana** 'mother' (base **aana-**), and for **qimugta** 'dog' (base **qimugte-**) can only be **aanavet**, **aanavci**, **qimugtevet** and **qimugtevci**.²

1. Or **qimugtema**, since with bases ending in Cte the **m** is devoiced by many speakers.

2. With bases that end in **e**, and especially with bases that end in **te** such as **qimugte-** here, some people insert an **r** after the base and can in fact say **qimugterpet** and **qimugterpeci**, but this seems to be a relatively recent innovative pattern.

In chart form:

	<i>one or 3+ things</i>	<i>two things</i>	
my	-ma	[%:(e)gma]	<i>1st person singular</i>
our _{pl}	-mta	[%:(e)gemta]	<i>1st person plural</i>
our ₂	[-megnuk]	[%:(e)gmegnuk]	<i>1st person dual</i>
your ₁	-vet/+pet	[%:(e)gpet]	<i>2nd person singular</i>
your _{pl}	-vci/+peci	[%:(e)gpeci]	<i>2nd person plural</i>
your ₂	[-vtek/+petek]	[%:(e)gpetek]	<i>2nd person dual</i>



The game *Pitengnaqsaraq* is a Yup'ik version of Monopoly, with hunting and gathering replacing the acquisition of real estate and money. The game teaches the Yup'ik names of the months, seasons, weather conditions, villages, topographic features, and subsistence resources. This board game, along with interactive computer programs and a Yup'ik version of Scrabble, was developed by Phyllis Morrow and Chase Hensel. Photo by Richard Veazey.

Exercise 9-2

A. Translate the following into English:

- 1) Aanama qaspeqa inillrua.
- 2) Panivet elitnauristerñi kiuyuitaa elitnaurvigmi.
- 3) Calilartua nunamta kipusviani.
- 4) Irniama ikayularaatnga.
- 5) Auḡ'um qimugtevci keggellruanga.
- 6) Ciutema aipaa qercuaguq.
- 7) Qetunravet navellrua qantamta iliit.
- 8) Kalikama aipaa ukinengqertuq!
- 9) Apa'urluvci-qaa im'umek quliramek qanrutellruaci?
- 10) Panimegnuk uinga maqiyuyuituq.
- 11) Irniama ilait aptelartut.
- 12) Nem'a egalri navellruit.

B. Translate the English words in parentheses into the appropriate Yup'ik forms, and know the English translations of the entire resulting sentences:

- 1) (Your dog) qilularaanga.
- 2) (My child) neryugaa akutaq.
- 3) (My husband) minggeciqaa atkuun.
- 4) (Your fishtrap's) painga mik'uq.
- 5) Uitaciqukut (my sister's) eniini.
- 6) (Some of you_{pl}) taringengaitaatnga.
- 7) Ayalartukut (our father's) ikamraakun.
- 8) Tamaqataraga (my wife's) akia.
- 9) (My daughter's) ulia iqauq.
- 10) (Your pot's) patua ukinengqertuq.
- 11) Elitnauristem elitellrui (your sons') atrit.
- 12) Angulvak yuuguq (our grandfather's) angyaanek.
- 13) Ekellruaqa kuvyaqa kiavet yaassiigmun (your table's) acianun.
- 14) Mikelngucuar tupallruuq (my child's) inglerani.
- 15) (Your baby's) nuyai ayuqut (your husband's) nuyaitun.
- 16) Payugciiqaga (my grandfather's) aipaa suupamek.
- 17) (Our mother) elakataraa nuna (our steambath's) ketiini.
- 18) (My dog)-qaa keggellruaten?
- 19) (My sister) tunellrui imkut paltuget (your dad's) anngaanun.
- 20) Avelngaq itellruuq ukinermun (your bed) keluani.
- 21) Nalkellruaqa nuussin (your_{pl} fishcamp's) kiatiini.
- 22) (Our house's) uatiini tangellruaput (some of your children).
- 23) (Your grandfather) nerqellrui qimugkauyaraanka.
- 24) (My relatives) ikayurciqaitkut.
- 25) Kenurraq (my bed's) quliintuq.
- 26) (My dad) nelia mauluqa (our house's) caniani.
- 27) Yaassiik ellillruaqa uavet (your table's) qainganun.
- 28) Nalluaqa (your village's) atra.
- 29) (My other skin boot) tamartuq.
- 30) Asmellruuq-qaa (your other oar)?
- 31) (My other ear) kumlatuq.
- 32) (My cup's) imaa kuv'uq.
- 33) Maqiviliciqukut (our house's) keluani.

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

- 1) Did your dog bite its own tail?
- 2) My wife met me at my sister's fishcamp yesterday.
- 3) I saw a hole in your house's floor near the stove.
- 4) Your₂ child's hands are dirty.
- 5) My brother cannot fix his own fishnet.
- 6) Our dogs dig behind our house.
- 7) One of the children in school didn't want to stand up.
- 8) The contents of our bowls are cold.
- 9) My parents₂' house is very small.
- 10) Our sons went up the hill, and our daughters came down!
- 11) My daughter takes food gifts to my mother.

D. Change the following from intransitive to the corresponding transitive. For example, given Qetunraqa kuuvviamek kuv'illruuq, you would write Qetunrama kuuvviaq kuvellrua.

- 1) Qimugteput mikelngurnun qilulartut.
- 2) Irniaten avelngarneq tuquciyuitut.
- 3) Yungcaristeci-qaa akutamek neryugtuq?
- 4) Irniaten kayangunek nalkutellruut.
- 5) Paniin-qaa alingelartuq agayulirteñek?

First and Second Person Possessor Oblique Case Endings

We have seen how for a 3rd person possessor the oblique cases, that is all cases other than the absolutive and relative, are formed from the 3rd person *absolutive* plus an oblique case marker. For 1st and 2nd person possessors the oblique cases are formed from a shortened version of the *relative* case endings discussed plus an oblique case marker, and attach to noun bases in the same way as those relative case endings do. The **n** forms, rather than the **m** forms, of the localis, terminalis and ablative-modalis endings are used as with 3rd person (that is **ni** for localis, **nun** for terminalis). Thus, for example, the localis endings are **-mni** 'in my —(s)', **-mteŋi** 'in our —(s)', **-vni/+peni** 'in your₁ —(s)', and **-vceŋi/+peceŋi** 'in your_{pl} —(s)'. The other oblique cases are formed similarly. See Appendix A for complete charts of these endings.

nunamni 'in my land or village' (localis) (*compare relative case, nunama*)

angyavnun or **angyarpennun** 'to your boat(s)' (terminalis) (*compare angyavet, angyarpet*)

nemteŋek 'from our house(s)' (ablative-modalis) (*compare nemta*)

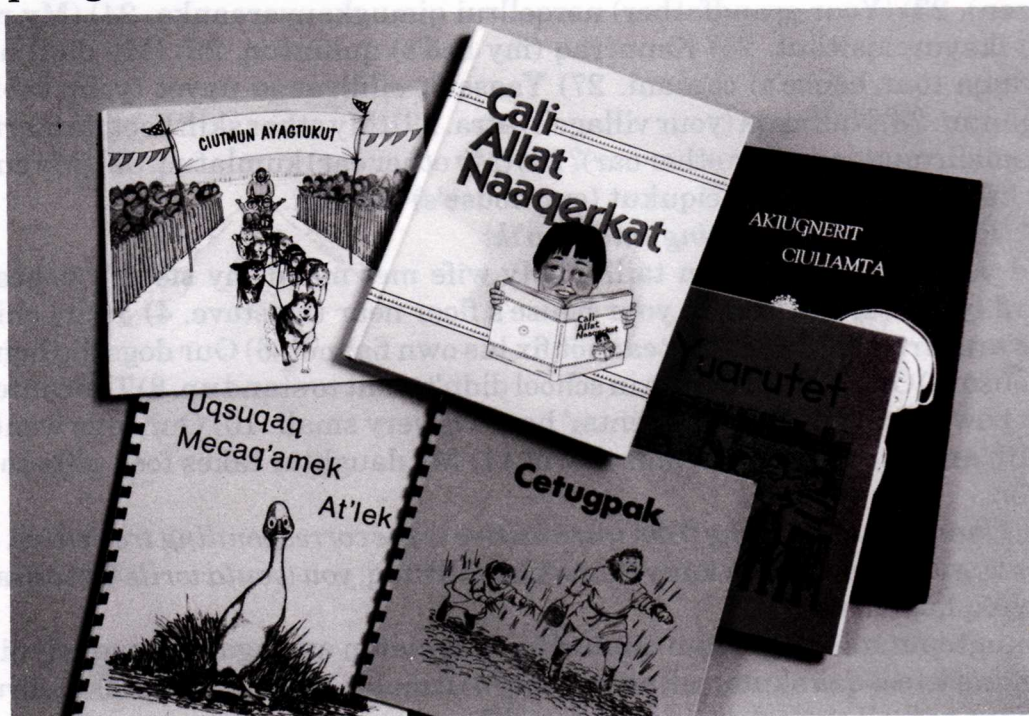
aanavceŋun 'to your_{pl} mother(s)' (terminalis) (*compare aanavci*)

aatamtun 'like my father' (equalis) (*compare aatama*)

angyavkun or **angyarpegun** 'with your boat(s)' (vialis) (*compare angyavet, angyarpet*)

nunavcetgun 'through your_{pl} village' (*compare nunavci*)

qimugtemcetun 'like our dog(s)' (*compare qimugtemta*)



These are a few of the many children's books written for Yup'ik school programs. Photo by Richard Veazey.

Exercise 9-3*A. Translate:*

1) Neresteñek tangellruunga nuyavni! 2) Qetunrama neqerlluut aqvaciqai nevnek. 3) Neqlillemeñi qavalartuq. 4) Anngavet pairtellruunga maqivimni. 5) Irniqa ukinellruuq kuvyarpeceñi. 6) Nuliama atkuni tunciqaa alqavnun (or alqerpenun). 7) Ilaten-qaa taillruut maavet ikamravkun? 8) Panika nuliامتun ayuquq. 9) Qimugkauyaraan qavartuq ulimni. 10) Kuvellrua kuuvviani qerrulliigemnun. 11) Ciku urugtuq taingkamni. (taingkaq *is from English*) 12) Mikelnguq atraryullruuq angyamteñun. 13) Angayuqaagma tuyurciqaagnga paltuumnek. 14) Nevceñi allanret uitaut. 15) Igtellruuq saskaqa it'gamnun.

B. Change the italicized word to incorporate the possessor shown by the English word written in parentheses, and translate the Yup'ik sentence: for example, given Ek'aqa yaassiik (our) ikamramun, you would write: Ek'aqa yaassiik ikamramteñun. 'I am putting the box in our sled'. 1) Yuugut (your) angyamek. 2) Ak'a nerellruunga (my) nem'i. 3) Aanan mingqelartuq (our) aanatun. 4) Qasperen ekellruaqa (your) ikamramun. 5) Aatavet tuyullruunga (your) aliimategnek. 6) Mikelnguut igartut (our) kalikanun. 7) Aqvaciqaqa nutka (our) neqlillermek. 8) (Our) nunami qimugtut amlertut. 9) Yuullruanka kayangut (your) angyamek. 10) Teguataraqa egan (your) kaminiamek.

C. Change the following from transitive to the corresponding intransitive. For example, given Tamallruaqa nacan, you would write Tamarillruunga nacavnek or nacarpenek.

1) Inillruan-qaa ulika? 2) Irniaten ikayurciqaput. 3) Akwaugaq allanret nunaka tekiteellruat. 4) Qimugtema qilugai elitnauristeci. 5) Kinguqlima nerqatarait atsaten. 6) Irniamta alikait qimugtetek. 7) Makut net ayuqait nep'ut.

Vialis of Part of a Whole

We have seen two uses of the vialis case: *instrument* and *route*. A third use is to express the affected *part of a whole* to which something happens, as in the following examples:

Qimugtevet keggellruunga irumkun. 'Your dog bit me *on* my leg.' (*this is an alternative to qimugtevet keggellrua iruqa* 'your dog bit my leg'¹)

Qercuallruuten-qaa ciutevkun? 'Did you get frostbitten *on* your ear?' (*this is an alternative to qercuallruuq-qaa ciuten?* 'did your ear get frostbitten?')

Note that English prepositions do not correspond to Yup'ik oblique case endings in a one-to-one manner. Compare the following three sentences where "on" is translated into Yup'ik first by the vialis, then the terminalis and then the localis:

1. This alternative, and that to the next example, may represent a relatively recent innovative pattern influenced by English.

'I got frostbitten *on* my feet.' **Qercuallruunga it'gamkun.**
 'The water spilled *on* my feet.' **Meq kuvellruuq it'gamnun.**
 'The puppy is sleeping *on* my feet.' **Qimugkauyar qavartuq it'gamni.**

In the following sentences observe how the vialis corresponds to five different English prepositions:

Ayallruuq kuigkun. 'She went *by* the river.'
Kenillrua kaminiakun. 'She cooked it *on* the stove.'
Kenillrua egatekun. 'She cooked it *in* a pot.'
Tuqutellrua nutegkun. 'She killed it *with* a gun.'
Itellruuq egalerkun. 'She came in *through* the window.'

Postbases

The postbase @~+**yugnarqe-** means 'to probably *V*'. It can also be translated by 'might', 'may', 'perhaps', 'I think that . . .', etc. This postbase always follows all other postbases (with one class of exceptions which will be discussed later); it comes right before the ending.

Ayallruyugnarquq. 'She probably left.'
Aturciqsugnarqaa. 'She probably will use it.'
Tangeqsaicugnarqaiceci. 'They probably haven't seen you_{pl} yet.'

The postbase -**ngnaqe-** means 'to try to *V*'. It drops all final consonants from verb bases.

Angyalingnaqciqua. 'I'll try to make a boat.'
Ikayungnaqaaten. 'She's trying to help you.'

Exercise 9-4

Translate:

1) My wife will probably want to make me a hat of beaver skin. 2) My friend will try to eat the beaver's tail. 3) Your son probably took your gun already. 4) Our white teachers are trying to learn Yup'ik. 5) I'm trying to hear them. 6) Your grandmother might bring us berries. 7) Are you going to try to make your wife a real semi-lunar knife? 8) That dog of yours never tries to bite me. 9) Your sister probably put the box under your bed. 10) They'll probably meet us on the other side of the lake.

The postbase @~+**yaaqe-** means 'to *V* in vain, without accomplishing the desired results or without things working out the way one wishes them to.'

Iteryaaquq. 'She entered in vain (because the person she wanted to see wasn't there, or the thing she wanted wasn't inside, etc).'

Qanrucaaqqa. 'I told her in vain (because she didn't respond as I'd wished to what I'd said, because it didn't matter, etc.)'

Angyalingnaqsaaqellruuq. 'She tried to make a boat, without success (or in some other way without things working out as desired).'

Alingyaaqellruukut or Alingellruyaaqukut. 'We were scared but there was nothing to be scared of.' (*The two postbases here can occur in either order with little or no difference in meaning.*)

In some cases the postbase @~+yaaqe- merely "softens" @~+yug-, as in the following example:

Neryugyaaqua. 'I would like to eat.' (*Compare neryugtua 'I want to eat'; note also that for neryugyaaqua the meaning, 'I want to eat, but ...,' would also be possible given the proper context.*)

The postbase **-llini-** means 'to evidently have V-ed' without being observed by the speaker. It can also be translated by 'I found out that ...,' or 'I discover that ...,' or 'it must be that ...' English generally does not emphasize whether or not an event has been directly observed, but this is important in Eskimo languages.

Ayallrulliniuq. 'Evidently she left.' (*She was here, but isn't now so she must have left even though the speaker didn't directly see her leave.*)

Nerrlinii. 'She must have eaten them' (*from *nerêllinii*).

The Yup'ik language is very careful to distinguish when an occurrence is known to the speaker through his or her own personal experience from when it is known second-hand, that is, either from what the speaker has heard from others or from what the speaker has concluded on the basis of the evidence. The postbase **-llini-** is one mechanism for distinguishing these two ways of knowing (another is the enclitic **=gguq** meaning 'it is said' (Chapter 12)). The following extract from a story illustrates this:

Ayainanermi nem'ek tekiteelliniuq. Tekicami tangvaumaqeryaaqellinia, yulkiinani. Ullagluku, tangluugni qulvarviim taqruanun ellilukek, nem qainganun mayulliniuq egalerkun qinerrnaluni. 'While he was traveling *evidently* he came upon a house. When he got there *evidently* he looked at it for a long time and it seemed that it was deserted. When he got closer to it, putting his snowshoes beside the cache, *evidently* he climbed up on top of it to look in through the window' (*from "Nunat Ercuil kai" by Charlie Pleasant in Tennant, 1981.*)

The postbase **-llini-** is used far more in Yup'ik than the word 'evidently', or any other way of phrasing this, would be used in English. To get a natural sounding English translation, it may be best not to translate **-llini-** at all, that is, to implicitly rather than explicitly take into account the different narrative styles of English and Yup'ik with regard to this point.

There are several unrelated postbases of the form **+te-**. One is used with verb bases and means 'to act on so as to cause object to V'; it is a *transitivizer*.

nipe- 'to go out' (light, fire)

tuqu- 'to die'

ane- 'to go out' (out an exit)

iter- 'to come in'

mayur- 'to go up'

atrar- 'to go down'

tupag- 'to wake up'

uita- 'to be, to stay'

igte- 'to fall'

urug- 'to melt'

asme- 'to break in two'

√ **niptaa** 'she turned it off'

√ **tuqutaa** 'she killed it'

antaa 'she put it/her outside'¹

itertaa 'she put it/her inside' (*from this and the "half-transitive" postbase come*

iterciuiq 'she put something or someone in (*often: in jail*), and √ **itercivik** 'jail')

mayurtaa 'she put it up'

atartaa 'she put or took it down (as from a shelf)'

tupagtaa 'she woke her up'

√ **uitataa** 'she let it be, left it alone'

√ **igcetaa** 'she dropped it' (*from *igtetaa*)²

urugtaa 'she is melting it'

asemtaa 'she broke it in two'

Non-productive vs. Productive Postbases

Unlike many of the other postbases which we have studied, the above postbase cannot be used freely with all bases. Such postbases which cannot be used freely are said to be *non-productive* (in contrast with *productive* postbases). With many verb bases, the verb base used directly with a transitive ending accomplishes what this postbase **+te-** would accomplish. So from **kuve-** 'to spill' comes **kuvaa** 'she spilled it'; it is neither necessary nor correct to say ***kuvtaa**. On the other hand from **nipe-** 'to go out, be extinguished' one cannot merely say ***nipaa** for 'she put it out, extinguished it, turned it off'; one must say **niptaa** for this.³ There are

1. **Antaa** often has the connotation of making one go out against that person's will, "kicking" one out.

2. It may be that **igcete-**, 'to drop', comes instead from **igte-** and **@+cete-** 'to allow, compel or cause to V' (Chapter 18). Since this postbase **@+cete-** drops **te** from bases, and since, on the other hand, **igtetaa** (from **igte-** and the present postbase) would regularly become **igcete-** everywhere, there is really no way to tell which of these two postbases **igcete-** is built on.

3. There is no way to tell from the "shape" of the base whether or not this postbase will be needed or can be used with it; thus the bases **tenge-** 'to fly off,' **nipe-** 'to go out,' and **tupag-** 'to wake up' all take this postbase (giving **tengtaa** 'it blew it away,' **niptaa** 'she put it out,' and **tupagtaa** 'she woke her up') but the bases **nange-** 'to be used up,' **kepe-** 'to get severed,' and **naveg-** 'to break' which end the same way — in **nge-**, **pe-**, and **g-** respectively — don't use it (these bases take transitive endings directly giving **nangaa** 'she used it up,' **kepaa** 'she severed it,' and **navgaa** 'she broke it').

many other verb bases like **kuve-**, which don't require this postbase as a transivizer, for example: **navegtuq/navgaa** (not ***navegtaa**), **tamartuq/tamaraa** (not ***tamartaa**), **ek'uq/ekaa** (not ***ektaa**) and many other patientive verbs. Also, with many intransitive-only verb bases this postbase **+te-** won't suffice to accomplish what one might expect it to. For example, from **alinge-** 'to be afraid' one cannot get ***alingtaa** for 'she is making her afraid, she is scaring her' instead another postbase must be used, giving **alingevkaraa** for this). One must more or less memorize whether or not a base can use the present postbase.

Exercise 9-5

A. Translate into English:

1) Nuliavet pikna kenurraq niptellrullinia. 2) Pissurtem tuquciiqsugnarqai paluqtat kuicuarni neqlillerpeci keluani. 3) Itertengnaqsaaqellruaqa yaassiigpak nemtenun amiigkun. 4) Aataka tupagtesciigatellruaqa. 5) Irniavet uitasngaicugnarqai qimugkauyaraat. 6) Anciiqaqa ingna! 7) Panivet mayurcullruyaaqaa saskani pikavet. 8) Cavutegken asemtellruagka. 9) Saskan igcetaqa natermun. 10) Urugciiqaqa ciku kaminiakun.

B. Make the following verbs transitive with the meaning 'subject causes object to V' (you may wish to use a dictionary to decide whether or not to use **te**):

1) qup'uq 'it split', 2) tatamuq 'she got startled', 3) qip'uq 'it twisted', 4) im'uq 'it collapsed', 5) nalauq 'it (plant usually) died', 6) akagtuq/akallruuq 'it is/was rolling', 7) neng'uq 'it stretched', 8) nang'uq 'it is all gone, used up'.

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Reverse the following sentences following the pattern (and know the translations of both Yup'ik sentences). For example, given Unuaqu anngama tupagciiqsugnarqaanga, you would write: Unuaqu anngaa tupagciiqsugnarqaqa.

1) Kaviam tuqutellrullinia qimugteput. 2) Nel'illruan-qa qetunraan? 3) Elitnauristemta tangerrisugyaaqsugnarqaatgen. 4) Ilavci ceñircularaitkut. 5) Irnianka uitasngaitanka! 6) Paniin-qa pairtellruan elitnaurvigmi? 7) Alqavet cikirciqaanga neqerrlugnek. 8) Tuqusngaitaaci qimugtema. 9) Irniaten-qa niitellruaten? 10) Maurlumta payugteqataraakut paluqtam kemganek.

B. Change the following from intransitive to transitive adding the object in parentheses; and know the translation. For example, given Aanan aptuq (me) you would write Aanavet aptaanga.

1) Agayulirteput maqiviliyugnarquq (for us). 2) Qimugteci qiluyuitut (at you_{pl}). 3) Calistenka elagtut (the earth) elitnaurviim uatiini. 4) Nulirqa nunulartuq (my brother's children). 5) Ilatek ceñircuitut (us). 6) Apa'urluqa ikamrapialingnaqciquq (for my wife and myself). 7) Piipin alinguq (of me). 8) Niicugnillruunga (some of your teachers). 9) Igalartuten-qa (your mother and father)? 10) Keniqsaitua (the beaver).

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik using the postbase **+te-** when necessary:

1a) Our teacher's pencil broke. 1b) Our teacher broke his (own) pencil. 2a) Did your radio go off? 2b) Did you turn off your radio? 3a) My child's cup broke. 3b)

My child broke his (own) cup. 4a) My sister's tea spilled on the floor. 4b) I spilled my sister's tea on the bed. 5a) My son got into my sled. 5b) I put my son in my sled. 6a) Your puppy went into my house! 6b) I put your puppy in my house! 7a) Your daughter's money probably got lost in the church. 7b) Your daughter probably lost her (own) money in the school. 8a) The little foxes died. 8b) Our dogs killed the little foxes. 9a) Did your knife fall into the water in front of your fishcamp? 9b) Did you drop your gun into the water in front of our village? 10a) His child came down from on top of our steambath house. 10b) He took his (own) child down to the area behind your_{pl} steambath house.

D. Translate the following into English:

1) Antellrüyaaqaa qimugkauyarqa nemnek, taugaam ataam itellruuq. 2) Uluapialingnaqsaqellruaqa nuliaqa. 3) Kenurraq nipellrulliniuq. 4) Aataka tekiciqsugnarquq unuaqu. 5) Im'um uitacuitaakut! 6) Taringyugngaaten-qaa aipavet ilai? 7) Manaryugyaaqua unuamek taugaam cakneq nengllirtuq ellami. 8) Nutaraq elitnauristeput nuliani-llu aliksaaqellruagka. 9) Nel'iyugngallruyaaqut nutaranek nunamteñi taugaam piyuumiitellrulliniut. 10) Panima payugtellrüyaaqai akutamek taugaam tamaantellrunritliniut.

E. Write Yup'ik negatives for each of the following. For example, given Kaillruunga, you would write Kaillrunritua.

1) Yuraryugngaunga makumiucetun. 2) Qayapiangqertukut. 3) Kenurraq nipciiqaa. 4) Igcetellruan natermun. 5) Urugciiqaa ciku. 6) Ukinengqellrulliniuq. 7) Mingqessuuten kitugcugngaaqa. 8) Cavutegni asemtellrüyugnarqak. 9) Caliciqsugnarqukut unuaqu. 10) Iqvangnaqciqut amllerneq.

F. Give both positive and negative answers to each of the following questions. For example, given Kuuvviaryugtuten-qaa? you would write li-i kuuvviaryugtua / Qaang, kuuvviaryuumiitua

1) Nuliangqertuten-qaa? 2) Aanavtun-qaa mingeqsugngauten? 3) Atrarciiqan-qaa pikna yaassiik? 4) Ak'a-qaa uin tupagtellruan? 5) Unatevkun-qaa qercuallruuten? 6) Qimugtema-qaa keggengnaqaaten iruvkun? 7) Irniavet-qaa niitellruaten? 8) Irniaten-qaa tuyuqataraten neqerrlugnek? 9) Elagyugngaan-qaa nuna neqlillerpeceñi? 10) Tangellruagken-qaa qerrulliigka?

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 9

Vocabulary notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 The base **alike-** 'to fear' is transitive-only, while **alinge-** 'to fear' is intransitive-only. The two bases are clearly from the same "root." There are a few other cases where transitive and intransitive come from the same "root" (see Chapter 19) with different postbases on it.
- #2 Instead of **ciku-** for 'to freeze', there is **qenu-** in parts of BB. See the note on **ciku** (and **qenu**) 'ice' in Chapter 6.
- #3 The word **kalikaq** is a loanword from Chukchi, the language of a native group in eastern Siberia. (See Chapter 24.)
- #4 In addition to meaning 'to hear', **niite-** often means 'to hear and obey', so that **niicuituq** means 'she doesn't obey' (as well as 'she doesn't hear'). Compare the English phrase 'she never listens' which can also mean 'she doesn't obey.'
- #5 The singular of **qerrulliik** 'pair of pants' would be **qerrulliq***, that is, the base form is **qerrullir-** (with a strong final consonant) as can be seen in **qerrullirpiik** 'big pair of pants.' Instead of **qerrulliik** for 'pair of pants,' there is **ulruk** (*dual*) in BB, NR, LI and Eg.
- #6 Instead of **quliraq** for 'story,' there is **univkaraq** in NS. Both **quliraq** and **univkaraq** refer to stories handed down from generation to generation, involving events of the distant and semi-mythical past, stories about people who may or may not be fictional, and stories about animals in which they behave like humans. Such stories often purport to explain why things are the way they are and/or teach moral lessons much like Bible stories. An account of something that the speaker has experienced personally is a **qanemciq** or **qalamciq**.
- #7 Also **tuneniaqe-** or **tuniaqe-** for 'to sell,' with **tune-** for only 'to give.'

Note A

The 1st person singular relative case ending **-ma** is evidently a combination of the corresponding absolutive ending **-ka** and the unpossessed relative ending **%:(e)m**. In the 2nd person singular relative ending **-vet** the **v** is a labial like the relative ending **%:(e)m**, and the **t** is an apical like the 2nd person singular absolutive ending **%:(e)n**. For another case where **m-n** corresponds to **v-t**, consider the ordinary terminalis ending **%-mun** and the special terminalis ending for demonstrative adverbs, **.vet**.





Evan Jr. and Senka Paul carrying water from the well in Kwethluk. Photo by James H. Barker.

CHAPTER 10

Third Person Possessed Relative; Transitive Indicative First to Second Person and Second to First Person; Fourth Person Possessed Relative; The 'V for, with, to' Postbase; Adverbial and Exclamatory Particles; Exclamation Forming Suffix

Vocabulary

- akakiik** 'whitefish' #1
alingnarquq 'it is frightening'
aqsaq or **aqsak** 'stomach' (*also dual for one stomach*)
aqsiuq 'he is full (of food)' #2
aqumlleq or **aqumllitaq** 'chair'
eqiurtuq 'he is chopping wood'
ig'uq 'he swallowed'; **igaa** 'he swallowed it'
iquk 'end'
kit'uq 'he or it sank'; (*for people this has the implication, 'drowned'*) (*note that base is kit'e-*)
lagiq 'goose' #3
levaaq 'outboard motor' #4
maqaruaq 'rabbit, snowshoe hare' #5
mertartuq 'he is getting water (from a well, river, etc.)'
murak 'wood' #6
nakukaa 'he is picking on him, fighting with him'
piqertuutaq 'axe' #7
pitaq 'caught thing (animal, bird, etc.)'
qaltaq 'bucket' #8
qitevtuq 'he is speaking English' #9
quuyurniuq 'he is smiling'
saarralaq or **caarralaq** 'sugar' #10
tag'uq 'he went up (the slope), went up from the water'
tunguuq 'it is black'
utaqauq 'he is waiting; **utaqaa** 'he is waiting for him'
ukvekaa or **ukveqaa** 'he believes him or it' #11
unitaa 'he left it/him behind' (*at place in terminalis*)
More vocabulary later in chapter.

Third Person Possessor Relative Case Endings

3rd person endings for the relative case are derived from the corresponding absolutive endings (see Chapter 7) by adding **n** (in one case, **ke** plus **n**) to the singular possessor absolutive ending, and **a** to the plural possessor absolutive ending, (and in one case, **nek** to the dual possessor absolutive).

The following examples show the 3rd person possessor relative case used for the subjects of transitive verbs:

Arnam anngaan neraa. 'The woman's brother is eating it.' (*Compare the absolute subject of the intransitive verb in arnam anngos ner'uq* 'the woman's brother is eating.')

Arnam anngain neraat. 'The woman's brothers are eating it.' (*Compare arnam anngai ner'ut* 'the woman's brothers are eating.')

Arnam anngagken neraak. 'The woman's brothers₂ are eating it.' (*Compare arnam anngak ner'uk* 'the woman's brothers₂ are eating.')

Arnat anngaata neraa. 'The women's brother is eating it.' (*Compare arnat anngaata ner'uq* 'the women's brother is eating.')

Arnat anngaita neraat. 'The women's brothers are eating it.' (*Compare arnat anngait ner'ut* 'the women's brothers are eating.')

Arnak anngaagnek neraak. 'The women₂'s brother is eating it.' (*Compare arnak anngaak ner'uq* 'the women₂'s brother is eating.')

In the following series of examples note how the case changes, and how the 3rd person possessor relative case is used for the possessors of possessed nouns:

abs/sub intrans

Qimugtii tunguuq. 'His dog is black.'

rel/poss abs/sub intrans

Qimugtiin pamyua tunguuq. 'His dog's tail is black.'

rel/poss rel/poss abs/sub intrans

Qimugtiin pamyuan iqua tunguuq. 'The end of his dog's tail is black.'

In chart form:

	one thing	3+ things	two things	
his/her/its	:(ng)an	:(ng)in	%:(e)gken	<i>3rd person singular</i>
their _{pl}	:(ng)ata	:(ng)ita	[%:(e)gketa]	<i>3rd person plural</i>
their ₂	:(ng)agnek	[-kenka]	[%:(e)gkenka]	<i>3rd person dual</i>

Exercise 10-1

A. Translate the words in parentheses into Yup'ik and change the italicized word in the necessary way, and then translate the result. For example, given: (The boy's) *angayuqaak* nunularyaaqak, you would write: Tan'gurraam angayuqaagken nunularyaaqak. 'The boy's parents₂ usually scold him.'

1) The policeman's) *angyam* levaara navellrulliniuq. 2) (My mother's) *egatem* patua ukinengqertuq. 3) (Your sister's) *tan'gurraam* utaqangaitaakut. 4) (The localites') *agayulirtem* assikenritai mikelnguut! 5) (Your brother's) *qimugtem* nerciqsugnarqaa (my sister's) *qaltam* imaa.

B. Parse the following Yup'ik sentences and translate into English:

1) Panima qimugtiin it'gai tunguut. 2) Alqavet piipian nerellrullinia saarralaq. 3) Qetunrama aipaan tamallruyugnarqaa piqertuutan. 4) Irniarita-qaa irniarit qitevtelarciqut? 5) Elitnauristem aqumleran qainga ukinengqertuq amllernek. 6) Eniignek egalra navellruuq. 7) Aturyugaqa aatama levaaran aipaa. 8) Mikelnguut ilaita ekellruit muriit qaltanun. 9) Nuliama maurluan equirtii taqellruuq. 10) Im'um irniaran ellillrua maqaruq pitani natermun.

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) His parents₂' house's door is black. 2) The woman's other son is chopping wood with my axe. 3) His son put the wood in the big box. 4) His daughter put the box next to his grandmother's stove. 5) He is getting water with the policeman's wife's bucket. 6) His dog bit him on his leg. 7) Their visitor broke their chair! 8) Your daughter's son spilled the sugar behind our grandmother's bed. 9) His companion shot the geese with your daughter's husband's gun. 10) One of his daughters answered the visitor in Yup'ik.

D. Make the following transitive with the object given, change the italicized word in the necessary way, and translate. For example, given: Panima uinga utaqauq (for us), you would write: Panima uingan utaqaaqut. 'My daughter's husband is waiting for us.'

1) Auḡkut yuut *irniarit* alingyuitut (of my dogs). 2) Akwaugaq-qaa im'um *qimugtai* qilullruut (at you)? 3) *Paniak* ceñirciiquq (us). 4) Mikelnguum *maurluuk* atkulilartuk (for him). 5) Allanret *iliit* apteqatartuq (me). 6) Allanrem *qetunrai* niitengnaqut (us). In the next two sentences you must remove the half transitive postbase. 7) Angayuqaagma *mertartiik* aqvatuq (my bucket). 8) Uima *angayuqaak* paigiuk (my child).

E. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The end of my brother's oar broke. 2) The children's father's sister scolded them. 3) My brother's wife is going to use my motor. 4) The mouth of their fishtrap is very small. 5) Part of their motor sank in the river in front of our fish camp. 6) His teacher doesn't believe him. 7) The baby crawled under that person's chair. 8) His dogs' teeth are very big. 9) The preacher's book is frightening. 10) Our children's babysitter probably broke our coffee machine. 11) One of your sons picks on my children. 12) Some of that village's people don't speak English. 13) Their₂ son's dog bit my child on his leg, and their₂ daughter's dog bit my child on his other leg! 14) That woman's husband never waits for her. 15) One of the geese

that he caught stank. 16) He didn't want to see the contents of the stomach of the rabbit that I caught. 17) His mother's father was a wood-chopper. 18) My son's teacher's husband swallowed part of the beaver's tail.

F. Translate into English:

1) Maurluma qiirin iquit tunguut. 2) Elitnauristiin ukveqngaicugnarqaa paniin. 3) Nuliama angayuqaagken eniikak'allauguq. 4) Nalkutellruunga lagit kayanguitnek imkut neqllirata keluani. 5) Makumiut ilaita unitellruyugnarqait irniateng. 6) Arnam saarralaan ilii tunguuq! 7) Anngama irniarin iliit quuyurniyuituq. 8) Tangellruan-qaa akakiigem qanran ilua? 9) Unitellrua pitani kaviarem igtiin painganun. 10) Arnam uingan igesciigatellrua tepem iinga. 11) Anngama ilaita ikayularaatnga. 12) Nutaram elitnauristevet aipaan angulviim akwaugaq ceñirteqataryaaqellrulliniakut. 13) Ak'a ellillruanka qetunrama pitain ilait estuulum qainganun. 14) Kuvellruaqa agayulirtem saskaan imaa natermun aqumllerem acianun. 15) Igcetellruanka akinka qetunrama ingleran keluanun. 16) Qimugkayaraat aaniita keggsuitaanga tauḡaam cali alingnarquq. 17) Kuigem paingan ceñii iqtuuq. 18) Arnam mingeqsuumiitaa elitnauristem panian qasperan nacao. 19) Tan'gurraam aatiin unitellrua nutni nemteñun.

With a "chain of possession" there must be agreement in number at each point in the chain, as in the following (somewhat contrived) examples.

Anngama qetunrain qimugtaita qantaat imaituq. 'My brother₁'s sons_{pl}' dogs_{pl}' bowl₁ is empty.'

Elitnauristemta irniarita iliita navellrui allanerpet uitaviata egalri. 'One of the children of our teachers broke the windows of the place where your visitors are staying.'

Alqavet uingan anngain nakukelallruyaaqait kinguqliteng. 'Your sister's husband's brothers used to pick on their younger siblings.'

Nasaurloom angayuqaagken eniignek amiiga mik'uq. 'The girl's parents' house's door is small.'

Exercise 10-2

Parse (grammatically label) each of the above three examples, and show how the numbers of each element mesh with that of adjoining elements.

First to Second and Second to First Person Transitive

Consider the 1st person to 2nd person 'I/we to you,' and the 2nd person to 1st person, 'you to me/us' transitive forms:

<i>'I/we to you' forms:</i>		<i>'you to me/us' forms:</i>	
tangrramken	tangrramci	tangrrarpenga	tangrrarpekut
'I see you'	'I see you _{pl} '	'you see me'	'you see us'
tangrramteggem	tangrramceci	tangrrarpecia	tangrrarpecikut
'we see you'	'we see you _{pl} '	'you _{pl} see me'	'you _{pl} see us'

In the endings above, **ken** or **ggen** indicate 'you₁' as object, **ci** indicates 'you_{pl}', **nga** indicates 'me' (with velar dropping in the case of **tangrrarpecia** from ***tangrrarpecinga**), and **kut** indicates 'us.'

The elements, **m**, **mte/mce**, **rpe**, **rpeci**, which indicate 'I,' 'we,' 'you₁' and 'you_{pl}' as subjects in the above endings are recognizable as slightly shortened forms of relative case noun endings with 1st or 2nd person possessor, similar to the terminalis and other cases with 1st or 2nd person possessor (see chapter 9). Just as for the relative case endings **+pet** and **+peci** there are alternative forms **-vet** and **-vci** (as in **angyarpet** or **angyavet** for 'your₁ boat' in the relative, **angyarpeci** or **angyavci** for 'your_{pl} boat' in the relative), so too there are alternate forms **ve** and **vci** for the elements **rpe** and **rpeci** in the transitive verb endings now being discussed. Thus, for example, for **tangrrarpenga** 'you see me,' there is the alternate **tangrravnga**, and for **tangrrarpecikut** 'you_{pl} see us,' there is the alternate **tangrravcikut**.¹

In chart form (but without the alternates):

	to you ₁	to you _{pl}	to you ₂	
I	+'(g)amken	+'(g)amci	[+'(a)amtek]	<i>1st person singular</i>
we _{pl}	+'(g)amteppen	+'(g)amceci	[+'(g)amcetek]	<i>1st person plural</i>
we ₂	[+'(g)amegten]	[+'(g)amegci]	[+'(g)amegtek]	<i>1st person dual</i>
	<i>2nd pers. singular</i>	<i>2nd pers. plural</i>	<i>2nd pers. dual</i>	

	to me	to us _{pl}	to us ₂	
you ₁	+'(g)arpenga	+'(g)arpekut	[+'(g)arpekuk]	<i>2nd s.</i>
you _{pl}	+'(g)arpecia	+'(g)arpecikut	[+'(g)arpecikuk]	<i>2nd pl.</i>
you ₂	[+'(g)arpetegna]	[+'(g)arpetegkut]	[+'(g)arpetegkuk]	<i>2nd du.</i>
	<i>1st pers. singular</i>	<i>1st pers. plural</i>	<i>1st pers. dual</i>	

1. The **p** forms seem to be more common, probably because originally **p** forms, both of relative case noun endings and these verb endings, were always the forms that were used after consonants such as the **r** of **+'(g)ar-** which is the actual transitive marker here (the **r** can also be seen in that fact that the 'I to him/it' ending is **+'(g)aq** rather than ***+'(g)aka**), and the **v** forms were used only after vowels. See also the discussion of the (*transitive*) *participial mood* in Chapter 21.

Exercise 10-3*Translate:*

1) Tangerciqamken unuaqu. 2) Ukvekenritarpenga-qaa? 3) Ikayurngaitamci. 4) Cikirciqerpenga-qaa akakiignek? (*note that qar becomes qer here as is usual*) 5) Kenkamken cakneq. 6) Ceñirciiqsugnarqamceci nevceñi. 7) Nakukngaitamken. 8) Qanruciiqamken qetunravnek. 9) Ak'a tuyullruarpecia amllerneq akinek! 10) Kiungaitamken. 11) Apciiqamken im'umek. 12) You never help us. 13) We always visit you. 14) I'll try to make you skin boots. 15) I can't wait for you_{pl}. 16) We won't leave you behind. 17) Don't you believe us? 18) You probably won't encounter me there. 19) You_{pl} used to pick on us. 20) Can't you₂ answer us₂?

Fourth Person Relative Endings

Fourth person endings for the relative case are **-mi** 'his own *N*,' and **-meng** 'their own *N*.'¹ Thus they are like the corresponding 4th person absolutive endings (see Chapter 8) except for having (relative case marker) **m** in place of **n** in **-ni** and **t** in **-teng**.

Assikaa anngami irniara. 'He likes his (own) brother's child' (*relative possessor; compare the absolutive object in assikaa anngani* 'he likes his (own) brother').

Assikait anngameng irniarit. 'They like their (own) brothers' children' (*relative possessor; compare the object in assikait anngateng* 'they like their (own) brothers').

The 3rd person relative can function in both roles of the relative case: as a possessor as in **anngaan irniara** 'his brother's child,' and as the subject of a transitive verb as in **anngaan neraa** 'his brother is eating it.' However, *the 4th person relative can only function as a possessor* as in **assikaa anngami irniara** (above), and *not as the subject of a transitive verb*.² That is, one cannot say ***anngami assikaa** hoping to mean 'his own brother likes him'. Rather, **anngaan assikaa** means 'his brother likes him' with ambiguity whether it is his own brother or someone else's.

1. For some speakers these endings are **+mi**, and **+meng**, that is, consonant retaining, especially with bases in **er** or **eg**; a variant of **-meng** is **-megta** (and also **-megteng**).

2. This statement must be qualified; the 4th person relative cannot function as the subject of the *main* verb of a sentence, but it may be used for the subject of a secondary verb in the same sentence. For example one can say **mikelnguq qavallruuq aanami eritainanraki yaqulget** 'the child slept while his (own) mother was plucking (**eritainanraki**) the birds'; here **aanami** is 4th person relative as the subject of the *second contemporative* mood secondary verb **eritainanraki** (see Chapter 17 for this mood). If a sentence consists of two clauses joined by **taugaam** 'but' or **=llu** 'and,' the verb of one clause is not considered secondary to that of the other so the 4th person relative is generally not used for the subject of one of the two clauses. Thus one says **mikelnguq qavallruuq aaniin-llu** (*rather than* **aanami**) **eritallrui yaqulget** for 'the child slept and his mother plucked the birds.'

Exercise 10-4*A. Translate:*

1) Aanama tamallrua egatemi patua. 2) Pissurtem kitugcuumiiciiqaq anngami taluyaa. 3) Mikelnguut qavallruyugnarqut alqameng eniini. 4) Nuliama ellillruyugnarqaa nacan aqumlleme qainganun. 5) Nasaurluum mingqellrua pilugumi aipaa. 6) Nalkutellruuq akinek inglemi keluani. 7) Tan'gurraam navellrullinia aatami levaara. 8) Aanama nunuyuitai ilami irniarit. 9) Makumiut maqilartut ilameng maqiviitni.

B. Translate to Yup'ik (assume that 'his', 'their' etc. means 'his own', 'their own' etc.):

1) Your son looks like his mother's father. 2) My dad left his other axe behind. 3) The visitors ate at their relatives' fishcamp. 4) Your daughter's husband already packed water with his wife's father's bucket. 5) Does your dog usually bite the end of its tail? 6) The boy broke his sister's chair. 7) They killed the dogs which bit their children (= their children's biters). 8) He didn't believe the one who was picking on his son (= his son's ones who pick on him). 9) The man sold his other gun to the visitor. 10) My son chops wood with his grandfather's axe. 11) He dropped his other axe into the water and it sank in front of his fish camp.

Fourth Person Oblique Case Endings

Oblique case (non-absolute and non-relative) endings for 4th person come from the 4th person relative (as with 1st and 2nd person), but note that 4th person plural possessor is marked by **megg** or **megte** rather than **meng**:

Anngaminun tunaa. 'He gave it to his (own) brother(s)' (*terminalis*; compare *anngami* above).

Anngameggun tunaat. 'They gave it to their (own) brother(s)' (*terminalis*; compare *anngameng* above).

Angyamikun ayallruuq. 'He went with his own boat.'

Angyamegteggun ayallruut. 'They went with their own boat(s).'

Exercise 10-5

Change the italicized word to the appropriate 4th person form, and translate the resulting sentence. For example, given: Mikelnguut aquilaryaaqut enem ketiini you would write: Mikelnguut aquilaryaaqut nem'eng ketiini. 'The children usually play in front of their own house (though maybe not this time).'

1) Irniapuk qavalartuq *inglermi*. 2) Arnaq mingqesciigatuq *mingeqsuutekun*. 3) Qetunrait ayuqelartut *aatacetun*. 4) Qimugteput neryugngaut *qantanek*. 5) Irniaci-qaq igayuitut *igarcuutetgun*. 6) Allanrem unitellrullinia nuliani *nunamun*. 7) Maani mikelnguut aquivingqertut *elitnaurvigmi*. 8) Payugtellruit *pitaneq* ilateng. 9) Makumiut manarciigatut *nanvami*. 10) Mertalallruut *qaltatgun*.

Postbases

The postbase @:(u)te- has a variety of related meanings. These will be discussed after the attachment process is discussed. This postbase drops base-final **te** completely if that **te** is preceded by a consonant, and changes the **te** to **y** if it is preceded by a vowel, but to **s** if it is from a "short" base ending in **t'e**, and to **l** if from a base ending in *special te*. Velar-dropping applies, *but not if a velar ends up between single vowels because base-final te or base final e is dropped.*¹ The (u) is used with all bases except those that end in a full vowel (a, i, u).

Illustrations of attachment:

- from **qalarte-** comes **qalarute-** (without velar-dropping)
- from **kipute-** comes **kipuyute-**
- from **mit'e-** comes **mis'ute-**
- from **nallunrite-** comes **nallunrilute-**
- from **tage-** comes **tagute-** (without velar-dropping)
- from **iter-** comes **itrute-** (with semi-final **e** dropped)
- from **eqiur-** comes **eqiurute-**
- from **atrar-** comes ***atrarute-** → **atraute-** (by velar-dropping)
- from **ayag-** comes ***ayagute-** → **ayaute-** (by velar-dropping)
- from **quuyurni-** comes **quuyurnite-** ((u) not used)
- from **tai-** comes **taite-** ((u) not used)

In terms of meaning, first note that this postbase is usually not used with a singular intransitive ending (except to form the "half-transitive" with certain verbs (see Chapter 8)).

With a dual or plural intransitive ending it means 'to V each other, to V together':

- Assikutuk.** 'They₂ like each other.'
- Ikayuutellruukut.** 'We helped each other.'
- Aqitut.** 'They are playing together.'
- Nallunrilutuk.** 'They₂ know each other.'
- Qalarutuk.** 'They₂ are talking to each other.'

With a transitive ending the meaning will vary depending upon the semantic type of the verb base. In general the meaning involves the notions of 'for,' 'to,' or 'with.'

With verbs of communication (taken in a broad sense) it means 'to V to object':

- √ **Qanrutaa.** 'He told him.'
- Qalarutaa.** 'He is talking to him.'

1. Apparently the velar dropping process occurs "before" base final **e** or **te** is dropped, so that **e** or **te** "protects" the velar.

Qit'vutaa. 'He is speaking English to him' (from *qitêvutaa).

Quuyurnitaa. 'He is smiling at him.'

Quliritaa. 'He is telling him a story.' (This is an alternative to using a transitive ending directly without this postbase: **quliria**.)

With verbs of motion it means 'to V object together with self':

Itrutaa. 'He brought it in.' (Compare, **itertaa** 'he put it in.')

Anutaa. 'He brought it out.' (Compare, **antaa** 'he put it out.')

Atrautaa. 'He brought it down.' (Compare, **atrartaa** 'he put it down (without going down himself).')

Tagutaa. 'He brought it up (the slope or from by the water).'

Tekiyutaa or, irregularly but more commonly **Tekiutaa.** 'He arrived with it.'

Ut'rutaa. 'He brought it back, returned it' (from *utêrutaa; note that some people say **utrutaa** with a voiceless **r**).

Agutaa. 'He brought it over.'

With other verbs it means 'to V for object' or 'to V with object':

Kipuyutaa. 'He bought something for him.' (The 'something' could be expressed by a noun in the ablative-modalis case (with verbs of giving).)

√ **Elautaa.** 'He is burying it' (literally 'digging (a hole) for it').

Iqvautaa. 'He is picking berries for him or with him.'

Aquitaa. 'He is playing with him.'

We have already seen in Chapter 8 how this postbase is used as the "half-transitive" with certain agentive or transitive-only verb bases:

Tegutuq. 'He took something' (from **tegu**-).

Aqvatuq. 'He went to get something' (from **aqva**-).

Nalkutuq. 'He found something' (from **nalke**-).

Ikayuutuq. 'He's helping out' (from **ikayur**-).

With some verbs the meaning with this postbase doesn't seem to fit any of the above categories. For example, **igautaa** means 'he is writing it down'¹ (compare **igaraa** 'he is writing to her'). With certain verbs the plain transitive without an intervening postbase does what this postbase would do. For example to say, 'he is making a boat for him,' most people say **angyalia**, rather than **angyalitaa** (though some people do say it this way).

1. **Igautaa** can also have the more predictable meaning 'he is writing for him.'

Exercise 10-6

A. Explain how each of the following is derived from its base (i.e. whether *ute* or *just te* is used and why, what happens to a base-final *te*, and whether or not *velar-dropping* occurs and why), and translate into English:

- 1) *ayautaa* (from *ayag-*), 2) *ut'rutaa* (from *uterte-*), 3) *agayutaa* (from *agayu-*), 4) *nerutuk* (from *nere-*), 5) *eqiurutaa* (from *eqiur-*), 6) *taitaa* (from *tai-*), 7) *keniutaa* (from *kenir-*), 8) *apyutaa* (from *apte-*), 9) *alikutuk* (from *alike-*), 10) *tuquyutaa* (from *tuqute-*), 11) *mertautaa* (from *mertar-*), 12) *mis'utaa* (from *mit'e-*).

B. Translate:

- 1) *Kipuyuciiqaa irniani ikamramek.* 2) *Elitnauristem qit'vut'larai mikelnguut nunamta elitnaurviani.* 3) *Tagutellrui muriit angyaminek.* 4) *Arnam uini iqvautaa atsalugpianek curanek-llu nunapigmi nanvacuaraam ukatiini.* 5) *Keniuciiqamken paluqtam pamyuanek.* 6) *Mertaucuitarpekut, usuuq!* 7) *Igausngaitanka ateci uumun kalikamun.* 8) *Ak'a taluyaput atrautaqa ceñamun yaavet angyavet uatiinun.* 9) *Itrutellruan-qaa saarralaq amiigem canianek?* 10) *Kiugkuk mikelnguuk kenkutuk cakneq.* 11) *Aguciiqaaq levaq misvigmun.* 12) *Ut'ruteksaitaqa nutek yuanun.* 13) *Annganka-llu nakukut'lallruyaaqukut.*

C. Translate into *Yup'ik* and parse your translations; assume that 'his, their' etc. refers back to the subject if possible unless indicated otherwise:

- 1) He brought the wood into his house. 2) He took the dog which bit his son (= his son's biter) away from his fishcamp. 3) They arrived at their village with the birds that they'd caught. 4) The woman cooked seal meat for her husband and children. 5) The new teacher and his wife brought that box from the airstrip to their house. 6) The girls are going to pick blueberries for their parents, and their parents will make their children Eskimo ice cream. 7) Those children never fight with each other, but their parents scold them. 8) Will you sew me a parka? 9) The man bought his son a coat in Bethel at his relative's store. 10) He never speaks to his children in *Yup'ik* and his wife never speaks to them in English! 11) You never smile at me. 12) Their father will tell his children a folktale. 13) I'm going to return this axe to its owner (= its yuk). 14) I brought the boxes here from the store already. 15) Will you wait for me at the school? 16) He never talks to his parents. 17) I'll fix an old outboard motor of mine for you. 18) They brought their little son down to their boat, and we took him up again. 19) He wrote our names down on his paper in *Yup'ik*. 20) My brother took your blanket up to his bedroom.

The postbase **-nge-** is used with both noun bases and verb bases. With noun bases it means 'to acquire *N*, to get *N* (as a permanent possession).' With verb bases it means 'to begin to *V*, to start to *V*.'

Examples

Nutaramek angyangyugtua. 'I want to get a new boat.'

Qiinguten! 'You are getting grey hair!'

√ **Akinguq.** 'He's earning money.'

Irniangeciquq or Irniangciquq. 'She will get a child, have a baby' (√ **irniange-** = 'to get or have a baby').

Uingeksaituq-qaa paniin? 'Hasn't your daughter gotten married?' (√ **uinge-** = 'to get a husband, to get married (of a woman).')

Nulianguumiituq. 'He doesn't want to get married' (√ **nuliange-** = 'to get a wife, to get married (of a man).')

Nengllinguq. 'It's beginning to be cold, it's getting cold.'

Qiangut mikelnguut. 'The children are starting to cry.'

Qimugtem qilungellruakut. 'The dog was beginning to bark at us.'

Kaingeksaitua. 'I haven't gotten hungry yet.'

Angyaq imanguq. 'The boat is taking on water, leaking' (√ **imange-** = 'to get contents, to leak in liquid').

Exercise 10-7

Translate:

- 1) I want to get a baby boy.
- 2) Did you already get a new axe?
- 3) My husband is beginning to cook the soup.
- 4) I can't start working today.
- 5) They are beginning to understand us.
- 6) Will they begin to help us tomorrow?
- 7) I want to get lots of dogs.
- 8) Has your baby gotten any teeth yet?
- 9) We got a new motor in St. Marys.
- 10) I haven't gotten tired yet.

The postbase **-ke-** is used with noun bases to yield verb bases which can (usually) take only transitive endings. It means 'to have (object) as one's *N*.' For example:

Aanakaa. 'She is his mother' (*literally*: 'he has her as his mother').

Alqaqaa. 'She is his older sister' (*literally*: 'he has her as his older sister'; *note also that the postbase takes the form **qe-** here rather than **ke-** since the base **alqar-** for 'sister' ends in **r**, or, to put it another way, the word ends in **q**).*

√ **Quyavikaa.** 'He feels thankful to him, he expressed his thanks to him, thanked him' (*literally*: 'he has him as a place or site for being thankful').

Elitnauristem qimugtekai ingkut. 'Those are the teacher's dogs.'

In the last example above **elitnauristem** 'teacher,' is the subject and **ingkut** 'those,' is the object, so the somewhat strange sounding translation, 'the teacher has those as his dogs,' or even more strange sounding, 'the teacher has-as-dogs those,' actually parallels the Yup'ik better than the more natural sounding translation, 'those are the teacher's dogs,' and may be a helpful step for the student in dealing with this postbase.

Further examples with this postbase are:

Nuliaqqa (or, irregularly, nulirqqa). 'She is my wife' (*literally*, 'I have her as (my) wife').

Ingna-qaa nek'an? 'Is that (over there) your house?'

Kan'a angyaq pikaqa. 'That (down there) boat is my thing' or 'That boat is mine' or 'I own that boat' (so one can think of √ pikaqa as 'he owns it').

Irninama elitnauristekaata augna arnaq. 'That (going away) woman is my children's teacher.'

Ilakutut. 'They are relatives' (literally, 'they have each other as relatives', this word has the postbase @:(u)te-between -ke- and the intransitive ending).

Ingkut pitaqanka. 'I caught those' (literally, 'I have them as my caught things'; so √ pitaqaa 'he caught it').

Atqaa. 'It is his name.'

Augkuk angayuqagagka. 'Those people (going away from us) are my parents.'

Notice that Yup'ik uses very different construction to say, for example, (1) 'she is a grandmother', and (2) 'she is my grandmother', which are nearly the same in English. (1) is **maurluuguq**, while (2) is **maurluqaqa**.

Exercise 10-8

A. Translate the following pairs of sentences:

- 1a) The little woman is a mother. 1b) The little woman is the big boy's mother.
 2a) That (over there) is a house. 2b) That (over there) is our teacher's house. 3a) The one down there is a big boat. 3b) The one down there is my dad's big boat.
 4a) The one going away is a little sled. 4b) The one going away is our little sled.
 5a) I have a dog. 5b) I have that_{over there} dog.

B. Translate into English:

- 1) Man'a kisvikaa angyaata ak'allam. 2) Augkut mikelnguut irniaqanka. 3) Una pikaqa. 4) Anngama elitnauristem pania nuliaqaa. 5) Kuvevikqatararpenga kuuvviarpenek! 6) Angayuqagken quyavikagka. 7) Imna tan'gurraq aipaqellruyaaqaa. 8) Una-qaa qimugtekan? 9) Makumiut quyavikciqsugnarqaatgen. 10) Neqlilqenritaput. 11) Tauna qaltaqellruyaaqaa.

C. Translate into Yup'ik and parse your translation:

- 1) The big man is the little woman's husband. 2) Those boys and girls are my sister's children. 3) My grandfather owned that motor. 4) The white person is a teacher. 5) The white person is my child's teacher. 6) It's the preacher's house. 7) The local people are my husband's relatives. 8) My mother will thank your son.

Exercise 10-9

Write complete-sentence Yup'ik definitions or explanations for the following kinship terms (some of which have not been in given vocabularies yet) following the pattern of the example: given: apa'urluq, your definition or explanation would be: Yuum apa'urluqak aatami aatii aanami-llu aatii. 'A person's grandfathers are his (own) father's father and his mother's father.'

- 1) tutgar(aq) = 'grandchild,' 2) acak = 'aunt on father's side,' 3) anaana = 'aunt on mother's side,' 4) angak = 'uncle on mother's side,' 5) ataata = 'uncle on father's side,' 6) amauq = 'great-grandparent' 7) arcik = 'man's wife's sister's husband'

Exclamation Forming Suffix

The suffix @~+(t)vaa forms exclamations from verb bases.¹ These exclamations can apply to whatever is appropriate: the speaker, the listener, or something else. Also, this suffix does not inflect.² The (t) is used with consonant ending bases (as it is used in the intransitive indicative ending +(g/t)uq). However, the consonant combination tv, whether resulting from this (t) or from the t of a te ending base, becomes p. Note that on the consonant chart in Chapter 1 lines through t and v intersect at p; that is, p combines the labial character of v with the stop character of t.

Another, and perhaps easier, way to view this suffix is to regard it as having two forms, ~vaa, used with bases that end in vowels but not in te, and @+paa, used with bases that end in consonants or in te (which is deleted).

Examples

cuka- 'to be fast'

cukavaa 'how fast!' (*the v here is pronounced like English "w" by most Yup'ik speakers*)

ange- 'to be big'

angvaa 'how big!'

take- 'to be long'

takvaa 'how long!' (*the v here is voiceless*)

cukaite- 'to be slow'

cukaipaa 'how slow!'

kiircete- 'to be hot' (air)

kiircepaa 'how hot (it is)!'

qerrute- 'to be cold' (person)

qerrupaa 'how cold (I am)!'

nengllir- 'to be cold' (air)

nengllirpaa 'how cold (it is)!'

assir- 'to be good'

assirpaa 'how good!'

assiite- 'to be bad'

assiipaa 'how bad!'

With bases ending in rqe and ~+ type suffixes, such as this, r drops:

alingnarqe- 'to be scary'

alingnaqvaa 'how scary!; how exasperating!'

Though the exclamations formed in this way can pertain to whatever context decrees they should pertain to, it is possible to focus an exclamation formed in this way on a particular thing. The thing to which the exclamation pertains is put into the localis case (another use of this case — *localis with exclamations*), and a special enclitic, =lli or =ll' is used on the first word of the exclamation:

Qimugtevni-lli keggsuipaa! or **Keggsuipaa-ll' qimugtevni!** 'Your dog sure never bites at all!'

1. In HBC the form is @~+(t)vag.

2. Technically, this suffix is not a postbase. One could say that it forms a new verb mood, which does not inflect. For practical purposes, however, it is best to view it as a unique exclamation-forming suffix.

Exercise 10-10*A. Translate:*

1) Mernurpaa! 2) Meqsugpaa! 3) Angyaipaa! 4) Tainripaa! 5) Kaigpaa! 6) Ayagyugpaa! 7) Qavaryugpaa! 8) Mikvaa! 9) Naulluuvaa! 10) Utercugpaa!

B. Translate the following, looking up the required verb bases in a dictionary if necessary:

1) How sleepy! 2) How stupid! 3) How windy! 4) How it makes one grateful! 5) How heavy! 6) How enjoyable! 7) How loud! 8) How smelly! 9) How ferocious (how it tends or wants to bite)! 10) How delicious this food is!

C. Write five exclamations using this construction; you may use verb bases not in the vocabulary.

See also Note A concerning the word **alap'aa** 'how cold!' in the supplement to this chapter.

Exclamatory Particles

There are a number of words in Yup'ik which are exclamations and are generally uninflectable. Some of these can also be used as particles in sentences. Below is a list of common exclamations (which will form part of the vocabulary for this chapter). There are a number of other such words, and for a few of these there is considerable dialect variation. Also, it is sometimes difficult to give even an approximate translation of such exclamations.

ai 'what did you say?'

akeka 'ouch' (a formalized expression of pain, much like the English word "ouch")

ampi 'let's go, hurry up'

angli-lli 'so much!, so many!'

aren 'oops'

arenqiapaa 'too bad, but that's the way it is' (actually this is from the suffix @~+(t)vaa and a verb √arenqiatuq meaning 'it is unfortunate, undesirable, but irremediable')

ata 'let me see, wait a second'

atam 'look here, pay attention'

aullu 'watch out'

cama-i 'hello, pleased to meet you, good to see you again' (always accompanied by shaking hands)¹

ila-i 'eek!, how scary!'

kaaka 'listen (for a sound)'

kiiki 'hurry up'

kita 'here, take it'

naamikika or **naami** or **naam** or **naamell'** 'I don't know'

nakleng or, **akleng** 'poor thing, too bad, sorry' #12

1. Could this be from the predicative demonstrative form **cama-i** 'down there (obscured)'?

nutaan 'fine' (*also a particle indicating that something has happened just now and for the best*)

piura or **piuraa** 'good bye' (*actually this is an inflected form of a verb meaning literally 'stay as you are'*)

qaa 'is that so?!' (*as an exclamation here rather than an enclitic*)

tang 'look, take a look'

waqaa 'what do you want?, what's up?, hello' (*often said to someone coming to the door, calling on the phone, etc.; not quite like the English 'hello'*)

More Demonstratives

At this point the student should learn by heart the demonstratives below, including their various inflected adverb and pronoun forms, and review **una**, **man'a**, **tauna**, **ingna**, **pikna**, **kan'a**, **augna**, **kiugna**, and **ugna** from Chapter 6.

tamana 'that one near listener' or 'the one in situation being talked about' (extended); plural is **tamakut**; localis adverb is **tamaani** 'there, where you are' or 'in that place' or 'at that time'

unegna 'that one down river' or 'that one near the exit' (extended); plural is **unegkut**; localis adverb is **un'gani** (or **un'gaani** for some speakers) 'in the whole general area downriver' or 'in the general area near the exit'

ikna 'that one across there' (restricted); plural is **ikegkut**; localis adverb is **ikani** 'right across there in sight'

pingna 'that one up the slope, away from the water' (restricted); plural is **pingkut**; localis adverb is **piani** 'right up or back there in sight'

kegna 'the one outside' (restricted); plural is **kegkut**; localis adverb is **keggani** 'right out there in sight'

Exercise 10-11

Write a sentence for each of the above five pronouns and one for each of the above five adverbs.

Note that the demonstrative **pingna** (and also the corresponding extended and obscured demonstratives **paugna**, and **pamna**, and the adverb forms of these three pronouns) go with the verb **tage-** 'to go up the slope', while on the other hand the demonstrative **pikna** (and also **pagna** and **pakemna**, and the adverb forms of these) go with the verb **mayur-** 'to go up above'. Thus, one would say **tag'uq piavet** (or **pavavet** or **pamavet**), but **mayurtuq pikavet** (or **pagaavet** or **pakmavet**). In other words, Yup'ik has two senses of 'up' both in demonstratives and in verbs. The opposite of these two senses of 'up' is *one single* sense of 'down', so that one says **atrartuq kanavet** (or **unavet** or **camavet**) to mean both 'he is going down to that area down the slope' and 'he is going down to that area down below.'

Connected Reading for Chapter 10

Read the story below which is a traditional story slightly simplified from the form in which it was told by Martha Teeluk. Constructions which haven't been presented in the chapters up to this point are explained in footnotes, but only the first time they occur.

Ak'a-gguq tamaani¹ maurluqellriik² uitalallruuk imarpiim ceñiini. Maurluqellriik taukuk ikayurtaitellruuk. Tua-i-llu maurluum qanrut'lallrua tutgara'urluni atrasqelluku³ ceñamun, yuaresqelluku-llu⁴ camek teplermek⁵ ceñamun tamaavet unugmi.⁶

Tua-i-llu erenret⁷ iliitni tan'gurraq atrallruuq ceñamun. Tamaani tangertuq neqmek. Neqa uivaarluku⁸ tan'gurraq aturtuq waten:

Uivaarturlaku, caniqairturlaku,
iglangqertacirramtun igqerniaraga⁹

Aturraarluni¹⁰ tan'gurraam igaa neqa. Iggraarluku¹¹ tamaaggun ceñakun piyuaguq.¹² Piyuanguanermi¹³ nalkutuq nayirmek. Nayiq uivaarluku tan'gurraq ataam aturtuq waten:

Uivaarturlaku, caniqairturlaku,
iglangqertacirramtun igqerniaraga.

Aturraarluni tan'gurraam igaa nayiq. Iggraarluku nayiq ataam ayagtuq tamaani ceñakun. Piyuanguanermi tuaten nalkutuq maklagmek.¹⁴ Maklak uivaaraa. Tua-i-llu uivaarraarluku ataam aturtuq. Aturraarluni tan'gurraam igaa maklak!

1. **ak'a tamaani** = 'long ago' (idiom); enclitic **=gguq** = 'it is said.'

2. postbase and ending **-kellriik** = 'the two individuals one of whom is the other's *N*.'

3. **-sqelluku** = 'telling him to *V*'; the **-luku** and **-luni** endings correspond roughly to the "-ing" ending on English verbs such as "telling" (Chapter 18 for **-sqe-**; Chapter 13 for **-luku**).

4. **yuar-** = 'to look for.'

5. **camek teplermek** = 'whatever had drifted ashore.'

6. **unuk** = 'night.'

7. **erneq** = day; the plural may be either **erneret** or **erenret**.

8. **uivaar-** = 'to repeatedly go around, to circle'; **uivaarluku** = 'circling it.'

9. this is evidently a magical chant; **uivaarturlaku** = 'let me continue to circle it'; **caniqairturlaku** = 'let me continue to go beside it'; **iglangqertacirramtun** = 'to (like) the extent to which I have a throat'; **igqerniaraga** = 'so that I can simply swallow it.'

10. **-rraarluni** = 'after *V*-ing' (Chapter 13).

11. **-rraarluku** = 'after *V*-ing it'; **iggraarluku** is the more common form of what can also be **ig'rraarluku**.

12. **piyua-** = 'to walk.'

13. **piyanguanermi** = 'while he was walking'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).

14. **maklak** = 'bearded seal.'

Tan'gurraq ceñametraarluni¹ utertuq tekilluni-llu² maurlumi eniin amiigan elatiinun. Maurluni aptaa, "Maurluuq,³ qaillun iterciqsia?"⁴

Maurluan kiugaa, "Uuggun amiigkun itra!"⁵

Tan'gurraam qanrutaa, "Iterciigatua amiigkun. Qaillun iterciqsia?"

Maurluum kiugaa, "Egalerkun pikaggun itra!"

Tan'gurraam qanrutellrua, "Maurluuq, cali egalerkun iterciigatua!"

Tua-i-llu, tan'gurraq niicuilan,⁶ maurluum qenerrluni⁷ qanrutaa waten: -Uum mingqut'ma iingakun itra!"

Tua-i tan'gurraq itertuq maurlumi mingqutiin iingakun!

Itraarluni tan'gurraam urugcirai⁸ it'gani kenrem⁹ caniani. Maurluan qanrutaa, "Tutgara'urluuq, keneq unisgu!"¹⁰ Niicuilami¹¹ tan'gurraam ullakaniraa¹² keneq! Ataam maurluan qanrutaa unitesqelluku keneq. Ataam tan'gurraam ullakaniraa keneq.

Piqerluni¹³ tan'gurraam ullakanillraku¹⁴ keneq, cupun kenruayaaar¹⁵ qec'nguq¹⁶ tan'gurraam-llu aqsiignun tull'uni.¹⁷ Kenruayagaam¹⁸ qagercetak¹⁹ tan'gurraam aqsiik.

Tua-i-llu aqsiigkenek an'ut neqet, nayiit, makliit-llu mermek avuluteng.²⁰ Tua-i-llu maurluqellriik taukuk kill'utek.

1. **ceñamete-** is from **ceñami** and the obsolete verb base **ete-** (see Chapter 6).

2. **-luni**, and **-luku** are endings of the subordinative mood (Chapter 13); in addition to being used where English has verbs ending in "-ing", the subordinative is often used in place of the indicative; so here **tekilluni** is being used in place of **tekitsuq**; note that **tl** becomes **ll** with this ending.

3. **maurluuq** is the vocative or calling form of **maurluq** (Chapter 12).

4. **qaillun iterciqsia** = 'how will I come in?'; interrogative mood (Chapter 11).

5. **itra** = 'come in' (as a command or request); optative mood (Chapter 12).

6. **niicuilan** = 'because he disobeyed'; lit: 'because he wouldn't hear.'

7. **qenerte-** = 'to be angry.'

8. **urugcirai** = 'he thawed them out.'

9. **keneq** = 'fire.'

10. **unisgu** is the 'you to it' optative (command) form of **unite-**; (Chapter 11).

11. **niicuilami** = 'because he disobeyed.'

12. **ullakanir-** = 'to approach closer or more.'

13. **piqerluni** = 'suddenly; one time.'

14. **ullakanillraku** = 'when he approached it more'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).

15. **cupun kenruaya(g)ar(aq*)** = 'glowing ember, burning coal.'

16. **qec'nge-** = 'jumped out.'

17. **tut'e** = 'to step (on something), to land (on something).'

18. **kenruayagaq** = 'ember.'

19. **qagercete-** = 'to cause to explode.'

20. **avuluteng** = 'being mixed together (with something).'

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 10

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 Instead of **akakiik** for 'whitefish' there is **tupuk** in NSU, **qaurtuq** in NSK, Y, UK, and NI, **naptaq** in HBC, Nun and some NI, **cavirutnaq** in some BB and **uraruq** in NR and LI.
- #2 In NSU and Nun **aqsi-** is 'to be pregnant' and **aqiturte-** is 'to be full.'
- #3 The word **lagiq** 'goose' is from Aleut and/or from the sound the goose makes. Various other words are used depending on the area for particular types of goose. Other general terms for 'goose' (and other fowl) are **tengmiaq** and **yaqulek**.
- #4 The word **levaaq** 'outboard motor' probably comes from the sound the motor makes. Other words for 'outboard motor' are **elliqeryaraq** (literally, 'device for just putting,' referring to the way the outboard motor can be easily just put on the boat), **massiinaq** and **kaassalinaq**. The dialectal distribution of these words is quite complex, with some villages, and even some speakers, using two, three or even all four of these words. In general **elliqeryaraq** is used in downriver Y, HBC, the mouth of the K, Can, Nun, BB, NR and LI, **massiinaq** is used in NS, upriver Y, NI, Can, K and Eg, **levaaq** is used in NI, Can, downriver K, BB, and NR, and **kaassalinaq** is used in K, and UK. The two words **massiinaq** and **kaassalinaq** are from Russian probably reinforced by English; **massiinaq** also means 'sewing machine', and **kaassalinaq** also means 'gasoline.'
- #5 Actually **maqaruaq** means only 'snowshoe hare' since there are no true rabbits in the Yup'ik area (or elsewhere in Alaska). Instead of **maqaruaq**, there is **nullutuuyak** in BB, NR, and LI. The larger 'tundra or arctic hare', often called 'jackrabbit', is **qayuqeggliq**, but in NI and Can **ugasek** or **negilirkaq** are used instead.
- #6 Instead of **murak** for 'wood,' there is **muragaq** in HBC, some NI and some Can, and **equk** in NS, some Y, and Eg. This last word is found in **eqiur-** 'to chop wood', **eqir-** 'to stoke', and **equgtar-** 'to gather wood,' three verb bases that are used even in areas where **murak** or **muragaq** rather than **equk** is used for 'wood.'
- #7 Instead of **piqertuutaq** for 'axe,' there is **qalqapak** in NS, HBC, Y, UK, and some NI, and **tupuuluq** in UK and Eg. **Qalqapak** is from Chukchi, and **tupuuluq** is from Russian.
- #8 In addition to **qaltaq** for 'bucket' there is the **mertarcuun** or **mertarrsuun** (literally, 'water getting device') which is the only word for 'bucket' in HBC, and also **tuqmik** in some NR, Eg and some UK.
- #9 The original meaning of **qitevte-**, which now means 'to speak English,' seems to have been 'to speak in a foreign language; to babble, speak gibberish.'
- #10 **Saarralaq/caarralaq** 'sugar' is from Russian. A number of words from Russian have s-initial and c-initial variants. In general K, Can and BB (here referred to as the "s-area") use the s variant of all these words, NS, downriver Y, HBC, NI and Nun (here referred to as "c-area") use the c variant and upriver Y, UK, NR, LI and Eg (here referred to as "s/c-area") follow the Russian original for each individual word using s if the Russian word starts with an "s" sound and c if the Russian word starts with a "ch" sound. Thus 'sugar' is **saarralaq** in the s-area, **caarralaq** in the c-area, and it is **saarralaq** in the s/c-area since the Russian word that it comes from, *sakhar*, starts with an "s" sound. On the other hand 'tea' is **saayuq** in the s-area, **caayuq** in the c-area, and it is **caayuq** in s/c-area since the Russian word that it comes from, *chay*, starts with a "ch" sound.
- #11 In addition to **ukvekaa** or **ukveqaa** for 'he believes him', there is **ukvertuq** for 'he believes, has faith.'
- #12 The original form is **nakleng** and comes from the "root" **nakleg-**, as in **naklegnarqe-** 'to provoke compassion, to be pitiful'. Some areas use only this form, while others drop the initial n and get **akleng**, often saying both, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning so that **nakleng** is 'poor thing' and **akleng** is '(I feel) sorry.'

Note A

In the Y and NS areas of Central Yup'ik people sometimes use the word **alap'aa** as an exclamation meaning 'oh, how cold it is.' This would seem to have come from a base ***alat'e-** 'to be cold (weather),' but there is no such base in Yup'ik. Rather **alap'aa** comes from Inupiaq (where it is an uninflectable exclamation, not analyzable as a verb base plus ending). It must have been easy to adopt it into Yup'ik since it neatly fits into the pattern of Yup'ik exclamations such as **qerrupaa** and **nengllirpaa**.

CHAPTER 11

*Interrogative Mood;
Basic Numerals;
Days of the Week;
(ar)-deletion*

Vocabulary

- ackiik** 'eyeglasses' (*this is a dual*) #1
ak'anek 'since some time ago' (*particle — from abl.-mod.*)
allrakuq 'year' #2
egmian or **egmianun** 'right away, immediately' (*particle*)
egturyaq 'mosquito' #3
icivaq 'a few days or weeks ago' (*particle*)
icivaqu 'a few days or weeks from now' (*particle*)
iinruuq 'she took medicine'; **iinrua** 'she took it (medicine)'
iinruq 'medicine' (*originally: 'amulet'*)
ilutequq 'she is crying due to emotion (grief, joy — not pain)'
kumartaa 'she lit it'
lumarraq 'shirt; cloth' #4
luqruuyak 'pike' (fish) #5
maligtaa 'she is going with her'
piliaqaa 'she made it'
pit'uq 'she caught something' (*unlike other short bases ending in te the gemination here comes from the ending; thus one says pitellruuq rather than pit'ellruuq¹*)
qerartuq 'she crossed over'; **qeraraa** 'she crossed it' #6
sap'akiq or **cap'akiq** 'shoe, boot (not native style)' #7
segtuq or **cegtuq** 'she is cutting fish for drying'; **segaa** or **cegaa** 'she is cutting it' (*base is [e]sseg- or [e]ceg-*) #8
suukiiq or **cuukiiq** 'sock' #9
waniwa 'now; here' (*particle*)

Numerals (higher numerals will be introduced in Chapter 23)

- atauciq** 'one'
malruk 'two'
pingayun 'three'
cetaman 'four'
talliman 'five'
arvinlegen or **arvinelgen** 'six'
malrunlegen or **malrunelgen** 'seven'
pingayunlegen or **pingayunelgen** 'eight'
qulngunrita'ar 'nine' (*actually qulngunritar(aq*)*)
qula^e 'ten'

1. However, there are some people for whom the base is **pit'e-**, so that they do say **pit'ellruuq**, and there are others who say **pitellruuq** and **pituuq** without gemination!

Lower Numerals

The numerals from 'one' to 'ten' as given above are the forms used for counting. Logically enough the counting form for 'one,' **atauciq**, is a singular, and the counting form for 'two,' **malruk**, is a dual. The counting forms from 'three,' **pingayun**, up to 'eight,' **pingayunlegen** end in **n**, and this **n** is merely a special form for numerals of the plural ending **t**. The counting forms for 'nine,' **qulngunrita'ar**, and for 'ten,' **qula**, are both singulars however. One goes to the base or abstract combining forms to use a numeral in a sentence.

The base form of atauciq 'one' is ataucir-.

Atauciq qimugteka qilugtuq. 'My one dog is barking.' (*Here atauciq only adds emphasis since qimugteka and qilugtuq already give the information that there is one dog.*)

Ataucimek qimugtengqertua. 'I have one dog' (*ataucimek is in the ablative-modalis of specification, in the singular.*)

Qimugteka atauciuguq. 'My dog is one (in number)' (*said only to emphasize that the total number of my dogs is one.*)

The base form of malruk 'two' is malrur-.

Malruk qimugtegka qilugtuk. 'My two dogs are barking.' (*Again the numeral here only adds emphasis since qimugtegka and qilugtuk already give the information that there are two dogs.*)

Malrugnek qimugtengqertua. 'I have two dogs' (*malrugnek is in the ablative-modalis of specification, dual.*)

Qimugtegka malruuguk. 'My dogs are two in number.'

*The base form of pingayun 'three' is pingayur- (not *pingayute-).*

Pingayun (or pingayut) qimugtenka qilugtut. 'My three dogs are barking.' (*Either the special plural ending for numerals, n, may be used or the ordinary plural ending t.*)

Pingayunek qimugtengqertua. 'I have three dogs' (*pingayunek is in the ablative-modalis of specification, plural, built on the base form pingayur-.*)

Qimugtenka pingayuugut. 'My dogs are three in number.' (*This is an alternative way to express what the preceding sentence expresses.*)

The base form of arvinlegen 'six' is arvinleg-.

Arvinlegen (or arvinleget) qimugtenka qilugtut. 'My six dogs are barking.'

Arvinlegnek qimugtengqertua. 'I have six dogs' (*arvinlegnek is ablative-modalis plural.*)

Qimugtenka arvinleguut (or arvinelguut). 'My dogs are six in number.'

The base form of **qulngunrita'ar** 'nine' is **qulngunritar(ar*)**- and when the **ar*** is deleted, the preceding syllable retains its rhythmic length and this is shown by writing **a'a**.

Qulngunritaraan (or **qulngunritaraat**) **qimugtenka qilugtut**. 'My nine dogs are barking.' (The numeral is put in the absolutive plural to agree with **qimugtenka**, thus making it different from the counting form.)

Qulngunrita'arneq qimugtengqertua. 'I have nine dogs' (**qulngunrita'arneq** is from **qulngunritâr(ar)nek**).

Qimugtenka qulngunritaraugut. 'My dogs are nine in number.'

The base form of **qula** 'ten' is **qule-**.

Qulen (or **qulet**) **qimugtenka qilugtut**. 'My ten dogs are barking.'

Qulnek qimugtengqertua. 'I have ten dogs.'

Qimugtenka qulnguut. 'My dogs are ten in number.'

Days of the week:

Agayuneq 'Sunday'

Pekyun 'Monday'

Aipirin 'Tuesday'

Pingayirin 'Wednesday'

Cetamirin 'Thursday'

Tallimirin 'Friday'

Maqineq 'Saturday'

The names of the days of the week are a product of the period after Europeans came to the Yup'ik area. The idea of a week having seven days is a Judeo-Christian idea, and the idea of Sunday being the day for praying (**agayu-**), Saturday the one day for bathing (**maqi-**), and Monday the day to resume movement or work (**pekte-**), are Christian ideas, rather than cultural universals. Unlike the numerals, the names of the days of the week that end in **n** do come from bases ending in **te**, and, of course, the bases for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' end in **er**.

Unuamek Pingayiritnguuq. 'It is Wednesday today.'

Ayagciqua Tallimiritmi. 'I'll leave on Friday.'

Akwaugaq Maqinrullruuq. 'Yesterday it was Saturday.'

Pekyutmi tekiteellruuq. 'She arrived on Monday.'

Exercise 11-1*Translate:*

1) I'll buy my son three new shirts. 2) My wife has four sisters, but she has no brothers. 3) We caught ten pikes and nine whitefish on Tuesday. 4) The four big boats left on Thursday. 5) Her seven little children are usually crying. 6) The local people number eight, and in their fish camp there are six dogs. 7) The people here don't work on Sunday, but the preacher works a lot on Sunday!

Vocabulary for Asking Questions: (*all discussed at length further below*):

ca 'what?' #10

ca- 'to do what?'

cakuciq 'what kind?'

ciin 'why?'

kina 'who?' (*see below for non-absolute and non-singular forms*)

kituu- 'to be who?'

naliq 'which?'¹

nani 'where?'

nante- 'to be where?'

qaillun or **qaill'** 'how?'

qaku 'when? (future)'

qangvaq 'when? (past)'

qavcin 'how many?'

Content Questions and the Interrogative Mood

So far this book has dealt mostly with the *indicative mood*, which is used to make statements and to ask "yes or no" questions (with the enclitic =**qaa**). In Chapter 4 there was a preview of the *interrogative mood* which is used to make questions which require more than merely "yes" or "no" for an answer, and which are called *content questions* or, for English, "*wh*" questions because they involve words such as "why," "when," "where," "who," "what," "which," (and "how"). For every indicative ending, intransitive or transitive, presented in the previous chapters, one can expect a corresponding interrogative ending.

To form a content question in Yup'ik two elements must both be present: the verb must have an interrogative ending, and a question word — corresponding to "why," "when," etc. — must be used. A few verb bases themselves serve as question words so that with these the interrogative ending goes right on the question word. One such base is **ca-** 'to do what?' another is **kituu-** 'to be who?' and another is **nante-** 'to be where?' (from **nani** '(at) where' and the obsolete verb base **ete-** 'to be'; see Chapter 6).

The 2nd person singular, 'you', intransitive interrogative ending is ~+(**t**)**sit**, where (**t**) is used with bases that end in a consonant and where the combination

1. The base **nalir-** is usually used with a possessed ending so the form **naliq** itself is rarely used.

ts whether from the (**t**) of this ending or from the **t** of a base ending in **te**) becomes **c**. Another way to look at it is to say that the ending is **sit** for (non **te**) vowel ending bases, **cit** for **te**-ending bases, dropping the **te**, and **cit** also for consonant ending bases.¹ For example:

base: **kituu-**: **Kituusit?** 'Who are you?'
 base: **nante-**: **Nancit?** 'Where are you?' (**nancit** is from underlying ***nantsit**).
 base: **caqatar-**: **Caqatarcit?** 'What are you going to do?' (**caqatarcit** is from underlying ***caqatar^sit**).

Some interrogative words are (uninflectable) particles: **ciin** 'why', **qaillun** or **qaill'** 'how', **qangvaq** 'when (in the past)' (though this word isn't completely uninflectable), and **qaku** 'when (in the future).'

Ciin anyugcit? 'Why do you want to go out?'
Qaillun (or **qaill'**) **ayuqsit?** 'How are you?'
Qangvaq tekicit? 'When did you arrive?' (**tekicit** is from underlying ***tekitsit**).
Qangvarnek maancit? 'How long (that is, since when) have you been here?'
Qaku ayagciqsit? 'When will you leave?'

Exercise 11-2

Write content questions that could be given in response to the statements given, and translate your results. For example, given **Kaigtua**, you could write: **Ciin kaigcit?** 'Why are you hungry?'

1) **Luqruuyagnek pitellruunga kuigmi neqlillerpet yaatiini.** 2) **Nutaan tekiteellruunga un'gaken.** 3) **Qingqertua.** 4) **Ii-i, irniangqertua.** 5) **Ayagciqua.** 6) **Qeraryugtua kuigem akianun.** 7) **Suukiiliunga nutaragnek.** 8) **Qavarciigatua.** 9) **Ak'a nerellruunga.** 10) **Segciqua.**

The interrogative word, **ca** 'what' (the nominal counterpart of the verb base **ca-** discussed above), **cakuciq** 'what kind', and **qavcin** 'how many' (note the **n** in place of the usual plural ending **t**) inflect in the same manner as ordinary nouns. Due to the indefinite nature of a question it is common to use the intransitive verb plus ablative-modalis indefinite object construction when these question words function in the role of object, as in the examples below. Note also that **qavcin** is always plural, so that the abl.-mod. for it will always be **nek**, never **mek**.

Camek neryugcit? 'What do you want to eat?'
Camek niicugnisit? 'What are you listening to?'

1. Thus, this ending can be regarded either as @~+(**t**)**sit** or as ~**sit**@+**cit**, in the same way as the exclamation-forming suffix (Chapter 10) can be regarded either as @~+(**t**)**vaa** or as ~**vaa**@+**paa**.

Camek alingsit? 'What are you afraid of?'

Camek piyugcit? (or **cayugcit**) 'what do you want?'

Calisit? 'What are you doing?' (*literally*: 'what are you making?'; *this is the form used rather than casit to ask 'what are you doing?' of someone engaged in a definite activity; in contrast to casit? which is more like 'what are you up to?'*).

Camiungusit? 'Where are you from?' or 'What is your permanent residence?'

Cakucimek qimugtengqercit? 'What kind of dog do you have?'

Qavcinek irniangqercit? 'How many children do you have?'

Qavcinek akakiignek pitellrusit? 'How many whitefish did you catch?'

Qavcinek allrakungqercit? 'How old are you?' (*literally*: 'how many years do you have?').

Qavcircit? 'How old are you?' (*This formulation uses qavcir- as a verb base rather than a noun base; the reference to 'years' is unstated but understood.*)

Qaill' pisit? 'What's (going on) with you?'

The interrogative word for 'where' inflects like the *demonstrative adverbs* do (see Chapter 6); however there is only the second terminalis in **.tmun** meaning 'toward', and not the first terminalis in **.vet** meaning 'to.'

nani '(at) where' (*localis*)

naken 'from where' (*ablative-modalis*)

natmun 'toward where' (*(second) terminalis*)

naw'un or **nagg'un** 'through where' (*vialis*)

Nani uitasit? 'Where are you staying?'

Naken taisit? or **Naken pisit?** 'Where are you coming from?'

Natmun ayakatarcit? 'Where are you going to go?'

Exercise 11-3

Translate the following into English, and give appropriate answers in Yup'ik with translations of the answers. For example, given Qangvaq taillrusit maavet? you could write: 'When did you come here?' Taillruunga maavet Pekyutmi. 'I came here on Monday.'

- 1) Qaillun ayagciqsit Mamterillermun? 2) Camek alingsit? 3) Nani uitalarcit? 4) Qavcinek ackiingqercit nutaranek? 5) Nani manalarcit luqruuyagnek? 6) Camek neryugcit? 7) Nani neqlill'liciqsit? 8) Qaku ayagciqsit ingrinun? 9) Nani iqvallrusit ukunek atsalugpianek? 10) Cakucimek levaangyugcit? 11) Camek kuv'illrusit qerrulliigpenun? 12) Qaku ayagyugcit un'gavet? 13) Naken kiputelarcit tamakunek? 14) Natmun ayakatarcit? 15) Qavcinek qimugtengqellruyaaqsit? 16) Naken pillrusit? 17) Camek pilisit?

The transitive interrogative with 2nd person singular subject is formed from the intransitive ending ~+(t)sit by replacing the final **t** or this ending with an *object marker*. The 1st person object markers are the familiar **:nga** for 'me' (the **ng** will always drop with this ending so that in effect the marker is **a**), **kut** for 'us,' and **kuk** for 'us₂.'

Ciin aliksia? 'Why are you afraid of me?'

Qaku cenirciiqsikut? 'When will you visit us?'

The 3rd person object markers are **:gu** (but here always **u** since the **g** always drops) for 'it/her/him,' **ki** for 'them,' and **kek** for 'them₂.' (We shall encounter these three elements many times in the following chapters).

Natmun ellillrusiu? 'Where did you put it?'

Ciin segyunriciki ukut neqet? 'Why don't you want to cut these fish (for drying)?'

Naken kiputellrusikek sap'akigken? 'Where did you buy your boots?'

Camek tauna pilarciu? 'What do you call that thing?' (*Note the particular meaning that the abstract base pi- gets here with the with the postbase -lar-.*)

The interrogative word **kina** 'who' inflects much the same as the *demonstrative pronouns* do (see Chapter 6), though the relative singular is somewhat irregular. The singular non-absolute base for **kina**, 'who', is **kitu-** (as in **kitumun** below).

Kina qanrutellrusiu? 'Whom did you tell?' (*absolute singular*).

Kia irniara nunullrusiu? 'Whose child did you scold?' (*irregular relative singular, though some people use kitum*).

Kitumun tunellrusiu? 'Who did you give it to?' (*terminalis singular*).

Kituu- 'to be who' comes from this base **kitu-** and the postbase ~:(ng)u- 'to be N.'

The plural and dual of **kina** 'who' are **kinkut** and **kinkuk** respectively (compare the **kankut** and **kankuk**, the dual and plural of the demonstrative pronoun **kan'a**).

Kinkut qanrutellrusiki? 'Whom_{pl} did you tell?' (*absolute plural*).

Kinkunun tunellrusiu? 'To whom_{pl} did you give it?' (*terminalis plural*).

Exercise 11-4

Change the following "yes or no" questions into content questions using the question word given, and translate your results. For example, given *Ikayurciqan-qaa?* (when) you would write: *Qaku ikayurciqsiu?* 'when will you help him?'

1) *Aanan-qaa nel'illruan?* (where); 2) *Cenirciiqerpenga-qaa?* (when). 3) *Qimugtek-qaa alikagken?* (whose₁ dogs₂); 4) *Kankut-qaa atsat iqvarciqaten?* (why); 5) *Qanrutellruaten-qaa?* (whom_{pl}); 6) *Tuyurciqerpekut-qaa neqerrlugnek?* (how); 7) *Una-qaa lumarraqa mingqellruan?* (when); 8) *Taukuk-qaa qerrulliik kiputellruagken?* (from where); 9) *Ayautaten-qaa irniaten?* (to where) 10) *Cikirciiqerpenga-qaa?* (what); 11) *Angyakun-qaa taillruuten maavet akwaugaq?* (whose boat); 12) *Uingqertuten-qaa?* (who); 13) *Ilakagken-qaa?* (how); 14) *Paningqertuten-qaa?* (how many).

The interrogative word **naliq** means 'which one, which ones.' It is usually used with a possessed ending. This is a *selectional base* functioning much like **ila** 'one, some' (see Chapter 7) which selects one or more from a group which is grammatically the possessor in the relative:

Naliat irniavet nunullrusiu? 'Which one of your children did you scold?'

(Note that although **irniavet** is plural, **naliat** is singular (with plural possessor) and agrees with the singular object marker **u** in **nunullrusiu**; also compare **nunullruan irniavet iliit** (where **iliit** is from ***ilangat**), 'you scolded one of your children.')

Naliit qimugtevet aturciqsiki? 'Which ones of your dogs will you use?'

(Compare **aturciqaten qimugtevet ilait** 'you will use some of your dogs.')

Nalimtenun tunqatarcikek ak'allak kameksiigken? 'To which one(s) of

us are you going to give your old skin boots?' (Compare **tunqataragken ak'allak kameksiigken ilamtenun** 'you are going to give your old skin boots to one of us.')

Exercise 11-5

A. Translate into English:

1) *Naliat qimugtevet tuqutellrusiu?* 2) *Naliitnek irniama pingellrusit ukunek?* 3) *Naliit mikelnguut irniaqsiki?* 4) *Naliput maligciiqsiu?* 5) *Naliat imkut egalret navellrusiu?* 6) *Angyavet naliatgun ayagciqsit?*

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Which ones of those lights up there will you turn off? 2) Which one of your shirts do you like? 3) Which ones of my dogs are you afraid of? 4) Which of that_{aforementioned} doctor's sisters was your wife? 5) Which of these women is your grandmother? 6) Which one of your younger siblings do you usually write to?

More Interrogative Endings

The 1st and 2nd person subject non-singular (that is, plural and dual) intransitive interrogative endings consist of a marker, @~+ce which completely

drops **te**'s from bases, and a subject marker. The subject markers are **ci** for 'you_{pl},' **tek** for 'you₂,' **ta** for 'we_{pl},' and **ñuk** for 'we₂,' all of which should be familiar from previous chapters (the last two from the 1st person possessor possessed relative case; but note that these are different than the 'we_{pl}' and 'we₂' markers, **kut** and **kuk** of the intransitive indicative).

Camek nerceci? 'What are you_{pl} eating?'

Caciqceñuk¹ **tamaani?** 'What shall we₂ do there?'

Nani qavarciqeta? 'Where shall we_{pl} sleep?'

Qavcinek irniangqercetek? 'How many children do you₂ have?'

Qavciuceci? 'How many of you are there?' (*literally*: 'how many are you_{pl}?'
from **qavcir-**, the base for **qavcin**, and the postbase **~:(ng)u-**).

Kinkuuceci? 'Who are you_{pl}?'
who' is **kinkuu-** (from **kinku-** as in **kinkut** and the postbase **~:(ng)u-** 'to be N') rather than **kituu-** as with a singular subject).

For 2nd person plural (and dual) subject interrogative there are transitive forms, which will be discussed in a later chapter (Chapter 19).

There are no *transitive* interrogative forms for 1st person subject. Thus, in Yup'ik one cannot really ask 'when shall I see you?' or 'why are we afraid of them?' If one thinks about it, such questions are sometimes (though not always) a little strange in English too, since the person asking should already have the answer. But then on the other hand, as discussed above Yup'ik *does* have *intransitive* interrogative forms for 1st person plural and dual subjects such as in **caciqceta?** 'what shall we_{pl} do?' and **caciqceñuk?** 'what shall we₂ do?'

There is also a 1st person singular intransitive interrogative ending which is **~+(t)sia**. This is just like the 'you' to 'me' interrogative ending, so that **caciqsia?** means both 'what shall I do?' and 'what will you do to me?'

The enclitic **=tanem** is used with interrogatives (any person) to add emphasis:

Ciin-tanem ayaksaicit? 'Why on earth haven't you left?'

The enclitic **=kiq** is used to form rhetorical questions:

Ciin-kiq maani cali uitasia? 'Why, I wonder, am I still here?'

The enclitic **=mi** means 'how about,' 'on the other hand,' or 'and then.'

Casit-mi? 'And then, what are you doing?' (*can become casismi*).

1. Some Yup'ik speakers would say (and therefore write) **caciqseñuk** rather than **caciqceñuk**, using, in general, **se** rather than **ce** after stops and after voiceless fricatives which arise when **e** is dropped (i.e., from **kegge-**, and **aurre-**, but not from **tangerr-** or **pingqerr-**).

Neryugtua. Elpet-mi? 'I want to eat. How about you?' (*elpet* is a personal pronoun used for emphasis as in **elpet-qaa nerellruan?** 'did you eat it?', or as in this example (see Chapter 21 for a complete discussion of personal names); also, **elpet-mi** can become **elpesmi**).

1st and 2nd person subject interrogative endings can be arrayed in chart form:

	<i>intrans.</i>		<i>transitive</i>					
		her	them _{pl}	them ₂	me	us _{pl}	us ₂	
you ₁	~+(t)si	t	u	ki	kek	a	kut	kuk
you _{pl}	@~+ce	ci	<i>presented in Chapter 20</i>					
you ₂	@~+ce	tek						
I	~+(t)si	a						
we _{pl}	@~+ce	ta						
we ₂	@~+ce	ńuk						

Concerning the HBC forms of these interrogative endings, see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.



Salmon drying, Lower Kuskokwim River. Photo by James H. Barker.

Exercise 11-6*A. Translate into English:*

1) Camek nerciqceñuk unuaqu? 2) Caciqceta tamaani? 3) Qaill' ayuqceci? 4) Caqatallruyaaqsia-kiq? 5) Cayugcetek? 6) Qaku ceñirciiqceci? 7) Kia irniarinek paigiceñuk? 8) Ciin tegullrusiu nutka? 9) Camek tamarillruceci? 10) Nani nalkutellrucetek akinek? 11) Caliceci maani? 12) Cakucinek egatnek aturciqceci? 13) Ciin quuyurnitenricikut? 14) Naliit augkut mikelnguut irniaqsiki? 15) Cakucinek angyangellrucetek? 16) Nanceta? 17) Ciin-kiq nakukut'larcetek?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Where are you_{pl} from? 2) What, I wonder, shall we eat tomorrow? 3) Where do you₂ live? 4) When did you_{pl} arrive here? 5) How did you₁ make this sled? 6) When did you₁ make these socks₂? 7) How old are you₁? 8) What did you_{pl} catch? 9) How did you₁ catch these geese? 10) Why on earth can't I sleep?

C. Write questions (in the form of complete sentences) which would be appropriate responses to hearing the following statements. For example, given: Kainritukut. ('we aren't hungry'), you could write: Ciin kainriceci? ('why aren't you_{pl} hungry?')

1) Ayakatartukut. 2) Irniavet iliit tangellruaqa nunapigmi. 3) Tuntuvagnek tangellruukut nunapigmi. 4) Qiingqertuten. 5) Kipucugtukut tengssuutmek. 6) Tuquciciqukut qimugtevnek. 7) Nemteñi nerciqutek unuaqu. 8) Tuyurciqamken atkugmek. 9) Ilakamken. 10) Ilakutukuk. 11) Ilaksugnarqaa aatan. 12) Unitellruaqa nacama iliit neqlillevceñi. 13) Nalkutellruukut nacavnek, paltuugpenek, aliimategpenek-llu. 14) Igaryugtua ilama iliitnun. 15) Kumarcillruukuk imkut kalikat ilaitnek. 16) Laginek pitellruukut. 17) Ikayurciigaciiqsugnarqamci unuaqu.

D. Change the following yes-no questions into content questions using an interrogative ending on the verb and a suitable question word. For example, given: Ayuqukuk-qaa? ('are we₂ alike?'), you could write: Qaill' ayuqceñuk? ('how are we₂ alike?')

1) Nerqatartukuk-qaa? 2) Irniangqertuci-qaa? 3) Iliit-qaa ingkut mikelnguut panikan? 4) Ilakarpenga-qaa? 5) Ilakutukuk-qaa? 6) Una-qaa piliaqan? 7) Ilait-qaa ukut pikaten? 8) Aanan-qaa ayuqan? 9) Ilangqertuten-qaa maani? 10) Suukiiliunga taugaam suukiilinritamken! 11) Ilutequci-qaa? 12) Sek'atartutek-qaa?

The third person subject intransitive interrogative ("when, where, who, why, how etc. is/are he/she/it/they doing something?") is much like the corresponding indicative. The endings for singular, plural and dual interrogative are **+'(g/t)a**, **+'(g/t)at**, **+'(g/t)ak** in place of the corresponding indicative endings **+'(g/t)uq**, **+'(g/t)ut**, **+'(g/t)uk**.

Camek ner'a? 'What is she eating?' (compare **akutamek ner'uq**).

Ciin qavartat? 'Why are they sleeping?' (compare **qavartut**).

Kinkuk qiagak? 'Who₂ is (are) crying?' (compare **irniagka qiaguk**).

Kituuga ingna? 'Who is that?'

Kinkuugat ingkut? 'Who are those?'

Cauga una? 'What is this?' (from **ca** 'what' and **:(ng)u-** 'to be *N*').

Qaill' ayuqa? 'How is it?, What is it like?'

Cakuciuga? 'What kind is it?' (from **cakuciq** 'what kind' and **:(ng)u-** 'to be *N*').

Qavciugat? 'How many in number are they?'

Qaill' pia? 'What's (wrong) with it?'

Note particularly the following:

Kituuga atren? 'What is your name?' (*idiomatic; literally 'who is your name?' or 'who is the person you're named after?'*).

Qangvallauga? 'How old is it?' (from **qangvaq** and postbases **-llaq** 'thing of, and **~:(ng)u-** 'to be', so that this is literally 'when in the past is it a thing of?'; for asking a person's age **qavcinek allrakungqerta?** is used).

Nanta igarcuuteka? 'Where is my pencil?'; one may also say, somewhat less formally **Nauwa igarcuuteka?** 'where's my pencil'; $\sqrt{\text{nauwa}}$ 'where is' does not inflect (change its ending).

Exercise 11-7

A. Translate:

1) Kina mingqa tamaani? 2) Kia irniara mertarta? 3) Ca tepsarqa? 4) Camek yuurqalarta aipan? 5) Natmun-kiq tamallrua suukiima aipaa? 6) Ciin makut mikelnguut alingat? 7) Nanta-kiq igarcuuteka? 8) Kinkut tamaantat? 9) Qavcinek allrakungqerta panivet aipaa? 10) Ciin kumarcillrua?

B. Change the following 'yes/no' questions into content questions using the proper Yup'ik for the given question word. For example, given: **Irnian-qaa qiaguq?** (why?); you would write: **Ciin irnian qiaga?**

1) **Allanret-qaa tekiteellruut?** (when?) 2) **Iliit-qaa taukut luqruuyiit assiituq?** (which?) 3) **Sap'akivet-qaa aipaa tamartuq?** (how?) 4) **Paniin-qaa sellruuq?** (how many?) 5) **Nutaramek-qaa lumarrangqertuq uin?** (what kind?) 6) **Angayuqaagken-qaa ilutequq?** (why?) 7) **Uin-qaa tuquciciquq makunek egturyanek?** (how?)

To form third person subject *transitive* interrogatives, the appropriate object marker from the same assortment as with second person subject *transitive* interrogatives, is added to the third person subject *intransitive* interrogative. That is, **:gu** is added for 'him, her, it' as object, **ki** for 'them,' **kek** for 'them₂,' **nga** (not velar dropping this time!) for 'me' as object, **kut** for 'us,' **ten** for 'you₁, and **ci** for 'you_{pl.}'

Kia una piliaqau? 'Who made this?'

Kia nerellruagu akutaqa? 'Who ate my Eskimo ice cream?'

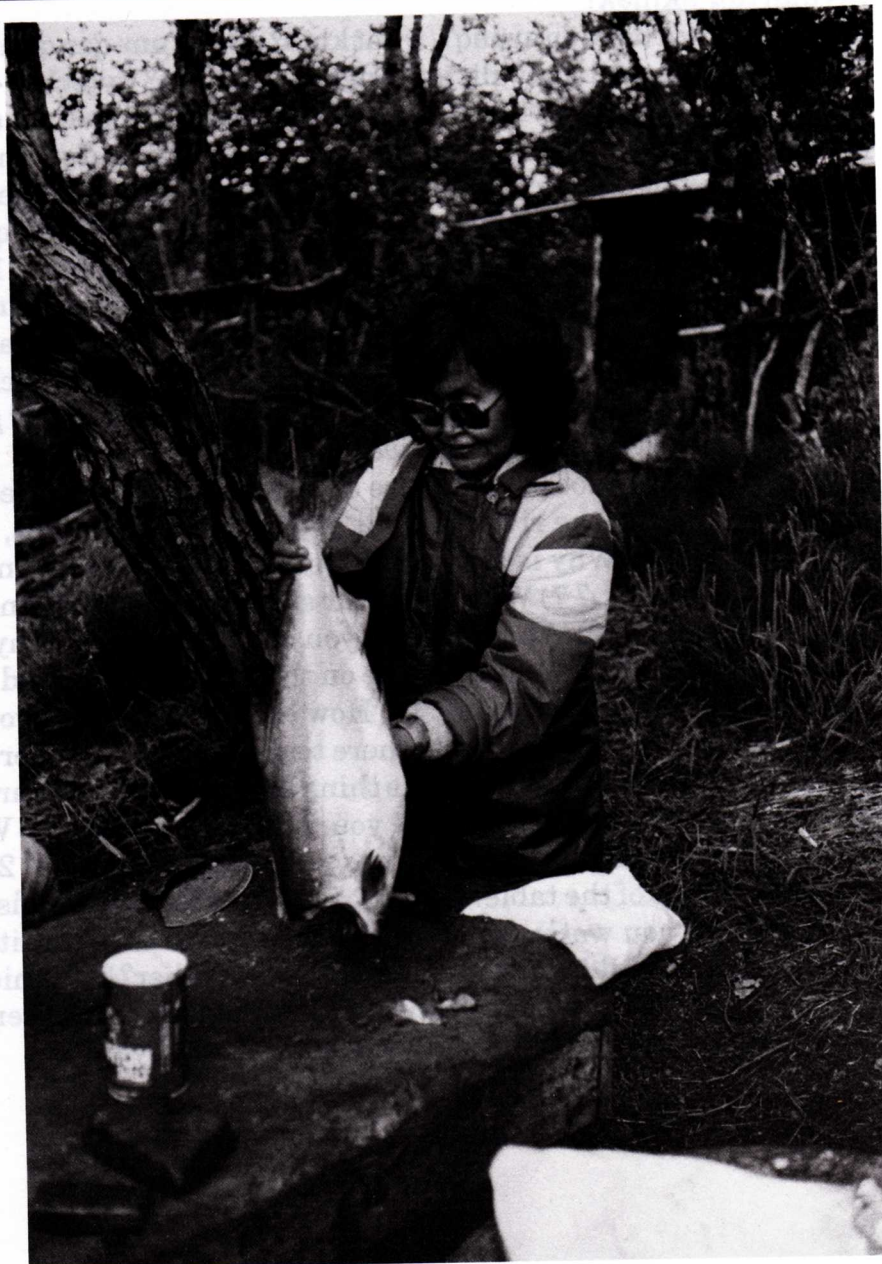
Ciin tangerrisugtanga? 'Why does she want to see me?' (contrast the indicative **tangerrisugaanga** 'she wants to see me').

Qaku cenirciiqaten? 'When will she visit you?' (contrast the indicative **cenirciiqaaten** 'she will visit you').

Third person subject interrogative endings can be arrayed in chart form as follows:

		<i>intrans.</i>			<i>transitive</i>					
		her	them	them ₂	me	us	us ₂	you	you _{pl}	you ₂
she	Ø	:gu	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
they _{pl}	+'(g/t)a	-----								
they ₂	k	<i>presented in Chapter 20</i>								

Anna Jacobson, who wrote most of the connected readings in this book and the Yup'ik novel *Elnguq*, prepares to cut a salmon for drying. Note the *uluag* and the two sharpening stones on the cutting table. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.



Exercise 11-8*A. Translate into English:*

1) Caqatarta mikelnguq? 2) Kia piliaqakek suukiigken? 3) Qavcinek allrakungqerta piipin? 4) Naliata irniama maligcullruyaaqaten? 5) Natmun panivet tamallruagu nacani? 6) Kia ukut pikaki? 7) Natmun-kiq ellillruakek ackiigka? 8) Nani kiputellruagu lumarrani? 9) Qaillun uivet ilakanga? 10) Kinkut sel'artat maani? 11) Qaillun qeralartat ikavet?

B. Change the following 'yes/no' questions into content questions using the proper Yup'ik for the given question word. For example, given: Im'um-qaa arnam panini tuyularaa akinek? (how); you would write: Qaill' im'um arnam panini tuyulartau akinek?

1) Ak'a-qaa iinrullruuq arnaq? (what kind?) 2) Ing'um-qaa qimugtem kegciqaaten? (why?) 3) Iliita-qaa agayulirtet tangerrsugaakut? (which?) 4) Elitnauristemta-qaa maligcullruaci? (where?) 5) Kass'am-qaa taringenritaaten? (which white person?) 6) Maurluvet-qaa aturciigatai ukut calissuutet? (how come?) 7) Iliita-qaa mikelnguut qeraraa kuik? (where?) 8) Qimugtem-qaa nerai kemget? (whose dog?) 9) Icivaq-qaa tuqutellrui egturyat? (how?) 10) Pikaa-qaa aug'um arnam? (what?) 11) Aatii-qaa pitellruuq amllerneq? (how many?) 12) Maqinermi-qaa aatavet cikillruaten akinek? (how much?) 13) Aipiritmi-qaa aanavet tuyurciqaaten akinek? (how?) 14) Una-qaa piliaqaa? (who?) 15) Ukut-qaa yaqulget pitaqai nuliavet angaan? (where?) 16) Tunellruak-qaa ak'allak ackiigni? (to whom?)

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik and parse the first fifteen; note that all the verbs here will be interrogative:

1) Who made your socks? 2) Where did your father catch these geese? 3) Why is she drinking from the river in front of the village? 4) What, I wonder, are they talking about? 5) Why is she eating Eskimo ice cream again? 6) Who are those people^{the ones we passed?} 7) Where do your sister and her husband live? 8) When did the visitors leave? 9) Whose dog bit you on your leg? 10) Why is your little child scared of me? 11) Who spilled coffee on the floor? 12) How old are your parents₂? 13) How old are your mittens₂? 14) How are my father and your mother related? 15) Which of those children over there took my axe? 16) Where, I wonder, did my son leave his coat? 17) What is this thing here? 18) Why on earth are those people over there singing? 19) Who broke your outboard motor? 20) What did the doctor tell you? 21) How many children does your babysitter have? 22) Why did she put her shoes on top of the table? 23) Who is cutting fish at your fishcamp? 24) Where is she getting you water from? 25) I wonder, who is she waiting for? 26) Which ones of the local children speak English to each other? 27) Which one of your ears₂ got frostbitten? 28) I wonder why the ice is melting down there. 29) Who did she sell her house to? 30) What did your mother send you?

Interrogative Words in Non-Interrogative Contexts

An interrogative word used with a verb with an ending which is not of the interrogative mood will have an *indefinite* meaning ‘some —.’ This is a fairly common use of **kina**, and **ca**. For example, **kina taiguq** ‘someone is coming’ or **kina-qa taiguq?** ‘is someone coming?’ and **tamaani nalkuciiqsugnarquten camek** ‘you will probably find something there.’ We have already seen the verb base **cali-** meaning ‘to work.’ Literally it means ‘to make something,’ from **ca** meaning ‘something’ and postbase **-li-** ‘to make.’ So, **caliuq** ‘she is working’ literally means ‘she is making something.’ From **qavcin** with its indefinite meaning ‘some amount or quantity,’ and the postbase **-rraq*** ‘a little bit of *N*’, one gets √ **qavcirraat** ‘a few’ as in **qavcirrarnek qingqertuq** ‘she has a few grey hairs.’

Postbases

The postbase **-lir-** goes onto noun bases and means ‘to have lots of *N*’ when used with an intransitive ending, and ‘to furnish with *N*’ or ‘to provide with *N*¹’ when used with a transitive ending. As with the postbase **-li-** ‘to make’ (Chapter 3), usually the **l** of this postbase along with the vowel preceding it can be deleted.

Atsalirtuq (or **atsirtuq**). ‘It has lots of berries.’

Atsaliraa (or **atsiraa**) **akutaq**. ‘She put berries in the Eskimo ice cream.’

A number of common words contain this postbase:

√ **Akiliraa**. ‘She paid her’ (*literally* ‘provided him with money’).

√ **Imiraa**. ‘She put something in it’ (*from imaliraa* ‘he put contents in it’).

√ **Keniraa**. ‘She is cooking it’ (*from *kenêliraa* ‘she provided it with fire’).

Alqama aciraa qetunrani Mecaq’amek. ‘My sister is naming her son “Mecaq’aq”’ (√ **aciraa** *from *atêliraa*; *one can also say at’liraa*).

√ **Qimugcirtuq**. ‘She is running dogs’ (*from qimugtelirtuq* ‘she has lots of dogs,’ *but lexicalized with meaning becoming more specific*).

√ **Aipiraa**. ‘She is accompanying her, going with her, staying with her’ (*literally*: ‘she is providing her with a companion,’ *and it is understood that in fact* ‘she,’ *the subject, is the companion*).

Exercise 11–9

Translate using the above postbase in both its long and short forms if possible:

- 1) There are lots of mosquitos in the tundra around the little lake.
- 2) When did you put wood in the stove?
- 3) Why do you have lots of grey hair?
- 4) Who_{pl} were you with? (*use aipaq*).
- 5) What did you name your son?
- 6) Your new house has lots of windows.
- 7) We had lots of dogs.
- 8) The ocean down there is rough (= has lots of waves).

1. The transitive meaning of the postbase **-lir-** does not quite mean ‘to give someone something to have as a possession’ which is expressed with the verb **cikir-** ‘to give,’ nor ‘to hand someone something’ which is expressed with the verb **taite-** and others. The ‘furnish/provide with’ gloss has the attractive feature that it links the intransitive and transitive meanings of this postbase: ‘to be (well) furnished/provided with *N*’ and ‘to furnish/provide with *N*’.

There are three other postbases that begin with **li**, and which can often drop the **I** and the vowel before it. One is **-liur-** meaning 'to work with *N*' or more generally 'to be occupied with *N*' which may include 'playing.' With a transitive ending it means to 'to be occupied with *N* for (object).'

Kipusviliurtuq. 'She is working at the store.'

Angyaliurtuq or **angyiurtuq** 'She is working on / messing around with a boat.'

Yungcaristem iiliuraa aataka. 'The doctor is working on (i.e. examining or treating) my father's eyes' (*literally something like 'the doctor is eye-working my father'*).

√ **Eqiurtuq.** 'She is chopping wood' (*lexicalized from *equliurtuq; equk is an old word for 'wood' still used in some Yup'ik areas, but eqiur- 'to chop wood' is used in areas where murak rather than equk is used for 'wood'*).

√ **Nuyiurtuq.** 'She is combing or otherwise fixing her hair.'

See notes B and C in the supplement to this chapter for more on the two preceding postbases.

The next postbase is **-liqe-** which means 'to have pain in or trouble with one's *N*,' and is used mainly with body part words (though also with a few others).

Uyaquliqua or **uyaqiqua** 'I have a sore neck.'

√ **Aqsiquq.** 'She has a stomach ache' (*from aqsaliquq*).

√ **Qamiqiquq.** 'She has a headache' (*from qamiquliquq*).

√ **Ciuciquq.** 'She has an ear ache' (*from ciuteliquq*).

The last of these postbase is of exactly the same form, **-liqe-**, but means 'to catch lots of *N*,' and is used with animal names (including fish and birds).

Kavialiquq or **kaviiquq.** 'She caught lots of foxes.'

Neq'liquq. 'She caught a lot of fish.'

Exercise 11-10

A. Translate giving the short form if possible as well as the long form:

1) She is a post office worker. 2) Why are you fiddling with your ear? 3) I have a toothache. 4) When did you begin to have sore arms? 5) They caught lots of pike at their fishing place. 6) We probably won't catch a lot of rabbits there.

B. Rephrase the following sentences to use the postbase **-lir-** or **-liqe-**. For example, given: *qiingqertuten amllerneq*, you would write: *qiilirtuten*.

1) *Yuut maani amllertut*. 2) *Qaillun pitellrusit maqaruanek amllerneq?* 3) *Ingkut arnat amllerneq irniangqertut*. 4) *Qaltavni atsat amllertut cakneq!* 5) *Naliit ilavet amllerneq qimugtengqertat?* 6) *Piciiqsugnarquten amllerneq yaqulegneq tamaani*. 7) *Mat'umi nem'i avelngaat amllertut*.

C. Translate the following into English:

- 1) Ciin ingna mikelnguq kuvyaliurta?
- 2) Iinriurteŋguciqsugnarquq.
- 3) Qamiqiqvaa!
- 4) Tengssuucisciigaciiqsugnarquten.
- 5) Angyingnaqsaaqellruukut.
- 6) Taluyiulartuq ingna.
- 7) Neqlillemta ketiini akakiiliq'lartukut.
- 8) Kaminiq muriqatarqa.
- 9) Nuliavni-ll' ackiilirpaa!
- 10) Qaillun lumarralillrua nulian?
- 11) Apa'urlua sap'akiurteŋgullruyaaquq.
- 12) Yungcaristem irniaqa ciuciurciqaa unuaqu Mamterillermi.
- 13) Naliak angayuqaagpet iiliq'larta?
- 14) Aipirciqamken.
- 15) Im'umi manarvigmi manignaliqelartukut.
- 16) Ingna irnian piqertuutaliuqataryugnarquq!

D. Translate the following into Yup'ik using the -li- series of postbases:

- 1) They want to make a fishcamp downriver.
- 2) The puppy was playing with its tail.
- 3) She's going to make aged fish heads.
- 4) His wife is dealing with visitors.
- 5) I have sore arms.
- 6) I won't dilute (= add water to) your coffee.
- 7) She's doing the dishes.
- 8) Your hair has lots of lice!
- 9) Those birds have lots of eggs.
- 10) In the tundra there are many little lakes.
- 11) Her brother is a weatherman.
- 12) The storekeeper is working with the papers in there.
- 13) Wow, are there ever a lot of berries here!
- 14) Why doesn't she ever put blueberries in her Eskimo ice cream?
- 15) Where did they catch lots of geese?
- 16) Who is going to work on your teeth.
- 17) Why, I wonder, can't my child find her toothbrush.
- 18) Who is going to build your mother a house?
- 19) Who made you skin-boots?
- 20) I am going to make an ice-pick (= device for working with ice).

The postbase @+'(g/t)ur(ar)- means 'to continue to V; to keep on V-ing'. It attaches like the intransitive indicative ending +'(g/t)uq (see Chapter 2) except that base-final **te** becomes **q** with the present postbase.

The (ar) is kept unless it is followed by a consonant-initial consonant-retaining suffix. These are the same conditions for (ar) deletion as with the postbase -cuar(aq*) (see Chapter 4). For example, the transitive indicative ending +'(g)ait 'they are V-ing them', will *not* cause (ar) deletion since this is not a consonant-initial suffix, the postbase -llru- 'to have V-ed', will *not* cause (ar) deletion, because it is not a consonant-retaining suffix. On the other hand, the ending +'(g/t)ut 'they are V-ing', will cause (ar) deletion because it is both consonant-initial and consonant-retaining in the form in which it is used with the postbase in question.

In the examples given below, attention should be paid to two things: (1) what happens at the juncture of base and postbase (when **g** or **t** or gemination is used, how **te** changes to **q**), and (2) what happens when the suffix following the postbase in question is such as to cause (ar) deletion.

Examples

utaqa- 'to wait (for)'

utaqaurarait 'they keep waiting for them'

utaqaurallruut 'they kept waiting'

***utaqaurartut** → **utaqaurtut** 'they keep waiting'

qalarute- 'to talk with'

qalaruqurairait 'they keep talking with them' (*te changes to q*)

qalaruqurallruut 'they kept talking'

***qalaruqûrartut** → **qalaruqu'urtut**
'they keep talking to each other'

In the last example above the **u** retains its (originally) rhythmic length even after (**ar**) deletion, but since it is now part of a closed syllable, this length must be shown by writing the **u** double with an apostrophe in between to show that **q** is not to be geminated.

Consider the following:

igar- 'to write'

igaturairait 'they keep writing to them'
(*t used because the base here ends in a consonant*)

igaturallruut 'they kept writing'

***igaturartut** → **igarturtut** (i.e. **igartu'rtut**) 'they keep writing'

In the last example above the *rhythmic stress* pattern of the underlying (that is, before (**ar**) deletion) form **igaturartut** is ***igárturártut**. (See Chapter 4 and the supplement to Chapter 1 on *rhythmic stress*.) After (**ar**) deletion, the syllable **tur** gets what can be called "*ghost*" stress, that is, it has more stress than an ordinary syllable of that shape would have in that position. That is, its stress pattern is: **igártúrtut**. This *ghost stress* is not always explicitly indicated in the writing, but *can* be so indicated with an apostrophe: **igartu'rtut** (see the supplement to Chapter 1 for this optional use of the apostrophe). Even without the apostrophe a Yup'ik speaker will know how to stress the word properly when he or she reads it, and if a learner should happen to omit the stress in pronouncing the written word it is unlikely to lead to any ambiguity or to render the word incomprehensible. Contrast the stress pattern in this word **igarturtut** (i.e. **igártúrtut**) with the stress pattern in **igaryugtut** (i.e. **igáryugtut**) 'they want to write.'¹

1. On the other hand, if the syllable in question were followed by a syllable with two vowels or by an open syllable with one vowel, then that syllable in question would have stress anyway (see Chapter 1). Consequently the third syllable in **igaryugtua** 'I want to write' (i.e. **igáryúgtua**), and in **igaryugtuten** 'you want to write' (i.e. **igáryúgtuten**) is stressed, just as in **igarturtua** 'I keep writing,' and **igarturtuten** 'you keep writing.'

Further examples**nere-** 'to eat'

ner'urarait 'they keep eating them'
(gemination, indicated by the apostrophe, because the base here is a "short" base ending in e)

ner'urallruut 'they kept eating'

***ner'urartut** → **ner'urtut** (i.e. **ner'u'rtut**)
 'they keep eating'

kiu- 'to answer'

kiugurarait 'they keep answering them'
(g used because the base here ends in two vowels)

***kiugurartut** → **kiugurtut** (i.e.

kiugu'rtut) 'they keep answering'

ceñirurarait 'they keep visiting them'
(base final te → q with this postbase)

ceñirurallruut 'they kept visiting'

***ceñirurartut** → **ceñirqurtut** (i.e.

ceñirqu'rtut) 'they keep visiting'

iqvar- 'to pick berries'

iqvarturarait 'they keep picking them'

iqvarturallruut 'they kept picking berries'

***iqvarturartut** → **iqvarturtut** (i.e.

iqvartu'rtut) 'they keep picking berries'

In the last example above the, the stress pattern before (**ar**) deletion is **íqvárturártut**, and after (**ar**) deletion the pattern is **íqvártúrtut** (i.e. with stress on all of the first three syllables). Contrast this with the stress pattern in **iqvaryugtut** 'they want to pick berries': **íqvaryúgtut** (i.e. with stress only on the first and third syllable). Thus in ***iqvarturartut** → **íqvártúrtut** the additional stress from the deleted (**ar**) is, in the end, realized not on the preceding syllable **tur**, but on the one preceding that, on **var**.¹

Exercise 11-11

Insert the above postbase meaning 'to keep on V-ing' in the following words, and translate: For example, given: Kuimallruutek. you should write: Kuimarturallruutek. 'You₂ kept on swimming.'

1) Ceñirtaitkut. 2) Kemgitua. 3) Kuuvviartuci. 4) Nunuraanga. 5) Kiugukut. 6) Angyalii. 7) Cikiraanga. 8) Elitanka. 9) Kuv'uq. 10) Aptut. 11) Qitevtuten. 12) Mit'ut.

1. Nevertheless if an apostrophe is used it must be placed after the **u** of **tur**, and not after the **a** of **var**. If it were placed in **var**, that would indicate that the word would be stressed ***íqvárturtut** rather than **íqvártúrtut**.

Qaillun Akinek Navraryaraq

1. Apyutekluku akinek navrarcuutnek imirarkaq kalikaaq nani piciatun Key Bank-ani.
2. Tamalkuan-llu kalikaaq imirluku pinritevkenak-llu igauulluki ukut:
 - A) Atren
 - B) Nunavet nanlucia
 - C) Qanqvaq yuurtellren
 - D) Social Security Number-aan
 - E) Calivigpet angayuqrata atra nanlucia-llu calivigpet
 - F) Qaillun akingelallren
(Akingetukuvet neqsullerpegun wall' ungunssit amittgun igauulluku.
Aipaagni-llu income tax-aat imilten Key Bank-am tangersugciqai)
 - G) Nakmiin ilaten nevni uitanrilnguut atrit nanluciiit-llu igauulluki.
 - H) Ciungani-llu akinek navrallrukuvet akiluqu' uryaramek igauulluku.
 - I) Akiutengqertuten-qaa bank-ami maa-irpak? Pingqerquvet bank-avet atra igauulluku qavcitun-llu akiutevnek avalingqellrat.
3. Nalluyagucaqunaku aterpet igautellerkaa kalikamun.
4. Imirraarluku kalikaaq piciatun Key Bank-at illiitnun aguskiu.
5. Yuinaq qulnek amlertalriit erenret nangvailgata Key Bank-am igarciqaaten akinek cikiqataquniten.
 - Key Bank-am akinek cikiqatanrilkuniten igarciqaaten nalqigulluten ciin pinritderminek.
 - Key Bank-am navritqataquniten akinek cali allanek kalikanek imirivkarciqaaten bank-ami.

Yuk qula pingayunlegnek allrakungeksailnguq navrarcigatuq akinek. Ilait-llu navriutet qavcintun pillerkait cuqengqerrarkaugut. Aipaagni-llu qaillun taktalriamck akiliqurallerkaat cuqengqerriluni. Uumck kalikamek imirarkamek apeskina piciatun Key Bank-ani.

Ikayurtekaten paivngauralartut Key Bank-ani. Apcukuvet apeskina.



Maqumiut Bank-aat

This is a page of instructions for applying for a loan, printed in Yup'ik by Key Bank.

Connected Reading for Chapter 11

Ayak'aq: Kituusit? Camiungusit-llu?

Qiaviaq: Qiaviaruunga. Tuyuryarmiunguunga.¹ Elpesmi kituusit?
Camiungusit-llu?

Ayak'aq: Ayak'augua. Mamterillermiunguunga. Kia-mi yuk'aten?²

Qiaviaq: Qam'ulriinkuk Cilavv'i-llu³ yukaagnga. Elpet-mi?

Ayak'aq: Cagluankuk, Mataralria-llu yukaagnga. Ilakan-qaa Naquralria?
Qanlartuq Tuyuryarmi-gguq⁴ ilangqertuq.

Qiaviaq: Ii-i. Ak'a tangellruaqa. Eniini uitallruunga ernerni⁵ pingayuni.

1. **Tuyuryaq** = 'Togiak.'

2. **yuk** = 'offspring or child' here.

3. **Qam'ulriinkuk Cilavv'i-llu** = 'Qam'ulria and Cilavv'i'; the postbase **%(e)nkuk** = 'N and partner,' and the partner (spouse) is then immediately named.

4. The enclitic **=gguq** marks an indirect quotation so **qanlartuq tuyuryarmi-gguq . . .** = 'he says *that* in Togiak. . .'

5. **ernek** = 'day.'

- Tangrramia¹ quyaami² iluteqellruuq.
 Ayak'aq: Qaku utercciqsit Tuyuryarmun?
 Qiaviaq: Icivaqu piciqua. Assirpaa-lli ackiigpeni. Naken pillrusikek?
 Ayak'aq: Wii³ pikenritagka. Naquralriim pikak.
 Qiaviaq: Atak⁴ Ayak,⁵ luqruiyagmek-qaa neryugtuten nemni?
 Ilaliryugarpenga-qaa?
 Ayak'aq: Ii-i. Wii neryugtua luqruiyagmek. Nereksaitua tamakunek ak'anek.
 Qiaviaq: Nek'a ika'antuq kuigem akiani. Maligcugarpenga-qaa waniwa?⁶
 Snuukuukun ayakatartua.
 Ayak'aq: Ii-i. Waniwa piyugngaunga.
 Qiaviaq: Kanavet snuukuugka⁷ unitellruagka. Yaaqsinrituk.⁸
 Kitak⁹ atrarluk¹⁰ waniwa.
 Ayak'aq: Ii-i, Kitak-wa.
 Qiaviaq: Kuuvviamek kipusvigmek pirraarlua,¹¹ qerarniartukuk-qaa?¹²
 Ayak'aq: Wii-llu iinrunek kipucugtua. Qamiqiqua.
 Qiaviaq: Akleng. Ing'um yaa-i pengucuaaram akiani snuukuuqa uitauq. Ing'um-llu nerpiim yaatiini kipusvik uitauq.
 Ayak'aq: Qavcik'laagta?¹³
 Qiaviaq: Waniwa twelve-k'laagniarartuq.¹⁴ Waniwa tang snuukuugka.
 Ayak'aq: Tunuvnun-qaa¹⁵ pilii?¹⁶
 Qiaviaq: Ikamrak alulartaituk.¹⁷
 Ayak'aq: Tua-i ikamragni pilii.
 Qiaviaq: Egmanun tekiciqukuk kipusvigmun

[Snuukuukun ayiimek¹⁸ egmanun tekitik kipusvigmun. Neplian¹⁹ qalarutenrituk.]

1. **tangrramia** = 'when or because he saw me'; consequential mood (Chapter 16).
2. **quyaami** = 'when or because he was grateful'; consequential mood.
3. **wii** = 'I, me'; personal pronoun (Chapter 21), used here for emphasis.
4. **atak** (or **ataki**) = 'well then'; particle (Chapter 12).
5. **Ayak** is a vocative or calling form for **Ayak'aq** (Chapter 12).
6. **waniwa** = 'right now,' rather than 'right here,' in this context.
7. **snuukuugka** = 'my snow machine'; a single snow-machine, like a sled, can be grammatically treated as a dual; in this conversation it is referred to by the same person alternately as a singular and as a dual.
8. **yaaqsig-** = 'to be distant, far away.'
9. **kitak** = 'okay; go ahead'; (Chapter 12).
10. **kitak atrarluk** = 'okay, let's₂ go down'; optative mood (Chapter 12).
11. **pirraarlua** = 'after I get'; subordinative mood (Chapter 13); the interpretation of the verb base **pi-** as 'get' is because of **kuuvviamek kipusvigmek**.
12. postbase **@~+niar-** with enclitic **=qaa** makes the question into a sort of suggestion: 'should we ...'
13. **qavci-** is from **qavcin**; **-k'laag-** is from English.
14. **@~+niarar-** = 'to V soon.'
15. **tunu** = 'area at the back of; a positional base.
16. **pilii** = 'I should do it'; optative mood (Chapter 22).
17. **alular-** = 'to steer'; the sled towed by the snow-machine would need someone to steer it.
18. **ayiimek** = 'when they₂ go'; consequential mood (Chapter 16).
19. **neplian** = 'because it is so noisy'; consequential mood.

- Ayak'aq: Angli-lli¹ cukavaa snuukuugpeni! Maligtamken kipsuviim iluanun.
 Qiaviaq: Qamiqisuutnek-qaa piciquuten?
 Ayak'aq: Ii-i, nauwa-m'² amiik?
 Qiaviaq: Ing'um nerpiim keluantuq.
 Ayak'aq: Kipusvigmi-lli angllinivaa.
 Qiaviaq: Ciku man'a qaingani nunam assiituq uum kipsuviim ukatiini.
 Maaggun pikumegnu³ assirciquq.
 Ayak'aq: Maligqurciqamken.
 Qiaviaq: Waniwa tekitukuk amiigmun. Itertua.

[Tua-i-llu itertuk.]

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate:

- 1) Why do you keep wearing those socks of yours? 2) Did you take medicine already? 3) Where did you go with your three sisters on Sunday? 4) How did you break your glasses? 5) Where did you buy those new shoes? 6) The mosquitoes kept biting us. 7) What will you do on Tuesday? 8) How old is your shirt? 9) Which river did she cross? 10) Who do you keep waiting for? 11) How did you kill the mosquitos here? 12) Where do the people here usually get water? 13) Where did you leave your bucket? 14) Who did you send whitefish to? 15) Why did you turn off that light up there? 16) I keep on being very cold. 17) The water in the bucket out there near the door keeps freezing. 18) How did you catch so many geese? 19) Where do the women of this place generally catch pike-fish? 20) Why were you_{pl} grieving? 21) They keep speaking to each other.

B. Translate the following into English and parse the given Yup'ik:

- 1) Calartat makumiut Agayunermi? 2) Naken imkut pingayun kass'at taillruat Pkyutmi? 3) Qaillun qerallrusiu tamana kuik? 4) Qangvallauga levaan ak'allaq? 5) Ciin-kiqyuut maani iluteqat? 6) Icivaq pitellruunga arvinlegnek luqruuyagnek. 7) Aipiritmi kipuyuciiqaqa tutgarqa (tutgaraqa) nutaramek paltuugmek. 8) Maligcuyuitaatnga taugaam aipilaranka. 9) Kia nacalillruagu paniin? 10) Ak'aneq tangeqsaitanka ilavet ilait. 11) Casteŋgusit maani?

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik and parse your translations:

- 1) Who made those four parkas in the store? 2) Where did those (going away from speaker) hunters catch lots of muskrats? 3) Who caught these five beavers? 4) Where do you want to go on Saturday? 5) Why can't you sew shirts like your older sister? 6) How many cloth cover parkas did your wife make for her sisters? 7) They never shoot geese on Sunday. 8) Who brought those two rabbits into the house? 9) Our₂ son usually chops wood for us, but today he's sick. 10) When did you spill coffee on my bed?

1. **angli-lli** = 'so much'; it makes the exclamation more intensive.

2. **nauwa** is a less formal way of saying **nanta**, and **nauwa-m'** corresponds to **nanta-mi**.

3. **pikumegnu** = 'if we₂ go'; conditional mood (Chapter 16).

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 11

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 **Ackiik** 'glasses' is from Russian; the singular of **ackiik** is **ackiiq**, that is, the base form is **ackiir-**, as can be seen in **ackiirpiik** 'a large pair of eyeglasses'; the term for old fashioned slit-type native design sun goggles is **niiguak**.
- #2 **Al'rraq** for 'year' in HBC instead of **allraq**.
- #3 Instead of **egturyaq** for 'mosquito', there is **makuryaq** in Y, UK, LI. The word **egturyaq** has an initial **k**: **kegturyaq** in NS, Nun, some NI, and in Eg. This form **kegturyaq** is probably the original form (it occurs with a **k** in other Eskimo languages), and is related to **kegge-** 'to bite.'
- #4 **Lumarraq** 'shirt' is from Russian; **keggan** and **atkucuar** are also used for 'shirt.'
- #5 The word **luqruiyak** 'pike' is one of the very few Yup'ik words from Athabaskan. Instead of **luqruiyak** for 'pike' there is **cuukvak** at the mouth of Y, in HBC, NI, Nun, BB, NR, and LI, **keggsuli** in Y, **qalru** in UK and Eg, and **ciulek** in NSU.
- #6 Instead of **qerar-** for 'to cross over', there is **arvir-** in NI, some Y, UK and Can and some K, and **nirar-** in LI and NR. **Qerar-** itself has a variety of pronunciations (and therefore spellings).
- #7 **Sap'akiq/cap'kiq** 'shoe, boot' is from Russian; in BB another word from Russian, **pasmakiq**, is also used for 'shoe.'
- #8 For **seg-** or **ceg-** 'to cut fish for drying' the actual base is [e]sseg- or [e]ceg- so that one says **seg'aqa** or **ceg'aqa** for 'I am cutting it' (see the discussion of [e] in connection with [e]na in Chapter 4). In K in the villages around Bethel **ulligte-** is used for 'to cut fish for drying' instead; and this verb should not be confused with **ullirte-** meaning to 'slit open as to expose the inside.'
- #9 **Suukiiq/cuukiiq** 'sock' is from Russian.
- #10 See the note about **ca** being a stress-repelling base in the supplement to Chapter 20 under alternate vocabulary and vocabulary notes.

Note A

Since HBC uses only **y** and never (voiced) **s**, the 1st and 2nd person subject singular marker is **~+(t)yi**, giving forms such as **caliyit?** 'what are you doing?' rather than **calisit**. In HBC the 1st and 2nd person subject non-singular marker is **@~+(t)yi** giving forms such as **cameng neryici?** 'what are you_{pl} eating?' and **cameng aturcici?** 'what are you using?' rather than **camek nerceci** and **camek aturceci**. An alternate HBC marker for these non-singular endings is **+(s)te** with **ssi** rather than **ci** as the 2nd person plural subject marker, giving forms such as **cameng nerestessi?** 'what are you_{pl} eating?'

Note B

The word **neqa^e** 'fish/food' and the postbase **-li-** 'to make *N*' yield ***neqêli-** and hence **neq'li-** which would mean 'to make fish/food.' The next stage of the historical process doesn't follow any present-day rule, but clearly **neq'li-** has led to **neqli-** which has the lexicalized meaning 'to prepare fish for storage, by cutting and drying' (and occurs in **neqlilleq** and **neqlivik** both meaning 'fish camp').

Similarly **neqa^e** and **-liur-** 'to work with *N*' yield ***neqêliur-**, hence **neq'liur-** 'to work with fish or food', hence **neqliur-** 'to serve food', and **nepa^e** 'sound, noise' and **-lir-** 'to have lots of *N*' yield ***nepêlir-** hence **nep'lir-** 'to have lots of sounds,' hence **neplir-** 'to be noisy.'

Note C

When **-li-**, 'to make *N*,' or **-lir-**, 'to provide with *N*,' are used with certain nouns which ends in **aaq**, then in the shortened form the entire last vowel is dropped and the **i** of the postbase is doubled. Thus, **piilitsaaq** is 'pepper' and **piilitsiiraa** (from **piilitsaaliraa**) is 'she put pepper on it,' **mingqaaq** is 'grass basket,' and **mingqiiguq** (from **mingqaaliuq**) is 'she is making a grass basket,' and finally **paatakaa^e** is 'syrup' and **paatakiiraa** (from **paatakaaliraa**) is 'she put syrup on it.'

The Lost Needle

Tūtghārau'lōkkil'raek ūetāl'raek. Tūtghārau'lūng'kāthlunē tānggāu'hō-lōr'mūk, mīngkūtīng'kāthlūtūkhōk. Tauq'kūn ātau'chīmūk mīngkūtīng'kāthlūtūk tāmkāūfkēnā'kū. Tōā'thlūhōk chāt-llēt'nē māuqhūlōq'lōā slāmkā'chēōk, tōā'thlūhōk slāmkāchēnān'rānā tūtghārau'lōā ātkūlth'hrānē ālthhōh'pākān, māuqhūlōq'lūmē kākē'wē tāgū'lūkē, ātkūlth'hrānē mīng'kā. Tōā'thlūhōk mīnknenā'nūr'mnē mīng'kūtūm ē'mūm thlē'chēā nāthlūyāgū'tā, yūā'yā'kā nātākīnrē'tā nātākīnrālā'mēū tūtghāra'lōā im'īnā mānūsūq'tōk, mānūsūg'nēnān'rānā māuqhūlōq'lōā ī'trātōk tōā'thlū tūtghārau'lūnē pē'ā mānūsūqpākā'chēt? Tōā'thlū keyū'ghwā, "Tōiyū'hwā āllīnēōkpākā'mā mānūsūqtlrāā'gñā." Tōā'thlūhōk ūq'tōk, ūq'chāmā kāmūksālth'hrāgnē yū'wāk, kān'nūq'lūnē kāmūksālth'thlūqkā kā'nā ālthhōhpā'kātōk mīngkūkkūr'yā'kākā. Tōā'thlū kākē'venē tīg'gōē, tōā'thlū tīgōā'mēkē ānggnē'tī ānggnēkōr'yā'ki mīngkūtūq'lōā im'īnā tiyē'mā! Tōā'thlū kān'nūqtōk: "Tūtghāra'thlūgā. mīngkūtūq'lōpūk im'īnā nāuhwā? ā'gñū! chāgmāqyākō'nākū nāu'hwā? kēkē' tizh'ghwū!" Tōā'thlū keyū'ghwā ātkūlth'thlūqkā ālthhōh'pākān mīng'kākā mīnknenā'nīm'nē thlē'chēā nāthlūyāgū'tākā. Tūtghāra'lūmkūtā'gāk! ā'gñū chāgmāchēhkin'rātōk kē'gñān mīnkūt'kāpūk, nāt'mūn chāgmāq'chēū? chāgmālth'pñē ikkēkē'kā yūā'ghwū! Tōā'thlū yūā'rāk yūā'riyākūk'kēk nātākīn'rātāk ūēgyā'kūk tōā hwā'nērpāk nātākūtīn'rātūk. Tūtghārau'lōq'lūnē im'īnā kētō'ānē nūnū'gñā kēkē! pātāg'āmūk! nātāksklū'kū, ūēgyā'kūk kētō'ānē im'īnā tānggāuhōlōq'lūnē tīnglū'rāhā nātākōchūgnīrō'chāmūk. Tūtghāra'lōq'lōā nūkā'yūtōk kēālōg'lūnē ā'nōk. Mā'tñ ā'nōk ātākūlū'nē, mā'tñ nēchūg'nēōk āmā'kūn kāzhgēmūk ātūlrāā'mūk nē'tōk. Ūthlā'gā mā'tñ kāzhgēmūn ūyāng'tōk chāt-kām'kūt ātūl'rāēt im'īnā mīngkūtūq'lōāā āppāthlūq'thlūkū. (*Song.*) Mā'tñ ūyāng'tōk kāzhgēm' nā'trānē yūchōā'yāgāt ūn'kūt pōāthlā'rāēt, mīng'kūtūk iyā'rōlūtūng, āknīr'nīlētānūk nāchāngkāthlū'tūng ām'thlūq'thlūtūng. Tōā'thlūhōk ī'trātōk āqpāūtūk'klūkū yūchōā'yāgāt im'kūt klūt'mūn chūkchāu'tūt im'kūt iyā'rōtūng mīng'kūtūt ūnēā'thlūkē. Mīng'kūtūk āuq'tōk knē'nē mwēr'thlūkū tāmalthkwē'tā tōi' nāngāmē'kē ā'nōk, māuqhōlōq'lūnē ūthlā'gā. Mā'tñ ī'trātōk chēlā' ū'nā māuqhōlōq'lōā ēmū'mūk mīng'kūtūk tāmalth'thlūr'mūk yūāl'rāā. Tōā'thlū pūgūchēā'tūn pē'ā: tūtghārau'lūchēthlūr'rāh! mīng'kūtpūk im'īnā pātā'gāmūk nātā'kāū kē'gñān pēkā'pūk. Tōā'thlū tūtghāra'lōā kēāvāq'tōk māuqhūlōq'lōā'mēthlū kītē'nūn mīng'kūtūt im'kūt kātālūq'thlūkē. Māuqhūlōq'lōā im'īnā ārrēnkā'ālthkīllē kwēyā'lūnē im'kūnūk mīng'kūtūnāmūk tōi'. Mīnksā'klūgūt mīng'ki tāmrāākā'mūk āthlā'nūk chīmērāk'klūkē tōi' mīngkūt'gnāmūk tōāntāk'klūk. Ētau'gwēūk.

This is a transcription by Catholic Priest Francis Barnum of a traditional Yup'ik story. Barnum lived on Nelson Island for eight years beginning in 1891. This transcription appears in his Yup'ik grammar (Barnum, 1901:280-81). See page 453 for a retranscription in the modern Yup'ik orthography.

CHAPTER 12

*Second Person Subject Optative (commands);
and First Person Non-Singular Intransitive Optative (suggestions);
Verbalizing Postbases for Demonstrative Adverbs;
'be in a state of having V-ed' Postbase*

Vocabulary

agartaa 'he hung it up'

ataki or **atak** 'well now,' 'just a minute now' (*particle*)

atata or **atataku** 'later' (*particle*)

at'uq 'he put on an article of clothing'; **ataa** 'he put it on'

callmagtuq 'he's patching something'; **callmagaa** 'he's patching it' #1

cangatuq 'something's amiss with it' (**cangata?** 'what's amiss with it?'; **cangacit?** 'how are you?' (*idiom*))

caqu 'wrapping'

caqua 'he wrapped it'

egtaa 'he threw it away'

ermigtuuq 'he is washing his (own) face'; **ermigaa** 'he is washing his (another's) face'

eruraa 'he is washing it' (utensil, etc.)

ikirtuuq 'it opened'; **ikirtaa** 'he opened it'

imarmiutaaq 'mink'

iqaaq 'dirt' (*not in the sense of 'soil' or 'earth' except when on clothes, furniture, etc.*)

kagiuq 'he is sweeping'; **kagia** 'he is sweeping it' #2

kelgaa 'he invited him'

kitak 'go ahead; come on now; okay' (*particle*)

luuskaaqq 'spoon' #3

maktuuq 'he is getting up'; **maktaa** 'he is setting it upright, getting him out of bed'

masslirissuun 'butter knife' #4

mingugaa 'he is putting ointment on it; he is painting it; spreading butter on it'

minguk 'ointment, paint, color, butter'

murilkuuq 'he's being attentive'; **murilkaa** 'he is watching him/it'

naspaaguq 'he is tasting or trying something'; **naspaagaa** 'he is tasting or trying it' #5

neqliurtuuq 'he's serving'; **neqliuraa** 'he's serving him' #6

patua 'he covered it; he closed it' #8

piilitsaaq 'pepper' #7

qulituq 'he is washing his (own) hair'; **qulitaa** 'he's washing his (another's) hair'

tangvagtuuq 'he is looking'; **tangvagaa** 'he is looking at it'

taryuuq 'salt'

watua 'just now' (*particle*)

uci 'load, cargo'

Optative Mood for Commands, Requests, and Suggestions

In studying a language one usually learns about *indicative* constructions, which are used for making statements, *interrogative* constructions, which are used for asking questions, and *imperative* constructions, which are used for making commands. In Yup'ik the imperative forms are part of a larger family of verb endings called the *optative mood*.¹ In Chapter 5 there was a preview of this mood. The optative mood includes verb forms for making commands that correspond to the English 'eat,' 'come here,' 'help me,' 'take it,' etc., that is, to English imperatives, and also to English phrases like 'let's eat,' 'let me help you,' and 'let them go out.' In this chapter we shall examine the optative endings for second person subject, which correspond to imperatives: 'you do such and such,' and for first person non-singular subject intransitive, as in 'let's do such and such.' First person transitive and 3rd person optative are covered in Chapter 22.

The 2nd person singular subject intransitive optative is the form used to tell one person to do something (and not to do something to something or to someone, which is transitive), so these most basic optative forms correspond to 'eat,' 'come here,' 'go to bed,' 'come in,' etc. In Yup'ik essentially the bare base itself is used for this though there is generally a slight modification made to it.

For bases ending in a single full vowel, the plain base is used:

cali- 'to work'	cali 'work'
uita- 'to stay'	uita 'stay'

For bases ending in two vowels, **gi** is added to the base:

tai- 'to come'	taigi 'come here' (<i>also irregularly taitai</i>)
kiu- 'to answer'	kiugi 'answer'

For bases ending in **e** (but not in **te**), **i** is added to the base:

eke- 'to get in'	eki 'get in'
ane- 'to go outside'	ani 'go outside'

For bases ending in **te** except for special **te**, i.e. **te** from a negative or descriptive base or postbase, **n** is added to the base:

inarte- 'to lie down'	inarten 'lie down'
makte- 'to get up'	makten 'get up'

1. This larger family of endings, called the optative in this book, is called simply the "imperative" in other works on Eskimo grammar (even though it includes forms that aren't strictly speaking imperatives in the usual understanding of the word "imperative"). In other works it is sometimes called the "hortative."

For expanded bases ending in special **te-**, the **te** is replaced with **lu**:¹

qianrite- ‘to not cry’

qianrilu ‘don’t cry’

For bases ending in a consonant, **:a** is added to the base:

itr- ‘to come in’

itra ‘come in’

eqiur- ‘to chop wood’

eqiura ‘chop wood’

mayur- ‘to go up’

mayua ‘go up’ (from ***mayura**)

qavar- ‘to sleep’

qavaa ‘sleep’ (from ***qavara**)

ayag- ‘to leave’

ayii ‘leave’ (from ***ayaga**)

Note the several forms that this ending takes, **Ø** (that is, no change to the base), **gi**, **i**, **n**, **@lu** or **:a**, depending on the way in which the verb base ends.

The “empty” verb base **pi-** ‘to do, act, say’ (see Chapter 8 vocabulary), used with the postbase **@+’(g/t)ur(ar)-** ‘to keep on V-ing’ (see Chapter 11), and used with the above optative ending gives √ **piuraa** (from ***piurara**) or more commonly √ **piura** which literally means ‘keep on doing (as you’ve been doing),’ but essentially means, or is used to express, ‘goodbye.’

Exercise 12-1

Attach the above ending to the bases for the following words and translate. For example, given **Nutegtuq**, you would write **Nutga**. ‘Shoot’;

- 1) **Kagiuq**. 2) **Kuv’inrituq**. 3) **Tupagtuq**. 4) **Eruriuq**. 5) **Ermigtuq**. 6) **Agenrituq**.
- 7) **Qulituq**. 8) **Kuuvviartuq**. 9) **Tag’uq**. 10) **Atrartuq**. 11) **Aqumuq**. 12) **Anenrituq**.
- 13) **Maqiuq**. 14) **Naspaaguq**. 15) **Aqvatuq**. 16) **Iqvartuq**. 17) **Manartuq**. 18) **Aptuq**.
- 19) **Iinruuq**. 20) **Ner’uq**. 21) **Mertuq**. 22) **Kiuguq**. 23) **Iniiguq**.

The 2nd person singular to 3rd person singular transitive, ‘you, do something to him or it,’ optative ending is basically **gu**, often realized as merely **u** (see the corresponding interrogative ending in Chapter 10). This ending attaches to bases in various ways depending on the way the base ends.

For bases ending in a single full vowel, **u** is added to the base:

kagi- ‘to sweep’

kagiu ‘sweep it’

tegu- ‘to take’

teguu ‘take it’

1. In HBC, **n** is added to these bases too giving, for example, **qeyanriten** ‘don’t cry.’

For bases ending two vowels, **giu** is added to the base:

kiu- 'to answer'
naspa- 'to taste'

kiugiu 'answer him'
naspaagiu 'taste it'

For bases ending in **e** (but not **te**), **iu** is added to the base:

ner- 'to eat'
tun- 'to sell'
pik- 'to own'

neriu 'eat it'
tuniu 'sell it'
pikiu 'have this, own it'

For bases ending in **te**, **@gu** is added to the base changing **t** to **s** with **e** inserted as necessary, and special **te** to **l**:

kipute- 'to buy'
ikirte- 'to open'
mumigte- 'to turn over'
nerenrite- 'to not eat'

kipusgu 'buy it'
ikiresgu 'open it'
mumigesgu 'turn it over'
nerenrilgu 'don't eat it'

For bases ending in **r**, **-rru** is added, and for bases ending in **g**, **-ggu** is added:

atur- 'to use'
elag- 'to dig'
keleg- 'to invite'

aturru 'use it'
elaggu 'dig it'
***kelêggu** → **kel'ggu** or **kellgu** 'invite him'

Note how differently this ending, which is basically **gu** attaches to verb bases depending on how the bases end. Note also in the following three examples the different functioning of three verbs of giving.

Taisgu masslirissuun. 'Give me the butter knife (for temporary use).' ('me' is implied by the base verb **tai-** 'to come towards speaker')

Cikirru nasaurluq akinek. 'Give the girl some money (for her to have permanently).'

Tuniu tauna nasaurlurmun. 'Give that to the girl (as a permanent possession or for temporary use).'

Exercise 12-2

A. Attach the above ending to the bases for the following words and translate. For example, given Paigaa, you would write Paigiu. 'Stay with him';

- 1) Tupagtaa. 2) Patua. 3) Antaa. 4) Inia. 5) Egtaa. 6) Anutaa. 7) Unitenritaa. 8) Ellia.
- 9) Uitataa. 10) Nutgaa. 11) Meraa. 12) Neraa. 13) Aptaa. 14) Eruraa. 15) Mingqaa.
- 16) Eqiurutaa. 17) Tagutaa. 18) Tangvagaa. 19) Mertautaa. 20) Niicugnia.
- 21) Callmagaa. 22) Asemtaa. 23) Kipuyutaa. 24) Tegunritaa. 25) Cikiraa. 26) Caqua.
- 27) Kuvaa. 28) Murilkaa. 29) Qanrutaa. 30) Ayautaa. 31) Nerqaa. 32) Utaqaa.
- 33) Nakukenritaa.

B. Translate (consider these as commands made to a single person to do something right now):

- 1) Pass (me) the salt. 2) Watch my child. 3) Open the window. 4) Close the door.
- 5) Eat your soup. 6) Don't eat that berry. 7) Kill that mouse down there. 8) Take this box. 9) Try the food. 10) Listen to your grandfather. 11) Sweep the floor of your house. 12) Leave it alone. (*use uitate-*) 13) Put on this shirt. 14) Feed the baby. 15) Speak English to him. 16) Cook this fish. 17) Drink this water. 18) Go with him. 19) Take this box. 20) Make your son a hat. 21) Do it like this. 22) Don't do it like that. 23) Put salt on the meat. 24) Fill the bucket with water. 25) Send the boy some money. 26) Take your grandfather some Eskimo ice cream.

Looking over the discussion above of the endings for second person singular intransitive and second person singular to third person singular transitive optative endings, one will see that basically the second person singular subject marker is \emptyset (that is nothing added) with certain adjustments (such as adding **+(g)i**, **+n**, or **:a**) made depending upon the termination of the base. The third person singular object marker is basically **gu** (again with various adjustments depending on the termination of the base), meaning 'him or it,' as it is with the interrogatives. As with the interrogative, the other object markers are **ki**, meaning 'them,' **kek** meaning 'them₂,' **nga** for 'me,' **kut** for 'us,' and **kuk** for 'us₂.' All of these attach via the processes shown by the symbols @~+ where **t** changes to **s** or **l** as discussed above. With bases ending in two vowels or in **e** (but not **te**), **gi** or **i** can optionally be inserted after the base.

tegu- 'to take'
naspaa- 'to taste'
ner- 'to eat'
maligte- 'to come with'

alikenrite- 'to not fear'

neqliur- 'to serve'
callmag- 'to patch'
ikayur- 'to help'

tegu 'take them'
naspaaki or **naspaagiki** 'taste them'
nerki or **neriki** 'eat them'
maligeskut 'come with us'
maligesnga 'come with me'
alikenrilki 'don't fear them'
alikenrilnga 'don't fear me'
neqliurki 'serve them'
callmagkek 'patch them₂'
ikayurkuk 'help us₂'
ikayurnga 'help me'

The **ng** of **nga**, meaning 'me', is *not* subject to velar dropping when it comes right after the base or expanded base, but it *is* subject to velar dropping when it comes after something that is part of the optative "apparatus" (that is, part of the optative ending itself, or a postbase used only with the optative), such as the **(g)i** that can optionally be inserted after a base that ends in two vowels or in **e** (other than **te**) as in the third and fourth examples below.

utaqa- 'to wait for'	utaqanga 'wait for me' (<i>no velar dropping</i>)
niicugni- 'to listen to'	niicugninga 'listen to me' (<i>no velar dropping</i>)
taringe- 'to understand'	taringenga or taringia (<i>from *taringinga</i>) 'understand me'
kiu- 'to answer'	kiunga or kiugia (<i>from *kiuginga</i>) 'answer me'

Exercise 12-3

A. Translate:

- 1) Curanek iqvausnga. 2) Maligeskut yaavet. 3) Irnianka murilkiki. 4) Ukuk aliimategka aturkek. 5) Ukut akit pikiki. 6) Irniavet paltuugit agareski kiavet. 7) Quliriskut. 8) Taukut elliki estuulum qainganun. 9) Teguki. 10) Allanret ikayurki. 11) Akinek cikirnga. 12) Akilinrilnga. 13) Ukut navenrilki. 14) Ukut pikiki.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik (consider these as commands made to a single person to do something right now):

- 1) Make me tea. 2) Get water for us. 3) Chop wood for your parents. 4) Wash those dishes. 5) Talk to me. 6) Don't spill your coffee. 7) Write to your brothers. 8) Put the boxes under the table. 9) Hang your coat, hat and mittens by the door. 10) Put the buckets on the stove. 11) Stay with your younger siblings. 12) Pick these berries. 13) Learn the children's names. 14) Come with us. 15) Turn on the lights. 16) Turn off the lights. 17) Serve the children some soup. 18) Shoot those birds. 19) Patch my pants. 20) Sew these old shirts. 21) Write down your mother's name and your father's name. 22) Don't leave your mittens behind here.

When speaking to three or more people, a second person plural subject marker, **ci**, is used instead of the \emptyset of the second person singular. This marker is of the type @~+ where final **te** will be completely dropped from a base. With bases that end in two vowels or an **e** (other than **te**), **(g)i** may be optionally used before this marker.

iter- 'to come in'	iterci 'come in (you _{pl})'
inarte- 'to lie down'	inarci 'lie down (you _{pl})'
qavar- 'to sleep'	qavarci 'sleep (you _{pl})'
tai- 'to come'	taici or taigici 'come (you _{pl})'
nere- 'to eat'	nerci or nerici 'eat (you _{pl})'
qulite- 'to wash one's hair'	qulici 'wash your hair (you _{pl})'

The transitives with second person plural subject have the familiar object markers after the **ci**.

alikenrite- 'to not fear'	alikenriciki 'don't be afraid of them (you _{pl})'
atur- 'to use'	aturciu 'use it (you _{pl})'
ikayur- 'to help'	ikayurcikut 'help us (you _{pl})'
maligte- 'to go with'	maligিকেক 'go with them ₂ (you _{pl})'

With the plural subject marker **ci**, the **ng** of **nga** 'me' as an object is velar-dropped, because the **ci** is part of the optative apparatus.

ikayur- 'to help'	ikayurcia 'help me (you _{pl})'
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Exercise 12-4

Change the following second person singular subject optatives to the corresponding second person plural subject optative (that is, keeping the object the same) and translate. For example, given *Qanrusnga*, you would write: *Qanrucia*. 'Tell me (you_{pl}).'

- 1) Apesgu. 2) Aski. 3) Ikayurkut. 4) Neriki. 5) Aturru. 6) Ekiu. 7) Agaresgu. 8) Uitasgu. 9) Naspagiki. 10) Paigia. 11) Nerqiki. 12) Niicugniu. 13) Ut'ruski. 14) Elaggu. 15) Nutgu. 16) Quuyurniskek. 17) Cikirkut. 18) Taiski. 19) Keniusnga. 20) Elisgu.

First person plural and dual optative endings form sentences corresponding to English phrases like "let's eat" or "let's₂ go". For the intransitive these endings are **-lta** meaning 'let's *V*', and **@~+luk** for 'let's₂ *V*'.

The second of these endings changes a resulting **tl** to **ll**.

nere- 'to eat'	nerelta 'let's eat'
	nerluk 'let's ₂ eat'
uterte- 'to go back'	utertelta 'let's go back'
	* utertluk → uterlluk → uterrluk 'let's ₂ go back' (the last step is in accordance with the spelling conventions)
eqiur- 'to chop wood'	eqiulta 'let's chop wood'
	eqiurluk 'let's ₂ chop wood'
iter- 'to go inside'	itelta 'let's go inside'
	iterluk 'let's ₂ go inside'
manar- 'to fish'	manalta 'let's fish'
	manarluk 'let's ₂ fish'
ayag- 'to leave'	ayalta 'let's leave'
	ayagluk 'let's ₂ leave'

For an older pattern of suffixation for **-lta** see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 12-5

Translate into Yup'ik with both a plural and a dual "us" in "let's". For example, given Let's wash our faces, you should write *Ermigluk and Ermilta*.

- 1) Let's go out. 2) Let's swim. 3) Let's Eskimo dance. 4) Let's build a boat. 5) Let's take a steambath. 6) Let's pick berries. 7) Let's hunt. 8) Let's visit. 9) Let's quit. 10) Let's help each other. 11) Let's have coffee. 12) Let's listen. 13) Let's get up. 14) Let's sleep. 15) Let's cut fish for drying.

Special Postbases for the Optative

Given the meaning of the optative, naturally it cannot be used with the past postbase **-llru-**. However, it is not used with the future postbase **+ciqe-** either. Instead, for optative pertaining to the future, a special postbase **@~ki-** is used. This postbase changes base-final **te** to **s**, but special **te** to **l**, and the **k** of this postbase becomes **q** with bases that end in **r**.

nere- 'to eat'

nerkilta 'let's eat (in the future)'; compare

nerelta 'let's eat (now)'

atur- 'to use'

atuqiki 'use them (in the future)'; compare

aturki 'use them (now)'

ceñirte- 'to visit'

ceñireskiu 'visit him (in the future)';

compare **ceñiresgu** 'visit him (now)'

nerenrite- 'to not eat'

nerenrilkiluk 'let's₂ not eat (in the future)';

compare **nerenrilluk** 'let's₂ not eat (now)'

For second person singular intransitive, **+na** is used after this postbase, rather than **Ø** as with other bases and expanded bases ending in a full vowel.

tai- 'to come'

taiki-

taikina 'come (in the future)'; compare

angyali 'build a boat' (from **angyali-**)

With second person singular to first person singular transitive, the **ng** of the object marker **nga** is velar dropped, because this postbase counts as part of the optative apparatus:

ceñirte- 'to visit'

ceñireski-

ceñireskia 'visit me (in the future)';

compare **angyalinga** 'build me a boat'

(from **angyali-**)

In translating from English one must use the postbase **@-ki-** whenever the action desired is to occur in the future. In English, future time for commands or requests is clear from context or is indicated by auxiliary words, but in Yup'ik the postbase **@-ki-** is necessary. Thus, 'let's leave tomorrow' would be translated as **ayakilta unuaqu**, not as ***ayalta unuaqu**. The optative without this postbase is used only when the desired action is to take place immediately.

With second person subject optative endings the combination of the negative postbase **-nrite-** and the future postbase **@~-ki-** is not used. Instead there is a substitute postbase, **@~+yaquna-**.

nere- 'to eat'	neryaqunaki 'don't eat them (in the future)'; <i>compare</i> nerenrilki 'don't eat them (now)'
alike- 'to be afraid of'	aliksaqunakut 'don't be afraid of us (future)'
unite- 'to leave behind'	unicaqunacia '(you _{pl}) don't leave me behind (future)'

Note that this postbase **@~+yaquna-** is used *only* with second person subject optative endings, that is, it is used only to make future prohibitions. It is *not* used with first person subject optatives, where **-nrilki-** (from **-nrite-** and **@~-ki-**) is used instead. Thus, one says **ayagyaqunaci** '(you_{pl}) don't go (in the future),' but **ayanrilkita** 'let's not go (in the future).'

In several ways, the optative endings used with the postbase **@~+yaquna-** are different than the usual optative endings:

The second person singular intransitive ends in **k** rather than in **Ø**:

neryaquna-	neryaqunak 'don't eat (future)' (<i>compare</i> utaqa 'wait (now)' from utaqa-)
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The second person singular to third person singular transitive ends in **ku** rather than in **u** (or **:gu**):

neryaquna-	neryaqunaku 'don't eat it (future)' (<i>compare</i> utaqau 'wait for him (now)' from utaqa-)
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Also, since this postbase counts as part of the optative apparatus, velar dropping occurs with the second person singular to first person singular transitive ending, **nga**:

aliksaquna-	aliksaqunii 'don't be afraid of me (future)' (<i>by velar dropping from</i> *aliksaqunanga) (<i>compare</i> utaqanga 'wait for me' from utaqa-)
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Exercise 12-6*A. Translate:*

1) Quliskina ing'ukun merkun. 2) Kuuvviamek kuv'iyaaqunak nutaragnun qerrulliigpenun. 3) Taikina. 4) Ut'ruskiu unuaqu. 5) Qanruskia irniavnek. 6) Mertauskikek apa'urluun maurluun-llu. 7) Una yaqulek pitaqa keniqiu. 8) Makut atsat iqvaryaunaki. 9) Nerrsuuteka tamaryaunaku. 10) Anyaaqunak. 11) Pissunrilkilta unuaqu. 12) Estuulum qainganun elliyaqunakek sap'akigken! 13) Qit'vucaqunii. 14) Qimugteten nerqekiki ak'allanek kemegnek. 15) Taumek cikiryaaqunaku paniin. 16) Tuavet paltuugen agareskiu. 17) Kalikat ukut egcaqunaki. 18) Naspaaikina uumek. 19) Ikircikina egalernek. 20) Aliimategka ac'aqunakek. 21) Erurikina. 22) Piipiq murilkekiu. 23) Allanret ikayuqiki. 24) Neqliuryaaqunakut suupamek taukun luuskaakun. 25) Mingugikiluk taukun unuaqu. 26) Ilaten kelkiki (or kel'kiki). 27) Mananrilkilta neqlillemta ketiini. 28) Suupaqa piilitsaaliryaaqunaku. 29) Taryiqiu. 30) Piipiq igcecaqunaku.

B. Put each of the following commands and requests into the future (using @~-ki- or @~+yaquna- as needed), and translate. For example, given: Callmagkek. you would write: Callmakikek. 'Patch them₂ (future)'

1) Tegunrilki. 2) Elliu. 3) Ikayurnga. 4) Askek. 5) Igarru. 6) Asgu. 7) Qavanrilu. 8) Naspaaqiu. 9) Mingqiki. 10) Kiputenrilgu. 11) Niicugnilta. 12) Makten. 13) Inartelta. 14) Mayuuskek. 15) Pinrilluk. 16) Murilkiu. 17) Tagelta. 18) Kelegki. 19) Neqliurcikut. 20) Quliricikuk. 21) Ceñireskut. 22) Nerqiki. 23) Aquinrici tamaani. 24) Nakukenrilgu. 25) Ulualinga.

The postbase @~+(t)viiqna- (where **tv** becomes **p** whether **t** is from base-final **te** or from (t) used with consonant-final postbases — see @~+(t)vaa in Chapter 10) takes optative endings just like @~+yaquna-. It means 'stop V-ing' or 'don't V so much.'

Qiaviiqnak! 'Stop crying!'

Kuuvviarpaiqnaci! '(You_{pl}) stop drinking coffee!'

Exercise 12-7*Translate:*

1) Stop picking on your younger siblings. 2) Stop being afraid of me. 3) Don't take them outside so much. 4) (You_{pl}) stop eating them. 5) (You₂) don't work so much.

In Chapter 13 when the *subordinative mood* is discussed, we shall see another and very common way for making second person subject commands or suggestions. For first person subject suggestions, an alternative to the *optative* is the postbase @~+naur- plus an ending of the *indicative mood*. Thus, **nernartukut** 'let's eat,' is an alternative to the optative **nerelta**. This will be discussed more in Chapters 17 and 22.

As in English it is possible to make commands more polite or more emphatic by changing the tone of one's voice and/or by rephrasing, thus, 'would you please eat' rather than 'eat.' So also in Yup'ik tone of voice and rephrasing can make optatives more or less polite or emphatic. The postbase **-qar-** can be used to make an optative more polite. This postbase can also indicate that the desired action is to be incidental or brief, so as well as being translated as 'please,' it can be translated as 'merely,' 'just' or 'briefly.' (Note that it can be used with moods other than the optative to indicate that an action is of brief duration or is incidental.)

tai- 'to come'	taiqaa 'please come here,' 'come here a second,' (<i>from *taiqara by velar dropping</i>)
callmag- 'to patch'	callmakarru 'please patch it' (<i>here the postbase -qar- has become -kar- because the base ends in g</i>)

There is a universal process in most areas of Yup'ik whereby underlying **qar** becomes **qer** (except in the initial syllable of a word). This happens with the above postbase when **qar** arises (and also for some speakers **kar** becomes **ker**). It is a process that occurs after the stage for hatted **e** deletion, so that it sometimes results in a hatted **e** in a word with the following consonant automatically geminated, as in the second example below.

ner- 'to eat'	*nerqarki → nerqerki 'please eat them'
apte- 'to ask'	*apteqarru → apteqerru 'please ask him'
tangerr- 'to see'	*tangerqarru → tangerqerru 'look at it' (<i>literally, 'see it' (with this base, the voiceless r is kept with this and other -q and -k initial suffixes)</i>)

For more information on this postbase see Note B in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 12-8

A. Translate to English:

- 1) Taiteqerru tauna. 2) Ukuk qerrulliik at'equerkek. 3) Aqu(m)e(qaa). 4) Teg(u)qerru. 5) Nerqerci. 6) Neqerrlugnek cikiqernga. 7) Kenurraq kumarteqerru. 8) Eruriqaa. 9) Niicugnissuun nipteqerru. 10) Nangerteqaa. 11) Ikayuqaqia.

B. Put the above "politeness" postbase into the forms given in the correct way, and translate: For example, given *Ikayurnga* you would write *Ikayuqernga*. 'Please help me.'

- 1) Nerqiki. 2) Askek. 3) Elaggu. 4) Tuquski. 5) Kitugesgu. 6) Ikireski. 7) Tegunrilki. 8) Utaqakuk. 9) Caquu. 10) Nutgu. 11) Mingugki. 12) Kiugia. 13) Ikayurkut. 14) Tangvaggi. 15) Kuuvviara.

The particles **ataki** or **atak** 'well now,' 'okay now,' 'in that case' or 'just a minute now,' and **kitak** 'go ahead' or 'come on now' are often used with the optative, just as the English equivalents of these words are used with English commands or requests.

Atak, taisgu. 'Just a minute now, give it (to me).'

Kitak, at'eqerru. 'Just go ahead and put it on.'

Exercise 12-9

A. Translate into English:

- 1) Neqka nerqeryaqunaku. 2) Taiteqerki taukut. 3) Qimugkauyaraanka aliksaqunaciki. 4) Kitak, maqikiluk maqivigpeni. 5) Taqengnaqiki. 6) Saayuliqerkut. 7) Taukunek neqnek sek'ilta. 8) Nakukviiqnaku kinguqliin! 9) Egturyanek tuqucikici. 10) Ackiigken nutarak tamaryaqunakek. 11) Taringengnaqkia. 12) Akutaq atsirru ukunek curanek. 13) Saskaqa kuuvviamek imirru. 14) Imirisnga. 15) Suupaqa piilitsiirpiiqa. (piilitsiir- is the somewhat irregular shortened form of piilitsaalir-) 16) Ak'allaq levaan kitugeskiu. 17) Ukveknga! 18) Tagici ceñamek. 19) Nunurpiiqa. 20) Igauteqerki mikelnguut atrit. 21) Qalaruskia. 22) Kiani quliskina. 23) Igcaqunaci mermun. 24) Ilaten keniuteqerki. 25) Taryiriviiqa. 26) Iinru! 27) Angayuqaagken eqiuruskikek. 28) Kitak, ayagluk. 29) Eruriqaqina, usuuq! 30) Avelngaat elauskiki maqiviim uatiini. 31) Pissuqilta tuntuvagnek ingrit amatiitni. 32) Kameksiigken askek. 33) Keggsaqunii irumkun! 34) Atak, tangerqerru. 35) Kipuyutqerru tutgaraan camek. 36) Kass'at alikviiqnaki. 37) Piqertuutaq unicaqunaku neqlillermun. 38) Snuukuumteñek ak'allamek kitugcingnaqkiluk. 39) Tuaten piyaqunaku. 40) Kita, teguu. 41) Kuimaryaqunaci kuigmi maani. 42) Kelipikina. 43) Igarcuuten asemcaqunaku. 44) Mayuusgu pikavet. 45) Qianrilu! Ukveksaqunaki. 46) Manarcuutet tuniki arnamun. 47) Luqruuyagnek keniqina. 48) Iniiqina nem keluani. 49) Atuqikek ukuk aliimategka. 50) Kayangunek kelipenek-llu mikelnguut nerqekiki.

B. Translate into Yup'ik: (Consider these as commands made to a single person to do something right now).

- 1) Make me tea. 2) Get water for us. 3) Chop wood for your parents. 4) Don't leave your mittens behind here. 5) Wash those dishes. 6) Talk to me. 7) Don't spill any coffee on me. 8) Write to your brothers. 9) Put the boxes under the table. 10) Hang your coat, hat and mittens by the door. 11) Put the buckets on the stove. 12) Stay with your younger siblings. 13) Pick these berries. 14) Learn the children's names. 15) Come with us. 16) Turn on the lights. 17) Turn off the lights. 18) Serve the children some soup. 19) Patch my pants. 20) Sew these old shirts. 21) Write down your parents' names.

Other Postbases

The postbase **:(ng)ir-** means 'to be deprived of *N* (intransitive); to deprive of *N* (transitive),' taking the English word "deprive" in a rather general or abstract sense, as can be seen in the following examples. Note that in some cases the meaning is more specific than what the meanings of the component parts would suggest.

ciku 'ice'	cikuiraa 'he is removing or has removed the ice from it'
iqaq 'dirt'	√ iqairaa 'he is removing or has removed the dirt from it, is washing or has washed it' (applies to clothes)
amiq 'skin'	√ amiiraa 'he is skinning it or has skinned it'
ungak 'whisker'	√ ungairtuq 'he is shaving'
ii 'eye'	√ iingirtuq 'he is snowblind'
[e]na^e 'house, place'	√ enairaa 'he took his place' ('took his seat', 'took his fishing hole', etc.)
paltuuk 'coat'	paltuugia 'take off your coat'

When used with a *positional* (see Chapter 7), and a transitive ending, this postbase means 'to move through the *N* area of object':

qula^e 'above'	qulairaa 'it went over or above it'
caniq 'beside'	caniiraa 'it went through the area next to it'

Sounding similar to the preceding postbase is **:(ng)ir(ar)-** which means 'to have cold *N*,' where *N* is a body part. It can be used with transitive endings with "nature" as an inexplicit subject as well as with intransitive endings (see Chapter 9 on **qerrutaanga** as an alternative to **qerrutua**).

it'gaq 'foot'	it'gairtua (<i>from</i> * it'gairartua) <i>or</i> it'gairaraanga 'I have cold feet'; it'gairallruunga <i>or</i> it'gairallruanga 'I had cold feet'
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Exercise 12-10

A. Translate:

- 1) The paint is coming off my boat.
- 2) Unwrap the box.
- 3) He took my fishing spot.
- 4) He removed his little son's boots.
- 5) Unload your sled.
- 6) Why are you removing your grey hairs?
- 7) Please remove your hat.
- 8) My hands are cold but I want to take off my gloves.
- 9) Were your ears cold yesterday?
- 10) Why, I wonder, are my feet usually cold?

B. Write five sentences using the above postbases.

For information on postbases similar to and undoubtedly related to the above two postbases see Note C in the supplement to this chapter.

The postbase **:(i/u)ma-**, when used with a *change of state verb base* (such as **tuqu-** 'to die,' **naveg-** 'to break'), and an intransitive ending, means 'to be in a state of having V-ed' ('it is dead,' 'it is broken,' etc.). With *agentive bases*, it can also mean 'to be in a state of having been V-ed,' which is its meaning with *transitive-only bases*.¹ When used with a non-change of state verb base, it means 'to V or to have been V-ing for a long time.' Examples showing these various shades of meaning are given below.

With bases that end in one or two full vowels (**a**, **i**, or **u**) this postbase takes the form **.ma-** (that is, **(i/u)** is not used):

utaqa- 'to wait'	utaqamauq 'he's been waiting for a long time'
ini- 'to hang'	inimauq 'it's been hung'
tuqu- 'to die'	tuqumauq 'it is dead'
qercua- 'to get frostbitten'	qercuamauq 'it is frostbitten'

The **u** (of **(i/u)** of the postbase) is used with bases that end in **e** (but not **te**) or in a consonant, which is then subject to velar dropping:

ane- 'to go out'	anumauq 'it is outside' (also: 'it flows out (to)' <i>as in</i> kuik anumauq imarpigmun 'the river flows out to the ocean')
nere- 'to eat'	nerumauq 'he has eaten; it has been eaten; he has been eating for a long time'
ayag- 'to go away'	ayaumauq 'he has left, is gone'
iter- 'to come in'	itrumauq 'he has come in, is in'

The **(i)** (of **(i/u)** of the postbase) is used only with bases that end in **te** (and therefore **t** changes to **c**):

makte- 'to get up'	makcimaq 'he is up, has gotten out of bed'
kitugte- 'to fix'	kitugcimaq 'it's been fixed'

Certain verb bases have special forms which do what the above postbase does, and which are preferred to this postbase. Thus, corresponding to **aqume-** 'to sit down,' there is $\sqrt{\text{aqumgauq}}$ 'he is seated (is in a sitting state),' which is more common than **aqumumauq** 'he is seated.' There are also other postbases (especially for bases that end in **te**) which do what the above postbase does, and which yield forms that are more common, in many cases, than the above postbase. These other postbases are discussed in Chapter 19.

1. To put it another way, this postbase has the characteristic that that party which is in the absolutive (subject for intransitive, object for transitive) coincides for embedded and derived sentences. See also Chapter 18 for other postbases (the "compound verbal" postbases) with this characteristic, and further ramifications of it.

Exercise 12-11*A. Translate into English:*

1) Lumarraqa ak'a callmaumauq. 2) Nallumauten! 3) Akiliumauten-qaa? 4) Cavutegka asemcimauk. 5) Ciin kenurraq nipumaa? 6) Kia paltuuga uani agarcimaa? 7) Ak'allat kalikat egcimaut. 8) Neqliurumaut-qaa? 9) Niicugnissuun nipcimauq. 10) Piipiq aciumauq apa'urlumi atranek. 11) Mervik keggani cikuirumauq. 12) Ikamraci-qaa uciliumauq? 13) Angyaput ak'a uciirumauq. 14) Tauna kuuvviaq emiumauq (meliumauq). 15) Suupan taryiryacunaku; ak'a taryiumauq. 16) Qavcin seg'umaat? 17) Ciin kelipaqa massliumanrita? 18) Qimugtut-qaa nerqumaut? 19) Nanvacuaraat misviim keluani cikuirumaut.

B. Translate the following using the above postbase:

1) He is awake. 2) It is frozen. 3) He's been crying for a long time. 4) It's melted. 5) It's been killed. 6) It's cooked. 7) He has gone to bed, is in bed. 8) It is lost. 9) It's been dug. 10) It has been painted. 11) It has had the paint removed from it. 12) The dishes are already washed. 13) The socks are washed. 14) The visitors have already arrived. 15) The floor's been swept. 16) Your baby has been hungry for a long time. 17) The minks and beavers have been skinned. 18) The boat motor is broken.

The enclitic =**gguq** is used to report what someone has said.

Ampi-gguq. 'Hurry up, he says' or 'He says for you to hurry up.'

Nerkina-gguq. 'Eat, he said' or 'He said that you should eat.'

Ciin-gguq? 'Why do they say it's so?' or 'Why could one say it is so?' or 'Why, from what you've heard?' or 'Why, would you say, is it so?' (**ciin-gguq** is essentially an idiomatic alternative to just **ciin** with only a very slight difference in connotation).

For the next three examples, imagine that person A is telling person B about something that person C said.

Taqngaituq-gguq. 'He won't finish, he says' or 'He says that he won't finish' (where person C was most likely speaking about himself, or possibly about someone else other than person A, person B or person C).

Taqngaitua-gguq. 'I won't finish, he says' or 'He says that I won't finish' (where person C was speaking about person A).

Taqngaituten-gguq. 'You won't finish, he says' or 'He says that you won't finish' (where person C was speaking about person B).

It may be used to report something that one has heard from others. This is how it is used in a narrative.

Nukalpiaq-gguq tauna uitaaqellria kuigem ceriini. 'That young man, it is said, lived on the shore of a river' (**uitaaqellria**, *is in the participial mood (Chapter 21) and is more-or-less equivalent to the indicative uitalartuq*) (from "Piciwkenani Uingulleq - The Unfaithful Husband" by Mary Black of Kongiganak in Yupik Lore - Yuut Qanemciit).

From the example immediately above and the one immediately below, one can see that this enclitic always goes on the first word of the sentence.

It can be used to convey messages via an intermediary.

son to intermediary: **Kaigtua-gguq qanruskiu aanaka.** 'Tell my mother that I'm hungry.'

intermediary to mother: **Kaigtuq-gguq qetunraan.** 'Your son says that he is hungry.'

mother to intermediary: **Nerli-gguq akutamek.** 'Tell him that he may eat Eskimo ice cream' (**nerli** = 'he may eat', *third person subject optative (Chapter 22)*)

intermediary to son: **Neri-gguq akutamek.** 'She says for you to eat Eskimo ice cream.'

Special Postbases for Demonstrative Adverbs and Positionals

In Chapter 6 the *demonstrative adverbs* were discussed. These words have their own set of oblique case endings, for example, **maani** '(at) here' (localis case), **maavet** 'to here' (first terminalis case), **maatmun** 'toward here' (second terminalis case), **maaken** 'from over here' (ablative-modalis case), and **maaggun** 'through here, this way' (vialis case). There are verbalizing postbases corresponding to the first terminalis, the second terminalis, and the vialis.

Corresponding to +vet is +virte- as in maavirtuq 'he is coming (to) here'

Corresponding to +tmun is +tmurte- as in maatmurtuq 'he is coming toward here'

Corresponding to +ggun is +gguir- as in maagguirtuq 'he is going through here, this way'

Note that the first two of the above postbases end in **te**, but the third one does not.

There is no verbalizing postbase corresponding to the ablative-modalis ending **+ken**, nor to the localis ending **+ni** (except for the fixed contraction of the localis and the obsolete verb base **ete-** 'to be' as in **maantuq** (see Chapter 6)).

The postbase **+tmurte-** can be used with most of the *positional bases* as well. For example:

- Acitmurtuq.** 'It is going downward.'
Quletmurtuq. 'It is going upward.'
Ciutmurtuq. 'It is going forward.'
Kingutmurtuq. 'It is going toward the back.'

Another verbalizing postbase that goes on the same set of demonstratives and positionals is **-qsig-** meaning 'to be far in that direction.'

- Quleqsigtuq.** 'It is far up above.'
Iluqsigtuq. 'It is way inside.'
 √ **Yaaqsigtuq.** 'It is far away, distant.'

More Demonstratives

At this point one should review the demonstratives presented for memorization in Chapters 6 and 10 (**una, man'a, tauna, ingna, imna, pikna, kan'a, augna, kiugna, ugna, tamana, unegna, ikna, pingna** and **keggna**), and one should memorize the following set of demonstratives (as before, only the absolutive singular pronoun form and the localis adverb form are given here with other forms given only if they have features that are not completely predictable).

- ukna** 'that one coming this way' (*opposite of augna*); *abs. & rel. plural is ukegkut; localis adverb is ukani* 'in the area one has recently passed through' or 'during the near future'
- un'a** 'that one down there (either below or down the slope)' (extended); *ablative-modal singular is un'umek; abs. & rel. plural is unkut; localis adverb is unani* 'down there (either below or down the slope)' (extended)
- agna** 'that one across there' (extended); *localis adverb is agaani* 'in the area across there' (extended); *note the doubled a in the adverb*¹
- amna** 'that one over there' (obscured); *localis adverb is amani* 'in that area over there' (obscured)
- akemna** 'that one across there' (obscured); *ablative-modal singular is ak'mumek; abs. & rel. plural is akemkut; localis singular is akmani* 'in that area across there' (obscured)

Exercise 12-12

A. *Translate:*

- 1) Natmurcit? 2) Maagguirngaicugnarqut. 3) Un'gavirteqatartukut unuaqu. 4) Qimugta ilutmurtuq kaviam igtiinun. 5) Ukaqsigtuq.

B. *Write ten sentences using demonstratives studied so far and the special postbases that go with these demonstratives.*

1. See Note D in the supplement to this chapter.



Peter Nick with a lynx he trapped near Marshall, 1968. Trapping provides Yup'iks with income as well as fur for garments. Note the seal skin boots. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Vocative Forms for Personal Names and Kinship Terms

In Chapter 6 we discussed how *vocatives* or *calling forms* such **usuuq** are formed from demonstratives. Vocatives can also be made from personal names and from kinship terms. Two processes are employed, and for a given name both can often be used. One process is to lengthen the vowel in the last syllable of the name. So if the name is **Cikik'aq** (note that gemination like this is common in personal names), the vocative would be **Cikik'aaq**. The other process is to delete one or more segments at the end of the word, so from **Cikik'aq** again would come **Cikik** or even **Cik**.

An **r** or **g** that ends up at the end of the word in this way can be changed to the corresponding stop, so that **Apurin** would become **Apuq**. Short forms of names can end in ways that other words cannot, such as in **p**, **ll**, **ss** or **y**. Thus, **Apurin** shortened to **Apuq** can be further shortened to **Ap**, and **Talliinguq** has the vocative form **Tall**. The syllable **'aq** (with gemination) may then be added to give a sort of informal name, **Tall'aaq**. The whole business of Yup'ik naming practices, nicknames, vocative and informal forms of names is fascinating and complicated.

Postbase for 'N and other(s)'

The postbase **%(e)nkuk** 'N and spouse or partner', **%(e)nkut** 'N and family or associates,' does not occur in the singular. It attaches just like the plural ending **%(e)t** does, so **Kat'ak** and family' is **Katiinkut**. Personal names ending in **n** act as if they ended in a vowel or in **q** when this and other postbases are used with them, so **'Apurin** and family' is **Apurinkut**.

Connected Reading for Chapter 12

Read the following dialog, and be prepared to explain the grammar of each sentence.

Characters: Aangaarraaq (the mother), Tumaq'aq (Aangaarraaq's daughter), Akagtaq (a visitor staying with Aangaarraaq), Aiggailnguq (a neighbor of Aangaarraaq), Apurin (a visitor staying with Aiggailnguq), Calik'aq (a close relative of Aangaarraaq), Paniluk (a child of Aangaarraaq; just mentioned in the dialog).

Aangaarraaq: Ukuk kitak aatavet suukiik agareskek.

Tumaq'aq: Natmun?

Aangaarraaq: Uavet uatiinun kaminiam pikek. Uгна-llu luqruuyak inikiu.

Tumaq'aq: Natmun-mi?

Aangaarraaq: Keggavet piu. Tauna-llu taqkuvgu¹ kinguqliin ermikiu.

Tumaq'aq: Aren, meq nang'uq.² Mertartek cali tekiteksaituk.

Aangaarraaq: Qakma³ tekitik. Kitak ikiruskek kinguqliigken mertartek. atataraani⁴

Aangaarraaq: Mertanguq.⁵ Kitak puqliri,⁶ kenia-llu. Tua-i tang kemek suuparkaq.⁷

Tumaq'aq: Nauwa-mi uluama aipaa? Una ipenricugnarquq.

Aangaarraaq: IPELLRUYAAQUQ. ERUQERRARLUKU⁸ atak neqa uklikiu.⁹ atataraani

Tumaq'aq: Kenirtua. Nutaan ermigciqaqa kinguqliqa. Puqlanguq¹⁰ meq.

Aangaarraaq: Akagtaaq, kitak Apurin aqvaqerru. Maani-gguq nerli.¹¹ Amani-gguq Aiggailnguunkuni uitauq.

Akagtaq: Nani Aiggailnguunkut eniit uitaa?

Aangaarraaq: Yaani elitnaurviim keluani uitauq, Calik'ankut uatiitni. Egmanun tainiartuten.¹²

1. **taqkuvgu** = 'when you finish it'; conditional mood (Chapter 16).

2. **nange-** = 'to be used up.'

3. **qakma** = 'out there (obscured)'; this is the predicative demonstrative form (Chapter 6) from **qakmani**; with **akmani**, **pakmani**, **qakmani** and **cakmani** the predicative demonstrative forms do not use the enclitic =i as with other demonstrative adverbs.

4. **atataraani** = 'a short time afterwards' from **atata** and the 3rd person possessor localis; literally 'in its aftermath.'

5. **+tange-** = 'there's beginning to be N' (Chapter 13).

6. **puqliri** = 'make hot water'; from **puqlirali** which is from **puqliraq** 'hot water' and **-li-** 'to make N'; **puqliraq** comes from **puqlir-** 'to heat' and **+(g)aq** 'V-ed thing' (Chapter 14); **puqlir-** is from **puqlalir-** which comes from **puqla** 'heat' and **-lir-** 'to provide with N' (Chapter 11).

7. **suuparkaq** = 'soup ingredients'; from **+kaq** 'future N' (Chapter 14); note that there is no actual verb in this sentence.

8. **eruqerraarluku** = 'after washing it' (Chapter 13).

9. **ukli-** = 'to cut up (for cooking).'

10. **puqla** = 'heat.'

11. **nerli** = 'he can eat'; optative mood (Chapter 22).

12. **@~+niar-** = 'so that one can V' (Chapter 22); equivalent here to a polite future optative.

- Akagtaq: Tua-i agua.¹
 Tumaq'aq:² Aan, ukuk qerrulliigma ciisqua³ ukinenglliniuq.
 Aangaarraaq: Atak taiteqerkek. Qaku callmagciqagka. Nauwa-mi imna Paniluk?
 Tumaq'aq: Ua-i qulituq ermigcuutekun. Suupaq keniumauq.
 Aangaarraaq: Kitak neqliura taivailgan⁴ Apurin.
 Tumaq'aq: Neqliurpailegma⁵ suupaq naspaaqagerru.
 Aangaarraaq: Kitak luuskaamek taiteqaa.⁶ Naspaaqyugaqa.
 Tumaq'aq: Kita, kitak naspaaqgiu.
 Aangaarraaq: Tang cali ellma⁷ taryiqerru avganek⁸ luuskaacuaraam.
 Tumaq'aq: Qavcinek qantanek unuamek neqliurlii?⁹
 Aangaarraaq: Wangkuta¹⁰ tallimaugukut maani, Apurin-llu ilakluku¹¹ arvinlegen.
atatarani
 Tumaq'aq: Ak'a neqliurtua. Maa-i taiguk Apurinkuk.
 Aangaarraaq: Kitak saaniik¹² imirru. Kaminiam qainganun elliu.
 Tumaq'aq: Ak'a imangqertuq. Itertuk elaturramun¹³ Akagtankuk Apurin-llu.
 Aangaarraaq: Itertek. Atkuirtek. Ikavet-llu agarrlukek¹⁴ atkutek agarrvignun. Apurin, kitak wavet aqumi. Waniwa neqen.
 Apurin: Keggna luqruuyak inimalria¹⁵ ang'uq.
 Aangaarraaq: Akagtam-wa pitaa.
 Apurin: Neqmi-lli mat'umi assirpaa. Qangvallauga?
 Aangaarraaq: Akwaugaq Akagtaq manaryallermini¹⁶ canglliniuq¹⁷ tallimanek. Sellruaqa keggna.
 Apurin: Natmun-mi uin ayagta?
 Aangaarraaq: Pagaavet pillruuq pissurviminun. Kitak tauna taryuq taiteqerru, Akagtaaq.

1. **agua** = 'I'm going,' as in English, the verb form unmarked for time can be used for something that hasn't actually occurred yet; it is not necessary here to say **agqatartua**.

2. Recall that **Aangaarraaq** is **Tumaq'aq's** mother.

3. **ciisquq** = 'knee.'

4. **taivailgan** = 'before he/she comes'; precessive mood (Chapter 15).

5. **neqliurpailegma** = 'before I serve'; precessive mood.

6. **taiteqaa** = 'please bring (something)'; the base here is used with an intransitive optative ending; for some speakers **taite-** is agentive so that one can say **taituq** for 'he is bringing something', for example, while for other speakers **taite-** is transitive-only so that one must use the half-transitive and say **taiciuq** for this.

7. **ellma** = 'little bit'; particle.

8. **avek** = 'half.'

9. **neqliurlii** = 'may I serve?' first person singular intransitive optative (Chapter 21); this sentence is a sort of "hybrid," part interrogative from **qavcinek**, and part optative.

10. **wangkuta** = 'we,' personal pronoun used for emphasis (Chapter 21).

11. **ilakluku** = 'including'; subordinative mood (Chapter 13).

12. **saaniik** = 'kettle.'

13. **elaturraq** = 'enclosed porch.'

14. **agarrlukek** = 'hang them₂ up'; subordinative mood may be used in place of the optative mood

15. **inimalria** = 'the one hanging'; from **-lria** 'the one that is V-ing' (Chapter 14).

16. **manaryallermini** = 'when he/she went fishing'; first contemplative mood (Chapter 17).

17. **cange-** = 'to catch fish.'

Apurin: Wii-llu¹ uika ayaumauq. Unuamek taiyullruuq. Pkyutmi ayallruuq agayuvik paqluku² ikani.

Aangaarraaq: Man'a kiircetuq. Amiik ikirteqerru, Tumaq'aaq. Uin-ggem-llu³ cali imarmiutaliqniat⁴ uumi.

Apurin: Qanellruuq ilait-gguq cataitellruut⁵ amit.

Aangaarraaq: Qavciullruat-gguq amit?

Apurin: Qulngunritaraullruut-gguq. Tekicami⁶ naaqai; pingayun cataunateng.⁷ Tamallrulliniluki⁸ pingayun.

Aangaarraaq: Cali-qaa pitangqertuq⁹ suupamek Tumaq'aaq?

Tumaq'aaq: Cali ika-i pitangqertuq; pingayun ellimaut.

Aangaarraaq: Cali Apuq piyukuvet¹⁰ suupamek elpenek¹¹ neqliura. Ika-i tang egan.

Apurin: Cali atak pilii.¹² Tang neqa man'a assilria.¹³

Aangaarraaq: Tua-i cali neri.

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate and tell whether each verb is transitive or intransitive, and whether it is indicative, interrogative, optative, or an exclamation:

- 1) Pkyutmi ceñireskikut. 2) Ukuk ackiik askek. 3) Egturyat tuuskiki. 4) Sek'ina ingkunek neqnek. 5) Qeraryaqunak kuigem akianun. 6) Qimugteten nerqekiki ukunek luqruiyagnek 7) Qaku callmagciqsu ak'allaq lumarraqa? 8) Aqsivaa! 9) Unuaqu-qaa Cetamiritnguciquq? 10) Egeskek taukuk sap'akik. 11) Ermia, usuuq. 12) Egcaqunaki ukutkalikat. 13) Qavcinek imarmiutanek pitellrusit? 14) Kankut kanaqliit amiiqerki. 15) Uciiqu. 16) Qerrulliigka iqaiqerkek. 17) Tangvagyauunii. 18) Kaminiaq kumaresgu. 19) Neqliuqernga cali suupamek. 20) Mingullruan-qaa angyan? 21) Ciin murilkenriciu piipin? 22) Masslirissuun una ipegtuq. 23) Tegukiu nerrsuun estuulumek. 24) Quliskina. 25) Waten pi(i). 26) Tuaten piyaqunak. 27) Kuuvviigi. 28) Tekicuijaa! 29) Ak'a-qaa sellruaten imkut neqet? 30) Luuskaaqa tamaumauq.

B. Translate the following into *Yup'ik*:

- 1) When will you paint your father's boat? 2) Pass the pepper please. 3) Look at that muskrat (moving) down below. 4) The soup has had salt put in it. 5) Maybe you threw the butter knife away. 6) Don't serve me so much; I'm full. 7) Watch my child please. 8) Is the store open? 9) I don't want to wash my hair with that

1. **wii** = 'I, me, my'; personal pronoun (Chapter 21) used for emphasis here.

2. **paqluku** = 'checking'; subordinative mood (Chapter 13).

3. enclitic **=ggem** implies contrast as when introducing a new topic of conversation.

4. **imarmiutaqliqniat** = 'they say that he ...'

5. **cataite-** = 'to be missing, gone' (Chapter 20)

6. **tekicami** = 'when he arrived'; consequential mood (Chapter 16).

7. **cataunateng** = '(found) them to be missing', from **cataite-**; subordinative mood (Chapter 13).

8. **tamallrulliniluki** is in the subordinative mood and is equivalent to **tamallrullinii**.

9. **pitangqerr-** 'for there to be something.'

10. **piyukuvet** = 'if you want'; conditional mood (Chapter 16).

11. **elpenek** = 'yourself' as the indefinite object of **neqliura**; from the personal pronoun **elpet** 'you' (Chapter 21).

12. **pilii** 'I should do'; optative mood (Chapter 22).

13. **assilria** is in the participial mood (Chapter 21), and forms a somewhat more emphatic or exclamatory statement than **assirtuq**.

shampoo. 10) Wash your face, but don't spill any water on the floor. 11) I loaded your sled, but I won't unload it. 12) Did you open the door for the water-carrier? 13) The people from outside Alaska (=across there, obscured) will bring the boxes up from their boat to our house. 14) Don't listen to those_{approaching} children. 15) The river down there is already free of ice. 16) I'll wash dishes later on, but I won't sweep. 17) The airplane is way up there. 18) Where are you going? 19) Butter the bread for your child. 20) Why are the windows in their house covered? 21) Your pants are patched. 22) Close the door. My hands are getting cold. 23) Who unwrapped this box? 24) Let's go to the general area across there. 25) Listen to that over there. What is it? 26) They were going to go through here, but evidently they couldn't. 27) Why did the baby crawl under the table (and out the other side)? 28) She always removes her husband's grey hairs. 29) Let's try some loche at the fishcamp. 30) Hang up your parka in there. 31) The tea is diluted (has had water added to it). 32) Don't put on your old pair of pants. 33) Would you please patch something for me. 34) Why can't your little child use his spoon and fork? 35) Is this bowl washed? 36) Fetch water for me please. 37) How are those children down there (scattered over a large area) on the river doing? 38) Leave my eyeglasses alone. 39) Why is the television off? 40) Turn it on please. 41) Come here again on Tuesday at four. 42) Come with me this way. 43) Stay with us. 44) Don't leave your hat at your sister's house again. 45) Wait for us at the church. 46) I'll skin those minks that you caught right away. 47) The beaver probably went down to its den under the water. 48) Is your grandmother asleep? 49) Hang up the shirts outside there. 50) My hands are cold, and my ears are probably frostbitten.

C. Complete the following after the pattern of the example and translate. For example, given speaking to one person: Suupaq-qaa nerciq___?; Qaku suupaq ner___?; Suupaq ner___!; you would write Suupaq-qaa nerciqan? 'Will you eat the soup?'; Qaku suupaq nerciqsiu? 'when will you eat the soup?; and Suupaq nerkiu! 'Eat the soup (future)!'

1) *speaking to three or more people with regard to oneself (that is, 'you_{pl} to me')*: Ikeyungnaq___-qaa?; Qaillun ikayur___?; Ikayur___! 2) *speaking to one person with regard to three or more things*: Alikenrit___-qaa?; Ciin alikenri___?; Alik___! 3) *speaking to one person with regard to oneself and others*: Unuaqu-qaa ceñirciiq___?; Qaku ceñir___?; Ceñir___ unuaqu! 4) *speaking about oneself and two or more others*: Akutamek-qaa nerciq___?; Qaillun akutamek nerciq___?; Atataku akutamek ner___! 5) *speaking to three or more people*: Iqvaryug___-qaa?; Cakucinek iqvaryug___?; Kitak, atsalugpianek iqva___! 6) *speaking to one person with regard to one thing*: Atuqatar___-qaa?; Qaillun atuqatar___?; Aturyaquna___! 7) *speaking about oneself and one other person*: Unuaqu un'gavet ayagngait___; Ciin unuaqu un'gavet ayagngai___?; Unuaqu un'gavet aya___! 8) *speaking to one person in regard to oneself*: Uitaciiq___-qaa?; Ciin uitasngai___?; Uita___! 9) *speaking to two people*: Quya___-qaa?; Ciin quyanri___?; Quya___! 10) *speaking to one person with regard to two things*: Atular___-qaa?; Ciin atular___?; Aturyaquna___! 11) *speaking to one person*: Angyaq-qaa mingui___?; Kia angyaam ingug___?; Angyaq mingui___! 12) *speaking to three or more people*: Nem'ek-qaa mingui___?; Ciin nen'ek mingui___?; Nen'ek mingui___!

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 12

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 Instead of **callmag-** 'to patch,' there is **ilaar-** in NS, Y, HBC, some K, and LI. There is another verb, **allngig-**, for 'to patch (a boot sole).'
- #2 The verb **kagi-** 'to sweep' is from Aleut. Instead of **kagi-**, there is **canir-** for 'to sweep' in NS, Nun, some Can, and some K. **Canir-** is not a borrowed word. In HBC neither of these two words are used. Instead, **carrir-** 'to clean (the surface of something)' is also used for 'to sweep.'
- #3 The word **luuskaa**q 'spoon' is from Russian. Instead of **luuskaa**q, there is **uiluq** for 'spoon' or 'clamshell' in mouth of Y, some Can, some BB, some NR, and in LI, **qasuucia**q in NS and Nun, and **qaalucia**q in HBC.
- #4 The word **masslirissuun** 'butter knife' is from **masslaq** 'butter,' the postbase **-lir-** 'to provide with' (see Chapter 11), the half-transitive postbase, and the postbase **.ssuun/+cuun** 'device for.' An alternate word for 'butter knife' is **mingugissuun** from **mingug-**, in the vocabulary for this chapter.
- #5 Instead of **naspaa-** 'to taste, to try,' there is **uigtua-** in some NS, Y, some HBC, some NI and some Nun. There is also the base **pitassiar-** 'to taste, try' in most areas.
- #6 With **neqliur-** 'to serve' the word for the food served is put in the ablative-modal case (use: with verbs of giving), and the word for the person served is in the absolutive as object with a transitive ending used on the verb.
- #7 **Piilitsaa**q, 'pepper,' is from Russian. **Taryuq**, salt, however, is not a loan word. In contrast to **piilitsaa**q, **taryuq** doesn't sound like a loan word; specifically it doesn't have long vowels or odd gemination patterns characteristic of Russian loans, and it does have the back velar, **r**, in it, which is not found in Russian loans. Moreover pepper, which comes from tropical climates, is something the Russians brought, whereas salt, which comes from the sea, is something that Eskimos have always had.
- #8 Instead of using **patu-** for 'to close (a door)' as well as 'to cover,' **palute-** is used in NS and Y (and perhaps other areas), where **patu-** is reserved for 'to cover.'

Note A

An older, but still common, alternate to the first person plural intransitive optative ending **-lta**, is **:elta**.

<i>base</i>	<i>newer form</i>	<i>older form</i>
eqiur-	eqiulta	eqiurelta 'let's chop wood'
iter-	itelta	itrelda 'let's go in'
manar-	manalta	* manarelta → manaalta 'let's fish'
ayag-	ayalta	* ayagelta → ayiilta 'let's leave'

Note B

The combination of the postbase **-qar-** and the optative future postbase. **@--ki-**, give **-qaqi-** which is often understood as meaning 'V for a change,' as in **cenirteqaqina** 'visit for a change.' The combination of **-qar-** and **@~+yaquna-** gives **-qeryaquna-** which is often understood as meaning 'don't ever V,' as in **teguqeryaqunaki** 'don't ever take them.' So in these cases the meaning of the combinations is more that the combination of the meanings of the parts (or perhaps a better understanding of the postbase **-qar-** would better explain the meanings of the combination involving it).

Note C

A third postbase that is similar to **:(ng)ir-** 'to be deprived of, or to deprive of N,' and **:(ng)ir(ar)-** 'to have cold N,' is **:(ng)irte-** 'to get injured in the N.' Very likely all three are historically related. The difference between these postbases is often obscured by the following suffix, and in some areas for some speakers the postbases have "collapsed together." But compare:

from **:(ng)ir(te)-** 'to get injured in the N' comes, **iruirtuq** meaning 'he broke his leg', having the past time form, **iruirtellruuq** 'he has broken his leg'

from **:(ng)ir(ar)**- 'to have cold *N* comes, **iruirtuq** meaning 'he has cold legs,' having the past time form, **iruirallruuq** 'he had cold legs'
 from **:(ng)ir-** 'to lose one's *N* comes, **iruirtuq** meaning 'he lost a leg, had his leg removed, amputated, etc.,' having the past time form, **iruillruuq** 'he has lost a leg'

Note D

The additional **a** in **agaani** is apparently there to prevent velar-dropping and vowel raising. Likewise in **pagaani** 'up above' (extended) (from **pagna**) and **qagaani** 'outside' (extended) (from **qagna**). In Nun and NSU these three words are in fact **iini**, **piini**, and **qiini** (from ***agani**, ***pagani**, and ***qagani**).

МОЛИТВА ГОСПОДНЯ.

Атавуть хуяккута, тайманилькукь килить кай-
 катни; Таммань танкигнаухтукь атхань Пльльпйтъ,
 тамманьтутнаухтукь илхпйтъ акаюкаучинь лъ-
 лхогнаучинь; Таммань пьюнаухтукь пичихкпучинь
 Ильльпйтъ кайлхунь килитъ кайкатни туйтнь
 нунамъ кайкани; Ныккамакъ хуяккута нуькык-
 камтныкъ чикхкутъ эгньхнакъ; чали пьйски
 хуяккутунъ акилькунутъ хуяккута, кайлхунъ
 чали хуяккута пыхтлахчта акилькульритъ хуяк-
 кутнунъ; Чали хуяккута ашлпчтпилькутъ ик-
 люумунъ; Таугоамъ аввьюскутъ хуяккута туки-
 ныкъ иклумъ.

Each missionary denomination wrote Yup'ik in its own way. At left are three translations of the Lord's Prayer. The top version is in the Cyrillic orthography of the Russian Orthodox Church (from a prayerbook published in 1896); second is from a Moravian prayerbook published in 1945; and at bottom is the Roman Catholic version published in 1950. All three groups have been gradually shifting to the standard Yup'ik orthography.

*Atavut kilagamittra, atran kintsiknarile;
 angaiyokauvin tikitle; piskutsin nunam kai-
 ngane pile kilagamitun; nekkamtnik eginepak
 tsikegkut; ashilngumtniktlu awariskut, whong-
 kutnun ashilingilrit awariltautsimstun; pitsta-
 rutmuntlu pifkaksavnata, taugam ashilramuk
 aviuskut. Angaiyokauvik pinektlu utsogunag-
 kutsektlu itlpit pikngafke nangyulingogamuk.
 Amen.*

Atanaṃta Agayuṃchea

- Atamta, kellit kaenatniliṃok, tammatan tankeihṃaor-
 tok atran ṃpēt: tammatan tutnaortok aṃayokauchin: tamma-
 tan piunaortok picheṃkeuchin nunam kaenane kellit kae-
 natne luchimitun . - Nakṃhkamuk nokeṃṃameṃnik chikeṃkut
 ṃṃanarpak, chale pṃuhchṃakiki ashiliṃuput, hwankuta pṃuh-
 chilauchimstun chaṃayurchstartamtnik, chale ashiliṃerch-
 stiṃinakōmaṃimtne, ashiliṃerchstanṃṃṃkut tauhwam avvius-
 kut irkṃum tuṃinik, amen . -

REVIEW FOR CHAPTERS 2-12

The Noun Cases and Their Uses

syntactic cases:

Absolutive

- 1) subject of intransitive verb (*example: Arnaq ner'uq.* 'The woman is eating.')
- 2) object of transitive verb (*example: Arnaq tangvagaa.* 'He is watching the woman.')
- 3) of included subject (*examples: Nuliaqa-llu aturciqapuk.* 'My wife and I will use it.' (*literally: 'We₂, including my wife, will use it.'*), *Angutem nuliani-llu aturciqaak.* 'The man and his (own) wife will use it.')
- 4) basic labeling form for a thing, and citation form in dictionaries and other word lists (*example: arnaq* means 'woman')

Relative

- 1) subject of transitive verb (*example: Arnam neraa.* 'The woman is eating it.')
- 2) possessor (*examples: arnam irniara* 'the woman's child', *arnam irniaranun* 'to the woman's child')

oblique cases:

Ablative-modalis

orientational use:

place from which (*examples: Ceñamek tag'uq.* 'He is coming from the shore.', *Naken pisit?* 'Where are you coming from?')

non-orientational uses (note that there is some overlap and that certain of these uses could perhaps be combined or subsumed into others):

- 1) indefinite object (*example: Akutamek ner'uq.* 'He is eating some Eskimo ice cream.')
- 2) specification (*example: Angutmek irnianguq.* 'She had a male child.')
- 3) with verbs of communication (*example: Paniminek qanrutaanga.* 'He told me about his daughter.')
- 4) with verbs of giving (*example: Akinek cikiraanga.* 'He gave me some money.')
- 5) miscellaneous (*example: Paningqertuq qetunramek-llu.* 'He has a daughter and a son.')

other miscellaneous uses will be presented later.

Terminalis*orientational use:*place to which (*examples: Ceñamun atrartuq.* 'She is going down to the shore.'*Maavet taiguq.* 'She is coming (to) here.' *Maatmun taiguq.* 'She is coming toward here.')*non-orientational uses will be presented later***Localis***orientational use:*place at which (*example: Ceñami aquigut.* 'They are playing on the shore.')*non-orientational use:*with certain exclamations (*example: Iqtuvaa-lli ceñami.* 'Wow, how wide the shore is!')*other non-orientational uses will be presented later***Vialis***orientational use:*place through which (or route) (*example: Ceñakun piyuaguq.* 'He is walking along the shore.')*non-orientational uses:*1) instrument (*example: Uluakun amiiraa.* 'He is skinning it with a semi-lunar knife.')2) affected part of a whole (*example: Irumkun keggellruanga.* 'It bit me on my leg.')**Equalis***no orientational use**non-orientational use(s):*equal comparison (*examples: Aanamitun ayuquq.* 'She is like her mother.', *Yup'igtun yurartuq.* 'He is dancing like an Eskimo.')*also with language (Kass'acetun qanlartuq.* 'She speaks English.') and money (*Tallimatun kiputaa.* 'She bought it for five (dollars).'), *but these may be considered extensions of the equal comparison use***(Independent) Verb Moods and Their Uses***"Dependent" verb moods will be presented later.***Indicative**1) statements (*intransitive example: Mikelnguq ner'uq.* 'The child is eating', *transitive example: Nerciqaq kemek.* 'I will eat the meat.')2) yes/no questions (*intransitive example: Mikelnguq-qaa ner'uq?* 'Is the child eating?' *transitive example: Mikelnguq-qaa neraa?* 'Is the child eating it?')

Interrogative

content questions (*intransitive examples: Camek nersit?* 'What are you eating?', *Kina taiqatarta?* 'Who's coming?', *transitive examples: Ciin nersiu?* 'Why are you eating it?', *Kia taiteqatartau?* 'Who's going to bring it?')
another (very minor) use will be presented later.

Optative

commands, requests and suggests (*intransitive examples: Neri akutamek.* 'Eat some Eskimo ice cream', *Nerelta.* 'Let's eat.', *transitive example: Neriu akutaq.* 'Eat the Eskimo ice cream.')

another (minor) use will be presented later.

Exercise 1

Translate each of the following into English and be prepared to explain the grammar of the given Yup'ik sentence:

- 1) Ukuk ak'allak qerrulliigka callmakarkek.
- 2) Agarcaqunaku paltuugen uavet.
- 3) Qaku quliciiqsit?
- 4) Nalici eruriqatarta qantanek?
- 5) Egaleq ikirteqerru.
- 6) Nacan asgu.
- 7) Neqliuqsaitanka irniana suupamek.
- 8) Apa'urluma amiiqatarai imarmiutat pitaten.
- 9) Cauga pagna yaqulek?
- 10) Kagiyaqunaku nerviim natra kaminiam keluani.
- 11) Alqavet neqllirani cetaman egturyat keggellruatnga tallimkun.
- 12) Neryuitai luqruuyiit pitani.
- 13) Kitak, iinru.
- 14) Ackiigka navgumauk taugaam tangerrisugngaunga.
- 15) Lumarran cakneq iqauq; iqairru.
- 16) Aanama keniutelaraanga paluqtam pamyuanek.
- 17) Nalkutellrunritua akinek akwaugaq.
- 18) Kituuga augna?
- 19) Qimugta anesgu, qimugkauyaraatllu itruski.
- 20) Aatavet kipuyuciiqsugnarqaaten camek Mamterillermi.
- 21) Ekiurutqerkut keggunek muragnek.
- 22) Ciin uqvekenricia?
- 23) Utaqaciqamken elitnaurviim ketiini.
- 24) Kitugteksaitan-qaa levan?
- 25) Naliat irniavet qitevtelarta?
- 26) Nakuksaqunaki kinguqliten.
- 27) Agayuvigmi tamarillruunga igarcuutemnek, taugaam agayulirtem ikayurtiin nalkellrua.
- 28) Uani kuigem paingani makumiut arnat manalartut akakiignek.
- 29) Neqerrluk ak'allaq tepsarqenguq.
- 30) Qangvaq tekiteಲ್ಲuceci maavet?
- 31) Alqama uinga qayapiliyugngauq apa'urlumitun.
- 32) Eliskiki elitnauristet atrit.
- 33) Ataam taikina.
- 34) Nuussiqa igtellruuq mermun angyavci caniani.
- 35) Qaku-kiq uterciiqa nunarpagmek?
- 36) Makumiut manayuitut ing'umi nanvacuarmi.
- 37) Igcecaqunaku nutka mermun.
- 38) Piipima tupagteಲ್ಲruunga taugaam maktellrunritua.
- 39) Ciin pikna kenurraq nipteksaiciu?
- 40) Issurinek uani pissungnaqciqkut.
- 41) Alingnaqvaa-ll' taqukani.
- 42) Qavcinek-kiq qiingqercia?
- 43) Atsalugpianek kuv'illruunga nunamun nem'a ketiini!
- 44) Niicugniyaqunakut.
- 45) Natmun ellillrusiki luuskaat?
- 46) Ekellruanka kiugum yaassiigem iluanun.
- 47) Naken kiputellrua nulirren mingqessuutmek?
- 48) Qanruteksaicugnarqaiceci allanerneq Curyugmiunek.
- 49) Nerqekiki qimugtet ak'allanek neqnek.
- 50) Qangvallauga kaminiaci?
- 51) Natmun-kiq ellillruaki kalikanka.
- 52) Panima apa'urluni iqvautelaraa atsalugpianek tuyularaqa-llu.
- 53) Usuuq, ngel'arpqiinak; tupagciiqsugnarqan aatan.
- 54) Ukunek kalikanek imiusnga.
- 55) Agutellruaten-

qaa imkut yaassiiget elitnaurvigmun? 56) Ak'a erurillruunga qantamteñek nerrsuutemteñek-llu. 57) Nerqiciiqerpenga-qaa qimugtemnek? 58) Naliit irniavet mernulartat? 59) Tangellruaqa anngan maqiviim egalecuaraakun. 60) Naken pillrusit saarralamek? 61) Kia piliaqau tauna manarcuun? 62) Aanama aatii qimugtengqellruyaaquq qulngunrita'arneq, taugaam qimugtaitukut. 63) Avelngaat nerrliniit neqerrluut yaassiigmi kiugum inglerem aciani. 64) Kaviam itrutellrua imarmiutaq pitani igteminun. 65) Ulualingnaqsaaqellruunga taugaam pisciigatellruunga. 66) Alqama iqairit'laryaaqai ilani Maqinermi. 67) Augkuk mikelnguuk irniaqagka. 68) Meqsugpaa; kitak cikiqernga mermek. 69) Kumarciqatartua kenurramek. 70) Cauga kan'a kuigem ceñiini aatavet angyaan caniani? 71) Igcetellruaqa mingqun natermun nalkesciigataqa-llu. 72) Ciku nanvami mamtuuq. 73) Kinguqlima nuliara manignanek manalartuq nem'a uatiini. 74) Mertauteqerkut. 75) Ciin nangercit? 76) Ayautellruyugnarqaa taluyarpak piliaput. 77) Irniaten-qaa aquigut nev'et elatiini? 78) Ciin agutellrusiu levaan anngamnun? 79) Arnam tegustem nunullruak mikelnguun angayuqaak. 80) Niicugnissuun nipteqataraga. 81) Naliak ciutegpet qercuallrua akwaugaq? 82) Ulika ukinengqertuq. 83) Augsuuq, aliksaqunii! 84) Qangvaq yuullruagu taluyaq angyaminek? 85) Ciku urukatartuq nanvam qaingani. 86) Asemngaitaqa igarcuuten. 87) Masslirissuun taisgu. 88) Kass'am naspaayullruyaaqaa akutaq aanavet piliara 89) Suupaq-qaa taryiqsaitan? 90) Murilkekiu mikelnguq. 91) Qaku una yaassiik caquirciqsiu? 92) Saskaqa ak'a imiumauq saayumek. 93) Ciin-kiq uquringsia? 94) Tutgarqa yuurqeryularyaaquq kuuvviamek. 95) Mikelnguut iqvaryuumiitellruut nunapigmi misviim iquani. 96) Ingna tengssuun taillruuq ingrit amatiitnek.

General Endings and Their Major Uses Presented So Far

The following refer to the columns of the chart given below. Other uses of these endings will be presented in later chapters. Note that the chart includes dual endings that haven't been discussed much in previous chapters.

- I. (a) subject marker in intransitive verbs; (b) object marker in transitive verbs
- II. (a) possessor marker in absolutive nouns; (b) subject marker in 3rd person object indicative verbs
- III. possessor marker in relative nouns
- IV. (a) possessor marker in oblique case nouns; (b) subject marker in transitive verbs other than 3rd person object indicative

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
I, me, my	:nga	ka, qa	ma	m-
we, us	kut	put	mta	mte-
we ₂	kuk	puk	m(eg)nuk	meg-
you	ten, ken, gen	n	vet, pet	v-, pe-
you _{pl}	ci	ci	vci, peci	vce-, pece-
you ₂	tek	tek	vtek, petek	vteg-, peteg-
he, she, it	q, Ø, a, ku, :gu	Ø	n	Ø-
they, them	t, i, ki	t	ta	t-
they ₂	k, g, kek	k	gnek	g-
he/she/it _(4th person)	—	ni	mi	mi-
they _(4th person)	—	teng	meng	megg-, megte-
they _{2-(4th person)}	—	tek	mek	meg-

Exercise 2

Write Yup'ik sentences illustrating each of the above in its various uses. For example for "I, me, my" you might write:

I *caliunga* 'I am working', or *nancia* 'where am I?', or *assikaanga* 'he likes me';

II *angyaqa* 'my boat', or *assikaqa* 'I like him';

III *angyama* 'my boat's. . .';

IV *anyamni* 'in my boat', or *assikamken* 'I like you'

A few of the *paradigms* (families of endings) presented in previous chapters draw from two different columns of the above chart. For example, although intransitive interrogative endings come primarily from column I (as in **nanta?** 'where is he?', **nancia?** 'where am I?') the second person singular ending is more like that in column II (thus **nancit?** (with **t** like the **n** column II) 'where are you?' rather than ***nanciten?** as column I would give), first person plural and dual intransitive interrogative endings are more like the the endings in column III (thus **nanceta?** (with **ta** from **mta** in column III) 'where are we?' rather than ***nancekut**, and **nanceñuk?** 'where are we₂?') rather than ***nancekuk**).

Exercise 3

Translate the following into Yup'ik, and parse your translations:

- 1) My husband's older sister is going to try to sew a real parka for her husband.
- 2) Whose child wanted to kill your puppies?
- 3) Your wife and I caught those (over there) loche at the little river across from the policeman's fishcamp.
- 4) I wonder why your baby was unable to sleep.
- 5) It's hot outside today but yesterday it was very cold.
- 6) Please put some more coffee in my cup.
- 7) I keep on wanting to eat dried fish.
- 8) That airplane probably won't land on the surface of the ice downriver from our village.
- 9) Some of the storekeeper's children never help out at the store.
- 10) I brought your coat down to the edge of the river already.
- 11) Please take the birds you caught off the table in there.
- 12) His parents' house's windows are small.
- 13) My oars are broken, but my motor is good.
- 14) The teacher's wife will pay us later.
- 15) My little son's buddy has an earache.
- 16) I never understand the people from upriver.
- 17) Why is your small son sitting behind the stove?
- 18) I dropped some money behind the bed, and my little daughter found it.
- 19) Whose old parka are you wearing?
- 20) How did you make these oars₂?
- 21) Why can't you build your mother a new house?
- 22) Don't be afraid of mice.
- 23) Don't be afraid of my dogs.
- 24) The minister can write in Yup'ik.
- 25) My son killed a bear with his own little gun.
- 26) My children and I are going to pick blueberries in the tundra around that pond.
- 27) Why haven't you fixed your stove yet?
- 28) The teacher's wife wrote to one of my sons.
- 29) The people of my village took their belongings up the hill.
- 30) I'll write down the visitors' names.
- 31) Hasn't your daughter gotten married yet?
- 32) I have no place to go.
- 33) This is as far as they got. (i.e. this is their arriving place).
- 34) Oh my, how cold it is here!
- 35) Who spilled the sugar on the floor?
- 36) It must be Friday today.
- 37) We'll leave on Sunday.
- 38) I have two sisters and two brothers.
- 39) What's wrong with your motor?
- 40) Please throw out these old papers of yours.
- 41) Close the door.
- 42) I can't go with you tomorrow.
- 43) They invited us but we couldn't go.
- 44) Try this tea.
- 45) The child never washes his face.
- 46) They like their children's spouses.
- 47) The woman's other son had a stomachache at school yesterday.
- 48) Don't sit there!
- 49) My brother and his wife are coming from St. Marys.
- 50) We were looking at the old houses across from their fish camp.
- 51) Wow, are these seals ever fat!
- 52) Let's₂ make a steambath house beside your new house.

CHAPTER 13

*Seasons of the Year;
Absolute for Time;
Independent vs. Dependent Verb Moods;
Subordinative Mood*

Vocabulary

- akluq** 'article of clothing or bedding' #1
anuqlirtuq 'it is windy'
aqvaqurtuq 'she is running' #2
assiilkaa 'she dislikes it/her'
cataituq 'she is not here' #3
cav'uq 'she is rowing' #4
elaturraq 'enclosed porch; entryway to house'
erneq 'day'
ertuq 'day has broken, dawn has come'
iqлууq or iqluquuq 'she is lying'; **iqlua or iqluqua** 'she is lying to her'
muintuq 'it is full'; **muiraa** 'she filled it'
naaqaa 'she is reading or counting it'
nepa^e 'noise'
nepaituq 'it is quiet, silent'
neplirtuq 'it is noisy'
ngel'artuq 'she is laughing' #5
nukalpiaq 'man in his prime'
pinirtuq 'she is strong'
pitsaquq 'she acted intentionally'; **pitsaqaa** 'she acted intentionally toward it/her'
piyuaguq 'she is walking' #6
qasgiq 'kashim, old-time men's communal house; steambath house'
qastuuq 'she/it is loud'
qavarniuq 'she is sleepy' #7
qenertuq 'she is angry' (**qenrutaa** 'she is angry at her') #8
qikertaq 'island'
qulqin 'shelf' #9
tan'gerliq 'black bear'
tayima 'being gone, not here' (*particle*) #10
ullagaa 'she is approaching it/her' (*half-trans. is ullautuq* 'she's approaching something')
unuk 'night'
yaaliagni 'the day before yesterday' (*particle*)
yaaliaku 'the day after tomorrow' (*particle*) #11
yuartuq 'she is looking for something'; **yuaraa** 'she is looking for it', *also* 'she misses her' #12
yuvrirtuq 'she is examining something'; **yuvriraa** 'she is examining it' #13

Seasons of the year**kiak** 'summer'**uksuaq** 'fall, autumn'**uksuq** 'winter'**up'nerkaq** 'spring'**Time Words**

Yup'ik words for periods of time, such as 'day,' 'night' and the words for the seasons, can be used in the localis case as in **kiagmi** 'during the summer,' and **unugmi** 'during the night,' but they can also be used in their absolutive form as particles meaning 'this (past or present) *N*.' They can also be so used with the postbase **-rpak** to mean 'all *N*.'

Arnaq uitalruuq maani uksuq. 'The woman stayed here this winter.'

(Compare, **arnaq uitalartuq maani uksumi** 'the woman stays here in the winter.')

Calillruuq ukurpak. 'She worked all winter.'

Tupaumauq unugpak. 'She's been awake all night.'

Iqvallruunga ernerpak. 'I've been picking berries all day.'

For 'this (coming) *N*' with periods of time, a special postbase, **-ku**, is used.

Caciqceñuk kiaku? 'What will we₂ do this (coming) summer?'

Maanciiquq uksuqu. 'She will be here this (coming) winter.'

Tekiciiqsugnarqut unuku. 'They will probably arrive tonight.'

There are also verb forms for these time words, √ **uksur-** 'for winter to come' and √ **unug-** 'for night to fall.'

Uksurtuq. 'Winter has come.' (Compare, **uksuuguq** 'it is winter.')

Unugaakut. 'Night has come upon us' (for example, while we were out).

However **erneq** 'day' comes from a verb √ **erte-** 'for day to break, for dawn to come', and this verb is used as illustrated here:

Ertuq. 'Day is breaking, it is dawn.'

Erutaakut. 'Day has come upon us.' (Note that the postbase @:(u)te- (see Chapter 10) is used here dropping the **te** from **erte-**.)

Exercise 13-1*Translate:*

1) What are you doing here all day? 2) Next summer let's hunt bears upriver. 3) How come you laugh at night? 4) In the summer the children of this place are very noisy. 5) Long ago (ak'a tamaani) men and boys used to live in the kashim during the winters. 6) We walked all night. 7) In spring they would hunt muskrats. 8) I've been sleepy all day. 9) Come back here next summer! 10) Work in the store this coming autumn!

Independent vs. Dependent Verb Moods

In Yup'ik there are the three *independent* verb moods studied in the previous chapters — the indicative, the interrogative and the optative. They are independent in that they can be used as the main verbs of the sentences in which they occur. There are also *dependent* verb moods, which, in general, are used in sentences which also have a verb in one of the independent moods. These dependent moods are used to express connection — such as of simultaneity, purpose, cause, etc. — between two events.

Subordinative Mood

The *subordinative* is the first one of these dependent moods which we shall examine.¹ Yup'ik verbs in the subordinative correspond roughly to the English verb forms ending in “-ing,” used adverbially. In the following examples the word in the subordinative and its translation are italicized (the actual forms of the subordinative endings will be discussed shortly):

Taiciquq piyualuni. ‘She will come (by) *walking*.’

Neqlillminun ayallruuq cavluni. ‘She went to his fishcamp (by) *rowing*.’

Itellruunga tangerrusugluku. ‘I came in *wanting to see her*.’

Qit'vulluta qalarutellruakut. ‘*Speaking English to us* she talked with us.’

Yurartuten assirluten. ‘You are dancing well (*literally: being good (at it)*).’

Aqvaqurtut cukaluteng. ‘They are running fast (*being fast*).’

Qenerrluni nunullrui irniani. ‘Angrily (*being angry*) she scolded her children.’

The subject of the subordinative verb is the same as the subject of the main verb.² This is a very important fact in understanding the subordinative.

1. The subordinative is also called the “appositionalis,” the “infinitive,” the “conjunctive,” and the “contemporative” in various works on Eskimo grammar. However, in various other works the term “conjunctive” has been used differently — for what the present book calls the “consequential” (see Chapter 15), and also in the present book the term “contemporative” is used for two of the other dependent verb moods (see Chapter 17).

2. There are however, important exceptions to this rule which will be discussed later in this chapter and also in later chapters, in particular in Chapter 19.

As a consequence the ending of a transitive subordinative is only marked for object, since its subject is the same as that of the main verb. The ending of an intransitive subordinative in theory wouldn't have to be marked at all (since its subject is established by the main verb), but in fact it is marked.

A consequence of the fact that the subject of the subordinative verb is the same as the subject of the main verb is that there are no subordinatives with 3rd person subject, only with 4th person subject to go with a 3rd person subject main verbs (and, of course there are subordinatives with 1st and 2nd person subject to go with 1st and 2nd person subject main verbs).

Subordinative endings start with @~+lu. The person/number marker for 4th person singular intransitive, 'he/she/it' is **ni**. The other person/number markers will be discussed below.

With bases ending in a full vowel or in a consonant, this marker is affixed directly to the base, so that for example, from **cuka-** 'to be fast' one gets **cukaluni** '(she) being fast' as in **aqvaqurtuq cukaluni** 'she is running fast', and from **assir-** 'to be good' one gets **assirluni** '(she) doing well whatever she is doing' as in **yurartuq assirluni** 'she is dancing well.'

With bases ending in **e**, the **e** is dropped, so that for example, from **taringe-** 'to understand' one gets **taringluni** '(she) understanding' as in **niicugniuq taringluni** 'she listened understanding (what she heard),' and from **taqe-** 'to finish, quit' one gets **taqluni** '(she) finishing or quitting' as in **anellruuq taqluni** 'she went outside finishing or quitting what she was doing'. Note that from **mingqe-** 'to sew' one gets ***mingqluni** and hence **mingqelluni** or **mingeqluni** '(she) sewing' as in **callmagaa mingqelluni** or **callmagaa mingeqluni** 'she patched it (by) sewing.' However, with bases ending in **rqe**, such as in **alingnarqe-** 'to be frightening,' the **r** drops, so from ***alingnarqluni** one gets **alingnaqluni** '(she/it) being frightening' as in **qilugtuq alingnaqluni** 'it is barking in a frightening way.'¹

With bases ending in **te**, the resulting **tl** becomes **ll** which can necessitate minor spelling changes (this is the same as with the first person dual optative ending @~+luk presented in Chapter 11). Thus, from **tegute-** 'to take something' one gets ***tegutluni** and hence **tegulluni** '(she) taking something,' as in **ag'uq tegulluni qulqitmek** 'she went over taking something from the shelf' and from **qenerte-** 'to be angry' one gets ***qenertluni** hence **qenerlluni** hence **qenerlluni** '(she) being angry' as in **qanertuq qenerlluni** 'she is speaking angrily.' Bases ending in *special te*² have a special subordinative form which will be discussed later.

1. However with a base such as **nerqe-** 'to feed,' perhaps because it is so short already, the **r** does not drop and the pattern as with **mingqe-** is followed. For the cases where the **r** is dropped, see also the discussion of the exclamation former @~+(t)vaa in Chapter 10.

2. See Chapter 7 for details about *special te*.

Exercise 13-2

Give the subordinatives corresponding to each of the following and translate:
 1) aurruq, 2) tangertuq, 3) taringuq, 4) mertuq, 5) ner'uq, 6) ngel'artuq, 7) qenertuq, 8) piyuaguq, 9) mingquq, 10) mit'uq, 11) ceñirtuq, 12) nengqertuq, 13) kavialiquq, 14) asemtuq, 15) alinguq.

The final parts of the intransitive ending are **ni, teng, tek** for 'he/she/it, they, they₂', that is, for 4th person subject (just like the 4th person absolutive; see Chapter 8), **a** (actually **nga**), **ta, nuk** for 'I, we, we₂', that is, for 1st person subject (like the first person intransitive interrogative; see Chapter 11), and **ten, ci, tek** for 'you₁, you_{pl}, you₂', that is, for 2nd person subject.

Aqumgallruuq utaqaluni. 'She sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruut utaqaluteng. 'They_{pl} sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruuk utaqalutek. 'They₂ sat waiting.'

(A) **Aqumgallruunga utaqalua.** 'I sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruukut utaqaluta. 'We_{pl} sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruukuk utaqalunuk. 'We₂ sat waiting.'

(B) **Aqumgallruuten utaqaluten.** 'You₁ sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruuci utaqaluci. 'You_{pl} sat waiting.'

Aqumgallruutek utaqalutek. 'You₂ sat waiting.'

(The designations "(A)" and "(B)" are explained further below.)

Exercise 13-3

Supply the missing part of the intransitive subordinative endings, and translate:
 1) Ner'uq kaiglu___. 2) Mikelnguut atrallruut ceñamun aqvaqurlu___. 3) Nunullruunga qenerrlu___. 4) Qalarutellruukut qastulu___. 5) Nerellruukuk kaiglu___. 6) Ciin irnian nunullrusiu qastulu___? 7) Qimugten qilulartuq neplirlu___.

For transitive subordinative the final parts of the ending are **ku, ki, kek** for 'him/her/it, them_{pl}, them₂', that is, for 3rd person object, **a** (actually **nga**), **ta, nuk** for 'me, us_{pl}, us₂', that is, for 1st person object, and **ten, ci, tek** for 'you₁, you_{pl}, you₂', that is, for 2nd person object.

These are object markers and they serve regardless of subject, which is always known anyway since it is the same as that of the main verb, and which is not marked at all in transitive subordinative endings.

Aqumgallruuq (aqaumgallruut, aqumgallruunga, etc.) utaqaluku.

'She (they, I, etc.) sat waiting for her.'

- (AA) **Aqumgallruuq (aqumgallruut, aqumgallruuten, etc.) utaqalua.**
 'She (they, you, etc.) sat waiting for me.'
 (BB) **Aqumgallruuq utaqaluten.** 'She sat waiting for you.'

In the above three examples the verb in the subordinative is transitive, but only in the first of these three is this fact definitely established from the subordinative ending **luku** which is only transitive. In the examples marked "(AA)" and "(BB)", the subordinative endings (**lua, luten**) are transitive, but exactly the same endings can also be intransitive as in examples marked "(A)" and "(B)" further above. If the single marker of the subordinative ending agrees with the (first or second person) subject of the main verb, then the subordinative ending is intransitive as in the examples marked "(A)" and "(B)" above, otherwise it is transitive as in the examples marked "(AA)" and "(BB)" above. To recapitulate:

- (A) **Aqumgallruunga utaqalua.** 'I sat waiting' (*where utaqalua is intransitive and the ending indicates 1st person subject*).
 vs. (AA) **Aqumgallruuq utaqalua.** 'He sat waiting for me' (*where utaqalua is transitive and the ending indicates 1st person object*).
 and
 (B) **Aqumgallruuten utaqaluten.** 'You sat waiting' (*where utaqaluten is intransitive and the ending indicates 2nd person subject*).
 vs. (BB) **Aqumgallruuq utaqaluten.** 'He sat waiting for you' (*where utaqaluten is transitive and the ending indicates 2nd person object*).

In addition to its adverbial use, that is to describe how an event or action is occurring, the subordinative can be used to link two events or actions that have the same subject. This use will be discussed further below, but here are some examples:

Itellruunga nerlua-llu. 'I went inside and ate.' (*Note that it is not necessary to repeat a time-fixing postbase with the subordinative; that is, nerlua is okay in the above example; it is not necessary (or desirable) to use nerellrulu.*)

Kaigtuq meqsugluni-llu. 'She's hungry and thirsty.'

Kuik nanituq taugaam iqtuluni. 'The river is short but wide.'

Note also the special use with **quyana**:

Quyana tailuten. 'Thanks for coming.'

Quyanaqvall' ikayurlua. 'Thanks a lot for helping me.'

Exercise 13–4

A. Supply the missing parts of the subordinative endings, and translate the resulting sentences:

1) Inartellruukuk qavarlu___-llu. 2) Kenillruaqa neqa nerlu___-llu. 3) Tegullruanka yaassiiget ellilu___-llu qulqitnun. 4) Mikelnguut caliut aquilu___-llu. 5) Apa'urluugma qenerr___ nunullruagnga. 6) Irniateen itellruut nem'un yuulu___-llu kameksateng. 7) Aquumvikellruagka ackiigka naveglu___-llu.

B. Rewrite each of the following pairs of sentences as single sentences utilizing the subordinative and -llu. For example, given: Aquumuq. Igartuq. you would write: Aquumuq igarluni-llu.

1) Mernurtua. Qavarniunga. 2) Kayangut kenillruit. Nerellruit. 3) Itra. Paltuugen yuugiu. 4) Nanvaq ang'uq. Neq'irtuq. 5) Tengssuutet Atrangut. Mit'eqatartut maavet. 6) Cenirtellruaput ilanka. Payugtellruaput neqerrlugnek. 7) Tangvagaput. Ngel'artukut.

Special Subordinative for Bases Ending in Special te

The marker of the subordinative is @~+lu as mentioned above. However, those bases that end in *special te*, that is descriptive and or negative bases ending in **te** (see the discussion of the postbase @+~ngaite- in Chapter 7) have a different marker for the subordinative. This marker is @na and it drops the **te** from the base. Thus for example, from **kumlate-** 'to be cold' comes **kumlanani** 'being cold' (rather than ***kumlalluni**¹) as in **nanvaq etuuq kumlanani-llu** 'the lake is deep and cold,' and from **neresciigate-** 'to be unable to eat' comes **neresciiganani** 'being unable to eat' (rather than ***neresciigalluni**) as in **merciigatuq neresciiganani-llu** 'she can't drink and she can't eat.' This subordinate in **na** has a few other peculiar features:

(1) When attached to a base ending in a negative postbase ending in **ite-** (other than **-nrite-** which is discussed below) the **i** can, and in fact often does, become **u** unless it is immediately preceded by another **i**. Thus, **uingite-** 'to not have a husband' gives **uinginani** or **uingunani** 'not having a husband, without a husband,' **nereksaite-** 'to not have eaten' gives **nereksainani** or **nereksaunani** 'not having eaten, without eating,' and **neryuite-** 'to never eat' gives **neryuinani** which usually becomes **neryuunani** 'never eating,' but **neryuumiite-** 'to not want to eat' gives only **neryuumiinani** 'not wanting to eat' and not ***neryuumiunani**.

1. It is much more acceptable to treat special **te** as if it were an ordinary **te** if the special **te** is on a descriptive rather than a negative base. Thus, **kumlalluni** is much more acceptable as an alternative to **kumlanani**, since **kumlate-** is a descriptive base, than ***neresciigalluni** is as an alternative to **neresciiganani**, since **neresciigate-** is a negative base. It is not at all acceptable to treat an ordinary, non-special, **te** as if it were a special **te**. Thus, ***aqvanani** is completely unacceptable as an alternative to **aqvalluni**, since **aqvate-** 'to fetch something' does not end in a special **te**. Recall too that the base **qerrute-** 'to be cold (person)' does *not* have a special **te** even though this base seems to be descriptive (see Chapter 7).

(2) Rather than attaching the subordinate in **na** to a base expanded by the ordinary negative postbase **-nrite-**, a substitute postbase, which takes the form **.vke-** after base-final vowels, and **+peke-** after base-final consonants, is used instead. Thus, **nerenrite-** gives **nerevkenani** 'not eating' (rather than ***nerenrinani**), and **qavanrite-** gives **qavarpek'nani**¹ (from ***qavarpekênani**) 'not sleeping.'

(3) The subordinate in **na** for first person singular subject intransitive (and consequently for the identical ending for first person singular object transitive) undergoes the expected velar dropping with vowel raising. Thus, for example, while **neplir-** 'to be noisy' gives ***neplirlunga** and hence by velar dropping **neplirlua** '(me) being noisy' as in **calillruunga neplirlua** 'I worked noisily,' **nepaite-** 'to be quiet' gives ***nepainanga** and hence by velar dropping **nepainii** (or **nepaunii**) '(me) being quiet' as in **calillruunga nepainii** (or **nepaunii**) 'I worked quietly.'

(4) The subordinate in **na** for second person singular subject intransitive (and consequently for the identical ending for second person singular object transitive) has a special form, **k**, rather than the expected **ten**. Thus, for example, while one gets **neplirluten** '(you) being noisy' as in **aquillruuten neplirluten** 'you played noisily,' rather than ***nepainaten** one gets **nepainak** (or **nepaunak**) for '(you) being quiet' as in **aquillruuten nepainak** (or **nepaunak**) 'you played quietly.'

(One may note that these subordinate endings in **na** are similar in certain respects to the future negative optative in **@~+yaquna-**, to which they are undoubtedly historically related.)

In the examples below of the subordinative in **na**, note how often the English word "without" serves in the translation.

Qanrutaanga quuyurnitevkenii. 'She told me without smiling at me.'

Anellruuq nem'ek nereksaunani. 'She left the house without eating.'

Akluirpek'nak inarcaqunak. 'Don't go to bed without taking off your clothes.' (*The first word here is in the subordinative, while the second is future negative optative.*)

Akluci iqairyaqunaciki inivkenaki. '(You_{pl}) don't wash your clothes without hanging them up.' (*Note that the optative in yaquna indicates both subject, ci, and object, ki, while the subordinative in na indicates only object, ki; one cannot say *inivkenaciki.*)

Inarcaaqukut taugaam qavarciiganata. 'We lay down but we weren't able to sleep.'

Qiallruuq taqevkenani. 'She cried without stopping.'

Tupaumallruuq unugpak qavarpek'nani (or **qavaqsaunani**). 'She stayed up all night without sleeping.'

1. In NI, HBC, and Nun **+pege-** is used instead of **+peke-** so that this word is **qavarpegnani**.

Exercise 13-5

A. Change the following words to the subordinative with *luni* or *nani* as appropriate. Attach to the base properly, and translate:

1) *nacaiyuituq*, 2) *naaqinrituq*, 3) *maantuq*, 4) *ullauteksaituq*, 5) *tangvanrituq*, 6) *caliyuumiituq*, 7) *mit'uq*, 8) *elaturrametuq*, 9) *kemgituq*, 10) *qilugciigatuq*, 11) *naniuq*, 12) *tekituq*, 13) *aqvatuq*, 14) *ikayuutuq*, 15) *irniarituq*.

B. Change the following words to the corresponding subordinative form and translate:

1) *assiilkaanga*, 2) *cataituten*, 3) *iqulunritaanga*, 4) *muinritaa*, 5) *naaqeksaitaa*, 6) *neplirtukut*, 7) *nepaitukut*, 8) *ceñircugaaten*, 9) *yuaranka*, 10) *yuvriyuumiitai*, 11) *antaqa*, 12) *mayuutaa*, 13) *atunritaa*, 14) *neryuituci*, 15) *nerqan*, 16) *keniutaakut*, 17) *alikenritanka*, 18) *qit'vutagka*, 19) *nipumauq*, 20) *kuuvvialiyuitut*, 21) *alingnarqut*, 22) *murilkai*.

C. Link the pairs of given sentences following the example, and translate. For example, given *Meqsugtuq. Kaigtuq.* you would write *Meqsugtuq kaigluni-llu.* 'She is thirsty and hungry.'

1) *Caliunga. Quyaunga.* 2) *Nengllirtuq. Anuqlirtuq.* 3) *Anuqlirtuq. Kiircetuq.* 4) *Calillruukut. Taqellrunritukut.* 5) *Arnat mik'ut. Kemgitut.* 6) *Nerenritua. Qavanritua.* 7) *Elitnaularaakut. Nunuyuitaakut.* 8) *Egtellruanka. Naspaksaitanka.* 9) *Ullagaa tan'gerliq. Alikenritaa.* 10) *Anumallruuten-qaa? Qercuallruuten-qaa?* 11) *Anumallruuten-qaa? Qercuaksaituten-qaa?*

The base **pitsaqe-** 'to act intentionally,' and its negative $\sqrt{\text{pitsaqenrite-}}$ 'to act unintentionally, by accident' (as in **pitsaqenritamken** 'what I did to you was an accident' or 'I'm sorry'), are often used with the subordinative:

Navellrua pitsaqluni (or **pitsaqluku**). 'She broke it intentionally.'

Navellrua pitsaqevkenani (or **pitsaqevkenaku**). 'She broke it unintentionally or accidentally.'

The base **muir-** 'to be full, to fill full,' when used transitively is often used as a subordinative along with **imir-** which is put in the indicative (or interrogative or optative). Thus one says **imiraa muirluku** 'she filled it up' (*literally*, 'she put contents in it filling it up') rather than saying simply **muiraa** 'she filled it up.'

The subordinative plus the base **ca-** 'to do something,' and the postbase **-qar-** 'to V briefly, to merely V' (see Chapter 12) give $\sqrt{\text{caqerluni}}$ 'pretty soon, on one occasion, once.' This word is lexicalized, but the ending can vary in accordance with the person and number of the main verb.

Here is a chart of the subject or object markers of the subordinative mood:

	<i>intrans.</i>	<i>transitive</i>								
		her	them	them ₂	me	us	us ₂	you	you _{pl}	you ₂
she	ni	ku	ki	kek	a	ta	nuk	ten	ci	tek
they	teng	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
they ₂	tek									
I	a									
we	ta									
we ₂	nuk									
you ₁	ten									
you _{pl}	ci									
you ₂	tek									

These subject or object markers are used with the subordinative mood marker @~+lu-, or with the subordinative marker @na-, (in the case of bases ending in special te) in which case the 'you₁' ending is k instead of ten, and the combination of na and a (actually :nga) becomes nii.

While some subordinative endings (**luni**, **luteng**, **lutek**) are only intransitive, and others (**luku**, **luki**, **lukek**) are only transitive, the rest (**lua**, **luta**, **lunuk**, **luten**, **luci**, **lutek**) can be either intransitive or transitive, depending upon the main verb, with the **a**, **ta**, **ten**, **ci** marking either the subject or the object.

Exercise 13-6

A. For each numbered sentence with a subordinative verb, there is an equivalent pair of sentences without the subordinative. For each numbered sentence do the following: (a) complete the incomplete word in the equivalent sentence pair, (b) based on the word you have completed, tell whether the subordinative in the original sentence was transitive or intransitive, and (c) translate the original sentence that had the subordinative, seeing whether your translation confirms your determination of transitivity. For example, given Qialuni mikelnguom qanrutaa aanani. = Qia___. Mikelnguom qanrutaa aanani. you would write (a) qiaguq, (b) qialuni (like qiaguq) is intransitive, (c) 'Crying, the child told his mother.'

- 1) Kiullruarpenga iqluluten. = Kiullruarpenga. Iqlu___. 2) Kiullruamken iqluvkenak. = Kiullruamken. Iqlu___. 3) Anellruunga nereksaunii. = Anellruunga. Nere___. 4) Tan'gerliq ayallruuq nereksaunii! = Tan'gerliq ayallruuq. Nere___. 5) Ullallruaput allanret quuyurniluta. = Ullallruaput allanret. Quuyurni___. 6) Allanret ullallruitkut quuyurnilluta. = Allanret ullallruitkut. Quuyurni___. 7) Pissurtut tan'gerlinek alingevkenateng. = Pissurtut tan'gerlinek. Alinge___. 8) Pissurait tan'gerlit alikevkenaki. = Pissurait tan'gerlit. Alike___. 9) Mikelnguut elitnaurvigmun pilartut piyualuteng. = Mikelnguut elitnaurvigmun pilartut.

Piyua___. 10) Anqatartuten-qaa atkuinak? = Anqatartuten-qaa? Atku___? 11) Nanvamun ayallruut aanateng maliggluki. = Nanvamun ayallruut. Aanateng malig___. 12) Imirciqagka yaassiigek aklunek muirlukek. = Imirciqagka yaassiigek aklunek. Muir___. 13) Tan'gerliq nutgaa tuqulluku. = Tan'gerliq nutgaa. Tuqu___. 14) Nutellruuten-qaa tuqucivkenak? = Nutellruuten-qaa? Tuquci___? 15) Inartukut akluiqsaunata. = Inartukut. Aklui___. 16) Ceñirtelartut yuurqerpek'nateng. = Ceñirtelartut. Yuurqa___. 17) Taillruukut aqvaqurluta. = Taillruukut. Aqvaqu___. 18) Kipusvigmun agellruuq kipucugyaaqluni saarralamek. = Kipusvigmun agellruuq. Kipucugyaaq___ saarralamek.

B. Incorporate the English word(s) in parentheses into the Yup'ik sentence by using the subordinative (and an object if necessary), and translate the result. For example, given Aqvaqurtuq (fast) you would write Aqvaqurtuq cukaluni. 'He is running fast.'

1) Piyuagut (slowly). 2) Nunuraanga (being angry at me). 3) Yuraryugngauten (well). 4) Ullallruanka (crawling). 5) Imiraa (filling it up). 6) Ciin yuvrirciu (laughing)? 7) (Speaking English) qanrutellruakut aterpenek. 8) (Speaking English to us) aptellruakut uivet atranek. 9) Qanrutellruaci-qaa nukalpiam (lying to you)? 10) (Crying) mikelnguun saarralaq ellillrua qulqitmun. 11) Naaqellruaqa kalikaq (looking for my father's name). 12) Qasgimi irniagka aquilartuk (silently). 13) Asemellruaqa mingquten (accidentally). 14) Yuaryaaqellruaput (without finding it). 15) Ciin nerellrusiu akutaqa (on purpose)? 16) Unugpak-qaa calillruuten (without stopping)? 17) Mamterillermun pillruut (without visiting my parents). 18) Ikayullruitkut (smiling the entire time). *Use the 'keep on V-ing' postbase* 19) Aqvaqullruuq elitnaurvigmek nem'inun (leaving his mittens behind). 20) Anngan ak'a ayallruuq neqlivigpetegnun (without waiting for you). 21) Piyuayaqunak tamaani (without a gun). 22) Qanrusnga alqavnek (without lying to me). 23) Niicugnillruanka (without believing them). 24) Nutellrua aatani it'gaakun (accidently). 25) Nuliama atsarpit qantamun ekellru (without counting them).

C. Parse the given Yup'ik and translate:

1) Ciin qalarcit qastuluten? 2) Nukalpiaq pinirtuq puqigluni-llu. 3) Tegullruaqa taryuq qulqitmek kuvluku-llu natermun pitsaqevkenii. 4) Alingevkenata ullallruaput qikertaq tangerpek'naku tan'gerliq. 5) Aanama neqliularaanga imirluku qantaqa suupamek muirluku. 6) Mikelnguut elitut naaqiluteng elitnaurvigmi. 7) Yuugiu paltuugen agarrluku-llu yaavet. 8) Ikirrluku yaassiik yuvrillruanka imai. 9) Nuliaqa alqan-llu cegtuk neqlillermi ngel'arturlutek qalarullutek-llu. 10) Ayalliniut un'gavet utaqavkenata.

D. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I won't buy your old motor without examining it. 2) My sister is big and fat. 3) Without telling us they started fixing the old kashim. 4) She put the bowls up on the shelf without counting them. 5) Sitting down by the stove my little child is reading a book. 6) The day before yesterday I worked in the store without stopping. 7) Don't put on that shirt without patching it. 8) Unwrapping the package he opened it. 9) I can't eat soup using a fork! 10) She woke up, got out of bed, put on her clothes, and washed her face but not her hair.

Postbases that go with the Subordinative

There are several postbases which go very naturally, even exclusively in some cases, with the subordinative mood.

One of these postbases which is always used with the subordinative is @~+na- which means 'in order to V.'

Eqiurtuq maqinaluni. 'She's chopping wood in order to have a steambath' (from *maqi-*).

Aqumlleq ullallrua aqumnaluni. 'She went over to the chair in order to sit down' (from *aqume-*).

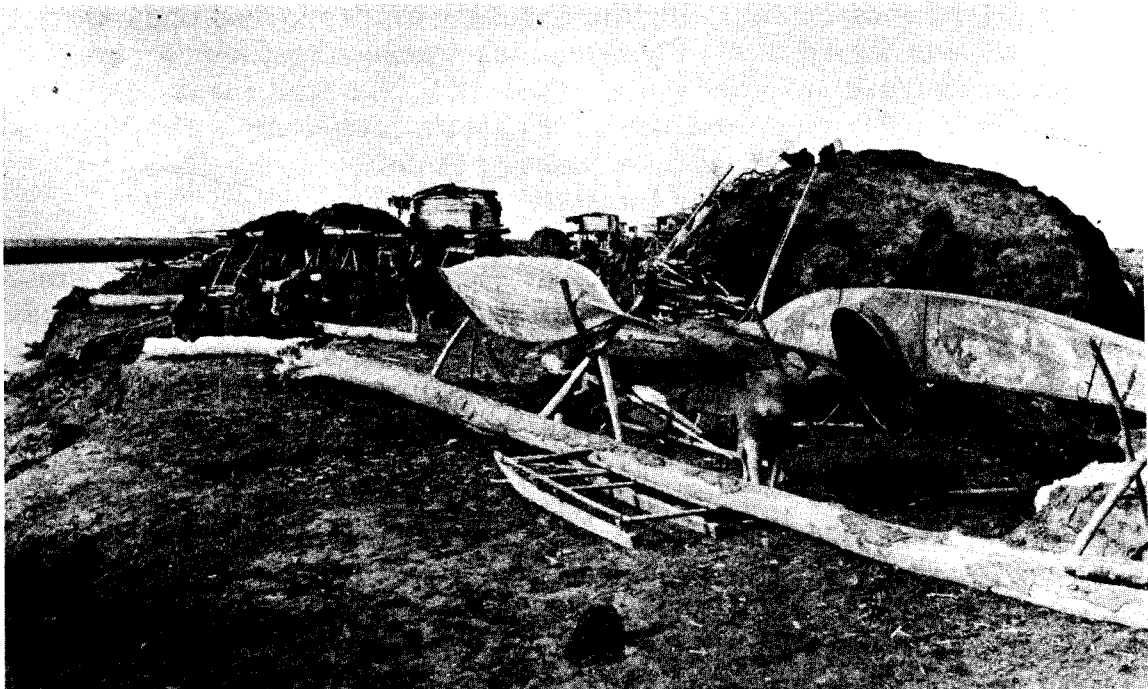
Inarciiqut kiugkunun inglernun qavarnaluteng. 'They will lie down on those beds in there in order to sleep' (from *qavar-*).

Canaluteng maavet taillruat? 'For what purpose did they come here?' (from *ca-*).

This postbase, like others that start with **n**, drops **e** from **te** ending bases where a vowel precedes the **te**, but then **t** is kept. However the **te** is dropped if a fricative precedes it, and that fricative plus the **n** of this postbase become voiceless.

Kipusvigmun agqatartuq kiputnaluni kelipamek. 'She's going to go over to the store in order to buy (a loaf of) bread' (from *kipute-*).

Taillruuq maavet ceñirrnaluta. 'She came here in order to visit us' (from *ceñirte-*).



This photo of a village on the Lower Kuskokwim is by Adolphus Hartmann and William Weinland, two Moravians who traveled the Kuskokwim River in 1884 looking for a mission site. Photo courtesy of the Moravian Archives.

Exercise 13-7**A. Translate:**

DAkiyugtua nutaramek niicugnissuutmek kiputnalua. 2) Nuliaqa iqvartuq ~~niicugnissuutmek~~ nipigmi akutalinaluni. 3) Nukalpiat ayallruut imarpigmun nayirnek ~~niicugnissuutmek~~ pissurnaluteng. 4) Kass'aq elitnaurista elitnaurtuq elitnaluni Yugcetun. 5) **M**ermun atrallruukut kuimarnaluta. 6) Mertallruuten-qaa saayulinaluten? 7) **K**aminiaq ullallrua yuvrirnaluku. 8) Pengum qainganun mayullruukut ~~niicugnissuutmek~~ yarnaluta tuntuvagnek. 9) Ackiigni at'ellruak naaqinaluni assirluni. 10) **A**rrartaa pikna kenurraq kituggnaluku.

B. Combine the following pairs of sentences, replacing the postbase @~+yug- with @~+na-, and using the subordinative, and translate. For example, given Neryugaa suupaq. Aqumellruuq estuulumun. you would write Nernaluku suupaq aqumellruuq estuulumun. 'In order to eat the soup he sat down at the table.'

1) Nunapigmun ayakatartut makumiut ilait. Iqvaryugtut. 2) Tegullruaqa piqertuutaq qulqitmek. Aturyullruaqa. 3) Kuuvviaqatartukut. Qavarningyunri-rukut. 4) Kiputellruaten-qaa taukut kalikat? Naaqsugaten-qaa? 5) Ullallruaqa allaneq. Elicullruaqa atra. 6) Kenurraq kumartaqa. Naaqiyugtua.

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I want to use your tools to fix my snow machine. 2) They went to Bethel in order to buy some new clothes. 3) The boys took off their pants to cross the river. 4) I took the boxes from the table so that I could eat. 5) I put on my glasses to read that letter. 6) The man in his prime went to the mountains to hunt for black bears and moose. 7) Use my needle to patch your shirt. 8) The white people went over to the old kashim to examine it. 9) They kept putting clothes in the boxes to fill them. 10) I wanted to swim to that island across there to look for salmonberries. 11) They went to the ocean to hunt for spotted seals.

Another postbase that goes very naturally with the subordinative mood is **-rraar-** 'to V first,' (although this postbase can also be used with the optative mood). When this postbase is used with a verb base that ends in **g**, the **rr** of the postbase is replaced with **gg**, as is normal with suffixes that begin with a front or back velar. When used with a verb base that ends in **te**, an optional alternative is to replace the resulting **terr** with **q**.

Kagirraarluku nateq nerellruuq. 'First sweeping the floor she ate' or 'After sweeping she ate' (from **kagi-**).

Kuimarraarluta iqvaqilta. 'After swimming let's pick berries' (from **kuimar-**).

Ermiggaarluni anellruuq. 'After washing her face she went out' (from **ermig-**).

Inarterraarluni (or **inarqaarluni**) **qavallruuq.** 'After lying down she slept.'

Quliterraarlua (or **quliquaarlua**) **kuuvviarciqua.** 'After washing my hair I'll have coffee' (from **qulite-**).

Nererraarluni anellruuq. 'After eating he went out' (from **nere-**; the hatted **e** does not drop between **r** and **rr** since these consonants are almost alike; instead, **rr** is geminated).

Exercise 13-8

A. Using the above postbase connect the two events in each pair of sentences, so that the first event precedes the second. For example, given *Neqa kenillruaqa. Nerellruaqa.* you would write *Neqa kenirraarluku nerellruaqa.*

- 1) Maktellruukuk. Ermillruukuk. 2) Nacani at'ellrua. Anellruuq. 3) Nuussin yuallruan. Nalkellruan. 4) Qimugtem qilullruanga. Keggengnaqsaqaqellruanga. 5) Manartut. Uterciiqut nunameggnun. 6) Yuvrillruagka aliimatek kipusvigmi. Kiputellruagka. 7) Yaassiik caqullruaput. Kalikivigmun agutellruaput. 8) Utertellruuci. Egman-qaa inartellruuci? 9) Ngel'allruut. Qiangellruut. 10) Nerellruunga. Qantat erullruanka. 11) Qantat eruranka. Elliciqanka qulqitmun. 12) Qulituten. Nerkina. 13) Qerrutenguq. Aciiqsugnarqaa paltuuni. 14) Saskaq tegullrua qulqitmek. Ellillrua estuulumun. 15) Paluqtaq amiiraa. Unateni erurciqai. 16) Tamallrua nacani. Nalkellrua. 17) Callmagaqa paltuuka. Aciiqaqa. 18) Tekitellruukut nunapigmun. Iqvallruukut.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

- 1) After she came home she angrily scolded her children. 2) They took a steambath after they lit a fire in the kashim. 3) After she skinned the muskrat, she cooked and ate it. 4) After walking from fishcamp to the village they slept all night and all day. 5) I'll wear this shirt after I patch it. 6) After the plane landed, it took off again immediately. 7) After I tasted the whitefish I didn't want to eat it. 8) Why did you start to cry after you laughed loudly? 9) After she shot a brown bear she saw two black bears. 10) After the child spilled the water on the floor she started to laugh, but her mother angrily bawled her out.

The postbase **+'(g)aqe-** is used with the subordinative in place of **-lar-** 'to regularly V.' This postbase attaches to verb bases in the same way as the familiar transitive indicative endings.

Kass'aq uitalallruuq nunamteni ner'aqluni, pissuraqluni, maqiaqluni-llu Yup'igtun. 'The white man lived in our village eating, hunting and taking steam baths like a Yup'ik.'

In place of the postbase **-ngqerr-** 'to have N,' the subordinative may be used directly on the noun base.

Nukalpiaq ikamrapiangqellruuq qayapiarluni-llu. 'The man in his prime had a real dog sled and a real kayak' (**qayapiarluni** is generally preferred to **qayapiangqerrluni**).

Malrugnek qetunrangqertua pingayunek-llu paniglua. 'I have two sons and three daughters' (**paniglua** is generally preferred to **paningqerrlua**).

The postbase **-qaraqe-** means 'to V now and then.' It is often used with the subordinative. In the following example the initial **q** of the postbase changes to **k** because the verb base ends in **g**:

(A) **Pissurtuq ayakaraqluni.** 'She's hunting, moving (from place to place) now and then.'

If the verb base does not end in **g**, then the initial **q** of the postbase remains and the first **a** of the postbase becomes **e**, as is usual for **qar**:

(B) **Iqvartuq atsanek nerqeraqluni.** 'She is picking berries, eating (some berries) now and then.'

For many speakers this postbase can be and generally is shortened by deletion of the second **a** (before **qar** can become **qer**).¹ The resulting **rql** cluster simplifies by deletion of **r**. So, the following two sentences are alternatives to the preceding two sentences:

(AA) **Pissurtuq ayakaqluni.** 'She's hunting, moving now and then' (*ayakaqluni is from *ayakarqluni shortened from ayakaraqluni*).

(BB) **Iqvartuq atsanek nerqaqluni.** 'She is picking berries, eating some now and then' (*nerqaqluni is from *nerqarqluni shortened from nerqeraqluni*).

If rhythmic length fell on the first **a** before shortening, that **a** remains long after shortening and now is written **a'a**:

long form:

Murilkaa irniani quuyurniqeraqluni.² She is watching her child, smiling now and then.'

short form of same :

Murilkaa irniani quuyurniqa'aqluni (*from *quuyurniqârqluni from quuyurniqâraqqluni*).

One can say that for the speakers who use the short form the postbase is **-qaqe-**, but if the **a** is in such position in a word that it would be rhythmically lengthened if its second **q** were followed by a vowel, then this postbase takes the form, **-qa'aqe-**. Thus **nerqaqluni** 'eating now and then,' has one **a** since **nerqaqV...** would *not* have a hat on the **a**, but **quuyurniqa'aqluni** is with **a'a** because of the hat in **quuyurniqâqV...**

1. Here deletion of **a** between **r** and **q** is the same process which makes **necuarqa** 'my little house' become **necuarqa** (Chapter 5), and **ikayuraqa** 'I am helping him' become **ikayurqa** (Chapter 8).

2. **qar** becomes **qer** after the stage for deletion of hatted **e**, so the hatted **e** remains (see the discussion of the postbase **-qar-** in Chapter 12).

Exercise 13-9*Translate:*

1) She is working laughing now and then. 2) They are ice-fishing talking now and then. 3) My dog is eating, barking now and then. 4) The men are taking a steam bath, putting wood in the stove now and then. 5) We were walking across the tundra, looking down now and then.

Subordinative in place of Optative for Commands and Requests

In addition to the use of the subordinative as explained and illustrated above, the second person subject subordinative can be used in place of the optative to make commands in a slightly gentler way than with the optative itself.

Aqumluten. 'Sit down.' (*In place of aqumi.*)

Aqumqerluten. 'Would you please sit down.' (*In place of aqumqaa.*)

Nerluku. 'Eat it.' (*In place of neriu.*)

Aneksaunak or Anevkenak. 'Don't go out.' (*In place of anenrilu or anyaqunak.*)

Autonomous Subordinative in place of Indicative in Narrative

The use of the subordinative to link two events which have the same subject (within one sentence) is the *dependent* use of this mood. The subordinative is also used in place of the indicative in continuing discourse from sentence to sentence, *even when the subject has changed*. This is the *autonomous* use of the subordinative. A change of subject may, (1) be clear from context, and/or (2) be obvious because there is a change in grammatical person and/or number, and/or (3) be indicated by various means that don't carry across in the written form (that is by length of pauses between phrases, change in pitch of voice, change of tempo, etc.). It seems that a verb is placed in the indicative rather than the subordinative only to open a narrative, to mark a change in focus, or because of certain grammatical constructions linking two events, one of which must be expressed with the indicative. (See Woodbury, 1983. See also Chapter 19 on this matter). Note that the verb **pi-** 'to say, to do' often takes indicative rather than subordinative endings even in continuing discourse.

In the following passage (by Frank Brown of Eek in Tennant, 1981), the subordinative (*italicized*) occurs frequently in comparison with the indicative (**boldface**):

Cali up'nerkami qayatgun tauḡaam pissutullruut imarpigmi. Nutgunateng, urluverkun tauḡaam pitegcautetgun-llu piaqluteng. Cali nagiquyanek, tegutnek-llu aturaqluteng.

Cali ciuqvani tamaani wangkuta ciumteñi yuut ilait ataucirrarmek qimugtengqetullruut, wall'u malrugnek, qimugtelilriit tauḡken pingayunek wali'u cetamanek. Ayiimeng-llu ikamrak taquagnun petugluki ayagaqluteng, ikamrak ciungagnun pivkenaki.

Tauḡken ciumun petuamegteki allamek yugmek maryartesterluteng, ciulistaunateng. Qimugtait ciulisteṅguayamek elitnaurumavkenateng. Nutaan

kass'at maani pingameng ciulisteńek elitnauriluteng. Nutaan tua-i wangkuta ciulistengluta.

Literally translated:

Also in spring with kayaks only they used to **hunt** at sea. Lacking guns, with a bow only and with arrows acting. Also harpoons and spears using.

Also long ago then in our past some people **had** just one dog, or two, the ones with lots of dogs, only three or four. When they left hitching them (the dogs) to the sled's side, traveling, not doing with them to the sled's front.

However when they hitched them to the front, having another person as a trail-breaker, not having a leader (dog). Their dogs not having learned the way of being a leader. Only when white people began to be here, (the people) training leaders. Now we getting leaders.

The first verb in this passage, **pissutullruut**, has as its subject 'they' and this is also the subject of the next three subordinative verbs, **nutgunateng**, **piaqluteng**, and **aturaqluteng**.

After that, the next verb, **qimugtengqellruut**, is indicative and serves to change the subject from 'they' (all the people) to 'some people' **yuut ilait**, and this is also the subject of the next five subordinative verbs, **petugluki**, **ayagaqluteng**, **pivkenaki**, **maryarterluteng**, and **ciulistaunateng**.

The verb following these five subordinatives is another subordinative, **elitnaurumavkenateng**, but its subject is 'their dogs,' **qimugtait**. Only the use of the actual subject word, rather than a switch to the indicative, indicates this change of subject.

After that, there is another subordinative, **elitnauriluteng**, but its subject is 'the people,' and this change of subject can be inferred only from the meaning of the words involved.

Finally, there is another subordinative, **ciulistengluta**, with another change of subject, to 'we,' and this is seen from the fact that the subject indicator on this subordinative is 1st person plural rather than 4th person plural.

The above passage illustrates how the notion of *sentence* as something that can stand completely alone, will not hold for continuing Yup'ik discourse. One might be tempted to combine the various sentences of this passage into fewer sentences to make sure that each sentence has one independent (i.e. indicative) verb, but this would not be proper for Yup'ik — it would lead to absurdly long sentences — and in fact the transcriber of the above passage did not choose to do so. The transcriber divided the passage into sentences according to his or her feelings about what constitutes a sentence in Yup'ik. It seems that Yup'ik has a different criterion for being a sentence than English and other Indo-European languages do: *a Yup'ik sentence in continuing discourse can have a verb in the subordinative mood which would probably have to be in the indicative if the sentence were by itself.*

Exercise 13-10

Translate the following (from Qimugtenglleq by Dora David, *Yup'ik Language Center*, 1981). Parse the Yup'ik (except for grammatical forms we haven't studied yet); indicate which sentences have only subordinatives and no indicatives.

Tuaken ayagluni¹ aipaquralaraa tauna qimugkauyar, inarcetaqluku² canimini, ner'aqami³ nerutaqluku. Unugmi-llu yuqercugaqan⁴ qessayaa-qerraarluni⁵ akqellruamiu⁶ aatani aulukciqniluku⁷ assirluku⁸ anutaqluku. Unuakumi-gguq⁹ tauḡken¹⁰ qimugkauyaraam taum tan'gaurloom kegginaa¹¹ pairluku¹² tupaggluku.

Qimugkauyar-gguq tauna murilkeqtangraani¹³ nerleryagyagluni¹⁴ neqkaitnek. Aanam-llu iqairai¹⁵ murilkengraaki¹⁶ atrarcugluki.¹⁷

Exercise 13-11

In the following paragraph in Yup'ik each sentence is okay in and of itself, but the paragraph as a whole sounds choppy or disconnected, like a chronological list of events rather than an account of a series of connected events, because the indicative is used more than is natural for Yup'ik. Take this paragraph and reformulate it into connected and free-flowing discourse by replacing some of the indicatives with subordinatives and using the postbases -rraar- and @~+na- and the enclitic =llu where it is appropriate to do so.

Utertellruunga calivimnek. Itellruunga nem'un. Paltuugillruunga. Agartellruanka paltuuka, nacaqa aliimategka-llu elaturramun. Aqu mellruunga estuulumun kiani. Nuliama tegullrua egan kaminiamek. Ellillrua estuulum

1. ayagluni = 'going on', or 'from then on.'
2. inarcetaqluku = 'he would regularly have it go to bed'; for postbase @+cete-, 'to compel, allow or have one V.' see Chapter 18.
3. ner'aqami = 'whenever he ate'; contingent mood (Chapter 16).
4. yuqercugaqan = 'whenever it had to relieve itself'; contingent mood.
5. qessa- = 'to not feel like doing anything, to feel lazy' (Chapter 22).
6. akqellruamiu = 'because he had promised (akqe-) him'; consequential mood (Chapter 16).
7. aulukciqniluku 'saying that he would look after (auluke-) it.'
8. assirluku = 'acting well with respect to it'; with the subordinate there is freedom to use a transitive ending which bases such as assir- ordinarily do not have.
9. unuaku = 'morning' (Chapter 17).
10. tauḡken = 'however.'
11. kegginaq = 'face' (Chapter 17).
12. pair- = 'to lick' (Chapter 15).
13. murilkeqtangraani = 'even though he strove to keep an eye on (murilke-) it'; concessive mood (Chapter 16).
14. nerleryag- = 'to suddenly eat.'
15. iqairaq = 'washed thing'; from iqa 'dirt,' :(ng)ir- 'to remove,' and +(g)aq 'V-ed thing' (Chapter 14).
16. murilkengraaki = 'even though he kept an eye on them'; concessive mood (Chapter 16).
17. @~+yug- when used, as here, with a non-human subject, means 'to tend to V' or 'to habitually V,' rather than 'to want to V.'

qainganun. Tegutellruunga kelipamek, neqerrlugnek-llu qulqitmek. Neqliullruunga suupamek. Luuskaaritellruunga. Yuurqallruaqa suupaq qantamnek. Nerellruanka kemget suupamek nerrsuutekun. Nerellruunga neqerrlugnek. Mingullruaqa kelipaq mass'lamek. Nerellruunga kelipamek, neqerrlugnek-llu. Yuurqallruunga saayumek. Saarralaitellruunga. Qantanka erullruanka. Inartellruunga inglemnun. Tangvallruaqa tiiviiq. Qavarni-ngellruunga. Qavallruunga.

Even when reformatted, the above passage probably will contain more indicative verbs (perhaps even one per sentence), and fewer subordinative verbs than would be the case if the same events were described by a Yup'ik speaker who had experienced them, rather than merely reformatting a given description. Furthermore, since many of the points of reference for the subordinative depend on oral clues (pauses, change of pitch and tempo) which do not survive the process of writing, a written passage may have fewer subordinatives than an oral passage.

More Postbases

In earlier chapters we discussed the postbases, **-ngqerr-** 'to have *N*,' **:(ng)ite-** 'to not have *N*,' and **-nge-** 'to get *N*.' Parallel to these are the three postbases **+tangqerr-**, **+taite-** and **+tange-**. These may be used where the subject is inanimate, for example a locality. A slightly different idea is imparted and a different translation may be more suitable for these postbases with **ta**.

Qikertaq tan'gerlirtangqertuq. 'The island has black bears' or 'There are black bears on the island.' (*One could also say qikertami tan'gerlirtangqertuq.*)

Qikertaq tan'gerlirtaituq. 'The island doesn't have any black bears' or 'There are no black bears on the island.' (*Also qikertami tan'gerlirtaituq.*)

Qikertaq tan'gerlirtanguq. 'The island is getting black bears' or 'There are getting to be black bears on the island.' (*Also qikertami tan'gerlirtanguq.*)

Ena yugtaituq. 'There aren't any people at the house; no one's home.' (*Contrast with ena yuituq 'the house doesn't have an owner' or 'no one's living in the house.'*)

There is a substitute postbase often but not always used with the subordinative in place of **+tangqerr-**. This is **+tar-**.

Nunaput pengurtangqertuq nanvartarluni-llu. 'In our land there are hills and lakes.'

Connected Reading for Chapter 13

The passage below is taken from “Ellangeqarraalqa — When I First Became Aware” by Michael John of Newtok (Tennant, 1981).

(1) Notice the percentage of sentences which have only subordinative and no indicative verbs.

(2) Translate this passage with the aid of a dictionary if necessary for looking up unfamiliar bases and postbases,

(3) Indicate what each subordinative verb has as its subject

(4) Parse each sentence (except those involving footnoted constructions not yet studied).

Tamaani yuurtellruunga waten hospital-ami piyuitellratni¹. Cali-ll' tamaani agayulirtet nurnaqluteng tamatum nalliini². Cam taugaam iliini³ tekitaqluteng. Cali-llu kass'artaunani, tengssuutetaunani-llu man'a. Levaanek-llu tangyuitellruunga. Cali-llu man'a neqkaq kass'allaq nurnaqluni.

Nepianek taugaam nengqetullruluta. Cali maani Cevtarmi, Qingissaq, Ciluva, Cuukvagtuliq, Ayemqeryaraq, Penguq, Kayalivik-llu tamakut tamaa-i nunatangqerrluteng tamarmeng.⁴ Tamaani murilkellemni⁵ nangteq'lallruukut kass'allamek.

Cali-llu uksumi net nenglliraqluteng unugmi. Maktaqameng⁶ taugaam kumartaqluteng. Erenret tamalkuita⁷ kiirceterrlainayuuateng, murairutaqluteng.

Wangkuta avani iluramta cakneq ilangciaralallruakut qaillun-llu kiusciiganata, qenqerrluta-llu pisiiganata.

Tamatum-llu nalliini akikaq nurnarqellruuq waten-llu cannery-rtaunani, taugaam yuut neqkamek nuqlitevkenateng.

Tamaani-llu qayatgun taugaam ayagatullruluteng. Cav'urluta ayagaqluta upagaqluta-llu. Tua-i cav'urluta ayagaqamta⁸ wangkutni cukangataqluta. Tengalrarluteng taugaam pilriit⁹ cukaaqluteng.

1. **piyuitellratni** = 'when they never did that'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).

2. **tamatum nalliini** = 'at that time.'

3. **cam iliini** = 'sometimes'; idiom (Chapter 23).

4. **tamarmeng** = 'all of them'; quantifier/qualifier construction (Chapter 19).

5. **murilkellemni** = 'when I observed things'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).

6. **maktaqameng** = 'whenever they got up'; contingent mood (Chapter 16).

7. **erenret tamalkuita** = 'every day'; quantifier/qualifier construction.

8. **ayagaqamta** = 'whenever we traveled'; contingent mood.

9. **pilriit** = 'the ones doing (that)' (Chapter 14).

End-of-Chapter Exercises*A. Translate into English:*

1) Ciin ayallruat qanrutevkenata? 2) Qimugtet qilugtut neplirluteng. 3) Nukalpiam tuqutellrua tan'gerliq aturpek'nani nutegmek! 4) Cavellruunga qikertamun iqvarnalua. 5) Yuarraarluki akluni elaturrami nalkevkenaki, qenertengellruuq anluni-llu. 6) Unuk qavarningellruukut taugaam inarteksaunata. 7) Muirraarluku qaltaq kuvellrua meq natermun pitsaqevkenaku. 8) Mikelngucuaaram qanrutellruanga qimugkauyaraminek qiagurluni. 9) Kuigem akiani curartangqertuq atsalugpiartarluni-llu. 10) Kass'at ullallruat ak'allaq qasgiq yuvrinaluku. 11) Ciin qanlarcit qastuluten? 12) Ingrini uksumi nengllilartuq nepaunani-llu. 13) Maurluqa ayalallruyaaquq neqllillermun piyualuni. 14) Qiluggaarlunuk qimugtevet keggengnaqsaqaqellruakuk! 15) Elaturrami yaassiigtangqertuq qulqitetarluni-llu.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) After he broke my knife on purpose, he got mad at me! 2) My husband's not here. 3) I'm looking for a needle so that I can patch my shirt. 4) After I unload this sled I'll help you. 5) I'm going to get water so that I can wash my hair. 6) After I wash dishes I'll go fishing. 7) She talked to them in Eskimo speaking English now and then. 8) I listened to him without believing him. 9) The airplane approached the village and landed on the river. 10) He got up and left the house without smiling. 11) After he left the house he came back in again right away. 12) They generally hunt moose in the fall, and fish for whitefish in the winter, hunt birds in the spring and fish in the ocean in the summer.

Anna Jacobson and Elizabeth Paul cutting fish near Kwethluk.
Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.



SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 13

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary:

- #1 In addition to **akluq** for 'article of clothing or bedding,' there is **aturaq** (which is used only for clothing and not bedding).
- #2 In addition to **aqvaqur-** for 'to run,' there is **aq've-**. For some speakers there is a slight difference in that **aq'vuq** means 'she is running (for a definite purpose, or to a specific place),' while **aqvaqurtuq** means simply 'she is running' without any implication of definiteness.
- #3 Instead of **cataite-** 'to not be here,' there is **piite-** 'to not be here' in NS, part of Y, in Nun, and Eg. Both of these bases depart from the predictable meaning of their components. The components suggest that **cataituq** and **piituq** should mean 'it or she lacks something,' from the "empty" bases **ca** and **pi**, rather than the actual meaning 'she herself is lacking, is absent, is not here.'
- #4 In LI **cave-** 'to row' becomes **save-**, and in NSU it is **yave-**; in NSK and some Y **utqerr-** is used instead.
- #5 In addition to **ngel'ar-** for 'to laugh' there are the pronunciations **nel'ar-** and **el'ar-**, and also **englar-** in Nun and **nenglar-** in HBC.
- #6 Instead of **piyua-** for 'to be walking,' some areas use **pekte-** (which also means just 'to be moving'), others, especially NI and Can, use **kangar-**.
- #7 Instead of **qavarni-** for 'to be sleepy,' **qavara-** is used in some Y. This base **qavara-** is also used for 'to be repeatedly dozing off' in areas where **qavarni-** is 'to be sleepy.'
- #8 Instead of **qenerte-** for 'to be angry' and **qenrute-** for 'to be angry at,' some people use **qenngte-**, and **qenngute-** respectively.
- #9 Instead of **qulqin** for 'shelf,' there is **(e)skaapaq** or **(e)skaapaaq**, which is from Russian, in some areas. Whichever word is used the plural may be used for 'cabinet.'
- #10 The word **tayima** 'being gone, not here,' is probably from the prefix **ta-** and the demonstrative base **im-** 'in mind of both speaker and listener but not in sight' (from which comes **imna**), just as **tamana/tamaani** comes from **man'a/maani**, and **tauna/tuani** comes from **una/wani**. In the chart of demonstratives (see Chapter 6) **tayimna** would be located in the bottom row in the back on the righthand side under **pakemna/pakmani**, **akemna/akmani**, **qakemna/qakmani** and **cakemna/cakmani**. The *predicative demonstrative forms* of these four demonstratives are **pakma**, **akma**, **qakma**, and **cakma** (lacking the enclitic **=i** that other such forms of demonstratives have). Thus **tayima** (or **taima** as it is pronounced by some Y) would fit very well by form as being another such predicative demonstrative form, and in fact the only representative in that particular slot on the chart since demonstrative pronouns (***ta(y)imna**) and demonstrative adverbs (***ta(y)imani**) don't exist. A moment's reflection on the matter should convince one that by meaning also **ta(y)ima** fits this slot on the chart.
- #11 The word **yaaliagni** can mean 'the year before last,' and **yaaliaku** can mean 'the year after next,' depending on context. There are also the words **amatiigni** meaning 'two days (or years) ago,' and **amatiiku** meaning 'two days (or years) hence.' In NI, HBC, Nun, Can and Eg the meanings of **yaaliagni** and **amatiigni** are switched as are the meanings of **yaaliaku** and **amatiiku**.
- #12 Instead of **yuar-** for 'to look for,' there is **ivar-** in HBC, Nun and Eg. Similarly the words **yuarun** 'song,' and **yualuq** 'sinew or thread' are **ivarun** and **ivaluq** in HBC, Nun, and Eg.
- #13 The verb **yuvrir-** 'to examine' is pronounced **yurvir-** in various areas and by various individuals. It is **cuvrir-** or **curvir-** in HBC, Nun, and Eg. **Ivrir-** is also used in some areas.

CHAPTER 14

*Adjective Equivalents; Color Words;
Relative Clause Equivalents; Comparatives;
Localis with Comparatives*

Vocabulary

- akutuq** 'he is making a mixture (especially Eskimo ice cream)'; **akutaa** 'he is mixing it'
alla 'other thing, another thing'
cimirtuq 'it changed'; **cimiraa** 'he (ex)changed it'
ciuqliq* 'one farther or farthest in front; leader; older or oldest one'
ciuqlirmi 'at first' (*particle, from localis*)
cungagliq 'green thing'
ekuaguq 'it is burning'; **ekuagaa** 'he is burning it' #1
emutuq 'he went to the clinic'; **emutaa** 'he took him to the clinic' #2
etgatuq 'it is shallow'
etuuq 'it is deep' (*base is et'u-*)
ikgetut 'they are few in number'
ipgiatuq 'it is dull (knife, needle, etc.)'
iqairaa 'he is washing it (article of clothing)' #3
iqkituq 'it is narrow'
ivrartuq 'he is wading' #4
kalikivik 'post office'
kapkaanaq 'trap (for catching animals)' (*dual also may be used for one trap*) #5
kassuutuq 'he/she got married'; **kassuutaa** 'he married her' #6
kavirliq 'red thing'
Kusquqvak 'Kuskokwim River' #7
mamkituq 'it is thin'
nalluyagutaa 'he forgot it' #8
pegtaa 'he released it' #9
puqiatuq 'he is stupid, has difficulty learning, is ignorant'
qanikcaq* 'snow (on the ground)'
qatertuq 'it is white'
qiugliq 'blue thing'
sass'aq or cass'aq 'watch, clock, hour' #10
snuukuuq 'snow machine' #11
sugkituq or cugkituq 'he is short' #12
sugtuuq or cugtuuq 'he is tall'
tegganeq 'elder' #13
tiiviiq 'television' #14
tiiviirtuq 'he is watching television'
ungungssiq 'land animal' #15
uqamaituq 'it is heavy' #16

uqiggetuq 'it is light'

uquq 'seal oil' #17

yaquq 'wing'

Pairs of Opposite Descriptive Verbs

One will notice from the above list and previous descriptive words that there are a number of pairs of opposites of the form **mamtu-** 'to be thick' and **mamkite-** 'to be thin,' evidently formed with postbases **+tu-** and **+kite-** on a common element, **mam-**. An initial element of one or more words which has a discernable meaning but which, unlike a noun or verb base, cannot be freely used with various endings is called a *root*. Thus, **mam-** is a root evidently meaning 'thickness.' Roots such as this which deal with dimensions, are called *dimensional roots*. We shall see other types of roots in Chapter 19.

Exercise 14-1

List all pairs of opposites of descriptive bases in Yup'ik (including both those from dimensional roots and others not formed in this way) from this and previous chapters or from other sources with translations. For example, mamtu- 'to be thick' vs. mamkite- 'to be thin'; take- 'to be long' vs. nanite- 'to be short.'

Postbases

The postbase **@+(l/r)i-** means 'to become V' or 'to become more V.' It is used with adjectival or descriptive bases, and takes several forms depending upon the way in which the base ends.

the form of the postbase is just i with bases that end in a consonant (r or g) or in a full vowel (a, i, or u):

assir- 'to be good'

kavir- root for 'red'

cuka- 'to be fast'

tungu- 'to be black'

assiriuq 'it is getting better, it is better now'

kaviriuq 'it is turning red'

cukariuq 'it is getting faster'

tunguriuq 'it is getting black'

the postbase takes the form li with bases that end in e (not preceded by t):

ange- 'to be big'

take- 'to be long'

√ **angliuq** 'it is getting big, he is growing'

takliut 'they are getting long'

the postbase takes the form i with bases that end in a te that isn't from :(ng)ite- 'to lack'; the te changes to l:

nanite- 'to be short'

uqiggete- 'to be lightweight'

naniliut 'they are getting short'

uqiggeliuq 'it is getting lighter' (also, irregularly, **uqigliuq**)

However with adjectival bases ending in kite-, voiceless ll is used instead of l and the preceding i can be changed to e:

iqkite- 'to be narrow'
mamkite- 'to be thin'

iqkilliuq or **iqkelliuq** 'it is getting narrower'
mamkilliuq or **mamkelliuq** 'it is getting thinner'

The postbase @+(l/r)i- is *not* used with bases that end in **te** from **:(ng)ite-** 'to lack N or V.' Instead, this postbase **:(ng)ite-** is removed from the base and replaced with **:(ng)irute-** 'to have come to lack N or V-ness.' The postbase **:(ng)irute-** is actually a combination of **:(ng)ir-** 'to lose one's N or one's V-ness' (Chapter 12) and **@:(u)te-** 'to V with, for, to, etc.' (Chapter 10). Note that with this combination postbase **:(ng)irute-** there are two points at which velar dropping may occur. It occurs at the second point (on the **r**) only if it does not occur at the first point (at the final consonant of the base or at **ng** if the base ends in a vowel).

assiite- 'to be bad'
 (from base **assir-**)

assiirutuq 'it has gotten bad' (from
 ***assirirutuq** by velar-dropping the first **r**;
 literally: 'it has come to lack goodness')

kemgite- 'to be skinny'
 (from base **kemeg-**)

kemgiutuq 'he's gotten skinny' (from
 ***kemgirutuq** by velar-dropping)

uqamaite- 'to be heavy'
 (from base **uqamar-**¹)

uqamairutuq 'it has gotten heavy'

This postbase **:(ng)irute-** can also be used with noun bases:

aipaq 'spouse'

aipairutuq 'he's lost his spouse (as through death)'

angyaq 'boat'
kuuvviaq 'coffee'

angyairutuq 'he doesn't have a boat anymore'
kuuvviariutuq 'he doesn't have any more coffee'

It can also be used replacing the **ite-** of @~-yuite-, @~+yuumiite-, @~+ngaite- etc.:

akucuite- 'to never make
 Eskimo ice cream'
tiiviiryuumiite- 'to
 not want to watch
 television'

akucuirutuq 'he doesn't
 make Eskimo ice cream anymore'
tiiviiryuumiirutuq 'he doesn't
 want to watch television anymore'

kipusngaite- 'to not be
 going to buy'

kipusngairutanka 'I won't buy them
 anymore'

1. See note #16 to the vocabulary list in the supplement to this chapter.

There are a few bases ending in **ate** where the **ate** works essentially like the **ite** of **:(ng)ite-**. Examples are **ipgiate-** 'to be dull (not sharp),' **puqiate-** 'to be dull (not smart)' (as a common alternative to **puqiite-** or **puqinrite-**), and $\sqrt{\text{piniate-}}$ 'to be weak' (as a common alternative to **piniite-** or **pininrite-**). These take **:(ng)a:rute-**, giving **ipgiarutuq** 'it has become dull,' **puqiarutuq** 'he has become dull,' and **piniarutuq** 'he has become weak.'

Exercise 14-2

A. Attach the appropriate one of the two postbases described above to the bases of the following, add appropriate subjects and translate. For example, given **tak'uq** you could write **Erenret takliut** 'The days are becoming longer.'

1) **etuuq**, 2) **etgatuq**, 3) **angayuqaituq** (and the variant **angayuqrituq**), 4) **iqkituq**, 5) **snuukuuritut**, 6) **puqigtuq**, 7) **kemgituq**, 8) **uquriuq**, 9) **amllertut**, 10) **ikgetut**, 11) **uingitua**, 12) **qimugtaitukut**.

B. Translate the following:

1) **Yurayuirutut makumiut**. 2) **Qitevcuumiirutuq** 3) **Aqingairutut tamaani** 4) **Neqairutukut**. 5) **Qimugtairututen-qaa?**

Constructions Corresponding to English Relative Clauses

Yup'ik does not have relative pronouns such as 'that' or 'which' or 'who' in a sentence like 'the child that (or which, or who) is crying doesn't want to go to bed.' Instead, to form the Yup'ik equivalent of a clause such as 'that is crying' one uses a nominalizing postbase to change the verb meaning 'to cry' into a noun meaning 'the one that is crying,' and then this noun is used as an appositive to the word for 'child.' The Yup'ik nominalizing postbase is **-lria**, 'the one that is V-ing.'

Mikelnguq qialria inarcuumiituq. 'The child that is crying doesn't want to go to bed.' (*literally* 'the child, the one that is crying, doesn't ...')

Qimugta qilulria pikaqa. 'The dog that is barking is mine.'

Ingna arnaq iqairilria aklunek aanakaqa. 'That woman who is washing clothes is my mother.' (**aklunek** is the *ablative-modalis indefinite object* of **iqairi-** the verb "embedded" in **iqairilria**)

A noun formed with this postbase may also function alone, without being appositive to another noun:

Qialria inarcuumiicugnarquq. 'The one who is crying probably doesn't want to go to bed.'

Niituten-qaa qialriamek? 'Do you hear someone crying?'

This postbase is peculiar in several respects. One is that when it ends up following after a stop (or voiceless fricative) plus **e**, then the **lr** cluster of the postbase becomes voiceless for most Yup'ik speakers.

Thus

from **taqe-** comes **taqellria** 'the one that is quitting'

from **tekite-** comes **tekitellria** 'the one that is arriving' (compare **nerelria** 'the one that is eating' from **ner-**)

from **iter-** comes **itellria** 'the one that is entering'¹ (compare **qanelria** 'the one that is speaking' from **qaner-**)

This postbase takes the form **-lrii**, rather than **-lria** when used with the endings **%:(e)m**, **%:(e)t** as well as all dual endings.

Naliat irniavet qimugtem qilulriim keggellruagu? 'Which of your children did the barking dog bite?'

Qavalriit tupageski. 'Wake up the ones who are sleeping.'

Acuumiitua iqalriigneq aliimategnek. 'I don't want to put on dirty mittens₂.'

As the example right above shows, this postbase is used with descriptive verb bases to form the Yup'ik equivalent of adjectives such as 'dirty.' Further examples:

Qimugta tungulria qilullruuq. 'The black dog was barking' (*literally*: 'the dog, the one that is black, was barking').

Qimugtem qatellriim qilullruanga. 'The white dog barked at me.'

Eksaqunaki yaassiigmun navgumalriamun. 'Don't put them in the broken box.'

Qerarciigaciiqukut et'ulriim kuigem akianun angyaunata. 'We won't be able to cross to the other side of the deep river without a boat.'

Rather than using the postbase **-lria** with bases that end in special **te**, another postbase, **@nguq*** may be used. This postbase **@nguq*** changes the **te** to **l** (actually the **e** is dropped, and it is the **t** which changes to **l**).

from **kumlate-** comes **kumlalnguq** 'the one that is cold'

from **neriksaite-** comes **nereksailnguq** 'the one that hasn't eaten'

from **keggutaite-** comes **keggutailnguut** 'the ones without teeth'

from **nanvamte-** (from **nanvami** and the obsolete base **ete-** 'to be' which has a special **te**) comes **nanvamelnguq** 'the one in the lake'

It is generally regarded as being acceptable, though not the preferred pattern, to use the postbase **-lria** rather than **@nguq*** with these bases ending in special **te**. Thus, for example, one could also say **kumlatellria** for 'the one that is cold', **nereksaitellria** for 'the one that hasn't eaten,' etc.

1. In Hooper Bay - Chevak and certain other areas the **lr** stays voiced so these three words are **taqelria**, **tekitelria** and **itelria**.

Further examples using these postbases:

Qeraryugngaciqukut etgalnguum kuigem akianun ivrarluta. 'We'll be able to cross to the other side of the shallow river by wading.'

Tekitellruut nunapigmun atsailngurmun. 'They arrived at a tundra area which doesn't have any berries.'

Umyuarteqellruunga qanikcarmek mamtulriamek ingrinlogurmek. 'I thought about deep snow in the mountains' **ingrinlogurmek** is from **ingrinete-** 'to be in the mountains'.

The word $\sqrt{\text{mikelnguq}}$ 'child' arises from this postbase and the verb base **mik(e)te-** which is another, probably older, version of **mike-** 'to be small,' so **mikelnguq** literally means 'the one that is small.' Note that in some areas (Canineq, Nelson Island, Nunivak, Hooper Bay, Chevak) people use the older version of the base and say **miktuq** rather than **mik'uq** for 'it is small.'

The postbase **@nguq** occurs in the village name **Kuigilnguq** 'Kwigillingok' literally meaning 'the one without a river.'

Exercise 14-3

A. Take the list of opposites from the first drill for this chapter, and make nouns from them and translate. Example: **mamtulria** 'thick thing' vs. **mamkilnguq** 'thin thing'; **takellria** 'long thing' vs. **nanilnguq** 'short thing.'

B. Translate the English word(s) given into the correct Yup'ik for the sentence, and then translate the whole sentence into English.

- 1) **Aturyaqunakek imkuk kapkaanak** (broken).
- 2) **Natmun-kiq ellillrusiu sass'aaq** (good, new)?
- 3) **Emuskiu irnian** (sick) **nererraarluten**.
- 4) **Tegganeq anellruuq nem'ek** (burning).
- 5) **Tegungnaqsaqunaki kankut yaassiiget** (heavy).
- 6) **Ciin atuyuiciu atkuun** (thick)?
- 7) **Ciin irniaten** (smart) **tiiviryulartat**?
- 8) **Piqertuutaput** (dull) **igtellruuq mermun** (deep).
- 9) **Cakuciuga ingna ungunssiq** (black)?
- 10) **Kipucugtuq nutaramek snuukuumek** (fast).
- 11) **Nerpak** (white) **kalikiviuguq**.
- 12) **Mikelnguut** (laughing) **aquigut qanikcarmi** (dirty).
- 13) **Qaillun kuimaryugngallrusit kuigem** (wide) **akianun**?
- 14) **Kia pikau augna ak'allaq snuukuq** (slow)?
- 15) **Paningqertua** (fat) **cali qetunrarlua** (thin).

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

- 1) I wonder where the other visitors who haven't arrived are?
- 2) Who are those two people who are going to get married?
- 3) The woman who is washing clothes is going to scold us.
- 4) I used that gun which is not any good without examining it.
- 5) After you feed the people who haven't eaten yet, then you eat.
- 6) I won't pick any berries for a person who never picks berries himself!
- 7) Fearfully the hunters are going over to the animal that isn't dead.
- 8) Those children who are walking to school might get frostbitten ears.
- 9) The sleepy children are watching television, and they are angry at the baby who is crying loudly.
- 10) The elders told us a story about a man in his prime living on an uninhabited island.

Color Words

Concerning words for colors, in Yup'ik 'black' and 'white' are basically verbs: **tungu-** 'to be black' and **qater-** 'to be white,' while 'red,' 'blue,' and 'green' are basically nouns: **kavirliq** 'red thing,' **qiugliq** 'blue thing,' **cungagliq** 'green thing.' However, it is easy to derive the noun forms **tungulria** 'black thing' and **qatellria** 'white thing' from the two color verbs and to use them as appositives as seen above, and it is likewise easy to derive verb forms from the three nouns by means of the postbase **~:(ng)u-**. Thus: **qiugliu-** 'to be blue,' **cungagliu-** 'to be green,' and **kavirliu-** 'to be red.'¹

Exercise 14-4

Write two Yup'ik sentences for each color word, one sentence using the color word as a noun, and the other using it as a verb. For example: green: noun: Ekiu qantamun cungaglirmun. 'Put it in the green bowl.' verb: Una qantaq cungagliunrituq. 'This bowl isn't green.'

See also Note A in the supplement to this chapter for more on color terminology.

Yup'ik Constructions Corresponding to English Adjectives

We have now studied all three means by which Yup'ik makes the equivalents of English adjectives: (1) certain noun-to-noun postbases, such as **-rpak** as in **angyarpak** 'big boat'; (2) certain nouns which are generally used in apposition to other nouns, such as **alla** as in **angyaq alla** 'other boat'; (3) nouns formed with the postbase **-lria** (or **@nguq***) and then used in apposition to other nouns, such as in **angyaq cukalria** 'fast boat.'

Exercise 14-5

For each of the above three means of forming adjective equivalents, give three more examples.

Postbases

Although it is permissible to say things like **ciuterpangqellria** for '(the) one having big ears', there is a postbase **-lek** which serves the same purpose as the combination **-ngqellria**, so this postbase **-lek** means 'one with *N*.'

Tan'gurraq ciuterpalek ilakaqa. 'The boy with big ears is my relative.'
(the first two words are appositives)

Taisgu yaassiik akakiignek imalek. 'Bring the box containing whitefish.'
(**akakiignek** is ablative-modalis of specification with regard to **imaq** in **imalek**)

1. For many speakers there are also the verb forms **kavircete-** 'to be red,' **qiugcete-** 'to be blue,' and **cungagcete-** 'to be green.' The **te** in the postbase **cete-** here is a special **te**; this postbase also occurs in **kiircete-** 'to be hot (weather),' and several other descriptive bases.

The word $\sqrt{\text{yaqulek}}$ 'bird' comes from this postbase and **yaquq** 'wing'. The meaning of **yaqulek** is fixed (or "lexicalized") however, and other things with wings (e.g. airplanes, angels) are not called **yaqulek** by (most) Central Yup'iks.

In order to say 'the one that *was* crying' or 'the one that *cried*', one could say **qiallrulria**, but it is more common to use a different postbase. This postbase is **-lleq**, 'the one that V-ed':

Mikelnguq qialleq inartellruuq. 'The child that cried went to bed' (*literally*: 'The child, the one that cried, went to bed').

Irniari qiallret inartellruut. 'His children that cried went to bed.' (*Notice that an indicator of possession only goes on the main noun, irniari, as is usual with appositives.*)

Mikelnguum qiallrem nuyai tunguut. 'The hair of the child that cried is black.' (*Case, like number, is indicated on both nouns.*)

Uitalaryaaqellruunga nem'i ekuallermi. 'I used to live in the house that burned.'

Qimugta nerrleq neqmek qilugtuq neplirluni. 'The dog that ate fish is barking loudly' (*neqmek is the ablative-modalis indefinite object of the verb nere- embedded in nerrleq. Note: nerrleq comes from *nerêlleq.*)¹

Exercise 14-6

A. Translate:

1) Kass'at elitengnaqsaaqellret Yup'igcetun ak'a taqeqatartut. 2) Ciin qantaqa muirumalleq suupamek imaita? 3) Nukalpiam pinillrem tuqutellrua tan'gerliq nutginani! 4) Qetunraqa aqvaqulleq misvigmek mernurtuq. 5) Elliyaqunaki qantat kuvvlermun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Who were the white people who left yesterday? 2) The visitors who arrived yesterday are our relatives. 3) I can't use the snow machine that broke. 4) Did you know the man who died yesterday in St. Marys? 5) The house that burned was my grandfather's. 6) My sister scolded her children who were wading in the deep water.

When used with a possessed ending something out of the ordinary happens with this postbase. It means, 'the one the possessor V-ed', rather than 'the possessor's one that V-ed' which is what one might expect. For example, while **nerrleq** means 'the one that ate' — a person or animal — the possessed form **nerellra** means 'the one that he (the possessor) ate' or 'his (the possessor's) eaten

1. *nerêlleq becomes **ner'lleq** (with voiced r) in the Yukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Hooper Bay-Chevak, Egegik, and some Nelson Island.

thing' — an article of food, not 'his one that ate' (that is, not 'his **nerrleq**') as one might expect from the ordinary operation of possession.¹

Mikelnguq qimugtem qilullra qiallruuq. 'The child the dog barked at cried' (*literally*, 'the child, the dog's barked at thing, cried'; **mikelnguq** and **qilullra** are appositives as subject of **qiallruuq** and **qimugtem** is the possessor of **qilullra**).

Angutem irniara qimugtem qilullra qiallruuq. 'The man's child that the dog barked at cried' (**irniara** and **qilullra**, though appositives, have different possessors).

Calissuun atulqa navgumalliniuq. 'The tool I used is evidently broken' (note **atulqa** rather than **atulleqa** as the rules would suggest).

Exercise 14-7

A. Translate the following:

- 1) Egan atuqataryaaqelqa ukinengqertuq.
- 2) Nerellrua akutaq neryullni.
- 3) Unugmi qimugkauyaraanka assikelten qavalallruyaaqut elaturrami.
- 4) Yuvrirraarluku igarcuun navellren aatama egtellrua.
- 5) Taqukaq nutellren cali tuquksaituq!
- 6) Kitugtesciigataqa levaqa navellren.
- 7) Unicaqunakek aliimategken ellillregken kiugumun estuulumun.
- 8) Iqaiqataranka aklut irniama cimillrit.
- 9) Ciin neresciigatellrusiki neryulten?
- 10) Suupaq qetunracuarama kuvellra akwaugaq tepsarqenguq.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) Where did you put the trap that I bought at the downriver store?
- 2) Who found the watch that you lost?
- 3) The animal we saw near the mouth of the river must have been a spotted seal.
- 4) The seal oil which my brother brought here from downriver is very good.
- 5) The dishes that the little boy washed are still dirty.
- 6) The one I bought yesterday is already broken!

The postbase **-lleq** thus enables one to produce a Yup'ik equivalent of 'the child that the dog barked at', but to say the equivalent of 'the dog that barked at the child,' one must use the postbase **+(s)ta** 'one that V-s' (Chapter 8):

Ukvekenritaqa iqlusteka. 'I don't believe the one that lied to me' (*literally*, 'I don't believe my liar').

Qimugta mikelnguq qilugtii ayallruuq. 'The dog that barked at the child went away' (**qilugtii**, which is an appositive to **qimugta**, is literally 'one that barks, barker,' so that this sentence literally says 'the dog, the child's barker, left').

1. The way in which possession operates for this postbase, **-lleq**, meshes much better with patientive verbs, such as **kuve-** 'to spill', where **kuvvleq** means 'the one that spilled' — a liquid — and the possessed form **kuvellra** means 'the one that he (the possessor) spilled' — again a liquid, than it does with agentive verbs such as **nere-**.

In the above two sentences (and other similar sentences) some speakers explicitly indicate that the action of 'lying' or 'barking' took place in the past. To do this, the postbase **-lleq** is used between **+(s)ta** and the ending. When so used **-lleq** is being used on a *noun* rather than a verb (as when it was discussed above), and as such it means 'former *N*'. Examples illustrating the use of this postbase, **-lleq**, with *nouns* are:

Qasgilleq ekuallruuq. 'The former kashim burned.'

Kiputellruaqa augkut yuut nellrat. 'I bought those people's former house.'

Elitnauristelleq ayallruuq akwaugaq. 'The former teacher left yesterday'

Irniana elitnauristellrat ayallruuq. 'My children's former teacher left.'

Examples of **-lleq** as a postbase for nouns used following **+(s)ta**:

Qimugta mikelnguun qilugtella ayallruuq. 'The dog that had barked at the child went away' (*literally*: 'the dog, the child's former barker, went away' — *this sentence says essentially the same thing as the example above with qilugtii instead of qilugtella*).

Alqavet keggestellran kegcisugnarqaaten. 'The one that bit your sister might bite you' (*literally*: 'your sister's former biter might bite you').

Exercise 14-8

A. Translate:

1) Ukvekenritaqa panima iqlustella. 2) Naaqerraarluki imkut mamtulriit kalikat, tunellruanka naaqsugtella. 3) Mikelnguq qimugkauyaraam pikestella qiaqartuq. 4) Nunurciqaqa qimugkauyaraam tuqutestella.

B. Translate the following sentences and parse your translations:

1) The child became angry at the elder who scolded him. 2) Don't believe the person who lied to you. 3) My son wanted to kill the dog that had bit him. 4) My wife took my gun in order to kill the dog that bit my son. 5) Do you know the woman who sewed my red coat?

The postbase **-ssiyaag-** means 'to be too *V*'.

Angssiyaagtuq. 'It is too big.'

Uqamaitessiyaagtuq. 'It is too heavy.'

Miksiyaagtuq. 'It is too small.'

Et'ussiyaagtuq. 'It is too deep.'

The postbase **@+ta-** means 'to be *V* (to a certain extent)', and is used with the equalis; special **te** is changed to **l**.

Sugtutauq aatamitun. 'He is as tall as his father' (*compare, sugtuuq aatamitun* 'he is tall like his father is').

Waten angtauq. 'It is this big' (*with waten, 'this', indicated with the hands or by pointing to something*).

Tuaten uqamaltauq. 'It is that heavy' (*from uqamaite-; the form uqamaltauq is irregular in that i is dropped, but it is more common than the regular form uqamailtauq*).

Comparatives and the Localis of Comparison

The postbase **-nru-** means 'to be V-er.' The object of the comparison (if explicitly stated) can be indicated by a noun in the *localis case, comparison use*:

Una assinruuq. 'This one is better.'

Sugtunruunga aatamni. 'I am taller than my father.'

Uqurinruunga kinguqlimni. 'I am fatter than my younger sibling.'

Nengllinruuq akwaugami. 'It is colder than yesterday.' (*Note the use of the localis of comparison with the word akwaugaq which is normally an uninflectable particle.*)

This postbase can be used with transitive endings when used on certain transitive-only verbs.

Assikenruaqa nutaraq ak'allarmi. 'I like the new one more than the old one.'

Mikelnguun alikenrullrua yungcarista elitnauristemí. 'The child feared the doctor more than the teacher.'

However, with verb bases ending in special **te** a different postbase is used: **@llru-**. It drops the **te** in question:

Sugkillruuq aatamini. 'He is shorter than his father' (*from sugkite-*).

Nanillruuq. 'It is shorter' (*from nanite-*).

For 'it is smaller,' people say both **mikenruuq** and **mikellruuq**. The second form comes from the older form of the base, **mik(e)te-**, and this second form is used in areas that say only **mik'uq** as well as in those coastal areas that say **miktuq**.

Exercise 14–9*A. Translate:*

1) Kusquqvak maani iqtunruuq Kuigpagmi nunavni. 2) Una yaassiik uqamaillruuq taumi. 3) Nasaurluq puqinruyaaquq anngamini. 4) Qasperen kavirliq takenruuq tungulriami. 5) Makumiut amllenruut Negeqlirmiuni. 6) Niicugnissuutet qastussiyaagtut. 7) Ingna piqertuutaq ipgiatessiyaagtuq. 8) Nep'ut nutaraq angtauq nell'emcetun.

B. Go back and rephrase 1) through 5) so as to portray the same situation, but following this example: given Aataka sugtunruuq anngavni. you should write Anngan sugkillruuq aatamni.

C. Translate:

1) I am taller than my mother, but shorter than my father. 2) My former snow-machine was too slow. 3) It is too noisy in their house. 4) My black pants are better than my blue pants. 5) This one is much worse than that one. 6) The gun you bought is better than the one I bought.

D. For each of the following verb bases follow the example and give the appropriate forms: For example, given iqtu- you should write: iqtussiyaagtuq 'it is too wide', iqtutauq 'it is that wide', iqturiuq 'it is getting wide'.

1) mike-, 2) amller-, 3) cukaite-, 4) kiircete-, 5) et'u-, 6) uquri-, 7) kumlate-, 8) yaaqsig-, 9) uqamaite-, 10) etgate-.

Selectional Bases; Forming Superlatives

The postbase **-nru-** actually is a combination of a certain postbase **-neq** 'the V-er one(s)'¹ and the postbase **:(ng)u-** 'to be' (and similarly **@llru-** comes from **-lleq** 'the V-er one(s)' and **:(ng)u-**). However these two nominalizing postbases **-neq** and **-lleq** are used only with possessed endings, and the result functions much like the bases **ila** 'one of, some of' and **naliq** 'which one(s) of', that is, it *selects* from the possessors.

Qimugtema angenrat qilugtuq. 'My biggest dog is barking' (*literally*: 'the biggest one of my dogs ...').

Qimugtema angenrit qilugtut. 'My biggest dogs are barking' (*literally*: 'the biggest ones of my dogs ...').

Ivraryugngaaput kuiget etgallrit. 'We can wade across the shallowest rivers.'

See Note B in the supplement to this chapter for an alternative way of forming superlatives in Yup'ik.

'Oldest' and 'youngest' are expressed with **ciuqliq** and **kinguqliq** respectively rather than with the postbase in question.

Alqaqa ciuqliq arvinlegnek irniangqertuq. 'My oldest sister has six children' (*literally* 'my sister, the oldest one, has ...').

1. Be aware that several other postbases have the same form, **neq**, as this but different meanings.



Semi-subterranean sod houses were well insulated and could be built from local materials even in treeless areas, but were subject to spring flooding. Joseph H. Romig Collection (acc. #90-043-881) in the Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Dept. UAF.

The words **ciuqliq** and **kinguqliq** come from **ciu** 'front,' and **kingu** 'back' and the postbase **-qliq*** 'one further or furthest toward the N.' This postbase also goes with other positionals, with some demonstrative adverb bases, and with a few with other appropriate nouns:

iluqliq 'the one further in, the one furthest in'

quleqliq 'higher one, highest one'

aciqliq 'lower one, lowest one'

uaqliq 'the one further or furthest downriver, or toward the exit'

kiaqliq 'the one further or furthest upriver'

anngaqliq 'oldest brother'

Exercise 14-10

Translate:

1) Your smallest child is crying in there. 2) Eat the biggest blueberries. 3) I can't pick up the heaviest box. 4) I want to buy the lightest watch in the store. 5) The smartest child couldn't answer the teacher. 6) His oldest daughter got married to my oldest son. 7) The largest building in town is the clinic.

The postbase @~+**yartur-** means 'to go in order to V':

Anellruuq maqiyarturluni. 'He went outside in order to take a steambath.'

Qavaryarturtuq. 'He is going to sleep.' *meaning* 'he is going somewhere in order to sleep.' (Contrast this with **qavaqatartuq** 'he is going to sleep' *meaning* 'he is about to sleep.')

It also means 'to be in the process of V-ing' for change of state verbs.

Tupagyarturtuq. 'He is in the process of waking up' (*vs.* **tupagtuq** 'he (just now) woke up').

Tekicarturtuq. 'He is in the process of arriving' (*vs.* **tekituq** 'he (just now) arrived').

The above postbase evidently incorporates another postbase, @~+**yar-** meaning 'to go V-ing'. This shorter postbase, unlike the longer one, is non-productive. It occurs in the following words (and perhaps a few others):

Manaryartuq. 'He is going fishing.' (Contrast this with **manaryarturtuq** 'he is going somewhere to fish.')

Pissuryartuq. 'He is going hunting.'

Iqvaryartuq. 'He is going berry-picking.'

√ **Neryartuq.** *lexicalized:* 'He is eating berries as he picks them (rather than saving them for later use)' (*literally:* 'he is going eating').

The postbase +**te-** which goes on noun bases (see Chapter 9 for a **te** postbase which goes on verb bases), is used with two groups of nouns. With nouns for game animals it means 'to catch N,' while with nouns for places it means 'to go to N.'

Tuntuvagtellruuq. 'He caught a moose.'

Yaqulegciqsugnarqut. 'They will probably catch birds.'

Nanvartellruukut. 'We went to the lake.'

Neqlillerrngaitut. 'They won't go the fishcamp.'

Kipusvigutaa. 'He went to the store with him, took him to the store' (*from* **kipusvigte-** 'to go to the store' *and* @:(**u**)**te-** 'to V for, with, etc.,' see Chapter 10; note that the only trace of the **te** meaning 'to go to N' is the fact that the **g** does not velar-drop even though it is between single vowels **i** and **u**).

√ **Nunatuq.** 'He is visiting (to a village or place different away from his own), he is vacationing.'

Note the following two lexicalized combinations which, however, are not used in all areas:

- √ **Yugtellruuq**. 'He killed a person (purposely or accidentally).'
- √ **Kass'artellruuq**. 'He went to Bethel or Anchorage to go shopping at the big stores there.'

Exercise 14-11

A. Translate and parse the Yup'ik:

- 1) Nunapigcugyaaqellruukut iqvarnaluta atsalugpianek assilrianek. 2) Angyacuarameggnek cukailngurmek aturluteng ilanka pissuryallruut yaqulegnek. 3) Imna niicuilnguq pitsaqevkenani qimugtecuartellruuq nut'liurluni. 4) Mikelnguut elitnaulriit puqiallrata nallullrua president-aam atra. 5) Mingqesciigaciiqan lumarran mingqutkun ipgialngurkun. 6) Naaqiyartullruuq room-amun nepailngurmun. 7) Aliksaqunaku qimugteka keggsuilnguq. 8) Kituuga aũgna kass'aq iirpalek? 9) Snuukuulput navgumalria pikiu. 10) Fairbanks-aartellruunga elitnauryarturlua. 11) Nererraarluta iqvaryartuqilta curanekim'um takellriim nanvam iquani. 12) Mamterillertellruut kiputnaluteng tiiviimek nutaramek. 13) Uitalallruyaaqukut ak'allarmi necuarmini ekuallermi ingkut net angenrata ketiini. 14) Agayuviguciiqaqa aanaka. 15) Allrakum erenrin nanilqaat man'a ernek. 16) Kalikivigtellruuk emusvigqaarlutek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) Yesterday it was colder than today. 2) They went hunting on the coldest day of the year. 3) Do you want to go ice-fishing with me at the mouth of the river? 4) I caught two beavers, four minks, and one black colored fox. 5) The new teacher is better than the old one. 6) He's vacationing in Hawaii now. 7) My oldest brother is shorter than my mother. 8) We will be able to go across the river by wading through its shallowest part. 9) I accidently dropped my best trap into the water. 10) My grandmother still sweeps the floor of her house with a bird's wing. 11) We took the most sick of our children to the clinic. 12) The woman going away wearing a blue cloth cover parka and a red hat is my oldest sister. 13) This old watch of mine is too slow, and that clock over there is too fast. 14) At first, after I arrived here, I didn't see your green snow machine. 15) The snow outside is too white! 16) The animals in the mountains are fewer now. 17) I forgot my red mittens and black hat leaving them on the shelf above the stove. 18) Tomorrow my brother and I (= 'we₂, including my brother') are going to go downriver to get some seal oil. 19) The elders are different there. 20) After your smallest dog barked at me, it bit me on my leg. 21) We're out of tea, but we have lots of coffee still. 22) His brother killed a person by accident. 23) The widest part of the river is shallow, but the narrowest part is very deep. 24) I can't sew with this dull needle, and I don't have a sharper one. 25) Don't eat berries as you pick them so much!

The postbase **+kaq** means 'future *N*, raw material for *N*.'

angyarkaqa 'my future boat' (i.e. 'the one that will be my boat when I buy it or when it is given to me'); the raw material for my boat'

√ **neqkaq** 'food prepared for eating' (*lexicalized; the literal meaning would be something like 'future food'*)

Uikaqaa. 'He is her future husband.'

Manarvigkameggnun tekikut. 'They arrived at the place where they would fish.'

In addition to the postbase **-lleq** discussed above which means 'the one which *V*-ed' or 'the one which the possessor *V*-ed,' there is another postbase **+'(g)aq** which has very much the same meaning, though it is more or less non-productive.

√ **aturaq** 'something worn; garment (whether worn already or not)'

√ **keniraq** 'cooked food'

√ **pitaq** 'caught thing'; **pitaa** 'his caught thing, the thing he caught'; **pitaqaa** 'he caught it' (*literally: 'he has it as his caught thing'*)

√ **akutaq** 'Eskimo ice cream' (*literally: 'one that's been mixed'*)

√ **elitnauraq** 'student' (*literally: 'one who has been taught'*)

√ **irniaq** 'child' (*from the verb base irni-* 'to give birth')

Iqairat inikiki. 'Hang up the things that have been washed.'

This postbase is found in combinations with certain other postbases.

From **-li-** 'to make' and **+'(g)aq** comes the postbase **-liaq** 'man-made *N*, *N* made by possessor.'

atkuliara 'the parka which she made'

kuiliaq 'man-made river, canal'

Kia piliaqau? 'who made it?'

From **+te-** 'to catch' and **+'(g)aq** comes the postbase **+taq** '*N* caught (by possessor).'

maqaruartanka 'the rabbits I caught'

From **+'(g)aq** and **+kaq** 'future thing' comes the postbase **+'(g)arkaqaq** 'one that is to be *V*-ed.'

iqairarkaqaq 'something to be washed, dirty laundry'

Caliarkaitua. 'I don't have any chores to do' (√ **caliarkaqaq** 'chore to be done').

Pitarkat amllertut maani. 'There is lots of game to be caught here (√ **pitarkaqaq** 'thing to be caught').

And **+(g)arkaḡ** further combines with **~:(ng)u-** 'to be *N*' to give **+(g)arkau-** 'subject must be *V*-ed.' Unlike its final component postbase this new postbase can take both intransitive and transitive endings (which mirror the transitivity of the verb base within).

Ner'arkaḡuḡ. 'It must be eaten.'

Ner'arkaḡaa. 'He must eat it.'

Exercise 14-12

A. Translate into English:

1) Igarkaitua cali. 2) Itruski yaqulegtaten elliluki-llu estuulum qainganun. 3) Amiirarkangqertua imarmiutarnek amllernek. 4) Kuiliakun ayalartukut neqlillemtēnun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I'll change my clothes and put on the very nice parka that my wife's mother made for me. 2) The dog that bit you should be killed. 3) Those berries are not to be eaten. 4) We'll go downriver to St. Marys via that man-made channel. 5) Another person already washed the dishes that were to be washed in the church. 6) This wood must be chopped. 7) The semi-lunar knife you made is sharper than the one I bought at the store in Anchorage.



Billy Rivers prepares for a seal hunt, 1980. Photo by James. H. Barker.

More Demonstratives

At this point one should review the demonstratives presented for memorization in Chapters 6, 10 and 12 (**una, man'a, tauna, ingna, imna, pikna, kan'a, auḡna, kiugna, ugna; tamana, unegna, ikna, pingna, keggna; ukna, un'a, agna, amna and akemna**), and one should memorize the following set of demonstratives. As before, only the absolutive pronoun form and the localis adverb form are given here with other forms given only if they have features that are not completely predictable. This will complete memorization of all the demonstratives.

pagna 'the one up above' (extended); *localis adverb is* **pagaani** 'in the area up above' (extended) (note the doubled **a**, and see Note D in the supplement to Chapter 12)

paugna 'the one up the slope' (extended); *localis adverb is* **pavani** 'in the area up the slope' (extended)

pakemna 'the one up above' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **pakmani** 'in the up above' (obscured)

pamna 'the one the slope' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **pamani** 'in the area up the slope' (obscured)

qagna 'the one outside' (extended); *localis adverb is* **qagaani** 'in the area outside' (extended) (note the doubled **a**, and see Note D in the supplement to Chapter 12)

qaugna 'the one inside, inland, or upriver' (extended); *localis adverb is* **qavani** 'in the area inside, inland, or upriver' (extended)

qakemna 'the one outside' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **qakmani** 'in the area outside' (obscured)

qamna 'the one inside, inland, or upriver' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **qamani** 'in the area inside, inland, or upriver' (obscured)

cakemna 'the one downriver or toward an exit' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **cakmani** 'in the area downriver or toward an exit' (obscured)

camna 'the one down below or down the slope' (obscured); *localis adverb is* **camani** 'in the area down below or down the slope' (obscured)

Exercise 14-13

Translate and give the "opposite" with translation of each of the following. For example, given *cakmavet* you would write *cakmavet* = 'to the obscured area downriver'; opposite is *qamavet* = 'to the obscured area upriver.'

1) *pakmani*, 2) *kiani*, 3) *paugkut*, 4) *qaugkumiut*.

Exercise 14-14

Write an essay in *Yup'ik*, about 150 words in length, describing a fishcamp (imaginary if you wish). Place yourself in the center of the fishcamp and describe the various things that you can see (tent, cabin, steambath, fishrack, smokehouse, cache, boats, nets), and those in the vicinity which you cannot see (other fishcamps, tundra, ponds, woods), and where each thing is located. Try to use the constructions from this chapter such as those which form the *Yup'ik* equivalents of adjectives.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 14

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 In addition to **ekua-** for 'to be burning', there is **eke-**. Note that this later base is a homonym of **eke-** 'to get or put in.'
- #2 The base **emute-** 'to go to the clinic or hospital', can also mean 'to take an item for repair,' for some speakers. It is not clear what the original meaning of the base was, and which of the meanings given here is an extension of the other.
- #3 The base **iqair-** means literally 'to remove dirt.' Instead of this base some areas use a base **ervig-** 'to wash clothes,' and this base is no doubt related to **ermig-** 'to wash one's face,' to **erve-** 'to dissolve, fade, run (colors)' and to **erur-** 'to wash dishes or the like.' Where **ervig-** is used, the word for 'washing machine' is **ervigissuun** instead of **iqairissuun** which goes with **iqair-**
- #4 In addition to **ivrar-** for 'to wade' there is **iver-**, which perhaps indicates a shorter period of wading, perhaps just 'to step in the water,' or 'to walk through the water.' Some people say **irvar-** instead of **ivrar-** (which is the older form).
- #5 The word **kapkaanaq** 'trap' is also pronounced **kapkainaq**. This word is from Russian, and refers to a Euro-American style 'steel trap.' An old fashioned native design 'deadfall trap' is a **naneryaq**, and a 'pit trap' is a **petmik**.
- #6 The verb **kassuute-** 'to get married', comes from **kassug-** 'to go in circle', so that **kassuute-** literally means 'to go in a circle together, or with,' and probably refers to the Russian Orthodox wedding practice of circling the church. Before the Russians came, Yup'iks probably used only the words **uinge-** 'to acquire a husband,' and **nuliange-** 'to acquire a wife' or **nulirtur-** 'to get a wife,' which are still used for 'to get married.'
- #7 Unlike the case of the Yup'ik name for the Yukon River, **Kuigpak**, literally 'big river,' the Yup'ik name, **Kusquqvak**, for the Kuskokwim defies certain analysis. The **ku** could be the same as that in **kuik** 'river', and **kuve-** 'to spill,' and could have to do with 'flowing,' the **squq** could be related to the Siberian Yupik postbase "-squq" meaning 'small,' and the **vak** could be like the variant of the Yup'ik postbase **-rpak** which appears as **vak** (as on **tuntuvak** 'moose,' from **tuntu** 'caribou'). Thus **Kusquqvak** could mean literally 'the big one with a small flow,' but this analysis is highly speculative. The English word "Kuskokwim" comes from the relative case of **Kusquqvak** as in **Kusquviim painga** 'the mouth of the Kuskokwim,' just as English "kashim" comes from the relative case **qasgim** of **qasgiq**.
- #8 In addition to **nalluyagute-** for 'to forget,' there is also **avaur-** used in various areas along with **nalluyagute-**, and totally replacing that word in NS.
- #9 The verb **pegte-** 'to release' can also mean 'to give up (a habit or practice),' or 'to break up (with one's boy/girl-friend).'
- #10 **Sass'aq/cass'aq** 'clock, watch, hour' is from Russian.
- #11 **Snuukuuq** 'snow machine' is from English "snow-go."
- #12 The verbs **sugkite-/cugkite-** 'to be short in stature,' and **sugtu-/cugtu-** 'to be tall,' though showing an **s** vs. **c** variation typical of words from Russian (such as **sass'aq/cass'aq** above) are not from Russian. Rather the **sug-/cug-** element probably corresponds to **yuk** 'person,' though we cannot explain why it appears as **s** or **c** here.
- #13 Instead of **tegganeq** for 'elder,' there is **teggneq** in some places. Both of these words seem to come from **tegge-** 'to be tough, hard.'
- #14 The word **tiiviiq** 'television, and the verb form **tiiviir-** 'to watch television' are (obviously) from English; in fact some Yup'iks aspirate the **t**, making it like an English "t." On the other hand 'radio' is often called by the Yup'ik neologism **niicugnissuun**, literally 'device for hearing.' There are two causes for the different treatment of 'radio' and 'television.' One cause is that with the increasing pervasiveness of the English language in Yup'ik areas (in part precisely because of these two devices), it is more the style now to borrow English words for new things rather than to create descriptive Yup'ik words for them as formerly. The second cause is that the English word "TV" lends itself to be taken into Yup'ik so much more easily than the English word "radio" the first sound of which, the "r," is something not present in Yup'ik. In earlier times such an initial "r" on a Russian word would become **l** or **al** in Yup'ik as in **alulaq** 'tiller' from Russian "rulya" (and some people do in fact say **liituuq** for "radio").

- #15 **Ungungssiq** 'land animal' can mean specifically 'bear' in some areas. In general Yup'ik words for 'bear' are often almost euphemisms, thus **carayak** 'bear' means literally 'horrible thing' and is also used for 'ghost' or 'monster,' **tan'gerliq** 'black bear' means literally 'dark thing,' and **taqukaq** is 'brown bear' inland, but 'seal' along much of the coast (showing that it has a basic meaning more general than 'bear'). Northern (and other) peoples worldwide regard bears with great fear, awe, and even reverence.
- #16 The verb **uqamaite-** 'to be heavy' comes from the postbase **:(ng)ite-** 'to lack, not have,' and **uqamaq** 'weight.' It is a mystery how 'to not have weight' comes to mean 'to be heavy,' unless perhaps **uqamaq** is actually 'a manageable weight' or something like that.
- #17 By extension **uquq** 'seal oil, fat' can mean any kind of 'oil' or even 'gasoline' given the appropriate context. However, to distinguish these things, **uqurkaq** can be used for 'fuel oil or gasoline,' and **kaassalinaq** for 'gasoline.' Seal fat and associated tissue remaining after the oil has rendered is **tangeq**, **tangevkayuk**, or **tangviarlluk**.

Note A

In addition to **qater-** 'white,' **tungu-** 'black,' **kavirliq** 'red,' **cungagliq** 'green' and **qiugliq** 'blue,' in Bristol Bay there is also a term, **esirliq**, for 'yellow' (actually, 'yellow thing'). It is possible to coin terms for other colors, for example, for 'brown': **nunapigngalnguq** (literally, 'one that is like the tundra') or **tunguryak** (literally, 'darkish one'), for 'orange': **qalleryak** (literally, 'rusty one'). Probably such coinages have been created from time to time as the need arose even long ago, but they probably are not fixed or stable words. In connection with school bilingual programs there has been some effort to standardize color terminology.

The word **cungagliq** 'green' comes from **cungak** 'bile,' **qiugliq** (also pronounced **qiurliq**) 'blue' comes from **qiuq** 'bluish rock, blueberry, reflection on sky of open water in an ice field,' and **esirliq** from **esiq** 'yolk of an egg.' However there is no attested word **kaviq** which is what one would expect from **kavirliq** 'red.' There probably was such a word at some time; it also occurs in **kaviaq** 'red fox.' At present **kavir-** must be considered a *root*.

Note B

An alternative to the *selector* postbases **-neq** and **@lleq** is the postbase **-nqurraq*** (**@-lqurraq*** with bases ending in special **te**) meaning 'most V one(s).' This forms nouns used as appositives with the other noun in question:

Qimugteka angenqurraq qilugtuq. 'My biggest dog is barking.'

Qimugtenka angenqurraat qilugtut. 'My biggest dogs are barking.'

Ivraryunggaaput kuiget etgalqurraat. 'We can wade across the shallowest rivers.'

CHAPTER 15

*Dependent Moods Not Subject to the Constraints
on the Subordinative; Precessive Mood; Consequential Mood;
Third Person vs. Fourth Person Subjects and Objects*

Vocabulary

- akercirtuq** 'it is sunny'
akerta 'the sun' #1
angeq 'chewing gum' #2
anglaniuq 'she is enjoying things, having fun'; **anglania** 'she is enjoying watching it' #3
angniituq 'she is sad'
angnirtuq 'she is happy' #4
aruuq 'it became rotten; it ripened'
assaliaq 'pancake' #5
assaliuq 'she is making pancakes'
can'giiq* 'blackfish' #6
caranglluk 'debris' (e.g. leaves and twigs among berries)
cavtaa 'she felt it with her hand(s)'
cupegtuq 'she is homesick'
eritartuq 'she's plucking a bird'; **eritaraa** 'she's plucking it' #7
ellallirtuq 'it is raining' #8
kevegtuq 'she lifted something'; **kevgaa** 'she lifted it'
mecunguq 'she/it is very wet, soaked' (*also mecungtuq* 'it got wet'; **mecungtaa** 'it got it wet')
muluk'uuq 'milk' #9
naivaa 'she poured it into something'
nang'uuq 'it is used up'; **nangaa** 'she used it up'
pairtuq 'she is licking something'; **pairaa** 'she is licking it'
paqtuq 'she checked'; **paqtaa** 'she checked on it/her'
paraluq 'maggot, grub'
perriraa 'she wiped it'
perriun 'towel'
piniatuq 'she is weak (physically)'
qemagtaa 'she packed it away'
qiuryaq 'aurora, northern lights' #10
qusertuq 'she is coughing, has a cold'
teglegtuq 'she stole'; **teglegaa** 'she stole it'
tuntu 'caribou'
ukliuq 'she cut up something for cooking'; **uklia** 'she cut it up' #11
umyuaq 'thought, idea, mind' #12
uptuq 'she is getting ready'; **uptaa** 'she is getting it/her ready'
uuguq or uugaa 'it (cooking) got done' #13

yugyagtuq 'it has a lot of people; there are a lot of people there' #15
yuurtuq 'she was born' (*literally*: 'became a person') #16

Dependent Verb Moods other than the Subordinative

In Chapter 13 we discussed how English 'after' is expressed in Yup'ik through the postbase **-rraar-** with the subordinative mood, and therefore is subject to the basic limitation on the subordinative, that its subject be the same as that of the main verb (though there is a way to get around this as we shall see). In contrast to this, 'before' is expressed in Yup'ik through a dependent mood which does *not* have the same basic limitation as the subordinative, and which has endings for a wide variety of situations (the precise person and number indicators for subject and object will be discussed shortly). For example:

Angun aqumellruuq arnaq neqliurpailgan. 'The man sat down *before* the woman served food.'

Angun aqumellruuq neqliurpailegmi. 'The man sat down *before* he (himself) served food.'

Angun aqumellruuq neqliurpailegma. 'The man sat down *before* I served food.'

Angun aqumellruuq arnam neqliurpailgaku nasaurluq. 'The man sat down *before* the woman served the girl.'

Angun aqumellruuq nasaurluq neqliurpailegmiu. 'The man sat down *before* he (himself) served the girl.'

Precessive Mood and other Connective Moods

The dependent verb mood expressing the connection between two events that is expressed by the word 'before' in English, in the above sentences is the *precessive mood*. The endings of this mood consist of two parts: a *mood marker*, @~+(t)vaileg- (realized as **paileg** in the examples above), and following the mood marker, a *subject-and-object marker*. There are a considerable number of subject-and-object markers since it is possible to indicate with these markers that the subject or the object of the dependent verb (in the precessive mood) is or is not the same as the subject of the main verb. These subject-and-object markers are shown on several charts further below, and *these subject-and-object markers (with a few alterations) serve also for six other dependent verb moods which differ from the precessive mood in that they have different mood markers*. These six other moods, which will be covered later, express the connections between events that in English are expressed by the subordinating conjunctions, 'because,' 'whenever,' 'although,' 'if or when' (future), 'when' (past), and 'while.' Collectively they may be called the *connective moods*.¹

The subject markers for the intransitive of the *precessive* mood (and other connective moods) are almost exactly the same as the possessed relative case ending for nouns.

1. In other works on Eskimo grammar the connective moods are called the "relative" mood(s).

<i>different from subject of main verb</i>	she	:an	<i>3rd person singular</i>
	they	:ata	<i>3rd person plural</i>
	they ₂	:agnek	<i>3rd person dual</i>
<i>same as subject of main verb</i>	I	+ma	<i>1st person singular</i>
	we	-mta	<i>1st person plural</i>
	we ₂	-megnuk	<i>1st person dual</i>
	you	.vet/+pet ¹	<i>2nd person singular</i>
	you _{pl}	.vci/+peci	<i>2nd person plural</i>
	you ₂	.vtek/+petek	<i>2nd person dual</i>
	SHE	+mi	<i>4th person singular</i>
	THEY	+meng	<i>4th person plural</i>
	THEY ₂	+mek	<i>4th person dual</i>

Because the precessive is not subject to the common-subject constraint like the subordinative, there are 3rd person as well as 4th person endings here, whereas for the intransitive subordinative there are only 4th person endings.

Examples of the intransitive precessive:

Nerellruuq ermigpailegma. 'She ate before I washed my face.' (*Compare nut'ma* 'of my gun' — *the relative case noun ending drops consonants while the verb endings keeps the g.*)

Nerellruuq ermigpailemta. 'She ate before we washed our faces.' (*Compare nutemta* 'of our guns.')

Nerellruuq ermigpailegpeci. 'She ate before you_{pl} washed your faces.' (*Compare nutegpeci* 'of your_{pl} gun.')

Nerellruuq ermigpailgan. 'She ate before she (another) washed her face.' (*Compare nutgan* 'of her (another's) gun.')

Nerellruuq ermigpailegmi. 'She ate before she (herself) washed her face.' (*Compare nut'mi* 'of her (own) gun' — *the noun ending drops consonants while the verb ending keeps the g.*)

The marker for the precessive mood is @~+(t)vaileg- with (t) used only after base-final consonants, and tv from this source, or from a base that ends in te,

1. The p variant of these endings is used with consonant final connective mood markers such as ~+(t)vaileg- for the precessive, while the v variant is used with vowel final verb markers such as the marker of the consequential discussed below.

becoming **p** (see the exclamation-former @~+(t)vaa in Chapter 10).

cali- 'to work'	calivailegpet 'before you work'
aqume- 'to sit'	aqumvailegpet 'before you sit'
taqe- 'to stop'	taqvailegpet 'before you stop'
inarte- 'to lie down'	inarpailegpet 'before you lie down'
tegute- 'to take something'	tegupailegpet 'before you take something'
qavar 'to sleep'	qavarpailegpet 'before you sleep'

Exercise 15-1

A. Translate:

1) Utertellruukut ellallingvailgan. 2) Iqaillruagka sap'akigka iterpailegma. 3) Ermigci nervailegpeci. 4) Nerellruuq iinruvailegmi. 5) Aanan apeskiu tegupailegpet atsalugpianek. 6) Anngama murilkelallrua aataput ulualingnaqvailegmi. 7) Irnianka muluk'uumek mellruut assalianek nervailegmeng. 8) Ceñirtellruaput imkut ayagpailgata un'gavet. 9) Kailriim neryugyaaqellrua suupaq uuvailgan. 10) Akilirngaitamken taqvailegpet. 11) Apa'urluqa pinillruyaaquq naulluungvailegmi. 12) Nacaqa aciiqaqa ciutegka kumlapailgagnek. 13) Erurillruuten-qaa saskanek perririvailegpet? 14) Iqvaryaunaki aruvailgata.

B. Translate:

1) The children went to bed before their mother took a steam bath. 2) My wife went to Dillingham before my child became sick with a cold. 3) I took my little child out before the boat went away. 4) We became very hungry before the food was done. 5) My grandfather died before I was born. 6) My grandmother was born before the white people came here. 7) I wanted to leave in order to hunt before my companions got ready. 8) We heard about the visitor from the Yukon before she arrived here. 9) Sweep the floor before you leave the house. 10) Did you write to your children before they became homesick. 11) Did you_{pl} watch the aurora before you_{pl} came in? 12) Ask your mother before you buy chewing gum. 13) I came home before my parents went to bed.

The subject-and-object markers for the *transitive* precessive mood (and other connective moods) have a subject segment which is basically a shortened version of the subject marker for the corresponding intransitive precessive mood ending, and this shortened version is like the possessor marker on the possessed localis, terminalis etc. cases (see Chapter 9).

Following the subject segment is an object segment from the by-now familiar assortment. The 3rd person object segments are **ku** (and **:gu**) for 'him/her/it', **ki** for 'them,' **kek** for 'them₂.' These are for the situation where the object of the verb in the precessive is different from the subject of the main verb. There are also object segments for objects that are the same as the subject of the main verb; these 4th person object forms are discussed below.

The 1st person object segments are **nga** for ‘me,’ **kut** for ‘us,’ and **kuk** for ‘us₂,’ and the 2nd person object segments are **ten** (and **ken**) for ‘you₁,’ **ci** for ‘you_{pl},’ and **tek** for ‘you₂.’

Nerellruunga ceñirpailgaku. ‘I ate before she visited her.’ (Compare **nutgani** for the **a** meaning ‘she’ in **+pailgaku**, and **nerluku** for the **ku** meaning ‘her’ in **+pailgaku**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailgaki. ‘I ate before she visited them.’ (Compare **nerluki** for the **ki** meaning ‘them’ in **+pailgaki**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailemku. ‘I ate before I visited her.’ (Compare **nutemni** for the **m** meaning ‘I’ in **+pailemku**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailemteggü. ‘I ate before we visited her.’ (Compare **nutemteni** for the **mte** meaning ‘we’ in **+pailemteggü**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailemken. ‘I ate before I visited you.’ (Compare **ilakamken**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailegpegu. ‘I ate before you visited her.’ (Compare **nutegpeni** for the **pe** meaning ‘you’ in **+pailegpegu**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailegpenga. ‘I ate before you visited me.’ (Compare **ilakarpenga**.)

Nerellruunga ceñirpailganga. ‘I ate before she visited me.’

Nerellruunga ceñirpailgaten. ‘I ate before she visited you.’

Nerellruunga ceñirpailgatkut. ‘I ate before they visited us.’

Nerellruuq ceñirpailegmiu.¹ ‘She ate before she (the subject of ‘ate’) visited her.’ (The **mi** is the same as the 4th person relative ending as in **assikaa uimi aanii**; contrast this with **nerellruuq ceñirpailgaku** ‘she ate before she (another person) visited her (yet another person).’)

Nerellruuq ceñirpailegmia. ‘She ate before she (the subject of ‘ate’) visited me.’ (Contrast this with **nerellruuq ceñirpailganga** ‘She ate before she (another person) visited me.’)

Nerellruuq ceñirpailegmiten. ‘She ate before she (the subject of ‘ate’) visited you.’ (Contrast this with **nerellruuq ceñirpailgaten** ‘She ate before she (another person) visited you.’)

Nerellruut ceñirpailegmegteki. ‘They ate before they (the subject of ‘ate’) visited them.’ (The **megte-** is the same as the 4th person plural marker in **angyamegteggun** ‘with their own boats’ which in turn is related to the **meng** in **assikait uimeng aanait**.)

1. Some people will say **ceñirpailegminiü** instead of **ceñirpailegmiu**; the **ni** may be regarded as an “infiltration” from the two contemplative moods (Chapter 17) where it is an element of the ending for a logical and good reason.

Some of the basic subject-and-object markers for the transitive of the connective moods are shown on the chart here:

	her	them	them ₂	me	us	us ₂	you	you _{pl}	you ₂
she	:aku	:aki	:akek	:anga	:akut	*	:aten	:aci	
they	:atgu						:atgen	:aceci	
they ₂	:agnegu								
I	-mku	**					-mken		
we	-mtegggu						-mtegggen		
we ₂	-megnegu								
you	.vgu/+pegu			.vnga/+penga					
you _{pl}	.vcIU/+peciu			.vcia/pecia					
you ₂	.vtegnegu/			.vtegnnga/					
SHE	+miu	+miki		+mia			+miten		
THEY	+megtegggu			+megtenga			+megtegggen		
THEY ₂	+megnegu			+megnenga			+megnegen		

The rows labeled "SHE", "THEY" and "THEY₂" are 4th person subject endings.

The other endings follow the regular patterns so that, for example, the 'she to us₂' ending (*) is **:akuk**, the 'I to them' ending (**) is **-mki**, etc. A complete chart of these endings can be found in Appendix A, page 468, in this book.

Exercise 15-2*A. Translate into English:*

1) Ak'a nallullrunritukut qanrupailegpekut. 2) Perriqiki qantat ellivailegpeki estuulum qainganun. 3) Aturpailemku levaan kitugtengnaqciqaqa. 4) Kitugeskiu atungnaqvailgaku ataam. 5) Nerngellruaqa kemek tangerpailemki paralut! 6) Itruski yaassiget mecungpailgaki. 7) Tangerpailemken ataam, ukurciq-sugnarqaanga. 8) Akmani qiuryanek tangeqsaitua maligpailemkek angayuqaagka maavet. 9) Erullruan-qaa ingna piipim pairpailgaku? 10) Cupegtellruyaaqua aanama igarpailganga. 11) Alingellruuten-qaa yungcaristem paqpailgaten? 12) Ermigyugtua tangerpailgatnga. 13) Ngel'allruuq nunurpailegmia. 14) Cavtellruui teglegpailegmiki.

B. Combine the following pairs of sentences so that the event described in the first sentence occurs before the event described in the second sentence and translate: For example, given: Neqliullruanka irnianka. Nerellruunga. you would write: Neqliullruanka irnianka nervailegma. 'I served my children before I ate.'

1) Perrirai qantat. Ellii qulqitmun. 2) Uklillruaqa kemek. Ekellruaqa egatmun. 3) Callmagciqaten-qaa lumarrat? Qemagtaten. 4) Yuvrirai calissuuteni. Aturai. 5) Caranglluiraput atsat. Naivaput yaassiignun. 6) Panima eritallrua yaqulek. Keniraqa. 7) Qimugtevet qilularait yuut. Keggait. 8) Arnaq kenillruuq can'giirnek. Uptaa uini. 9) Mikelnguut anglaniut aquiluteng. Mertautait angayuqateng. 10) Nerellruukut. Paqtaput aataput naulluuvigmi.

C. Translate into Yup'ik and parse your translation:

1) I was unhappy before you visited me. 2) The woman cut up the meat before she cooked it. 3) The mosquitoes bit the girl before she reached our fishcamp. 4) Drink the milk before you eat the pancakes. 5) My daughter poured the berries into a big bowl before she removed the debris from them. 6) I washed my hands before plucking the birds which you caught. 7) Let's eat some blackfish before we go outside to look at the aurora. 8) She started grieving even before her grandfather died. 9) Before she went with me your daughter asked her own sister about their grandmother. 10) The elder examined the boxes by feeling their surfaces before she opened them.

Fourth person Objects with the Precessive and Other Connective Moods

There are also object markers for the situation when the *object* of the precessive mood verb is the same as the *subject* of the main verb. For this, object markers which are just like 4th person absolutive noun endings are used: **ni** 'her(self),' **teng** 'them(selves),' and **tek** for 'them(selves)₂'.

Nerellruuq ceñirpailemni. 'She ate before I visited her (the subject of 'ate').' (Compare **angyani tunaa** for the **ni** meaning 'her' in **+pailemni**; contrast this with **nerellruuq ceñirpailemku** 'she ate before I visited her (another person).')

Nerellruut ceñirpailemteng. 'They ate before I visited them.' (*Compare angyateng for the teng meaning 'them' in +pailemteng; contrast this with nerellruut ceñirpailemki 'they ate before he visited them (other people).'*)

Nerellruut ceñirpailem ceteng. 'They ate before we visited them (the subject of 'ate').' (*Contrast this with nerellruut ceñirpailemteki 'they ate before we visited them (other people).'*)

Nerellruuq ceñirpailegpeni. 'She ate before you visited her (the subject of 'ate').' (*Contrast this with nerellruuq ceñirpailegpegu 'she ate before you visited her (another person).'*)

Nerellruuq ceñirpailgani. 'She ate before she (another person) visited her (the subject of 'ate').' (*Contrast this with nerellruuq ceñirpailgaku 'she ate before she (another person) visited her (yet another person).'*)

The subject-and-object markers for these 4th person object transitives for the connective moods are shown on the chart here:

	HER	THEM	THEM ₂
she	:ani	:ateng	:atek
they	:atni	:aceteng	:acetek
they ₂	:agni	:agteng	:agtek
I	-mni	-mteng	-mtek
we	-mteñi	-m ceteng	-m cetek
we ₂	-megni	-megteng	-megtek
you	.vni/+peni	.vteng/+peteng	.vtek/+petek
you _{pl}	.vcini/+pecini	.vciteng/+peciteng	.vcitek/+pecitek
you ₂	.vtegni/+petegni	.vtegteng/+petegteng	.vtegtek/+ptegtek

Given the possibility of 4th person subjects and objects for the precessive mood, Yup'ik has three different translations for a sentence like 'they ate before they visited them' where the English has three possible meanings:

each of the three groups different from the others:

'They_A ate before they_B visited them_C.' **Nerellruut ceñirpailgati.**

two groups the same:

'They_A ate before they_A visited them_B.' **Nerellruut ceñirpailegmegteki.**

'They_A ate before they_B visited them_A.' **Nerellruut ceñirpailgaceteng.**

It must be pointed out that the 4th person object forms are not always used nowadays; regular 3rd person object and context serve in their stead. Thus the first sentence above may be used where the third sentence would be more proper.

Also, there is no way to affirm or deny identity between subject or object of the dependent verb with the *object* of the main verb (only with the subject). Thus the three-way ambiguous English sentence 'we saw the women before they_A saw them_B' (where one cannot tell whether A or B or neither is the same as 'the women'), translates as the equally ambiguous Yup'ik sentence:

Tangellruaput arnat tangerpailgatki. 'We saw the women before they saw them.'

Exercise 15-3

A. Write in the correct ending using 4th person object forms, if appropriate.

1) Egturyam keggengnaqsaqaellruanga tuqupail___. (The mosquito tried to bite me before I killed it.) 2) Tangellruaceci-qaa tangerpail___? (Did they see you_{pl} before you_{pl} saw them?) 3) Angerturyullruuq murilkevvail___. (She wanted to chew gum before I observed him.) 4) Cupegtellruuq angayuqaagmi tuyurpail___ neqminek. (She was homesick before her parents sent her her own food.) 5) Can'giiret tuqumallruut ekvail___ mermun uuqnarqellriamun. (The blackfish were dead before I put them into the hot water.) 6) Imkut yuut iluteqellruut agayulirtem paqpail___. (Those people were grieving before the minister visited them.) 7) Aataka angniitellruuq ceñirpail___. (My father was sad before you visited him.) 8) Muluk'uuq merr'u kuvevail___. (Drink the milk before you spill it.) 9) Muluk'uuq kuvciqsugnarquq merpail___. (The milk might spill before you drink it.)

B. Rewrite the following "after" sentences as "before" sentences keeping the meaning the same. For example, given Kuuvviarraarluni atsat nerai you would write Kuuvviartuq atsat nervailegmiki.

1) Iqairraarlukek qerrulliik callmagagka. 2) Naspaarraarluki atsalugpiat nerai. 3) Akutamek nererraarluta yuurqertukut. 4) Nacani aqaarluku an'uq. 5) Qalarutraarluki mikelnguut nunurait. 6) Qimugtem qiluggaarluta keggakut. 7) Pairraarluku candy-q ner'aqa. 8) Itraarluten-qaa tangrrarpenga? 9) Yuvrirraarluku niicugnissuun kiputaat. 10) Nangerqaarluten qanqina!

C. Translate, and be sure to use a 4th person object ending when called for.

1) The girl started to cry before her mother scolded her. 2) The salmonberries got ripe before we picked them. 3) The child was born before her mother reached the hospital. 4) Pluck the bird before you cut it up! 5) My mother made us pancakes before she ate. 6) They had already used up the milk before I drank any. 7) The coffee was hot before it spilled. 8) Finish your chores before you go outside to look at the aurora. 9) She always removes the debris from berries before she makes Eskimo ice cream with them. 10) I didn't check the meat for maggots before I put it in the pot! 11) Lick your spoon before you go out. 12) My wife checked on our children before she took a steambath. 13) I already wiped the dishes before the towel got soaking wet. 14) It was broken before they stole it. 15) They were very sad before you visited them. 16) This shirt was clean before I packed it.

Case Determination for Subject and Object of Dependent Moods

Consider sentences where the dependent verb has either a 4th person subject or object and differs in transitivity from the main verb. For example, **upcugtuq maligpailegmiten** 'she wants to get ready before she goes with you,' or **upcugtuq maligpailegpeni** 'she wants to get ready before you go with her' or **upcugaanga ayagpailegmi** 'she wants to get me ready before she leaves.' Now, if the 'she' is specified by a noun or pronoun, then the case of that noun or pronoun is generally determined by the main verb rather than by the dependent verb. So one says **upcugtuq imna maligpailegmiten** 'that person wants to get ready before she goes with you' (rather than ***upcugtuq im'um maligpailegmiten**), and similarly one says **upcugtuq imna maligpailegpeni** and **upcugaanga im'um ayagpailegmi**.

Reference of 4th Person Possessor Possessed Noun Associated with Dependent Verb

A 4th person subject of a dependent verb (or possessor of the subject) will refer back to the 3rd person subject of the main verb:

Angun anellruuq qetunrani nervailgan. 'The man went out before his (the man's) son ate' (*vs.* **angun anellruuq qetunraa nervailgan** 'the man went out before his (another's) son ate').

Angun anellruuq qetunrami nuliara nervailgan. 'The man went out before his (the man's) son's wife ate.'

A 4th person ending on the object or on anything else associated with a dependent verb other than the subject (or the possessor of the subject), will refer back to the 3rd person subject of the dependent verb, not of the main verb.

Angun anellruuq arnam neqliurpailgaku anngani. 'The man went out before the woman served her (the woman's, not the man's) brother' (*vs.* **angun anellruuq arnam neqliurpailgaku anngaa** 'the man went out before the woman served his [the man's or anyone else's except the woman's] brother').

Angun anellruuq arnaq nervailgan luuskaamikun. 'The man went out before the woman ate with her (the woman's, not the man's) spoon.'

An Alternative Formulation of Transitive Connective Endings

An alternative way to look at the endings for the connective moods, is to observe that first comes the mood marker (@~+(t)vaileg- for the precessive mood), then a subject marker, from the chart below, and then, in the case of transitives, an object marker from the chart.

	subject markers			object markers	
		<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>		
3s	'she'	:an	:a-	'her'	ku ³
3p	'they'	:ata	:at-	'them'	ki
3d	'they ₂ '	:agnek	:ag-	'them ₂ '	kek
1s	'I'	+ma	-m-	'me'	nga ⁴
1p	'we'	-mta	-mte ⁻²	'us'	kut
1d	'we ₂ '	-megnuk	-meg-	'us ₂ '	kuk
2s	'you'	.vet ¹ /+pet	.v-/+pe-	'you'	ten ⁵
2p	'you _{pl} '	.vci/+peci	.vci-/+peci-	'you _{pl} '	ci
2d	'you ₂ '	.vtek/+petek	.vteg-/+peteg-	'you ₂ '	tek
4s	'SHE'	+mi	+mi-	'HER'	ni
4p	'THEY'	+meng	+megte ⁻²	'THEM'	teng
4d	'THEY ₂ '	+mek	+meg-	'THEM ₂ '	tek

Exercise 15-4

Translate into Yup'ik (try using the above formulation to compose the correct ending):

- 1) It got sunny and hot before we reached their village.
- 2) Laughing now and then the children watched their mother before they went off with their father.
- 3) Please fix the zipper on my parka before you pack it away.
- 4) The child licked that spoon before you used it.
- 5) It will probably rain before you get them ready.
- 6) That old village had a lot of people before they got sick and died.
- 7) My son at school became homesick before he had finished.
- 8) Why did you quit before they paid you?
- 9) Wash your hands before you wipe them with that towel of mine.
- 10) Before you_{pl} answer me, remove the chewing gum from your mouths!

1. The v-initial endings are used with the connective mood markers that end in vowels.
2. **te** becomes **ce** before **t** or **c**.
3. takes the form **u** (from **:gu**) when following an **i** such as with subject markers **+peci** or **+mi**; takes the form **gu** when following **pe**; takes the form **ggu** when following **te** such as with subject markers **-mte** or **+megte**; takes the form **negu** when following **g** as with subject markers **+peteg**, **-meg** or **+meg** (so that **ne** merely separates the two **g**'s).
4. takes the form **a** (from **nga** by velar dropping) when following **i** as in subject markers **+mi** or **+peci**.
5. takes the form **ken** when following **m**; takes the form **gen** when following **t**; takes the form **ggen** when following **e**; takes the form **negen** when following **g** (so that **ne** merely separates the two **g**'s).

Consequential Mood

As mentioned previously, the precessive mood is one of seven dependent verb moods which share the same basic family of subject-and-object markers. A second connective mood is the *consequential mood* meaning 'because.'¹ The mood marker here is @~:(ng)a-. With regard to **te** ending bases, the **te** is changed to **e** except for special **te** which is changed to **l**.

The above describes the suffixation pattern for the consequential mood most common in the *core* area of (General) Central Yup'ik, that is, the lower Kuskokwim, Nelson Island and Bristol Bay. See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for an alternate suffixation pattern which is more common in the *peripheral* area, that is Yukon, Upper Kuskokwim and other areas outside of the *core* area of the language.

<i>base:</i>	<i>with postbase and sample ending:</i>
cali-	caliama 'because I am working'
naulluu-	naulluungavet 'because you are sick' (<i>note use of vet rather than pet after the vowel</i>)
aqume-	aqumngami 'because she (subject of main verb) sat down'
inarte-	inarcama 'because I lay down'
tekite-	tekicama 'because I arrived'
nereksaite-	nereksailama 'because I didn't eat'
iter-	itrama 'because I came in'
kaig-	kaigama 'because I am hungry'
pinir-	pininama 'because I am strong'
tupag-	tupiima 'because I woke up' (<i>from *tupagama</i>)

A very important point regarding the consequential mood: with third person endings, the a of the mood marker is deleted. Thus, one says for example, **naulluungan** (rather than ***naulluungan**) for 'because she (not the subject of the main verb) is sick.' As we shall see, those markers for other connective moods which also end in a vowel like the consequential mood marker does, do the same thing as the consequential mood does in this regard.

Examples of the use of the consequential:

Kaigtua nereksailama. 'I'm hungry because I haven't eaten.'
Iteryugtuq nenglian. 'She wants to go in because it is cold.'

1. In works on Eskimo grammar the consequential mood is also called the "relative preterite," the "conjunctive" (even though this term is used in other Eskimo grammars for what the present book calls the subordinative), the "becausative," the "causative" and the "dependent past." The consequential can also be translated with 'since,' but for 'since' meaning merely 'from that time on' without implying causality (see Note C in the supplement to Chapter 17).

Ilaput utertellruata nunamegnun ikayurtairutukut. 'Because our relatives have returned to their village we don't have helpers anymore.'
Ak'a taqellruunga ikayullruavnga. 'I'm finished already because you were helping me.'

Neryugtut kaigameng cakneq. 'They want to eat because they are very hungry.'

Quyallruut mertaucamteng. 'They were thankful because I was getting water for them.'

Quyallruut mertautellruamteng. 'They were thankful because I had gotten water for them.'

Quyaut mertaucamteng. 'They are thankful because I am getting water for them.'

Quyaut mertautellruamteng. 'They are thankful because I got water for them.'

In the last four examples above, note the role of the postbase **-llru-** on the main and 'because'-clause verbs to indicate the relative time of the two events.

With a "change of state verb," however, if the action or event of the 'because' clause occurred *right* before that of the main clause, then the postbase **-llru-** is *not* used with the consequential, even though English uses the past tense:

Saskaqa navellruuq igcami. 'My cup broke because it fell' (**navellruuq igtellruami** *would mean* 'it broke because it had fallen,' *for instance if it had developed a hidden crack when it fell but didn't break until some time later*).

If the event or action of the main verb happened in the past, and that of the 'because' clause occurred at the same time, then the use of **-llru-** with the consequential is apparently often optional (and if it is omitted, the past time of the main verb carries over to that of the verb in the consequential):

Niitellrunritelliniamken qavallruama (or qavaama). 'Evidently I didn't hear you because I was sleeping.'

However, in the following two examples note the different meanings conveyed by the presence or absence of **-llru-** with the consequential:

Akwaugaq ceñirtellrunritua naulluullruama. 'Yesterday I didn't visit because I was sick.'

Akwauguq ceñirtellrunritua naulluungama. 'Yesterday I didn't visit because I was sick (and I still am too).'

The consequential mood can often be translated by 'when' rather than by 'because,' since 'when' is often used in English to express a causal connection:

Mikelnguut iluteqellruut apa'urluteng tuquan. 'The children were crying due to sadness when (because, since) their grandfather died.'

Furthermore the consequential mood can be used in cases where the connection between events is more one of "necessary condition" rather than causation:

Mamterillermun tekicama egmianun agellruunga nuliama aaniin eniinun. 'When I arrived in Bethel I immediately went over to my wife's mother's house.'

In the above sentence, even though the speaker's act of going to his wife's mother's house was not actually *caused* by his arrival in Bethel, the consequential mood is used here since the speaker's arrival in Bethel was a *necessary* event for him to be able to go over to his wife's mother's house.

For situations where two events are related only by their occurring at the same time, another mood, the *first contemporative mood*, treated in Chapter 17, is more common, but see also Note B in the supplement to this chapter.

For many speakers if the base ends in **nge** and is sufficiently "long," the **ng** of the consequential mood is not used:

qaningan 'because it's starting to snow' (*rather than qaningengan — though this is possible too*)

alingama 'because I am afraid' (*rather than alingengama¹ — though this is possible too*)

taringavet 'because you understand' (*rather than taringengavet² — though this is possible too*)

However the **ng** of the consequential *is* used with "short" bases ending in **nge**:

angengan 'because it is big'

tengengan 'because it is flying off'

1. Which means 'because I am beginning to be afraid' or 'because I've become afraid' (shortened from **alingengengama**) for these speakers.

2. Which means 'because you are beginning to understand' (shortened from **taringengengavet**) for these speakers.

Exercise 15-5*A. Translate into English:*

1) Mikelnguq angniitelartuq aanami nunulaani. 2) Angrenka tamallruamki kipucarturtua angernek amllernek. 3) Quserturtua naulluungama cakneq. 4) Itqatartukut egturyat maani amllessiyaagata. 5) Kaigyugnarquten nereksailavet unuamek. 6) Angniilan aipaqsuumiitaqa. 7) Irniaten nem'eggnun utertut cupegcameng. 8) Neqliuqataramken can'giiret uungata. 9) Aquiyunrituq iluteqngami. 10) Tan'gurracuar qiaguq kuvngamiu muluk'uuq qerrulliigminun. 11) Maani uitauranritua nengllian. 12) Agayulirtem aturciigataa nacan angssiyaagan. 13) Neryuyuilavet kemgituten. 14) Qimugtema pairyuamiten unatevkun keggngaitaaten. 15) Tangerciigatan aqumgiivet.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I don't like her because she scolds people. 2) When they saw us they started to laugh. 3) I don't want to work because I am very sleepy. 4) I can't work here because it is noisy. 5) We won't be able to wade across the river there because it is too deep. 6) My parents were happy when my older sister got married. 7) She's coughing because she's sick. 8) My parents were grateful when you took them a gift of moose soup. 9) The child wants to go home because she is homesick. 10) Did she pay you when you sent her some seal? 11) I can't drink this tea because your son poured his soup into it. 12) I can't use my own motor because it is broken. 13) When I looked at her, she started to cry. 14) I didn't use that towel because it got soaked. 15) I can't wipe the dishes because I don't have a towel. 16) I can't use the wood to build a sled because it is rotten.

Enclitics and Postbases

The enclitic =wa¹ generally indicates that something has been omitted and should be taken as "understood." One such situation is when a 'because' phrase completes someone else's 'why' question.

A to B: Ciin kainricit? 'Why aren't you hungry?'

B to A: Nerngama-wa ak'a. 'Because I already ate.' (Compare this to Kainritua nerngama ak'a. 'I am not hungry because I already ate.') (Here =wa is not used.)

Also,

A to B: Cali-q' maantuten?! 'Are you still here?!'

B to A: Arenqialami-wa ella. '(Well, it's) because the weather is the way it is.' (That is, the weather is bad so one can't leave.)

1. =gga in HBC and some NI.

Another use is when a verb is to be understood from the previous **sentence or** clause.

Nep'ut nunam qukaani uitauq. Nemta-wa keluani agayuvik. 'Our house is situated in the center of the village. The church (is situated) behind our house.'

This enclitic will be discussed further in Chapter 21 in connection with the *participial mood*.

The postbase @₁~+niarar- means 'to be going to V soon.' This postbase is often used with the consequential mood.¹

Uptut ayagniaraameng. 'They are getting ready because they are going to leave soon.'

Angnirtuq aatani uterrniaraan. 'She's happy because her father is going to return soon.'

The postbase ~+(ng)uaq means 'fake N' or 'thing resembling N.' In many cases the words resulting from the use of this postbase are lexicalized to a greater or lesser degree. A companion form of the postbase, @~+(ng)uar- means 'to pretend to V' or 'to V in a non-serious manner (in some sense).'

keggutnguaq 'false tooth'

nuyaruat 'wig'

kuuvviaruat 'instant coffee' or 'coffee substitute'

√ **nunanguaq** 'map' (*lexicalized*)

√ **irniaruat** 'doll' (*lexicalized*)

qimugteŋguaq 'a carved figure of a dog, stuffed toy dog'

angyaruat 'toy boat, model boat'

√ **ciutnguaq** 'dried fruit' (*lexicalized; literally: 'thing resembling an ear'*)

√ **paraluruat** 'grain of rice' (*lexicalized; literally: 'thing resembling a maggot' — paraluu!*)

Qavaruat. 'She's pretending to sleep.'

Calinguatuq. 'She's pretending that she's working.' or 'She's working without trying to really accomplish anything.'

√ **Asnguaraa.** 'She is trying it (garment) on.'

√ **maqaruat** 'rabbit' (*from maqaq 'warmth' (as from insulation); so a 'rabbit' is 'pretend warmth' literally*)

See also Note C in the supplement to this chapter for more on this postbase.

1. The final **ar** is *not* subject to (**ar**) deletion: **ayagniarartua** 'I'll leave soon.'

The postbase **+tur-** means 'to eat *N*' (though it seems to have had a broader usage meaning 'to use or wear *N*' which still remains in some areas). Note that this is a consonant dropping postbase for some people.

Nayirturtuq. 'She is eating seal.'

Atsarturyugyaaqellruunga. 'I had wanted to eat berries.'

Kuuvviarturtuq. 'She's drinking coffee.' (*This is an alternative to kuuvviartuq where kuuvviar- is being used directly as a verb.*)

The following are lexicalized:

√ **Angerturtuq.** 'She is chewing gum' (*from angeq 'chewing gum'*).

√ **Qavangurturtuq.** 'She is dreaming' (*from qavanguq 'dream'*).

The postbase **.ssur-/+cur-** means 'to hunt *N*', with the **c** form used on consonant-ending bases, and the **ss** form on vowel-ending bases.¹

Nayircurtuq. 'She is hunting seal.'

Tuntussurtuq. 'She is hunting caribou.'

√ **Neqsurtuq.** 'She is fishing' (includes any method of fishing, but usually implies using a set or drift net).

√ **Pissurtuq.** 'She is hunting' (*literally: 'she is hunting a thing'; this combination has become a base in its own right and can take transitive endings, which the postbase +cur-/ .ssur- generally cannot do.*)

√ **Melqulegcurtuq** 'She is trapping' (*from melqulek 'furbearing animal' (Chapter 20).*)

Related to this is **-ssur-** which drops final consonants and means 'to check *N*', where *N* is a net, trap, snare etc.

Kuvyassurtuq. 'She is checking the net.'

Taluyassurtuq. 'She is checking the fishtrap.'

1. In HBC, NI and Nun the postbase is **+ssur-**, so in these places one gets **nayirrsurtuq** instead of **nayircurtuq**; see also the postbase **.ssuun/+cuun** in Chapter 8.

Connected Reading for Chapter 15

Read the following and be prepared to parse each sentence:

Aaniit maktuq ilani makpailgata. Tua-i-llu uavarluni¹ ermignaluni panini kiani qavalria tupagqaarluku, cali-llu kaminiq kumarpailegmui. Tua-i-llu uavarluni kumarrnaluku kaminiq, ena-llu kiirian,² kaminiq-llu uuqnangan,³ assalissuun pikaken tegurraarluku panini assalisqelluku.⁴ Makteksailan-llu aatiit kiani qavalria tupaggluku aaniita, assaliat uungata, kuuvviaq-llu taqngan.

Unuakutarraarluteng-llu⁵ aaniita pia⁶ aatiit, "Ellallingvailgan iqvaryaqilta, qavavet ayakilta, neqkamteñek piliqatartua." Aaniit ellallirnayukluku⁷ ella akercingraan⁸ umyuarteqluni⁹ tuaten qanerluni.

Tua-i-llu ayiimeng kiatmun umyuaqerrluku¹⁰ iqvarcuutni unitellni. Iqvarcuutaunani-llu iqvaryuumiilami uterrluteng uatmurruteng aqvaluku tauna. Tekipailegmeng-llu neqkat nalluyagutellni cali umyuaqerrluki. Tua-i-llu tekicameng tagluni piatmun aqvaluki nalluyagutellni.

Tua-i-llu taggraarluni unatmurruluni angyamun piluni. Atraan-llu ayagluteng. Tekicameng-llu tamarmeng¹¹ pavavet ayaggaarluteng iqvarluteng. Tua-i-llu ellalinga'arcan¹² kanavet atrarluteng angyameggnun uterrluteng un'gavet nunameggnun. Mecungpailegmeng-llu tekilluteng.

1. **-var-** = 'to go in the *D* direction' (where *D* is a demonstrative adverb base).
2. **kiiri-** = 'to become warm (area)' (compare **kiircete-**).
3. **uuqnange-** = 'to become hot (liquid, solid)' (compare **uuqnarqe-**).
4. **-sqe-** = 'to ask or tell one to *V*' (Chapter 21).
5. **unuakutar-** = 'to have breakfast.'
6. The verb **pi-** 'to say, do' often (though not always) is in the indicative rather than the subordinative in continuing discourse.
7. **-nayuke-** = 'to think that one will or might *V*' (Chapter 21).
8. **akercingraan** = 'even though it is sunny'; concessive mood (Chapter 16).
9. **umyuarteqe-** = 'to think' (Chapter 18).
10. **umyuaqerte-** = 'to suddenly think of or remember' (Chapter 18).
11. **tamarmeng** = 'all (of them)'; quantifier/qualifier construction (Chapter 19).
12. **-nga'arte-** = 'to suddenly begin to *V*.'

End-of-Chapter Exercises*A. Translate the following into English:*

- 1) Qavangurtullruunga allanermek tekipailgan maavet. 2) Uptukut tuntuvagcuryuamta. 3) Suukiigken cimirkek sap'akigka asnguarpailegpekek. 4) Manaruaryugnarqut neqtailan maani. 5) Kapkaanassurciigatua ikayurtailama. 6) Angertuqa'aqluni mikelnguum qalarutaa elitnauristeñi qialuni angniilami. 7) Kelipartua muluk'uumek merpailegpet. 8) Maurluqa neqerrlugturciigatuq keggutepiarilami keggutnguarunani-llu. 9) Pininrata angutet ikayurtaunani kevegciigatellrua levaqaq nutaraq uqamaitessiyaagan. 10) Akwaugaq kass'aq elitnaurista anglanillruuq tangvagluki yuralriit elitnaurvigmi assikelaamiki imkut Yupiit yurartet. 11) Qanrupailegpenga nallullrunritua ak'a. 12) Maqaruarcuryuameng maligciiqaitkut upqaarluteng. 13) Nuliaqa paraluruanek kenirtuq qetunrapuk paraluruarturyulaan. 14) Piipiq qavangnaqngan qaskinata qalarutukut. 15) Elliyaqunaki ciutnguat estuulum qainganun iqassiyaagan. 16) Tangenicugnarqaput inarcimiita. 17) Arnam pilillrua panini irniaruamek angniitessiyaagan. 18) Yuurqertukut saayumek kuuvviapik nangengan kuuvviaruarilamta-llu 19) Aturciigataqa mingqessuuteka callmagnalukek qerrulliigken mingqun navgumiin mingqutailama-llu allamek. 20) Assirciquq paltuuka nuliama callmiini. 21) Maani uitayugtua yugyiin. 22) Teglellruan assikenritaqa. *(The first word of this sentence is not indicative even though it is identical in form to an indicative.)* 23) Akiliriyugamken ikayullruavnga. *(The second word of this sentence is not indicative even though it is identical in form to the corresponding indicative.)* 24) Nengllian cakneq unuamek manaryuumiitua. 25) Aturciigataqa assiirucan. 26) Kainritua ak'a can'giirtullruama. 27) Caranglluillruanka atsat naivevailemki qantanun. 28) Mikelnguq nallunrituq puqiami. 29) Piipin qiaguq egturyam keggellruani unatiikun. 30) Ukveksuitaqa iqlulaan. 31) Kenirciigatua kaminiaq niptellruavgu. 32) Neqliularaa uini neqliurpailegmiki irniani. 33) Kagiciqua taryuq kuvngaku qetunravet. 34) Ikayurngaitaitkut qenrucamegtekut. 35) Neplian maani qavarngaicugnarqua.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

- 1) I knew already before you told me. 2) I was afraid because your dog barked at me. 3) Why didn't you scold your son when he was pretending to work? 4) She laughed because you tried on your sister's parka. 5) I was happy when you bought a new pair of pants. 6) Before you leave, help me. 7) Some people never ask before they use my clothes. 8) Let's have coffee before we go outside. 9) The meat was cooked before they ate it. 10) They're probably crying because you scolded them. 11) My mother made me pancakes because I really like to eat pancakes. 12) She can't lift the heavy box because she is weak. 13) We won't eat that dried fish because it has maggots! 14) I'm going to check on my grandmother because she is ill. 15) I can't pour milk into your bowl because we are out of milk. 16) We will not use that bowl without washing it because your dog licked it. 17) Before I put the meat in the pot to cook, I cut it up. 18) Yesterday the children played outside since it was sunny, but today since it's raining they want to stay in and watch television. 19) I'm going to change my shoes because they got soaked. 20) Before

she got a new puppy she was sad because her other puppies had died.

C. Take the following paragraph and improve it by the use of the subordinate mood, the precessive mood and the consequential mood.

Ellallirtuq. Tan'gurraq itertuq. Paltuugiqataryaaquq, taugaam aaniin aptaa, "Ciin itercit?" Tan'gurraam kiugaa, "Nengllirtuq. Qerrutua. Itertua." Tua-i-llu aaniin qanrutaa waten: "Paltuugiqsaunak. Egan anusgu. Qiimugta nerqiu." Tan'gurraam egan anutaa. Qimugta taiguq. Cukauq. Egan paqcugaa. Tan'gurraam naivaa egatem imaa qimugtem qantaanun. Qimugta ner'uq, qantaq pairaa-llu. Taq'uq qimugta. Tan'gurraq ataam itertuq, paltuugirtuq, agartaa-llu paltuuni. Aaniin qanrutaa waten, "amiirru kan'a paluqtaq." Tan'gurraam amiiraa, ukliia-llu, egatmun-llu ekaa. Taq'uq. Aaniin pia, "Ukliu ingna lagiq." Tan'gurraam eritaraa lagiq, ukliia-llu. Ekaa yaassiigmun. Ellia yaassiik estuulum qainganun. Kinguqlia itertuq. Neryugtuq. Aaniin qanrutaa, "Payugesgu maurluun lagimek. Taum kinguani nerkina." Kinguqlian anuteqataryaaqaa yaassiik, taugaam anngaan pia, "Keniraq uuqatartuq; egmian taikina."

NOV 22 1989

Dear Anna

tuar eran akhaka Iou tang
 akserkakuniarakelselen
 akunarkaklak [redacted]
 tuawwa nreaksakama puleluk
 tua em remanank [redacted]
 paeottakka emanank [redacted]
 aresampaealloa tuakarkam
 antotank tchikelrana
 taklunk sapakeluk
 piboa ase [redacted] tua
 emkot sokit ikeskata
 eakia [redacted] tua
 stefan alorka tua tang
 yal [redacted] maft
 [redacted] uksanah toa
 ma [redacted] / takantchemk
 keafak tchalellone [redacted]
 pepik emulrok anotmik
 glritank akterlokoaha anlo [redacted]
 [redacted] toa [redacted]
 kalamteuamiken tua
 waten pitankn erakia
 a.

Long before the introduction of the new Yup'ik orthography and bilingual education in the schools, many Yup'iks, even some with little or no formal schooling, learned to read and write their language from hymnals and the Bible. Here this knowledge is used in personal correspondence. (Private passages have been covered.)

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 15

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary:

- #1 Instead of **akerta** for 'sun', there is **macaq** in NS, and **puqlaneq** in Eg and Nun.
- #2 The word **angeq**, now 'chewing gum,' originally referred to '(spruce) tree pitch,' which can be chewed as gum. Nowadays a derived word, **angiyag**, is more often used for 'tree pitch.' There is also **kuc'ug** (which comes from Inupiaq) for 'chewing gum' in NS and Y.
- #3 Instead of **anglani-** for 'to enjoy', there is **nunanili-** in some areas.
- #4 Instead of **angnir-** for 'to be happy,' there is **nunaniryug-** in some areas.
- #5 The verb **assali-** 'to make pancakes' is from Russian, and the noun **assaliaq** 'pancake' comes from the verb. Instead of these words various areas use: **maniar-** 'to roast, fry' with **maniaq** 'pancake, roasted or fried thing,' **asgir-** 'to roast, fry' with **asgiq** 'pancake,' **mumigtaq** 'pancake, translation,' and **atkiksaaq** 'pancake' (from English "hotcakes"). In the Yup'ik area pancakes are generally made from sourdough and are a more substantial food than the breakfast pancakes eaten elsewhere.
- #6 Instead of **can'giq** for 'blackfish,' there is **imangaq** in NS, Y, and some K (from Bethel up to Tuluksak), and **aniniq** in some Can and in Eg.
- #7 In addition to **eritar-** for 'to pluck,' there is **meqtar-**, though **eritar-** is more widespread.
- #8 The word **ellallir-** 'to rain' is pronounced **cellallir-** in Y, UK and LI. Instead of this word there is **ivsir-** in NS, NI, and HBC (where it is **ivyir-**).
- #9 The word **muluk'uuq** 'milk' is from Russian, another pronunciation of it, apparently corresponding to a different dialect of Russian, is **malak'uuq** used in NI and Nun. There is also the word **milek** (as in **milga** 'its milk') from English, and **milekuuq** which is a blend of the word from English and the word from Russian! Yup'ik has words for milk which are not borrowed words: **amngaq** (especially in NS) and **emuk**.
- #10 **Qiuryaq** 'aurora, northern lights' is also pronounced (and spelled) **kiuryaq**.
- #11 In addition to **ukli-** 'to cut up for cooking' there is **ingqi-**.
- #12 **Umyuaq** 'thought, idea, mind' is pronounced **umyugaq** in HBC. Also, even for some speakers not in HBC, a **g** between **u** and **a** will come to the surface, so to speak, when the preceding **u** is stressed. Thus, people who say **umyuaqa** 'my thought, mind, idea,' may say **umyugaa** 'her thought, mind, idea' (as well as **umyuara**). See also the postbase **-kaca(g)ar-** in Chapter 17, and **-ya(g)aq** in Chapter 21.
- #13 From **uu-** 'to be done, cooked', and the postbase **+te-** 'to act on so as to cause to V' (see Chapter 9), there is **uute-** 'to roast, to burn.' Thus, **uutuq** 'she burnt her flesh, got a burn', and **uutaa** 'she roasted it' or 'she burnt it' (depending on context).
- #15 **Yugyag-** 'for there to be a lot of people', is from **yuk** 'person' and a postbase **@~+yag-** 'for there to be a lot of N'. In most Yup'ik areas this postbase is totally non-productive and occurs only in this one word, but in HBC and Nun it is productive. In those places one can say, for example, **angyaryagtuq** 'there are lots of boats.'
- #16 **Yuurte-** 'to be born' is from **yuk** 'person' and the productive postbase **~:(ng)urte-** 'to become an N' (Chapter 20). Thus, **yuurtuq** literally means 'she became a person.' It isn't used for animals being born; instead, **ane-** 'to come out' is used.

Note A

In areas outside the lower Kuskokwim - Nelson Island - Bristol Bay core of Central Yup'ik, the mood marker for the consequential follows a slightly different suffixation pattern than the *core* pattern given in the body of this chapter. What can be called the *peripheral* form of the consequential mood marker is **@+nga-**. It changes **te** preceded by a vowel to **s**, special **te** to **l**, and **te** preceded by a consonant to voicelessness: **rrng** or **ggng**.

base:

cali-
naulluu-
aqume-
inarte-
tekite-

with postbase and ending:

calingama 'because I am working' (vs. core: **caliama**)
naulluungama 'because I'm sick' (same as in core)
aqumngama 'because I sat down' (same as in core)
inarrngama 'because I lay down' (vs. core: **inarcama**)
tekisngama 'because I arrived' (vs. core: **tekicama**)

nereksaite-	nereksailngama 'because I didn't eat' (<i>vs. core: nereksailama</i>)
iter-	iterngama 'because I came in' (<i>vs. core: itrama</i>)
kaig-	kaingama 'because I am hungry' (<i>vs. core: kaigama</i>)
pinir-	pinirngama 'because I am strong' (<i>vs. core: piniama</i>)
tupag-	tupagngama 'because I woke up' (<i>vs. core: tupiima</i>)

The peripheral pattern is also sometimes used in the core area, and the core pattern is also sometimes used outside the core area. Also, people, especially in the peripheral area, will sometimes mix the two patterns, following the core pattern for bases, such as **cali-**, ending in a single full vowel, and bases, such as **nereksaite-**, ending in special **te**, but following the peripheral pattern for other bases.

Note B

Even in cases where there is no connection at all between two events other than their occurring at the same time the consequential mood is still used sometimes:

Qavallruuten itrama. 'You were asleep when I came in.'

Use of the consequential here — rather than another mood, the *first contemporative itlemni* (see Chapter 17) which literally means 'when I came in' without causal connection between the events — is probably a holdover from the time before the first contemporative was added to the language. The first contemporative is clearly a "spin-off" from the localis case and its absence from most other Eskimo languages marks it as a relatively recent innovation in Central Yup'ik. In other Eskimo languages the consequential covers both causality and coincidence in time in the past, and this was no doubt the original pattern in Central Yup'ik as well.

Note C

The following are also from the postbase @~+(ng)uaq 'pretend *N*, thing like *N*':

- inuguaq** 'old fashioned doll (usually of wood), figurine' (*from the Inupiaq (!) word "inuk" for 'person' which corresponds to Yup'ik word yuk*)
- uguguaq** 'caterpillar' (*from the Inupiaq word ugruk for 'bearded seal'; where ř is more or less like English r; such an ř falls out in Yup'ik in this position (cf. Inupiaq agřaq, Yup'ik araq 'ash'); in Siberian Yupik where maklak is 'bearded seal' (as in Central Yup'ik) 'caterpillar' is maklag^waaq also literally 'thing like a bearded seal'*)
- qikmiruaq** 'pussy willow catkin' (*from the word qikmiq 'dog' in Inupiaq (with variations), Siberian Yupik and some Alutiiq; this word was probably also used in Central Yup'ik at one time*)
- ukasiruaq** 'cotton grass' (*from the word ukaziq and variants meaning 'rabbit' in Inupiaq, Siberian Yupik and some Alutiiq; this word was probably also used in Central Yup'ik at one time*)

CHAPTER 16

*Contingent Mood;
Concessive Mood;
Conditional Mood;
Contrafactual Conditionals*

Vocabulary

- agturtuq** 'he is touching something'; **agturaa** 'he is touching it'
alulartuq 'he is steering'; **alularaa** 'he is steering it' #1
amirluq 'cloud'
amirluuq or **amirlirtuq** 'it is cloudy'
angiuq or **angituq** 'it came undone' (**angitaa** 'he untied it')
angliuq 'he is growing'
assiliuq 'he's enjoying himself, he's having a good time'
cingiq 'shoelace'
cingirtuq 'he is tying his shoes'; **cingiraa** 'he is tying it (a shoe)'
cuignilnguq* 'otter' #3
eneq 'bone' #2
ilavkuk 'rope' #4
iqalluk 'dog salmon' #5
iqmigtuq 'he's chewing tobacco'; **iqmigaa** 'he's holding it in his mouth' #6
iqmik 'chewing tobacco' #6
iraluq 'month; moon' #7
kakeggluq (*from kakeggluliuq*) 'he has a runny nose'
kakeggluirtuq 'he wiped his (own) nose'; **kakeggluiraa** 'he wiped his (another's) nose'
kakeggluk 'runny nasal mucus' #8
kiturtuq 'he went past'; **kituraa** 'he went past it'
kuingiq 'cigarette' #9
kuingirtuq 'he is smoking' #9
nugtartuq 'he moved'; **nugtartaa** 'he moved it' (a short distance)
peleqqel'er 'frog' (*actually peleqqelr(aq*)*); *plural is peleqqelraat*)
petugaa 'he fastened it (dog, boat, etc.) to something immovable'
qanganag* 'ground squirrel' #10
qaqituq 'it is finished'; **qaqitaa** 'he finished it'
qiviq 'added ingredient'
qiviraa 'he put ingredients into it, added something to it'
tan'gertuq or **tan'gercet** 'it is dark'
tanqigtuq 'it is bright'
taryaqvak 'king salmon'
tut'uq 'he stepped on something'; **tutaa** 'he stepped on it' (*base is tut'e-*)
uivuuq 'he/it went around' (in a circle); **uivaa** 'he/it went around it' (**uivtaa** 'he turned it around')
ulugtuq 'he is softening a skin by means of a circular crumpling motion of the hands'; **ulugaa** 'he is softening it' #11

unguvauq 'it is alive' #12

upagtuq 'he moved' (changed his place of residence; moved to or from fish-camp)

uquggluk 'mold'

yagarcetuq 'he is busy'

Contingent Mood

There are several other connective moods in addition to the precessive and consequential discussed in the previous chapter.

The marker for the *contingent mood* is **+(g)aqa-**, meaning 'whenever.' As with the consequential mood, which has a marker that also ends in a vowel, the final **a** of the contingent mood marker is dropped with third person subject markers. Two things to keep in mind: first, the translation can be 'whenever' or 'when' so long as 'when' is understood as a repeated connection rather than a one-time connection, and second, the main verb of the sentence must have the postbase **-lar-** (or **-tu-**) meaning 'regularly,' or **@~-yuite-** meaning 'never' (or a similar postbase).

Ceñirtaqatnga assililartua. 'Whenever (or when) they visit I enjoy it.'

Ner'aqama suupamek aqsiyuitua. 'Whenever (or when) I eat soup, I'm not full' (*literally*, '... I am never full').

Aturaqateng (or **atu'urqateng**¹) **navlartut.** 'When(ever) he uses them, they break.'

Ellallirqañ (or **ellallirqañ**²) **ingrini, nengliiyuituq maani.** 'When(ever) it rains in the mountains it's not cold here.' (*Note that the 'it' that is the subject of the dependent verb is not, grammatically, the same as the 'it' of the main verb — though it might seem that it should be — so a 3rd person ending is used on the dependent verb rather than a 4th person subject.*)

√ **caaqami** 'at certain times for it/him; whenever conditions are right with it/him' (*the ending will vary with the subject of the main verb*)

1. To derive **atu'urqateng** from **aturaqateng**, **a** between **r** and **q** is deleted by the same process whereby one derives **tama'arqa** 'I lost it' from **tamaraqa** (see Note B in the supplement to Chapter 8). The **u'u** in **atu'urqateng** and the **a'a** in **tama'arqa** indicates length without gemination from the rhythmic length in the underlying form.

2. To derive **ellallirqañ** from **ellallirqañ**, **a** between **r** and **q** is deleted by the same process whereby one derives **ikayurqa** 'I'm helping him' from **ikayuraqa** (see Note B in the supplement to Chapter 8). In **ellallirqañ** the syllable **llir** has "ghost" stress as does **yur** in **ikayurqa**; as noted in Chapter 8 and Chapter 11 (at the discussion of the postbase **@+(g/t)ur(ar)-**) such "ghost" stress is often not explicitly indicated in the writing, but may optionally be shown; **ellalli'rqañ**, **ikayu'rqa**.

Exercise 16–1

A. Translate the following into English:

1) Murilkessugaqamku iraluq, amirlussiyaalartuq. 2) Ciin kakeggliyuicit qusraqavet? 3) Ellami tanqigaqan unugmi mikelnguut anyulartut aquinaluteng. 4) Agturaqami peleqqel'erneq unguvalrianek qetunracuarqa ngel'alartuq. 5) Panicarama cingiyuitak sap'akigni angiaqagnek. 6) Nuliama qiviraqaku akutaliani raisin-aanek assinrulartuq. 7) Kiagmi upagaqameng neqlillermun mikelnguut assililartut cakneq. 8) Imna niicuilnguq tan'gurraq alularaqan alingelartua. 9) Akleng! Nuliama aanii ner'aqami taryaqvagnek naulluungelartuq. 10) Nerqata'arqamta iqallugnek uqugglulegnek kaiyuituq.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

1) Whenever I look at him I smile, but he never smiles at me. 2) When the girl wants to sew squirrel skins her mother softens them. 3) I don't throw away the bones when we eat otter. 4) When I see your son in the winter he always has grown a lot. 5) Why is it that whenever I look for a long piece of rope to fasten the boat, I can't find any. 6) I'm happy when my daughter finishes her tasks. 7) Whenever he touches something he breaks it. 8) I really want to smoke when they chew tobacco. 9) Whenever you go past me you never smile at me. 10) When it's bright and hot here I get very sleepy.

C. Combine the two given sentences using the contingent mood in the first clause and making appropriate adjustments, and translate. For example, given:

Itertuq. Anua. you would write: Itraqan anlartua. 'When he comes in, I go out.'

1) Yuurqertua kuuvviamek saarralirivkenii. Aqsiqua. 2) Cingirak sap'akigni. Angiuk. 3) Nugtartaqa estuuluq egalrem canianun. Nuliama nugtarta kaminiam ukatiinun. 4) Kuingirtut. Elitnauristem nunurai qenrulluki. 5) An'ukuk. Irniapuk qianritut. 6) Yurartut. Assiliut. 7) Yurartut. Anglaniukut. 8) Cupegtuq. Igarak angayuqaagni. 9) Angerturtukut agayuvigmi. Agayulirtem qanrutai angayuqaput. 10) Qavartua. Qavangurturtua taqukamek nerqatartemnek!

Concessive Mood

The marker for the *concessive mood* is **@-ngr(ar)-**, meaning 'although,' 'even though,' or 'even if.' What happens with **(ar)** will be discussed further on.

Ellallingraan angyaryugtua. 'Even though (although) it's raining, I want to go boat riding' (from ***ellallingraan** by *velar-dropping*).

Ellallingraan angyallruunga. 'Even though (although) it rained, I went boat riding.'

Ellallingraan angyarciqua. 'Even if it rains (or even though it's raining), I'll go boat riding.'

Ikayuutengramta taqngaitut unuamek. 'Even though we're helping out they won't finish today' or 'Even if we help out ...'

Ikayuuciiqsaqengramta taqngaitut unuamek. 'Even if we were to help out they wouldn't finish today.'

√ **pingraan** or √ **cangraan** or even both words together: **pingraan cangraan** 'whatever the case; no matter what.'

Only special base-final **te**'s are affected and they change to **l** (or rather to **le**); others stay as **te**.

Qanruteksailengramni ak'a nallunrituq. 'Even though I haven't told him he already knows' (from **qanruteksaite**- which ends in special **te**).

Qanrutengramni ataam nalluyaguciiqsugnarquq. 'Even if I tell him again he will probably forget' (from **qanrute**- which ends in **te** which is not special).

The (**ar**) is deleted if the particular subject marker or subject-and-object marker used is of such type that it would retain the final **r** of the (**ar**) of **@-ngr(ar)-**, that is, if that subject or subject-and-object marker is **+** type. The **+** type endings are the 1st person singular intransitive ending **+ma** and all the 2nd and 4th person subject endings. When (**ar**)-deletion occurs, the **ng** is geminated unless it follows a stressed vowel or a consonant (due to dropping of hatted **e**), **e** is inserted after the **ng**, and the resulting syllable receives "ghost" stress, which, as usual, is not always explicitly indicated in the writing, but may be indicated with an (optional) apostrophe.

***iqvangrarma** → **iqvang'erma** (i.e. **iqvang'e'rma**) 'even though I am picking berries'

***qavangrarpet** → **qavangerpet** (i.e. **qavange'rpel**) 'even though you are sleeping' (**ng** not geminated because the preceding **a** is stressed, and in fact has rhythmic length)

Qiangermi (i.e. **qiange'rmi**) **iluteqenrituq, pinguarluni tauḡaam.** 'Even though he's crying he's not really grieving, just pretending' (**ng** not geminated because the preceding syllable is stressed having two vowels).

Nerngermegteggū (i.e. **nernge'rmeḡteggū**) **taryaqvak cali kaigciqut.** 'Even if they eat the king salmon they'll still be hungry' (**ng** not geminated since it is preceded by a consonant; from ***nerenḡr(ar)meḡteggū** → ***nerêngermegteggū**, and hence by dropping of hatted **e**).

Atungerpegu piqertuutaqa assilria qaqisngaitan caliarkan unugpailgan. 'Even though you are using my good axe you won't finish your job before night falls' (**ng** not geminated since the preceding vowel is stressed, and in fact has rhythmic length; furthermore the syllable **nger** would be stressed anyway, even aside from "ghost" stress, since it is a closed syllable followed by an open syllable).

Aqvat'ngerma calissuutmek pisciigaciiqua. 'Even if I go get a tool I won't be able to do it' (**aqvat'ngerma** from ***aqvatenḡr(ar)ma** → ***aqvatêngerma**, and hence by dropping of hatted **e**; note that the syllable **nger** would be stressed rhythmically in **aqvat'ngerma**, even aside from "ghost" stress; some speakers go a step further and change this to **aqvasngerma**).

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for more on (**ar**) deletion with the concessive mood marker, and for information on the HBC pattern.

Exercise 16-2

A. Attach the ending for 'even though I...' to the following bases and translate.

1) assili-, 2) assir-, 3) iluteqe-, 4) cukaite-, 5) kemgite-, 6) qerrute-, 7) tuntute-.

B. Translate the following into English:

1) Mernung'erma qavarningeksaitua. 2) Tangeqsailengramku ak'anek nalluyaguteksaitaqa. 3) Ciin maktellrusit naulluungerpet? 4) Perriqataryaaqellruui qantat eruqsaileng'ermiki. 5) Nerellrulliniit ak'allat neqerrluut paralungqengraata. 6) Mikelnguut angniiut akercingraan. 7) Caranglluiqsaileng'ermiki atsat iqvallrenka akutuq qiviqluki. 8) Qimugtem keggellrunritaanga tut'ellrungramku pamyua. 9) Cuignilnguq cali unguvauq nutellrungraani pissurtem. 10) Tan'gercelengraan tangerrsugngaaqa kuingian iqua. 11) Assiliuq qusngermi kakeggiluni-llu. 12) Tangellrunritaput peleqpelraat iraluuq tanqingraan. 13) Taryaqvagtuyuitut neqsulangermeng taryaqvagnek tun'arkaqqaluki. 14) Mikelnguutiqmigturalartut aanameng nunurturalangraateng. 15) Ulugyuganka ukut qanganaat assiilengraata. 16) Assiling'erma utercugtua.

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The boy wants to steer even though he is small. 2) He wanted to help us even though he was busy. 3) They probably passed by you without seeing you even though it wasn't cloudy and the moon was very bright. 4) He hasn't grown even though he eats good food and isn't sick. 5) My relatives and I will move to the fishcamp in the summer even though they don't really want to. 6) My little children touched the frog even though they were afraid. 7) Even though my father and grandfather were trappers I've never seen otters. 8) Even though it's raining and I am sick I'm going to go check the fishnet at the mouth of the river. 9) Even though I usually don't like to eat rice, my wife always puts it in the soup whenever she cooks. 10) We'll have to drink instant coffee even though it isn't as good as real coffee.

D. Translate the English word(s) in parentheses to fit the given Yup'ik sentence, and translate the resulting Yup'ik sentence:

1) Neryunritua uqugglulegnek neqerrlugnek (even though I'm very hungry). 2) Uika iqmiyuituq (even though his relatives do). 3) Kitullruamteggua angyaat unugmi tangellrunritaput (even though it wasn't dark). 4) (Although I didn't use) kapkaanak nalaqesciigatagka. 5) (Even though I told him) cali nallua atqa. 6) Pininruunga anngamni (even though I am shorter than my brother). 7) (Even though they are smart) kiusciigataat elitnauristeteng. 8) Quyavikenritaitkut (even though we helped them). 9) (Even if it rains tomorrow) qavavireskilta pissuryarluta cuignilngurnek. 10) (Even though I didn't have anyone to help me), nugtartellruaqa uqamailnguq estuuluq egalrem canianun.

Conditional Mood

The next mood to be considered is the *conditional mood*.¹ It corresponds to both English 'if' and English 'when' in the future, context determining which is meant. The marker of this mood is @~-**ku**-.

Tupakuvet unuaqu ayaumaciqsugnarqukut. 'When you wake up tomorrow, we'll probably be away.'

Ankuvet ellalliuurcuutaunak mecungciiquten. 'If you go out without a raincoat you will get wet.'

Ikayurciqamken angyalikuvet. 'I'll help you when you make a boat' or 'I'll help you make a boat.'

The marker of this mood, @~-**ku**- changes base-final **te** to **s** or to **l** according to the familiar pattern, repositioning **e** if necessary:

Tekiskuvet quyaciqua. 'When you arrive I'll be thankful.'

Kaigciquten nerenrikuvet. 'You'll be hungry if you don't eat.'

Nerciqukut ceñireskuvet. 'We'll eat if (or when) you visit.'

Cangatenrilkumta ayagciqukut Aipiritmi. 'If nothing's the matter with (or for) us, we'll leave on Tuesday.'

Also as with other suffixes that begin with **k**, if the verb base ends in **r**, then the **k** is replaced with **q**.

Qavaquvet tangerrngaitarpekut. 'If you sleep you won't see us.'

Atuquvgu navegyaquanaku. 'If (or when) you use it, don't break it.'

With the base **tangerr-** 'to see' and postbases such as **-ngqerr-** 'to have *N'*' that end in voiceless **r**, the usual pattern is to *keep* the voiceless **r** and use either **ku** or **qu**:

Tangerkumku (or **tangerqumku**) **qanruciiqaqa.** 'If (or when) I see him, I'll tell him.'

Qimugtengqerkuvet (or **qimugtengqerquvet**) **nerqekiu uumek.** 'If you have a dog, feed it this.'

As with the consequential mood marker and the contingent mood marker, which like conditional mood marker @~-**ku**- end in vowels, the vowel here, that is the **u**, is dropped when used with a third person subject marker.

Atuqaku nunurciqaqa. 'If he uses it, I'll scold him.'

Nerciqukut ceñireskan. 'We'll eat if (or when) he visits.'

1. The conditional mood is called the "relative future" mood, the "dependent future" mood, and the "subjunctive" mood in other works on Eskimo grammar.

Unique to the conditional mood, the 4th person subject markers begin with **n** rather than **m**.

Atuquniu navegciqsugnarqaa. 'If he uses it, he might break it.' (Note **atuquniu** rather than ***atuqumiu**.)

Nerciqut ceñireskuneng. 'They'll eat if (or when) they visit.' (Note **ceñireskuneng** rather than ***ceñireskumeng**.)

Exercise 16-3

A. Translate the following into English:

1) Piyukuvet alulaa. 2) Cingigni angitesciigaciiqsugnarqak cingiqunikek. 3) Tuskuvni kan'a peleqpel'er tuquciquq. 4) Kiturciqsugnarqaput qikertaq tangerpek'naku tan'gercelkan. 5) Mikelnguut naulluularciqut iqmilaquneng. 6) Kuuvviaq assitessiyaakan yuurqeryaqunaku. 7) Angayuqaagma taringengaitaagten qit'vuskuvtek. 8) Tangerquvki irnianka cikiqiki ukunek. 9) Ellalliqan unuaqu uitakiluk maani. 10) Allaret ayakata taikina neryarturluten.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

1) If you don't want to eat dog salmon, eat king salmon. 2) We'll eat when your mother returns from church. 3) I'll be happy if it's sunny and warm tomorrow. 4) If night falls before you get home, don't try to cross the river if it's dark. 5) You'll be cold if you don't wear a parka. 6) Your ears will get frostbitten if you wear that thin hat of yours. 7) If you chew tobacco or smoke you might die before your grandchildren are grown! 8) This dog won't bite anyone if I tie it with this rope. 9) If they don't arrive before day breaks, go look for them. 10) They will probably help us if we can't finish our chores. 11) If we don't leave now, we won't reach the fishcamp before it starts to rain.

C. Connect the two sentences of each of the following pairs by changing the verb of the first to the conditional mood and translate. For example, given Nengllingciquq. Iterciqua. you would write Nengllingan iterciqua. 'If it gets cold I'll go inside.'

1) Anciqqu nacaunani. Kakeggliciquq. 2) Nerngaituten uumek iqallugmek. Kaigciqsugnarquten. (You will have to remove the future component of nerngaituten since the conditional mood already expresses future.) 3) Ikayurciqanka. Akilirciqaatnga. 4) Tangerciqan. Qanruskiu. 5) Ayagciqukut unumeek. Tekiciiqsugnarqukut unuaqu. 6) Qalaruciiqaatgen Yup'igcetun. Qalarciqut cukaunateng. 7) Petugciqan una qimugta ilavkuk aturluku. Angisciigaciiquq. 8) Tan'gerliq cali unguvauq. Tuqutengnaqciqaaten. 9) Ceñirciiqaput. Yagarceciqut. 10) Cuignilnguum tangerciyaakut. Alingciquq iterluni-llu igteminun. 11) Ilateng amllerneq iqvauciiqait arnat. Mernurciqut.

Postbases that go with the Conditional Mood

It is possible if necessary to emphasize the uncertainty of the hypothetical, by using the postbase **-lli-** which means 'maybe' or 'perhaps.'

Taillikata quyaciqa. 'If (*rather than* when) they come I'll be glad.'

Nengllilikan unuaqu ayanrilkita. 'If it happens to be cold tomorrow let's not go.'

This postbase **-lli-** can also be used in situations other than with the conditional mood. It can be used to form a polite yes-no question when used with the indicative and without the enclitic **=qaa**, and another use will be presented in connection with the *participial mood*. (See Chapter 21 for both of these uses.)

A *contrafactual conditional* is one that says that something would have happened or would now be happening if something else had happened (which in fact didn't happen) or was now happening (when in fact isn't happening). English examples of contrafactual conditionals are, 'you would have met him if you had come earlier' and 'I wouldn't eat it if I were you.' In Yup'ik contrafactual conditionals are expressed with the postbase **@~+yar-** on the main verb as the last postbase (except for **@~+yugnarqe-** or **-nrite-**, if used).

Kainritua, taugaam kaikuma neryanritaqa tauna. 'I'm not hungry, but if I were hungry I *wouldn't* eat that.'

Taillrukuvet akwaugaq quyallruyartua. 'If you had come yesterday I *would* have been thankful.'

Exercise 16-4

Translate:

- 1) If I were a bird, I would fly away.
- 2) They would have finished it already if you had helped them.
- 3) If I were your mother I would be angry at you.
- 4) What would you do if you were my relative?
- 5) If I had caught lots of otters, my wife would have sewn me a parka.
- 6) If they were enjoying themselves they would be smiling.
- 7) What would you do if I weren't here?
- 8) If they were my children, I would scold them.
- 9) If I had been steering we would have arrived already.
- 10) I probably would have died if they hadn't taken me to the hospital.

Other Postbases

The postbase **-lluk** or **-rrluk** means 'bad *N*', or more precisely, '*N* that is not in its prime or ideal state.' It can be recognized as a part of certain words with fixed or lexicalized meanings. It is "semi-productive" in that it can be used to create new words but only to a limited extent, yielding words that would be understood only in context.

There may be a slight difference between the meaning of the two forms of this postbase, **-lluk** or **-rrluk**, but any such difference is not clear cut.

- √ **iqmiggluk** 'tobacco stain on lips'
- √ **neqerrluk** 'dried fish'
- √ **angyarrrluk** 'raft'
- √ **ellalluk** 'rain' (*some people distinguish this from ellarrrluk* 'very bad weather')
- iilluk** 'an eye which is giving one trouble'; √ **iilliquq** 'he is having eye trouble'
(*from iilluliquq*)
- nunarrluk** 'dirt where it shouldn't be, as on the floor of a house'
- Kuiggluk** 'Kwethluk'

Also apparently from bases which are not now used and from this postbase:

- √ **kakeggluk** 'runny nasal mucus, snot'
- √ **uquggluk** 'mold'

In Chapter 8 the postbase **.ssuun/+cuun** 'device for V-ing' was introduced. There is an older postbase for 'device for V-ing, or reason for V-ing,' **@:(u)n** which goes on to bases in the same manner as **@:(u)te-** 'to do with, for, etc.' (see Chapter 10). Note that the combining form of **@:(u)n** is **@:(u)te-**. This older postbase is non-productive nowadays, but it is evident in many common words.

- √ **keggun** 'tooth'
- √ **mingqun** 'needle'
- √ **kagin** 'broom'
- √ **egan** 'pot' (*from ega-* 'to cook' *still used on the Yukon, in Norton Sound and in Hooper Bay and Chevak, but replaced with kenir- elsewhere*)
- √ **cavun** 'oar' (*from cave-* 'to row')
- √ **angun** 'man' (*perhaps from angu-* 'to catch (game) by chasing'; *though there are certain problems with this etymology*)¹
- √ **ipuun** 'ladle' (*from ipug-* 'to scoop')
- √ **anguarun** 'paddle; propeller blade' (*from anguar-* 'to paddle')
- √ **Pekyun** 'Monday' (*from pekte-* 'to move'; *additional older meaning* 'to work')
- √ **qanikciurun** 'shovel' (*from qanikciur-* 'to work with snow')
- √ **unan** 'hand' (*from una-* *an obsolete verb base meaning* 'to work on something without tools')
- √ **tuyuun** 'thing possessor has sent, gift sent'
- √ **cikiun** 'gift, thing possessor has given' (*so, for example, arnam cikiutekaa nacaq angutmun* 'the woman gave the hat to the man'; *compare arnam cikiraa angun nacamek* 'the woman gave the man a hat')

Derived from the above postbase and the postbase **-ke-** is **@:(u)teke-** 'to V because of —.'

1. This problem appears only in connection with Inupiaq / Inuit.

Quyatekaa panini uingelleq. 'He's happy on account of his daughter who got married.'

Qiaguq qimugkauyarani tuqulleq ilutequtekluku. 'He's crying, grieving over his puppy that died.'

Angniutekaa. 'He's happy over it.'

Iqvanrituq irniani pitekluki. 'She isn't berry-picking on account of her children.' (*This usage with pi and the subordinative is very common.*)

Observe the operation of @:(u)teke- with verbs of communication where it means 'to V about —.'

Qanrutkellruaten. 'He talked about you' (*from qaner-; compare Qanrutellruaten.* 'He told you').

Allaneq apyutkellrua. 'He asked about the visitor.' (*Compare Allaneq aptellrua.* 'He asked the visitor.')

Another postbase, :(ng)un, is superficially similar to the old instrumental postbase discussed above, however this postbase :(ng)un uses u even with bases that end in a full vowel (a, i, u) while the above instrumental postbase does not (for example, egan, kagin). This postbase :(ng)un means 'the N which grammatical possessor owns' in contrast to the that which is inherently possessed by the grammatical possessor. Examples clarify this.

nunauteka 'my property, the land I own' vs. **nunaka** 'my village'

kemguten 'the meat which you have caught, bought or been given' vs.

kemgen 'the flesh on your body'

mer'utii 'his supply of water (in a tank, buckets, etc.)' vs. **mer'a** 'its (river's, lake's, etc.) water'

akiutaituq 'he has no money' vs. **akiituq** 'it has no value; it is free'

neqautai 'his supply of fish' (*plural because the supply consists of a number of fish; note that with this postbase engu becomes au*)

enauteka 'the house I own, but may not live in, renting it out instead' vs.

nek'a 'my house, the house I live in'

However, this postbase is not always used even when logic would suggest it should be. Thus one can say **atsaitua** 'I don't have any berries' though logic would dictate **atsautaitua** (and this can indeed also be said).

The postbase @~+(t)vakar-, where t is used on consonant ending bases and tv (either from this t or a te on a base) becomes p, means 'to V so much, to V for so long.' It is often used in "why" questions.

Ciin quserpakarcit? 'Why are you coughing so much?'

Ciin qiavakarta mikelnguq? 'Why is the child crying so much?'

Connected Reading for Chapter 16

As you read the following letter prepare to answer the questions that follow it:

Dear Mom,

Qaillun ayuqceci? Wii¹ assirtua maani Fairbanks-aami. Uumi² tekicama egmianun uitavigkamnun pirraarlua agutellruanka tuyuuteten alqavnun Nev'amun. Nev'aq tua-i quyaqapiggluni³ tuyuutevnek. Nangutellrullinilria⁴ neqnek. Egmian-llu kenirluni tuyuutevnek paluqtarmek, akulluni-llu tuaten cali tuyuutevnek atsalugpianek qivirluni. Nerluni-llu aqsiluni qaqcata neq'liani.

Uumi-llu Nev'am keleglua Tallimiritmi cali nerevkarlua⁵ yugtarnek.⁶ Nem'ini-lluarcellua.⁷ Maqinermi-llu angyaruarluta, wii-llu alularcellua uingan. Tua-i-llu tagqallemteri⁸ nunamun Aiggailnguum angyaq petugluku. Tua-i-llu Agay'aq tangerrluni peleqpel'ermek teguluku-llu. Tauna-llu peleqpel'er ayakallrani⁹ angama¹⁰ tuc'arpiarluku.¹¹ Tua-i-llu tuaken uterrluta.

Nev'am-llu qanrullua angaka qanganarcurciqngatniluku.¹² Qanerluni-llu qanganartellikan tuyurciqniliten pitainek. Cali-llu ulukuni amiitnek wangnun¹³ ikayuusqelluni¹⁴ tua-i-wa pitlikan uini. Qessangerma-llu¹⁵ ulullerkamnek¹⁶ angerluku.¹⁷ Cali-llu uini ayakan nem'eggni uitasqellua.¹⁸ Quyaluni-llu uitayullemni.¹⁹

Imna-llu ilaput maantetulleq²⁰ Kuvyaar maaken ayallrulliniluni upagluni Anchorage-aamun. Uumi nutaan yuallemku²¹ Kuvyaar cataipakaan phone-araqamku, Nev'am qanrullua ayallruniluku.²²

1. **wii** = 'I', personal pronoun (Chapter 21) used here for emphasis.
2. **uumi** = 'in this one' referring to time, hence 'this time' or 'one time', in the context of this letter.
3. **-qapigte-** or **-qapiar(ar)-** = 'to be very V' (Chapter 17).
4. **nangutellrullinilria** = 'evidently she was out', of thing in abl.-mod.; though this is just like the postbase **-lria**, it is actually an intransitive verb in the participial mood (Chapter 21).
5. **.vkar-** = 'to have, let, or make one V' (Chapter 18).
6. **yugtaq** = 'native food'; literally 'thing of the (Yup'ik) people' (Chapter 17).
7. **@+cete-** = 'to have, let or make one V' (Chapter 18).
8. **tagqallemteri** = 'when we went up (from the boat)'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17); the endings of the two contemporative moods in the intransitive are similar to possessed localis endings, so one should not confuse the **ni** here with 4th person transitive.
9. **ayakallrani** = 'when it quickly got away'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
10. **angak** = '(maternal) uncle,' but here 'uncle by marriage' (Chapter 23).
11. **@~+yarpiar-** = 'to almost V' (Chapter 21).
12. **@~+ngate-** = 'to probably V' (Chapter 20); **@~+ni-** 'to say that one is V-ing' (Chapter 18), so **qanganarcurciqngatniluku** = 'saying that he probably would hunt squirrels.'
13. **wangnun** = 'I, me' personal pronoun (Chapter 21) in the terminalis case used here as the subject of **ikayur-**; this is a special use of the terminalis (Chapter 18).
14. **-sqe-** = 'to want or ask one to V' (Chapter 21), so **wangnun ikayuusqelluni** = 'wanting me to help her.'
15. **qessa-** = 'to not feel like doing anything' (Chapter 22).
16. **ulullerkamnek** = 'my future act of softening skins.'
17. **anger-** = 'to acquiesce' (Chapter 17).
18. **-sqe-** = 'to want or ask one to V' (Chapter 18).
19. **uitayullemni** = 'when I wanted to stay'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
20. **maantetulleq** = 'the one who used to be here.'
21. **yuallemku** = 'when I missed him'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
22. **@~+ni-** = 'to say that one is V-ing' (Chapter 18).

Cali-llu inarrvimni maani elitnaurvimni aipillinilua¹ ilungamnek² Uqung'amek Napaskiarmiumek atellgutvet³ yuaneq.⁴ Ak'aneq tangrramku⁵ piaqa anglillrullinilria,⁶ wangni-llu⁷ sugtunruluni. Wangkuk⁸ tua-i quyalunuk aipaaqlunuk-llu.⁹ Unugmi taugaam tupagyaaqsugtuq.¹⁰ Tua-i tupagaqami kiiryukapiggiluni pinaurtuq.¹¹ Mecungaqluteng tua-i inarcessuutai. Uumi-am tupagyaaqellermini¹² unuakumi¹³ tupagtellemini¹⁴ quyavikraarlua qalamcianga¹⁵ tupagyaaqutminek. Ellii-gguq¹⁶ qavangumini ayainanermini¹⁷ malinglartuq¹⁸ ungunssimek tuar-gguq¹⁹ imarmiutaq. Tua-i-llu-gguq tuiggluni²⁰ wani tekiteqataani piaqa yaani uitaqarraarluni tauna uivnaurtuq. Tua-i-llu-gguq taum uivaarinanrani²¹ pekcesciiganani.²² Tua-i tupagnaurtuq alingeqapiggiluni. Qaillun-ima²³ tupagyaaqellriit pilaqait?²⁴

Kuingineq²⁵ wii assikenritaqa, taugaam iqmigkairucama akwaugaq kuingirkamnek pillruunga. Una-llu Uqung'aq iqmiyuitelliniami avgucetaaryaaqellemini²⁶ pilua iqmiyuitniluni.²⁷ Tuyuqia iqmigkamnek.

1. **aipir** = 'to be provided with a companion (roommate here)': from **aipaq** and **-lir**.
2. **ilungaq** = 'female cross cousin of a female', that is 'daughter of a female's father's sister or mother's brother' (Chapter 23).
3. **atellgun** = 'one that has the same name (and is thereby named after the same deceased person) as possessor' (Chapter 24).
4. **yuk** = 'child', in this context.
5. **ak'aneq tangrramku** = 'when I saw her (for the first time again) since long ago.'
6. **piaqa anglillrullinilria** = 'I saw that she had grown.' This is the observational construction (Chapter 18 and Chapter 21).
7. **wangni** = 'than me'; localis case of the personal pronoun (Chapter 21).
8. **wangkuk** = 'we two', personal pronoun (Chapter 21).
9. **aipaaqe-** = 'to have each other as companions', when used with a dual intransitive ending as here.
10. **tupagyaaqe-** = 'to wake up from a nightmare; to suffer "sleep paralysis"'; the postbase @~+yug- here means 'to tend to V' rather than 'to want to V'.
11. @~+naur- = 'to V (generally more than once, and only if certain conditions are in effect)' (Chapter 17); so **pinaurtuq** = 'she would be that way', that is, 'covered with sweat,' another meaning of **kiiryug-** besides 'to be hot.'
12. **tupagyaaqellermini** = 'when she woke up from a nightmare'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
13. **unuakumi** = 'in the morning'; goes with **uumi** = 'one time.'
14. **tupagtellemini** = 'when I woke her up'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
15. **qalamci-** = 'to tell about an experience.'
16. **ellii** = 'he, she', personal pronoun (Chapter 21).
17. **ayainanermini** = 'while he was going'; second contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
18. **malik** = 'follower; one accompanying.'
19. **tuar** = 'like' (that which is expressed with the absolutive noun following this word); this is a special use of the absolutive with this particle (Chapter 23).
20. **tuigte-** = 'to turn the head and look over one's shoulder.'
21. **uivaarinanrani** = 'while it was revolving'; where 'it' is the animal; second contemporative mood (Chapter 17).
22. the subject of this verb is the person having the nightmare, that is, the roommate.
23. **qaillun-ima** = 'I wonder (having forgotten)'; the enclitic here is from **imna**.
24. **pilaqait** = 'they call (in the sense of 'designate') them'; this transitive verb is in the participial mood (Chapter 21).
25. **-neq** = 'the activity of V-ing' (Chapter 20).
26. **avgucetaaryaaqellemini** = 'when I asked her, in vain, to share'; first contemporative mood.
27. @~+ni- = 'to say that one is V-ing' (Chapter 21); here the subject is saying something about herself as shown by the intransitive ending.

Akwaugaq-llu Nev'am ayauulla iqvarviminun auḡ'umek makumiumek Inupiamek cali maligluni. Wii-llu unayaqluku¹ Uqung'aq, tua-i maligucu-kapiggluni.² Ayallemteñi-llu³ Nev'aq alularluni akalriamek,⁴ kituriurluni ayatmun.⁵ Tekicamta-llu iqvarvianun Nev'am iqvainanemni⁶ cuignilngurmek auḡ'umi iqkilngurmi kuicuarmi tangerrlua. Iqvanka-llu⁷ wii tamalkuita⁸ cikiutekluki Nev'amun. Quyaluni-llu tua-i elpet-gguq⁹ iqvauteqataryuksaaqaaten.¹⁰ Cali iqvaucullruanga,¹¹ iqvauskanga qayuw¹² elpenun¹³ pinaluki piunga.

Tua-i igaqia. Ukut caliarkanka qaqiteksaitanka. Tua-i caliaqeqataranka. Kenkekun,
Mayurcagneq

Exercise

Answer the following questions in Yup'ik based on the letter:

1. Nanta igartii uum igam?
2. Kituuga Mayurcagnerem aaniin alqaa?
3. Cakucinek atsanek tuyullruagu Nev'aq Mayurcagnerem aaniin?
4. Callruat Maqinermi Nev'ankut?
5. Agay'aq camek tangellrua?
6. Caqatarta angii Mayurcagnerem? (angak = 'uncle')
7. Kitumek aipilliniagu inarrvimini?
8. Qaillun tauna roommate-aa pilarta?
9. Qaillun aptellruagu Uqung'aq Mayurcagnerem?
10. Kina iqvautau Mayurcagnerem?

1. **unayaqe-** = 'to ask (one) to come along.'

2. **maligute-** is the half transitive of **maligte-**.

3. **ayallemteñi** = 'when we went'; first contemporative mood (Chapter 18).

4. **akag-** = 'to roll'; **akalria** = 'car', lexicalized; literally 'the one rolling.'

5. **ayatmun** = 'towards destination'; from **ayag-** and the second terminalis (Chapter 7).

6. **iqvainanemni** = 'while I was picking berries'; second contemporative mood (Chapter 17).

7. **iqvaq** = 'a picked berry'; this is the noun corresponding to the verb base **iqvar-**.

8. **tamalkuita** = 'all (of them)'; quantifier/qualifier construction (Chapter 19).

9. **elpet** = 'you,' personal pronoun (Chapter 21) used here to emphasize 2nd person singular object of following verb.

10. **@~+yuke-** 'to think that one is V-ing' (Chapter 18), so **iqvauteqataryuksaaqaaten** = 'she thought, in error, that I was going to pick berries for you' where 'I' is understood from context.

11. **iqvaute-** here and in the next word means 'to pick berries *with*,' while in the previous sentence it means 'to pick berries *for*.'

12. **qayuw'** = 'this (coming) time' (Chapter 23).

13. **elpenun** = 'you' personal pronoun (Chapter 21) in the terminalis meaning 'to you'; since the following verb means here 'in order to send them.'

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate each of the following sentences and then change it in the way indicated and translate the result. For example, given Amirluan kiircetenrituq (change to contingent), you would first translate it as 'Because it is cloudy it isn't hot', and then write Amirluaqan kiircecuituq 'Whenever it's cloudy it's not hot.'

1) Neqautailamta kaigtukut. (change to conditional) 2) Akiutengqellruama amllerneq cikillruagka angayuqaagka. (change to contingent) 3) Iqmiutaitaqami qenertenglartuq. (change to conditional) 4) Agtuquvgu una unateten iqaciqut. (change to consequential) 5) Uluavki qanganaat aturyugngaanka. (change to concessive, and put the main verb in the negative)

B. Translate the following sentences:

1) Nel'illruamta nutaramek angelriamek aanama (eniin) ketiini unuaqu upagciqukut. 2) Yagarcetsiyaakuvet uterciiqua unuaqu. 3) Mana'arqameng canglartut amllerneq. 4) Piyukuvet kitak pii aptevkenak. 5) Qerrulliigka iqiignek anyuumiitua. 6) Nerua amllerneq atsalugpianek panima iqvaucanga. 7) Up'nerkami qaniraqan pamani ingrini ellallilartuq maani. 8) Ellalliqan atuquvkek taukuk sap'akik it'gagken mecungciisugnarquk. 9) Piyungerma equirciigatua aliimategka tamaumiignek. 10) Piyuumiileng'erma mertaqatartua mer'utput nangengan. 11) Kuuvviraqama aqsiq'lartua. 12) Cikirciigatamken akiutailama. 13) Iqmigmeq cikirnga iqmiguuama cakneq. 14) Cakneq quyauq nulian tekican Mamterillermek anuqlissiyaangraan un'gani. 15) Paqteksaitaput taluyaput snuukuuput navgumiin. 16) Kainrilkuvet akutarturyaqunak, suupamek nerkina tauḡaam. 17) Nunuquvteng imkut mikelnguut qiaciqsugnarqut. 18) Qenruciqaakut piyuakumta nunautiikun. 19) Tupakuvet tupagpailegma unuaqu tupageskia. 20) Tupallruama erpailgan qavarningua cakneq. 21) Qavarnikuvet inarten! 22) Aturciigatan qanikciurutka nalkesciigalamku. 23) Ner'aqama kelipamek masslirivkenii meqsulartua cakneq. 24) It'gagka kumlacuituk aturaqamkek ukuk kameksiik aanavet piliak. 25) Maqivigmeq anlartua maqiaqama aipaqluku auḡna naivivakalaan mermek. 26) Amirlukan tangerrngaitaput iraluq. 27) Nerenrilkuneng cuignilngurnek kaigciqut. 28) Kuingiyuileng'ermi iqmilartuq. 29) Kan'a peleqpel'er cali unguvauq tut'eng'erpeni. 30) Nugtartengnaqkuvgu uqamailnguq aqumvik ikayurtaunak pisciigaciiquten. 31) Qetunrama ikayuryugngaaten anglillruami. 32) Kuingiryukuvet ankina. 33) Taryaqviit angenrulaamengiqallugni pininrulartut. 34) Yuurpailegpeci yuut ak'a tut'ellruut iralumun. 35) Ataam taikuvci uquggullegnek neqerrlugturngaitukut! 36) Enrinrilkunegteki iqalluut nerngaicugnarqait tauḡaam nerciqut taryaqvagmek. 37) Taiteqerru tauna ilavkuk ellivailegpegu qulqitmun. 38) Anuqlirqan irnianka kakegglinglartut aquigaqameng ellami, tauḡaam kakeggluiyuunateng. 39) Inareskuvet keggucieurpek'nak qanren tepsarqeciquq cakneq tupakuvet unuaqu unuakumi. 40) Kituraqamikut hello-yuitaakut. 41) Emutellrunrilkuma tuqullruyartua. 42) Assiilkekuvguneryaqunaku. 43) Anngaqa catailan aipaitua. 44) Qalarutellrunritaqa maurluqa tuquvailgan. 45) Kiagaqan upalallruyaaqukut neqlillemtēn un neqsurnaluta.

C. Translate into Yup'ik. Parse your translations for the first twenty.

- 1) The children hid because they saw the strangers. (iir- = 'to hide')
- 2) Even though I wanted to help him, I couldn't.
- 3) Were they angry at me before you told them?
- 4) Even though we were trying to sleep he kept making noise.
- 5) If you keep making noise you will wake up the baby.
- 6) He broke the small piece of wood because he tried to bend it. (perte- = 'to bend (it)')
- 7) Before they could capture the ducks, they took off.
- 8) Even though I tasted that plant, I'm not dead yet! (naucetaaq or naunraq = 'plant')
- 9) If the sun is shining it won't be cold up in the mountains.
- 10) If you hadn't come we would have left without you. (= leaving you behind)
- 11) Whenever you try to skin the minks too fast you keep cutting the skins even though they are very valuable. (alleg- = 'to tear, cut')
- 12) Since we're out of wood, I'll go try to find some across the river.
- 13) Despite the fact that it is always very cold in winter I want to live here.
- 14) I tried to make a fire because my hands and feet were cold, but I couldn't because it was too windy. (keneq = 'fire, match')
- 15) She will want to pay you if you get water for her.
- 16) Even though I wasn't hungry I tried to eat the food my daughter cooked.
- 17) If you don't let go of that dog it will bite you.
- 18) If this dog bites me I'm going to kill it.
- 19) Will your children come with you when you visit me again?
- 20) I can't light the camp stove because I don't have any matches.
- 21) If you see an aurora tonight, come in and tell me.
- 22) If you see a white moose don't shoot it.
- 23) Whenever I see him he wants money.
- 24) Can you understand him when he tries to speak Yup'ik?
- 25) If you want it, well then go ahead and buy it.
- 26) He made me a new backpack because he lost mine. (kalngak = 'backpack')
- 27) My little children might cry when you come here because they are afraid of visitors.
- 28) Even though I like him, I always get angry whenever he tells me about his thoughts and dreams.
- 29) They will be scared of you because you have a beard.
- 30) If your coat is dirty don't wear it; use mine.
- 31) This child can't play outside because he left his coat at school.
- 32) My mother can't sew because she is too ill.
- 33) When I go to bed after I've had lots of coffee I can't sleep.
- 34) I was happy because he gave me a new hat.
- 35) If you speak English his father won't understand you because he doesn't speak English.
- 36) If you wait for us we'll come with you after we finish our chores.
- 37) If you won't help me I'll do it without help.
- 38) If you use my needle to sew up your pocket, give it back to me when you are done with it. (kalmainaq = 'pocket')
- 39) Why do some people always get cold ears even when it isn't very windy or cold?
- 40) He wants to learn Yup'ik because his wife is a Yup'ik and his inlaws don't speak English much.
- 41) When we go fishing there in the winter we usually don't catch anything but we always have a good time even though it's cold and dark during that month.
- 42) I didn't really want to talk with him because I had forgotten his name even though you told me it.
- 43) My children are already awake when I wake up.
- 44) My dad was angry at me because I used his motor without asking.
- 45) We shouldn't go out on the lake in that little boat if it is too windy.
- 46) I don't like him because he tells lies.
- 47) Let's go eat at the restaurant if you haven't eaten yet.
- 48) If we're slow they probably won't wait for us.
- 49) I can't go hunting because I don't have a gun.
- 50) Even though I want to read this book, I am too busy.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 16

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 The verb **alular-** 'to steer' and its nominal counterpart **alulaq** 'tiller' are from Russian. They can also be **alunar-** and **alunaq**.
- #2 **Eneq** 'bone' is **neneq** in HBC and Nun, and **naneq** in NS and Eg.
- #3 Instead of **cuignilnguq** for 'otter,' there is **cenkaq** in Y, HBC, NI, and Nun (**cinkaq** in HBC), and **pirtuqciraq** in NS.
- #4 Instead of **ilavkuk** for 'rope,' there is **milu'uvkaaq** in Y, HBC, and some NI. Both words are from Russian. Some people use **sagta^e** for 'rope.'
- #5 Instead of **iqalluk** for 'dog salmon,' there is **teggmaarrluk** in Y, **kangitneq** all along the coast (except **neqpik** in NS and HBC, and **mac'utaq** in Nun, some NI, and Eg.), and **aluyak** in NR and LI.
- #6 The words **iqmik** and **iqmig-** which now usually are understood as 'chewing tobacco,' more generally (and originally) referred to keeping anything other than food in the mouth. It can still have that meaning as when one says to a child who has some inedible thing in his mouth, **iqminrilgu** 'don't keep it in your mouth.'
- #7 Instead of **iraluq** for 'moon,' there is **unugcuun** or **unuggsuun** (literally 'night device') in NI and Can (though **iraluq** is used there to mean 'month'), and **tanqik** in Nun.
- #8 Instead of **kakegluk** 'runny nasal mucus,' there is **ngevvluk** in HBC.
- #9 The word **kuingiq** 'pipe, cigarette' and its verbal counterpart **kuingir-** 'to smoke,' are from Chukchi, which is evidence that smoking was probably introduced to Yup'iks via the Chukchis of Siberia and through trade across the Bering Strait before the Russians came. An alternate pronunciation is **kuiniq/kuinir-** in some K. Also used for 'cigarette' and 'to smoke' are **melugkaq** in some Y or **meluguaq** in HBC, NI, Nun and **melug-** (which basically means 'to suck'), and **puyurtuq** in some K, in BB, NR and LI and **puyurtur-** (literally 'to consume smoke').
- #10 Instead of **qanganag** for 'ground squirrel,' there is **cikik** in NS and some Y. This word **cikik** appears in **cikigpak**, a word for 'marmot,' used even in areas where **qanganag** rather than **cikik** is used for 'squirrel.'
- #11 **Ulugaa** 'he is softening it by flexing it by means of a circular crumpling motion of the hands' is sometimes translated as 'he is tanning it.' Now tanning is the Euro-American way of preparing skins for use, so in this respect it corresponds to **ulug-** which is the Yup'ik way of preparing skins for use, however the main step of the Euro-American tanning process is chemical treatment, which is absent from the Yup'ik process described by **ulug-**. Another Yup'ik skin preparation process involves scraping the back of the skin, and the verbs describing this are **cakivte-** and **calugte-**.
- #12 In addition to **unguva-** for 'to be alive,' there is **yuu-**, literally 'to be a person,' which only applies to humans, and **anerteqe-** which also means 'to breathe.'

Note A

See the discussion of the postbase **@+'(g/t)ur(ar)-** 'to keep on V-ing' in Chapter 11 for more on **(ar)** deletion in general. The **(ar)**-deletion in the concessive mood marker **@-ngr(ar)-** is obligatory and occurs in all dialects of Central Yup'ik, whereas **(ar)**-deletion in the postbase **@+'(g/t)ur(ar)-** (and in other places where **(ar)** is preceded by **Vr**) is more or less optional (although it is usually deleted in most of Central Yup'ik). **(ar)**-deletion in the concessive mood marker is one of the few cases of **(ar)**-deletion after **Cr** in General Central Yup'ik. Another case is the word **peleqqelr(aq*)** 'frog' in this chapter's vocabulary, which is realized as **peleqqel'er** with gemination as in the concessive mood. And Another case is the postbase **-llr(aq*)** 'dilapidated N.' Thus **angyall(raq*)** 'dilapidated boat' is realized as **angyall'er**.

In Nun **(ar)**-deletion after **Cr** is always possible (if not obligatory as well), and thus, for example, **atrarluteng** ('they) going down,' becomes **at'erluteng** there. In HBC **(ar)**-deletion after **Cr** is also always possible (if not obligatory as well), but the process is a little different. The **e** is inserted *after* the **r**, that is, replacing the deleted **(ar)**. Thus, for example, **atrarluteng** → **atreluteng**, and ***iqvangrarma** → **iqvangrema** there.

CHAPTER 17

*First Contemporative Mood;
Second Contemporative Mood*

Vocabulary

akngirtuq 'she got hurt'; **akngirtaa** 'she hurt her/it'

akula^e 'area in between' (*this is a positional base*; **akuliitni** = 'between them')

angertuq 'she acquiesced, agreed'; **angraa** 'she acquiesced to her, agreed with her'

anguuq 'she caught something, caught up with something'; **angua** 'she caught it (game animal usually) after chasing it'; 'she is old enough to have experienced it in her younger years'

apiataq 'lunch'

apiatartuq 'she is eating lunch'

aquestuq or **aqessngaartuq** 'she sneezed'

arulairtuq 'she/it stopped (moving from one place to another)'

aruquq 'she distributed things'; **aruqaa** 'she gave a share to her'

asguruaq 'parka ruff' #1

ataku 'evening; this evening'

atakutaq 'evening meal, dinner'

atakutartuq 'she is eating the evening meal'

canek 'grass' #2

iirtuq 'she is hiding'; **iiraa** 'she is hiding it'

kalngak 'backpack' #3

kegginaq 'face; sharp edge of knife blade'

kegluneq 'wolf'

keneq 'fire, match' #4

nacigtuq 'she (child usually) is unhappy (crying usually) because someone is leaving her behind'; **nacigaa** 'she is unhappy because she is being left behind by her; she is crying after her'

napa 'tree'

neng'uuq 'it stretched' (**nengtaa** 'she stretched it')

nerevkarin 'feast' #5

paallagtuq 'she fell down (forward)'

pektuq 'she/it is moving, walking'

pirta or **pirtuk** 'blizzard; sandstorm'

putukuq 'big toe' #6

puyuuq 'smoke' #7

qangqiiq 'ptarmigan' #8

qanuk 'snowflake, snow falling from sky'

qatpagtuq 'she yelled' (**qatpautaa** 'she yelled at her')

qeckartuq 'she jumped'; **qeckaraa** 'she jumped over it' #9

qimagtuq 'she/it fled'; **qimagaa** 'she/it fled from her/it'

qiuneq 'bruise'
taituk 'fog'
tatamuq 'she got startled' (**tatamtaa** 'she startled her')
terikaniaq 'wolverine' #10
tukniuq 'it (medicine, eyeglasses, etc.) is strong'
tuvtuq 'she choked'
unegtug 'she is staying behind'
unuaku 'morning'
unuakutaq 'breakfast'
unuakutartug 'she is eating breakfast' #11

First Contemporative Mood, and Second Contemporative Mood

The *first contemporative mood* expresses the connection between events which in English is expressed by the subordinating conjunction 'when.' The first contemporative pertains basically to the past — future is accounted for by the conditional mood (see Chapter 16).¹ The marker of the first contemporative is **-llet-**.

<i>base:</i>	<i>with first contemporative mood marker and sample transitive person-number marker:</i>
nere-	nerellratki 'when they ate them'
atur-	atullerpekek 'when you used them ₂ '
ceñirte-	ceñirtellemken 'when I visited you'
neqliur-	neqliullerpecikut 'when you _{pl} served us'

The *second contemporative mood* expresses the connection between events which in English is expressed by the subordinating conjunction 'while,' and may pertain to past, present or future. The marker of the second contemporative is **@:(ng)inaner-**. This is the suffixation pattern for this mood which is common in the lower Kuskokwim, Nelson Island and Bristol Bay *core* areas. For the pattern common in the *peripheral* areas, see Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

<i>base:</i>	<i>with second contemporative mood marker and sample transitive person-number marker:</i>
nere-	nernginanratki 'while they ate (or are eating) them'
atur-	atuinanerpekek 'while you used (or are using) them ₂ '
ceñirte-	ceñirnginanemken 'while I visited (or am visiting) you'
neqliur-	neqliurinanerpecikut 'while you _{pl} were serving (or are serving) us'

The two contemporative moods differ from the other connective moods in that the contemporative *intransitive* subject markers are like *localis* case endings rather than *relative* case endings.

1. In actual practice the first contemporative is sometimes used for the future as well.

- nerellrani** ‘when she ate’ (*compare nerngan* ‘because she is/was eating’)
nernginanratni ‘while they are/were eating’ (*compare nerngata* ‘because they are/were eating’)
qavallerpeni ‘when you slept’ (*compare qavaavet* ‘because you are/were sleeping’)
caliinanemni ‘while I worked (or am working)’ (*compare calياما* ‘because I am/was working’)
ayallermini ‘when she (subject of main verb) left’ (*compare ayiimi* ‘because she left’)

The reason that these intransitive endings of the two contemporative moods are like localis endings is that these two verb moods probably developed from constructions utilizing nominalizing postbases and the localis case. In fact the postbase **-lleq** has the meaning ‘act of V-ing’ in addition to its meaning ‘the one who V-ed’ discussed in Chapter 14.¹ Thus, **nerellrani** originally was a *localis noun* meaning something like, ‘in (during) his act of eating’. However, in present-day Yup’ik, **-llr-** yields verbal constructions; **nerellrani** is truly an intransitive verb taking an absolutive subject: **aataka nerellrani** ‘when my father ate’ (rather than a relative possessor as it would if it were merely a nominalizing postbase).

Similarly the second contemporative mood marker is a combination of the postbase **:nginar-** ‘to just V’(now almost unproductive), and the nominalizing postbase **-neq** ‘activity of V-ing’,² so that **nernginanrani** originally must have been a *localis noun* meaning something like ‘in (during) his activity of just eating’, but it has now developed into a full-fledged verb form.

We have seen how the two contemporative moods have subject/object markers for the *transitive* endings like the other connective moods studied previously (though with a certain exceptional sub-pattern discussed further below).

- Qavallruuq ceñirtellerpecikut.** She was sleeping when you_{pl} visited us_{pl}.’
Aqessngaarturallruut ceñirnginanermegtegg. ‘They kept sneezing while they were visiting her.’
Qyallruuq ceñirtellratni. ‘She was happy when they visited her’ (*ceñirtellratni is transitive here and ni here is the 4th person object ending; compare qyallruukut ceñirtellratni* ‘we were happy when they visited’; *ceñirtellratni is intransitive here and ni is used for that reason*).

This “ghost of the localis”, that is the **ni**, encountered in all the intransitive endings for the two contemporative moods, also appears for these two moods in the 4th person singular subject transitive. The **ni** goes right between the subject component and the object component of these markers.

1. See Chapter 20 for this other meaning of the postbase.

2. See Chapter 20.

Atullerminiu mingqessuuteka navellrua. 'When she used my sewing machine she broke it.' (*Compare* **atuamiu** 'because she used it.')

Qalarusnginanerminia akutamek nerellruuq. 'While she was talking to me she ate Eskimo ice cream.' (*Compare* **qalarut'ngermia** 'even though she was talking to me.')

Some Yup'ik speakers, especially from the coastal area centered around Nelson Island, have this "ghost of the localis" for these moods in some of the first, second and third person singular subject transitives as well. Note velar dropping when this **ni** is used.

nerellraniiu (*rather than* **nerellraku** or **nerellragu** *as used in elsewhere*)
'when she ate it'

tangellrania (*rather than* **tangellranga**) 'when she saw me'

ikayuinanerpenia (*rather than* **ikayuinanerpenga**) 'while you are/were helping me'

Apparently this **ni** can only be incorporated into the ending if the subject/object marker is fairly "short" (in some imprecise sense). So in the examples further up above, **ceñirtellerpecikut** 'when you_{pl} visited us_{pl}' and **ceñirnginanermegtegu** 'when they (subject of main verb) were visiting him', the subject/object marker is probably too long to permit one to say ***ceñirtellerpecinikut** and/or ***ceñirnginanermeggniiu** instead, (though these may in fact be possible for some speakers).

See Note B in the supplement to this chapter for more on this "ghost" of the localis.

Just as in English one can often use the word 'when' in place of 'because', so in Yup'ik the first contemporative mood can be used in place of the consequential mood. Both **itellruunga ellallillruan** 'I went in because it rained' and **itellruunga ellallillrani** 'I went in when it rained' are acceptable Yup'ik, differing at most in emphasis.

When there is no causal connection, and not even a connection of "necessary condition,"¹ then the first contemporative is used:

Apa'urluqa ak'a tuqumallruuq yuurtellemni 'My grandfather had already died when I was born.'²

1. See the discussion of this type of connection between events in Chapter 15 at the discussion of the consequential mood.

2. Undoubtedly the two contemporative moods are relatively recent innovations in Central Yup'ik, and before their appearance the consequential mood was used for "when" as well as "because" for the past (as in other Eskimo languages), just as the conditional mood means "when" as well as "if" for the future. Therefore before the innovation of the contemporative moods, 'my grandfather had already died when I was born' probably would have been expressed with the consequential mood: **apa'urluqa ak'a tuqumallruuq yuurcama**. This way of saying it may still be an acceptable possibility for some Yup'iks.

On the other hand, for an event occurring in the present time only the consequential mood will serve:

Itqatartua ellallian. I'm going to go in because it is raining' (*not: *Itqatartua ellallilrani which would say 'I'm going to go in when it rained'*).

Exercise 17-1

A. *Translate the following into English:*

1) Angyaq arulaillrani saskaqa igtellruuq mermun. 2) Apiatainanemteñi aanaka asgurualillruuq keglunrem amianek. 3) Miklemni amlleret yuut taillruut maavet nerevkaritmun. 4) Ukut ilanka tatamellratni ngel'allruunga. 5) Qaillun paallallrusit qimangnaqsaqaqellerpeni? 6) Tan'gercetellrani paallallruunga akngirrlua putukumkun. 7) Qangqiiret-qaa tengellruut ullallerpeciteng? 8) Tatamellruuten-qaa aqessngaallemni? 9) Qanrusnginanranga terikaniamek pitallerminek tangvallruanka can'giiret kuimalriit kat'um qaltam iluani niicugnivkenaku. 10) Nerrlerminiki kemget cukangnaqsiyaagluni tuvtellruuq enernek. 11) Qimugkauyarama nacillruakut unegtellruami iqvaryallemteñi akwaugaq. 12) Qavallruunga ceg'inanerpeni ellalliinanrani. 13) Callrusit akwaugaq tangllemken nunapigmi misviim iquani? 14) Tangllesminia qetunraqa quselria iingnaqsaqaqellruuq napacuaraat akuliitni maurluum eniin keluani iinruyuumiilami tuknilriamek iinrumek. 15) Cakneq angniitengellruukuk niitellmeggneq nacilria mikelnguq. 16) Imna kegluneq keggutelek ipelrianek tangllemku qimallruunga nutgilama. 17) Melqulegcurtet qerruqurallruut ayaumainanermeggneq ingrini cakneq nengllian anuqlian-llu. 18) Qerru-tengllemeggneq kenlingnaqsaqaqellruut tauḡaam pisciiganateng kenrilameng. 19) Qeckangnaqlemku kuicuar tut'ellruunga et'ulriamun mecungllua-llu. 20) Mikelnguqum akini iillraki angaan tangvallrua atakuani-llu teguluki akit ekluki-llu kalngaminun.

B. *Translate into Yup'ik being careful to chose the appropriate connective mood for each English "when":*

1) When our grandmother sneezed, she dropped her bucket onto my big toe. 2) I got a bruise on my leg when I fell while I was walking at night. 3) I left my backpack behind in the tall grass when I fled from the frightening wolf. 4) My grandmother became hungry while we were having breakfast. 5) I got startled when the child screamed. 6) They probably won't give anything to the teachers when they give out things. 7) When my dog was trying to escape from a wolverine it climbed that tree! 8) I stretched your shirt when I tried to put it on. 9) The children cry after their parents when they (the parents) leave the house to take steambaths. 10) I dropped that match in the grass, but found it when I saw its smoke. 11) How did the elders react when you asked them about old time feasts? 12) When grandfather sneezes loud the puppy always tries to hide. 13) The girl started to cry when she took the strong medicine. 14) While they were eating dinner someone screamed from outside and she choked because she was startled! 15) When I helped them, they wanted to pay me. 16) When she tries to lift my

backpack she will drop it. 17) They started to laugh when they saw us. 18) I wanted very much to see my family members when my mother wrote to me about my family. 19) When my grandfather was young people chased (and caught) bears without guns. 20) My mother becomes sad when she talks about my grandfather. 21) I get very hungry when I don't eat breakfast. 22) If you eat now you won't be hungry when we eat lunch. 23) When she ate blackfish she choked on a bone. 24) When we were hunting for moose we saw a caribou but when we tried to catch it we weren't able to. 25) When I tried to eat fast because I wanted to go over and watch the people who were Eskimo-dancing even though I wanted to I couldn't. 26) I am very grateful to my wife's mother because she made me an excellent backpack. 27) When our₂ children hide, they laugh and laugh when we₂ find them. 28) When my grandmother was young people still sewed clothing by hand without sewing machines. 29) The snowflakes landed in her eyes when she was trying to catch them with her mouth. 30) You must have passed right by us during the night when it was dark.

As observed above the two contemporative moods are evidently constructions which arose historically from nominalizing postbases used with localis endings. For a discussion of other verbal constructions derived from nominal constructions see Note C in the supplement to this chapter.

Postbases

The postbase **-kegtaar(aq*)** means 'good *N*', 'nice *N*', or 'new *N*'. As is usual, the **k** becomes **q** with bases that end in **r**, although some speakers keep it as **k** in such cases (probably due to the difficulty of pronouncing **qegt**).

from nuna comes nunakegtaar 'good land'

from angyaq comes angyaqegtaar or angyakegtaar 'good (new) boat'

Related to the above postbase is **-kegci-** 'to have a good *N*'

angyaqegciunga or **angyakegciunga** 'I have a good boat'

The postbase **@~-yu-** means 'to be good at *V*-ing,' or 'to tend to *V*' (for non-humans). Unlike most other **y**-initial postbases (but like **@~-yuite-** 'to never *V*', which is derived from this postbase see (Chapter 8)), this postbase drops base-final consonants.

from kenir- comes keniyuuten 'you cook well'

from kegge- comes keggsuuq 'it tends to bite'

The postbase **-tu-** 'to (regularly) *V*' is used by some in place of **-lar-** (Chapter 8).

from nacig- comes nacituuq 'she cries (when being separated from her mother, father, etc.)'

from **tatame-** comes **tatametuuten** or **tatamtuuten** ‘you get startled all the time’
 from **imange-** (‘to leak in’) comes **imangetuuq** or **imangtuuq** ‘it (boat, boot, etc.) leaks’

A form of this postbase occurs as a consonant keeping postbase, **+tu-**, on *dimensional roots* (see Chapter 14) and non-productively on certain noun bases. Some examples are:

from **imaq** (‘contents’) comes √ **imartuuq** ‘it has a lot in it’ (compare **imangqertuuq** ‘it has something in it’)
 from **aki** (‘other side, equivalent, money’, and here ‘value’) comes √ **akituuq** ‘it is expensive, valuable’
 from **umyuaq** (‘mind, idea, thought’) comes √ **umyuartuuq** ‘she is wise’
 from **yuk** (‘person’) comes **sugtuuq** or **cugtuuq** ‘she is tall’

The opposite of the words **imartuuq** and **akituuq** can be formed with the postbase **+kite-** (see Chapter 14 for the use of this postbase with dimensional roots).

√ **imarkituq** ‘it has very little in it’ (compare **imaituuq** ‘it is empty’)
 √ **akikituq** ‘it is cheap or is of little value’ (compare **akiituuq** ‘it is free or worthless’)
sugkituuq or **cugkituuq** ‘she is short’

The postbase **-lria** ‘one that is *V*-ing, or is *V*’ (see Chapter 14) is not generally used with @~-**yu-** or **-tu-** (or **+tu-**). Another nominalizing postbase, **+li** is used instead. Thus, one can say that there is a postbase @~-**yuli** meaning ‘one that is good at *V*-ing or that tends to *V*’, and another postbase **-tuli** (and **+tuli**) meaning ‘one that (regularly) *Vs*.’

from **qaner-** comes **qanyuli** ‘one good at speaking’
 from **nuteg-** comes **nutyuli** ‘skilled shooter’ (from ***nutêyuli**)
 from **naveg-** comes **navtuli** ‘fragile thing’

Exercise 17-2

Parse the following and translate into English:

- 1) Ellallillrani anellrunritua ellalliurcuutekegcing'erma.
- 2) Aanavni uitainanemteñi assililallruunga ner'aqama aanan keniyan.
- 3) Irniari nacituut piipiunrilngermeng.
- 4) Qavangnaqnginanemni kinguqliqa qatpallruuq qavangurtuami assiilngurmek.
- 5) Mingqessuan nuliaqa aturaqegcituunga.
- 6) Igcecaqunaki ingkut navtulit qantat eruquvki.
- 7) Ivralruama kuigem akianun etgalngurkun it'ganka mecungtellruut ivrarcuutegka imangetuagnek.
- 8) Atkukegtaarqa asguruaqegciuq keglunermek terikaniamek-llu.
- 9) Nerevkaritmi aruqellratni kia cikillruunga suukiiqegtaaraagnek ukugnek.
- 10) Pektellruami ellami aturpek'nani assilriigneq piluguugnek nengllillrani qercuallruuq putukugmikun.
- 11) Kuingiyuituq tauḡaam iqmituq iqmigkat akitungraata.
- 12) Assililruukut niicugnillemteggu imna qanyuli agayulirta.
- 13) Nerrlemteñi aqumgaluta canegpiit akuliitni allanret kitullruut tangerpek'nata iirumanrilengramta.
- 14) Nutyuami aipaqa pitellruuq qangqiirmek yaaqsingraan pissullermini.
- 15) Caliinanerpeni-qaa kipusvigmi tangellruan im'um arnam asguruaqegtaaralgem kegginaa?
- 16) Mikelngucuar qiangelruuq paallallruami aqaquinanermini allat mikelnguut unitengnaqellratni napani.

The postbase **-qapiar(ar)-** and its variant form **-qapigte-** mean 'to be very V.'

from pinir- comes **piniqapiartuq** or **piniqapigtuq** 'she is very strong'
from kaig- comes **kaikapiarallruuq** or **kaikapigtellruuq** 'she was very hungry'

Another postbase meaning 'to be very V' is **-piar-**

from ange- 'to be big' comes **angpiartuq** (past: **angpiallruuq**) as well as **angqapiartuq** (past: **angqapiarallruuq**) and **angqapigtuq** (past: **angqapigtellruuq**) for 'it is very big'

With a few bases the vowel of the base coming right before one or more of the above postbases may be deleted, giving a more emphatic form.

from cuka- 'to be fast' comes **cukpiartuq** (as well as **cukapiartuq**) for 'it is very fast'
from assir- 'to be good' comes **aspiartuq** or **asqapiartuq** or **asqapigtuq** (as well as **assipiartuq**, **assiqapiartuq**, and **assiqapigtuq**) for 'it is very good'

There is yet another postbase with the same meaning as the above. This is **-kaca(g)ar-**. The initial letter of this postbase stays **k** even if used with a base ending in **r**. In most areas, the **(g)** of this postbase is deleted except when the preceding **a** is stressed. (Compare the postbase **-ya(g)aq** 'baby N, little N' (Chapter 21).)

from **qavarni-** ‘to be sleepy’ comes **qavarnikacaartuq** ‘she is very sleepy’
 (from **qavárnikâcagártuq** as still said in HBC and perhaps elsewhere)
 from **pinir-** ‘to be strong’ comes **pinikacagartuq** ‘she is very strong’ (**g** kept
 since preceding **a** is stressed: **pinîkacâgartuq**)

Exercise 17-3

For each of the following write the Yup’ik for ‘she / it is very —’, and ‘she / it was very —’ using all four of the above postbases (-qapiar(ar)-, -qapigte-, -piar-, -kaca(g)ar-):
 1) hungry, 2) tired, 3) black, 4) fat, 5) heavy, 6) lightweight, 7) cold (weather), 8) cold (person), 9) wanting to eat, 10) expensive.

The postbase **+taq** means ‘thing of *N*.’

from **yuk** (here used in the sense of ‘Eskimo’ rather than just ‘person’) comes
yugtaq ‘thing of the Eskimos; Eskimo made or Eskimo style thing,
 Eskimo food’
 from **kass’aq** comes **kass’artaq** ‘non-Native food; manufactured item’
 from **kiak** comes **kiagtaq** ‘thing of the summer’

The postbase **@~+yarpia-** (**@~+yarpigar-** in HBC) means ‘to almost *V*.’

Tuquyarpiartuq. ‘She almost died.’

Igcarpialluunga mermun. ‘I almost fell into the water.’

**Asguruaq kass’am arnam pilialla terikaniamek ayuqsarpiartuq
 yugtartun.** ‘The ruff that the white woman made from wolverine is
 almost like something made by Yup’iks.’

The postbase **-lir-** ‘to be well provided with *N*, to provide with *N*’ (see Chapter 11), like other postbases that begin with **li** can take a shortened form **—ir-**, where “—” here means that both a final consonant and the preceding vowel are dropped. Thus one can say both **atsalirtuq** and **atsirtuq** for ‘it is well provided with berries’ or ‘it has lots of berries.’ In the shortened form there are two lexicalizations of this postbase which should be regarded as postbases in their own right.

When used with weather or other natural phenomenon nouns, **—ir-** means ‘for *N* to be occurring.’

from **ellalluk** ‘rain’ comes √ **ellallirtuq** ‘it is raining’

from **akerta** ‘sun’ comes √ **akercirtuq** ‘it is sunny’

from **qanuk** ‘snowflake, falling snow’ comes √ **qanirtuq** ‘it is snowing’

from **taituk** ‘fog’ comes √ **taicirtuq** ‘it is foggy’

from **pirta** or **pirtuk** ‘blizzard’ comes √ **pircirtuq** ‘there is a blizzard’

from **iraluq** ‘moon’ comes **iralirtuq** ‘the moon is shining’

from **qiuryaq** ‘aurora’ comes **qiuryirtuq** ‘there is an aurora’

from **puyyuq** ‘smoke’ comes √ **puyyirtuq** ‘it is smoky’

There are several other weather or other natural phenomenon nouns that work this way (such as **agyaq** 'star' and **agyirtuq** 'the stars are out,' **kalluk** 'thunder' and **kallirtuq** 'there's thunder,' **agluryaq** 'rainbow' and **agluryirtuq** 'there's a rainbow,' **minuk** 'drizzle' and **minirtuq** 'it's drizzling'), however along with the noun **amirluq** 'cloud,' there is the verb base **amirlu-** 'to be cloudy,' so **amirluuq** is often used for 'it is cloudy' instead of **amirlirtuq**.

When used with nouns for game capturing implements, **-ir-** means 'to set *N*.'

from **taluyaq** 'fishtrap' comes **taluyirtuq** 'she set a fishtrap'

from **kuvyaq** 'fishnet' comes **kuvyirtuq** 'she set a fishnet'

from **kapkaanaq** '(furbearer) trap' comes **kapkaanirtuq** 'she set a trap'

1章 エスキモー文化の指標としての語彙

(Teeluk) さんの方言について明らかにしえたものだが、その後、クスコクウィム (Kuskokwim) 地方その他のユピック方言も同一の体系をもつことがわかってきている。指示詞の領域は、前節の「雪」にかんする語彙とは反対に、総じて東エスキモー語よりも西エスキモー語が複雑な姿を示している。

表-1

	限 定 的		C 非限定的		
	A 近 称	B 遠 称			
I 話者	i	u-	ma(t)-	「こ」	
	ii	tau-	tama(t)-	「そ」	
	iii		uk-	話者の方へ 既知・前述の (承先の)	
	iv		im-		
II 内vs. 外	i	kiw-	qam-	qaw-	内(話者は外)・内 陸・上流
	ii	kəx-	qakm-	qay-	外(話者は内)
III 水平	i	ij-	am-	aw-	川に平行 (なにかを間には さんだ) 向う側
	ii	ik-	akm-	ay-	
IV 上	i	pig-	pam-	paw-	上(川から離れて) 上
	ii	pik-	pakm-	pay-	上
V 下	i	kan-	cam-	un-	下(川の方)・下
	ii	uy-	cakm-	uy-	下流・河口・出口

ユピック方言の30種の指示詞幹は、音義両面から表-1のように分類できる。指示詞によって指示される空間は、大きく5つ

Yup'ik and other Eskimo languages are of great interest to linguists all over the world. This is a page from *Esukimo No Gengo To Bunka* (The Language and Culture of the Eskimo) by Osahito Miyaoka, a leading scholar in Yup'ik linguistics. Note that a technical orthography is used rather than the standard Yup'ik orthography. The book was published in Tokyo in 1978.

Exercise 17-4

A. Translate the following into English:

- 1) Akngirtellruunga putukumkun qiunenglua-llu tallimkun paallalemni.
- 2) Kina unegtellrua elitnaurvigmun pillerpeceñi apiatautnaluki elitnauristet?
- 3) Qaillun can'giirtelallruat makumiut miklerpeni?
- 4) Tangellruunga keglunermek pissullemni qangqiirmek.
- 5) Kegluneq qimallruuq tangllerminia.
- 6) Taicillrani napat akuliitni tatamtellruarpenga tangenrilamken.
- 7) Atakutainanratni ulullruanka ukut amit.
- 8) Neryuumiilkuvet yugtarnek nerkina kass'artarnek.
- 9) Iliit mikelnguut aqestellruuq tatamlluki ilani iirinanermini canegpagni.
- 10) Peknginanermini napat keluatgun arulaillruuq tegunaluku qaltani tamallren.
- 11) Asnguallemku lumarraqegtaaraan pitsaqevkenaku nengtellruaqa.
- 12) Qantuli tuvcarpiallruuq qanengnaqlermini nernginanermini qangqiirmek enlegmek.
- 13) Paallalemni navtuli qantaq kalngama iluanelnguq navegyarpiallruuq.
- 14) Alingqapiarallruunga kenrutenka tamallemki ilanka-llu ayaumainanemteñi uksumi nengliqapiarallrani.
- 15) Qiunengellruuten-qaa taumek paallallerpeni qimangnaqnginanerpegu imna qenertellria?

B. Rewrite the following sentences with suitable postbases so as to use one or more fewer words than in the given version:

- 1) Kaigtua cakneq.
- 2) Atkuka asguruangqertuq assilriamek.
- 3) Keglunernek neryuitut.
- 4) Pitellruuq can'giirnek amllerneq.
- 5) Putukunka kumatut.
- 6) Qeckaraa qaltaq imangqellria mermek.
- 7) Ingrinun ayalartut tamatumi iralumi pissurnaluteng qangananeq.
- 8) Nuliaran eritarciqai yaqulget pitai ut'reskan.

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

- 1) I almost died when I choked while I was eating the meat too fast.
- 2) We are very grateful to them because when we first arrived here they helped us whenever we had work to do.
- 3) I got startled when she screamed very loudly from between those trees back there as I was going past them.
- 4) Because she startled me when I was running very fast, I fell and got a very big bruise on my face.
- 5) In Alaska it is very cold in the winter and very hot in the summer.
- 6) I stayed behind when they left because I was very sick since I had eaten too much at the feast.
- 7) Because it was very windy yesterday I got frostbitten on my hands but not on my face because I have a good ruff.
- 8) My son can hardly see without glasses because he uses very strong glasses.
- 9) Because it was foggy I didn't see her, but when I heard her when she sneezed only then did I see her through the fog.
- 10) Her face almost got frostbitten when there was a blizzard while she was traveling by snowmachine to Bethel.
- 11) I won't go unless you come along with me. (= I won't go; if you come along with me however ...)
- 12) They won't be able to finish unless we help them.

The postbase @~+**naur-** 'to V (generally more than once, and only if certain conditions, stated or otherwise, are in effect).'¹ It is often translatable by the word "would." It can be used instead of **-lar-** along with a verb in the contingent mood:

1. The postbase also occurs in the lexicalization **elitnaur-** 'to study, to go to school' from **elite-** 'to learn.'

Unugaqan inarrnurtuq aturairpek'nani. 'When night fell she would go to bed without undressing.'

As observed in Chapter 12, and as will be elaborated upon in Chapter 22, this postbase can also be used with first person subject indicative endings as a substitute for the optative mood:

Ayagnaurtukut. 'Let's leave' (*in place of ayalta*).

Constructions which Differ in Form and Function

The above example is indicative in form but optative in meaning. There are also cases in which a verb is optative in form but indicative in meaning (as in the story below), cases in which a verb is interrogative in form but indicative in meaning (also in the story below), and of course many cases in which a verb is subordinative in form and optative in meaning, or subordinative in form but indicative in meaning (see Chapter 13).



Preparing for a seal hunt, Scammon Bay. Photo by James H. Barker.

Connected Reading for Chapter 17

The following is a traditional story (**quliraq**). It is one version of the story about how the fox turned red. This version was told by Martha Teeluk from the Yukon, but adjusted by her for Kuskokwim use.

Be sure you can explain the components of each word and role of each word in its sentence.

*Kaviarem Kavirilla*¹

Kaviaret kavircecuicaaqellruut.² Qat'lallruyaaqut.

Kaviarem uum avelngaq pitaqengnaqu'urnaaraa. Avelngaq unuaquaqaqan³ makiranaurtuq,⁴ neqkaminek anllercurluni.⁵

Tua-i-llu cat iliitni⁶ kaviaq umyuangartuq.⁷

Cat iliitni avelngaq utertellrani utaqauraraa igtiin amiigan caniani elavqerluni.⁸

Tua-i-llu avelngaam pia⁹ kaviaq, "Tua-i ner'arkaurtarpenga.¹⁰ Kitak nervailegpenga atuullua¹¹ elpet¹² yurauteqernaauramken. Tang atuyulriaten,¹³ erinakegciluten-llu."¹⁴

Kaviaq qut'garrluni¹⁵ erinakegciniani¹⁶ angerluni. Aturpautaa¹⁷ avelngaq ilungluni.¹⁸

Avelngaam yuralnguami¹⁹ kaviaq pia, "Kitak wii-llu atuutnauramken; elpet yuraqaa. Yurayuciqngalnguten²⁰ tang."

1. **kaviri-** = 'to turn red'; **-lleq** = 'act of V-ing' (Chapter 20).
2. **kavircete-** = 'to be red'; alternative to **kavirliu-**, literally 'to be a red thing' (Chapter 14).
3. **unuaquaqaqan** = 'daily', literally, 'whenever it is tomorrow' (treating **unuaqu-** as a verb) (Chapter 20).
4. **makira-** = 'to gather edible tubers, greens or eggs.'
5. **anlleq** = the edible tuber from the tall cottongrass plant, often called "mouse food" in English.
6. **cat iliitni** = 'one day'; idiom; literally, 'in one of the somethings' (Chapter 23).
7. **@+arte-** = 'to suddenly V' (Chapter 22).
8. **elavqer-** = 'to crouch down.'
9. the "empty" base **pi-** (Chapter 8) here means 'to say to.'
10. **ner'arkaurtarpenga** = 'inevitably you are going to eat me'. The postbase here, **+(g)arkaurte-**, is from **+(g)arkaqaq** 'one that is to be V-ed', (Chapter 14) and **~:(ng)urte-** 'to become N' (Ch. 20). As with **+(g)arkau-** 'to be obliged to V' from **+(g)arkaqaq** and **~:(ng)u-** 'to be N,' the new combination postbase here can take transitive endings unlike its final component.
11. **atuullua** is subordinative in form, but optative in meaning, equivalent to **atuusnga**
12. **elpet** = 'you'; personal pronoun used here for emphasis (Chapter 21).
13. **atuyulriaten** = 'you sing well'; participial mood (Chapter 21).
14. **erina** = 'voice.'
15. **qutegte-** 'to gloat'; with **@+arte-** = 'to suddenly V' (Chapter 22).
16. **erinakegciniani** 'because he (the mouse) said that he (the fox) had a good voice'; from **@~+ni-**, 'to say that one is V' (Chapter 18), and the consequential mood transitive with 4th person object.
17. **aturpag-** = 'to sing out loudly'; **+pag-** = 'to V intensely' (Chapter 19).
18. **ilunge-** = 'to be enthusiastic.'
19. **-lngu-** = 'to become tired of V-ing.'
20. **yurayuciqngalnguten** = 'seemingly you will be a good dancer'; **@~+ngate-** 'to seem to V' (Chapter 20); participial mood' (Chapter 21).

Kaviarem-am ataam angraa. Avelngaũrluq¹ pitacirramitun² at'ullagtuq.³ Arulairaqan pinauraa, "yurayuvageit,⁴ kitak ataam piqaa." Kaviaq qut'garrluni yurayuniani⁵ ilungluni cakneq yurartuq.

Tua-i-llu kaviaq yurainanrani murilkenriqertellrani⁶ avelnqaq igteminun qeckaqli.⁷

Kaviaq ellangarrluni⁸ yuranriqertuq⁹ avelnqaq anagiamiu.¹⁰ Kavingkili¹¹ kegginaminek ayagnirluni¹² pamyum iquanun.

Kasnguyuum¹³ pitaciatun kaviaq aurriluni ayakili. Avelngaam igteminek temcikluku¹⁴ tangvaurallia. Tua-i-llu taum kinguakun¹⁵ avelnqaq makiranaurtuq camek alingevkenani.

Tuaken taum kinguakun kaviaret kavirceaurrluteng¹⁶ qatetullruyaaq-luteng. Maa-i cali tuaten ayuqut.

End-of-Chapter Exercise

Write an account of something that happened to you (real or imagined) 200 or more words in length. Use the various connective verb moods.

1. **-rurluq** = 'poor dear good old *N*' (Chapter 21).
2. **pitacirramitun** = 'to the extent that he was able' (Chapter 21).
3. **-llag-** 'to suddenly *V*'; this postbase can cause gemination back in the base for extra emphasis (Chapter 22).
4. The particular combination of the postbase **-(t)vag-** and the interrogative has the effect of forming an *exclamation* concerning the subject of the verb rather than a question (Chapter 21).
5. **yurayuniani** = 'because he (the mouse) had said of him (the fox) that he danced well'; from **@~+ni-** 'to say' (Chapter 18), and the consequential with 4th person singular object.
6. **-nriqerte-** = 'to suddenly stop *V*-ing,' from **-nrir-**, 'to stop *V*-ing,' (Chapter 19) and **@-qerte-**, 'to suddenly or briefly *V*,' (Chapter 22).
7. **qeckaqli** 'he jumped'; third person subject future optative in mood, but indicative in meaning (Chapter 22).
8. **ellangarte-** = 'to suddenly become aware (of something).'
9. **-nriqerte-** = 'to suddenly stop *V*-ing,' from **-nrir-**, 'to stop *V*-ing,' (Chapter 19) and **@-qerte-**, 'to suddenly or briefly *V*,' (Chapter 22).
10. **anagi-** 'to suffer the loss of object by it's escaping (**anag-**)'; the postbase **+i-** is an extension of the half-transitive postbase, meaning 'to have suffered being *V*-ed by object' (see Chapter 8 including supplementary section).
11. **kavinge-** = 'to turn red, to blush.'
12. **ayagnir-** = 'to begin, start.'
13. **kasnguyug-** = 'to be embarrassed'; although a verb base it is used here with a relative case ending as if it were a noun; as such it is the possessor of the next word **pitaciatun** = 'on account of or to the extent of'; (Chapter 19).
14. **temcike-** 'to laugh at' (Chapter 19).
15. **taum kinguakun** = 'after that'; literally 'in the area (of time) behind that.'
16. **@~+yaurte-** = 'to learn how to *V*, to start *V*-ing and continue to *V* from then on' (Chapter 20).

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 17

Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 Instead of **asguruq** for 'parka ruff,' there is **negiliq** in NS, Y, HBC, and Can, and **ulganaq** in Nun.
- #2 Instead of **canek** for 'grass' there is [e]**vek** in NS and Eg, **evek** in HBC. Even in some of the areas that use **canek** rather than [e]**vek** there are the words **vegtar-** 'to gather grass (for boot insoles),' **vegtaq** 'bumble bee,' and **evineq** 'small grassy island,' all from [e]**vek**.
- #3 In addition to **kalngak** for 'backpack' there is **atmak**, used in various areas.
- #4 Instead of **keneq** for 'match,' there is (e)**spicka**q in HBC, Can and NI and (e)**spiicka**aq in some Y from Russian, and where this word is used for 'match,' **keneq** means only 'fire.'
- #5 In addition to **nerevkarin** for 'feast,' there is **kalukaq**, though some speakers draw a distinction using **kalukaq** for a community feast in a public place, and **nerevkarin** is one given by a family in their home.
- #6 Instead of **putukuq** for 'big toe,' there is **angenquq**, **angenquyuk**, **angunquq**, or **angunquyuq** in NS, HBC, Can, Nun, and Eg.
- #7 In addition to **puyuq** for 'smoke' there is **aruvak** especially in K and BB which is sometimes used for milder or more benign smoke such as that used to kill or repel mosquitoes.
- #8 Instead of **qangqiiq** for 'ptarmigan' there is **aqesgiq** in NS, Y, HBC, Nun, NI, some Can, UK, some NR, and Eg. (in HBC and Eg it is pronounced **aqeygiq**).
- #9 Instead of **qeckar-** for 'to jump,' there is a more basic form **qecceg-** which is also used in various places and is used to the exclusion of **qeckar-** in HBC and Nun. There is also another base **meceg-** used in NS.
- #10 Instead of **terikaniaq** for 'wolverine,' there is **qavcik** in NS, Y, HBC, and NI. Even in areas that use **terikaniaq** for 'wolverine' there is the word **qavcicuaq** meaning 'marten.'
- #11 Instead of **unuakutaq** for 'breakfast,' and **unuakutar-** for 'to eat breakfast,' there is the pair **makyutaq** and **makyutar-** used in various areas.

Note A

A slightly different pattern of suffixation, @+**nginaner-** is common in the *peripheral* area for the second contemporative, rather than @:(**ng**)**inaner-** as in the *core* area. They lead to a difference only if the base ends in a single full vowel or in a consonant:

<i>base:</i>	<i>core form:</i>	<i>peripheral form:</i>
ini-	iniinanemki	ininginanemki 'while I was hanging them up (to dry)'
atur-	atuiனர்pegu	aturnginarpegu 'while you were using it'
nuteg-	nutginanratki	nutegnginanratki 'while they were shooting them'
neqliur-	neqliurinanemci	neqliurnginanemci 'while I was serving you _p '

One will note the difference between the *core* and *peripheral* suffixation pattern here is essentially the same as for the consequential mood (see Chapter 15).

Note B

For some speakers **ni**, the "ghost of the localis," which occurs to a greater or lesser extent (depending upon dialect) in various endings of the two contemporatives moods, has been introduced purely by analogy into connective moods other than the two contemporative moods. That is, the "ghost of the localis" can be found in moods where there is no historical justification for it. For example, some Yup'ik speakers will say **nervailegmini** for 'before she (subject of main verb) ate it' (similar to **nernginanermini** 'while she was eating it') instead of saying **nervailegmi**.

Going in the opposite direction some Yup'ik speakers have innovated so as to bring the contemporative moods more in line with the other connective moods by eliminating all traces of the localis, saying for example, **nernginanerma** for 'while I was eating' (similar to **nervailegma** 'before I ate') instead of **nernginanemni**.

Note C

The two contemporative moods have "grown" into full-fledged verb moods through three developments: (1) They use a subject in the absolutive case for the intransitive (rather than a possessor in the relative for a nominalized verb). (2) They can be used as transitives with subject and object. (3) They use a marker that indicates both subject and object when used in the transitive. There are several other constructions consisting of particular postbases and various particular case endings and are heading (so to speak) in the same direction. Some examples are:

Maani uitaciqa qetunraqa tekisvianun. 'I'll stay here until my son returns.'
 (*tekisvianun* is from *tekite-*, the postbase @~+vik 'place for V-ing, time for V-ing,' and the terminalis; also possible are *tekitellerkaanun*, *tekiyutiinun* and *tekitnatkaanun* with the same meaning)

Itellruunga qetunraqa anqatanrakun. 'I came in just when my son was about to go out.'
 (*anqatanrakun* is from *ane-*, the postbases *-qatar-* and *-neq* and the vialis)

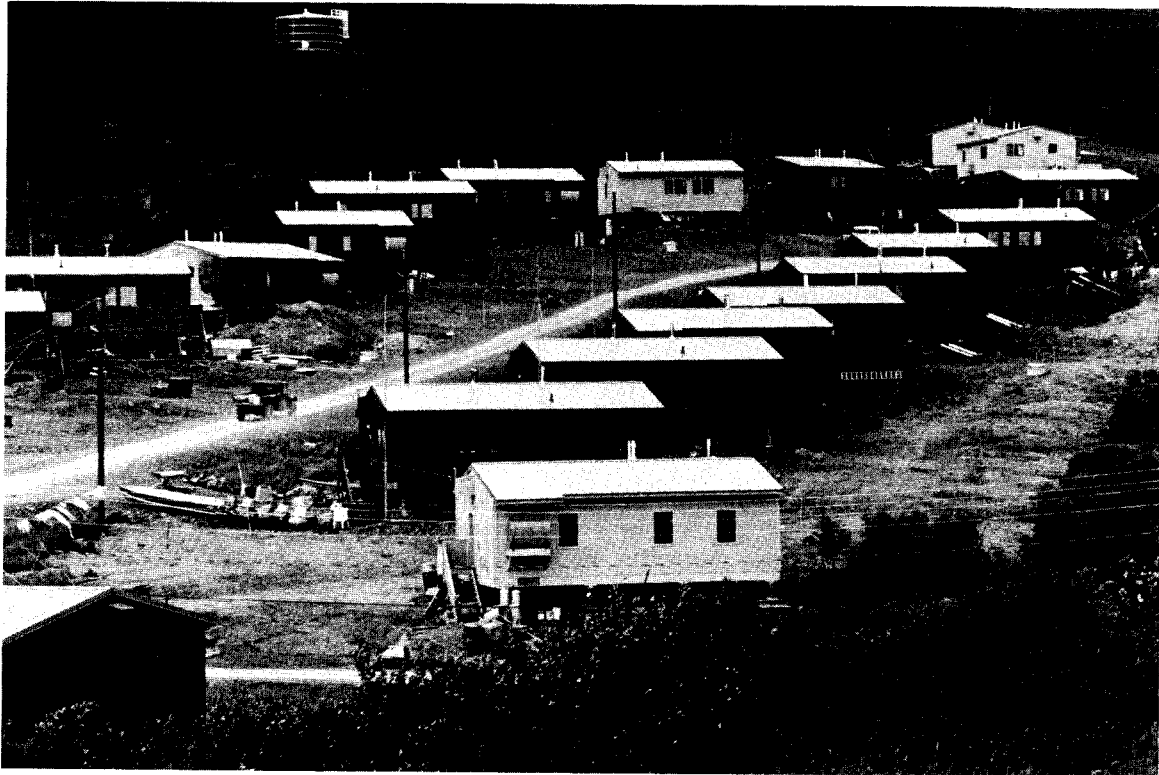
Pissuryaqsaitua qetunraqa ayaggaanranek. 'I haven't gone hunting since my son left.'
 (*ayaggaanranek* is from *ayag-* the postbases *-rraar-* and *-neq* and the ablative-modalis)

The exact extent of acceptability of such forms as the above has not been completely determined, nor has the acceptability of using them in transitive constructions or with transitive endings. For example, are either or both of the following acceptable?

Kalikanek naaqiksaitua uima kiputerraanraku una tiiviiq. 'I haven't read a book since my husband bought this television.'

Atungnaqngaitaqa una mingqessuun uima kituggviaku. 'I won't try to use this sewing machine until my husband fixes it.'

For more on this subject see Jacobson, 1982.



Mountain Village. Photo by James H. Barker.

CHAPTER 18

*Compound-Verbal Postbases;
Terminalis of Embedded Transitive Verb;
The Observational Construction*

Vocabulary

- akquq** 'he promised'; **akqaa** 'he promised him'
allegtuq 'it tore'; **allгаа** 'he tore it'
amartuq 'he's carrying something on his back; **amaraa** 'he's carrying it on his back' #1
anainessaaq 'onion' #2
anguyagta 'soldier' (*also 'government,' especially when plural*) #3
aqlin 'earring' #4
auggluk 'bloodstain, puddle of blood'
auk 'blood'
ciugtuq 'he tilted his head up, looked up'
civtaa 'he set it (net, trap)'
egamaarrluk 'partially dried fish boiled for eating' #5
ellimeraa 'he told, asked or ordered him to do something'
ellminun 'to himself' & **ellmeggnun** 'to themselves' (*both terminalis*)
elpenun 'to you₁' & **elpeceñun** 'to you_{pl}' (*both terminalis*)
ipegcaraa 'he is sharpening it' #6
ipegcarissuun 'whetstone'
kantuuvvilaq 'potato' #7
maaten 'just when ... (and observed that); lo and behold' (*particle; discussed below*)
nagtuq 'it got snagged on something'
nayurtuq 'he's looking after someone or something; **nayuraa** 'he is watching out for him, he is watching over him'
qucillgaq 'crane' #8
qugyuk 'swan'
qunguturaq 'pet' #9
saaniik, sainiik, caaniik, or cainiik 'kettle' #10
takua 'he checked it (net, trap)'
takuyartuq 'he looked back over his shoulder'; **takuyaraa** 'he looked back over his shoulder at her'
umyuaqertaa 'he recalled it, he had it come to his mind, suddenly thought about it'
umyuartequq 'he is thinking, he thinks' #11
ussukcaq 'nail'
wangnun 'to me' & **wangkutnun** 'to us' (*both terminalis*)
yaaruiguq 'he is using a story knife' #12
yaaruin 'story knife' #13

The Postbase @~+ni-

The postbase, @~+ni- 'to say that one is V-ing,' goes on verb bases and yields further verb bases. When used with an intransitive ending (example (1) below) the meaning is that the 'subject is saying something about himself', while when used with a transitive ending (example (2) below) the meaning is that the 'subject is saying something about object':

- (1) **Angun kaiguiq.** 'The man says that he is hungry.'
 (2) **Angutem arnaq kaignia.** 'The man says that the woman is hungry.'

Also,

Allaneq ayagciqniq unuaqu. 'The visitor says that he will leave tomorrow.'
Aatama allaneq ayagciqnia unuaqu. 'My father says that the visitor will leave tomorrow.'

This postbase attaches to **te**-ending bases in the usual manner for postbases that begin with **n**. If the **te** is preceded by a fricative, then that **te** is dropped and the fricative and **n** are voiceless:

Angun kaikapiggnuiq. 'The man says that he is very hungry' (from **kaikapigte-**).

If the **te** is preceded by a vowel, even if it is a special **te**, only the **e** is dropped and the **t** remains as it is (devoicing **n** of course):

Angutem arnaq kainritnia. 'The man says that the woman isn't hungry.'

Embedded vs. Derived Sentences, Compound-Verbal Postbases

With most of the verb-to-verb postbases previously presented,¹ the *derived* or "outer" sentence (that is, the sentence created by the use of the postbase in question) will have the same transitivity as the *embedded* or "inner" sentence (that is, the sentence formed by removing the postbase in question). Consider, for example, the postbase **-llru-**. The sentence **angun nerellruuq** derived with this postbase is intransitive just as is the sentence, **angun ner'uq**, embedded within it. Similarly, the derived sentence **angutem akutaq nerellrua** is transitive just as in the sentence, **angutem akutaq neraa**, embedded within it. In short, this postbase, **-llru-**, preserves transitivity.

However, with the postbase @~+ni-, and several others, the transitivity of the embedded and derived sentences can differ. For example, while in example (1) above the embedded sentence, **angun kaiguiq**, is intransitive just like the derived sentence, in example (2) above the embedded sentence is **arnaq kaiguiq**

1. Except postbases +**(gi)-** (Chap. 8), +**te-** (Chap. 9), and @:**(u)te-** (Chap. 10).

'the woman is hungry' and this embedded sentence is intransitive, unlike the derived sentence which is transitive. Postbases such as @~+ni- where the transitivity of embedded and derived verbs can differ will be called *compound-verbal postbases*.

Another item of special terminology will also be useful. We shall call that party to the verb which is in the absolutive case the *topic*. Consequently the topic is the same as the subject for an intransitive verb and the same as the object for a transitive verb.

With @~+ni- and other compound-verbal postbases the topic coincides for embedded and derived verbs, even if these verbs differ in transitivity. The topic is the point where the embedded and derived sentences intersect. For example, in the derived sentence **angutem arnaq kaignia** and its embedded sentence **arnaq kaigtuq**, the word **arnaq** is the common topic of both sentences though in the derived sentence **arnaq** is the object and in the embedded sentence **arnaq** is the subject.

In the following two examples the embedded sentence might be either intransitive or transitive, and *one cannot tell which except by context*, but either way one interprets it, the topic of the derived sentence and that of embedded sentence is the same.

Angun nunuryugniug. *Either:* 'The man says that he wants to scold someone' (*interpreting the embedded sentence as intransitive:* **angun nunuryugtuq** 'the man wants to scold someone') *or:* 'The man says that someone wants to scold him' (*interpreting the embedded sentence as transitive:* **angun nunuryugaa** 'someone wants to scold the man').

Angutem arnaq nunuryugnia. *Either:* 'The man says the woman wants to scold someone' (*interpreting the embedded sentence as intransitive:* **arnaq nunuryugtuq** 'the woman wants to scold someone') *or:* 'The man says that someone (including possibly the man himself) wants to scold the woman' (*interpreting the embedded sentence as transitive:* **arnaq nunuryugaa** 'someone wants to scold the woman').

The main point here is that one cannot tell from the derived sentence whether its topic, **angun** in the first example above and **arnaq** in the second example, should be understood as the subject of an embedded *intransitive* verb, that is as 'the one that wants to scold someone,' or as the object of an embedded *transitive* verb, that is as 'the one that someone wants to scold.' And, this is because one cannot tell whether the embedded verb is to be taken as intransitive or transitive.¹

1. One could even say that the embedded verb, **nunuryug-**, actually *does* have an ending, **tuq** or **aa**, but that there is no room for this ending since the next postbase goes where that ending would have gone. With postbases other than the compound-verbal postbases the ending on the embedded verb is not in question because it is the same as that on the derived verb.

The postbase under consideration, @~+ni-, can most accurately be translated as: 'to say that the topic of the derived verb is the topic of the embedded verb.'

Terminalis as Subject of Embedded Transitive Verb

Now, *if* the embedded verb is transitive, and *if* it has an explicit subject, then this subject goes into the *terminalis case* (*subject of embedded transitive verb use*). It is changed from being in the relative case in the embedded sentence to being in the terminalis in the derived sentence. For example:

Angun tegganermun nunuryugniq. 'The man says that the elder wants to scold him.' (*Embedded sentence: tegganrem nunuryugaa angun.*)

Angutem arnaq tegganermun nunuryugnia. 'The man says that the elder wants to scold the woman.' (*Embedded sentence: tegganrem nunuryugaa arnaq.*)

Arnaq ikayullruniuq angutmun. 'The woman says that the man helped her.'¹ (*Embedded sentence: arnaq ikayullrua angutem.*)

Time-fixing and most other verbal to verbal postbases can go on either, or both, sides of @~+ni- (and other compound verbal postbases) with predictable differences in meaning (but see the discussion of the postbase -sqe- and the negative below).

Naulluunjuq. 'He says he is ill.'

Naulluullrunjuq. 'He says he was ill.'

Naulluunillruuq. 'He said he was ill.'

Naulluullrunillruuq. 'He said he had been ill.'²

Ayagciqnillruyugnarquq. 'He probably said that he would go.'

Ayagciqsugnaqnillruuq. 'He said that he probably would go.' (*Compound-verbal postbases are virtually the only postbases that can follow the postbase @~+yugnarqe- (see Chapter 9).*)

1. It is possible to translate this sentence with an English passive: 'the woman says that she was helped by the man,' and then the phrase 'by the man' satisfies one's desire to have an English preposition, 'by,' correspond to the terminalis ending. However such a passive translation will not work so well with the preceding two sentences; the first sentence does not mean 'the man says that he wants to be scolded by the elder' (although it does mean 'the man says that he was wanted by the elder for scolding').

2. However, one should be aware that even without a past time-fixing postbase past time may be "understood" from context, especially with momentary-event verbs such as 'to say' (see Chapter 2).

Exercise 18-1

Translate the following into English, and extract the embedded Yup'ik sentences from the given Yup'ik sentences. For example, given Arnam nasaurlurmun tamallrunia mingqun, you would translate it as 'The woman says that the girl lost the needle,' and the embedded sentence is, Nasaurloom tamallrua mingqun.

- 1) Mikelnguq keggellruniuq qimugtemfun.
- 2) Arnam mikelnguq qiayuitnia.
- 3) Aanama makut kavirlit atsat yugnun neryuitnii.
- 4) Apa'urluqa qetunravnun ikayurciqniuq.
- 5) Irniapuk alikniut tungulrianun qimugtecuarpecefun.
- 6) Irniapuk alingniut qatellrianek qimulvagpecefek.
- 7) Irniamegnuk irniarpetegnun alikniit qimugkauyaraat!
- 8) Pissurtet tamana kuik et'unillruat.

The postbase @~+ni- is often used with the subordinative:

Angutem arnaq qanrutaa kaigniluni. 'The man told the woman that he was hungry' (*literally: 'the man told the woman, saying that he was hungry'; it is necessary to have the postbase @~+ni- here, even though it essentially repeats what the verb qanrutaa conveys*).

Angutem arnaq qanrutaa kaigniluku tan'gurraq. 'The man told the woman that the boy was hungry' (*arnaq is the object of qanrutaa, and tan'gurraq is the object of kaigniluku; word order plays a role in this sentence*).

Angutem arnaq qanrutaa assirniluku. 'The man told the woman that she was nice.' (*Context alone tells one that 'she' means the woman whom the man told; 'she' could mean another person depending on context*).

Angutem arnaq qanrutaa tegganermun nunuryugniluku tan'gurraq. 'The man told the woman that the elder wanted to scold the boy.'

Akqellruanga taiciqniluni unuamek. 'He promised me that he would come today.'

Qanertuq ellminun nallunritniluten. 'He says he (himself) knows you.'

A compound verbal postbase such as @~+ni- need only be used with one of two (or more subordinatives) and it is understood as applying to the other(s) as well, as in the following example.

Elitnauristem qanrutellruanga irnianka puqigniluki assirluki-llu. 'The teacher told me that my children were smart and pleasant as well.' (*The force of the postbase @~+ni- carries over to assirluki; it is not necessary to say assirniluki-llu.*)

Exercise 18-2

In the following translate the given English, modify the given Yup'ik and combine as the example illustrates. For example, given My mother told me: irniavet nerellrua akutaq you would write Aanama qanrutellruanga irniavnun nerellruniluku akutaq.

1) The teacher told the students that: nutaraq elitnaurista taiciquq unuaqu. 2) The man told his wife: aatiin aturaa snuukuuq. (*make the appropriate changes for it to be the man's father*). 3) I will tell the children: estuuluq navgumauq. 4) Did you tell your son: ak'a kumartellruan kaminiq ing'umi maqivigmi? 5) I told the preacher: kitugciiqaqa agayuviim amiiga. 6) I heard: ilaten tekitellruut akwaugaq. (*translate this as if it were 'I heard, saying (hearing) ...'*). 7) My brother wrote to me: kassuuciiquq uksumi. 8) I told you: tauna yaassiik uqamaituq. 9) Who told you: kalikivik ekuallruuq? 10) The man told the woman: qetunraan kassuucugaa pania. (*where it is the man's son and the woman's daughter*) 11) He told me: uquq assiicugnarquq. 12) The child promised his mother: eruriciquq qantanek. 13) The soldier said: nerellrua anainessaaq.

There are several other compound verbal postbases. They function in the same fashion as the postbase @~+ni-.

The Postbases @~+yuke- and @~+nayuke-

The postbase @~+yuke- means 'to think or believe that the topic of the derived verb is the topic of the embedded verb.' As with @~+ni-, the belief is about the subject if the ending is intransitive, and about the object if the ending is transitive.

Piniryukuq or Umyuartequq piniryukluni. 'He thinks he's strong.' (*The second formulation literally says 'he thinks, thinking that he's strong.'*)

Tuqumayukanka or Umyuartequa tuqumayukluki. 'I think they are dead.'

Tuqutellruyukanka im'umun or Umyuartequa im'umun tuqutellruyukluki. 'I think that that one killed them.'

For events which are less certain, particularly events in the future, the postbase @~+nayuke- is used meaning 'to think or believe that topic of derived verb may be the topic of the embedded verb.'

Tuqunayukanka or Umyuartequa tuqunayukluki. 'I think they might die.'

One can simply, but less precisely, consider the postbase @~+yuke- as meaning 'to think that,' and @~+nayuke- 'to think that maybe,' while @~+ni- can be considered as meaning 'to say that.'

Exercise 18-3

A. Translate each of the following sentences and extract the embedded sentence out of it. Translate that and then take the original sentence and reformulate it using *umyuarateq-* and the subordinative. For example, given *Aatavnun civtellruyukaqa kuvyaq* you would write 'I think your father set the fishnet,' embedded sentence: *Aatavet civtellrua kuvyaq*. 'Your father set the fishnet,' reformulation of original sentence: *Umyuaratequa aatavnun civtellruyukluku kuvyaq*.

1) *Qetunravnun-qaa ikayurnayukuten?* 2) *Tan'gerlimun akngirtellermun auksukaqa kan'a.* 3) *Aanama akutaq nangnayukaa irniaminun.* 4) *Nuliama alqami uinga pitellruyukaa qugyugnek.* 5) *Terikiamun nerellruyukanka neqerlluut.* 6) *Anguyaget akngirrnyukut.* 7) *Angutem mikelnguut yaaruuyukai ellami.* 8) *Wangnun-qaa perrillruyukan pitama auga piqertuutavnek?*

B. Embed the sentences given in parentheses and translate. For example, given *Umyuaratequa*. (*kuuvviaq nang'uq*) you would write *Umyuaratequa kuuvviaq nangyukluku*. 'I think the coffee's used up.'

1) *Alinguten-qaa?* (*akngirciiquten*). 2) *Ciin umyuarateqsit?* (*anguyagteŋgullruuq nutaraq elitnaurista*). 3) *Umyuaratequa*. (*anngama ak'a nerqai qimugtet*). 4) *Umyuarateqellruyaaquten-qaa?* (*pitaqan augna qucillgaq*). 5) *Umyuaratequa*. (*akngirtellruunga it'gamkun*). 6) *Umyuarateqsaqellruunga*. (*pagkut lagiugut*). 7) *Alinguten-qaa* (*qimugtema kegciqaaten*)?

If the subordinative pertains to something that will or may occur in the future and includes a postbase that incorporates the idea of 'wanting' or 'intending,' then it is not always necessary (or desirable) to use the postbase @~+ni- with the subordinative when the main verb is a verb of speaking, or to use the postbase @~+yuke- or @~+nayuke- with the subordinative when the main verb is a verb of thinking. For example:

Qanellruuq ikayuryugluku aanani. 'He said that he (the one speaking) wanted to help his mother' (*literally*: 'he spoke wanting to help his mother'; note that **ikayuryugluku** is used here rather than **ikayuryugniluku** which could have been used, but which would have opened the possibility that someone other than the speaker wants to help).

Aptellrua ikayuryugluku aanani. 'He asked his mother if he could help her' (*literally*: 'he asked his mother wanting to help her').

Umyuarateqellruuq ikayurnaluku aanani. 'He thought of helping his mother' (*literally*: 'he thought intending to help his mother'; note that **ikayurnaluku** is used here rather than **ikayurnayukluku** which could have been used, but which would have opened the possibility that someone other than the one thinking would help).

Exercise 18-4

A. Translate into English and then rewrite the subordinative verbs of these sentences using compound-verbal postbases:

1) Mikelnguum aanani aptellrua qunguturangyugluni qimugkauyarmek. 2) Qanellruuten-qaakantuuvvilanek neryugluten? 3) Nukalpiaq umyuarateqsugnarquq civcinaluni ing'um napam caniani. 4) Qanrutellruagka angayuqaagka ayaumainanragi nayuryugluki kinguqliinka. 5) Umyuaratequten-qaq irnian yaaruicinaluku? 6) Qetunramegnuk qanrutellruakuk aturani allenriteng-naqsugluki ussukcamun. 7) Umyuaratequkuk uitanalunuk tamaani cangatenrilkumegnuq. 8) Nulirqa qanrutellruaqa nuussia ipegcaryugluku. 9) Ak'a pillruatnga neryugluteng egamaarrlugmek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik, using postbases @~+ni-, @~+yuke-, @~+nayuke-, @~+yug-, or @~+na- as appropriate:

1) I think that he will leave tomorrow. 2) I think they'll arrive tomorrow. 3) He promised he would help me when I build a boat. 4) He told me you would help me when I build a house. 5) I thought, incorrectly, that it was a swan. 6) I think I'll hunt those cranes. 7) He told me he wanted another pet since his dog died. 8) I'm thinking of making a fish camp near my wife's parents' fishcamp. 9) They asked me if they could use my old story knife. 10) Why did you tell him that you'd torn your new coat on that nail? 11) He said he'd carry the food on his back. 12) I told my wife I'd make her earrings. 13) I'm thinking of putting onions and potatoes in the soup when I make it. 14) He was thinking of wiping up that blood stain, but he hasn't done it yet. 15) He promised that he would help me.

The Postbase -sqe-

Another compound-verbal postbase is **-sqe-** meaning 'to ask or tell topic of derived sentence to be topic of embedded sentence.'

Neresqanka or **Qanrutanka neresqelluki**. 'I asked or told them to eat.'
(The second formulation says literally: 'I told them, telling them to eat'; one does not say ***aptanka neresqelluki** for this because **apte-** is 'to ask for information' not 'to ask one to do something'.¹)

When used with the postbase **@:(i/u)ma-** (see Chapter 12) the combination means 'to want topic of derived verb to be topic of embedded verb.'

Neresqumaanka. 'I want them to eat.'

Embedded in this transitive verb **neresqumaanka** is the intransitive verb **ner'ut** 'they are eating.' Contrast this to **neryuganka** 'I want to eat them' where the postbase is *not* a compound-verbal postbase and the embedded verb is the transitive **ner'anika** 'I am eating them.' So it is important to keep in mind that

1. In actual practice people do use **apte-** in sentences such as this, perhaps due to English influence.

in Yup'ik there are two different postbases for 'to want': one where the subject wants to do something himself and the other where the subject wants someone else to do something. This is the reason that one doesn't say things like ***qavasqumauq** (where both embedded and derived verbs are intransitive); this would mean 'he wants (himself) to sleep,' and for that one says **qavaryugtuq**.

Note also that for many people **te** before **-sqe-** becomes **ce**: **inarcesqaa** 'he told him to go to bed.'

The postbase **-sqe-** has an alternate way of attaching to bases besides dropping final consonants. It can take the form **:(e)sqe-** where **(e)** is used with all consonant final bases and velar-dropping will occur (between single vowels of course):

Itresqaa (*alternative to itesqaa*). 'He asked him to come in.'

Eqiuresqaa (*alternative to eqiusqaa*). 'He asked him to chop wood.'

Qavaasqaa (*from *qavaresqaa by velar-dropping; alternative to qavasqaa*).
'He asked him to sleep.'

For some reason, **age** with this postbase does *not*, under velar dropping, become **ii**:

Ayaasqaa (*from *ayagesqaa by velar-dropping; alternative to ayasqaa*).
'He asked him to leave.'

If this postbase **-sqe-** occurs with **-nrite-**, then **-nrite-** (or its substitute **.vke-**) always comes last:

Kuv'isqenritaa or **Qanrutaa kuv'isqevkenaku**. 'He told him not to spill anything (*rather than: *kuv'inritesqaa and *qanrutaa kuv'inritesqelluku*).

Exercise 18-5*A. Translate:*

1) Kelgaakut neresqelluta unuaqu. 2) Tegganrem nukalpiaq ellimellrua takusqelluku camna taluyaq. 3) Ipegcaasqumayaaqaqa qetunramnun piqertuutaq ipgialnguq. 4) Apa'urluci elpeceñun ikayuusquq. 5) Nasaurluum qanrutellruanga yaaruitelisqelluni. 6) Aanavet perririsqaaten qantanek erullminek. 7) Ak'a qanrutamken nerqesqelluki qimugkayaraat. 8) Kina qanrutellrusiu amaasqelluku yaassiik akakiignek imangqellria? 9) Imkut civcisqenritaitkut kuvyamek maani. 10) Anguyaget qanrut'laraitkut pitesqevkenata qucillgarnek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik and parse your translations:

1) My mother told me not to eat the Eskimo ice cream. 2) The soldiers asked us to help them. 3) Why do you want me to carry that heavy backpack on my back? 4) Your dad asked us to take the geese that he caught up from the boat and to bring them into the house. 5) She told us not to use up all the seal oil. 6) I already told my daughter to wash the dishes and my son to wipe them. 7) Do you want me to help you? 8) I'll ask them to check the fishnet downriver. 9) Who did you ask to wipe up the blood? 10) Why don't you want your children to play with a story knife today?

The Postbases .vkar- and @+cete-

Yup'ik has one more very important pair of compound-verbal postbases. These are the postbases that means 'to *allow* topic of derived verb to be topic of imbedded verb,' 'to *compel* topic of derived verb to be topic of imbedded verb,' 'to *cause* topic of derived verb to be topic of imbedded verb' with the exact meaning determined by context. With vowel-final bases, the postbase is **.vkar-**. Note the variety of possible translations.

Tan'gurraam nasaurluq qiavkaraa. 'The boy *made* the girl cry.'

Angutem nuliaminun mingqevkaraa paltuuni. 'The man *had* his wife sew his coat.'

Arnam aquivkaraa mikelnguq ellami. 'The woman *let* the child play outside.'

Unlike English, the Yup'ik language does not routinely differentiate between *allowing* and *compelling*. Ordinarily it will be clear from context, as in the three examples above, whether one is being *allowed* to do something he wants to do or *compelled* to do something he doesn't want to do. If it is necessary to say that someone is being compelled to do something which one would normally expect him to want to do, words such as **piyuumiilengraan** 'even though he didn't want to' are used:

Arnam aquivkaraa mikelnguq ellami piyuumiilengraan. 'The woman *made* the child play outside, even though he didn't want to.'

Conversely, additional words can be used to say that one is being allowed to do something which one would normally expect him not to want to do. Thus:

Arnam erurivkaraa mikelnguq qantanek piyuan. 'The woman *let* the child wash dishes because he wanted to.'

With bases that end in a consonant **.vkar-** is not used; instead, another postbase (with the same meaning), **@+cete-** is used:

Irniani itercetai. 'He made his children go inside.'

Angutem nuliaminun callmagcetaa paltuuni. 'The man had his wife patch his coat.'

With bases that end in **te**, either postbase may be used with little or no difference in meaning. The postbase **@+cete-** drops final **te**.

Inartevkaraa or Inarcetaa. 'He had him lie down.'¹

Exercise 18-6

A. Translate into English being careful to make the appropriate choice of the words "make," "let," "have":

1) Nunuraa irniani qiavkarluku. 2) Assiilnguum neqem naulluuvkallruakut. 3) Callmagceciiaqa nuliamnun paltuuka allgumalria. 4) Kuv'ivkararpenga atsanek iqvallemnek nunamun. 5) Ciin anevkallrusiki irniaten paltuuginaki? (*this last word is used rather than paltuugitevkarluki; as noted above for the compound-verbal postbase @~+ni-, the force of the compound-verbal postbase .vkar- extends over the second verb paltuugite-*) 6) Qetunravnun egtevkarked taukuk allgumalriik sap'akik. 7) Ikayurteminun igautevkallrui qanellni. 8) Mikelnguq qunguturani nerqellrunritaa tuquvkarluku-llu. 9) Alqama pingayun piipini qavarcet'larai ataucimi inglermi. 10) Wangkutnun keniutesqellruuq. 11) Uima wangnun ipegarcetaa uqamailnguq piqertuutaq assiilngurkun ipegcarissuutekun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The hunter had his little son shoot the crane. 2) Why didn't you make your son leave the axe and the sharpening stone at the fishcamp? 3) Why are you letting your children watch television? 4) My wife had our daughter wear her white cloth cover parka. 5) After my father caught a wolverine he had me skin it. 6) My relatives never let their children play outside with story-knives in Bethel. 7) He let his pet eat the whitefish which I had caught. 8) The crying child is making me tired and angry. 9) Have your child wipe the dishes which you have washed. 10) After I brought the pike fish into the house I had my wife cook them. 11) He made me get hurt on my leg.

1. To some people, **inartevkaraa** is 'he let him lie down' and **inarcetaa** is 'he made him lie down.' It is not clear whether or not this reflects an old difference between the two postbases, which may once have applied to other types of bases as well.

Transitivity Possibilities for Compound-Verbal Postbases

As we saw above, one cannot use the postbase **-sqe-** with both embedded and derived verbs considered as intransitive (because **@~+yug-** is used in such a situation). Likewise one cannot use **.vkar-/@+cete-** with both embedded and derived verbs considered as intransitive. However, this time it is only because one does not 'compel' or 'allow' oneself to do something, at least not from a Yup'ik point of view. Thus, ***anevkartuq**, which might seem to mean 'he forced himself to go outside,' simply is not generally an acceptable Yup'ik word.

One can summarize the compound-verbal postbases of this chapter through the following chart (where 'he' is used as the subject of the embedded verb or 'him' as the object to indicate the same individual as the subject of the main verb, and 'she' or 'her' is used to indicate a different individual):

embedded

<i>verb:</i>	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>
<i>derived</i>				
<i>verb:</i>	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>

postbase @~+ni- 'says'

alingniug 'he says he is afraid'	alingnia 'he says she is afraid'	alikniug 'he says some- one is afraid of him'	alikia 'he says someone is afraid of her'
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postbases @~+yuke- 'thinks' *and* *@~+nayuke-* 'thinks maybe'

alingnayukuq 'he thinks he might be afraid'	alingnayukaa 'he thinks she might be afraid'	alikhayukuq 'he thinks someone might be afraid of him'	alikhayukaa 'he thinks someone might be afraid of her'
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postbase -sqe- 'wants', 'asks' or 'tells'

(*ikayuutesquq <i>not used;</i>	ikayuutesqaa 'he wants her to help out'	ikayusquq 'he wants someone to help him'	ikayusqaa 'he wants someone to help her'
ikayuucugtuq <i>used instead)</i>			

postbase .vkar-/@+cete- 'lets' or 'makes'

(*alingevkartuq <i>not used)</i>	alingevkaraa 'he's making her afraid'	alikevkartuq 'he's making someone afraid of him'	alikevkaraa 'he's making someone afraid of her'
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Use of a Causative Postbase as a “Subject Adjuster”

In Chapter 15 we examined the way in which the subordinative mood is used with the postbase **-rraar-** ‘to *V* first; after *V*-ing,’ to indicate that one event or act has followed another. However, it is constrained by the general limitation on the subordinative, that the subject of the main verb is also the subject of the subordinative. Thus, while one can use this construction for sentences such as, **arnaq nerellruuq itraarluni** ‘the *woman* ate after *she* (the same woman) came in.’ there is a problem in using this construction if the subjects of the two verbs differ as in ‘the *woman* ate after the *man* came in.’ This problem is addressed by using the postbase **@+cete-** ‘to allow, cause, compel one to *V*’ between **-rraar-** and the subordinative ending. In such a construction the postbase **@+cete-** functions in a purely “formal” sense to involve the main verb as the subject of the subordinative verb; the ‘allow, cause, compel’ meaning of this postbase is not actually invoked. The postbase **@+cete-** is a *subject adjuster*.

Arnaq nerellruuq mikelnguq itraarcelluku. ‘The woman ate after the child came in’ (*literally*: ‘the woman ate letting/making the child come in first’).

This construction does not necessarily imply that the woman actually allowed or made the child come in; the postbase is used only in a formal sense for grammatical reasons. This can be further illustrated by a sentence where the subject of the main verb could not possibly have been involved with the event described by the dependent verb:

Yuurtellruunga apa’urluqa tuqurraarcelluku. ‘I was born after my grandfather died’ (*literally*: ‘I was born letting/making my grandfather die first’).

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for a variant form of **@+cete-** when it serves as a subject adjuster.

Exercise 18-7

A. Translate the following, making sure that you use the postbase @+cete- when and only when necessary:

1) We returned home after we got tired. 2) We returned home after it got cold. 3) After our relatives arrive, let's eat. 4) After you_{pl} broke my sled I fixed it. 5) After it rained it started to snow. 6) My son immediately fell asleep after he lay down on the bed in there. 7) We'll eat after my father comes in. 8) I'll eat after they do.

B. Reverse the following from 'before' to 'after' keeping the meaning the same, using a subject adjuster when, but only, when needed. For example, given Aatama tuqutellrua tan'gerliq taivailegma ('my father killed the bear before I got here'), you would write Taillruunga aatamnun tuquqaarcelluku tan'gerliq (literally: 'I got here after letting my father kill the bear').

1) Ipegcallruaqa nuliama uluara uklivailgaki anainessaat kantuuvvilat-llu. 2) Irnianka ak'a pillruut mertarnaluteng ellimerpailemteng. 3) Takuyarturciqaqa kuvyacuarqa maqivailegma. 4) Qugyuum tangellrulliniakut ciugpailemta tangerrluku-llu.

See also Note B in the supplement to this chapter concerning the use of the postbase .vkar-/@+cete- as a subject adjuster with verbs of perception.

There are several other compound-verbal postbases in Yup'ik, but the most used are those discussed in this chapter.

Connected Reading — The Observational Construction

In the following connected reading watch for these points:

(1) Many sentences have subordinative rather than indicative main verbs. This is the *autonomous* subordinative (see Chapter 13).

(2) Those sentences which *do* have indicative verbs often mark the *observational construction* (which will be discussed more in Chapter 19 and especially in Chapter 21). This construction is often, but not always, also marked by the particle **maaten** 'lo and behold.'¹ The indicative verb (which is often just the "empty" base **pi-**) describes the act of observation or the act causing the observation, and another clause indicates the event that is observed. The second clause sometimes does not have an explicit verb, but rather uses a predicative demonstrative such as **yaa-i** 'over there,' the particle **tayima** 'gone,' or merely an implied 'there was.'

(3) The rule that the subject of the subordinative is the same as the subject of the main verb (which is itself often just another subordinative) is not strictly followed if context tells one just what the subject of a given subordinative is.

1. **maaten** is actually the equalis of **maani** 'here' (cf. equalis **waten** from **wani** and **tuaten** from **tuani**), so that **maaten** can be viewed as meaning literally 'like this.'

Read the following and be sure you understand who is doing what to whom for each event in it.

Tekicami ayaumarraarluni elitnauryaumaluni tauna Akagtaq, qetunraak Selap'ankuk Akalleq-llu,¹ neryukapiarallruuq yugtarnek. Egmiian-llu Akallrem nerevkarluku suupamek yaqulegmek. Akuyulluku-llu akutaryugyukluku atsalugpialegmek. Cali tua-i akutarturcelluku.

Up'nerkaungan-llu yaqulget pingellruata aatiin piluku maliksugluku² yaqulegcullermini unuaqu. Elliin-llu³ piluku malikciqnuluku. Tua-i-llu Akagtam umyuaqercamiu yaqulegcuutni uitavillrani piyaaqaa⁴ tayima. Yuaran pia aatiin qullirmun⁵ yaassiigek⁶ iluagnun qemagtellruniluku uqurqaarluku.⁷ Tua-i-llu Akagtam aqvaluku qullirmun mayurluni. Maaten⁸ piuq yaa-i yaassiigek aciani missuugem. Tua-i-llu ullaglukek ikircaaqaq, perriun kan'a,⁹ nutegmek-llu tangerpek'nani. Ciuqlirmi Akagtaq umyuarteqsaarluni kitumun tegullruyukluku. Tua-i-llu umyuani ukveqenrilamiu tamana perriun kanavet cavvluku. Maaten cavtaaraa¹⁰ acia perriutem tamaa-i nutga. Tua-i-llu patuirluku, tegurraarluku nutni yuvrirraarluku perriqcaarluku.¹¹ Taqngamiu-llu nutek atraulluku uitalarvillranun elliluku.

Tua-i-llu unuaquani¹² unuakutarraarlutek, upnginanermini¹³ piuq ella assiqapiggluni,¹⁴ akerta-wa ingna.¹⁵ Tua-i-llu taquarkatek¹⁶ taqngaki aanami

1. In **tauna Akagtaq, qetunraak Selap'ankuk Akalleq-llu** the first three words are appositives while **Selap'ankuk** is the possessor of **qetunraak**; **Akalleq** is the other member of the possessing pair along with **Selap'aq**, and even though **Selap'ankuk** is in the relative case, the name of the other member of the pair (**Akalleq** here) is always put in the absolute in a construction like this (see the absolute of included subject in Chapter 9).
2. **malik** = 'companion (in some activity)', so **malike-** 'to go or do with.'
3. **elliin** = 'he'; relative case personal pronoun used for emphasis (Chapter 21).
4. **piyaaqaa** = 'he looked for it in vain'; **pi-** takes its meaning here from context and from the following word, **tayima** 'it was gone.'
5. **qulliq** = 'attic.'
6. The dual **yaassiigek** = 'trunk, suitcase, footlocker.'
7. **uqurte-** = 'to apply oil to.'
8. This is the *observational construction* (see above). **piuq** is to be understood as meaning 'he looked'; the dual **yaassiigek**, literally 'pair of boxes' is lexicalized as 'suitcase or trunk', so that the whole sentence translates as: 'he looked; lo and behold, over there there was a trunk under a sack.'
9. **ikircaaqaq, perriun kan'a** is also the *observational construction*: 'he opened it (the trunk): (there was) a towel down there.'
10. **+aar-** = 'to repeatedly V' (Chapter 22).
11. **-qcaar(ar)-** = 'to do one's best to V.'
12. **unuaquani** = 'the next day'; literally, 'in its tomorrow.'
13. from **upte-** and the second contemporative; the **te** from the base is evident only in the voicelessness of **ng** as with **upngaituq** 'he won't get ready.'
14. *observational construction*; note that **assiqapiggluni** has **ella** as subject, and **piuq** has the boy, **Akagtaq**, as subject; in an observational construction such as this only context tells one whether any of the various parties to the observed event are the same as the subject of the verb indicating the act of observation; the apparatus of fourth vs. third person is not used.
15. in **akerta-wa ingna**, the enclitic **=wa** implies the understood but unstated verb here meaning: '(he) saw (the sun over there).'
16. **taquaq** = 'food to be taken along and eaten when traveling.'

elliin ekluki kalgaminun. Tua-i-llu anlutek pavatmurrutek. Maaten kinguyaami¹ piuq yaa-i nem ukatiini kinguqlia Tumaq'aq yaaruilria aiparluni Sulimek. Tua-i-llu qayagauruku² piluku nalluyagucesqevkenaku qunguturaa, nerqesqelluku.

Tua-i-llu pavatmun nunat keluatni nanvarpagmun ayaglutek. Tua-i-llu ayainanermegni camek aug'umek tangerrluni qimalriamek. Aatiin-llu piluku terikaniaruniluku. Ayainanermegni-llu ellii³ kiiryungluni, tua-i kegginani perriqaqulu piluni. Tua-i elitnauryaraminek⁴ umyuaratequrainanrani cam tengviklukek.⁵ Ellii-llu murilkenrilami tatamluni, kegginaa-llu man'a kaviriqertelliami⁶ puqlanga'arrluni.⁷ Maaten pagaavet tengellranun⁸ cam ciugtuq, qangqiiq. Tua-i-llu ellii ngel'arluni tatamellni umyuaqluku.

Tuar⁹ tua-i egmianun tekiteilliik¹⁰ taumun nanvarpagmun. Ellii-llu tangrrami ava-i qucillgarnek, laginek-llu qiilenga'arrluni.¹¹ Elavqerrluni¹² aatamitun piyualuni maliggluku aatani. Tua-i-llu maliggninannerminiu aatani camun nagcaaquluni paallanritqerluni.¹³ Aatiin-llu piluku nutgesqelluki lagit, elliin qucillgaat nutegyugluki. Maaten kiartenqigtuq¹⁴ agkut cali qucillgaat pektellriit.¹⁵ Aatani-llu tamakunek qanrulluku. Aatiin-llu piluku kingumek¹⁶ nutgesqelluki taukut, laginek nutgaarluku. Tua-i-llu ataucikun¹⁷ nuteglutek. Teng'ata¹⁸-llu cali pagaavet iimiulluki¹⁹ nuteglutek. Qucillgaat-llu kingumek nut'galuki²⁰ ikavet ceñami piyualriit.²¹ Aatani-llu tamakunek qanrucani piluku kuvyacuarmek civciyugluni. Pitateg-llu aurinanraki²² aatii civciluni kuvyacuarmek

1. **kinguyar-** = 'to look back.'
2. **qayagaur-** = 'to call out (to)' (Chapter 21).
3. **ellii** = 'he'; absolutive case personal pronoun used for emphasis (Chapter 21).
4. **elitnauryaraq** = 'activity of going to school.'
5. from **tenge-**, **@~+vik**, and **-ke-**, meaning literally 'it had them₂ as a place to fly off from.'
6. **kaviriqerte-** = 'to suddenly get red, blush.'
7. **puqlanga'arte-** = 'to suddenly get warm or hot.'
8. **-lleq** = '(possessor's) act of V-ing' (Chapter 20).
9. **tuar** = 'it seems like, it seems that' (particle)(Chapter 22).
10. **tekiteilliik** = 'they₂ arrived'; in Chapter 14 the ending of this word was presented as a nominalizing suffix, but it also functions as the participial verb mood (Chapter 21).
11. **qiilenga'arte-** = 'to suddenly get excited.'
12. **elavqerte** = 'to just crouch down.'
13. The combination of the postbase **@~+yaaqe-** on the verb **nagte-**, and **-nrite-** and **-qer-** here, give the meaning 'barely avoided.'
14. **kiarte-** = 'to look around.'
15. **pektellriit** = 'they moved'; the ending marks a verbal form here also.
16. **kingumek** = 'secondly.'
17. **ataucikun** = 'simultaneously.'
18. **teng'ata** is a variant of **tengengata**.
19. **iimiute-** = 'to aim at'; maybe from English.
20. **+a-** = 'to repeatedly V' (Chapter 22).
21. **piyualriit** = 'the ones that were walking'; here the ending acts as a nominalizing postbase.
22. **aur-** or **avur-** = 'to gather'; so **aurinanraki** = **avuinanraki** (Chapter 22).

mek. Tua-i-llu nayurlutek yaqulegnek, man'a-llu apiataq¹ tekican nayuinanermegni kaingamek-llu taquamegnek paivciluni² ellii. Tua-itamatum paivtaan neqerrluum tepii assirngatqapiggluni.³ Nererraarlutek cali nayuryaaqeng'ermek cam ullanrilatek, tamana kuvyacuuar elliin qamurluku⁴ pitartuumaan⁵ anlluku. Nutaan-llu aug'arluki⁶ taukut cetaman cangtai⁷ luqruuyiit kuvyacuaraam. Tua-i-llu uqamailqitaarlutek⁸ uterrlutek.

1. **apiataq** = 'lunchtime' rather than 'lunch,' here.
2. **paivte-** = 'to set out for use or display' (Chapter 22).
3. **@~+ngate-** = 'to seem to be V' (Chapter 20).
4. **qamur-** = 'to drag.'
5. **pitartuumaan** = 'along with the thing which he had caught'; quantifier/qualifier construction (Chapter 19).
6. **aug'ar-** = 'to get, push, or take it away' (Chapter 20).
7. **cangtaq** = 'a caught fish' (Chapter 20).
8. **uqamailqitaar-** = 'to pass the weight of a carried thing back and forth.'

QULIREQ

*Told by Leo Moses
November 8, 1978*

Tawa-llu-ggur-am-ukuk,
anuuruluqnassiilriig-am-ga,
ukuk maurluqarliik,
cuulliniaqelriik,
tawa nunayararamegni-wan',
imarpiim yaqsinrilkiini.

Tauna-gguq-taw',
tutgararulua,
taw' calistailami-llu.
Ellmineng-llu nallunriluk'
pikngailamiki,
elliriqlutek taukuk,
anuuruluqelriik cuugaqelriik tawa,
imarpiim yaqsinrilkiini.

Tawa-gguq-taw',
pitarkar-llu-taw',
caperqerrluamiu caperqengamiu-ga,
cassuutaunani.
Umyugami piyuumillra-tawa,
antaqkii,
umyugarramikun.

TALE

The two people in this story,
as in so many stories like this,
are a grandmother and her orphan
grandson,
who stayed
in a little place
not far from the ocean.

Now
the grandson
had no one to make tools or equipment
for him,
and without those things, he could not
learn to hunt.
Oh, those two were poor,
that grandmother and her grandson
living by the sea.

Well,
game animals
were beyond his reach
since he had no equipment.
So his mind
ridded itself
of all wishes for success in hunting.

Anthony Woodbury's (1984) collection of stories from Chevak uses a format of lines, verses, and stanzas in order to convey oral aspects such as pauses that define how the words are grouped together. Note that the standard Yup'ik orthography has been altered slightly to better fit Chevak phonology.

End-of-Chapter Exercises*A. Translate the following into English:*

1) Im'um egamaarluum naulluuvkallruanga arumassiyaagami. 2) Tatamtellerpenga allegcetellruan paltuuka ing'umun ussukcamun. 3) Aug'um niicuilinguum mikelnguum qunguturani tuquvkallrua nerqenrilamiu. 4) Miklemni umyuarteqsaaqellruunga anguyagterun tuqutnayuklua. 5) Qanrutellrung'ermia nuliani aqlicilarniluku kipuyutellrua kass'artagnek aqlitegnek akituligneq kipusvigmi. 6) Kuvyaput nagtellruan allegluni-llu anggama civtellraku, aatama ellimeraanga ikayuusqelluku. 7) Eritarraarluku qucillgartan uklillruanka kantuuvvilat suupalinalua. 8) Qanrutaanga umyuarteqsaaqniluni tuntuvauyukluku qucillgaq nerrlerminiu! 9) Qanrutaakut imisqevkenaku saaniik mermek mertallrukumta kuigmek. 10) Civtellruaqa kuvyaq taugaam elpenun takusqumaaqa. 11) Ciin nerevkarciki irniaten kainrilengraata? 12) Amarluku irniacuarani ceñamun atrallruuq utaqanaluku uini, qanrutraarlua maligcesqelluni. 13) Akqellruanga ipegcarciqniluku piqertuutaqa aturraarluku. 14) Panimnun auggluk natermi perrirceqaarluku aurrevkallruaqa piipiq natermi. 15) Niitellerminiu tengssuun ciugtellruyaaquq qanrutellruakut-llu tangvaasqelluku taugaam tangellrunritaput. 16) Aatama ellimellruanga nayuusqelluki kinguqliinka yaqulegcuryartuquni. 17) Nasaurluq alingellruuq akngirrnayukluni aanami ukineliqatallrakek ciutegnegan. 18) Anguyaget akilirivkalaraitkut taxes-aanek amllerneq. 19) Takuyallemni tangellruamku irniaqa qialria qanrutellruaqa utercesqelluku nemterun. 20) Umyuarteqsaaqellruunga qanrutellruyuklua agarcesqelluku paltuuka ussukcamun elaturrami.

B. Translate the following into Yup'ik and parse your translations:

1) The woman told her children not to eat the raw potatoes. 2) Those children are using a story knife outside even though it is cold and windy and their mother told them not to go out. 3) I was afraid when I saw the blood on the table because I thought that if I touched it I might get sick. 4) That ferocious dog of yours makes me afraid whenever I go past its doghouse. 5) They will take a steambath after their children go to bed. 6) I asked my mother to make a ruff out of wolverine and wolf for my parka. 7) When you startled me you made me drop my whetstone on the floor breaking it. 8) The child's face made me remember his grandfather, because he looks like his grandfather. 9) When he tried to swallow the pike meat without de-boning it he choked and he turned red in the face making us very frightened. 10) Who did you ask to look out for your pet while you are away? 11) When my foot got caught in the mouth of a squirrel's den I fell getting bruises on my face. 12) Why do you think that swans are bigger than cranes? 13) My sister told me that she had bought this wolverine skin in order to make a parka ruff for her husband. 14) Why did you try to have your little brother hide the pet you bought downriver? 15) When I almost choked my mother screamed and caused my dad to spill his coffee on his new pants. 16) When he told us that he had chased and caught a wolf and killed it without a gun, I didn't believe him. 17) Because I didn't believe him I told him that he was lying. 18) When I told him he was lying, he got mad at me, tried to hurt me, and made me flee from him!

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 18

Notes on Vocabulary and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 In addition to **amar-** for 'to carry on one's back,' there is **tunumig-**.
- #2 **Anainessaaq** 'onion' is from the English plural "onions" and is also pronounced **anianessaaq**. There is also the word **luuk** for 'onion' in BB which comes from Russian (and is related to English "leek").
- #3 **Anguyagta** 'soldier' is from **anguyag-** 'to wage war, to fight in battle.' Instead of **anguyagta** or **anguyagtet** for 'government,' some speakers use **kavmaq, kavam'aq** etc. from English.
- #4 Instead of **aqlin** for 'earring' there is **aqevlaun** in Y, **aqlautaq** in HBC, **ciucin** in NUN, and several other localized terms.
- #5 The word **egamaarlluk** 'partially dried and boiled fish,' like **egan** 'pot,' is in widespread use and is from **ega-** 'to cook' now used only in HBC, Y and NS.
- #6 In addition to **ipegcar-** for 'to sharpen' (*literally*: 'to act on so as to make it sharp' (**ipeg-**)), there is **elli-** (**celli-** in Y) for 'to sharpen,' with **ellin** or **cellin** for whetstone,' but it is not very common.
- #7 The word **kantuuvvilaq** 'potato' is from Russian (ultimately from German). Also there is **patitussaaq** 'potato,' from the English plural.
- #8 Instead of **qucillgaq** for 'crane,' there is **qut'raaq** or **qut'rauk** in Y, UK, and LI, **tacellgaq** in NS, and there is also an alternate form, **qucillngaq** for **qucillgaq**.
- #9 The word **qunguturaq** commonly translated as 'pet' actually means, or originally meant, specifically a wild animal which has been captured and kept, often temporarily, in confinement as a pet. The word **qunguturaq** may come from **qunguq** 'grave' and an unidentified postbase, possibly because an animal confined as a **qunguturaq** is more or less in a sort of grave. It would be unusual to have a four syllable word like this that is not derived from another shorter word (but consider **tulukaruk** 'raven' (Chaper 24)).
- #10 The word **saaniik** (with variants) is from Russian. In addition to the variants given in the vocabulary, the **i** may be short: **saanik**, etc. The Yup'ik word refers to a 'kettle for heating water'; a 'small teapot' is **saaniiguaq** (or a variant thereof).
- #11 Instead of **umyuarteqe-** 'to think,' there is **umyugartur-** in HBC.
- #12 The verb **yaarui-** 'to use a story knife,' is from **yaaruali-** 'to make a "pretend" drawing (**yaaruaq**). And **yaaruaq** in turn is probably historically from **igaruaq** by (velar-dropping changing **igar...** to **iar...** and hence giving **yaar...**) Lastly, **igaruaq** is from **igaq** 'drawing, decoration' and the postbase **~+(ng)uaq** 'pretend, fake, non-essential' (see Chapter 15).
- #13 Instead of **yaaruin** for 'story knife,' there is **qucgutaq** in HBC and **atiknguain** in NS. It is a popular pastime for Yup'ik children, especially girls, to use a specially made dull knife (or even an old butter knife) to draw pictures in soft earth or snow while telling stories.

Note A

Some people, in some places, and under some conditions (not entirely clear to the writer) use **t** instead of **c** in **@+cete** to emphasize that the subject of the main verb did *not* cause the event described in the dependent verb, saying **arnaq nerellruuq mikelnguq itraartelluku** for 'the woman ate after the child came in' when the woman's permission or compulsion was *not* involved in the child's coming in. The opposite situation, that is, where the woman's permission or compulsion definitely *was* involved, can be expressed by reversing the order of the postbases **-rraar-** and **@+cete-** giving **arnaq nerellruuq mikelnguq itercetraarluku** (or **iterceqaarluku**) 'the woman ate after she let/made the child come in,' while the form, **arnaq nerellruuq mikelnguq itraarcelluku** is neutral with regard to the woman's involvement in the child's coming in.

Note B

The postbase **.vkar-/@+cete-** can also be used as a "subject adjuster" with verbs of perception as in the following examples:

- (1) **Niitellruaqa ngel'arcelluku**. 'I heard him laugh.' (*literally*: 'I heard him, letting him laugh.')

REVIEW FOR CHAPTERS 13–18

The Dependent Verb Moods and Their Translations

Subordinative: *Has the constraint that the subject of the subordinative must be the same as the subject of the main verb (except when used autonomously).*

examples:

Aqvaqurtuq *cukaluni*. 'He is running fast.'

Anyaqunak *nereksaunak*. 'Don't leave without eating.'

Itellruuq-qaa *tegunaluki?* 'Did he come in in order to take them?'

Ayallruut *ceñirqaarluta*. 'They left after visiting us.'

Connective moods: *Subject need not be the same as that of main verb*

Precessive mood: 'before'

examples:

Nerellruunga *anvailegma*. 'I ate before I went out.'

Anellruuq *tupagpailegpet*. 'He went out before you woke up.'

Consequential: 'because'

examples:

Nerellruunga *kaigama*. 'I ate because I was hungry.'

Quyaunga *ceñircavkut*. 'I am happy because you are visiting us.'

Concessive: 'although,' 'even though,' 'even if'

examples:

Nerellruunga *kainrilngerma*. 'I ate even though I wasn't hungry.'

Mikelnguq *qiaguq aanani ayaksailengraan*. 'The child is crying even though his mother hasn't left yet.'

Contingent: 'whenever'

examples:

Nerlartua *kaigaqama*. 'I eat whenever I'm hungry.'

Yagarcecuitut *ceñirtaqamceteng*. 'They're never busy when we visit them.'

Conditional: 'if,' 'when' (in the future)

examples:

Nerciqua *kaikuma*. 'I'll eat when I'm hungry.'

Ayagyaqunak *nengllissiyaakan*. 'Don't go if it's too cold.'

First Contemporative: 'when' (in the past)*examples:***Nerellruunga kaingellemni.** 'I ate *when I became hungry.*'**Ciin ngel'allrusit tangllemken?** 'Why were you laughing *when I saw you?*'**Second Contemporative: 'while'***examples:***Qanruciiqamken nernginanemni.** 'I'll tell you *while I'm eating.*'**Qaningellruuq ce'irrnginanemteki.** 'It started to snow *while we were visiting them.*'**Exercise 1***Translate each of the following and parse your translations:*

- 1) The children hid when the white people saw them.
- 2) The geese flew off before we could shoot them.
- 3) Before he told me that you were going to arrive today I already knew about it.
- 4) I still like to live here even though it rains a lot.
- 5) Even though we₂ were trying to sleep the children kept making noise all night.
- 6) Even though it was windy and the sun wasn't shining, it wasn't cold yesterday.
- 7) Why do you keep working even though you are sick?
- 8) What were you doing with your boat when we saw you?
- 9) What did they say when you told them?
- 10) She scolded her little daughter making her cry because she had spilled the blueberries that she'd picked.
- 11) If you tease that dog it might bite you.
- 12) If that man asks you, don't tell him.
- 13) Whenever I see him he asks me to give him money.
- 14) When we were small we were afraid of him because he never smiles.
- 15) Don't buy them if you don't want them.
- 16) If it hadn't rained yesterday, we would have gone downriver.
- 17) He says that he wants to learn to speak Yup'ik since his wife is a Yup'ik and her parents can't speak English.
- 18) When we went boat riding I had a good time even though it was cold.
- 19) Where will you₂ work when your husband finishes school?
- 20) I can't chop wood for my parents because my axe is dull.
- 21) While my children were playing in front of the school I washed dishes.
- 22) When we visit them they are very happy.
- 23) My mother can't sew anymore because her eyesight has become bad.
- 24) When I saw a bear behind our fishcamp I screamed and the bear ran away.
- 25) What did you do this past summer when you were living in Dillingham?

General Endings and Their Major Uses

The following refer to the columns of the chart given below. Other uses of these endings will be presented in later chapters. Note that the chart includes dual endings that haven't been discussed much in previous chapters.

- I. (a) subject marker in intransitive verbs; (b) object marker in transitive verbs
- II. (a) possessor marker in absolutive nouns; (b) subject marker in 3rd person object indicative verbs; (c) object marker in 4th person object connective verbs

III. (a) possessor marker in relative nouns; (b) subject marker in intransitive connective moods (other than the two contemporative moods); (c) in quantifier/qualifier words (see Chapter 19)

IV. (a) possessor marker in oblique case nouns; (b) subject marker in transitive verbs other than 3rd person object indicative

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
I, me, my	:nga	ka, qa	ma	m-
we, us	kut	put	mta	mte-
we ₂	kuk	puk	m(eg)nuk	meg-
you	ten, ken, gen	n	vet, pet	v-, pe-
you _{pl}	ci	ci	vci, peci	vce-, pece-
you ₂	tek	tek	vtek, petek	vteg-, peteg-
he, she, it	q, ø, a, ku, :gu	ø	n	ø-
they, them	t, i, ki	t	ta	t-
they ₂	k, g, kek	k	gnek	g-
he/she/it	—	ni	mi	mi-
they _(4th person)	—	teng	meng	megg-, megte-
they _{2-(4th person)}	—	tek	mek	meg-

Exercise 2

Write Yup'ik sentences illustrating each of the above in each of its uses. For example for "I, me, my" you might write:

I (a) ceñirtellruunga 'I was visiting' (or nancia 'where am I?')

I (b) ceñirciiqaanga 'he will visit me' (or caksia 'how are you related to me?')

II (a) angyaqa 'my boat'

II (b) ceñirciiqaqa 'I will visit him'

III (a) angyama 'my boat's ...'

III (b) ceñirciiqngama 'because I will visit'

III (c) kiima 'only me, I alone' (see Chapter 19)

IV (a) angyamni 'in my boat'

IV (b) ceñirciiqamken 'I will visit you'

Exercise 3

Determine which columns are used for the various persons for:

- 1) the subordinative mood intransitive; 2) the subordinative mood transitive; 3) the optative mood intransitive; 4) the optative mood transitive with first person subject and third person object; 5) the optative mood transitive with first person subject and second person object.

Pi-chu'-i-llū-uk (The One-who-finds-nothing)

<i>Nu-gūlh' pī-ūñ'-i-na'-g'ūk</i>	<i>pi'-chu-i'-tok</i>	<i>ū-kukh-tūkh'-ka-mī ka-mūgh'-ū-</i>	
A small, ugly-face young	(who) can not	going out for wood	with a
man	find (anything)		
<i>lu'-nī ū-kukh' tai'-g'o-hlūkh'-tok</i>	<i>ā-ko-ja'-gī-jakh'-lu-nī</i>	<i>u'-tūkh-naukh'-tok.</i>	
sled the wood	he goes to bring	without finding any	again returned he.
<i>Ū-ku'-gū-mūk tūñkh'-pū-kīn'-ān-i</i>	<i>u'-tūkh-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>p'kīkh'-pūk-tī-kī'</i>	
The wood	having seen none of it	again returned he	without the least
<i>naukh'-tok chūñ-i'-nāg-ū-lu'-nī.</i>	<i>Kāj'-i-gī-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>a-mim' ko-l'i'-nun ukh-</i>	
came back	having none.	The kashim went into	the above sat
he		he	door
<i>naukh'-tok ukh-chū'-mī wī'-tūn-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Chī-kī-īkh'-kūt-nī</i>	<i>um chūn-īk'-</i>	
down he	sitting down there remained he.	When given	(by) along-
			him
<i>hī-mi mūg'-ū-naukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Tūk-hnū'-mī tau-ān' wī'-tūn-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Kum-</i>	
side	water drank he.	Finishing	thus there remained he.
			His
<i>gu'-gī-nī tī-gu-a'-mī-gīk āt-nau'-gūk ān-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Tslūk-wcha'-mī ān-ūg-ū-</i>		
boots	taking	putting on	went out he.
			Outside
<i>naukh'-tok kho'-hlu-i-nī' hlu-i-tūg'-ū-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>it-kha'-mī ukh-naukh'-tok.</i>		
eated he	urinated and	came back he	coming in sat down he.
<i>Ūkh-chū'-mī wī'-tūn-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Mūk'-shu-a'-mī ān-aukh'-tok</i>	<i>la'-g'ū-mun'</i>	
Sitting down	there remained he.	Being thirsty	out went he
			to the water-hole
<i>tī-brū-naukh'-tok tī-kī-chū-mīn'</i>	<i>nau'-gwa la'-gūkh-tai'-tūk</i>	<i>mūkh'-pū-kīn'-</i>	
went he	coming to it	again	the water-hole
			without drink-
			was not (there)
<i>ān-i u'-tūkh-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>Kāj'-i-gī-mun it-kha'-mī nu-na'-mī-nun' ukh-cha'-mī</i>		
ing	returned he again	to the kashim, reaching	to his place sitting down
<i>wī'-tūn-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Chūn-īk'-hī-mi chī-kī-an'-i mūgh'-ū-mūk' mugh'-ū-naukh'-</i>		
there remained he.	The one beside	giving	water
	him		drank
<i>tok tau'-a wī'-tūn-aukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Ū-nug'-ū-mī kau-ūg'-u-jun-i-gīkh'-ka'-mī ān-</i>		
he	thus there remained he.	At night	not sleeping
			out
<i>aukh'-tok ān-īn'-a'-mī nī-mun' mūk'-shu-a'-mī ū'-gī-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>nī-tai'-g'ūt.</i>		
went he	to his elder the house	being thirsty	went he
	brother		but found it
<i>naukh'-tok nī-shog'-ū-jakh'-lu-nī</i>	<i>kāj'-i-gī-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>i'-mūkh-naukh'-tok.</i>	
not he	searching much for it	went to the Kāj-ga he	laid down he.
<i>Tu-pī-mī mūn-a'-ko-tūg'-i-nīk tī-gu'-chū-mī mūn-ūg'-ū-jūg'-ū-lu'-nī</i>	<i>ai-ūg-ū-</i>		
Awaking	fishing tackle	taking	fishing
			went
<i>naukh'-tok.</i>	<i>Mūgh'-ū-mun' tī-kī'-chū-mī mūkh-tai'-g'ū-tūk</i>	<i>tau'-ā mī-shog'-</i>	
he.	To the water	coming	water was not
			and then searching
<i>ī-jakh' lu-nī</i>	<i>mūn-ūkh'-pū-kīn'-ān-i</i>	<i>u'-tūkh-naukh'-tok</i>	<i>tī-gīl-naukh'-tok</i>
unsuccessfully	not fishing	returned again he	brought he
<i>chūn-i-nāg-ū-lu'-nī</i>	<i>nū'-gū-hu-mīl'-i-g'ī-ā'-wā</i>	<i>tī-kī'-chū-mī</i>	<i>nu-na'-mī-nun'</i>
nothing	hungry was he also	coming	to his place

E.W. Nelson's ethnography *The Eskimo About Bering Strait* (1899, reprinted 1983) contains a number of traditional Yup'ik stories in English translations. This one (Nelson, 1983:475-76) is presented in Yup'ik with interlinear literal translations.

CHAPTER 19

*Quantifier / Qualifier Constructions; Postural Roots;
Emotional Roots; Dimensional Roots;
Verbs Used Directly as Nouns;
Dependent vs. Autonomous Subordinative*

Vocabulary

akagtuq 'it is rolling' (**akagtaa** 'she is rolling it')
allakar- 'separately' (*discussed below*)
angqaq 'ball'
angqertuq 'she is playing ball' (*base is angqar-*)
cakviurtuq 'she is having a difficult time, enduring troubles'
cingartuq 'she is kissing'; **cingaraa** 'she is kissing her'
epu 'handle, shaft' #1
eqnarquq 'it is infuriating, makes one angry'
evcugtuq 'she is shaking or brushing snow or dirt off herself'; **evcugaa** 'she is removing snow or dirt from it/her'
iqsuq or **iqsuk** 'left hand, one on the left side' #2
kenagtuq or **kenugtuq** 'she is grooming herself'; **kenagtaa** or **kenugtaa** 'she is grooming it'
kii- 'only, alone' (*discussed below*)
kumegtuq 'she is scratching herself'; **kumgaa** 'she is scratching it' #3
naunraq* 'plant' #4
neq'akaa 'she remembered it' #5
pangalegtuq 'it is running on all fours'
pupsugtuq 'she pinched'; **pupsugaa** 'she pinched her/it'
qanemciq 'story; account of what has happened' #6
sagtaa or **cagtaa** 'she spread it out'
suugiuq 'she is scrubbing something'; **suugia** 'she is scrubbing it' #7
tallirpik 'right hand, one on the right side' #8
tamar- & **tamalkur-** 'all; both' (*discussed below*)
ugaani 'on account of' (*discussed below*)
ultuq 'it turned inside out'; **ultaa** 'she turned it inside out'
ungilagtuq 'it itches'
more vocabulary below

“Left” and “Right”

The postbase **-lirneq** is used with **iqsuq** (or **iqsuk**) 'left' and **tallirpik** 'right' as illustrated here:

iqsulirnerani 'on the left-hand side of it' (*vs.* **iqsuani** 'in her left hand')
tallirpilirneranun 'to the right-hand side of it' (*vs.* **tallirpianun** 'to her right hand')

The postbase **-lirneq** is also used with positional bases and some of the demonstrative adverb bases: **kelulirnerni** 'in the area back from the river.'

Quantifier/Qualifier Construction

In Chapter 15 and 16 we saw how the various connective mood (precessive, consequential, etc.) intransitive endings, except for the two contemporative moods, have subject markers that are basically the same as possessed relative case noun endings, and that the 4th person refers back to the subject of the main verb and 3rd person refers to any outside 3rd person entity. The same pattern is followed in a type of construction called *quantifier/qualifier*.¹ A small number of words occur only in the *quantifier/qualifier* construction, including **kii-** meaning 'only, alone,' as in the following examples:

Kiima ceñirtellruunga. 'I alone visited; only I visited'

Kiimta ceñirtellruukut. 'We alone visited.'

Kiimta ceñirtellruitkut. 'They visited us alone.'

Kiivet ceñirtellruuten. 'You₁ alone visited.'

Kiivci ceñirtellruuci. 'You_{pl} alone visited.'

Kiimi ceñirtellruuq. 'She alone visited.' ('alone' *that is*, 'being the only one' *applies to the subject of the verb ceñirtellruuq so the fourth person ending mi is used.*)

Kiimeng ceñirtellruut. 'They alone visited.'

In this kind of construction, 1st and 2nd person can refer to either subject or object, and 3rd person can refer to anything other than the subject, but usually refers to the object of the (transitive) verb:

Kiingan ceñirtellruaqa. 'I visited only her.' (*The ng is used because kii-ends in two vowels, compare uingan 'of her husband.'*)

Kiingita ceñirtellruanka. 'I visited only them.'

Kiingan ceñirtellrua. 'She visited only her.' (*Contrast this with kiimi ceñirtellrua 'Only she visited her.'*)

The semi-productive postbase **-rraq*** 'little *N*, little bit of *N*' is often used for emphasis with **kii-** in the quantifier/qualifier construction:

Kiirrarmi niicugnillrua aatami qanemcia. 'She *alone* listened to her father's story.'

Agtullruaqa kiirraan. 'I touched *only* it.'

See also Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

1. The quantifier/qualifier construction is called the "independent relative" in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

Another base used in the quantifier/qualifier construction is **tamar-** meaning ‘all’ or ‘whole’ or ‘both’:

Tamarpeci ceñirtellruuci. ‘You_{pl} all visited’ or ‘All of you visited.’

Tamarpetek ceñirtellruutek. ‘You₂ both visited’ or ‘Both of you visited.’

Tamarmeng ceñirtellruit. ‘They all visited them’ or ‘All of them visited them.’

Tamamta quyavikellruakut. ‘He thanked all of us.’

With a 3rd person ending, a longer form than **tamar-** is generally used: **tamalkur-**¹

Tamalkuita ceñirtellruit. ‘They visited them all’ or ‘They visited all of them.’

Tamalkuan nerellruaqa. ‘I ate it all.’

Yet a third base used in the quantifier/qualifier construction is **allakar-** meaning ‘separately,’ in the sense of ‘separately from others’:

Ayallruut allakarmeng. ‘They left separately.’

Qanrutellruanka allakaita. ‘I told them separately.’

Exercise 19–1

A. Translate the following and tell why the particular ending is used on the quantifier / qualifier form, that is tell what the quantifier / qualifier form pertains to. For example, given Irniama tamalkuita atsat nerellruit, you would translate this as ‘My children ate all the berries,’ and say that tamalkuita has a 3rd person ending because it pertains to the object, ‘the berries,’ rather than to the subject, ‘my children.’

1) Kiiwet-qaq taillruuten? 2) Apa’urluqa uitalartuq kiimi ing’umi nerpagmi mauruqa yuunrillruan. 3) Evcugki aturaten tamalkuita iterpailegpet. 4) Allgumiin egciiqqaq una lumarraq kiingan. 5) Igautellruaqa atqa calissuutema tamalkuita epuitnun. 6) Tamarmeng mikelnguut ungilagtut unatmegteggun tallimegteggun-llu agtullruamegteki ingkut naunraat. 7) Allanret tekitellruut nerevkaritmun allakarmeng. 8) Kiimeng naunrarnek nerlartut. 9) Putukuqa iqsulirneq kiirarmi ungilagtut. 10) Ciin-kiq kumegturtau ciuteni tallirpik kiingan?

B. Supply the correct Yup’ik form for the given English word, and be sure you know the translation of the sentence. For example, given (All of us) tamaantellruukut kassuutellragni you would write Tamamta (or tamalkumta) tamaantellruukut kassuutellragni ‘All of us were there when they got married.’

1. The shorter form is also sometimes used for 4th person, and this longer form is sometimes used with endings other than 4th person. The word **tamalkuq** as a noun has come to mean ‘dollar.’

1) (All) qimugteten pangalegyugngaut cukaluteng. 2) Nutaram agayulirtem quuyurnitellrui makumiut (all). 3) (Only I) angqeryugyaaqellruunga. 4) (All of us) qavarningellruukut nererraarluta. 5) Ciin ivrallerpeceñi (only you₁) mecungtellrusit? 6) Tan'gurraam cingangnaqellruyaaqai nasaurluut (all of them). 7) (Separately) ayallruuk upepailemta. 8) Miklemni suugilallruanka natret (all) nemteñi. 9) Egtellruanka pitsaqevkenaki kalikat (all of them). 10) (All) kayangut igtellruut estuulum qainganek navegluteng-llu. 11) Aquiluni nem iluani mikelnguom igcetellrui (all) kayangut. 12) Ilait yuut (separately) anellruut piipiqqa qiangellrani. 13) (Only) aatama neq'akaa qanemciq. 14) Aatama neq'akaa qanemciq (only).

The form **kiimi** 'he/she/it (the subject) alone,' combines with the obsolete verb base **ete-** 'to be,' as in **kiimetuq** 'she is alone.' (See the discussion of the pseudo-postbase ~%**mete-**, ~%**nete-** meaning 'to be at *N*' in Chapter 6.) However, √**kiimete-** has become a verb base in its own right since it can be used with persons and numbers other than 4th person singular (which is what the ending ~%**mi** would logically limit it to). Thus,

Kiimetellruunga neqlillermi. 'I was alone in the fishcamp.'

Kiimecuumiitelartut. 'They generally don't care to be alone.'

Kiimetuten-qaa? 'Are you alone?'

Postural Roots

There are a number of verbs pairs wherein one member is used for the *act* of getting into a certain "posture" (using the word "posture" very loosely), and the other member is used for the *state* of being in that posture. Below are a few of them, which should be learned as vocabulary items.

ikirtuq 'it opened' (and **ikirtaa** 'she opened it') vs. **ikingqauq** 'it is open' #9
inartuq 'she lay down' (and **inartaa** 'she lay out it/her out flat') vs. **inangqauq**
 'she is lying down'

kamilartuq 'she took off her shoes' (and **kamilartaa** 'she took off her (another's) shoes') vs. **kamilangqauq** 'she is barefoot'

kiipirtuq 'she stood on tiptoes' vs. **kiipingqauq** 'she is standing on tiptoes'

matartuq 'she took off her clothes/coat' (and **matartaa** 'she took off her (another's) clothes/coat') vs. **matangqauq** 'she is coatless/naked'

mumigtuq 'it turned over' (and **mumigtaa** 'she turned it over or translated it')
 vs. **mumingqauq** 'it is (turned) over'

nangertuq 'she stood up' vs. **nangengqauq** 'she is standing up'

palurtuq 'she (or it) turned face down' (and **palurtaa** 'she turned it face down')
 vs. **palungqauq** 'she (or it) is face down'

quyurtut 'they gathered together' (and **quyurtai** 'he gathered them together')
 vs. **quyungqaut** 'they are gathered together' #10

Note that the active member of each pair, but not the stative member, can usually also be used with a transitive ending, as in, **ikirtaa** ‘she opened it.’

Each of the above group of word pairs comes from a “root” ending in **r** or **g** with one of the two postbases **+te-** ‘to get into that posture’ or **-ngqa-** ‘to be in that posture’. These roots, **inar-**, **nanger-**, **palur-** etc. cannot function as verb bases unless expanded by one of these two postbases. That is, one cannot say ***inarluni**, ***inallruuq**, nor ***inaryugtuq**, but only **inarrluni**, **inartellruuq**, **inarcugtuq** and **inangqaluni**, **inangqallruuq**, and **inangqayugtuq**. A complete listing of these *postural roots* can be found in the *Yup’ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

Exercise 19-2

Translate the following into Yup’ik using postural verbs:

- 1) She lay down on the bed without removing her shoes because she was so tired.
- 2) They removed their clothes and jumped into the water to swim.
- 3) I like to watch television standing up, but I usually lie down when I’m reading.
- 4) Why on earth is the window open even though it is so cold today?
- 5) Would you please help me to turn my heavy boat over.
- 6) If I stand on my tiptoes I can touch the light up there.
- 7) I’ll turn over the pancakes when they are done.
- 8) Whenever I see her, she is standing on her tiptoes!
- 9) I can’t stand this heavy thing up without help.
- 10) If I lie down after dinner I’ll probably fall asleep because I always fall asleep when I’m lying down after I’ve eaten.
- 11) The people of my village gathered together in order to talk about the government.

Postural roots *can* be used directly (that is without either of the two postbases mentioned above) in the quantifier/qualifier construction:

Inarma nerellruunga. ‘I ate lying down.’ (*This is equivalent to inangqalua nerellruunga.*)

Kamilarmeng anellruut. ‘They went outside barefoot.’ (*This is equivalent to kamilangqaluteng anellruut.*)

Also possible for some people:

Mataan antaqa. ‘I threw her out without a coat.’ (*This is equivalent to matangqa(vkar)luku antaqa.*)

There are a few verb pairs that semantically fit in the category of postural roots but aren’t formed in the same way, a prime example being **aqumuq** ‘she sat down’ *vs.* **aqumgauq** ‘she is sitting’. To use this in the quantifier/qualifier construction, one adds **r** to the stative form and then the appropriate ending:

Aqumgarma nerellruunga. ‘I ate sitting.’

Some speakers will also follow this pattern with postural roots as well, that is, attaching the quantifier/qualifier ending to the stative form augmented by **r**, rather than to the root:

Inangqarma nerellruunga. 'I ate lying down.' (*Instead of inarma nerellruunga.*)

Exercise 19-3

Change the subordinative of the postural verb to the correct quantifier/qualifier form in the following making other appropriate changes as necessary, and translate. For example, given Yuut tangvallruit yuralriit quyungqaluteng you would write Yuut tangvallruit yuralriit quyurmeng. 'Gathered) together the people watched the dancers.'

1) Irniani qatpallrani alqaqa anellruuq aqvaqurluni matangqaluni. 2) Miklermeggni irniaput qavalallruyaaqut palungqaluteng. 3) Aquvigkailavet nangengqaluten kuuvviara. 4) Kiipingqalua atrartengnaqsaaqellruaqa pikna saskaq qulqitmek. 5) Qavarnissiyaagama ernerpak elitnauriqatartua aqumgalua. 6) Ungilakan it'gan uitakina nem iluani kamilangqaluten. 7) Ankuvci uniaqunaciu amiik ikingqa(vkar)luku.

The Postbase +tuumar-

The postbase **+tuumar-** 'together with possessor's *N*' is used in the quantifier/qualifier construction (or sometimes the subordinative). This seems to be the only postbase that yields forms which can be used in this construction.

Mermun igtellruuq aklurtuumarmi (*or aklurtuumarluni*). 'She fell into the water with her clothes on.'

Antellruaqa assiinguq aipartuumaan. 'I kicked the bad person out with her companion.'

Emotional Roots

In addition to the postural roots there are the *emotional roots*. For example the emotional root **takar-** deals with 'feeling shy,' 'having respect,' 'being ill at ease' and 'feeling intimidated' (actually with an emotion somewhat between these). This root is used in the following root plus postbase combinations:

Takaryugtuq. 'She is feeling shy, respectful, ill at ease, and/or intimidated.'

Takaqaa. 'She is feeling this way in her presence, because of her.'

Takarnarquq. 'She causes one to feel this way.'

Takarnaituq. 'She does not cause one to feel this way.'

Takartartuq. 'She tends to feel this way by nature.'

The postbases involved here are @~+**yug-**, **-ke-**, @~+**narqe-**, @~+**naite-** and **+tar-**.

Two of these, @~+**narqe-** ‘to tend to cause one to *V*’ and @~+**naite-** ‘to not tend to cause one to *V*’ can be used productively with any suitable verb base. For example:

- alingnarquq** ‘it makes one afraid, is scary’
- alingnaituq** ‘it doesn’t make one afraid’
- tuqunarquq** ‘it is deadly, poisonous’
- tuqunaituq** ‘it is isn’t deadly’
- √ **anglanarquq** ‘it’s fun, it’s enjoyable’ (from the same “deep root,” **angla-**, as in **anglani-** ‘to enjoy’ (Chapter 15))
- √ **anglanaituq** ‘it’s not fun, it’s not enjoyable’

We have seen the postbases **-ke-** ‘to have as one’s *N*’ and @~+**yug-** ‘to want to *V*’ used slightly differently with other bases than they are with emotional roots. The postbase **+tar-** apparently has very limited use except with emotional roots (though it must be related to **-lar-** ‘to regularly *V*’).

Some other emotional roots are given here, and these, along with **takar-**¹ should be learned as vocabulary items. (A complete list can be found in the *Yup’ik Eskimo Dictionary*.)

- cumaci-** ‘repulsed’ (**cumaciyugtuq** ‘she feels repulsed’; **cumacikaa** ‘she is repulsed by it’; **cumacinarquq** ‘it is repulsive’; **cumacinaituq** ‘it is not repulsive’; **cumacitartuq** ‘she is easily repulsed by things’) #12
- caperr-** ‘finding something difficult’ (**caperrsuqtuq** ‘she finds something difficult’; **caperqaa** ‘she finds it difficult’; **caperrnarquq** ‘it is difficult’; **caperrnaituq** ‘it is easy’)
- temci-** ‘finding something funny’
- paqna-** ‘curious’
- uumi-** ‘frustrated’
- nakleg-** ‘compassionate’
- kasngu-** ‘embarrassed, ashamed’
- aar-** ‘finding something hazardous’
- alia-** ‘bored, lonely, depressed’

1. See also #11 in the vocabulary notes at the end of the chapter.

Exercise 19-4

A. Translate into Yup'ik using the above emotional verbs; try to use the postbases @~+yug-, -ke-, @~+narqe-, @~+naite-, and +tar- that go with the emotional roots:

1) She feels curious today, because she is curious by nature. She's curious about it because it is curiosity provoking. 2) I feel frustrated today, because I get frustrated easily. I'm frustrated over it, because it makes one frustrated. 3) Are you feeling no compassion, even though you are compassionate by nature? You probably don't feel compassion toward him, because he is not such as to cause one to feel compassion. 4) Whenever I visit them I feel shy. I guess I'm shy by nature. I feel intimidated by your parents, probably because they are intimidating. 5) Those people find something funny now. They are always amused. They find what my child said to be amusing. The things that children say are often amusing. 6) The white person felt repulsed. Elders say that white people feel repulsed in general. This white person feels repulsed because he is working on fish, but it isn't repulsive. 7) The local people don't feel that they are in danger today even though they are hunting and the weather is very bad. They generally don't find things hazardous. Even though I am from here I do find it to be hazardous.

B. Choose three other emotional roots from the list in the Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary, and write sentences similar to the above for them.

Some verb bases are semantically similar to emotional roots, but are used without a postbase to give the sort of meaning for which the true emotional roots require the use of @~+yug-, and/or otherwise do not fit the pattern of the emotional roots:

ciknauq 'she is envious'; **ciknakaa** 'she envies him'; **ciknanarquq** 'it makes one feel envious', etc.

tunrirtuq 'she feels embarrassed, beholden'; **tunrikaa** (*note: k not q*) 'she feels embarrassed before her, beholden toward her'; **tun'ernarquq** ("*shortened*" from ***tunrinarquq**) 'it is embarrassing, it makes one feel beholden'

alinguq 'she is afraid'; **alika** 'she is afraid of her/it'; **alingnarquq** 'it makes one feel afraid, is scary'; **alingtartuq** 'she is fearful by nature'

Exercise 19-5

Translate:

1) Ciknak'laraa anngani umyuarteqngami yugnun cikilaryukluku amlenrulrianek. 2) Ikayuamikut ernerpak taqsuunani tunrircetaakut. 3) Alingtang'ermi tan'gerlircungnaqellruuq nutecuarkun kiimi. 4) Ciknatkaa alqami atkua nutaraq aanami piliara. 5) Irniamni-lli tun'ernaqvaa!

See also Note B in the supplement to this chapter for information on other kinds of roots.

Using Verbs as Nouns

Some verb bases can also be used as noun bases, for example **manar-** 'to hook for fish' and **manaq** 'fishhook.' Also, any verb base can be converted to an abstract noun meaning 'the activity of V-ing,' 'an act of V-ing,' 'the state of V-ing' or 'the way of V-ing,' by various nominalizing postbases which will be discussed in Chapter 20. There are also certain constructions in which it is possible to use a verb base as if it were a noun base and to put a relative case ending directly on the base, which is then taken to mean 'V-ing' (understood in a nominal sense), or 'V-ness.'

Iluteqem tutaa. 'Sadness fell upon her.'

Qavam tutaanga. 'Sleep came over me.'

kasnguyuum pitaciatun 'to the extent of (his/her/its) embarrassment'
(*this example is from the story in Chapter 17*)

The word **ugaani** 'because of, on account of' occurs primarily together with a "relative case verb."

kaigem ugaani 'on account of hunger'

ugaani cukaitem 'because of slowness'

Apparently **ugaani** is the result of affixing a 3rd person possessor localis ending, on a noun ***ugaq** that must have meant 'consequence' or 'account' so that **kaigem ugaani** would mean literally 'in the consequence of hunger' or 'on account of hunger.' The word ***ugaq** is no longer used except in this one peculiar construction; this word is probably a "linguistic fossil" that had broader use in the past. Other examples of the use of **ugaani** (*from* "Nasaurluq Uingyuumiitelleq — The Girl Who Didn't Want to Marry" told by Mary Augustine of Alakanak in Tennant, 1981) are:

Tua-i panini kassiyutekaqekii allrakuaqan, ugaani tua-i kenkem.

'So he had a feast (**kassiyuq**) every year (**allrakuaqan**) for his daughter, because of love.'

Kiituan tamakut nulirrniartek'lallni eq'uyagutlinii, angqitkangqerkuni-

llu milqerarkauluki ugaani uingyuumiitem. 'Finally she became peeved (**eq'u-**) at her suitors and if she had something to throw (**angqitkaq**) she would throw it (**milqer-**) at them because of (her) distaste for getting married.'

Postbases

We have seen how one goes from **qimugta qilulleq** 'the dog that barked,' to **qimugtem qilullra** 'the one that the dog barked at.' To go from **qimugta qilulria** 'the dog that is barking,' to the Yup'ik equivalent of 'the one at whom the dog is barking' requires not a possessed ending on **-lria** but rather another

postbase. This postbase is **@-ka^e**.¹ This postbase changes base final **te** to **s** (but special **te** to **l**). It always takes a possessed ending. **@-kengaq**, an expanded form of this postbase, is preferred by many speakers.

Qimugtem qilukii (or **qilukengaa**) **alinguq** 'The one at whom the dog is barking is afraid.'

Mikelnguun nerkai (or **nerkengai**) **assiitut**. 'The things the child are eating are bad.'

Levaaq kipusken (or **kipuskengan²**) **navegciqsugnarquq**. 'The motor you are buying will probably break.'

Aturru nutek atunrilkeka (or **atunrilkengaa**). 'Use the gun I'm not using.'

Exercise 19-6

A. Translate the following into English:

- 1) Kia irniaqau panivet paikii (paikengaa)?
- 2) Neqliuryaqunii luuskaakun qimugtem paiqiikun (paiqengaaakun).
- 3) Mikelnguq elitnauristem nunuqii (nunuqengaa) qiaqartuq.
- 4) Qavcin yuut uitalarciqat nem'i piliaqekevni (piliaqek'ngavni)?
- 5) Panicarama iqvallrui atsat nerkeput (nerkengaput).
- 6) Nutka aturyuken (aturyuk'ngan) assiituq.
- 7) Suupam keniqevet (keniqengavet) tepiin kaigcetaanga cakneq.
- 8) Elliki muriit itrusketen (itruskengaten) kaminiam canianun.
- 9) Oil-drum-aq mikelnguut akageskiit (akageskengaat) imaicugnarquq.
- 10) Nateq suugingnaqkeka (suugingnaqek'ngaa) iqaqapiartuq.
- 11) Takuyarturyaaqekan (takuyarturyaaqek'ngan) pikaput.

B. Translate into Yup'ik and parse your results:

- 1) The dog which you are afraid of doesn't bite.
- 2) Will you eat the food I'm cooking?
- 3) She won't buy the things which she is examining.
- 4) The thing which my mother is sewing will be a parka.
- 5) The book we are reading in school is very good.
- 6) I can't find the papers that I'm looking for.
- 7) My traps are in the box you are taking.
- 8) I'll eat the ones you haven't eaten yet.
- 9) The people who we are going to meet at the shore are our relatives.
- 10) Don't lose the needle which you are using.
- 11) The people who are picking berries in the tundra are afraid of bears.
- 12) The berries that the people are picking are not good.
- 13) Put the tools in the box that my child is getting from the porch.

C. Change past to present and translate. For example, given *unitellrenka* you would write *uniskenka* (or *uniskenganka*) 'the things I am leaving behind'

- 1) itleq,
- 2) kenagtellret,
- 3) itrutellren,
- 4) pupsullra,
- 5) neq'akelqa,
- 6) pangaleyuitellret.

1. **-Iria** and **@-ka^e** also constitute the intransitive and transitive, respectively, markers of the *participial* verb mood. This mood is presented in Chapter 21.

2. More common, but irregular, is **kipukengan** (i.e. without **s**) which has something of a past time implication, 'the one you (just) bought.'

Postbases

The verbal counterpart of the postbase **-rpak** ‘big *N* is **-pag-** ‘to *V* in a big way.’ It goes on verb bases in a highly idiosyncratic way, sometimes taking the form **vag-** (attaching in various ways, depending on dialect and subdialect). Some examples are given here, and a fuller list is to be found in the *Yup’ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

atur- ‘to sing, use’	aturpagtuq ‘she’s singing out’
qaner- ‘to speak’	qanpagtuq ‘she is shouting’
	qanpautaa ‘she is shouting at her’
nere- ‘to eat’	nerep’agtuq ‘she is eating a lot’
pupsug- ‘to pinch’	pupcep’agaa, pupespagaa, pupesvagaa ‘she pinched her hard’
alleg- ‘to tear’	alpagtuq ‘it got a big tear’
quser- ‘to cough’	quspagtuq ‘she coughed hard’

This postbase (though perhaps in a slightly different form — with *v* more prominent than *p*) also goes on certain nouns related to weather.

nengla^e ‘cold’	nengelvagtuq, nengelpagtuq ‘it is very cold’
akerta ‘sun’	akervagtuq ‘it is very sunny’
kiiq ‘heat’	kiirpagtuq, kiirvagtuq ‘it is very hot’
anuqa^e ‘wind’	anurvagtuq, anuqvagtuq, anuq’vagtuq ‘it is very windy’
ella ‘weather’	ellarvagtuq ‘the weather is very stormy; it’s raining hard’

Exercise 19–7

Choose ten verb bases not among the ones given as examples above. For each of them, try to add an appropriate form of the postbase for ‘to *V* in a big way’ and make a sentence. You may want to use the *Yup’ik Eskimo Dictionary* or another resource.

In Chapter 12 we examined the postbase **@:(i/u)ma-** ‘to be in a state of having *V*-ed (or been *V*-ed)’, and in the present chapter, the postbase **-ngqa-** which goes on *postural* roots to give *stative* forms (as opposed to the *active* forms given by the postbase **+te-** and these *postural* roots). While the first of these two postbases may freely be used on any base, and the second on any *postural* root, there is also a postbase **@nga-** ‘to be in a state of having *V*-ed or been *V*-ed’, and which only goes on change of state verb bases that end in **te**. It is often an alternative way of saying the same thing as can be said with one of the above-mentioned two postbases, and it is a very common postbase. (Clearly the three postbases are related; they all have start with a nasal and end with **a**).

With bases ending in full vowel, and **te**, the **te** changes to **s**:

elite- 'to learn'	elisngauq 'she is learned or knowledgeable' or 'it has been learned'
mit'e- 'to land from the air'	misngauq 'it has landed'

With "long" bases ending in a fricative plus **te**, the **te** drops and the fricative becomes voiced:

kitugte- 'to fix'	kitugngauq 'it's been fixed'
uterte- 'to return'	uterngauq 'she's returned (to her home town, but only for a while)'

With "short" bases ending in a fricative, stop or nasal plus **te**, the **te** changes to **i**:

sagte- 'to spread out'	sagingauq 'it has been spread out'
upte- 'to get ready'	upingauq 'it is ready'
nengte- 'to stretch'	nengingauq 'it is stretched'

With those few bases ending in **l** or **s** plus **te**, the **te** changes to **s** or to **i** and the **l** or **s** remains voiceless:

ulte- 'to turn inside out'	ullesngauq or ullingauq 'it is inside out'
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Exercise 19-8

Form all the possible statives from the bases given here and translate: 1) **makte-**, 2) **civte-**, 3) **ante-**, 4) **nipste-**, 5) **ceñirte-**, 6) **asemte-**, 7) **akagte-**, 8) **avte-** 'to divide in two,' 9) **ukite-** 'to make a hole,' 10) **qiste-** 'to have a convulsion,' 11) **uste-** 'to cave in, erode,' 12) **ullirte-** 'to cut open so as to expose the inside,' 13) **uite-** 'to open one's eyes.'

The postbase **.var-** 'to go further in the *N* direction' is used with demonstrative adverb bases and positional bases.

kia(ni) 'in there'	kiavartuq 'she went further in'
qula^e 'area above'	qulvartuq 'it went further up'
	qulvaraa 'she put it further up'

There is also $\sqrt{\text{natvar-}}$ 'to go where?' as in **natvarcit** 'where are you going?'

The postbase **-nrir-** means to 'no longer (be)V' or 'to stop (being)V-(ing)':

kaig- 'to be hungry'	kainrirtua 'I'm no longer hungry'
nerer- 'to eat'	nerenriraa 'she stopped eating it, finished eating it'
yu- 'to be alive'	$\sqrt{\text{yuunrirtuq}}$ 'she died' (this is a euphemism used in place of tuquuq for humans only of course)

Dependent vs. Autonomous Uses of the Subordinative

At this time we shall review the uses of the *subordinative* mood (see also Chapter 13).

(1) The subordinative mood is used to express a connection between two events or states where one is “subordinate” in some sense to the other. For example: **yurartuq assirluni** ‘she’s dancing well’, **anellruuq paltuuginani** ‘she went out without a coat,’ **itellruuq nernaluni** ‘she came in to eat’, **nerciquq ermiggaarluni** ‘she will eat after washing her face’, **qanrutellruanga kaigniluni** ‘she told me (saying) that she’s hungry,’ **inartellruuq qavarluni-llu** ‘she lay down and slept,’ **inartellruuq qavarpek’nani** ‘she lay down without sleeping.’ Here the subordinative is *dependent*, similar to the consequential, precessive, first and second contemporative and other connective moods. A dependent subordinative will have the same subject as the main verb of the sentence.

(2) The subordinative is used in place of the 2nd person subject optative to express a command or request that is somewhat softer or less abrupt than the optative. For example: **aqumluten** ‘sit down’ (in place of the optative **aqumi** ‘sit down!’), **nerluku** ‘eat it’ (in place of the optative **neriu** ‘eat it!’), **tailuci** ‘(you_{pl}) come here’ (in place of the optative **tai(gi)ci** ‘(you_{pl}) come here!’), **anevkenak** ‘don’t go out’ (in place of the optative **anenrilu** ‘don’t go out!’). Here the subordinative is functioning like the optative mood which it replaces.

(3) The subordinative is used in place of the indicative for a verb in continuing *narrative*, that is, in speech by a single person consisting of more than one sentence. This is not so common (though it still may occur) in a conversation consisting of one or two sentences from one person alternating with the same from the other person. It is very common in an account of some event, in an explanation, or in a story, where the indicative verbs are often far outnumbered by subordinative verbs. Here the subordinative is *autonomous*. The sentences in which the subordinative is used in this way probably would not sound correct in isolation, but are not only correct for continuing narrative but in fact are preferred in such situations. Two important points to keep in mind are (a) an autonomous subordinative is one which would be replaced with an indicative if the sentence in question were to be considered in isolation from the rest of the narrative, and (b) in this autonomous use of the subordinative there is no hard and fast requirement that the subject of the subordinative be the same as that of a prior independent verb. Be aware that in many cases any one of several subordinatives in a sentence could be considered autonomous and the others dependent.

Consider the following sentence taken from the middle of a narrative (*from* Jacobson, Anna, 1990) and its literal translation:

¹Caqerluni ²aatiit ³nengelviim ⁴tungiini ⁵taluyani ⁶paqcaqlirluki ⁷ayagluni
⁸kiimi, ⁹elliin ¹⁰arenqianani ¹¹maliksungraani ¹²maliksumiinaku
¹³nenglissiyaagniluku ¹⁴ella.

¹On one occasion ²their father ³of the intense cold ⁴in the time toward it ⁵his own
fishtraps ⁶finally checking them ⁷going ⁸alone, ⁹she ¹⁰it being inevitably so ¹¹even
though she wanted to go with him ¹²not wanting her to go along ¹³saying it was
too cold ¹⁴the weather.

This sentence contains no indicative verb, but it does contain six subordinative verbs (words 1, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 13). This is acceptable for a sentence in the middle of a narrative. However, in isolation, as it stands here, or as it might be used say to caption an illustration, one would want to change one of the subordinatives to an indicative so it can be the main and independent verb of the sentence.

Word 1 cannot be replaced with the corresponding indicative, **caqertuq**, since the subordinative **caqerluni** is virtually a lexicalized adverb particle meaning 'once,' 'one time,' or 'on one occasion.' We shall come back to words 6 and 7, after considering word 10. Word 10 is also very adverbial in nature and thus must stay a subordinative here. The corresponding indicative, **arenqiatuq** can be used to say 'unfortunately that's the way it is,' but clearly this would not be the main verb of a sentence describing the actions of the girl and her father.

Words 6, 7, 12, and 13 are possible candidates for becoming the main verb of the sentence in the indicative. Thus, any one of these four could be considered an autonomous subordinative, and the other three would be considered dependent subordinatives. The sentence, if were to be changed so as to be able to stand in isolation, could be changed in any one of the following three ways:

Changing word 6:

¹Caqerluni ²aatiita ³nengelviim ⁴tungiini ⁵taluyani ⁶paqcaqlirai ⁷ayagluni
⁸kiimi, ⁹elliin ¹⁰arenqianani ¹¹maliksungraani ¹²maliksumiinaku
¹³nenglissiyaagniluku ¹⁴ella.

¹On one occasion ²their father ³of the intense cold ⁴in the time toward it ⁵his own
fishtraps ⁶*he finally checked them* ⁷going ⁸alone, ⁹she ¹⁰it being inevitably so
¹¹even though she wanted to go with him ¹²not wanting her to go along ¹³saying
it was too cold ¹⁴the weather.

Changing word 7:

¹Caqerluni ²aatiit ³nengelviim ⁴tungiini ⁵taluyani ⁶paqcaqlirluki ⁷ayagtuq
⁸kiimi, ⁹elliin ¹⁰arenqianani ¹¹maliksungraani ¹²maliksumiinaku
¹³nenglissiyaagniluku ¹⁴ella.

¹On one occasion ²their father ³of the intense cold ⁴in the time toward it ⁵his own fishtraps ⁶finally checking them ⁷*he went* ⁸alone, ⁹she ¹⁰it being inevitably so ¹¹even though she wanted to go with him ¹²not wanting her to go along ¹³saying it was too cold ¹⁴the weather.

Changing word 12:

¹Caqerluni ²aatiita ³nengelviim ⁴tungiini ⁵taluyani ⁶paqcaqlirluki ⁷ayagluni ⁸kiimi, ⁹ellin ¹⁰arenqianani ¹¹maliksungraani ¹²*maliksumiitaa* ¹³nenglissiyaagniluku ¹⁴ella.

¹⁰on one occasion ²theri father ³of the intense cold ⁴in the time toward it ⁵his own fishtraps ⁶finally checking them ⁷going ⁸alone, ⁹she ¹⁰it being inevitably so ¹¹even though she wanted to go with him ¹²*he didn't want her to go along* ¹³saying that it was too cold ¹⁴the weather.

Changing word 13:

¹Caqerluni ²aatiita ³nengelviim ⁴tungiini ⁵taluyani ⁶paqcaqlirluki ⁷ayagluni ⁸kiimi, ⁹elliin ¹⁰arenqianani ¹¹maliksungraani ¹²maliksumiinaku ¹³*nenglissiyaagnia* ¹⁴ella.

¹On one occasion ²their father ³of the intense cold ⁴in the time toward it ⁵his own fishtraps ⁶finally checking them ⁷going ⁸alone, ⁹she ¹⁰it being inevitably so ¹¹even though she wanted to go with him ¹²not wanting her to go along ¹³*he said that it was too cold* ¹⁴the weather.

Notice that if word 6, word 12, or word 13 is changed, then word 2, **aatiit**, must be changed to the relative case to be the subject of the transitive main verb, but if word 7 is changed then word 2, **aatiit** stays in the absolutive since **ayagtuq** is intransitive. Also note that, at most, *one* of these subordinatives could be changed to indicative.

The (autonomous) subordinative is the mood which is normally used throughout a narrative except in following situations:

- (1) In the opening sentence(s) of the narrative, or to mark a change of theme, the indicative is often used rather than the subordinative.¹
- (2) In the *observational construction*, which was mentioned in connection with the story in Chapter 18 and is discussed at length in Chapter 21, the verb expressing the act of observing (or getting into a position so as to observe) is put in the indicative.
- (3) There may be other specific situations (unknown to the writer) that call for the indicative rather than the subordinative in a narrative.

1. The *participial* verb mood (discussed Chapter 21) may also be used instead of the indicative.

Connected Reading for Chapter 19

Read and understand the narrative below. Parse each Yup'ik sentence. For each sentence with one or more subordinative verbs tell which one or ones of those subordinative verbs could be considered as the autonomous subordinative of that sentence, that is, which could be replaced with the indicative if that sentence were isolated. (Each sentence is numbered so that you needn't copy this text.)

(1) Makcami aaniit, yuaryaaqerrarlukkek muruqeryaragni¹ kamilarmi piluguugni aqvaak all'ukek-llu. (2) Tua-i-llu assalirraarluni, kuuvvialirraarluni-llu, kiimi unuakutaryuumiilami tupaggluku unii ilaliisqelluni nerrlermini. (3) Elitnauqataata-llu irniani cetaman tamalkuita tupaggluki. (4) Tamarmeng-llu ataucikun makluteng. (5) Ermiggaarluteng-llu cali-llu kenagqaarluteng ellmeggnek kiimeng qancirluteng assaliarturluteng. (6) Tua-i-llu aaniita nernginanermeggni umyuaqerrluku ak'a allakallrem² qetunrami qanellra. (7) Nalluyaguarrluku-am³ akwaugaq atakumi qanrutkenritliniluku tauna. (8) Qetunraagnek qanrutellruluku allakarmeng⁴ qayuw⁵ ayagciqniliteng Mamterillernun, utaqasqevkenateng; aaniita qanrucani aatiit piuq kiimek elkek tamarmek apiatam kinguani tua-i ayagyuglutek.

(9) Maaten aaniit murilkuq, kinguqliat yuin nangermi nerelria⁶ ilai-wa ukut aqumgarmeng nerelriit.⁷ (10) Aqumqerluku-llu neresqelluku piani⁸ piuq ak'a taqutniluni.⁹

(11) Aaniit-llu cangimircami¹⁰ cali assaliamek teguteqataryaaqlermini piuq, ak'a tamalkuita assaliat nangllinikait.¹¹ (12) Tua-i-llu assaliartairutlinian¹² tua-i assaliartunriceñarluni¹³ taugaam keliparturluni. (13) Nerenriami kiarcaaquq kinguqliatnek irniami tayima. (14) Yuaraku ilain piat¹⁴ kiavet iluqlirmun piniluku.¹⁵ (15) Tua-i-llu kiavarluni ellii piuq inarmi qavalria¹⁶ tauna kinguqliat. (16) Maaten qamiquña murilkaa kemga

1. **murugeryaraq** = 'slipper.'

2. **allakar-** (as a verb base here) = 'to go out on his own, become independent of ones parents, living with one's own spouse.'

3. **@-arte-** = 'to suddenly V' (Chapter 22); the enclitic **=am** means something like 'as it turned out ... though it shouldn't have been so.'

4. The plurals **-meng**, **-luteng**, and **-nateng** refer to that son's wife and children; **allakarmeng** here means that they would go as a group separately from the parents of the son.

5. **qayuw'** = 'this time'; particle (Chapter 23).

6. **nerelria** = 'he was eating', participial mood, intransitive, the marker of which is identical with the nominalizing postbase **-lria** 'the that is V-ing.'

7. **nerelriit** = 'they were eating', participial mood.

8. **piani** = 'when she told him.'

9. **taqute-** = 'to be finished.'

10. **cangirmirte-** = 'to be unsatisfied (with respect to what one has eaten).'

11. **nangllinikait** = 'apparently they finished them,' in the participial mood, transitive, the marker of which is identical to the nominalizing postbase **@-ka**^e 'the one possessor is V-ing.'

12. **assaliartairute-** = 'there were no longer any pancakes'; (see Chapter 20 for the postbase here).

13. **-nriceñar-** = 'to not V having changed one's mind.'

14. **piat** 'they said to her,' indicative perhaps for reasons of "style."

15. **piniluku** = 'saying or indicating to her.'

16. **qavalria** = 'he was sleeping,' participial mood.

kavirpak.¹ (17) Tua-i-llu ullagluku cav'artaa² kemga puqlanirluni. (18) Tua-i-llu ayakuneng Mamterillernun tauna kinguqliat emucugluku umyuarqeqluni. (19) Uavaami-llu aatiit qanrulluku taumek naulluulriamek irniamegnek, emucugnilluku-llu cali qanrulluku ayakunek Mamterillernun.

(20) Tua-i-llu pilaucimegsetun³ taukut elitnauryarluteng irniari, kinguqliat taugaam naulluungami pivkenani. (21) Irniakek-llu uterrluteng apiataryarturluteng. (22) Irniarin-llu ilaita ilateng aqumgarmeng tuaten ellimeqa'aqluki. (23) Cangalliurpek'nateng-llu⁴ niitaqluteng.⁵ (24) Nerenriameng-llu-am cali elitnauryarluteng. (25) Elitnauryaumariata-llu⁶ elkek upenglutek,⁷ upluku-llu tauna naulluulria. (26) Tua-i-llu ayagluteng.

1. **kavirpak** = '(it was) very red.'

2. **cav'artaa ... puqlanirluni** = 'she suddenly felt it ... it was quite warm.'

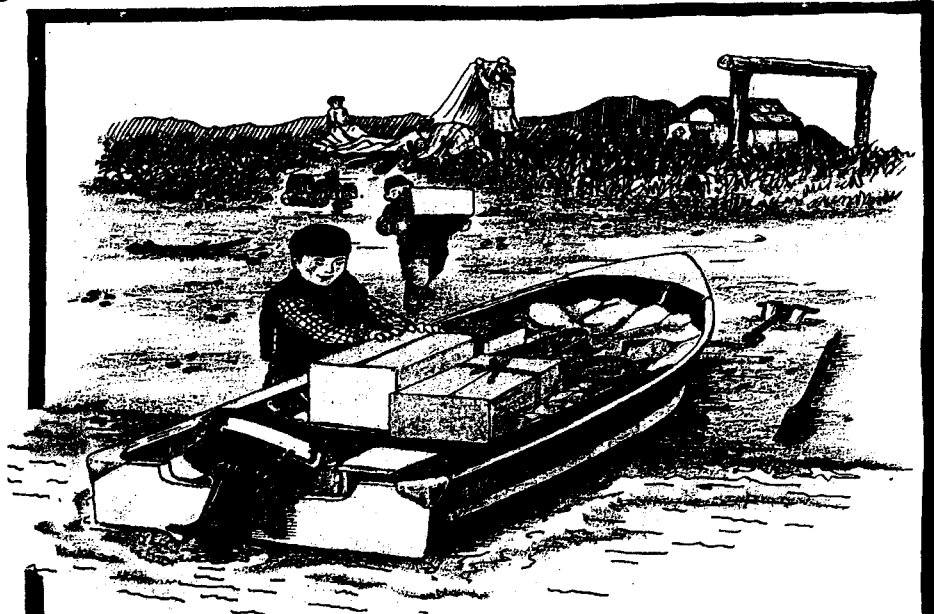
3. **pilaucimegsetun** = 'in accordance with their habit (*literally*, usual way of acting).'

4. **cangalliur-** = 'to object, to find something wrong (with it).'

5. **niite-** = 'to obey' here, rather than just 'to hear.'

6. **elitnauryaumari-** = 'to finish school (for the day).'

7. **up'nge-** = 'to start to get ready to go'; variant of **uptenge-**.



Ucikani cuqluki pilarai.
Aarnarqellriit murilkelluki
angyalartuq. Cukassiyaagpek'nani-llu
pilartuq allanek angyanek
pairkengaqami.

This is a sample from *Cali Allat Naaqerkat*, written by Betty Huffmon, James Berlin Sr., Esther Green, and Hubert Angaiak and published by the Lower Kuskokwim School District, 1988. It is one of many school books written in Yup'ik at various levels.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 19

Vocabulary Notes and Alternate Vocabulary

- #1 **Epu** is only a 'shaft-like handle,' as on an ice-pick or a saucepan; a more general word for any handle or thing used as a handle, including a 'doorknob' and a 'bail' on a bucket is **teguyaraq**
- #2 Instead of **iqsuq** or **iqsuk** for 'left hand, one on the left hand side,' there is **carumik** in some (as yet undetermined) areas.
- #3 Instead of **kumeg-** for 'to scratch,' there is **paume-** or **paame-** in NS, Y, Nun, UK, LI, and Eg.
- #4 In addition to **naunraq*** for 'plant,' there is **naucetaaq** which means specifically a plant that one grows, such as a house plant; in Can and NI **naunraq*** is specifically 'salmonberry.'
- #5 Instead of **neq'ake-** for 'to remember,' HBC and Nun have **enqake-**.
- #6 In addition to **qanemciq** for 'story; account of what has happened,' there is **qalamciq** especially in K and BB.
- #7 **Suugi-** 'to scrub' is one of the few bases which begins with **s** in all Yup'ik areas rather than having a **c** variant; perhaps the base is actually **essugi-** which would explain the fact that areas (such as NI, Nun and HBC) which otherwise never begin words with an "s" sound nevertheless begin this word in that way.
- #8 **Tallirpik** 'right hand, one on the right hand side' is from **talliq** 'arm' and the non-productive consonant-retaining suffix **+pik**. See the note on **imarpik** in the supplement to Chapter 6.
- #9 Instead of, or in addition to, **ikirte-/ikingqa-** 'to open/to be open,' there is **angparte-/angpangqa-**, and also **angvarte-/angvangqa-** in Nun.
- #10 Instead of **quyurte-/quyungqa-** 'to gather together/to be gathered,' there is **katurte-/katungqa-** in NS, Y, Nun, HBC (?) and some NI.
- #11 Instead of **takar-** for 'feeling shy, respectful, intimidated,' there is **tallur-** in certain (as yet undetermined) areas.
- #12 Instead of, or in addition to, **cumaci-** for 'feeling repulsed' there is **peller-** (though this often is limited in use to 'feeling repulsed by something wet on one's skin') and **quinag-** in certain (as yet undetermined) areas.

Note A

In HBC, rather than **kii-** for 'only, alone,' the form used is **keyir-**, and the postbase **-rraq*** is used more frequently there than in areas where **kii-** is used. Thus, instead of **kiimeng** 'only they (the subject),' HBC has **keyirmeng** or **keyirrameng**, and instead of **kiingan** 'only he (not the subject),' HBC has **keyian** or **keyirraan**. One can see a trace of this intervocalic **y** outside of HBC in the particle **kesianek** 'always' which evidently comes from **keyir-** and a possessed ablative-modal ending. The less "tense" **y** becomes the more "tense" **s** due to what could be termed "permanent" gemination, which also accounts for the more tense "v" pronunciation of **v** in **kaviaq** 'red fox' as opposed to the less tense "w" pronunciation of **v** in the related word **kavirliq** 'red thing.'

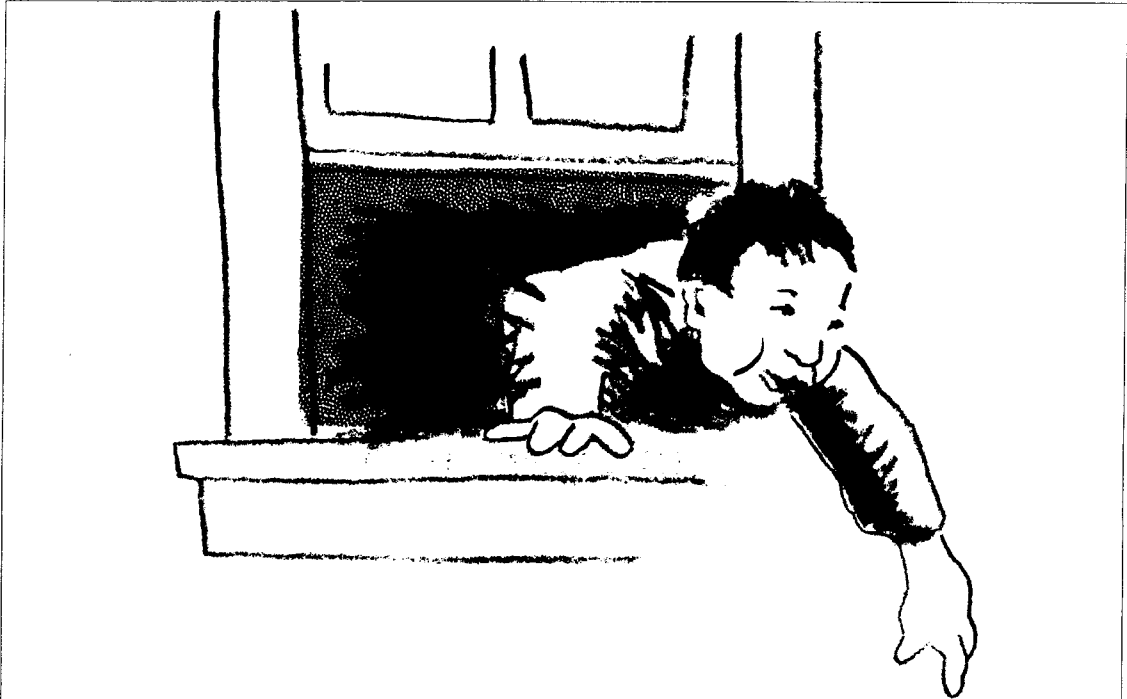
Note B

Another type of root is what is called a *dimensional root*, such as **mam-** 'thickness' (in **mamtu-** 'to be thick' and **mamkite-** 'to be thin'). A number of these dimensional roots were presented in Chapter 14; others are listed in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

Yet another type of root is what can be called a *deep root*. A deep root is what can be perceived as the common core of a group of words which involve some common thread of meaning. The deep root itself, however, cannot be considered as a word or base. An example of a deep root is **ku-** which deals with 'flowing liquid' as in **kuve-** 'to spill,' **kuik** 'river,' **kuimar-** 'to swim,' **kuvyaq** 'fishnet,' and **kuta** 'drop of liquid.' Another deep root is **at-** dealing with 'down' as in **atrar-** 'to go down,' **atsaq** 'berry,' and **aci** 'area below.' A very "shallow" deep root is **ali** or **alik/alig-** meaning 'thing one fears,' and found in **alinge-** 'to be afraid' (literally: 'to acquire a thing one fears'), and **alike-** 'to fear (it)' (literally: 'to have as a thing one fears'). Here the postbases **-nge-** and **-ke-** are readily discernable — unlike the case with words containing **ku-** or **at-** — but ***ali** or ***alik** cannot be used as a noun in present day Yup'ik.

Corresponding to deep roots are *deep suffixes*, which have more or less discernable meanings and which seem like they once were postbases, but which are found on bases which have no

independent existence in present day Yup'ik. For example, **-me-**, seems to deal with 'breaking.' It is found in **asme-** 'to break in to,' **ciqume-** 'to break up,' **itume-** 'to break up,' **kaime-** 'to crumble' and several similar verbs. Also **-quq** occurs in body part words such as **nasquq** 'head,' **qamiquq** 'head,' **ciisquq** 'knee,' **iqelquq** 'little finger,' **ircaquq** 'heart,' and **uyaquq** 'neck.'



Cat iliitni inarnariani inareskili umyuaratequ'urluni,
 "Waniwa kina tupaglii qimugkauyarlua." Unuakuarmi
 uituq ca imna neplilria egalran acianek. Maaten egaleni
 ikirtaa qimugkauyacuar kan'a tungupayagaq, ikiukaca-
 garluni, ciulvayagauluni.

This is a page from *Qimugtenglleq*, written by Dora David and published by the Yup'ik Language Center, 1981.



Bethel, 1985. Photo by James H. Barker.

CHAPTER 20

*Transitive Interrogative with Non-Singular Subject;
Postbases for 'condition with respect to V-ing,' 'the
way to V,' 'the act, activity or state of V-ing'*

Vocabulary

- allrakuaqan** 'every year, yearly' (*particle*) #1
anuqa^e 'wind'
aryuqaa 'he is glad to see him'
aug'artuq 'he got out of the way'; **aug**'araa 'he removed it, got it out of the way'
(*second person singular intransitive optative can be, irregularly, aug*'a 'get
out of the way!' *as well as the regular aug*aa) #2
cang'uq 'he caught fish' (*also, irregularly cangliquq* 'he caught lots of fish') #3
cangtaq 'a caught fish or snared animal' (as in **cangtai** 'the fish_{pl} (or animals)
he caught')
cikmirtuq 'he closed his eyes' #4
cikuliurun 'ice pick' #5
ciuliaq 'ancestor'
cup'uq 'it (the river's ice) is breaking up in spring'
cupaa 'he is blowing on it'
ilupeq 'underwear; undershirt; tee-shirt'
kiartuq 'he is looking around, scanning his surroundings'; **kiartaa** 'he is looking
around for it'
kinguveq 'descendant'
marayaq 'mud'
melqulek 'furbearing animal'
melquq 'fur; feather'
minaq 'food not eaten, left for another person'
minartuq 'he left food for someone else'; **minaraa** 'he left food for him'
missuuk 'sack, bag' #6
mulut'uuk 'hammer' #7
navraq 'borrowed thing'
navrartuq 'he borrowed something'; **navraraa** 'he borrowed it'
neptuq 'it stuck on something, clung to something'
panayuli 'bumble-bee' (*in Yup'ik, bees puukar-*, 'bump', *when they sting*) #8
puukartuq 'he bumped into something'; **puukaraa** 'he bumped into it'
tarenraq 'picture, photograph'
tengruuq 'he is enthusiastic, excited'
tukuuguq 'he is rich, wealthy' #9
unuaquaqan 'daily' (*particle*) #10

Completion of the Presentation of the Interrogative Endings

In Chapter 11 some of the interrogative mood endings were discussed. Here we shall see the rest of these endings, that is, transitive interrogative endings for a non-singular subject. These transitive endings are formed very simply by attaching the usual object markers after the appropriate intransitive forms.

Ciin-kiq atqa nalluyagutellruatgu. 'I wonder why they forgot my name.'

(Compare the intransitive: **ciin nalluyagutellruat?** 'why did they forget?')

Qaku cenirciiqcecikut? 'When will you_{pl} visit us?' (Compare the intransitive: **qaku cenirciiqceci?** 'when will you_{pl} visit?')

Qaillun ciuliamta piliaqatki ukut? 'How did our ancestors make these?' (Compare an intransitive such as: **qaillun ayuqat?** 'what are they like?')

Naliit ingkut mikelnguut irniaqcetegki? Which of those children are your₂ children? (Compare an intransitive such as: **qavcinek irniangqercetek?** 'how many children do you₂ have?')

Kinkut tangerrsugtatnga? 'Who_{pl} wants to see me?' (Compare the intransitive: **kinkut tangerrsugtat?** 'who_{pl} wants to see?')

Exercise 20-1

A. Change the following from singular subject to plural or dual **subject** as requested keeping the same object (making any other changes necessary) and translate. For example, given **Qaillun im'um kitugciiqau?** (pluralize) you should write **Qaillun imkut kitugciiqatgu?** 'How will those people fix it?'

1) **Ciin-kiq irniavet nacilartau nuliaqa?** (dualize) 2) **Qaillun-kiq ayuqsiki ciuliaten?** (pluralize) 3) **Qangvaq ellillrusikek mulut'uugek missuugmun?** (dualize) 4) **Qaillun yuum misvikellruagu iralum qainga?** (pluralize) 5) **Ciin mikelnguun alikakut?** (pluralize) 6) **Kinkut uum tarenramelnguun kinguvqaki?** (dualize) 7) **Ciin tanem nalluyagutellrusiu ciuliyavet atra?** (dualize) 8) **Qaillun-kiq im'um ciuliamta nel'illruaki ilani mulut'uuginani?** (pluralize) 9) **Kina panayulim puukallruagu?** (pluralize) 10) **Kia pelatekaa navrallrusiu ayaumainanerpeni?** (dualize) 11) **Kinkut irniarit nunurciqsiki?** (pluralize) 12) **Ciin up'nerkami tangvagyularciu kuik cupnginanrani** (dualize)

B. Translate the following into English:

1) **Ciin aug'allruceciki mikelnguut neplinrilengraata?** 2) **Ciin tegganret qanrutellruatki mikelnguut cikmiisqelluki aruqeqatallermegteki cikiutnek?** 3) **Kinkut qanrutellruatgen asguruama melqui nepsimaniluki estuulumun angerkun?** 4) **Kia angyaa atullruceci upallerpeceñi neqlillerpeceñun cupraarcelluku?** 5) **Natmun makumiut kuvyateng sagtelartatki?** 6) **Ciin ilama neq'akellrunritatnga?** 7) **Ciin paltuuteng evcuksaitatki iterpailegmeng?** 8) **Qaillun suugillruceci nateq suugissuutmek aturpek'naci?**

C. Translate the following into Yup'ik:

1) Why did you_{pl} tell us that your relatives are wealthy? 2) Why are they looking around for those fur-bearers which we saw here? 3) When did you₂ borrow the hammers that are in the sack? 4) I wonder why the wind and the rain made our

underwear fall into the mud even though it wasn't very windy and didn't rain much today. 5) Where did those_{going away} bees sting you? 6) If we don't write things down, how will our descendents know about their_{own} ancestors? 7) Why didn't you_{pl} eat these fish I caught even though I left them for you? 8) I wonder how our ancestors made those old ice picks that we saw without modern tools? 9) Which of the people here were not glad to see you_{pl} when you returned from outside the state? 10) Why do they ask us everyday (wanting) to borrow our things even though they are rich?

The Postbase @:(u)ciq

The postbase @:(u)ciq can be somewhat abstractly translated as 'condition with respect to V-ing.' It is used in sentences of the following sort:

Aptellruaqa qavaucirpenek (or **qavaucivnek**). 'I asked him whether you were asleep' (**qavaucirpenek** means literally: 'about your condition with respect to sleeping', and is in the ablative-modalis case as used with verbs of communicating (see Chapter 9)).

Nalluaqa ciin qavarciigalucin. 'I don't know why you can't sleep' (**qavarciigalucin** is the absolutive object of the transitive verb; **ciin** is, of course, a particle, going here with the "embedded" sentence **ciin qavarciigacit?**).

Taringenritua qaill' ungunngssirpagculauciitnek nutginateng. 'I don't understand how they used to hunt big animals without guns.'

Paqesgu cali kiani uitacia. 'Check whether or not he's still in there.'

When used with a base ending in **cete** (both those occurring in certain descriptive verb bases such as **kiircete**- 'to be hot,' and **tan'gercete**- 'to be dark,' and those which have a causative meaning as in **ayagcete**- 'to make it/him go,' **igcete**- 'to make it fall, to drop it') this postbase takes the form @ciq dropping the **te** of **cete** (otherwise it behaves like the postbase @:(u)te- (Chapter 10)).

Apcaqunii ciin kiircecianek unuamek. 'Don't ask me why it's hot today.'
Nalluaqa natmun igcecia. 'I don't know where he dropped it.'

There are several very common combinations of this postbase and verb bases:

Nallunrituten-qa taum caucianek? 'Do you know what that is?' (from **cau**- 'to be what' which comes from **ca** 'what' and %~:(ng)u- 'to be').

Qanrutellruanga qaillun im'um ayuqucianek? 'He told me how that one is, what it is like or in what condition it is.' (from **ayuqe**- 'to be like').

Elicugtuq qikertam elucianek. 'He wants to learn about the island's form (and generally what it is like)' (from **ete**- 'to be,' the obsolete verb base also found in words like **maantuq**, **kiimetuq** (Chapter 6)).

In the preceding three examples, the words **taum**, **im'um** and **qikertam** are relative possessors of the nouns $\sqrt{\text{ayuquciq}}$ 'what something is like,' $\sqrt{\text{cauciq}}$ 'what something is,' and $\sqrt{\text{eluciq}}$ 'the form of something.'

The combination of **+ta-** 'to (be)V to a certain (indicated) extent' (see Chapter 14), and **@:(u)ciq** gives **+taciq** 'degree to which possessor is V.'

Alqama aptellruanga qail' angtacirpenek. 'My older sister asked me your size (how big you are).'

Kuigem iqtutacia nalluaqa. 'I don't know how wide the river is.'

Compare the following:

Aptellruanga sugtucirpenek aatavtun. 'He asked me if you are tall like your father.'

Aptellruanga sugtutacirpenek aatavtun. 'He asked me if you are as tall as your father.'

Aptellruanga qail' sugtutacirpenek. 'He asked me how tall you are.'

Aptellruanga sugtunrucirpenek aatavni. 'He asked me if you are taller than your father.'

In many cases this postbase only *partially* nominalizes verbs, for most speakers. Rather than having a relative case possessor, a form derived with this postbase has a subject for its "embedded" verb:

Qanrusnga ciin tauna qimugta qiluucianek. 'Tell me why that dog is barking' (*tauna qimugta is the absolutive subject of the embedded intransitive verb: ciin qilugta?*).

Be aware that for 'tell me why that dog is barking' some speakers will say **qanrusnga ciin taum qimugtem qiluucianek** instead of the above with **taum qimugtem** as relative possessor of the derived noun **qiluucianek**, just as a relative possessor is used with **ayuqucia(nek)**, **caucia(nek)**, and **elucia(nek)**. The acceptability of these two different patterns, absolutive as subject of embedded intransitive verb and relative as possessor of derived noun, is similar to the acceptability in English of both 'I heard about *you* being sick' and also 'I heard about *your* being sick.'

If the "embedded" sentence is transitive, then its subject goes from relative to *terminalis* case. This is another instance of the *terminalis case as subject of an embedded transitive verb* (see also Chapter 18). Thus:

Qanrusnga ciin taumun qimugtemun qiluucianek irniaqa. ‘Tell me why that dog is barking at my child.’ (*Embedded sentence: ciin taum qimugtem qilugtau irniaqa?*)

With this postbase future is expressed with the noun-to-noun postbase **+kaq** (Chapter 14) coming after the postbase in question, rather than with the verb-to-verb postbase **+ciqe-/@ciqe-** coming before it:

Aptellruanga natmun ayaucirkamnek unuaqu. ‘He asked me where I would go tomorrow’ (*ayaucirkamnek is preferred to ayagciqucimnek*).

With the postbase in question one can generally use either the intransitive verb plus ablative-modalis indefinite object construction, or the transitive verb plus absolutive object construction:

Nalluunga ciin nenglliucianek maani. ‘I don’t know why it’s cold.’

or,

Nalluaqa ciin nenglliucia maani (*same meaning*).

Furthermore some speakers can even use a sort of “hybrid construction”:

Nalluaqa ciin nenglliucianek maani (*same meaning*).

One could think of this last sentence as having the literal meaning, ‘I don’t know it, with respect to why it’s cold here.’¹

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for one further peculiarity of the postbase in question, for the “northern” alternative to this postbase, and concerning the problem of grammatical agreement posed by this postbase.

Exercise 20–2

A. Translate:

- 1) Nalluunga ciin kuuvviaq nangucianek.
- 2) Umyuartequten-qaa natmun ayallrucirpenek uksumi?
- 3) Anguyagtem aptellruanga kitumun piliaucianek yaaruiten.
- 4) Alqama igallruanga aplua nani uitalaucirpenek.
- 5) Qanrusgu aatan qaillun elpenun qerrulliigken allellruciagnek.
- 6) Apeski ciin nuliaranun aryuqenrilucitnek allanret.
- 7) Nalluunga ciin panayulinun puukallrucitnek irniaten taugaam irnianka pivkenaki.
- 8) Qaku cupucirkaa mat’umi allrakumi nalluaput.
- 9) Igaquvgu apeskiu marayissiyaagucianek tamana tumyaraq (*or tamatum tumyaram*).
- 10) Aptellranga kinkuucitnek ciulianka (*or ciuliana*), qanrutellruaqa nallunilua.
- 11) Nuliaqa-llu qalarut’lartukuk kinguvepuk (*or kinguvemegnuk*) taringyugngacirkaatnek qalarut’laucirkaatnek-llu ciuliamegcetun.

1. Some Yup’ik speakers reject this hybrid construction.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) He asked me if you were a policeman. 2) If you see them, ask them what they want to eat for dinner. 3) When she told me what she and her husband usually ate for breakfast, I didn't believe it. 4) Do you know where he put the food that he left (for me)? 5) He asked me why your children pick on my children. 6) Do you know what kind of underwear your ancestors wore? 7) I'll tell him about where we are going to go after breakup. 8) Tell me how big your new boat will be. 9) My father didn't know the shape of the house which his father had made. 10) I think that my mother knows what our ancestors' village was like. 11) No one here will be able to tell you how long this river is.

One sometimes has a choice between using the postbase @:(u)ciq with the construction discussed here, or using the postbase @~+ni- with the subordinative mood:

Arnám angun qanrutaa qimugtenún keggellruniluku nasaurluq.

'The woman told the man that a dog bit the girl.'

or,

Arnám angun qanrutaa qimugtenún keggellrucianek nasaurluq.

'The woman told the man about a dog biting the girl.'

Exercise 20-3

Change the sentences with :(u)ciq and the ablative-modalis to the corresponding sentence with @~+ni- and the subordinative, or vice-versa and translate: for example, given Qanrutaanga tekite llrucirpenek, you would write Qanrutaanga tekite llruniluten 'he told me that you had arrived.'

1) Niitellruunga qetunraanun igcetellruniluki yaqulegtani marayamun melquit assiitevkarluki. 2) Tangerangkuvgu nuliaqa qanruskiu kuuvviaq nangucianek. 3) Pissurtet qanrutellruaput tumet marayirniluki ellallilruan akwaugaq. 4) Mikelnguum qanrutellruunga ngel'allrucirpetegnek. 5) Itqan qanruskiu aatan upyucirpenek. 6) Niitellruuten-qaa elitnauristem qerrulliik neptellrunilutek aqumllermun kia pitsaqluni ellillruaku angeq qainganun? 7) Panima qanrutellruunga quyalaucimineq tangrraqamiten.

The word √ **piciatun** 'any which way,' 'any old way,' 'of various unspecified kinds,' or 'at random,' comes from the above postbase, and a third person singular possessor vialis ending, however it has become a fixed particle.

Piciatun mingqeciqaqa lumarraqa allgumalria. 'I'll sew up my torn shirt any which way.'

Piciatun pi. 'Do (it) any way you please.'

Ingrini tangellruukut amllerneq ungunssineq piciatun. 'In the mountains we saw many different kinds of animals.'

The combination of **:(u)ciq** and **:(ng)ite-** ‘to lack *N*’ gives **:(u)ciite-** which is a postbase in its own right meaning, ‘to not know about one’s condition with respect to *V*-ing’. This postbase can take transitive endings (unlike **:(ng)ite-**), and is in fact a *compound-verbal postbase* (see Chapter 18).

Nanluciitaqa. ‘I don’t know where it is’ (*as an alternative to nalluaqa nanlucia or nalluunga nanlucianek*).

Kitumun-qaa atuuciitan cikuliurun? ‘Don’t you know who is using the ice pick?’ (*as an alternative to nalluan-qaa kitumun atuucia cikuliurun? or nalluuten-qaa kitumun atuucianek cikuliurun?*).

Exercise 20–4

Translate each of the following using the above postbase if possible, and then using the previous postbase and *nallu-*:

- 1) I don’t know why my knife is dull.
- 2) Do you know who borrowed my hammer?
- 3) I don’t know why she is not glad to see us.
- 4) Maybe I know why in the spring we always wake up before dawn comes.
- 5) If a bee stings you, you’ll know why the child is crying.
- 6) Don’t you know how they got to be so rich?

Other Postbases

The following three postbases are used in Yup’ik to express things for which English uses the infinitive as if it were a noun, as in “I’m learning *to speak* Yup’ik.”

The postbase **@~+yaraq** means ‘the way to *V*’, or ‘how to *V*’:

Elicugtua yuraryaramek. ‘I want to learn to Eskimo-dance.’

Paniteng elitnaulallruit kameksaliyaramek. ‘They used to teach their daughters how to make skin-boots.’

Several words with this postbase are lexicalized:

√ **qaneryaraq** ‘word, expression, language’ (*from qaner-* ‘to speak’)

√ **igyaraq** ‘throat’ (*from ige-* ‘to swallow’)

√ **teguyaraq** ‘handle’ (*from tegu-* ‘to take’)

√ **qeraryaraq** ‘bridge’ (*from qerar-* ‘to cross’)

√ **tumyaraq** ‘trail’ (*from the noun tuma^e* ‘footprint’).

Apa’urluma nallullrunritaa Kass’alugpiacetun qaneryaraq. ‘My grandfather knew how to speak Russian.’¹ or ‘knew the Russian language’

The postbase **~-neq** means ‘activity of *V*-ing.’ It is often interchangeable with the preceding postbase.

1. **Kass’alugpiaq** = ‘Russian’; see note #5 in the supplement to Chapter 3 concerning the postbase here.

Kuimaneq assikaqa. 'I like swimming' or 'I like to swim'.

Nalluunga mingqerfermek massiinakun. 'I don't know how to sew with a machine' (as an alternative to **Nalluunga mingeqsaramek massiinakun**).

Exercise 20-5

Translate the following:

- 1) Elicugtuten-qaa qaillun Yugcetun naaqiyaramek igaryaramek-llu? 2) Cikuliuruciyaramek elitnauraanga tegganrem. 3) Melqulegcuryaraq ciuliamta pilauciacetun nalluaput. 4) Yuranermek elitengnaquq kassaungermi. 5) Piyuaneq qanikcilriakun tumyarakun caperrnarqelartuq. 6) Taiqerraarlua Alaskamun assikelallruaqa murilkeñeq qiuryanek. 7) Miklemni umyuarteqellruunga eqiuneq muragnek caperrnaqsukluku cakneq.

The postbase **-lleq** (homophonous and perhaps related to the **-lleq** in Chapter 14) means 'act of V-ing.' It applies more to a short-term or one-time activity than the preceding postbase does. In the following examples notice how this postbase corresponds to the nominalizing use of the infinitive ('to V') or the gerund ('V-ing') in English.

Allanrem yurallra anglanarqellruuq. 'The visitor's Eskimo-dancing was enjoyable.'

Alinguq qerallerkaminek kuigem akianun. 'He is afraid to cross to the other side of the river' (*literally*, 'afraid of his own future act of crossing').

Nalluyagucaqunaku unuaqu taillerkan. 'Don't forget to come tomorrow' (*literally*: 'don't forget your future act of coming tomorrow').

Taillerkaqa caperrnarqeciquq. 'It will be hard for me to come' (*literally*: 'my future act of coming will be difficult').

Note that in the last three examples, as with **@:(u)ciq**, future is expressed with the noun-to-noun postbase **+kaq** coming after **-lleq**, rather than with the verb-to-verb postbase **+ciqe-/@ciiqe-** coming before **-lleq**.

Exercise 20-6

A. Translate into English:

- 1) Qimugteñek nerqillerkarpenek nalluyagucaqunak. 2) Akilirciqamken taqkuvgu calillerkan. 3) Utertellerkamnek alingua. 4) Mingqelqa atkugkavnek caperrnarqellruuq. 5) Nalluyagutellruunga ut'rucillerkamnek calissuutevnek. 6) Caperrnaitellruuq qerallerput nanvam etgalnguum akianun. 7) Piyuallren-qaa caperrnarqellruuq mamtulriim qanikcam qaingakun? 8) Alingua Negeqlirmun ayallerkamnek angyacuaramkun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

- 1) I don't know how I could stay inside all summer even when it isn't raining. 2) When I finish using this hammer, I'll return it to the person I borrowed it from. 3) Why did you forget to bring up the fish I caught? 4) Selling the old house

is going to be hard, but building a new one will be harder. 5) Making a place for ~~fish~~ **going through** the ice is difficult if the ice is thick and if the ice pick is dull. 6) We are ~~all~~ **afraid** to walk across the lake if the ice is thin. 7) Are you afraid to eat this old ~~meal~~ **of**? 8) Don't forget to buy something for the couple who are going to get ~~married~~ **9**. I like the fact that he helped the elders here. 10) It wasn't easy to lift ~~these~~ **heavy** boxes. 11) Going to the fishcamp by foot is never easy in the summer. **12**. My child always forgets to take food to school. 13) I forgot to take the letters ~~to~~ **the** post office. 14) It will probably be easy for the birds to see your red coat.

The postbase @~+ngate- means 'to seem to be V(-ing)' or 'to probably be V(-ing).'

Qavarngatuq. 'He seems to be sleeping, he probably is sleeping.'

Kaigngatut. 'They seem hungry.'

Since this postbase forms stative (or descriptive) verbs it has a special **te**, which goes to **l** (rather than **s**) with many suffixes.

Aaniin elitnauryartuusqenritaa unuamek naulluungalan. 'His mother doesn't want him to go to school today because he seems to be ill.'

Naulluungalkan qanrucaqunaku mertaasqelluku. 'If he seems sick don't ask him to go get water.'

This postbase takes @nguuq more commonly than -lria for 'the one(s) that is V.'

Yaaqsigngalngurmek qikertamek tangertua. 'I see an island that seems to be far away.'

The postbase @~+ngate- can also be used on nouns to mean 'to seem to be an N,' and the combination of this verbalizing form of this postbase and @nguuq leads to the following lexicalization:

√ **Yugngalnguq*** 'Asian,' literally 'one like an Eskimo'

Exercise 20-7

In the following following words replace the postbase @~+yugnarqe- with @~+ngate- (making other necessary adjustments) and translate:

- 1) Tengruciqsugnarquq. 2) Kia pikaki augkut qimugteŋguyugnarqellriit? 3) Tukuuyuksugnarqaatgen kiputellruavet akitulriamek nutaramek paltuugmek.
- 4) Qialriim mikelngucuaaram qerrulliik nepcugnarquq aqumlerem qainganun.
- 5) Cupciqsugnarquq unuaqu wall'u yaaliaku. 6) Tangerciqsugnarquci amllerneq melqulegnek ingrini mayuquvci pissuryarluci.

The postbase ~:(ng)urte- means 'to become an *N*.' It goes on verb bases exactly like the postbase ~:(ng)u- 'to be an *N*' (see Chapter 5).

Elitnauristeŋgurtellruuq qetunraak nunamegni. 'Their son became a teacher in their village.'

Agayulirteŋgurcugtuq. 'He wants to become a priest.'

Apa'urluurtua panika irniangan. 'I have become a grandfather because my daughter had a child.'

√ **Yuurtuq.** 'He was born' (*literally*: 'he became a person').

At this point, the reader should review the postbase @~+(l/r)i- 'to become *V*, to have become *V*,' used only with descriptive or adjectival verb bases, discussed in Chapter 14.

The postbase +(s)ciigali- 'to not be able to *V* any more,' comes from +(s)ciigate- 'to be unable to *V*' (Chapter 8) and @~+(l/r)i-.

Pissurciigaliunga. 'I can't hunt anymore.' (*Compare* pissurciigatua 'I can't hunt.')

Neresciigalianka. 'I can't eat them anymore.' (*Compare* neresciigatanka 'I can't eat them.')

The postbase @~+nari- 'to become so as to cause one to *V*' comes from @~+narqe- 'to tend to cause one to *V*' (Chapter 19), and @~+(l/r)i-. Note that **qe** drops.

Alingnariuq 'It's becoming (or has become) frightening.' (*Compare* alingnarquq 'it is frightening.')

Caperrnariuq 'It's getting (or has gotten) more difficult.' (*Compare* caperrnarquq 'it's difficult.')

@~+nari- has another meaning: 'for it to be time to *V*.' Note the use of intransitive and transitive in the examples here.

Nernariuq. 'It's time to eat' or 'It's time for him (subject) to eat.'

Nernariakut. 'It's time for us to eat.' (*See the section on transitive verbs with impersonal subjects in Chapter 9.*)

The postbase @:(u/i)mari- comes from @:(u/i)ma- 'to be in a state of having *V*-ed (or been *V*-ed)' (see Chapter 12) and @~+(l/r)i-. @:(u/i)mari- can be translated as 'to have finished *V*-ing' or 'to have already *V*-ed' or 'after *V*-ing.'

Ayagciqukut nerumarikumta. 'We'll leave when we have eaten' or 'We'll leave after we eat.' (*This Yup'ik construction is an alternative to ayagciqukut nererraarluta.*)

When used with a subordinative mood ending, the postbase @:(u/i)mari- does *not* require the use of .vkar-/@+cete- as a *subject adjuster* (see Chapter 18).

Arnaq manaryartullruuq irniani tupaumariluki. ‘The woman went out fishing after her children woke up.’

Yuurtellruunga apa’urluqa tuqumarillrani. ‘I was born after my grandfather died.’ (An alternative to **yuurtellruunga apa’urluqa tuqurraarcelluku.**)

The reason that a *subject adjuster* is not needed is that the postbase @:(u/i)ma- already has the same characteristic as the compound-verbal postbases, that is, that the *topic* coincides for embedded and derived sentences (see Chapter 12 where this postbase is first introduced, and Chapter 18 on the notion of *topic*). Consequently in the example above the derived verb **tupaumariluki** is transitive and has as its subject ‘the woman’ which is the subject of the main verb (in accordance with the general constraint on the subordinative), and as its object and therefore its *topic*, ‘her children’; the embedded verb **tupag-** is intransitive so that its topic is its subject, and since the *topic* of derived and embedded verbs coincide, ‘her children’ are the ones waking up. Here the subordinative verb **tupaumariluki** could be literally translated as ‘(she) being finished with their waking up’, or as ‘(she) being finished “witnessing” them wake up’, though no actual “witnessing” need occur, any more than “letting” need occur in **arnaq manaryartullruuq irniani tupaggaarcelluki** literally, ‘the woman when out fishing after “letting” her children wake up.’

The postbase -nqigte- means ‘to V again’ (and thus can be used instead of the particle **ataam**).

Anenqigtuuq. ‘He went out again.’

Ciin-kiq irniatek nununqigtagneki? ‘Why, I wonder, are they₂ scolding their₂ children again?’

√**Ac’inqigtuuq.** ‘He’s changing clothes’ (from **at’e-**, the half-transitive postbase +’(g)i- and -nqigte-).

The postbase @~+yaurte- means ‘to learn to V, to get used to V-ing.’

Kuimaryaurteksaitua. ‘I haven’t learned to swim.’

Yuraryaurcugtuq. ‘He wants to learn to Eskimo-dance.’

Iqmigyaurtellruuq miklermini. ‘He learned to chew tobacco when he was young.’

Qitevcaurcuumiituq. ‘He doesn’t want to habitually speak English.’

Qaneryaurtuten-qaa Yugcetun? ‘Have you become a Yup’ik speaker?’

Connected Reading for Chapter 20

Read the following description of a young woman's return home from school and translate it literally (for grammar). Rewrite your translation in good English.

(1) Aangaarraaq elitnauryaumarraarluni nunaminun uterteqatallermini tengruqapigtellruuq. (2) Tua-i ilani-llu tangerrsukapigcamiki qavanguquragluki-llu unuaquaqan. (3) Ciuqlirmi-llu utertekugtellermini¹ tua-i tengssuutekun tengauillerkani² caperqerraarluku tengrum ugaanicaperqenrirluku.

(4) Aiparnikek'mi-llu³ piani,⁴ nallunrilamiu cali taiciqngan⁵ cautain ilait ellminun⁶ unicesqelluki, aturngailkeni nunamini tua-i unilluki.

(5) Tua-i-llu utetmun⁷ umyuarateqengluni ciuliallminek. (6) Umyuarateqluni-llu ciin tamakunun ciuliallminun elitnaurutkellrunriluciatki⁸ ak'allaat piyarait kinguvritnun.

(7) Tua-i-llu taringengluni ciin elitnaurutkeksailuciatnek umyuarateqvakarluni.⁹

(8) Tua-i-llu Mamterillernun tekicami tamaaken ayagluni tengssuutecuarkun nunaminun. (9) Tengssuutecuarkun tengenginernermini tuar igteqatalalria. (10) Qilui-llu¹⁰ iluani qama-i qungvagyuaqaqluteng.¹¹ (11) Miryarpailegmi-llu¹² tekilluni nunaminun. (12) Tekicami-llu ilani tua-i tangrramiki aryuqeqapiggluki.

(13) Tekicameng-llu nem'eggnun apluki-llu ilani ciin Cing'amun ikayuryartunrilucirminek atrallermini. (14) Tua-i-llu ilain piluku Cing'aaq ayaumaniluku ingrinun. (15) Tua-i-llu elliin¹³ piluki atrallermini malillni,¹⁴ "Ciin, ukuut,¹⁵ ikayullrunricecia?" (16) Tamakut-llu malillrin piluku ikayullrunritniluku ikayurcetaanrilan.¹⁶

(17) Tua-i-llu cali ilani tekicata paqtellriit apluki; "Kia qanrutellruaci taiqatarnilua?" (18) Tua-i-llu taukut kiuluku, Ming'amun qanrutellruniluteng.

(19) Maaten Aangaarraam murilkaa missuuk imna navraqellni mecungluni.

(20) Tua-i-llu perrillermini piuq una angeq teguyaraani nepusngaluni. (21)

1. **-kugte-** = 'to be about to V, to be planning to V.'

2. **tengaur-** = 'to be in flight.'

3. **aiparnike-** = 'to consider a good companion, to have as a friend', so **aiparnikek'mi** 'her (Aangaarraaq's) friend' (relative case).

4. **piani** = 'because she (the friend) told her (Aangaarraaq, the subject of **unilluki**, the main verb of the sentence).'

5. **nallunrilamiu cali taiciqngan** = 'because she (the friend) knew that she (Aangaarraaq) would return again' (*literally*: 'because she (the friend) knew her; because she (Aangaarraaq) would return again'); note that in this clause (set off by commas, extending from **nallunrilamiu** through **unicesqelluki**) 4th person endings refer back to **aiparnikekiin**, which is the subject **unicesqelluki** which is the main verb of the clause.

6. **ellminun** = 'with her (the friend),' personal pronoun (Chapter 21).

7. **utetmun** = 'in the return direction'; this is the 2nd terminalis ending on a morpheme, **ute-**, which surely is related to **uterte-**.

8. See Note A in the supplement to this chapter on verbal endings with the postbase @:(u)ciq.

9. **~vakar-/@+pakar-** = 'to V so much.'

10. **qiluq** = 'gut.'

11. **qungvagyua-** = 'to feel ticklish.'

12. **miryar-** = 'to vomit.'

13. **elliin** = 'she,' personal pronoun in relative case (Chapter 21).

14. **malik** = 'one who accompanies.'

15. **ukuut** is the vocative of **ukut**.

16. **@+cetaar-** = 'to try to induce one to V.'

Tua-i-llu nepcetellruyukluku ilaminun apluki kitumun nepcecianek. (22) Ilain-llu piluku elliinun nepcetellruyukluku pillruniluteng. (23) Tua-i-llu auḡarraarluku nepesngalria angeq eggluku.

(24) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraam aaniin apluku neryuucianek. (25) Kenirniluni ua-i tuntuvalegmek. (26) Kinguqliat-llu ellimerluku imkut akutat paivcesqelluki¹ uaken kumlivigmek.² (27) Paivcaki-llu tamariluni aaniit iliitnek akutat, apluku-llu tamalkuita itrucaaquciitnek. (28) Tamalkuita piyaaqniaki, aaniita aptaa tauna kinguqlia nerellrucciatnek qemangqauraucaaqniluku³ Aangaarraaq piciatun qivilegnek akutaneq neresqelluku. (29) Cunaw'-am⁴ angiiit neryugpakallrani akutamek taumek nerevkallinikiit.⁵ (30) Tua-i-llu aaniita apluki, "Ciin nerevkallruceci angagepeceñun?" (31) Tua-i-llu kiuluku ciungani neryugqan piciatun piyullrinek nerevkalaamegtegggu pillruniluku. (32) Aangaarraaq-llu qanerluni canritniluku taumun nerengraaku. (33) Cali-llu quyavikluki ilani minaucimineq piciatun akutaneq.

(34) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraam aanani cikirluku mikcuarmek kakiviliamineq⁶ akmantellermini elitnaurluni. (35) Ciuqlirmi aaniin cauciicaaqluku ikirpailegmiu kakivik. (36) Tua-i-llu quyaqapiggluni kakiviucia nallunriqertellermini.⁷ (37) Tua-i-llu cikiringinanrani iliita kinguqliin apluku iluperkamineq pillrucimineq. (38) Elliin-llu tua-i umyuaqerrluku piarkaullrucillni iluperkaaneq tua-i-llu qanrulluku nalluyagutellruniluni taitellerkamineq uptengllermineq. (39) Qanrulluku-llu tamana nuna pircingellrani cali-llu tumyarat uḡasqinaringellratni⁸ ayagasciigat'ngellruniluni.⁹ (40) Qanrulluku-llu ut'reskuni ilupermek kipuyuciiqniluku. (41) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraaq cikirillrani allayugnek¹⁰ neqnirqellrianek¹¹ aiparnikek'minun tuyuutekniluki pillrani¹² kinguqlikacaaraam¹³ apluku, "Ciin taicetaten nallungermikut?" (42) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraam piluku tauna aiparnikek'ni cikiriyunqeggniluku,¹⁴ kenketarluku-llu¹⁵ tuaten. (43) Iliita-llu kinguqliin cali cauciinaku neqnirqellria apluku caucianek Kass'atun. (44) Elliin-llu kiuluku bon-bon-auniluki.

(45) Tua-i-llu nerngami Aangaarraaq tamalkuita akutat naspaaluki. (46) Nerenqigtaarluni-llu¹⁶ tamakunek neqkanek, nerviirucami taugāam¹⁷ taqluni.

1. **paivte-** = 'to put out for use or for view.'

2. **kumlivik** = 'refrigerator or freezer.'

3. **qemangqauraute-** = 'to put something away for,' from **qemagte-**.

4. **cunaw'** or **cunawa** = 'it turned out that.'

5. **nerevkallinikiit** = 'they let him eat,' participial mood, called for by use of **cunaw'** (Chapter 21).

6. **kakivik** = 'bag or box for things used in sewing such as needles, thimbles, scissors, thread.'

7. **-qerte-** = 'to suddenly V' (Chapter 22).

8. **uḡasqinari-** = 'to get slippery.'

9. **ayaga-** = 'to go around from place to place' (postbase explained in Chapter 22).

10. **allayuk** = 'unfamiliar thing.'

11. **neqnirqe-** = 'to be delicious.'

12. **pillrani** = 'when she (Aangaarraaq) said' (first contemporative mood).

13. **kinguqlikacaaraq*** = 'the very youngest sibling.'

14. **@-yunqegg-** = 'to like V-ing.'

15. **kenketar-** = 'to be caring, loving.'

16. **@aar-** = 'to repeatedly V' (Chapter 22).

17. **nerviirucami taugāam** = 'only when she had no more room (in her stomach) for eating.'

End-of-Chapter Exercises

A. Translate into English:

1) Nerkilta ilaput tekicimarikata. 2) Ayallruutercimariluku. 3) Kipusviliurteŋgurcan tamarmeng umyuarteqsaaqut tukuuyukluku. 4) Ayaumainanemni calilua Anchorage-aami angayuqaagka tegganrurtellrulliniuk. 5) Kipusvigtellruunga irnianka nerumariluki. 6) Inarrnariuq! 7) Caliarkanka caperrnariut! 8) Naulluungami pissuryarciigaliuq ingrini piyukapiarang'ermi. 9) Nerumarikuma minarciqanka irnianka. 10) Assirimariluni naulluulleminek aataka iqmigciigallillruuq. 11) Kass'at maani amlleriut aipanglaameng makumiunek upalaameng-llu maavet. 12) Tainqigeskuvet maavet maligcesqekina nuliavnun. 13) Elitnaungnaqurang-raanga kameksaliyamek aanama, kameksaliyaurrngailngatua. 14) Erurinariaqan anlartuq aquinaluni. 15) Qanruciiqamken taqnarikan. 16) Kiarcialuteng pitarkanek utertellruut angyameggnun qerarraarluteng-llu kiartenqigtellruut. 17) Ac'inqigcimariluni mikelnguq anenqigtellruuq aquiluni-llu marayami pisqenrilngraani aanami!

B. Rewrite in Yup'ik using postbases instead of particles or additional verbs:

1) Elitelliniuten qalarcamek Yugcetun! 2) Naulluungua cakneq. 3) Nalluaqa ut'rucirkaa kiaku. 4) Cakneq tengrutkaa caliarkani nutaraq. 5) Melqulget amllertut maani. 6) Luqruuyagnek cangyaraq elicugaqa. 7) Aqsiunga nerellruama akutamek amllermek. 8) Ataam angnirtuq cakneq.

C. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The children can't swim in the river anymore because the water is too cold. 2) I can't chew tobacco anymore, but when I think about chewing tobacco I wish I could chew tobacco. 3) The days are getting shorter and it's getting colder. 4) Since he got a snow-machine he doesn't have dogs anymore, and he can't teach his son how to take care of dogs. 5) Please put some wood in the stove; it's getting cold in here. 6) In spring when all the snow melts the river becomes fast and wide, and we can't go across without a strong motor. 7) He became a teacher after he had gone to college. 8) When the young lady looked at him he blushed (became red). 9) Their behavior is getting more infuriating! 10) When I finish repairing this ice pick, you can use it. 11) They repainted their boat when breakup was over.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 20

Alternate Vocabulary and Vocabulary Notes

- #1 **Allrakuaqan** is from **allrakuq** 'year', treated as a verb, and the contingent mood
- #2 **Aug'ar-** 'to get out of the way' comes from **aug(na)**, 'the one going away,' which explains the presence of **ug** in this word. Aside from the demonstrative pronouns, **augna**, **paugna** and **qaugna**, this verb, and the conjunction **taugaam**, **ug** occurs in a very few Yup'ik nouns and verbs. See the notes to Chapter 21 for more on this matter.
- #3 **Cange-** meaning 'to catch fish' is used in some Can, K, BB, NR, LI and Eg only. As such it is lexicalized from **cange-** with the general meaning 'to acquire something.' In the areas where this lexicalization occurs, **cange-** meaning 'to catch fish' behaves like all other short bases ending in **e**. Thus in those areas one says **cang'uten** for 'you caught fish.' and **cangyugciqsugnárquq** (with stress as marked) for 'he probably will want to catch fish.' However **cange-** with its general meaning 'to acquire something' is subject to the effects of **ca** 'something' being a "stress-repelling base" (along with the other "empty" or abstract base **pi** 'thing') so that one says **canguten** for 'you acquired something,' and **cangyugciqsugnárquq** (with stress as marked — contrary to the usual stress rules) for 'he probably will want to acquire something.' The general principle is that a "stress-repelling base" serves as a mere framework for the real substance of the word, and hence passes the word initial stress onto the first postbase. (See Jacobson, 1984.)
- #4 In addition to, or instead of, **cikmir-** for 'to close one's eyes' there is **cikme-**, and also **qelme-**, in some (as yet undetermined) areas.
- #5 In addition to, or instead of, **cikuliurun** for 'ice pick' there is **tugeq** or **tugrun** in some (as yet undetermined) areas, and **passikcaq** in HBC.
- #6 **Missuuk** 'sack, bag' is from Russian.
- #7 **Mulut'uuk** 'hammer' is from Russian, and the Russian source word is related to the English word "mallet." The apostrophe in this word (which at first looks odd coming before two vowels) geminates the **t**, and so closes the preceding syllable **ut**, so that this syllable does not get rhythmic length. In contrast there is the word **mulútuuk** 'they₂ regularly come home late'. The gemination pattern of **mulut'uuk** 'hammer' is common for words from Russian, but very rare for Yup'ik words not from Russian. It occurs in **kuluk'uunaq** 'bell', **malagg'aayaq** 'fur hat', **kalap'aataq** 'oakum', **pelit'aaq** 'stove', **muluk'uuq** or **malak'uuq** 'milk', and several other words, all from Russian. Instead of **mulut'uuk** for 'hammer' there is **mul'tuuk** in HBC and **multuuk** in BB from the same Russian source.
- #8 Instead of **panayuli** for 'bumble-bee,' there is **vegtaq** in mouth of Yukon, NI, Can, Kup to Bethel, BB, NR, LI, and Eg., and **megtaq** in NS, HBC, some NI, and Nun. The word **panayuli** means literally 'one good at spearing' (despite the fact that bees "bump" (**puukar-**) rather than "spear" (**pana-**)), **vegtaq** means literally 'thing of the grass' based on the old word for grass, **[e]vek**, (now replaced by **canek** in most areas but still occurring in **vegtar-** 'to gather dried grass'), and **megtaq** is a variation of this based, probably, on an interpretation of the **v** in **vegtaq** as being imitative of a bee's buzzing. There is also another word for bumble-bee, **uuqnikuq** in NI which occurs in children's jingles or ditties about bees.
- #9 **Tukuu-** 'to be rich,' is from **tukuq** 'host,' a word now restricted in use to Y, and NS, though **tukuu-** is used all over.
- #10 **Unuaquaqaan** 'daily' is from the contingent mood with the word **unuaqu** 'tomorrow' treated as a verb meaning 'to be tomorrow' (see note 1 above).

Note A

The postbase **@:(u)ciq** can actually take an ending like the transitive person-number markers of the connective moods (see Chapter 15), rather than a noun ending. For example:

Nalluyagutellruaqa ciin caperqellrucimku. 'I've forgotten why I found it difficult.'

A sentence such as this is probably not acceptable to all speakers, but it is a natural development given the extent which the postbase in question preserves the verbal characteristics of the embedded verb rather than completely changing it to a noun. Such innovations as this — and it no doubt is an innovation — are fairly common in Yup'ik. Many exist in a sort of “grey area,” where they aren't universally acceptable, but still occur in the speech of good Yup'ik speakers. Undoubtedly the two contemporaneous moods started in this way.

In the more “northern” areas of Yup'ik (such as NS, Y, HBC) the postbase **-lleq**, discussed in this chapter, is used rather than **@:(u)ciq**. Thus for example instead of **nalluunga ciin mikelnguq qavaucianek** for ‘I don't know why the child is sleeping,’ those areas would say **nalluunga ciin mikelnguq qavallranek**. However even in these northern areas words such as **ayuciq**, **cauciq** and **eluciq** are used.

An intransitive verb has one *argument* (the subject), and a transitive verb has two *arguments* (subject and object). A 3rd person possessor possessed noun ending will have two *arguments* (possessor and thing possessed), and a 1st, 2nd or 4th person possessed noun ending will have one *argument* (possessor). This leads to a certain problem if the number of arguments of the embedded verb differs from that of the noun derived by means of the postbase **@:(u)ciq** (or **-lleq**). For example, if the embedded verb is transitive (and thus requires two arguments) but the subject and/or object is 1st, 2nd, or 4th person (and thus provides only one argument) there may be a problem. For example, which is correct for ‘he asked me why I am afraid of you.’:

Aptellruanga ciin wangnun alikucirpenek.

or

Aptellruanga ciin alikucimnek elpet.

The writer suspects that there is no one solution to this sort of problem that every good Yup'ik speaker could agree upon.

For more on this subject, see Jacobson, 1982.

CHAPTER 21

*Participial Mood; More on the Observational Construction;
Personal Pronouns; Postbases that go on Verbs and Apply
to Subject; Exclamation Formation with the Interrogative*

Vocabulary

- agiirtuq** 'she/it is approaching from the distance'
atertuq or **atertaa** 'she/it is drifting with the current'
cunawa or **cunaw** 'the reason was that' or 'it turned out that' (*particle*)
initaq 'horizontal pole on which fish is hung to dry'
inivik 'clothes line'
kangeq 'top, peak, ridge'
kilineq 'wound' #1
kilirtuq 'she cut herself, got wounded'; **kiliraa** 'she wounded or cut her/it'
kinertuq or **kinraa** 'it is dry'
kumlaneq 'frozen fish which is eaten in that state'
kuvyauq 'she is fishing with a net'
miiskaaq 'dishpan' #2
ngel'a^e 'boundary, edge' #3
palurutuq 'mushroom'
pelatekaq 'tent' #4
pulauq 'she is going forward through a thicket, clouds, darkness'; **pulaa** 'she is going forward through it'
qassartuq 'she is eating raw fish or meat'; **qassaraa** 'she is eating it raw'
qayagaurtuq or **qayagpagtuq**¹ 'she called out'; **qayagauraa** or **qayagpagaa** 'she called out to her'
qecirtuq 'she spat'; **qeciraa** 'she spat on it'
qer'aq 'fish-drying rack'
tan'gerpak 'crowberry' (*often called 'blackberry' in Yup'ik areas*) #5
taquaq 'food for a journey'
tuakenirnek 'from then on' (*particle*)
tuar or **tuarpiaq** 'just like' (*particle*)
tumagliq 'low-bush cranberry' #6
uġasqinarquq or **qurrasqinarquq** 'it is slippery'
uġasqituq or **qurrasqituq** 'she slipped' #7
uputaaraa 'she's saying unfavorable things about her behind her back'
wak'nirnek 'from now on, henceforth' (*particle*)
waniku 'soon' (*particle*)
wanikuani 'soon afterwards' (*particle*)

1. For some people, the first means 'calling someone by name', and the second merely 'shouting' (to someone).

Participial Mood

We have seen how the nominalizing postbases **-lria** (along with **@nguq***) (Chapter 13) and **@-ka^e** (Chapter 19) are used to form the Yup'ik equivalent of relative clauses. These same morphemes are also the markers of the so-called *participial*¹ verb mood; **-lria-** (along with **@nguq***) is the marker for the intransitive, and **@-ke-** is the marker for the transitive. The participial mood, like the indicative, is used for making declarative statements. However, the participial is used only in the constructions listed below (though also perhaps in others as yet unknown to the writer).

The Observational Construction

(1) The participial is used for an event or situation which is seen, noticed, or observed as a consequence of a certain action.² This is the *observational construction*, first discussed in connection with the stories in Chapter 18 and Chapter 19. In the examples below the verb describing the observation or the action which leads to the observation is italicized, and the verb describing the observed event is in small capital letters.

Uyangtelliug, arnamek angutmek-llu YUNQELLINILRIA. 'He peeked in, (and saw that) it evidently had people, a woman and a man' (from "Nunat Ercuil kai — The Village to which Dawn never Came" by Charlie Pleasant of Quinhagak in Tennant, 1981).

Piyuanginermeggni elliin aanani murilkaa tussilluni PIYUALRIA. 'While they were walking she observed her mother, (seeing that) she was walking with a limp' (from the story in Chapter 23).

The particle **maaten** 'just when ... (one saw that)' or 'lo and behold ...' (Chapter 18) is a common signal for the observational construction.

Maaten itertua ANELRIA. 'Just when I came in (I saw that) he went out' or 'I came in; lo and behold, he went out.'

Maaten tekitellruukut TEGLEKIIT. 'We arrived and, lo and behold, they stole it.'

Though **maaten** often is the first word of such sentences, it might be helpful to think of **maaten** as coming, in some sense, between the observation event and the observed event (as it sometimes does — as in the next example below), and as meaning '(it was) like this:' in line with the historical origin of **maaten** as the equalis form of **maa(ni)** 'here' (just as **waten** and **tuaten** are the equalis forms

1. While "participial" is the traditional name for this verb mood, it is somewhat inappropriate. In grammar the word "participle" or "participial" usually refers to forms that are both nominal and verbal at the same time, whereas in Yup'ik most of the endings of this family can be either nominal or verbal endings, but not at the same time.

2. There are also cases where the event or situation so observed is given by a verb in the subordinative rather than in the participial, for example **piuq ella assiqapiggluni** 'she observed that the weather was good' (from the story in Chapter 19).

of the demonstrative adverbs **wa(ni)** and **tua(ni)**). So **maaten itertua anelria** could be translated as ‘I came in (and it was) like this: he went out’, **maaten tekiteellruukut teglekiit** could be translated as ‘we arrived (and it was) like this: they stole it’.

Consider also the following examples from stories:

Kangrani-gguq egalerkun uyangtuq maaten kan’a arnassagaq AQUMGALRIA, cetuminek naanguarluni. ‘He looked in, so it is said, through the window at its (the house’s) peak; lo and behold, this old woman down below was seated playing with her nails (**cetuk**)’ (*from Cetugpak* by Marie Nick, published by the Eskimo Language Workshop; quoted also in Chapter 22 and in Supplementary Readings of this book).

Maaten yuarani aliimataillermi tangrrai QERCUAQALLINIKAI. ‘He saw his fingers (**yuaq**) when he removed his mittens; lo and behold, they evidently had been frostbitten’ (*from the story in Chapter 22*).

Maaten kiartenqigtuq agkut cali qucillgaat PEKTELLRIIT. ‘They looked around again; lo and behold, those cranes across there were moving’ (*from the story in Chapter 18*).

Maaten aaniit murilkuq kinguqliat yuin nangermi NERELRIA ... ‘Their mother looked; lo and behold, her youngest child was eating standing up ...’ (*from the story in Chapter 19*).

In the final example above, **yuin** is *not* in the fourth person even though the children are indeed their mother’s children. Context is the only means of establishing identity or lack of identity between something in what can be called the “observed event” clause and the subject of the “observation event” clause. The apparatus of 3rd person vs. 4th person is *not* used with the observational construction.

Consider also the following example:

Maaten-gguq piuq natermi AQUMGALRIA, ingna-gguq-wa aanii MINGQELLRIA ingleret qaingatni. ‘She did that and, lo and behold, she was sitting on the floor and that mother of hers was sewing on top of the bed’ (*from Jacobson, Anna, 1990*).

Here context alone tells one that it is the observer (the subject of **piuq**) who is sitting on the floor, but another person who is sewing on the bed.¹ Furthermore, context alone tells one that it is the observer’s mother and not someone else’s mother.

1. There doesn’t seem to be a distinction between 3rd and 4th person for the participial mood even though in the type of construction discussed here it is essentially a dependent verb mood and so one might expect such a distinction to exist. Hinz, in his *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language*, 1944, 1955, (based on research done much earlier) gives a table (p. 70) of plausible looking endings for the transitive participle with a 4th person object. Hinz states (p. 53) that such a form “is also in the transitive participle, but as this form is not used ... much, I have not sufficient knowledge of it to give examples.” The present writer doesn’t know to what extent, if any, such forms are still used or ever have been used in Yup’ik.

As mentioned in connection with the stories in Chapters 18 and 19, in the *observational construction* the verb describing the act of observing or the act leading to the observation is in the indicative mood, even in the midst of a narrative where the other sentences have verbs in the (autonomous) subordinative. Quite often the empty verb base **pi-** is used for that verb in the indicative, as can be seen in some of the examples given above. Sometimes the same verb will be used twice, first in the subordinative and then in the indicative as in the following example:

Tua-i-llu cangyukevkenani-llu nuggluku, nugtaa luqruuyagmek
CANGLINILRIA. 'Then, not thinking that she had caught anything, raising
 (**nugte-**) it (the lure) up, she raised it up (and observed that) she had
 caught a pike' (from Jacobson, Anna, 1990).

(2) The participial is used in exclamations with **tang** 'look' or a similar word:

Tang, qavalria! 'Look, she's sleeping!'
Tang, nerkaa! 'Look, she's eating it!'

(3) The participial (rather than the indicative) may be used to set a scene at the beginning of a narrative:

Ak'a-gguq tamaani maurluqellriik tutgaraurluni-llu uitalriik
imarpiim ceñiini ... 'Long ago a grandmother and her grandson lived
 by the shore of the sea ...' (*The participial is uitalriik; the word*
maurluqellriik is the nominalizing use of this ending.)

Tua-lli-wa-gguq ukut nunat uitaaqellriit kuigem ceñiini, kuigat-
ggug tamana anumaluni imarpigmun, uani-wa-gguq iqsulir-
nerani kuigata tamatum paingani ingriq qertuluni, kangra-
ggug taicirturatuluni erneq tamalkuan. 'Then, they say, this village
 was located on the shore of a river; its river, they say, that one, flowed out
 to the sea; downriver, they say, on the lefthand side of that river of theirs
 at its mouth there was a tall mountain, and its summit, they say, was
 always foggy every day' (from "Inerquusngalria Ingriq — The Forbidden
 Mountain" by Michael John of Newtok, in Tennant, 1981).

Tua-lli-wa-gguq una kaviarara'urluq ayalria nanvam ceñiikun. 'Then,
 they say, this poor dear fox was going along the shore of the lake' (from
 "Kaviaq Lagi-llu — The Fox and the Goose" by Olga Mute of Kongiganak
 in Tennant, 1981).

(4) The participial is used with the particle **tuar** or **tuarpiaq** 'like,' 'it was as if':

Tuar tua-i egmianun tekiteellriik taumun nanvarpagmun. 'It seems
 that then they₂ immediately arrived at that big lake' (from the story in
 Chapter 18).

Tuar-gguq ellmini qimugtengami *sugtupialria*. ‘It was, it is said, as though he had become tall because he got a dog for himself’ (*from Qimugtenglleq* by Dora David, Yup’ik Language Center, 1981).

Tuar-gguq taum qimugtiin *tangvakii umyuarteqluni*, “Cam iliini angliriciqua.” ‘It was, it is said, as though that dog of his was looking at him thinking, “Someday I’ll get bigger, grow up”’ (*from Qimugtenglleq* by Dora David, Yup’ik Language Center, 1981).

It is hard to make any general characterization of the constructions that call for a verb in the participial mood as opposed to the indicative mood. In the above four types of constructions the listener is, in a manner of speaking, asked to picture the event or situation described by the participial. This may be the common thread running through the participial’s various uses (or at least the four given above). It may be that the participial is used in these constructions precisely because it is, in a sense, more “nominal” than the indicative.

(5) When used with the enclitic =**wa** (on it or another word of the sentence) the participial apparently completes or explains something previously said. (See also the discussion of the enclitic =**wa** in Chapter 15.)

Cetamanun sass’aq kaukan ayagyullruuk. Ak’a-wa *upingalriakutllu*. Ava-i-wa taquarkamteñek kipusvigmek *aqvate llrulria Mancuaq*. ‘They₂ wanted to leave at four o’clock. We’ve already gotten ready. Over there Mancuaq has gotten provisions for the trip from the store’ (*from the story in Chapter 23*).

Tua-i-llu egalerkun uyanglluni apa’urluat qanerluni. “A, maa-i-wa *tagelria*.” ‘And then peering out the window their grandfather said “Ah, here, he’s coming up’ (*from the story in Chapter 23*).

(6) The participial is used with the particle **cunawa** or **cunaw’** ‘the reason turned out to be’ (and with other particles, such as **waniwa** or **waniw’** ‘now; here’ (Chapter 11), **iciwa** or **icugg’** ‘you know, remember’ (Chapter 23), and **qayuwa** or **qayuw’** ‘this time’ (Chapter 23).¹

Cunaw’-am angiiit neryugpakallrani akutamek taumek *nerevkallini-kiiit*. ‘The reason turned out to be that when their uncle wanted to eat so much they had let him eat that Eskimo ice cream’ (*from the story in Chapter 20*).

Cunaw’ snuukuuni ekualriit ekuavigmi caniatnun *unitellrullinikii*. ‘The reason was that he had evidently left his snow machine next to the things burning at the (trash) burning place’ (*from the story in Chapter 22*).

1. Note that all of these, including **icugg’**, contain the enclitic =**wa** or a shortened form of it.

(7) The participial is used with the postbase **-lli-** 'maybe,' and the enclitic **=wa**, to form a statement slightly more tenuous than that formed with **@~+yugnarqe-** and the indicative. Note that **=wa** goes on the first word of the sentence (as do enclitics **=qaa** (Chapter 2) and **=lli** (Chapter 10)).

Uika-wa anellrulliria. 'Maybe my husband went out.'

Taiciiqellikai-wa or **Taiciiqlikai-wa.** 'Maybe he will bring them' (*deletion of e as here is common*).

A common expression is **pilliria-wa** 'maybe it is so' or 'I suppose so.'

As participial verb mood markers **-lria-** and **-ke-** take more than just third person endings. First and second person participial endings are essentially the same as for the indicative.

Tang, tupaumalrianga! 'Look, I'm awake!' (*intransitive, 'I' ending is nga; compare tupaumaunga 'I'm awake'*).

Tang, kevegciigalkeka! 'Look, I cannot lift it!' (*transitive, 'I' to 'it' ending is ka; compare kevegciigataqa 'I cannot lift it'*).

Tang, ngel'arceskiinga! 'Look, she's making me laugh!' (*The 'she' to 'me' ending is (ng)anga which when affixed to @-ke- gives -kenganga hence -kiinga by velar-dropping; compare ngel'arcetaanga 'she is making me laugh'*).

Kiullinia, "Tua-i waniwa pinarianga tekitellrianga." 'She answered her, "And because it was time for me, I have arrived now' (*from "Inerquusngalria Ingrid — The Forbidden Mountain" by Michael John of Newtok, in Tennant, 1981*).

Yurayuciqngalnguten, tang! 'It seems you will be a good dancer, see!'¹ (*from the story "Kaviarem Kavirillra" in Chapter 17*).

We can see that the transitive *participial* endings consist of a mood marker **@-ke-**, and a person/number marker such as **-ka** 'I to her', **:(ng)a** 'she to her,' and **:(ng)anga** 'she to me.'

Looking closely at the transitive *indicative* endings reveals that they have a mood marker **+'(g)ar-**, which is in fact identical to the postbase **+'(g)aq** 'one that V-ed or was V-ed (see Chapter 14), in the same way that the transitive participial

1. Intransitive forms with a third person subject, such as **tupaumalria**, and transitive forms with a third person object, such as **ngel'arceskii**, could be regarded as instances of the morphemes involved acting as nominalizing postbases (as indeed they *do* act as in the situations described when the morphemes were first introduced in Chapter 14), and this would be a plausible analysis given the "visualizing" role of the participial in many of its uses, so that, for example, **tang, tekitellria** could be translated as 'look (and see) the one who is arriving,' and **tang, ngel'arceskii** could be translated as 'look (and see) the one she is making laugh.' However, intransitive participial forms with a first or second person subject, such as **tupaumalrianga** and transitive participial forms with a first or second person object, such as **ngel'arceskiinga**, can not be so analyzed as nominalizations and thus provide proof that the participial is indeed a verb mood.

consists of a mood marker **@-ke-** which is identical to the nominalizing postbase **@-ka^e** ‘the one that subject is V-ing’ (see Chapter 19). In both of these two verb moods, the person/number markers are the same. Thus:

*indicative: atur- plus +'(g)ar- plus :(ng)a yields *aturara and hence aturaa (since ara becomes aa)*

*participial: atur- plus @-ke- plus :(ng)a yields *atuqenga and hence atuqii (since enga becomes ii)*

indicative: atur- plus +'(g)ar- plus -ka yields aturaqa (since r combines with -ka to give qa)

participial: atur- plus @-ke- plus -ka yields atuqeka

indicative: atur- plus +'(g)ar- plus -put yields aturaput

participial: atur- plus @-ke- plus -put yields atuqeput

See also Note A in the supplement to this chapter for information on the probable history of the participial mood as revealed by comparison with its use in other Eskimo languages.

The last pair of examples above, **aturaput** and **atuqeput**, mean ‘we are using it/them’, but there is a more exact person/number marker for ‘we are using it’. This is the ending **+(t)vut** where **(t)** is used only after a consonant and the resulting combination **tv** becomes **p**:

indicative: atur- plus +'(g)ar- plus +(t)vut yields aturarput (since r combines with +(t)vut to give rput)

participial: atur- plus @-ke- plus +(t)vut yields atuqevut¹

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter concerning the nominal analog of this situation. See also Note B in the supplement for speculation concerning the historical origin of transitive verbs in Eskimo.

1. Or **atuqevvut** where voicelessness from the stop consonant **q** extends across the **e**.

Exercise 21-1

A. Change the given words following the pattern of the example and translate. For example, given *Aterteksaicugnarquq*, you would write *Aterteksaitelliria-wa*. 'Maybe it hasn't drifted away.'

1) *Uitasngaicugnarqaat*. 2) *Kilirciqsugnarqerpenga*. 3) *Agiircugnarqut*. 4) *Qurrasqinarqellruyugnarquq*. 5) *Qayagauryugnarqaaten*. 6) *Initaliqataryugnarqut*. 7) *Qerauyugnarquq*. 8) *Nalluyaguciiqsugnarqerpecikut*. 9) *Taringenricugnarqaqa*.

B. Change the following indicatives to the participial mood. For example, given *eqiurngaitua*, you should write *eqiurngailngua*, and given *eqirusngaitamken*, you should write *eqiurusngailkemken*.

1) *mertarciqua*, 2) *angniilngatuten*, 3) *kumegcuutelianga*, 4) *naspaagaqa*, 5) *tupagtellruarpenga*, 6) *pairan*, 7) *eritartuci*, 8) *qessayuitua*, 9) *agiirtut*, 10) *ngel'ayuituq*.

C. Translate the following:

1) *Cunawa unuaqu mertarciqellrianga kiima*. 2) *Tatamtellrukevnga-wa qanllerpeni naaqinginanemni*. 3) *Tang, nerkii neqa naspaayuumiitellni*. 4) *Tang, usuuq kemgilngalnguten!* 5) *Maaten uika paqtaqa iqvarcuutelikiikut*. 6) *Maaten tupagtuq nuliaran kumartengnaqsaaqekii kenircuun unuakutalinaluni*. 7) *Maaten itertuq nem'un ilai catailnguut*.

D. Translate the following using the observational construction:

1) I came into the house (and saw that) the children were finishing the Eskimo ice cream. 2) She came into the room (and noticed that) they were saying unfavorable things about her behind her back. 3) I returned last night (and observed that) my wife was making mittens for you. 4) They came in and, lo and behold, there was frozen fish in the dishpan. 5) We went down to the shore and, lo and behold, our boat was about to drift away.

Personal Pronouns

Throughout the preceding chapters we have seen how the role that *personal pronouns* ("she," "her," "I," "you," "they," etc.) play in a language like English is filled by the system of noun and verb endings in Yup'ik. However we have also seen how there is a role for personal pronouns as separate words in, for example, the *terminalis for subject of embedded transitive verb* (see Chapter 18) as in:

Qanrutellruanga elpenun teglellruniluku. 'She told me that you stole it' (*elpenun* is the 2nd person singular personal pronoun in the terminalis case).

Aatavet wangnun navrallruyuksaaqan pelatekani. 'Your father wrongly thinks that I borrowed his tent' (*wangnun* is the 1st person singular personal pronoun in the terminalis case).

There are in fact a full range of personal pronouns in Yup'ik, in all cases and numbers.

First person personal pronouns are based on **wa-** or **wang-** which is probably related to the base of the demonstrative adverb **wani** 'right here.' The other

personal pronouns are based on **ell-** which is perhaps related to the obsolete verb base **ete-** 'to be' (see Chapter 7). The chart below reveals the irregularity of this set of pronouns, and there is some variation especially with regard to the equalis case. One will notice also that, except for the third person forms, absolutive and relative are alike. The ablative-modalis and localis are formed similar to the terminalis. Some of these personal pronouns, in particular the fourth person absolutive/relative and certain of the duals, are not very common.

<i>1st person:</i>	'I'	'we _{pl} '	'we ₂ '
<i>Absolutive</i>			
<i>and relative:</i>	wii or wiinga	wangkuta	wangkuk
<i>Terminalis:</i>	wangnun	wangkutnun	wangkugnun
<i>Vialis:</i>	wangkun	wangkutgun	wangkugnegun
<i>Equalis:</i>	wang(ce)tun	wangku(ce)tun	wangkug(ce)tun
<i>2nd person:</i>	'you'	'you _{pl} '	'you ₂ '
<i>Absolutive</i>			
<i>and relative:</i>	elpet	elpeci	elpetek
<i>Terminalis:</i>	elpenun	elpecenun	elpetegnun
<i>Vialis:</i>	elpetgun	elpecetgun	elpetegnun
<i>Equalis:</i>	elpe(ce)tun	elpeci(ce)tun	elpeteg(ce)tun
<i>3rd person:</i>	'he/she'	'they _{pl} '	'they ₂ '
<i>Absolutive:</i>	ellii	ellait	elkek
<i>Relative:</i>	elliin	ellaita	elkenka
<i>Terminalis:</i>	elliinun	ellaitnun	elkegnun
<i>Vialis:</i>	elliikun	ellaitgun	elkegnun
<i>Equalis:</i>	ellii(ce)tun	ellai(ce)tun	elkeg(ce)tun
<i>4th person:</i>	'he/she'	'they _{pl} '	'they ₂ '
<i>Absolutive</i>			
<i>and relative:</i>	ellmi	ellmeng	ellmek
<i>Terminalis:</i>	ellminun	ellmeggnun	ellmegnun
<i>Vialis:</i>	ellmikun	ellmegteggun	ellmegnegun
<i>Equalis:</i>	ellmi(ce)tun	ellmeg(ce)tun	ellmegnegun

The *localis of comparison* (Chapter 14) may require the use of personal pronouns:

Sugtunruuten wangni. 'You are taller than me.'

Personal pronouns are used as in the example above where verb endings alone will not suffice, and also for *emphasis* as in:

Wiinga pikaqa. 'It's mine!'

They are also used as in:

Elpet-mi? (or **elpesmi?**) 'How about you?' (**elpet** is the absolutive and relative 2nd person singular personal pronoun).

Personal pronouns in the ablative-modalis are used, along with intransitive verb endings, to make a verb reflexive (or self-directive). This applies even to verbs that normally do not take intransitive endings (as in the third example):

Nutellruuten-qaa elpenek it'gavkun. 'Did you shoot yourself in the foot?'

Tarenrami tangellruunga wangnek. 'I saw myself in the picture.'

Tua-i ellminek tunrikluni temciyungarrluni... 'And then, being embarrassed on account of himself (his own actions), he suddenly began to see things as being funny' (from the story in Chapter 22).

Personal pronouns combine irregularly with the postbase ~:(ng)u- 'to be N':

Wang'ullruuq 'It was me.'

Elpengullruuq-qaa? 'Was it you?'

Elliinguuq. 'It is she.'

Further examples showing the use of Yup'ik personal pronouns are:

Unuaqu piciqukut elpecicetun. 'Tomorrow we'll do what you_{pl} are doing.'

Wii-llu, ayagyugtua. 'I too want to go.'

Qangvaq ukut agutellruaki elpenun? 'When did she bring these over to you?'

Qetunraan elpetun ayuquq. 'Your son is just like you.'

Elliin-llu nerengnaqsaaqellrua. 'She too tried to eat it.'

Maantaqameng uitayulartut wangkutni. 'When they're here they usually want to stay with us.'

Qanrutellruatnga ellmeggnun nerellruniluku akutaq. 'They told me that they themselves had eaten the Eskimo ice cream.'

Third person personal pronouns are used primarily with reference to humans. Demonstrative pronouns are used with reference to inanimate things.

Elliin navellrullinia levaaq. 'Evidently she broke the motor.'

but

Ingna navgumallrulliniuq. 'Evidently it (over there) was broken.'

In the core Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay area the fourth person singular vialis personal pronoun √ **ellmikun**, literally 'through himself' has become a particle meaning 'nothing in particular' or 'for no particular reason,' often given in answer to the greeting **waqaa** 'hello, what's up? why did you come here?'

Exercise 21-2*A. Translate into English:*

1) Atkuliug ellminek. 2) Sugtunruunga elpeni. 3) Wangkuta-llu kumlanernek neryugtukut. 4) Umyuartequa wangnun tamallruyukluku nuussiq. 5) Ciin-kiq qanellrua elpenun uputaalarnilua? 6) Taqualiunga wangnek. 7) Una neptuq ellminun.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I thought you were going to spit at me. 2) She told me that you were about to eat those mushrooms which we saw when we were picking berries. 3) I want you_{pl} to hang up the fish which I cut for drying on the drying rack behind the clothesline. 4) It seems that she mistakenly had thought that we₂ were saying unfavorable things about her behind her back. 5) He wanted to kill himself because the girl he was going to marry married another person. 6) I thought I was taller than you, but you are taller than me. 7) She looked at herself (at her reflection) on the surface of the lake. 8) I'm building this house for myself. 9) That seems to be us in the old photo. 10) The child thought that she herself had caused her pet to die.

Postbases

The postbase **~ya(g)aq*** means 'baby *N*, young *N*, small *N*.' The (**g**) will be deleted except when the vowel preceding the **g** is stressed.¹ The reader should review *stress* from Chapter 1 if necessary at this point. Compare the postbase **-kaca(g)ar-** 'to be very *V*' (Chapter 17) where the (**g**) is deleted under the same conditions as here.

túntuváyagaq → **tuntuvayaaq** 'baby moose'

maqáruáyagaq → **maqaruayaaq** 'baby rabbit'

but

túntuyágaq 'baby caribou'

and

maqáruáyágaat 'baby rabbits_{pl}'

This postbase is usually not used for inanimate things, although there *are* the lexicalizations, √ **angyayagaq** 'shrew,' literally 'baby boat,' and √ **atsayagaq** 'raisin,' literally 'baby berry.'

However, the same postbase can be used on verb bases and there it often has reference to humans. The meaning is 'dear little one is *V*-ing,' but it can also mean '*V*-s in a dear manner.'

íqvayágartuq 'the dear little one is picking berries'

qaváyagártuq → **qavayaartuq** 'the dear little one is sleeping'

qaváyagaan 'because the dear little one is sleeping'

1. Except in HBC where it is never deleted.

Thus the postbase, though affixed to the verb, applies mainly to the subject of the verb rather than to the state or action described by the verb. However, if the subject of the verb is given with a separate noun, the postbase will usually go on that noun instead. Compare the first of the three examples above with the following.

Mikélnguyágaq iqvartuq. 'The little child is picking berries.' (*Rather than *mikelnguq iqvayagartuq.*)

There are several other postbases that also have this property of applying to the subject of the verb if there is no separate noun as subject. One is **-lkuk** 'darned *N*' and **-lkug-** 'darned one is *V*-ing.'

Arnalkuk ataam qenertuq. 'The darned woman is angry again.'
Ataam qenertelkugtuq. 'The darned one is angry again.'

This postbase may be affixed to the absolutive singular form of a demonstrative pronoun: **ingnalkuk** 'that_{over there} darned one.'

Another postbase which is used on a verb base to apply to the subject if there is no separate noun for the subject. This is the postbase **-r(ur)luq*/-r(ur)lur-** meaning 'dear (poor) (old) *N*,' and 'dear (poor) (old) one is *V*-ing.'

This postbase assumes several forms depending on the termination of the base.

With a base that ends in a vowel or in a vowel plus **r** where the vowel would have rhythmic length if followed by CV, then this postbase takes the form **-'urluq*** and **-'urlur-**. As we have seen before, the apostrophe between vowels indicates that the preceding consonant is not geminated.

qaya'urluq 'dear kayak'

Qava'urlurtuq. 'The dear one is sleeping.'

With a base that ends in a vowel or in a vowel plus **r** where the vowel would *not* have rhythmic length if followed by CV, then this postbase takes the form **-u̇rluq*** and **-u̇rlur-** (or **-'u̇rluq*** and **-'u̇rlur-**, where the apostrophe indicates here that the syllable ending in **u̇r** has extra stress¹), and the **u̇r** represents an **r** made with the lips rounded.

angya'u̇rluq (i.e. **angya'u̇rluq**) 'dear boat'

mingquteu̇rluq (i.e. **mingqute'u̇rluq**) 'dear needle' (*because u̇r is a consonant and not a vowel plus a consonant, this is not a case of e clustering with another vowel; some Yup'ik speakers geminate the t getting mingqut'e'u̇rluq* (i.e. **mingqut'e'u̇rluq**))

1. See the supplement to Chapter 1 on this use of the apostrophe.

kaviau̇rluq ‘dear fox’ (*for the same reason as right above, this is not a case of three vowels together*)

Iqvaurlurtuq. (i.e. **iqva’u̇rlurtuq**) ‘The dear one is picking berries.’
but,

Arnaurluq (i.e. **arna’u̇rluq**) **iqvartuq.** ‘The dear woman is picking berries.’

With bases that end in **g** this postbase takes the form **+urluq*** (or **+eu̇rluq***) and **+urlur-** (or **+eu̇rlur-**).

acagurluq (or **acageu̇rluq**) ‘dear old auntie’

ayagurlurtuq (or **ayageu̇rlurtuq**) ‘the dear one is leaving, or left’

The reason for the several forms of this postbase is that the actual form underlying them all is **-rurluq***, and **-rurlur-** where with a base ending in **g** the initial **r** of the postbase will be replaced by **g**. The syllable **rur**, but not **gur**, will then be simplified to **u̇r** and the syllable it closes will get stressed if it isn’t stressed otherwise. Any rhythmic length from the underlying stage is preserved. The operation of this postbase is similar to the phenomenon whereby **rar** is simplified to **r** with extra stress or rhythmic length preserved (compare the postbase **@+’(g/t)ur(ar)-** in Chapter 11). To illustrate:

*from qayaq comes *qayârurluq hence “qayâu̇rluq” which would be written qaya’au̇rluq, and this in turn sounds exactly the same as, and is therefore written as qaya’urluq*

*from angyaq comes *angyarurluq hence angyau̇rluq (i.e. angya’u̇rluq)*
from acak comes acagurluq (or acageu̇rluq) without simplification

This postbase is found as a part of several common words where at the present time the original bases are seldom or never used:

- √ **maurluq** ‘grandmother’ (*from a base which is no longer used*)
- √ **apa’urluq** ‘grandfather’ (*from apa which is also used for ‘grandfather’*)
- √ **tan’gauruq** ‘boy’ (*from a base which is no longer used but occurs in tan’gurraq another word for ‘boy’*)
- √ **nasauruq** ‘girl’ (*from a rarely used word for ‘girl’*)
- √ **tutgara’urluq** ‘grandchild’ (*from tutgar(aq*) which is also used for ‘grandchild’*)

This postbase can be used with particles and pronouns, which ordinarily don’t take postbases:

ciiu̇rluq ‘why, dear one’

elpeu̇rluq (i.e. **elpe’u̇rluq**) ‘dear you’

Exercise 21-3

A. To each of the following attach the postbase *~-ya(g)aq*/~-ya(g)ar-*, add an ending and make an interesting sentence and translate:

1) qayagaur-, 2) pula-, 3) paluqtaq, 4) cuignilnguq, 5) pair-, 6) palurutaq, 7) tan'gerpak, 8) paallag-.

B. To each of the following attach the postbase *-lkuk/-lkug-*, add an ending and make an interesting sentence and translate:

1) kilir-, 2) qecir-, 3) augna, 4) qimugta, 5) inivik, 6) qassar-, 7) iir-, 8) niicuilnguq

C. To each of the following attach the postbase *-r(ur)luq*/-r(ur)lur-*, add an ending and make an interesting sentence and translate:

1) kumlaneq, 2) kuvya-, 3) miiskaaq, 4) pelatekaq, 5) taquaq, 6) ugasqite-, 7) aterte-, 8) puukar-, 9) kameksak, 10) qia-.

Localis as Indirect Modifier of Subject

When the third person subject of a verb is to be further described, an absolutive noun is used, as in **makumiut kuvyalartut** 'the local people fish with nets.' However, if the subject is first or second person, then the noun is put in the localis case. This use of the localis is *localis as indirect modifier of subject*.

Makumiuni neqsulartukut kuvyaluta. 'We local people catch fish by fishing with nets.'

Probably related to this use of the localis is the use illustrated by the following sentence.

Asgulriani neqlillerput tallirpilirnermetuq. 'To those going upstream (**asgur-**) our fishcamp (is) on the right-hand side.'

Verbal Constructions that Differ in Form and Function

The postbase **-lli-** means 'to perhaps V.' We have discussed its use with the conditional mood (see Chapter 16), and with the participial mood (earlier in the present chapter). It can also be used to ask "yes/no" questions which are somewhat softer or more gentle in tone than a question framed with the enclitic **=qaa**. For asking questions with **-lli-**, the enclitic **=qaa** is not used.

Kaillituten? 'Are you, perhaps, hungry?'

There are various combinations of postbases, verb moods and enclitics which yield meanings different from what one might expect from that particular verb mood. Some of these have been introduced previously. Here are some other such combinations.


For example, the postbase **~+(t)vag-** 'to V so well' is used primarily in combination with the *interrogative* mood to yield exclamations, and not questions. So this is a case of a word being interrogative in form but indicative (or exclamatory) in meaning.

Yurayuvagcit! 'You sure dance well!'
Assirpagta! 'It is so good!'

The postbase @~+yug- used with the consequential mood and the enclitic =llu yields an alternative to the optative, as does the conditional mood plus the enclitic =wa or the word **taugaam**.

Neryuavet-llu or **nerkuvet-wa** or **nerkuvet taugaam** 'You should eat.'

6



_____ Kuk'uq.
 Nuk'am nerqaa _____.
 Neri Kukuq, _____.
 Nuk'am qimugtii ner'uq.

neri	Kuk'uq,	Wani-wa
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This is a page from *Nuk'aq Ilai-llu Caliarkaput*, developed by the Eskimo Language Workshop, 1972, for teaching the Yup'ik language at the elementary level.

Connected Reading for Chapter 21

The following story, **Qaillun Qucillgaam Iik Qiugliurtellrak**, is given in the version written down by Richard McIntyre, edited by Anna Jacobson. Notice the use of the participial mood and question nouns such as **kina** 'who' and **ca** 'what' in statements as "indefinites": 'someone, something.'

For every word in **-lria** etc, or in **-kii** etc. tell whether that occurrence of the ending is as a nominalizing postbase, or as the participial verb mood, and if it is the participial verb mood tell why it is used rather than the indicative.

Tua-lli-wa-gguq tauna qucillgaq piyuaqtaralarria¹ atsanek yuarluni. Nalaqucami-gguq, iigni yuurraarlukkek elliak nasqunam² qainganun qanerluni, "Kina tua-i agiireskan qayagauqitegnenga tekipailgan; teguyuaraatek."³

Tua-i-llu tauna qucillgaq tagluni neryalliniluni atsanek.

Wanikuani-gguq atsartuqcaarainanrani⁴ iik qayagpalliniuk, "Angayuqaaq! Kina agiirtuq ayakauteqatarlunuk-llu!"⁵

Qucillgaq-gguq aqvaqurluni cukangnaqluni atraqertuq kuigem ceñiinun iigni-llu tegulerlukkek.⁶ Ac'amikek kiarcaaquq, cataunani, maaten taugaam piuq murak man'a kuigkun atreskii.

Tua-i-llu iigni ataam anllukkek ellilukkek-llu nasqunam qainganun qanrucurlaullukkek,⁷ "Ukuuk! Uum kinguani iqluqunqigcaqunategnenga!" Ataam-llu tagluni atsanek neryarluni.

Wanikuaraucan-am iik taukuk ataam qayagaunguk, "Angayuqaaq! Cam tang ayakauteqataqiikuk!" Qayagaulriik-gguq taukuk nepairusngiinartuk⁸ tayimngurruluni.

Qucillgaq-gguq atsartulnguami⁹ atrarluni iigni yuariaaqak. Maaten-gguq piuq tayima kia ayakautellinikek imkuk iik. Nalaqenrilamikek nunapigmun uterrluni tumaglinek iikaminek yualliniuq. Nalaqucami naspaayaaqak cat tua-i tamarmeng kavirceñateng.¹⁰

Tua-i-llu tan'gerpagnek yuarluni naspaayaaqak cat tamarmeng tan'gercetsiyaagluteng.

Tua-i-llu curanek yuarluni naspaalliniuq. Maaten kiartuq cat tua-i tamarmeng assiqapiggluteng.

Tuakenirnek-llu-gguq tamarmeng qucillgaat iingit qiuglircet'lartut.¹¹

1. **-qtarar(ar)-** = 'to V slowly with difficulty.'
2. **nasqunaq** = 'stump.'
3. **@-+yuar-** = 'lest one V'; this construction gives a sentence with two verbs in independent moods, the optative and the indicative (Chapter 22).
4. **-qcaar(ar)-** = 'to keep on trying doing ones best to V.'
5. **ayakar-** = 'to flee.'
6. **@-ler-** = 'to suddenly and willfully V, to abruptly V' (Chapter 22).
7. **@-curlag-** = 'to V with unsatisfactory results.'
8. **@+ngiinar-** = 'to V more and more'; here 'to become quieter and quieter.'
9. **-lngu-** = 'to be tired of V-ing.'
10. **kavircete-** = 'to be reddish.'
11. **qiuglircete-** = 'to be blueish.'

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 21

Alternate Vocabulary and Vocabulary Notes

#1 In addition to **kilineq** for 'wound', there is also **ekiq**. **Kilineq** comes from **kilir-** 'to wound,' and **kilir-** may come from **ekilir-** 'to provide with a wound (**ekiq**).'

#2 **Miiskaq** 'dishpan' is from Russian. There is also the word **taassiq** for 'dishpan,' and **saayikaq** 'washtub,' both also from Russian.



Ukut-am avelngaat uitaurarqut igtemeggni--
aanaq, aataq, irniarlutek pingayunek, atrit-wa
Cugg'eq, Ciutiiq, Pamyuq-llu.

Aaniita tua-i pinaurai, "Neqkanek elagyamun
quyurcilarci, uksuqan kaigyuartuci." Ciutiim,
Cugg'erem-llu aanasek niisngaluku neqkanek
quyurcilarci, taugaam una Pamyuq qessanqurru-
luni. Aaniita cali qanrutelarai, "Enerpagmun
yaavet yuut eniitnun ayakaqsaunaci, kapkaanirlu-
teng tuani avelngarcutuut."

This is a page from *Qessanquq Avelngaq*, written by Elsie Mather and published in 1973 by the Eskimo Language Workshop for the use of the bilingual program.

- #3 The word **ngel'a**^e 'boundary, edge,' is underlyingly [e]ngla^e. In addition to **ngel'a**^e it takes the form **nel'a**^e (because of the reluctance of the language to start words with **ng**, compare **ngel'ar-** 'to laugh' becoming **nel'ar-**), **mengla**^e (where the **m** is probably from the **m** marking the relative case for the preceding possessor), and **kengla**^e in HBC and Nun (where they also say **kente-** 'water goes down,' **kenuur-** 'to nudge', etc. in place of **ente-**, **enuur-** etc. elsewhere).
- #4 The word **pelatekaq** 'tent' is from Russian, and is pronounced **palatkaa**q in NS. Apparently there is no non-loanword for 'tent' in Yup'ik, which is evidence that perhaps Yup'iks did not use tents before the Russian came, unlike the Inupiaqs who used skin tents and have a non-loanword for them. Or it may be that an older Yup'ik word for tent has been totally replaced by the Russian loan.
- #5 Instead of **tan'gerpak** for 'crowberry' there is **paunraq** in NS, some Y, Nun, and Eg, and **kavlakua**q in HBC.
- #6 Instead of **tumagliq** for 'low-bush cranberry' there is **kitngik** in NS and Y (?). The word **kavirliq** 'red thing' is also used as a name for this type of berry. 'High-bush cranberry' is **mercuullugpak**, and 'bog cranberry' is **uingiar(aq)** or **uskutuliaraq** in NS and Y.
- #7 The words **uḡasqinarqe-** 'to be slippery' and **uḡasqite-** 'to slip' are used in these forms in K above Bethel, upriver Y, some NR, and LI. These words are pronounced **qurrasqinarqe-** and **qurrasqite-** in NS, downriver Y, NI, Can, K below Bethel, BB, and some NR. They are pronounced **qurasqite-**, and **qurasqinarqe-** in HBC. The pronunciation or pair of forms with **uḡ** is one of the few cases of Yup'ik words with this sound other than the demonstratives **auḡna**, **paḡna**, and **qaḡna** and words derived from them (**auḡ'ar-** 'to get out of the way,' and **taḡaam** 'however, but'). The other cases are **uḡasek** 'jackrabbit, tundra hare' (NI and Can), and **uḡalguun** 'fishskin bag, quiver for arrows,' and **uḡayar-** 'to pillage' (also **wayar-**, and **mayar-**), **uḡaq'allaga-** 'to retch repeatedly' (onomatopoeia; also **waq'allaga-**), **qaḡeq** or **qaḡiiq** 'eider duck,' and **qaḡyaq** 'sand.'

Note A

The participial mood in Alutiiq and Siberian Yupik, the closest languages to Central Yup'ik, is the common way of expressing "past tense" (in narrative at least, in Siberian Yupik). This may have been the original role of this verb mood in Central Yup'ik as well. The present-day Central Yup'ik means of expressing "past tense," that is by means of the postbase **-llru-**, is no doubt a historically recent innovation. This postbase is clearly from **-lleq** 'one that V-ed,' and **~:(ng)u-** 'to be N,' so that, for example, **qilullruuq** 'it barked,' literally means 'it is one that barked.' This postbase **-llru-**, is not used at all in NSU, where "past tense" as well as "present tense" is expressed with the indicative unmarked for time. Possibly the present-day uses of the participial are a remnant of its former broader use. On the other hand, the Inuit (especially Greenlandic) verb form that corresponds to the Yup'ik participial (in function though not so closely in form) seems to suggest that the present Central Yup'ik use may be closer to the original use of this verb mood.

The fact that the third person subject person/number markers are exactly the same as the possessed absolutive noun endings (see Chapters 5 and 6) coupled with the fact that both mood markers (transitive indicative and transitive participial) are identical with certain nominalizing postbases suggests that historically a transitive sentence, at least one with a third person subject, can be viewed as an identity of two noun phrases. Thus **arnam neraa akutaq** 'the woman is eating the Eskimo ice cream,' can be viewed as **arnam neraa = akutaq** that is, 'the woman's eaten thing is the Eskimo ice cream,' and similarly for **arnam nerkii akutaq**. This may shed light on the historical origins of ergativity in Yup'ik and in Eskimo languages in general while explaining why the relative case has the two roles it has (possessor and subject of transitive verb). This should be regarded as only an insight on the ancient history of the language. There remain many unexplained developments subsequent to the historical phase in question (for example, the fact that fourth person forms always point back to the subject whether it is the absolutive subject of an intransitive verb, or the relative subject of a transitive verb).

CHAPTER 22

*Optative with First Person and Third Person Subjects;
Various Irregularly Suffixing Postbases;
Sentence Constructions with Two Independent Verbs*

Vocabulary

akiviutaq 'wallet'

angllurtuq 'it submerged'

anluaq 'hole in the ice for fishing'

aperturaa 'he is pointing it out, he pointed it out'

asgurtuq 'he is going against the current, going upriver'; **asguraa** 'he is going against it'

aurtuq or **avurtuq** 'he's gathering something'; **auraa** or **avuraa** 'he's gathering it' #1

cayugtuq 'he is pulling something toward himself'; **cayugaa** 'he is pulling it'

cetuaq 'beluga; white whale'

cetuk 'fingernail or toenail'

ciissiq 'insect' #2

ciitaa 'he broke its shell, crushed it'

ciuraa 'he is wringing it out' #3

cumilnguq 'he is peeved because of someone else's good fortune which he feels he himself deserves'

cuukvaguaq 'alder' #4

ellngartuq 'it is leaking liquid out' (like a bucket that leaks)

entuq 'the tide went out, it (water) went down' #5

igvartuq 'it came into view'; **igvaraa** 'he (*subject*) had it (*object*) come into his view' #6

imaqaartuq 'it is full up' (*base: imaqaar(ar)-*)

itumuq 'it fell apart, broke' (**itumtaa** 'he broke it up')

kalmainaq 'pocket' #7

mingqaaq 'coiled grass basket' #8

mingqiiguq 'he is making a coiled grass basket' #9

nalauq 'it died' (plant mostly; sometimes animal or human), 'it got numb'; (*and* **nalataa** 'he killed it, made it numb')

nauguq 'it is growing' (plant, mole, cancer, etc.)

paivtaa 'he set it out for use or view'

pug'uq 'it surfaced'

qalrirtuq 'it/he cried out (with non-speech sounds)'

qelta 'fish scale, tree bark, rind, peel' #10

qessaituq 'he is energetic'

qessauq 'he doesn't feel like doing anything' #11

taangaq 'liquor' #12

taangartuq 'he is drinking liquor'

tegg'uq 'it is hard, tough'
tegumiaq 'thing one is taking in one's hand(s)' (**tegumiaqaa** 'he's taking it along in his hands', *lit*: 'has it as a thing he's taking along in his hands')
tegumiartuq 'he is taking something along in his hands'
tunga^e 'direction of possessor' (*positional base*) (**tungiinun** 'towards it')
uituq 'he opened his eyes'
ul'uq 'the tide came in, it (water level, dough, etc.) rose'
uyangtuq 'he peeked in'; **uyangtaa** 'he peeked into it'

Completion of Presentation of Optative Mood Endings

The *optative* mood was first discussed in Chapter 12. Second person subject optatives such as **neri** 'eat,' **teguu** 'take it,' or **ikayurnga** 'help me,' form commands or requests, while first person non-singular subject optatives such as **nerelta** 'let's eat,' or **ayagluk** 'let's₂ leave,' form suggestions. However not all optatives were presented in Chapter 12. The remaining optative endings will be presented in this chapter.

The first person *singular* intransitive optative ending is @~+**lii**. It is somewhat awkward to translate this endings (as well as some of the others) into English. Since the first person plural intransitive optative **nerelta** translates as 'let's eat,' and the first person dual intransitive optative **nerluk** translates as 'let's₂ eat,' it would seem logical to translate **nerlii** as 'let me eat.' The trouble is that the English phrase "let me eat" usually means '(you), allow me to eat,' and this in turn corresponds to **nerevkarnga**, the 2nd person to 1st person transitive optative with the postbase **.vkar-** 'to let one V.' There really is no exact English equivalent to **nerlii**. One may think of it as the speaker presenting the idea that he will eat, not really expecting an objection, but giving that possibility. Instead of, or in addition to, translating **nerlii** as 'let me eat,' one can translate it as 'I should eat,' or 'may I eat.'¹

Inarrlii. 'Well, I'll go to bed.'

Merraarlii. 'Let me drink water first.'

Pingnaqenqigglii. 'I should try again.'

This problem of not having a completely adequate English equivalent applies to many of the optatives presented in this chapter.

In Chapter 12 all the second person subject optatives were presented, but only the non-singular intransitive first person subject optatives. The full set of first person subject optative endings are as on the following chart.

1. On the other hand, 'may I eat' in English is a question which calls for an answer; the 'may' that translates the Yup'ik optative is more like the word 'may' in phrases such as 'may I always have such happiness' or 'may they go in peace.' On the other hand, used with =**qaa**, the optative form **nerlii** *does* become a question: **Nerlii-qaa?** 'May I eat?'

	<i>intransitive</i>			<i>transitive</i>			
	him	them _{pl}	them ₂	you ₁	you _{pl}	you ₂	
I	lii	laku laki	lakek	la(m)ken	lamci	lamtek	
we _{pl}	lta	laut laput	lagput	lamteggem	lamceci	lamcetek	
we ₂	luk	lauk lapuk	lagpuk	lamegten	lamegci	lamegtek	

A few observations are in order. First, with the exception of **lta** all of these endings are of the @~+ type (see Chapter 12, concerning @~+**luk**; the endings being presently discussed attach in the same way that that ending does). Second, there are two different ending-formation patterns on this chart. The 1st person singular subject 3rd person object endings **laku**, **laki**, **lakek** are formed in the same way as most other verb paradigms (e.g. second person subject optatives, interrogatives, subordinatives, the various connective moods), but the endings right below them on the chart above, that is, **laut**, **laput**, **lagput** and **lauk**, **lapuk**, **lagpuk** follow the pattern of the corresponding transitive *indicatives* (as in **tangrraput**). Thirdly, there are two forms for the 'I' to 'you₁' ending, **laken** and **lamken**.

Examples:

Ikayurlaken or **Ikayurlamken**. 'Let me help you.'

Tangerrlaki. 'Let me see them.'

Ukut aturlaput. 'Let's use these.'

Una aturlaut. 'Let's use this.'

See Note A in the supplement to this chapter for more on the difference between the endings **laut** and **laput**, (and **lauk** and **lapuk**).

Yup'ik also has a third person subject optative. The basic ending here is @~+**li** for third person singular subject intransitive. Again there is some difficulty inherent in trying to find an English equivalent. **Nerli** can be translated as 'let him eat' but only in the sense of 'he may eat' or 'it's okay with me if he eats,' rather than in the sense of '(you) allow him to eat' which would be **nerevkarru**. Other third person subject optatives endings arise from @~+**li** in a perfectly predictable way. For example:

Anlit. 'Let them go out' or 'They may go out.'

Aturliu. 'He may wear it.'

Nerlitki. 'Okay, let them eat them.'

Maliggliten. 'He should go with you.'

Qanrutqerlia. 'Well, let him tell me.'

These endings are presented here in table form:

	<i>intransitive</i>				<i>transitive</i>					
	him	them _{pl}	them ₂	me	us _{pl}	us ₂	you ₁	you _{pl}	you ₂	
he	li	liu	liki	likek	lia	likut	likuk	liten	lici	litek
they _{pl}	lit	litgu	<i>etc.</i>		litnga		litgen			
they ₂	lik	lignegu/lin'gu			<i>etc.</i>			<i>etc.</i>		

For a complete table of these endings, see Appendix A.

Note that in the above chart the dual subject transitive forms can have the subject indicator **g** separated from an object indicator, such as **gu**, by the insertion of **ne**, or, on the other hand, the dual indicator **g** itself can be dropped, and only the separator **ne** or just **n** retained to show dual subject.

Cenirrlignegu or Cenirrlin'gu. 'They₂ may visit him.'

Exercise 22-1

A. Put the following Yup'ik sentences into the corresponding optative and translate. For example, given Maligciiqamken, you should write Maligeskila(m)ken 'Let me go with you (some time in the future).'

1) Tegumiaqait ukut mingqaat. 2) Aatama mingqeciqa kalmainaqa allgumalria. 3) Akiviutan tegumiaqeciqaqa kalmainan allgumiin. 4) Mikelnguut anciqut aquiyukuneng. 5) Aturapuk angyavet aipaa. 6) Iinrut ukut ig'anka. 7) Ing'um paluqtaam pamyua ner'aput. 8) Qessailkuneng irniavet qeltairciqait neqet. 9) Ceñirciiqaput agayulirta. 10) Tangrraqa mingqaaq aanavet piliara. 11) Aturngaitak ingkuk qerrulliik alkuvkek.

B. Translate into English:

1) Ukuk nutarak qerrulliigken asnguaqilakek. 2) Apertuullamci kalikiviim nanlucianek. 3) Nuliama mingqekiliu kalmainan allgumalria tekiskumegnuq. 4) Anluilii ing'um anluaran yaatiini. 5) Payugglaput imkut qaugkumiut upallret maavet. 6) Tegumiaqliki calissuutet piyukuni. 7) Cumilnguli! 8) Merlitgu taangaq nangluku. 9) Cetuirraarlii. 10) Eneskan yuaqilaput tamalput kuigem ceñiini.

C. Translate the following into the 1st or 3rd person subject optative (not into the 2nd person subject with .vkar-/@+cete-):

1) Let him smoke if he can't quit. 2) Let me see that basket your mother made. 3) Let's wring out these washed clothes before we hang them up. 4) Let the children gather little pieces of wood for the fire. *or* The children may gather ... 5) Let us help you_{pl} remove the scales from those fish you caught. 6) Let me examine your new parka, the one with the big pockets and the nice ruff. 7) Your daughter and her husband could come visit you here. 8) Let's try and go upriver by rowing if the motor isn't any good. 9) Let me try that beluga meat. 10) Let him peek in and to see what the children are doing down there. 11) Let them eat those fish raw like their ancestors.

Use of the Third Person Subject Future Optative in Place of the Indicative in Narrative

A special use of the optative is in stories to set the scene in the mind of the listener, and often apparently to convey a feeling of suspense. It can be regarded almost as a stage direction. The third person optative with the postbase @~ki- (future for the optative) is used. This can be seen in the following passage from the story that was presented in simplified form in Chapter 10.

Tekicami nem'un amiigem elatiini arulairluni tan'gaurluq qanqili:
"Maurluuq, naw'un iterciqsia?" Tau-i-llu maurluum pikiliu
"Uuggun amiigkun itra!" 'When he arrived at the house, stopping outside the door, the boy said (*literally*: let the boy say), "Grandmother, through where will I get in?" And then the grandmother said to him (*literally*: let the grandmother say to him), "Enter through this door!"

Exercise 22-2

Below is the beginning of Cetugpak (Big Finger-and-Toe-Nails) a traditional story from Nunapitchuk told by Marie Nick. (See page 451 for the complete story.)

Translate and parse this passage. Observe how often the 3rd person subject future optative is used rather than the indicative, subordinative, or participial.

Atam-gguq taukuk maurlurluqellriik uitaaqellriik. Maurlurluan-gguq inerqurqekii¹ tutgara'urluni cangraan pingraan kuigem akiani canegpagnun pulaqaasqevkenaku.

Unuakut-gguq iliitni tutgarrrluk² iqvaryaqli kuigem akianun. Iqvainanermiini-gguq paqnayungekili catangqerrucianek canegpiit iluat. Iqvarluni-gguq canegpiit tungiitnun ayagturqili.

Maaten-gguq tekita makut tumyarat tayima canegnun pulamaluteng. Uitauraqeryaaqerraarluni-gguq umyuartequq pulaqerraarluni egmian uterrnaluni. Tua-i-ll' tumyarat maligqurluki ayalliniluni. Ayainanrani-gguq can'get angliriinarluteng.³

Tua-i-llu-gguq ciunranek⁴ aruvagtangkili,⁵ qulmun puyua ayagluni. Ciuneqluku-gguq puyua ayakili. Paqnayullermiini-gguq utertellerkani nalluyagulluku ayakili puyum ngelii tekilluku. Tekitaa-gguq maaten necuar.

Tua-i-llu-gguq piqataarturluni⁶ kiarqurluni mayulliniluni necuarmun. Kangrani-gguq egalerkun uyangtuq maaten kan'a arnassagaq aqumgalria, cetuminek naanguarluni. Cetui-gguq takpiat.

Arnassagaam-gguq taum nepaiteqapiarallrungraan qayagpakiliu atrarluku itresqelluku. Atrarluni-gguq tua-i tauna tutgarrrluk itliniluni.

1. **inerqur-** = 'to warn'; **inerqurqe-** = 'to repeatedly warn.'
2. **tutgarrrluk** is from **tutgararrluk** (and is pronounced **tútgárrluk**).
3. **:(ng)inar-** = 'to V more and more' (here).
4. **ciuneq** = 'area in front.'
5. **aruvak** = 'smoke.'
6. **-qataar(ar)-** = 'to slowly start to V.'

The passage above illustrates several interesting points besides its frequent use of the 3rd person subject future optative in place of the indicative, subordinative or participial.

The phrase **makut tumyarat** is a plural but refers to a single trail. Entities which in some sense can be considered as being composed of numerous components or segments are often denoted in Yup'ik by words in the plural, even if only one entity or pair of entities is meant. Other examples are: **atkuunka** 'my parka,' **it'gai** 'his feet,' **unateten** 'your hands,' **tamakut nunat** 'that village.'

The sentence **cetui-gguq takpiat** illustrates a rather special property of the postbase pair **-piar-** 'to be very *V*'/**-piaq** 'real *N*' (and perhaps several other postbases). Here it means 'they were really long' where 'they were' is understood without being explicitly stated. This postbase can also be used as in **tuar yupiaq** '(it is) just like a real person' or **tuarpiaq yuk** '(it is) exactly like a person,' and as in **assipiaq** or just **aspiaq** '(it is) really good.' It can also be used as the predicate in a sentence with the enclitic **=wa**:

Angliami tanglalliniuq nakacugnek nem iquani, tanqipiartuteng.

Ugkut-wa-gguq cali nakacuut amiigem quliini ecupiat. 'When he grew he evidently regularly saw the bladders at the (far) end of the house, (seeing that) they were very bright. And furthermore there were more bladders above the door and they were intensely opaque' (**ecur-**) (from "Nunat Ercuil kai" by Charlie Pleasant of Quinhagak, in *Yupik Lore - Yuut Qanemciit*).

An Enclitic that goes with the Optative

The enclitic **=tuq** (**=kin** in some areas), is used with the optative to indicate that the speaker wishes something were so.

Tangerrlaku-tuq. 'I wish I could see him.'

Tailit-tuq or Tailistuq. 'I wish they would come.'

Use of the Postbase @~+naur- and the Indicative in Place of the Optative

As discussed in Chapter 17, the postbase **@~+naur-**, when used with first person subject intransitive indicative endings, can function in place of the optative. Thus, **ayagnaurtukut** can mean 'let's leave' in place of **ayalta**. Also with first person subject transitive indicative endings this postbase offers an alternative to the optative. Furthermore there is often a shortening process involved:

Ikayurnaoramken or Ikayurnaumken or Ikayurnaamken. 'Let me help you' (in place of the optative **ikayurla(m)ken**).

Postbase for 'lots of'

The postbase **-rugaq*** means 'lots of *Ns.*' It is used in the plural except with "mass" nouns (see third example below). As with other suffixes that begin with a front or back velar stop, voiced or voiceless fricative, the **r** of this postbase will become **g** if the base it is used on ends in **g** rather than in **r** or a vowel.

Avelngarugarneq tuqucilartuq qunguturaqa. 'My pet kills lots of mice'
Yug'ugaat (or, irregularly: **yugugaat**) **uitalartut maani.** 'Lots of people live here.'

Kuuvviarugarmek kuv'illruuten. 'You spilled lots of coffee.'

Exercise 22-3

Rewrite the following using the postbase -rugaq rather than the base amller-, and translate.*

1) Mat'umi nunapigmi amlleret atsalugpiat nualartut. 2) Akiviutavni akitangqertuq amllerneq. 3) Tangellruunga ciissinek amllerneq pik'um mingqaam iluani. 4) Paivvlaki amlleret neqkat nerevkaritkamnun. 5) Nengllissiyaagan uksumi amlleret cuukvaguacuaraat nalallruut. 6) Amlleret qimugtet qilullruitkuk neqllirata tungiinek. 7) Nuna pektellrani amlleret qantaqegtaaraat igtellruut qulqitnek navegluteng-llu. (nuna pektuq = 'there is an earthquake'). 8) Cangellrulliniut amllerneq can'giirnek. 9) Kinguqliqa ak'a qingqertuq amllerneq angayuqaurteksaileng'ermi. 10) Tangellruyuksaqaengramta amllerneq cetuanek pitellrunritukut imarpik qailissiyaallruan.

Postbase for 'repeatedly'

To be discussed now is a postbase that takes several forms (or perhaps is actually a series of postbases) meaning 'to *V* repeatedly.' For a given base the particular form of the postbase to be used depends, in part, on the way that the base ends. Also, this postbase is only partially productive, so for some bases no form of this postbase is possible. This means that for any given base one must know or learn whether that particular base takes this postbase at all and if so which of the possible forms it takes. A fuller listing of occurrences with this postbase can be found in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

form +/a-:

with bases ending in a or e followed by a consonant it is + type:

igar- 'to write'	igarauq 'he is writing letters to various people, or he is scribbling'
qavar- 'to sleep'	qavarauq 'he is repeatedly dozing'
ayag- 'to leave, go'	ayagauq 'he is traveling around, going from one place to another'
mer- 'to drink'	merauq 'he is drinking for a long period (usually liquor)'
nuteg- 'to shoot'	nut'gauq 'he is repeatedly shooting'

with bases ending in **i** or **u** and a consonant it is - type:

apertur- 'to point out'	apertuagaa 'he is demonstrating how to do it'
aqvaqur- 'to run'	aqvaquaguq 'he is running around'
mayur- 'to climb, go up'	mayuaguq 'he is climbing around'
irir- postural root 'slanting'	iriaguq 'he is rocking back and forth'

with bases ending in a single full vowel, it merely goes on after the base:

anglani- 'to have fun'	anglaniaguq 'he keeps having fun'
murur- 'to sink into snow or mud'	muruguq 'he is repeatedly sinking in as he walks'

form **-ar-**; used only with certain bases *not* ending in **ar** or **ag**:

pissur- 'to hunt'	pissuartuq 'he is out hunting'
kuime- 'to swim from one place to another'	kuimartuq 'he is swimming around'

form **+ar-**; used only with certain bases ending in **er**.

iver- 'to take a few steps in the water'	ivrartuq 'he is wading'
iter- 'to enter'	itrartuq 'he is going further in, going inland'

form **-aa-**; used only with certain other bases ending in **er**:

qaner- 'to speak, to say'	qanaaguq 'he is talking'
uver- postural root 'tilting'	uvaaguq 'it is rocking'

form **.aar-**; used only with certain bases ending in **te**:

ceñirte- 'to visit'	ceñirtartuq 'he is visiting house to house' ¹
nengte- 'to stretch (it)'	nengtaaraa 'he is repeatedly stretching it'

For many verb bases none of the above patterns are possible and one must use a productive postbase such as **@+'(g/t)ur(ar)-** 'to keep on V-ing' (see Chapter 11).

Exercise 22-4

Choose ten verb bases not among the ones given as examples above. For each one of them, add an appropriate form of the postbase for 'to repeatedly V' and make a sentence. (You may want to use a dictionary or other resource.)

Postbases for 'suddenly'

There is another series of postbases where the determination of which to use depends, in part, on the way that the base ends. These postbases are also only partially productive. They are the postbases for 'to suddenly V.' (And here one definitely can and should speak of a series of postbases rather than a single postbase with a variety of forms.)

1. Associated with the base **iter-** 'to go in' there is **itertartuq** 'he goes in visiting from house to house'; the use of **aar-** here and the **t** preceding it are irregular since **iter-** does not end in **te**; the expanded base **itertaar-** is probably modeled after **ceñirtaar-**.

One postbase of this series of postbases meaning 'to suddenly *V*' is @+/'(g)ar(ar)te-; the (ar) almost always drops, but often leaves a trace in the form of modified vowel length or stress.

With bases ending in a full vowel, it merely attaches to the base using g as necessary after two full vowels:

tai- 'to come over' **taigartuq** (*i.e.* **taiga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly came over'

it uses ' with short bases ending in e:

eke- 'to get in' **ek'artuq** (*i.e.* **ek'a'rtuq**) 'he suddenly got in'

with bases ending in g it is + type:

ayag- 'to leave' **ayagartuq** (*i.e.* **ayaga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly left'

with bases ending in r it is - type:

igvar- 'to appear' **igvaartuq** 'it suddenly appeared'

it changes base-final t'e to s':

mit'e- 'to land' **mis'artuq** (*i.e.* **mis'a'rtuq**) 'it suddenly landed'

kit'e- 'to sink' **kis'artuq** (*i.e.* **kis'a'rtuq**) 'it suddenly sank'

it drops te from bases ending in Cte:

makte- 'to get up' **mak'artuq** (*i.e.* **mak'a'rtuq**) 'he suddenly got up'

uterte- 'to return' **ut'rartuq** (*i.e.* **ut'ra'rtuq**) 'he returned for a little while'

it replaces te with g for bases ending in Vte:

elite- 'to learn' **eligartuq** (*i.e.* **eliga'rtuq**) 'he learned quickly, caught on'

niite- 'to hear, obey' **niigartuq** (*i.e.* **niiga'rtuq**) 'he immediately obeyed'

The postbase @-ngar(ar)te-, meaning 'to suddenly begin to *V*,' or 'to suddenly get *N*' drops final consonants and also final **te** following consonants.

piyug- 'to want to do ...' **piyungartuq** (*i.e.* **piyunga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly began to want to ...'

temciyug- 'to find something funny' **temciyungartuq** (*i.e.* **temciyunga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly began to find something funny'

alike- 'to be afraid' **alikenga'artaqa** 'I suddenly started to fear it'

auk 'blood' **aungartuq** (*i.e.* **aunga'rtuq**) 'blood suddenly returned to it' (*literally*: 'it suddenly got blood')

caliarkalir- 'to have a lot of chores' **caliarkalingartuq** (*i.e.* **caliarkalinga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly began to have a lot of chores'

uyangte- 'to peek in' **uyangartuq** (*i.e.* **uyanga'rtuq**) 'he suddenly began to peek in'

from the story in Chapter 18:

qiilerte- 'to be excited'

qiilenga'artuq 'he suddenly began to be excited'

puqla 'heat'

puqlanga'artuq 'it suddenly heated up
(literally: got heat)'

Another postbase, meaning 'to suddenly *V*' or 'to *V* briefly and fast' is **-qerte-**. It sometimes causes gemination back within the base to which it is attached and sometimes is irregularly stressed. Apparently it is not used with bases that end in **g**, nor in **te** (except for the last example below, which is irregular).

iter- 'to go in'

itqertuq (may be pronounced as **itqe'rtuq**)
'he went in fast'

ane- 'to go out'

anqertuq 'he went out fast'

mayur- 'to go up'

mayuqertuq or **may'uqertuq** or even,
irregularly **masqertuq** (i.e. **masqe'rtuq**)
'he went up fast'

nenge- 'to stretch'

nengqertuq (i.e. **nengqe'rtuq**) 'it suddenly stretched'

qerar- 'to go across'

qer'aqertuq 'he went across fast'

uterte- 'to return'

utqertuq 'he suddenly returned'

Some bases use the postbase **-qar-** (see Chapter 12) for 'to suddenly *V*,' which should not be confused with the above.

qavar- 'to sleep'

qavaqertuq 'he fell asleep' (*subordinative is qavaqerluni, contrast may'uqertuq (above) with its subordinative may'uqerrluni*)

ayag- 'to leave'

ayakartuq 'he fled'

tupag- 'to wake up'

tupakartuq 'he suddenly woke up'

Another postbase along this line is **-llag-** 'to suddenly *V*,' which sometimes takes irregular forms as in the last two examples below.

quuyurni- 'to smile'

quuyurnillagtuq 'he suddenly smiled'

ngel'ar- 'to laugh'

ngel'allagtuq 'he suddenly laughed'

qalrir- 'to cry out, to cry'

qalrillagtuq 'he suddenly started to cry'

ellngar- 'to leak out'

ellngallagtuq 'it suddenly sprung a leak'

alinge- 'to be afraid'

alingallagtuq 'he suddenly got scared'

aqume- 'to sit down'

aqumkallagtuq 'he suddenly fell on his rear'

Another such postbase is **@-ler-** 'to suddenly and willfully *V*' or 'to abruptly *V*'; this postbase drops base-final **te** without devoicing a preceding fricative.

tegu- 'to take'	teguleraa 'he grabbed it'
qaner- 'to speak'	qanlertuq 'he spoke suddenly and angrily'
nerer- 'to eat'	nerleraa 'he gobbled it down'
puge- 'to surface'	puglertuq 'it suddenly surfaced'
kegge- 'to bite'	kegleraa 'it suddenly bit (<i>note voiced g</i>)'
pegte- 'to release'	pegleraa 'he suddenly released it'

Exercise 22-5

Choose ten verb bases not among the ones given as examples above. For each one of them, add an appropriate postbase for 'to suddenly V' and make a sentence.

The postbase **-laag-** 'to V quickly, to V fast,' attaches regularly:

nerer- 'to eat'	nerlaagaa 'he ate it quickly'
makte- 'to get up'	maktelaagtuq 'he got up quickly'

Constructions with Two (Apparently) Independent Verbs in One Sentence

There are two constructions in which a particular postbase is used with the indicative mood, and another verb is used in the same sentence in the optative. These are the only constructions known to the writer that call for two verbs in independent moods in a single sentence.¹

One is with the postbase **@~+yuar-** 'lest (one — the subject) V,' 'in case (one — the subject) Vs'

Teguu, igcuartuq. 'Take it lest it fall.'

Neryaqunaki taukut palurutat, tuqunaqsuartut. 'Don't eat those mushrooms in case they are poisonous.'

Iirru una, tangerrsuaraat. 'Hide this lest they see it.'

The above postbase can also be used without an associated optative, but then another action is implied.

Qimagyuartut. 'They might flee' (*with the implication that one should take the appropriate action to prevent this from occurring*).

The other such construction is with the postbase **@~+niar-** 'so that (one — the subject) can V.'

1. Of course there are sentences with two verbs in independent moods in clauses linked by **=llu** 'and' or **tauḡaam** 'but,' and one might consider the participial mood to be an independent mood which would mean sentences of the observational construction (Chapter 21) have two verbs in independent moods occurring in a single sentence. In general, however, when two verbs go into one sentence one of the verbs goes into the subordinative or one of the connective moods, unlike the situation in English or other Indo-European languages where a subordinating conjunction such as 'because' or 'if' can join two clauses each of which could be independent.

Ikayurnga, taqniartua. 'Help me so that I can finish.'
Taisgu tauna mulut'uuk, ciitnaraqa una angqapiaralria ciissirrluk!
 'Pass me the hammer so that I can crush this great big ugly insect.'

The above postbase can be used without an associated optative to indicate future time when the speaker is not sure when, how or whether an event will occur.

Qaku-kiq qaningniarta? 'I wonder just when it will begin to snow?'
Qerrutellikanga uterrniartua. 'If I should get cold, then I'll come back.'

It can form a gentle substitute for the optative when used with a second person indicative ending:

Assirinrilkuvet emutenqiggniaartuten. 'If you don't feel better, you should seek medical help again.'

Connected Reading for Chapter 22

Read the following narrative of preparations for Thanksgiving (*Quyayaraq*).¹ Be able to explain all the grammatical constructions.

(1) *Taukut-gguq ilakellriit*² *Quyayarami nerevkarinritqatarraarluteng piyungarcameng nerevkaritngurtellriit*³. (2) *Tua-i-llu caliarkalingarrluteng, tamarmeng-llu tua-i ikayuulluteng uptelaagluteng nerevkaritekanek.*

(3) *Aatiit-llu man'a ilagaulluni*⁴ *uptellrianun nerevkaritekaliulrianun.* (4) *Ellivigmek-llu*⁵ *atrarciluni neqerrlugnek cali-llu kumlanerneq.* (5) *Tua-i taukut kumlanret cikumiimeng tegqapiggluteng.* (6) *Piqertuutakun-llu erurraarluku piqertuarluki*⁶ *itumciluni tamakunek kumlanerneq.* (7) *Aatiit-llu cali qer'aqerrluni ikavet neqlillmeggnun snuukuurluni aqvailaagluni neqerrlugnek nangutellikuneng itumtarnek ellivigmi paivngalriartangqerresqelluku keggani nem'eng caniani.* (8) *Tua-i-llu tekicami neqlillernun neqet assinraaraitnek*⁷ *teguqaarluni uterteqatallermini snuukuumi cayukegyaraa*⁸ *cayukegyaaqaa*

1. Readers may be familiar with the radical stance of some American Indians concerning the Pilgrims and Thanksgiving, such as, that "it would have been better if Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims, rather than the Pilgrims landing on Plymouth Rock," and therefore may find it ironic that Yup'iks celebrate Thanksgiving as described in this narrative. However, Yup'iks have adopted holidays which fit well with their own Native traditions of inviting people for a feast (as on Thanksgiving or Christmas), and remembering the dead (as on Memorial Day). Even Halloween corresponds well to a Native holiday, **Qaariitaaq**, occurring at about the same time of the year as Halloween and involving masked participants going door to door asking for food.
2. **taukut ilakellriit** = 'this certain family'; *literally*: 'those, the ones having each other as relatives.'
3. **-tngurte-** = 'to change one's mind and decide to V.'
4. **ilagar-** = 'to join'; **@:(u)te-** here is the half-transitive postbase for this base.
5. **ellivik** = 'cache' (Chapter 24); this is one of several words for 'cache.'
6. **piqertur-** = 'to chop.'
7. **-nraaraq** = 'the most V (of possessors).'
8. **-keg-** = 'to give a good V-ing', so **cayukegyaraq** = 'starter cord for an engine.'

auḡaaresngaluni. (9) Tua-i-llu acivaqanipaggaarluni¹ kaugtuarluku² snuukuuni taukun auḡaartellerkun cayukegyarakun. (10) Tua-i-llu uitauraqarraarluni ellminek tangrruaqerluni kaugtuarillermini taumek caunrilngurmek³ snuukuumek. (11) Tua-i-llu ellminek tunrikluni⁴ temciyungarrluni tua-i-llu tua-i arenqianani temciyuami ngel'allagluni. (12) Tua-i-llu ikirqaarluku patua taum snuukuum elliluku tauna cayukegyaraa. (13) Utercami ellivicuarmun neqerrluut pirraarluki itqerrluni nem'eggnun. (14) Maaten yuarani⁵ aliimataillermi tangrrai qercuaqallinikai. (15) Tua-i-llu aaniit negtaalria⁶ qanrut'laagani egmianun akurlerluki⁷ yuarai kumlamun mermun. (16) Aaniita-llu quyaviku'urluku aatiit aqvaigillranek neqerrlugnek akungqaurallraki yuarai mermun. (17) Tauna meq aaniita cimiqaqluku, caqerluni⁸ aaniita yuvriarraarluki yuarai aatiit piluku assiriniluki waniw kaviriqerrniluki aungarcata yuarai. (18) Aatiit-llu assiriqerrniaki yuarani cali ikayuuculliami apluni cali caliarkanek pitangqerrucianek. (19) Tua-i-llu aaniita piluku tauḡaam uitauraqarraarluku mertartuusqelluku⁹ tua-i-gguq-wa caliarkalissiyaagan-llu taुकut irniami anngiit.¹⁰ (20) Kegglamek-llu-gguq¹¹ ava-inavraryartullruniluku angaminek,¹² muragkiuqatarniluku keniquneng¹³ muragkameggnek. (21) Tua-i-llu aatiit camek umyuaqercilliami, aneryaallaggaarluni¹⁴ peglerluki tegumiani, ikirlerraarluku-llu amiik anqerrluni paltuugilngermi. (22) Aaniita-llu tegulerluki paltuugi aliimatek-llu malirqerluku¹⁵ apqaarluku cacianek. (23) Cunaw' snuukuuni ekualriit ekuavigmi caniatnun unitellrullinikii. (24) Nugtarrnaluku cunaw' snuukuuni pillruyaaqlinilria neqet mayurterraarluki ellivigmun, tauḡaam nalluyaguartellrulliniluni. (26) Ekualriim cunaw' matneranun¹⁶ urugcetnayuklukek teguqeryarak egmianun

1. **acivaqanir-** 'to curse, to swear'; *literally*: 'to lower oneself,' this word may have come into being due to missionary influence; Yup'ik has no true swear words.

2. **kaugtur-** 'to strike, hit' (Chapter 23).

3. **caunrite-** = 'to not be a thing', here to be understood as 'to not be a cause, to not be at fault.'

4. **tunrike-** 'to feel embarrassed on account of' (Chapter 19) is a transitive-only base; here, however, it is being used reflexively and to show this **ellminek** must be used along with the intransitive ending.

5. **yuaraq** = 'finger or toe.'

6. **negte-** = 'to press down', **negtaar-** = 'to knead dough' (lexicalized).

7. **akurte-** = 'to dip in, to put in liquid.' (Note that the postbase @-ler- drops te.)

8. **caqerluni** = 'pretty soon' (here), (Chapter 23).

9. **piluku tauḡaam uitauraqarraarluku mertartuusqelluku** = 'told him to get a supply water, *but only* after he'd rested (stayed) for a while'; this illustrates a common use of **tauḡaam** which is not completely obvious from the translation of **tauḡaam** as 'but; however'; **mertartur-** 'to get a supply of water'; *literally* 'to repeatedly get water.'

10. **anngiit** is a variant of **anngaat**.

11. **kegqlaq** = 'saw,' and **kegqlar-** = 'to saw' (Chapter 23).

12. **angak** = 'maternal uncle' (Chapter 23).

13. **kenir-** = 'to make a fire (in the stove)'; this is its literal meaning (from **keneq** and **-lir-**), and works better here than the meaning 'to cook.'

14. **aneryaar-** = 'to inhale or exhale.'

15. **malirqar-** = 'to run after.'

16. **matneq** = 'heat.'

nugtarnalukek snuukuuk¹ cukangnaqluni anqertellinilria. (27) Aaniita-llu paltuulaagcelluku,² cali-llu aliimat'laagcelluku nugtarpaigakek snuukuuk. (28) Tua-i-llu aaniit qerruyiqaa³ itqatarnirraarluni itqerrluni nem'eggnun.

(29) Tua-i-llu itqertellermini ugasqiarcaaq⁴ ayapelerluni-llu⁴ qulqitet aciqliatnun. (30) Kiavaami-llu uyangar⁵ piuq qagna tumyaraunrilngurkun yuk muruagurluni⁵ tailria. (31) Elliin-llu elitaqevkenaku. (32) Tua-i-llu itran pia allaneq, mingqaamek tegumiarluni, cunaw' tamallinilria. (33) Tegumiani tauna mingqaaq taumun Apurimun cikiuteksartullinikii. (34) Piluni-llu Apurinkunun⁶ iteryuksaaqniluni, apluki-llu nani Apurinkut eniit uitacianek. (35) Aaniita-llu nerlaagesqessaaqngani tauna piluni ak'a amani Miggailankuni⁷ nerellruniluni aqesqapiarluni.⁸ (36) Tua-i-llu egalerkun tangernnaqngan⁹ Apurinkut eniit aaniita enirluku¹⁰ taunguniluku¹¹ tauna allaneq piluku.

(37) Anngan-llu tauna allaneq imkut caliarkani umyuaqerrluki negtaalaagluni-llu keliparkaitnayukluki nerelriit nerevkarillermeggni. (38) Pie-yinaluni-llu¹² umyuar¹²teqluni taqkuni negtaanermek. (39) Taqngami negtaanermek pie-yiqatainanermini ca imna nalluyaguartellni umyuaqerrluku. (40) Paluqtaat! (41) Uini-llu itellruan, nalluyagutnayukluki cali taukut paluqtaat pamyurtuumaluki cikucillni,¹³ ellimerluku itrucesqelluki nerevkaritek¹³sugn¹³iluki. (42) Tua-i-llu pie-yissuutet anlluki naaqsa¹⁴aqai ilait tayima. (43) Taukut-llu alqii¹⁴t¹⁴ apluku nanlucii¹⁴tnek ilait taukut. (44) Mamlugmun cunaw nerevkar¹⁵ingaicukluteng ellait navriutekellrullinikai.¹⁵ (45) Tua-i-llu pie-yiyuami ellimerluku alqii¹⁵t¹⁵ piluku aanami pie-yissuutainek atunrilkaki navraasqelluku. (46) Tua-i-llu alqii¹⁶t¹⁶ navraryartullrani pie-yissuutnek mukaarun¹⁶ yaassiigmek nugtellermini¹⁷ pegleryarpiarluku uqamaitessi-yaagan. (47) Tua-i-llu pie crust-arkiurluni. (48) Atauciqtaarluki¹⁸ pie-yarkat crust-aliluki. (49) Tua-i-llu picuqcaarluni¹⁹ qerainanrani mermek

1. **snuukuuk** here has become a dual now; this is probably sparked by the reference to **teguqeryarak** 'its handlebar grips₂'; like a sled, a single snow-machine can be treated as a dual or a singular.
2. **paltuug-** is being used here as a verb: 'to put on a coat,' similarly for **aliimate-** in the next line.
3. **qerruyiqar-** 'to feel chilled.'
4. **ayaper-** = 'to support oneself by leaning with one's hand, or elbow on something.'
5. **murua-** = 'to sink down in snow or mud.'
6. **Apurinkunun** = 'to the household of Apurin and family'; literally 'to Apurin and family.'
7. **Miggailankuni** = 'at the household of Miggailaq and family'; literally 'at Miggailaq and family.'
8. **aqesqapiarluni** is a slightly more intensive form than **aqsiqapiarluni** (see postbase **-qapiar(ar)-** in Chapter 17).
9. **@~+narqe-** = 'to tend to cause or allow one to V,' so **tangernnarqe-** = 'to be visible.'
10. **enir-** 'to point to.'
11. **taungu-** = **tau(na)** plus **~:(ng)u-** 'to be.'
12. The **y** in **pie-yinaluni** is from the English part rather than the Yup'ik part; this word is a shortening of **pie-alinaluni**.
13. **@+cir-** = 'to allow to be V-ed or become V-ed'; non productive compound-verbal postbase.
14. **alqii^t** is a variant of **alqaat**.
15. **navriun** = 'a thing the possessor has loaned out.'
16. **mukaaq** = 'flour' from Russian, and **mukaan** = 'supply (sack) of flour.'
17. **nugte-** = 'to pull up and out.'
18. **atauciqtaar-** = 'to do them one at a time, or one for one.'
19. **picuqcaar(ar)-** = 'to act carefully.'

imaqaaralriamek saskamek tegumiarluni kina una yuk itqerrluni tatamlluku. (50) Tatamem-llu ugaani aarcillagluni tauna-llu tegumiara saskaq pagaatmun tengluni meq-llu imaa ciqrulluni¹ piciatun tamavet natermun. (51) Una yuk tatamcestii qanqili, "I didn't realize you were deep in thought. Sorry, cousin." (52) Maaten pia imna elliin ilii kass'aturrlainaq² kiingan qantuli, taug̃aam yugcetun taringtuluni. (53) Tua-i-llu meq tamana perrirraarluku natermi neresqelluku piyaaqluku ilani ak'a nerellrullinilria. (54) Cali-llu qanrulluku nerevkaritekanek upciniluteng. (55) Ikayuucukan uini ikayuusqelluku paluqtarneq itrutqatalria. (56) Ikayuuculliami-llu tauna anluni qanerluni, "No problem. I'll go help him."

(57) Anngan itertuq alqit pie-yissuutnek tegumiarluni. (58) Ikayuryugluku-llu alqit qanran aaniit quyaqerluni anglaagluku umyuara cimirpailgagu. (59) Itrullutek-llu angutek taukunek aqvallermegnek tegumiarlutek paluqtarneq. (60) Anngaas-llu man'a iterluni kegglamemek navralleq. (61) Tua-i-llu piluni ak'a keggallruniluki muriit. (62) Aaniit-llu keggallriamek niisngateksailami alangaarluni³ aitaqerrluni⁴ tuaten qanellrani. (63) Tua-i-llu quyavikluku anngiit ak'a muragkiuqaucianek.

(64) Anngiit-llu cali piluni angiiita-gguq qanrutaa avurraarluni cangtaminek maqaruanek nerevkaritekainek cali taitarkauniluni. (65) Cali-llu-gguq qanrucesqelluku aaniit cetuartami kemganek nerevkaritekaminek piyukan aqvacesqelluku.

(66) Tua-i-llu anngiit qalarrnginanrani ugna angiiit itqereskili tegumiarluni imaqaaralriamek missuugmek. (67) Tua-i-llu natermun elliqatallrani missuuk allegluni taukut-llu imai igpallagluteng natermun. (68) Igcata angiiita avulaagai tua-i-llu estuulum qainganun piluki. (69) Aaniita-llu quyavikraarluku taukunik taitainek piluku cetuam kemganek cali piutengqerrniluni.⁵ (70) Tua-i-llu angiiit egmianun anluni caliarkalirnini.

(71) Tua-i-llu elkeq panini-llu taukut pie-yarkat qaqicata uulluki. (72) Keliparkaq-llu ak'a ulellruan negtaarraarluku kelipissuutnun ekluku. (73) Taukut-llu keliparkat ulcirluki,⁶ ulngata-llu uulluki.

(74) Unuaquani Quyayarami makcameng unuakutalaaggaarluteng egmianun uklirraarluteng ken'irkameggnek kenilaagluteng. (75) Cali-llu paivciluteng piciatun neqkanek estuulum-llu qainganun ilait elliluki utaqaluteng kelgameggnek yugnek. (76) Kiirpangnayukluku-llu net'eng ella qagna anuq'vangraan amiik ikirrluku, egmianun-llu patuluku.

(77) Tua-i-llu itengluteng yuut neryartulriit. (78) Tamana-llu ena yugyangluni, neplingluni-llu piciatun tuaten ngel'allagalrianek yugnek. (78) Ernerpak-llu nerevkariluteng, nangviatnun taukut nerevkaritekateng.

1. **ciqrute-** = 'to splash.'

2. **kass'aturrlainaq** = 'totally in English'; the noun is used as an adverb; note that the postbase **-rrlainaq** 'the totality of *N*' follows the equalis ending here!

3. **alangaar-** 'to be surprised.'

4. **aitarte-** 'to open one's mouth.'

5. **:(ng)un** = 'supply of (Chapter 16); since it used on the empty stem here, just what she has a supply of is indicated with the ablative-modal of specification.

6. For postbase **@+cir-** see earlier footnote.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 22

Vocabulary Notes and Alternative Vocabulary

- #1 **Avur-** is the original form, and **aur-** an innovation. It is easy to see how the “w” pronunciation of the **v** in **avur-**, rather than the (English) “v” pronunciation of it, leads to dropping the **v** altogether; there is a progression: **avuraa** (with “v” pronunciation of **v**), then **avuraa** (with “w” sound), and then **auraa**. However the presence of the **v** even in its “w” pronunciation means that the addition of certain suffixes (the velar dropping suffixes) will lead to different results than when the **v** is totally lacking. For example, those who do have the **v** would say **avuutaqa** ‘I am gathering something for him,’ while those who don’t have the **v** would say **aurutaqa** for this.
- #2 **Ciissiq** ‘insect’ is used more broadly for anything viewed as a creeping crawling creature including talking about a snake (usually **ciissirpak**), lizard, dinosaur, or germ.
- #3 **Ciur-** ‘to wring out’ is **civur-** in HBC.
- #4 **Cuukvaguaq** ‘alder tree’ is from **cuukvak** ‘pike fish’ and **+(ng)uaq** ‘pretend *N*, thing like *N*,’ probably due to the similar coloration of alder bark and pike skin. This word **cuukvaguaq** is used in areas where **luquuyak** rather than **cuukvak** is used for ‘pike’. Another, less common word for ‘alder’ is **caarin** or **caarilluk**.
- #5 **Ente-** ‘to go down (water)’ is **kente-** in HBC and Nun.
- #6 A variant of **igvar-** ‘to come into view’ is **ivgar-**.
- #7 The word **kalmainaq** ‘pocket’ is from Russian, and is also pronounced **kalmaanaq** or **kalmiinaq**.
- #8 **Mingqaaq** ‘coiled grass basket’ comes from **mingqe-** ‘to sew,’ but not by a readily identifiable form of a suffix, though the suffix here must be related to **+(g)aq** ‘one that has been *V*-ed’ since such baskets are essentially sewn, being made with a needle and the grass threaded through it.
- #9 **Mingqii-** ‘to make a basket’ comes from **mingqaaq**. The suffix here is related to a shortened form of **-li-** ‘to make.’
- #10 Instead of **qelta** for ‘fish scale’ there is **kapciq** in some Y, and **kapeciq** in NS.
- #11 **Qessauq** is often translated as ‘he is lazy,’ but the Yup’ik word refers to a temporary state: ‘he doesn’t feel like doing something,’ while being lazy in English is more or less a permanent or long-lasting condition. There is the word **qessanquq** or **qessamkaq** ‘lazy person,’ so that ‘he is lazy’ is more accurately a translation of **qessanquuguq** or **qessamkauguq** rather than of **qessauq**.
- #12 The word **taangaq** ‘liquor’ is from Aleut, where it means ‘water,’ as it does also in some Alutiiq. **Taanguq** (from **taangaliq**) means ‘he is drunk.’

Note A

In Note A in the supplement to Chapter 5 it was explained that in the older language there was the possibility of using the ending **put** ‘our *N*(s)’ in different forms: **+put/.vut** for ‘our thing’ and **-put** for ‘our things_{pl},’ that, for example **angyarput** ‘our (one) boat’ and **aanavut** ‘our (one) mother,’ vs. **angyaput** ‘our boats’ **aanaput** ‘our mothers.’ Corresponding to this distinction, with the indicative transitive endings (Chapter 9), in the older language one could distinguish between **tangrrarput** ‘we see it’ and **tangrraput** ‘we see them,’ since the transitive indicative marker ends in a consonant, that is, it is **+(g)ar-** (this **r** is also seen for example in **tangrrarpenga** ‘you see me’). The optative 1st person subject transitive marker is **@~+la-** ending in a vowel, so the endings in question would take the form of **.vut** for singular object (rather than **+put**) and **-put** for plural object. Thus the endings would be **@~+lavut** (‘we’ to ‘it’) and **@~+laput** (‘we’ to ‘them’). At the present time people do not say, for example, **nerlavut** (except maybe in HBC) for ‘let’s eat it,’ but rather **nerlaut**. Apparently the **v** has “softened” to a sound like English “w,” as is common between full vowels, and hence dropped out of the ending altogether. Compare what has happened in **avur-** ‘to gather’ becoming **aur-**.

CHAPTER 23

*Numerals; Ordinal Numerals;
Numerals of Repetition; Money;
Time; Kinship Terms*

Vocabulary

ak'a imumi 'back then' (*particle*)

ak'a tamaani 'long ago' (*particle*)

auluku or **avuluku** 'supplementing it with —' (*expressed with abl.-mod.*) (*this subordinative is more common than the indicative augaa or avua*)

avani ciuqvani 'long ago' (*particle*)

avegtuq 'it split in two'; **avgaa** 'he divided it in half'

avek 'half'

cam iliini 'sometime' (*particle*)

carayak 'bear, monster, ghost' #1

cat iliitni 'sometimes' (*particle*)

cipluku 'having as a remainder' — *expressed with abl.-mod.*) (*this subordinative is more common than the indicative ciptaa*)

elitaqaa 'she recognized her/it'

elucira'artuq 'she is gesturing'; **eluciraraa** 'she is gesturing to her' (*base is elucir(ar)-*)

erina 'voice'

icugg' or **iciwa** 'you know, remember' (*particle*)

ilangciartuq 'she is playfully teasing'; **ilangciararaa** 'she is teasing her, she is kidding her' (*base is ilangciar(ar)-*)

kaugtuq 'it struck, hit'; **kaugaa** 'it struck, hit it'

kaugturtuq 'she is striking, hitting'; **kaugturaa** 'she is striking, hitting it/her'

kegglaq 'saw' #2

kegglartuq 'she is sawing'; **kegglaraa** 'she is sawing it'

nalla^e 'period of time or space (corresponding to a grammatical possessor)' *as in* **taum nalliini** 'at that time'; **maantellerpet nalliikun** 'during the time you were here'

napartaq 'pole; post', *also* 'barrel' *in some areas*

naqugun 'belt' #3

puckaq 'barrel' #4

qassayaaq 'partially aged fish eaten frozen'

qayuwa or **qayuw'** 'this time' (*particle*)

qillertaa 'he tied it'

qukaq 'middle, center, waist'

taingkaq 'steel drum' (*from English*)

tema^e 'body'

tiissitsaaq 'thousand'

tussituq 'she is limping'

uamuq 'she is playing around, wasting time' (**uamtaa** 'she is wasting her (another's) time') #5

more vocabulary below

Review Exercise

Translate the following short narrative into Yup'ik, and parse your translation:

My wife's brother asked his grandfather to take a steambath with him. While my wife's brother sawed some wood, his grandfather took a bucket and went to get water from the water drum near his house. Before his grandfather returned, my wife's brother chopped the wood he'd sawed up, tied it together and took it over to the steambath house. He took the wood inside and put it in the stove. Then he got undressed, and put his pants, shirt and belt on top of the barrel just inside the door of the steambath house. He went further into the steambath house again and lit a fire, but when he came out he noticed that his shoes and socks, which he had left outside the steambath house, were gone. It seems that his disobedient little son had taken them, put them on his feet and was walking away with them going down toward the beach. He saw his son limping as he walked because his father's shoes were too big. He called to his son and scolded him for wasting his time. His grandfather came back carrying the water and they took a steambath.

When they finished with their steambath, before they left the steambath house, a person came by who they didn't recognize. He asked them how to get to the post office, and they gestured to him to show him. After he had gone, my wife's brother realized that that person was a relative who used to kid him when he was small.

Higher Numerals

The Yup'ik numerals for 'one' through 'ten' were introduced in Chapter 11. For the sake of review they are: **atauciq** 'one,' **malruk** 'two,' **pingayun** 'three,' **cetaman** 'four,' **talliman** 'five,' **arvinlegen**¹ 'six,' **malrunlegen**² 'seven,' **pingayunlegen**³ 'eight,' **qulngunrita'ar** 'nine,' and **qula** 'ten.'

These numerals bear a certain resemblance to Roman numerals. Clearly **malrunlegen** contains **malruk**, and **pingayunlegen** contains **pingayun**, just as in Roman numerals **VII** contains **II**, and **VIII** contains **III**. The postbase combination, **-nlegen**, involved in these two Yup'ik words, consists of the postbases **-neq** and **-lek** and the special numerical plural ending **%(e)n**, giving these words the literal meanings 'those with the result of (adding) two,' and 'those with the result of (adding) three.'

On the other hand, **arvinlegen**, while containing the same postbase combination, seems to be built on the base **arvir-** which means 'to cross over.'⁴ The

1. or **arvinelgen**.

2. or **malrunelgen**.

3. or **pingayunelgen**.

4. **Arvir-** is used only in Nelson Island and several other scattered Yup'ik areas — the more common base for 'to cross over' is **qerar-**.

“crossing-over” is from one hand’s-worth or arm’s-worth of fingers to the other given the model or image of finger-counting. That this is indeed the model is substantiated by the fact that clearly **talliman** contains **talliq** ‘arm.’

Qulngunrita’ar ‘nine,’ literally means ‘almost but not quite being **qula**^e (ten),’ again resembling the Roman numeral **IX** for ‘nine’ which is understood as ‘one less than **X** (ten).’ And, again **qula** carries on the finger-counting model in that **qula** is the ‘upper part’ (of one’s body). This is not to say that Yup’iks count on their fingers to any greater or lesser extent than any other ethno-linguistic group; just that finger-counting is clearly the model used in Yup’ik numerical terms.¹ The postbases in **qulngunrita’ar** are **~:(ng)u-** ‘to be *N*,’ **-nrite-** ‘to not *V*,’ and **+ar(ar)-** ‘to just barely *V*’ (here yielding a noun), with **(ar)** deletion occurring.

The numerals between eleven and twenty are:

qula atauciq (or **qula ataucimek cipluku**) ‘eleven’
qula malruk (or **qula malrugnek cipluku**) ‘twelve’
qula pingayun (or **qula pingayunek cipluku**) ‘thirteen’
akimiarunrita’ar ‘fourteen’ (*literally*: ‘almost but not quite being **akimiaq**’)
akimiaq ‘fifteen’
akimiaq atauciq (or **akimiaq ataucimek cipluku**) ‘sixteen’
akimiaq malruk (or **akimiaq malrugnek cipluku**) ‘seventeen’
akimiaq pingayun (or **akimiaq pingayunek cipluku**) ‘eighteen’
yuinaunrita’ar ‘nineteen’ (*literally*: ‘almost but not quite being **yuinaq**’)
yuinaq* ‘twenty’

Again one sees a resemblance to Roman numerals, and also the model of finger-counting, or more exactly finger-and-toe-counting. **Akimiaq** contains **aki** ‘other side,’ evidently meaning here the ‘other side of the body.’ **Yuinaq** contains **yuk** ‘person’ and a postbase (which is only semi-productive) **:(ng)inaq** meaning ‘exactly *N*’ (this postbase is also to be seen in the marker of the second contemporative mood, as in **qianginanrani** ‘while she was crying’), so that **yuinaq** means literally ‘exactly a person’ meaning here ‘exactly a person’s full complement of fingers and toes.’

The alternate forms given in parentheses above involve **cipluku** (always with this transitive third person singular object subordinative ending) which comes from **cipte-** ‘to have something left over, to have something left over from it.’ To give one example, **qula pingayunek cipluku** ‘fourteen’ literally means something like ‘ten having four left over from it.’ Actually the form with **cipluku** and the ablative-modalis cannot be analyzed in a strictly grammatical way; they are a set form used for higher numerals.

1. This is so in the numerical terms of other languages as well. It is not just a coincidence that English has a base ten numerical system and people have ten fingers (and ten toes).

Yup'ik is a *base twenty* counting system. This means that a numeral higher than twenty will be formulated in terms of the number of twenties that fit into it plus a certain remainder (which will be less than twenty). To give some examples:

- 27 is **yuinaq malrunlegen** (or **yuinaq malrunlegnek cipluku**) (*that is* $20 + 7$)
 33 is **yuinaq qula pingayun** (or **yuinaq qula pingayunek cipluku**) ($20 + 10 + 3$)
 44 is **yuinaak malruk cetaman** (or **yuinaak malruk cetamanek cipluku**)
 ($20 \times 2 + 4$)
 54 is **yuinaak malruk akimiarunrita'ar** (or **yuinaak malruk akimiarun-rita'arneq cipluku**) ($20 \times 2 + 14$)
 68 is **yuinaat pingayun pingayunlegen** (or **yuinaat pingayun pingayunlegnek cipluku**) ($20 \times 3 + 8$)
 72 is **yuinaat pingayun qula malruk** (or **yuinaat pingayun qulnek cipluku cali malrugnek cipluku**) ($20 \times 3 + 10 + 2$)
 101 is **yuinaat talliman atauciq** (or **yuinaat talliman ataucimeq cipluku**) ($20 \times 5 + 1$)
 145 is **yuinaat malrunlegen talliman** (or **yuinaat malrunlegen tallimaneq cipluku**) ($20 \times 7 + 5$)

'Hundred' does not play an especially important role in this system. The reason that 'hundred' is important in English is that a hundred is ten tens and English counting (and the Arabic numeral system) is base ten. Yup'ik counting, on the other hand, is base twenty. There is a Yup'ik word for 'thousand', and that is **tiissitsaaq**, borrowed from Russian.

The entire Yup'ik numerical system should be regarded as part of the vocabulary of this chapter.

See also Note A in the supplement to this chapter.

Exercise 23-1

A. Write the Arabic numerals for the following Yup'ik numerals:

1) yuinaat pingayun arvinlegnek cipluku, 2) yuinaak malruk akimiaq pingayunek cipluku, 3) yuinaq akimiarunrita'arneq cipluku, 4) yuinaat malrunlegen qula pingayunek cipluku, 5) yuinaat cetaman yuinaunrita'arneq cipluku.

B. Write the Yup'ik numerals for each of the following:

1) 33, 2) 45, 3) 86, 4) 141, 5) 78, 6) the current year.

Cardinal vs. Ordinal Numbers

The numbers discussed above are *cardinal* numbers which means that they answer the question 'how many?' Some of the cardinals have two forms, one for counting which is either a singular or ends in the special numerical plural **n**, and the other an appositive form which is generally in the plural and often with **t**. Thus, one would count like this: **qula pingayun**, **akimiarunrita'ar**, **akimiaq**

'thirteen, fourteen, fifteen,' but one would say **qulen pingayut qimugtet qilugtut**, 'thirteen dogs are barking,' **akimiarunritaraat qimugtet qilugtut** 'fourteen dogs are barking,' and **akimiaret qimugtet qilugtut** 'fifteen dogs are barking' (although some people would use the counting forms for these also).

In addition to *cardinal* numbers, there are *ordinal* numbers which answer the question 'which one (of an ordered series)?' In English these are 'first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth,' etc. In Yup'ik they are as follows:

atauciat, or **ciuqliat** 'first'
malruat, or **aipaat** 'second'
pingayuat 'third'
cetamiit 'fourth'
tallimiit 'fifth'
arvinlegat 'sixth'

One will notice that these ordinals are plural to singular possessed forms, and they are *selectional* words functioning in the same way as the other selectional words, **ila** 'one of, some of' as in **iliit** 'one of them' (see Chapter 7), **naliq** 'which one(s) of' as in **naliat** 'which one of them' (see Chapter 11), and those formed with the comparative postbase **-neq/-lleq** (see Chapter 14) such as **angenrat** 'the biggest one of them.'

Examples with the ordinal numerals:

Pingayuat mikelnguut tallirpilirnermek tarenrami wanguuq. 'The third child from the right in the picture is me.'

Irniamegnuk ciuqliat acillruapuk aanama yuunrillrem atranek. 'We gave our first child the name of my deceased mother.'

There is an alternative series of forms for ordinals which are unpossessed singulars:

ciuqliq 'first'
tungliq, or **kinguqliq** 'second'
pingayuqliq 'third'
cetamaqliq 'fourth'
tallimaqliq 'fifth'
arvinlekliq 'sixth'

They function as appositives:

Ciuqliq irniaqa angnutngullruuq. 'My first child was a male.'

Pingayuqliq qimugta tussituq. 'The third dog is limping.'

Numerals of Repetition

To express (or ask) how many times something has occurred, one uses the postbase **-rqu-** and the ablative-modalis case (this is a special use of the ablative-modalis with this particular postbase which is only used in this way).

ataucirqumek 'once' (*notice that the ending is singular: mek*) (also **ataucirrar-qumek** 'only once', and **ataucirqunrilngurmek** 'not even once')
malrurqugnek 'twice' (*the ending is dual: gnek*)
pingayurqunek 'three times' (*the ending is plural: nek, as are the endings of all higher numerals of repetition*)
amllerqunek 'many times'
qavcirqunek 'how many times?'

For example:

Qanrut'ngerpenga malrurqugnek nalluyagutaqa uivet atra. 'Even though you told me twice I forgot your husband's name.'

Qavcirqunek nutellrusiu tuntuvak tuqupailegpegu? 'How many times did you shoot the moose before you killed it?'

Exercise 23-2

Translate the following into Yup'ik:

1) After I tried to make a grass basket three times without success, I made a good one. 2) I didn't see her even once when she came here for a visit. 3) My younger brother has gone seal hunting only once. 4) The third house on the righthand side of the store is my parents' house. 5) I thought about you many times while you were away. 6) My first child was a girl and my second child was a boy. 7) I killed that dog because it bit children four times!

Money

A variety of terms have been used at various times and in various Yup'ik speaking areas for denominations of money. Fairly widespread are $\sqrt{\text{tamalkuq}}$ for 'a dollar,' from the quantifier/qualifier base **tamalkur-** 'whole, entire, all' (see Chapter 19) and **kangiraq** (*literally*: 'quarter') for 'quarter.' Less common nowadays are words such as **kavirliyagaq** (*literally*: 'little red thing') for 'penny,' **mamtulria** (*literally*: 'thick thing') for 'nickel,' and **mamkilnguq** (*literally*: 'thin thing') for 'dime.'

The reader should be aware that nowadays it is quite common to use English numerical terms or a mixture of Yup'ik and English in Yup'ik speech, and not solely for higher numbers. The following example illustrates this and shows how the cost of something can be expressed, though there are probably other patterns possible.

Kiputellruaqa una saskaq akilirluku malrugtun kangiraq four centanek cipluku. 'I bought this cup for two dollars and twenty-nine cents.'

Time of Day

The division of the day into hours, minutes, and seconds is a phenomenon of the period after the first contact of Yup'iks with Europeans and Euro-Americans. At the present time there are several formats for asking and telling "clock" time.

Qavcinun (or qavcinek) kaugta? 'What time is it?' (*literally*: 'to (or at) how many has it struck?').

Qavciklaagta? 'What time is it?' (*The klaag part is from English 'clock'*).

Wataimarta? 'What time is it?' (*English but with a Yup'ik interrogative ending; note how well the English phrase 'what time', transfers into Yup'ik*).

Pingayunun kaugtuq or Pingayunek kaugtuq or Pingayuklaagtuq or Three-klaagtuq. 'It's three o'clock.'

Other Time Words

The following expressions give time in a way that, of course, predates contact with outsiders.

akwaugaq 'yesterday'

unuk 'last night'

unuaq 'this morning'

unuakumi 'tomorrow morning'

ernermi 'in the daytime'

unamek 'today'

ernerem qukaani 'in the middle of the day, around noon'

ataku 'this coming evening'

atakumi 'in the evening'

atakuarmi 'in the early evening'

unugmi 'at night'

unuku 'tonight'

unuaqu 'tomorrow'

unuaquani 'the next day'

Exercise 23-3

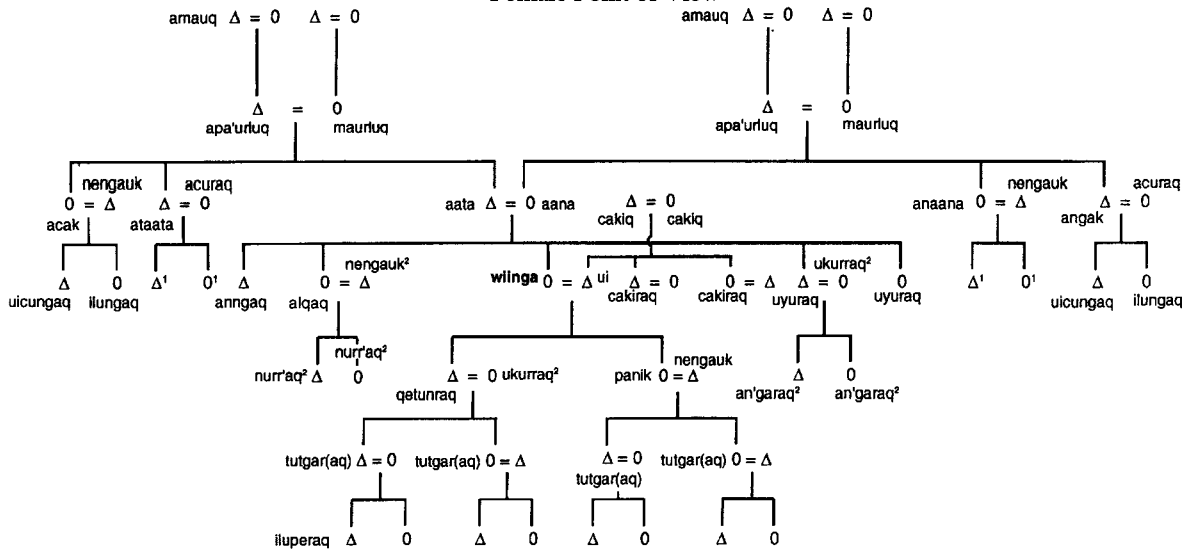
Write a dozen sentences involving expressions for time and / or money.

Kinship

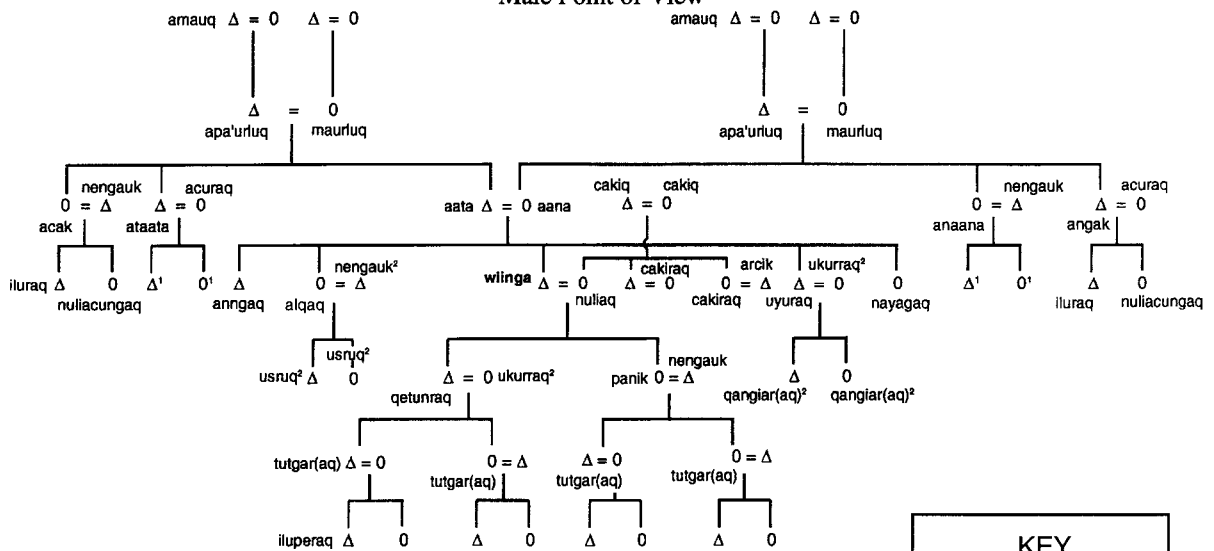
The charts below show the Yup'ik kinship system. There are two charts since males refer to their cousins, nieces and nephews by different terms than females do.

YUP'IK KINSHIP TERMS

Female Point of View



Male Point of View



KEY	
male	Δ
female	0
marriage	=
parents	Δ = 0
children	

1. Brother and sister terms are used for parallel cousins (children of one's **anaana** or **ataata**).
2. The terms **nengauk**, **ukurraq**, **nurr'araq**, **an'garaq**, **usruq**, and **qangiar(aq)** apply to spouses and children of both younger and older siblings.

The student should learn those Yup'ik kinship terms which he or she doesn't already know; these terms are part of the vocabulary for this chapter. To aid in learning them, they are explained here.

aunts, uncles, and cousins:

Note that a distinction is made between maternal and paternal aunts and between maternal and paternal uncles. Evidently a maternal aunt is (or was) felt to be closer to one than a paternal aunt, and a paternal uncle is closer than a maternal uncle. Evidence of this is the fact that the words for maternal aunt, **anaana**, and paternal uncle, **ataata**, are based on the words for mother and father. Also the children of one's **anaana** and **ataata**, that is one's "parallel" cousins have the same kinship terms as one's own brothers and sisters, that is, one's older male parallel cousin is his **anngaq** just like his older male sibling, one's older female parallel cousin is his **alqaq** just like his older female sibling, and similarly for younger parallel cousins. This is not to say that one traditionally was unaware of which brothers and sisters were his "real" brothers and sisters (the children of his mother and father) and which were his parallel cousins, but just that the distinction was not important. This is just as in English where one knows which aunts are paternal and which maternal but one refers to them both as "aunt" indicating that the distinction is not important. "Cross" cousins, that is children of one's paternal aunt (**acak**) or maternal uncle (**angak**), were not considered as close as parallel cousins (who were, after all, as close to one as brothers and sisters). Furthermore there are separate words for male and female cross cousins of a male (**ilur(aq)** and **nuliacungaq** respectively) and two more for male and female cross cousins of a female (**uicungaq** and **ilungaq**). The words **nuliacungaq** and **uicungaq** literally mean 'little wife' and 'little husband.' These are sometimes termed 'teasing cousins' as they were expected to playfully tease a person.

nieces and nephews:

With nieces and nephews the kinship terminology one uses depends on one's own sex and on the sex of the sibling whose children they are. The sex of that niece or nephew is of no importance in the Yup'ik kinship system, while it is the only thing that is important in the English system, determining whether the person in question is a "niece" or a "nephew." In Yup'ik the child of a man's sister is his **usruq** and the child of his brother is his **qangiar**. The child of a woman's sister is her **nurr'aq** and the child of her brother is her **an'garaq**.¹

in-laws:

Yup'ik categorizes in-laws differently than English does. In English two types of relations are covered by the term 'brother-in-law' (and likewise for 'sister-in-law'). One type of brother-in-law in English is the husband of one's sister, and this relation is one's **nengauk** in Yup'ik (and sister-in-law in the

1. This term is not too well known; **nurr'aq** is sometimes used in its place.

sense of wife of one's brother is **ukurraq** in Yup'ik). Another type of brother-in-law in English is the brother of one's spouse, and this is **cakiraq** in Yup'ik (and sister-in-law in the sense of sister of one's spouse is also **cakiraq**). Some English speakers add a third type of brother-in-law and this is the husband of one's spouse's sister. In Yup'ik there is a special term for the husband of a man's wife's sister and this is **arcik**. There is no corresponding term for the wife of a woman's husband's brother, nor for the wife of a man's wife's brother or the wife of a woman's husband's sister. The existence of the term **arcik** is one of the few places where the chart is unbalanced between male and female. Evidently two men who are married to a pair of sisters have a singularly important relationship to each other, and this is why there is a special term for it: they are each other's **arcik**.

The term **nengauk** means not only brother-in-law in the sense of husband of one's sister, but also son-in-law (that is, husband of one's daughter). Likewise **ukurraq** means both sister-in-law in the sense of wife of one's brother, and daughter-in-law (that is, wife of one's son).

spouses of aunts and uncles:

The husband of one's aunt (both of his **anaana** and his **ataata**) is apparently also termed **nengauk** (though the writer is not certain on this point). There is a special term for the wife of one's uncle: **acuraq**, but this term is not too widespread.

great-grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren:

A great-grandparent, whether a great-grandfather or great-grandmother is **amauq**. There doesn't seem to be any fixed kinship term for great-great-grandparent, though **amaunqigtaq** (literally great-grandparent again) has been suggested. Going in the other direction, a great-grandchild is **iluperaq** (related to **ilupeq** 'underwear!'), and a great-great-grandchild is **teruvailitaq** or **neruvailitaq** (probably from **teru** 'foot of bed'; compare **tutgar** 'grandchild' from **tutek** 'sleeping partner').

siblings:

As seen in early chapters, one's younger sibling, whether brother or sister, is his **kinguqliq** (literally, 'follower') or **uyuraq**, an alternate term that is fairly common too. There is a special term for the younger sister of a male and that is **nayagaq**, but no special term for younger brother, and no special term for either younger brother or younger sister of a female.

There is no general term for 'sister' or for 'brother,' but sometimes **alqaq**, basically 'older sister' is used as a general term for sister, as in **alqanka** 'my sisters (older and younger),' and similarly **anngaq**, basically 'older brother.'

Exercise 23-4

A. Take each kinship term from the chart, other than the basic terms like *aata*, *aana*, *anngaq*, *alqaq*, *uyuraq*, *panik* and *qetunraq*, and define it in terms of the basic terms. For example, for the word *nengauk* you would write *Yuum nengaukai alqami uingit*, *uyurami uingit*, *cali-llu panimi uingit*; and for the word *nurr'aq* which only is a kin of a woman, you would write *Arnarn nurr'aqai alqami irniarit cali-llu arnat uyurami irniarit*.

B. Complete the following sentences. For example, given: *Ingna arnaq aanama alqaqngaku, _____kaqa*. you would fill in the blank with: *anaana* (so that the sentence would read: *Ingna arnaq aanama alqaqngaku, anaanaqa* 'because that woman is my mother's older sister, she is my maternal aunt')

- 1) *Ingna angun panima uikngaku, _____aqa*. 2) *Alqama irniaqngaku ingna angutnguama-llu, _____aqa*. 3) *Ingna arnaq nuliacungaqngamku, nayagama _____aa*. 4) *Ingkuk aipaqellriik aipama angayuqaqngakek, _____agka*. 5) *Ingna angun nuliama alqaan uikngaku, _____aqa*. 6) *Ingkut mikelnguut irniama irniarita irniaqngatki, _____anka*. 7) *Arnaungama anngama irniari _____anka*. 8) *Iluraanka alqama _____qai*. 9) *Anaana irniarit cali-llu ataata irniarit _____qanka, _____qluki, cali-llu _____qluki*. 10) *Kass'acetun ukurraanka _____qanka cali-llu _____qluki*.

Other Postbases

The postbase **@-rqe-** 'to V as a group, all together or one right after another' is used only on bases ending in **te**, which is then dropped by this postbase.

anute- 'to take out'

anurqai 'she took them out all together or one after another'

mumigte- 'to turn over'

mumigqai 'she turned them all over'

igte- 'to fall'

igqut 'they are falling all together or one right after another'

For bases that don't end in **te**, **-qu-** is used for 'to V as a group, all together or one right after another.'

ayag- 'to leave'

ayakuut 'they are all leaving'

iqlu- 'to lie'

iqluqui 'she is telling them all lies'

Exercise 23-5

Translate:

- 1) *Arqai lumarrani anvailegmi nengliqapiaraan ella*. 2) *Qunguturama tuqurqellru avelngaat nerevkenaki temait tuqumalriit unilluki natrem qukaani*. 3) *Yaqulget mirqut nanvamun*. 4) *Mikelnguun kuukissaat nerqui mikelnguut pilaata tuaten*. 5) *Mikelnguun aanani iqluqua nunuusqenrilami*. 6) *Igat nasaurluum igallri egqellru*.

The postbase **-qcaar(ar)**- 'to keep on trying to *V* despite difficulties one may be having.'

iqvar - 'to pick berries'	iqvaqcaartuq 'she's still picking berries (even though there aren't many or she isn't doing it so fast)'
maligte - 'to go with'	maligteqcaararaa 'she's just tagging along behind her'

The closely related postbases **-lgun** and **-llgun** generally take possessed endings (or postbase equivalents of possessed endings). **-lgun** goes on noun bases and means 'one with the same *N*, *N*-sharer,' while **-llgun** goes on verb bases and means 'fellow *V*-er, *V*-ing partner.'

cali - 'to work'	calillgutii 'her fellow worker'
ner - 'to eat'	nerellgutaitua 'I don't have anyone eating with me'
nuna 'land, village'	nunalgutkaqa 'she is from the same village as me'
[e]na^e 'house'	nelgutkutuk 'they ₂ share a house'

There is also √ **anelgun** 'age-mate, littermate' from **ane**- 'to go out, to emerge,' and √ **atellgun** 'one with the same name' from **ateq** 'name.' These two words are irregular since the first comes from a verb base and thus one would predict a voiceless **l**, while the second is from a noun base and thus one would predict a voiced **l**.

Exercise 23-6

Write ten sentences involving the above three postbases.

Connected Reading for Chapter 23

Read the following story. Note how certain grammatical constraints (such as those on the use of fourth person forms) are eased in continuing speech (and writing).

(1) Tamaani-gguq ellii Nac'ngaq mikraanerminek¹ Kuigglugmi uitaaqellria.
 (2) Ellii-gguq arvinlekluku taukuk aanami² Aangaarraam, aatami-llu Mikngayam yuin.³ (3) Elliin ilain-llu ciuqliat, tungliat, cali-llu pingayuat anngauluteng, cetamaqliat, tallimaqliat-llu alqauluteng. (4) Kinguqlikacaar-wa,⁴ malrunlekliat ellait, elliin kiingan kinguqlikluku.

(5) Ellii-llu ataucimek anaanaluni, cali-llu ataucimek angagluni. (6) Malrugnek-llu ataataluni, atauciq-wa acii. (7) Nengaugluni-llu, acami, anaanami-llu uigkegnek. (8) Acurarluni-llu angami, ataatami-llu nularitnek. (9) Ilungalirluni-llu cali-llu uicungalirluni taukut ilami irniaritnek.

(10) Anngaqliq-llu nuliangqerran an'gararluni taum anngaqliim irniarinnek. (11) Anngaqliq tauna nulialek allrakurluni yuinaq cetamanek cipluku, tungliat-llu taum allrakurluni yuinarnek, pingayuqliat-llu taukut anngain allrakurluni akimiarmek cipluku malrugnek. (12) Cetamaqliq-llu elliin alqaa allrakurluni qula cipluku ataucimek, tallimaqliat-wa cali elliin alqaa allrakurluni qulngunrita'arne. (13) Ellii-wa arvinlegat taukut ilain tallimanek allrakurluni, kinguqliat-wa ellaita malrunlegat malrugnek allrakurluni.

(14) Tamarmeng maurluuk cali-llu apa'urluuk tamaani Kuigglugmi cali uitaaqluteng. (15) Cali-llu maurluugken, apa'urluugken ilait uitaaqluteng tamaani Kuigglugmi, irniarluteng aanami, aatami-llu uicungaitnek cali-llu nuliacungaitnek. (16) Aanii-llu cali ilungalirluni tamaani, aatii-llu iluralirluni.

(17) Nac'ngaq caaqami, aanami Aangaarraam uicungai wall'u aatami Mikngayam nuliacungai itraqata nem'eggnun, niicugniaqluni ilangciarau-tellriigne. (18) Tamana eniit nep'ngaqluni ngel'amek,⁵ cunaw' tuaten ilaliurutengqellinilriit⁶ tamakut yuut. (19) Ak'a-gguq tamaaken ayagluni tuaten ilaliurut'ngellruluteng.

(20) Caqerluteng tuani up'nerkami tumyaraq assirillrani aanani elliin maliggluku maurlumeggnun ag'ut. (21) Piyuanguinanermeggni elliin aanani

1. **-rraanerminek** = 'since the time she had V-ed' (see Note C in the supplement to Chapter 17).

2. **aanami** = 'her (Nac'ngaq's) mother'; the 4th person refers back to the subject of the previous sentence; the use of the subordinate, **arvinlekluku**, rather than the indicative here links this sentence tightly enough to the preceding sentence as to allow the 4th person to be used.

3. Recall that **yuk** can mean 'child, offspring.' Also note that a plural to plural ending could be used here because the duality of the possessor is clear.

4. **kinguqlikacaar** = 'the very youngest sibling'; from **kinguqliq** 'the younger sibling' and **-kaca(g)ar(aq*)** which is a noun-to-noun version of the postbase **-kaca(g)ar-** 'to be very V' (Chapter 17).

5. The verb base **ngel'ar-** 'to laugh' is being used as a noun, **ngel'aq** = 'laughter,' here.

6. **ilaliur-** 'to be sociable.'

murilkaa tussilluni piyualria. (22) Taum nalliini cukitninganani¹ aanii qanellruluni. (23) Cunawa taum tussicetlinikii puvelriim² it'gaan cukitellran.

(24) Agnginanermeggni maurlumi eniinun elitaqnarqellriim erinam tuqluagaa³ ilungaarluku⁴ aanii. (25) Maaten ellii takuyartuq taum elitaqnarqellriim eriniin tungiinun yaa-i aaniin ilungaa, Nasgauq, elucira'arqii aanii taisqelluku. (26) Aaniin-llu ullagluku tuani qanruqaarlukkek elkekinguqlini-llu utaqauraasqellukkek tuani egmianun taiciqniluni. (27) Tua-llu ava-i ullagluku tussiqurluni cukangnaqu'urluni. (28) Yaa-i-llu tekicamiu ilungani canek qalaruqaarluku tailuni. (29) Qanrullukkek-llu elkekinguqlini-llu taumun ilungaminun unayaqniluteng⁵ up'nerkiyaucugluteng.⁶ (30) Yaaliaku taikut ayagciqniluki, ellait-llu upingarikuneng ullagciqniluki piluni.

(31) Tua-i-llu agngameng ellii elitaqluku maurlumi enii, tuaggun iquani eniin uitauratulikun taingkakun. (32) Kiimi tauna taingkaq Kuigglugmi ellallugmek kucitaugaqluni.⁷ (33) Tua-i-llu tangrraarluku tauna ellalluum kucitaqngagu pagna kiarrluku ella, maaten piuq amirlissiyaagpek'nani, akertawa ingna pugumaluni amirlum keluanek. (34) Tua-i-llu tuaten ciuggluni piyuaninganermini pillrani aaniin piluku murilkelluku piyuasqelluku puukaqatarniluku napartamun. (35) Maaten piuq napartaq una ciungani, puukaryarpiaqallinikii, aviarqaarluku-llu⁸ maligteqcaarluku aanani.

(36) Tekicamegteggu maurlumi enii piuq angii keggallria muragnek. (37) Tauna Aangaarraam qanrutkaqluku carayagculiuniluku. (38) Tua-i-llu taum carayagculim angiin ellii piluku ilungaa Puyaakiiq qama-i maurlua-llu uitanilukkek. (39) Ellii-llu quyaqerluni aipaqnaluku umyuarteqluni ilungani.

(40) Tua-i-llu elaturramun itlermini, tan'gercelan-llu camun teggellriamun it'gaa agtullaulluni, tauna-llu ca akagluni. (41) Tua-i-llu meciknaurluku⁹ pia, puckaullinilria. (42) Tua-i-llu aanii qalarrluni kitumun tauna paallauteknayukluku puckaq naparqaarluku¹⁰ iterluteng nem'un.

(43) Itrameng maaten piuq ilungaa Puyaakiiq kia-i maurluan qulirikii. (44) Ellii-llu kiavaasqen'gani maurlumi kiavarluni taum canianun Puyaakiim aqumluni, cali maurluni quliriqataryukluku. (45) Tua-i-llu maurluat piluni

1. **cukite-** = 'to get something sharp in one's foot, to step on something sharp.'

2. **puve-** = 'to swell.'

3. **tuqlur-** = 'to call to by name.'

4. **ilungaara-** = 'to say "ilungaq" to'; this or a similar format can be used to form verbs meaning 'to say — (to).'

5. **unayaqe-** = 'to invite along.'

6. **up'nerkiyar-** = 'to go to spring camp.'

7. **kucitaq** = 'drip catcher,' in this case a device for catch rain water dripping from the roof.

8. **avite-** = 'to avoid an obstacle.'

9. **mecike-** = 'to be able to see easily'; **meciknaq** = 'one that causes or allows a person to see it easily'; **meciknaurluku pia** = 'she acted on it making it be something that causes or allows one to see it easily (i.e. making it more visible)'; the postbase ~:(ng)u- 'to be *N*' generally takes only intransitive endings, but there is considerable freedom with the subordinative mood to use a transitive ending on normally intransitive-only bases; for example one can say **mingqaa mikluku** 'she is sewing it (making it) small,' even though **mike-** is normally intransitive-only.

10. **naparte-** = 'to stand or put upright.'

qaqqaarluku tauna quliraq yuurqaliciqniluni, waniwa nangqataqerluku iterniluki. (46) Tua-i-llu taqngami qulirinernek piluki cali cam iliini qalamciciqniluki ak'a imumi pilallermegnek.

(47) Tua-i-llu maurluat yuurqerkiullermini Aangaarraaq apluku qaillun ella ayuqucianek. (48) Aaniin-llu piluku amirlirrarniluku. (49) Cunaw' tang maurluat ayakataami atakuvailgan carayagnek tag-iriqatalria biologist-aaq apa'urluat-llu maliklukek aptellinilria ellarayakataryukluku.¹ (50) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraam apluku maurluat, (51) "Qavciklaagmi ayageciqseci?"

(52) "Cetamanun sass'aq kaukan ayagyullruuk. (53) Ak'a-wa upingalriakut-llu. (54) Ava-i-wa taquarkamteñek kipusvigmek aqvate'llrulria Mancuaq."

(55) Tuaten-llu qanqanrakun² apa'urluat iterluni kipusvigtaminek³ tegumiarluni. (56) Tua-i-llu qanerluni, "Waq' taiguci-qaa? (57) Arenqiapaa, imna-qaa cali Butchie tekiteksaituq? (58) Waten-ggem pitariluku⁴ tekiteqatarnillruuq. (59) Akwaugaq qanercuutellruuq waten pitarikan tekitarkauniluni."

(60) Tua-i-llu egalerkun uyanglluni apa'urluat qanerluni. (61) "A, maa-i-wa tagelria."

(62) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraaq yuurqani tua-i nangengan iterpailgan tauna Butchie, quyaqerraarluni Nac'ngaq ampiirraarluku,⁵ kinguqlia tunuminun⁶ pivkarraarluku tua-i anluteng.

(63) Tua-i-llu anngameng ellii ciuggluni quletmun piuq imna ella amirluunani, akercirluni-llu. (64) Carayagculim-wa biologist-aaq Butchie qalaruskii. (65) Aaniin-llu ullagluku cama-iirluku, qanerluni, (65) "Ak'anek-lli tangerpaa. (67) Ciin nunacuirucit? (68) Qassayaangqertua ama-i kumlivigmi,⁷ neryartuqina tekiskuvet, ilu'urpet-llu tangerrsungnillruaten."

(69) Butchie-m-llu kiuluku. (70) "Ilu'urqa qanruskiu tekiskuma yaaliaku nerellguciryarturciqnilutek. (71) Office-ami-wa caliarkalilaama ayagayuiru-tellrianga, tangerrsungramci-llu nunatnalua piaqama caliarkalingartaqlua."

(72) Tua-i-llu Aangaarraam piluku, (73) "Qanruciiqaaq iluraan. (74) Tua-i tangerciqamken yaaliaku. (75) Nalluyagucaqunak."

(76) Tua-i-llu tua-i aaniin ellii piluku, (77) "Ampi; ayagyulliut ukut tua-i agnauktukut. (78) Uamciyuumiitua."

(79) Tua-i-llu agluteng. (80) Ellii-llu tekicamegteggu net'eng avavet tangertuq, ava-i Butchie-nkut atralriit.

1. **ellarayak** = 'terrible weather'; this has the same non-productive or partially-productive postbase **-rayak** 'terrible*N*' as on **carayak** = 'bear, ghost, monster,' literally: 'terrible something.'
 2. **-qanrakun** = 'just when she V-ed' (see Note C in the supplement to Chapter 17).
 3. **kipusvigtaq** = 'the thing(s) one got at the store.'
 4. **pitari-** = 'for it to be at this time.'
 5. **ampiirraarluku** = 'after saying "ampi" to her.'
 6. **tunu** = 'back (of a person).'
 7. **kumlivik** = 'refrigerator or freezer.'

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 23

Vocabulary Notes and Alternative Vocabulary

- #1 **Carayak** is one of several words for 'bear.' Literally it means 'terrible something' from the base **ca** and the non-productive postbase **-rayak** 'terrible *N*.' This accounts for the additional meanings, 'monster, ghost,' of this word. The word **tan'gerliq** for 'black bear' means literally 'black thing' (though the postbase **+liq** here is somewhat obscure); the word **taqukaq** for 'brown bear' means 'seal' in Can, NI, Nun, and HBC, indicating that its basic meaning is something like 'thing to hunt' from postbase **+kaq** 'future *N*' though the **taqu** part is obscure. In some areas 'bear' is simply **ungungssiq** which means more generally '(any) land mammal' or '(any) mammal.' Also, **uglaniiq** is used by some for 'brown bear.' In Nun 'bear' is **paugnaq** meaning literally 'animal like a post.' In the northern part of Yup'ik 'polar bear' is **nanuaq**, which is cognate to the pan-Eskimo word, **nanuq**, for 'polar bear,' and in the southern part of Yup'ik it is **arlunaq**, of unknown derivation.
- #2 In addition to **kegglaq** for 'saw' there is **piilaq** from Russian, used in NR and probably other areas.
- #3 Instead of **naqugun** for 'belt' there is **tavci** in NSU.
- #4 **Puckaq** 'barrel' is from Russian, as is **pucuunaq** used for 'barrel' in NSK. In NSU **qaltaucikaq**, from **qaltaq** 'bucket,' is used for 'barrel.' In NI, Nun, and HBC and Y **napartaq** which basically means 'upright thing' is used for 'barrel' as well as for 'pole, mast' etc.
- #5 From **uame-** 'to play around, waste time' comes **uamqe-** 'to amuse, to babysit' used in NI particularly.

Note A

Regional variants to the counting system include the following:

Inglulgen is used for 'eight' (instead of **pingayunlegen**) in NR, LI, and Eg.

Ipiaq (from **ipik** 'limb of quadraped') is used for 'twenty' as a multiplier in Y, HBC, and Nun. This means that **yuinaq** is used in 'twenty' up to but not including 'forty,' and 'forty' is literally 'two **ipiaqs**,' rather than 'two **yuinaqs**.' Furthermore **ipiaq** as a multiplier is always singular and comes *after* the number by which it is multiplied. So people who use this format say **malruk ipiaq** for 'forty' rather than **yuinaak malruk**, and **pingayun ipiaq** for 'sixty' rather than **yuinaat pingayun**.

Two areas have special words for '(one) hundred.' At the mouth of the Yukon a word **kavlun** is used for this, while in some NR **negavaq** is used. Because of the undistinguished role of this quantity ('one hundred') in the native Yup'ik base-twenty counting system, one expects that, as in the case of **tiissitsaaq** 'one thousand,' these two words came from outside the language. **Kavlun** is said by certain Yup'iks to have come from a Russian word for 'percussion caps' (used in old-time rifles) which came in packages of one hundred, but a Russian source word has not been definitely determined. **Negavaq**, by the nature and position of the sounds it contains does not seem to be a Russian loan; it may come from some measurement of net mesh, since a single 'mesh' in a net is called a **negaq** (literally 'snare').

One can carry the Roman numeral analogy farther by coining two additional Yup'ik/Roman numerals: **A** for **akimiaq**, and **Y** for **yuinaq**. To give a few examples: **IA** would be **akimiarunrita'ar** (just as **IX** is **qulngunrita'ar**), **AI** would be **akimiaq atauciq**, **IY** would be **yuinaunrita'ar**, **YY** would be **yuinaak malruk**, **YYYYAI** would be **yuinaat cetaman akimiarnek cipluku cali ataucimek cipluku**.

Yup'ik Month Names

The Yup'ik month names predate contact with outsiders. They do not exactly correspond with English or other European month names since the Yup'ik names are based on lunar months of twenty-eight days. However a rough equivalence is possible, and in fact this equivalence has become conventionalized so that now the Yup'ik month names *do* correspond to the European or Euro-American months. The terms differ from place to place but a fairly common set of terms for Bristol Bay and the Lower Kuskokwim is given here:

- 'January' is **Iralull'er**, literally 'bad month'
- 'February' is **Kanruyauciq**, literally 'time of small frost'
- 'March' is **Kepnerciq**, literal meaning not known to writer, perhaps related to **kepe-** 'to sever'
- 'April' is **Tengmiirvik**, literally 'time of birds'
- 'May' is **Kayangut Anutiit**, literally 'time the eggs come out'
- 'June' is **Kaugun**, literally 'time of hitting' (of fish)
- 'July' is **Ingun**, literally 'time of moulting' (of birds)
- 'August' is **Tengun**, literally 'time of taking off' (of birds)
- 'September' is **Amirairvik**, literally 'time of shedding velvet' (of caribou antlers)
- 'October' is **Qaariitaarvik**, literally 'time of the masked festival (**Qaariitaaq**)'
- 'November' is **Cauyarvik**, literally 'time of drumming' (and dancing)
- 'December' is **Uivik**, probably literally 'time of going around' (though this would actually be ***uivevik**)

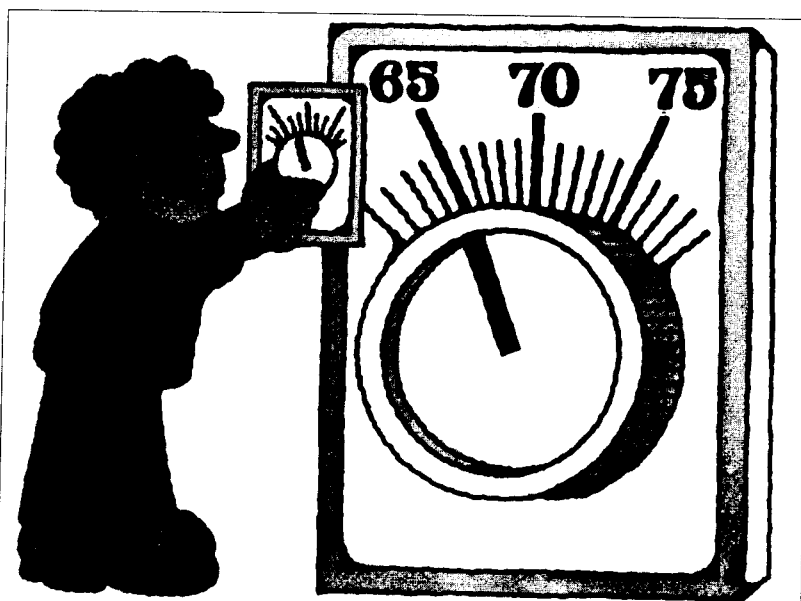
If this analysis of the word **Uivik** is correct, and if it refers to the yearly cycle starting over at this time, then it is just a coincidence (but not surprising) that the Yup'ik and European/Euro-American year starts roughly at the time of the winter solstice when the days are shortest.



Kayangut Anutiit

Agayuneq	Pekyun	Alpirin	Pingayrin	Cetamirin	Tallimirin	Maqineq
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Yup'ik month names appear on calendars even though Yup'iks often use English month names even in Yup'ik speech. The drawing on this calendar is by Moses Chanar.



Thermostat-aq (puqlam cuqyutii) ellilaraat 60° F, taugaam uum aciantevkaqsaunaku 55° F.

Thermostat-at—(Enem Puqliin Caqtaarcuutai)

Elluarluku thermostat-aci atulaquvcu ikayurciqaaci aninqillerpeceni kaassamek, kallugmek-llu. Uksumi thermostat-aci elliaqluku 65° F. Una cuqa nenglliksiyaakuvgu esswatamek aturnaqqiqaaten. Ataucim cuqem quletmun akilirarkan ilaciqaa 3% amllenruurluku.

Unugmi thermostat-aq atraqanirnarquq 60° F wall'u 58° F. Amllermi akiillrulartuq kallulegmek uligmek atullerkaq thermostat-am quylriami uitaurallerkaani.

Thermostat-aq ellimanarqenrituq 55° F aciani qacarnet yukutangciqngaki assiirulluki-llu.

Ila it enet umcigcimalriit atulartut thermostat-anek sass'alegnek, cami tuani ayagnirarkauluni wall'u taq'erkauluni. Alerqutait murilkenqegcaarluki maligtaqunargaten cami tuani thermostat-an ayagarcecukuvgu. Waten makucit thermostat-at enem puqlii atrartelaraat qavam nalliini wall'u ernermi calim nalliini ena yugtaitagan.

Kinkut imkut oil stove-amek atutulit wall'u muragya-ramek, murilkenarqaa ikirpallallerkaa uqiryaram wall'u murirpallallerkaa muriryaram. Murilkekuvcu uitanqecinaqciquq egalret-llu ikirrnaiciiqluteng.

6

Government publications are often translated into Yup'ik. Note that on this page, from a booklet on home weatherization published by the State of Alaska Dept. of Community & Regional Affairs Office of Energy Programs (ca. 1990), English words with Yup'ik explanations are used where there is no widely recognized Yup'ik word. Translations for this booklet are by Sophie Shield.

CHAPTER 24

*Duals; Place Names; Personal Names;
Loan Words from Russian and Other Languages in Yup'ik;
Use of English Words in Yup'ik; Coining of New Yup'ik Words;
Yup'ik Dialects; Old Writing Systems for Yup'ik*

Vocabulary

- aipaagni** 'on the other hand; maybe' (*particle; from localis*)
allragni 'last year' (*particle; from localis*) #1
allraku 'next year' (*particle*) #2
aulukaa 'he is taking care of him' #3
ekvik 'cut bank of a river, cliff' #4
ellivik 'cache' #5
iggiayuli 'owl' #6
Ingqiliq 'Indian' #7
inqaa 'to talk to a baby with cooing words' (*discussed below*)
inqutaq 'the particular cooing words used with a certain baby'
irriuuq 'he is amazed'; **irria** 'he is amazed watching it' (*the base is irr'i-*) #8
kap'uq 'it got stabbed, poked'; **kapaa** 'he stabbed him/it, inoculated him with a hypodermic needle'
kesianek 'always' (*particle*) #9
kiituani 'finally, thereafter' (*particle*)
kingurautuq 'he is late (for an event)'
maklak 'bearded seal' #10
naanguaq or naanguarun 'toy'
naanguartuq 'he is playing with toys, playing by pretending'
nallu 'unknowing' (*used only in the possessed localis, e.g. nallumni* 'in my unknowing' *i.e.* 'without my knowledge')
negaq 'snare'
pellaaguq 'he lost his way, got lost'
picingssagtuq 'he is clowning around'
picingssak 'clown, joker, etc.'
putiilekaaq 'bottle' #11
qamurtuq 'he is dragging something behind him'; **qamura** 'he is dragging it'
qavartartuq 'he is camping out or spending the night (somewhere)'
qiluq 'gut, intestine'
quagciq 'wild spinach plant' #12
sugg'aliq or cugg'aliq 'cracker, pilot bread' #13
taku 'presence' (*used only in the possessed localis, e.g. takumni* 'in my presence')
talicivik 'smokehouse' #14
taqsuquq 'he is tired' #15
teggalquq 'stone, rock' #16
tuamta-llu 'furthermore' (*particle*)
tulukaruk 'raven' #17

Tungulleralria 'black person, African-American' #18
utetmun 'homewards, in a return direction' (*particle from second terminalis*)
yuilquq 'wilderness'

More on Dual Endings

In this book only the most frequently encountered dual endings have been stressed. In general it is considerably less common to talk about a dual than about a singular or plural, with certain exceptions such as are exemplified by **iigka** 'my eyes₂,' **angayuqaagken** 'your parents₂,' **aliimatek** 'the mittens₂,' **kameksiigka** 'my skin boots₂,' **taukuk qerrullikaak** 'those are his pair of pants,' **ukuk nuussicuak ipgiatuk** 'this pair of scissors (**nuussicuak** literally 'two little knives') is dull,' where the things talked about naturally come in pairs. Of course one also uses the dual if he happens to be talking about things which could have been a plurality but happen to be two in number, as in, **paniigka caliuk** 'my daughters₂ are working.' If one wants to say, for example, 'my daughters₂' husbands₂ are working,' in theory he should say, **paniigma uigkek caliuk**. In the word **uigkek** the **g** indicates that the husbands are *two* in number, and the final **k** indicates that they are *two* women's husbands. In practice, however, people will often use **uikek**, literally 'their₂ husbands_{pl},' or even **uingak**, literally 'their₂ husband₁,' and say, **paniigma uikek caliuk** or **paniigma uingak caliuk**. There are enough other indications of duality both within the sentence (i.e. the dual ending on the verb), and outside of it (e.g. the fact that in our society two women would have two husbands). One should not think that this substitution of singular and plural for dual is a shortcut used only by modern corrupted speakers of an imperfect Yup'ik. By all indications, this has always been the practice and is certainly done by older and excellent speakers of the language. On the other hand, the precise dual endings do exist and can be summoned intellectually by capable speakers, usually (though not always) merely through putting dual markers, **g** or **k**, in the right places. Consider the following examples:

Irniamegnuk maurlugket uitallgatkuk ataucimi nem'i. 'Our₂ children's grandmothers₂ live together in a single house.'

Irniakek naangualartut eniignek ketiini. 'Their₂ children play in front of their house.' (**irniakek** rather than **irniarik** which would be in line with **irniari** and **irniarit**; **irniakek** is from **irniagkek** 'their₂ children₂' with the **g** indicating 'two children' removed to make it indicate 'plural children')

Canrilkumegnuak aulukciqapuk ilamegnuk irniarit elitnauqata maani. 'If all is well with us₂ we'll take care of our₂ relatives' children when they go to school here.'

Kina kegguciuristekcetegnegu? 'Who is your₂ dentist?'

Tamana kuik Ingqilit nunautiita cali Yupiit nunautiita akuliignegun anumaq. 'That river flows out in the area between the Indians' land

and the Yup'iks' land.'

Illrua putiilekaa yaassiigegminun. 'He hid the bottle in his suitcase'
(‘suitcase’ = ‘two boxes’).

**Picingssiimegnek piyuanginanermegni napani pellaallruuk
mikelnguuk.** 'Because they₂ were clowning around while they were
walking in the woods the children₂ got lost.'

Nani irniagtek negillruak? 'Where did your₂ children₂ set snares.'

Exercise 24-1

A. *Translate the following using precise duals (you may wish to consult the endings charts in Appendix A, but try to figure out the appropriate dual endings on your own first).*

- 1) My dogs₂ always eat their₂ food from their₂ own bowls₂.
- 2) Their₂ children were afraid of the new Black teachers₂ because they had never seen Black people before.
- 3) The elders scolded them₂ because they₂ killed those ravens.
- 4) My sister and her husband were asleep in their₂ tent when we₂ arrived at our_{pl} fish camp in our₂ boat.
- 5) If they₂ want you₂ to go with them₂, then (you₂) go with them₂!
- 6) What kind of berries are growing on the banks₂ of the river?
- 7) We'll eat when my parents₂ arrive if they₂ aren't too late.
- 8) Whenever my husband and I visit my father and his new wife I miss my mother who died before I got married.
- 9) Once when we₂ were young our₂ parents₂ searched for us₂ all night when my older brother and I got lost in the woods because it got dark while we₂ were making our way through the woods.
- 10) The little boy started to cry when his parents₂ began to laugh because he called his skin-boots₂ his "bearded seals₂".
- 11) When those children₂ play with their₂ toys they₂ always start picking on each other.
- 12) Without us₂ knowing about it our₂ son got married when he was outside the state, and we₂ haven't seen his wife or their₂ new child yet.
- 13) When they₂ got hungry while they₂ were camping in the wilderness they₂ divided their₂ supply of food in half and they₂ ate half for breakfast and half for lunch, and after that they₂ came home.
- 14) Our₂ daughter's husband wants to learn how to set snares so that they₂ can eat rabbits all winter.
- 15) On the shelves of their₂ house I saw a bottle full of liquor even though they₂ never drink.
- 16) Both of them₂ were clowning around even though they₂ aren't children anymore.
- 17) Even though their₂ smokehouse is empty now, I helped them₂ when they₂ were putting the dried fish that they₂'d prepared into their₂ cache.
- 18) We₂ were amazed when we watched my brother and his wife as they₂ took care of their₂ naughty little kids without getting tired.
- 19) The little children cried on account of the owl's large scary eyes₂ but its funny little ears₂ made them laugh again.
- 20) When the doctor gave the little boy a shot he ran crying to his parents₂ and got angry at them₂ because they₂ had told him it wouldn't hurt.
- 21) When my sister and I stayed alone in that big old house we₂ used to be scared thinking that bears would come in to eat us₂ because we₂ didn't have anyone to take care of us₂ there.

B. Translate the following (from Jacobson, Anna, 1990), repeating the name of the four people as necessary to make the English clear.

Mikellaq egmianun nanvam tungiinun piyugluni, Qalemaq-llu pulaaryugluni napatgun pian, elliin (Elnguq) maliksugluku piluni. Turpiim-llu Mikellaq maliksugluku. Qalemam-llu murilkesqellukek qalviryanek piluku.... Ilatek-llu elkek qayagaurlukek tua-i-llu tallirpilirneragnek angerlutek. Kuimararal-rianek-llu yaqulegnek tangengermek uitalluki angungnaqlukek ilatek yaa-i yualriik tekicagkek pilutek teng'inilutek taugaam nalkeksaitniluki kayangut, cali kayanguteksaitellinilriik. Elke-llu nasvillukek kayangutamegnek Qalemam piakek Mikellankuk tauna tengaa yaqulek evayarturnayukluku nerluteng utaqayugluku.

Place Names

Many, but not quite all, Yup'ik place names are analyzable or partially analyzable. For example, the Yup'ik name for Bethel, **Mamterilleq**, means 'one that had lots of caches or smokehouses' from **mamteraq** 'cache, smokehouse.' This word **mamteraq** is not at present used in the Bethel area but is still in use on the Yukon. It also appears in the Yup'ik name for Goodnews Bay, **Mamterat**. Even place names that cannot be analyzed such as **Tuulkessaaq** 'Tuluksak' are almost certainly not names from another language; they have all the phonological earmarks of Yup'ik words. This shows that in ancient days Yup'iks probably did not move into territory already occupied at that time by another ethnic group. If Southwestern Alaska had had other inhabitants when the Yup'iks arrived, one would expect their place names to have survived (even if the people and their language did not survive). One can see this in the many American place names from Indian groups, such as "Mississippi," "Massachusetts," and in Alaska "Tanana," and "Sitka."

In some cases a place name will become analyzable when one looks at another Eskimo language. To give an example, there is a place on Nunivak Island called **Qikmirtalek**. The postbase **+talek** means 'one with lots of *N*,' but the base **qikmiq** is not known in Central Yup'ik. **Qikmiq**, however, is used in Alutiiq, Siberian Yupik and Inupiaq (in the form *qinmiq*, *qipmiq* or *qimmiq*) as the word for 'dog.' The Nunivak place name **Qikmirtalek** probably dates from a time when the word **qikmiq** was used at least in that part of Central Yup'ik. The meaning of the name "Nunivak" itself can be determined from Siberian Yupik where it means 'tundra' and 'rosewort.' (The form **nunivak** is exactly the Siberian Yupik form; on Nunivak Island itself the form of the name is **Nunivaaq**.)

Exercise 24-2

Take the Yup'ik village names from the map in the Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary, determine the English equivalent of each, and analyze the Yup'ik.

Yup'ik Naming Practices

A newborn baby is given the Yup'ik name of the most recently deceased person in the community even if that person was not of the same sex. Furthermore, several newborn babies may be given the same Yup'ik name if they are all born before another death has occurred. A person who has the same name as one is one's **atellgun** 'name-sharer.' This may be the reason that the same name may be found in different, often widely separated villages, though it may also be as in English that there are just some names that are fairly common in the particular ethnic group.

Yup'ik names are sometimes common nouns as well. For example, there are people named **Arnaq** 'woman.' However, many names, for example **Tukayak**, are not analyzable. Some names are analyzable only by going outside the village where they are found. For example, there are people named **Ikusek** in lower Kuskokwim villages, where this word is "just a name," but outside this area **ikusek** is the word for 'elbow,' while in the lower Kuskokwim **cingun**, literally 'device for pushing' is used for 'elbow.'

It is thought that this is because of an old pre-Christian *naming taboo* practice. According to this theory, after a person had died his name would not be uttered until a newborn baby had received that name. If the name was also a common noun, such as a word for 'elbow,' then a new noun was coined for that thing until such time as the old word could safely be used again when the temporary coined word would be discarded. Sometimes, however, the coinage remained in use and the old formerly common noun became just a personal name. Evidence for this is that many of the nouns used only in particular areas (usually the lower Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay) where the noun used elsewhere for that thing is a person name, are descriptive word coinings as in the case of **cingun** discussed above. Also the practice of name taboo had been observed in pre-Christian times in various Eskimo communities, and the retention of substitute common nouns in the manner described above was observed in practice in East Greenland in the late 1800s.

Many Yup'ik names have the otherwise uncommon gemination pattern as in **Mecaq'aq** or **Anaq'aq**.

Yup'ik names are often shortened in use (especially when used as vocatives) so that, for example, **Tukayak**, can become **Tuka'ay** or even **Tuuk**. Also names are subject to a great deal of word-play which may involve expansion of the name with suffixes, or changing of the name to something similar sounding. Nicknames are also fairly prominent in Yup'ik culture, and sometimes English names or words get involved in the nicknaming.

An adult or older child will talk to a baby using certain made-up words or phrases which in tone at least (since they are often meaningless) express

fondness and which become unique to that baby and may be used by other adults or older children as well. The verb here is **inqaa** 'he is talking to him in this way.' Also: **inqiuq** 'he is talking to someone in this way,' **inqutaq** 'the particular made-up words or phrases used for possessor,' **ineqsunarquq** 'he (baby) is cute' (literally 'is such that it causes one want to talk to him in this way').

Exercise 24-3

Take the Yup'ik name of a person (yourself or someone else) and write a short essay in Yup'ik telling where that name came from, what its literal meaning is if that can be determined, what shortened and lengthened forms there are for that name, etc.

Words Borrowed into Yup'ik

Before the arrival of the Russians to the Yup'ik areas, the Yup'ik language probably had relatively few words "borrowed" from other languages (compared to the situation with European languages for example). There are however a number of words, mostly animal and fish names, that are borrowed from Aleut (which must be distinguished from words, called "cognates," common to Aleut and Yup'ik which go back to proto-Eskimo-Aleut times). These borrowings include **cagiq/sagiq** 'halibut,' **uginaq** 'sea lion,' **issuriq** 'hair seal,' and perhaps **issaluq** 'porcupine' (in Aleut this word means 'birds take off in flight'; if the Yup'ik word is in fact borrowed from Aleut, it could be because Yup'iks hold the belief common elsewhere as well that porcupines shoot out their quills). There are only a few Athabaskan words borrowed into Yup'ik, including **luqruuyak**, the lower Kuskokwim word for 'pike-fish,' and **nuuniq**, a word for 'porcupine' used at the mouth of the Yukon. There are four Chukchi loans from Siberia: **kalikaq** 'paper,' **qusngiq** 'reindeer' or 'sheep,' **kuingiq** 'pipe, cigarette,' and **qalqapak** 'axe.'

The Russians brought new foods, tools, articles of clothing, domestic items, religious doctrines, and domesticated animals. For these the Yup'iks generally borrowed the Russian terms. Russian loans number about two hundred, though certainly no speaker of Yup'ik uses all of them.¹ With one or two exceptions, Russian loan words in Yup'ik are only nouns, not verbs, nor particles.

The Russian words were adapted to the Eskimo sound system, for example by replacing Russian "r"s (which are like English "r"s though rolled), with **l** (as in Yup'ik **piilitsaaq** from Russian *pérets*, or **kuluvak** 'cow' from Russian *koróva*) or at the beginning of a word with **al** (as in Yup'ik **Alussistuaq** 'Christmas' from Russian *ródzhestvo*) and replacing Russian "o"s with **u** (as in Yup'ik **mulut'uuk** 'hammer' from Russian *molotók*). Russian unstressed "o" is pronounced as "a" or shwa in some, but not all, Russian dialects, and this Russian dialect situation is sometimes reflected in the Yup'ik loans (as in the two Yup'ik forms **muluk'uuk** and **malak'uuk** 'milk' from Russian *molokó*). In no case was

1. For a complete list of Russian, Athabaskan, Aleut, and Chukchi loans, see *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*, 678-89.

a Russian "loan sound" introduced into the language (as happened in Aleut and Alutiiq which now have Russian (or English) "r"s in their loan words from Russian). Vowel length and consonant gemination in the Yup'ik word was formulated so as to duplicate the stress of the Russian original where possible. This has led to a very distinctive stress pattern in Russian loan words; they tend to have long (doubled) vowels and often unusual gemination or lack of gemination, though never anything which the pre-existent phonology of Yup'ik could not handle. Examples of this are **yaassiik** 'box,' **kuluk'uunaq** 'bell,' **luuskaaq** 'spoon,' **kula'avkaa**q 'safety pin' and **kuulicaaq** 'chicken.' Some Russian loan words start with **l**, which is extremely rare in non-loan words; examples of such loan words are **laavkaa**q 'store,' and **lumarra**q 'shirt, cloth.' A number of loan words from Russian begin with **st** but for many people the Yup'ik form has acquired a voiceless barely audible **e** before the cluster, for example **estuuluq** 'table' (from Russian *stol*).

In contrast to the ready borrowing by Aleuts and Alutiiqs, hardly ever was a Russian word adopted by Yup'iks for something with which Yup'iks were familiar before the arrival of the Russians. One counter-example, however, is **uutkaa**q 'pintail duck' (from Russian *útká*) used on the Yukon.

In some cases, a new word has been coined for a new thing, rather than or in addition to borrowing a Russian word. For example, 'pencil' is **igarcuun** or **alngarcuun** (literally 'device for marking or decorating'). Pencils were introduced by the Russians, or at least while there were Russians still in Alaska after 1867, but these Yup'ik coined words are more common in most areas than the Russian loan for pencil, **kalantaaassa**q (from Russian *karandásh*). In some cases a Yup'ik word acquired a new meaning. For example, **nutek** 'gun' and **nuteg-** 'to shoot with a gun' evidently formerly referred to the explosion of a pocket of pitch in a burning piece of spruce wood.

New things introduced by Anglo-Americans after the departure of the Russians often were given coined Yup'ik words. For example, 'radio' is **niicugnissuun**, literally 'device for listening,' and 'washing machine' is **iqairissuun**, literally 'device for removing dirt,' or **ervigissuun** 'device for washing clothes.' However there are some items probably introduced as early as the Russian colonial times which now have Yup'ik names borrowed from English. An example of this is **anainessaaq** 'onion' borrowed from the English plural "onions" (the pronunciation of the loan word is thoroughly Yup'ik as shown by the reversal of **a** and **i** from **anianessaaq** which is also said and is closer to the English original). Then there is the word **piipiq** 'baby,' which is one case, at any rate, where a borrowed word is used for a thing that had been around long before Russians and Anglo-Americans arrived at the Yup'ik area! In more recent times the practice has been to borrow the English word, as for example **snuuku**q 'snow-go, snow machine,' and **tiiviiq** 'TV.'

There is a category of words used in Yup'ik which are English words that haven't been borrowed to the extent that **piipiq** or **anainessaaq** have. Their phonology has not been adjusted to Yup'ik beyond the point of adding a Yup'ik

ending and often more or less modifying the sounds in the English word, increasingly so toward the end of the word. The ending added is usually **q** for vowel-ending English words, and **aq** or **aaq** for consonant ending English words. Thus **clinic-aaq** where the final English "c" is geminated, and the first part of the word has, for some Yup'ik speakers, a more Yup'ik sound than this word has when spoken English even by the same Yup'ik speaking persons. It might be written **kelinikaaq**, although for some speaker the "cl" of the English is kept in its English pronunciation. On the other hand, **orange-aaq** is sometimes pronounced **urincaaq** where **r** is pronounced as English "r" rather than as Yup'ik **r**.

Exercise 24-4

Find a dozen English words that are borrowed into Yup'ik fairly often and determine the best way to write each of them.

Coining of Words in Yup'ik

New Yup'ik words can easily be created for new material things and institutions using postbases such as **+cuun** 'device for,' **+vik** 'place to,' **+uaq** 'pretend,' etc. In this way Yup'iks have created now common words such as **igarcuun** 'pencil, pen,' **iqairissuun** 'washing machine,' **tengssuun** 'airplane,' **calissuun kalikaq** 'Social Security card,' **misvik** 'airport, landing strip,' **kalikivik** 'post office,' **qingalriit uitaviat** 'prematernal home,' **paraluruat** 'rice' (*literally*, 'fake maggots'), **ciutnguaq** 'dried fruit' (*literally*, 'fake ear'), **yungngalnguq** 'Asiatic person' (*literally*, 'one similar to a yuk'), **qaneryaraqegtaar** 'the Bible' (*literally*, 'the good word'). In the past this has been done informally by individuals, but in recent years conferences have been held to create and fix uniform terminology for the multitude of legal, medical, technological and other devices, ideas and institutions of modern life.¹ The process of coining new words, like the process of borrowing, applies almost exclusively to nouns and not to verbs.

Exercise 24-5

Create Yup'ik words or phrases for the following:

- 1) microwave oven, 2) old-age home, 3) malignant growth, 4) passport, 5) vacuum cleaner, 6) global warming, 7) satellite, 8) video camera, 9) sexual harassment, 10) Native sovereignty, 11) ozone depletion, 12) AIDS, 13) homelessness, 14) flush toilet.

Dialects of Yup'ik

The dialect of Central Yup'ik spoken by the majority of speakers can be called *General Central Yup'ik (GCY)*. It is the dialect of the Yukon River, the Kuskokwim River, Nelson Island, the coast from Nelson Island down to and including Bristol Bay, the Nushagak River, and Lake Iliamna. GCY is the dialect dealt with in this book.

Before looking at the the *divergent* dialects of Central Yup'ik, that is, the dialects other than GCY, we shall look more closely at GCY itself.

1. See Alexie, Barnes, and Domnick, 1990.

Within GCY there are subdialects, and the division into such subdialects can be done in several ways. The Yukon often differs from the rest of GCY in lexicon. That is, there are a good number of things and actions (or states) which are described by different words in the Yukon than in other parts of GCY. (In this regard Nelson Island sometimes follows the Yukon and sometimes not.) For example, the words for 'axe,' 'head,' and 'to be sick' are **qalqapak**, **nasquq** and **nangteqe**- respectively on the Yukon, but **piqertuutaq**, **qamiquq** and **naulluu-** in most of GCY to the south of the Yukon. Within the southern part of GCY another lexical division can be made that separates the Kuskokwim and Nelson Island from Bristol Bay, the Nushagak and Lake Iliamna. In Bristol Bay and adjoining areas the words for 'pants,' 'hare' and 'to be sick' are **ulruk**, **nullutuuyak** and **qena-** respectively, while in the Kuskokwim and adjoining areas the words are **qerrulliik**, **maqaruq**, and **naulluu-**.

Another way of dividing GCY into subdialects is *core GCY vs. peripheral GCY*, where core GCY consists of the Lower Kuskokwim (downriver from Kalskag), the coast up to Nelson Island, and Bristol Bay, while peripheral GCY consists of the Yukon, the Upper Kuskokwim (Kalskag to Stony River), and Lake Iliamna. (Both Nelson Island and the Nushagak River are between core and peripheral in character.) In part, this division is lexical. For example in core GCY the words for 'tongue' and 'elbow' are **alungun** and **cingun**, while in peripheral GCY they are **uluq** and **ikusek**. But more than that, this division can be seen in the attachment pattern for certain suffixes and in certain phonological points. Thus, the consequential mood and the second contemporative mood attach differently in these two areas. So for 'because I left,' 'because I came in,' 'because I am sleeping,' and 'while I am dancing' core GCY has **ayiima**, **itrama**, **qavaama**, and **yurainanemni**, respectively, while peripheral GCY has **ayagngama**, **iterngama**, **qavarngama**, and **yurarnginanemni** for these (see Chapters 15 through 17). Also, generally (with a complicated pattern of exceptions) core GCY pronounces intervocalic **v** as in the word **maqivik** 'steambath house' like English "w," while peripheral GCY pronounces it like English "v." Also core GCY has **s** in some places where peripheral GCY has **y**, so that while core GCY says **casit** 'what are you doing' and **usuuq** 'hey you,' peripheral GCY says **cayit** and **uyuuq**.

There are four dialects of Central Yup'ik outside of GCY. These four *divergent* dialects have many more lexical and phonological points of difference from GCY (and from each other as a rule)¹ than do the subdialects of GCY from each other. Also the features that make the peripheral dialects different from GCY are quite major and far-reaching. Nevertheless, a speaker of any dialect of Central Yup'ik, GCY or divergent, can understand a speaker of another dialect though sometimes with some difficulty.

The divergent dialect of Norton Sound (NS) has two subdialects, Unaliq, spoken in Elim, Golovin and Unalakleet (all of which also have Inupiaq speaking Eskimos), and Kotlik which is less divergent from GCY than Unaliq. Unaliq NS

1. However, there are certain striking similarities between the three southern divergent dialects.

(NSU) is characterized by having many different lexical items, often cognate to words in Siberian Yupik and/or Inupiaq but not found elsewhere in Central Yup'ik. For example NSU has **macaq** for 'sun,' **nengsuq** for 'grandmother,' **manik** for 'egg,' and **cikik** for 'squirrel,' none of which are found elsewhere in Central Yup'ik, though all are found in Siberian Yupik and/or Inupiaq. Phonologically, NSU often has **s** where the rest of Central Yup'ik has **y** within a word, so that NSU says **angsaq** for 'boat,' and **nersugtua** for 'I want to eat,' while the rest of Central Yup'ik says **angyaq** and **neryugtua**.¹ Like Siberian Yupik and Inupiaq, NSU has demonstrative pronouns and adverbs with the prefix **ta(s)** corresponding to *all* the demonstratives (not just to **una** and **man'a** as in the rest of Central Yup'ik), so that it has words like **taingna** 'that very one over there,' and **taspikani** 'in that very area up above.'² Most importantly, all of NSU has a somewhat different pattern of rhythmic stress and length than the rest of Central Yup'ik (see the supplement to Chapter 1). So NSU says **páqnaksâqunâku** 'don't be curious about it,' and **cangâtenrîtua** 'I'm okay,' rather than pronouncing these words **páqnáksaqûnaku** and **cangâtenrîtua**. The NSU pattern here is midway between that of Siberian Yupik and that of the rest of Central Yup'ik. Furthermore in NSU but not Kotlik NS (NSK), hatted **e** is not dropped (the following consonant is geminated instead), so for 'I don't love him,' NSU has **kenékenrîtaqa**, Kotlik NS has **kénkenrîtaqa**, and the rest of Central Yup'ik has **kénkénritâqa**.

Hooper Bay and Chevak (HBC) constitute another divergent dialect of Central Yup'ik. This dialect also has its lexical differences from GCY (sometimes the same as Nunivak), and differs from GCY on a number of phonological points. For one thing the voiced **s** sound does not exist in HBC; **y** is used instead, so that HBC says **qaygiq** 'communal house,' and **tuyek** 'shoulder,' where GCY say **qasgiq** and **tusek**. HBC has only the "v" pronunciation for Yup'ik **v**, so it is the only area of Central Yup'ik where **qavartuq** for example, sounds like it has an English "v" in it. HBC has **meng** and **neng** for ablative-modal endings so that instead of **camek** and **canek** 'of what,' HBC says **cameng**, and **caneng**. HBC uses **ci** before an apical where other areas use **ce**, so instead of **ceña** for 'shore' and **cetaman** for 'four,' HBC has **cina** and **citaman**. HBC retains certain old initial **k** before **e**, and intervocalic **y** and **v**, dropped elsewhere in Central Yup'ik (but also retained in Nunivak). So HBC has **kentuq** 'the water's going down,' **keniraa** 'he's pointing at it,' **qiyauq** 'he's crying,' **ivarun** 'song' and **civua** 'its bow,' where elsewhere in GCY these words are: **entuq**, **eniraa**, **qiaguq**, **yuarun** and **ciunga** respectively. HBC has initial **c** in place of certain initial **y** as elsewhere, thus saying **cuvriraa** 'he examines it,' and **caquq** 'wing,' in place of **yuvriraa** and **yaquq**. In this respect HBC is similar to Nunivak. However only Chevak (and Nunivak) and not Hooper Bay says **cuk** for 'person' instead of

1. In NSU the question of **s** vs. **y** depends in part on prosodic considerations. After a stressed closed syllable, **s** is used while **y** is used after an unstressed closed syllable: **nersugyûgnarquq** 'he probably wants to eat.' This is somewhat similar to prosodic consonant weakening, a Yup'ik trait in neighboring Seward Peninsula Inupiaq (see Kaplan, 1985).

2. See Miyaoka, 1984.

yuk. (This is the reason why people from Chevak often use the word **Cup'ik** for themselves.) HBC (like Nunivak and Egegik, and like Alutiiq outside of Central Yup'ik) has a process of vowel *compression*. This process is the phenomenon whereby two vowels (like or unlike) have the length of a single vowel (though still the stress of two vowels) if followed by two consonants. Thus because of compression the HBC pronunciation of **angyaatni** 'in their boat,' sounds like **angyátni** (i.e. **angya'tni**) to other Central Yup'iks.

Nunivak (Nun) is the most divergent of all the divergent dialects of Central Yup'ik. It is often quite difficult for a speaker of GCY to understand especially the language of older Nun speakers. Lexically Nun has many words different from GCY. Sometimes these differences are the same as HBC, as for example, Nun and HBC have **tukullek** for 'foot' vs. GCY **it'gaq**. Some of the special Nun words occur in Eskimo languages outside of Central Yup'ik. Thus Nun along with Alutiiq and Siberian Yupik has **avaqutaq** for 'son,' and **tanqik** for 'moon' (vs. **qetunraq** and **iraluq** elsewhere in Central Yup'ik). Nun has its own special words such as **qiuqlak** for 'hair,' **kiiya** for 'communal house,' and **assiggluni** for 'dancing' (vs. **nuyaq**, **qasgiq**, and **yurarluni** elsewhere). Phonologically Nun shares with HBC some of those distinctive characteristics that are mentioned above in connection with HBC, except that Nun does not use **ci** instead of **ce**, nor **meng** and **neng** instead of **mek** and **nek**. Also Nun lacks initial "weak" **e** (see Chapter 4), something also characteristic of HBC but to a lesser degree. Thus, while GCY says **nek'a** and **mer'a** for 'my house' and 'its water,' HBC says **enka** and **mer'a** for these, and Nun says **enka** and **emra**. Another point is that **ai** becomes (or is pronounced) **aa** in Nun unless at the end of a word. So **cukaitut** 'they are slow' becomes (or is pronounced) **cukaatut**. Next, final **q** and final **k** become (or are pronounced as) voiceless **r** and voiceless **g** respectively, so **angyaq** 'boat' is pronounced **angyar**, and **kuik** 'river' is pronounced **kuig**. In Nun, a **v** after a consonant is pronounced like English "w": **nanwat** for **nanvat** 'lakes,' and an initial **w** is pronounced like "kw": **kwatua** for **watua** 'now.' Finally, in Nun geminated fricatives are all pronounced voiceless, so that in Nun the words **ulluat** 'knives,' **kaviat** 'foxes,' **piyuitua** 'I never do that,' **ig'ut** 'they are swallowing,' and **irua** 'his leg,' are pronounced: **ulluat**, **kavviat**, **pissuitua**, **igg'ut**, and **irrua**.¹

The fourth divergent dialect, that of Egegik (Eg), has certain characteristics akin to HBC and Nun and also (not surprisingly) to neighboring Alutiiq. Like HBC and Nun, Eg has compression; starts certain words with **ken** rather than **en**, saying, for example, **kentuq** for 'tide goes down' rather than **entuq**; lacks many weak initial **e**'s, saying, for example, **enka** 'my house' rather than **nek'a**; and has initial **c** instead of **y** on certain words, saying, for example, **caquq** for 'wing' instead of **yaquq**. EG, like HBC (and unlike Nun), has **ci** rather than **ce** before apicals, saying, for example, **citaman** for 'four' rather than **cetaman**. Lexically Eg shares certain peculiarities with Nun, having, for example, **puqlaneq** for 'sun' rather than **akerta**, and **mac'utaq** for 'dog salmon' rather than **iqalluk**,

1. For more on these dialects, see *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*, 28-37.

kingitneq, or **aluyak**. The Egegik dialect seems to be that which is known as Aglurmiut (or Aglegmute) from 19th century accounts, in which the Aglurmiut are often placed on the Alaska Peninsula, where the village of Egegik is found, and are often linked with Alutiiq, Nunivak and sometimes Chevak as well.¹

Connected Reading for Chapter 24

In the following story all words of dialects other than that of the Lower Kuskokwim have the symbol # written after them; one should look them up in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary* if necessary. Dialect variants in pronunciation or word formation are not so indicated. Vowel compression is shown by italicizing the vowels involved; non-geminated **v** between single full vowels that sounds like English *v*, rather than English *w*, have a dot under it (**v̇**); and rhythmic length and automatic gemination that differs from the standard Central Yup'ik prosody is shown with "hats."

Keep a running list of the characters in this story and where each comes from.

June-am-gguq nalliini allrakuaqan Piicikam elitnauqalriit² ilaliraqekai tamaani Mamterillerni. Ilai-gguq taukut elitnauqalriit caliangqerraqluteng caliakucianek³ Piicikam. Taukut-gguq ilakeqerluki elitnauqerqami Cev'armek, Neviarcaurlurmek, Mikuryamek, Aleknaqirmiunek,⁴ cali-llu Negeqlirmek taigaqluteng. Tua-i-gguq allamiaqan Piicikam kelgaqluki nem'inun. Iliit-gguq-wa taukut Cev'armiu Piicikam aiparnikekii⁵ aterluni Akallermek.

Tua-i-am Akallrem Piicikaq qanercuutellruluku taivailegmi tamaavet Mamterillernun Cev'armiucetun qalarrluni. Piicikaq Akallrem pillinikii, "Tamaani enevni cali qavartarayugtua. Assikekevneng avgitneng aqevyiutma#, cali-llu kavlakuarautma# taiteciqamken. Cameng-llu cali pisqessit? Uumi-am citamaneng-llu uika maklagneng pitliniluni-llu, cali tamakut kemgitneng piyukuvet cali taiteciqamken. Cali-llu al'qaqa uumi negillermi aqeygitliniluni#, taum-llu cikirlua citamaneng negaqengamineng. Cameng piyukevneng qanruskia ai?" Tua-i-llu Piicikam pilliniluku piyullrinek tua-i taicesqelluku. Tua-i-llu-am qanercuuterraarcelluku umyuarteqengluni ciuqlirmi nallunriutellermegnek tamaani elitnauryaumallermini avani kass'ani. Ngel'allalallruluni canek Akalleq qalarnginanrani. Elliini tuar piciatun qalartelallrulria. Iliini-llu ellii qalarnginanrani Akalleq ngel'allalallruluni. Elliin piaqluku, "Casit, ciin ngel'arcit?" Ellii-llu Akallrem piaqluku, "Cayit, ciin nenglarcit?"

Piicikaq-llu utercimariluku calivianek Neviarcaurlurmium Charlie-m qayagauruluku. Qanercuun Piicikam kiullerminiu qam'um⁶ Charlie-m kiugaa,

1. Nelson, E. W., *The Eskimo About Bering Strait*. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1899 [reprint 1983 Classics of Smithsonian Anthropology]), 516-517.

Oswalt, Wendell H., *Alaskan Eskimos*. (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967), 4-5.

2. **elitnauqar-** = 'to receive training.'

3. **-kuciq** = 'one like N.'

4. plural because place names having the form 'people of —,' are plural.

5. **aiparnike-** = 'to consider as a good companion, to have as a friend.'

6. **qam'um** is used as if Charlie is 'inside' the phone.

"Piicik', ak'a tekítua. Cangacít?" Piicíkaq-llu piluni, "Assirtua. Elpesmi qaill' ayuqsít?" Charlie-m-llu kíulukú, "Cangâtenrítua. Ukut-am tukunka^{#1} nersulle²nek² pirraarlúa egangut[#]." Tua-i-llu cali qalaruqaarlutek Piicikam kelegluku Charlie. Aipaqsunqerragu-llu³ Charlie-m Alaqnaqirmiu, Mik'aq, Piicíkaq umyuarteqluni kelegnaluku tauna. Piluku-llu Charlie Mik'aq qanercuuteqan qanrucesqelluku ellinun kelegniluku apiatami unuaqu.

Tua-i-llu unuaquani elitnaurraarluteng apiatarnarian Piicikam ut'rullukek taukuk kelellregni. Tauna-llu Akalleq tamaani eniini uitiimi cali ilaulluni. Tua-i-llu Piicikam eniini Mik'aq itrameng piluni, "Natmun-mi ullirtaaqa[#] una pilaku?" Tua-i-llu Piicikam piluku, "Tuavet agarrvigmun qacarnermi⁴ uitalriamun agaresgu." Tua-i-llu-am cali Charlie-m piluku, "Una-m' uġii pal'tuuka natmun pili?" Tua-i-llu Piicikam piluku, "Tuavet Mik'am paltuugan canianun agaresgu." Tua-i-llu Akallrem ikayurluku Piicíkaq neqkanek paivcillrani. "Una-llu-qa aqevyilek[#] akutaq pili? Cameng-mi ayuciqesta? Cugg'alíneng?" Tua-i Piicikam piaqluku piciatun paivcisqelluku. Tua-i-llu estulumun pisqenġatke^k Mik'ankuk, Charlie-llu, Charlie piluni, "Nersukapigpaa! Iluka-ll'man'a nalersingluni[#]." ⁵Tua-i-llu Piicikam piluki taukut, "Tua-i neryug-tacirpecetun nerkici." Akallrem-llu tamaani nek'ellriatun tamana ayuqluni uitaaqami pilaami cali ellimerturlukek, "Waniwa-llu cali kiak ceg'anka neqerrlugyukuvet. Piicik', caayirima^{ur}qatartua. Caskat, caarralaq-llu cali tuanetut." Tua-i-llu nernginanermini Mik'aq piluni, "Aren, natmun ima imna missuuk elliqallrukeka? Uu, yaa-i. Piicik', kinengyiit⁶ assikelaavki cikirnaluten malillruunga." ⁷Tua-i-llu tuaten qanrraarluni missuuk aqvarraarluku tunluku Piicikamun. Piicíkaq-llu egmianun nerluni cikiutminek quyavikraarluku Mik'aq. Taqngameng-llu nernernek agluteng elitnauryarluteng Piicikam calivianun. Agnginanermeggni-llu Mik'am Piicíkaq piluku, "Ulrugpeni-lli[#] assirpaa." Piicíkaq-llu piluni, "Aipaagni ayuqegkegnek pingqertua cali atuqsailkemnek. Asnguaryartuqikek qaku." Mik'aq-llu piluni qaku asnguaryar-turciqnílukek. Tekipailegmeng-llu calivianun Piicikam, Charlie piluni, "Maciqan[#] unuaqu ikavet neqlillernun Iliam angsarluni cin'artursar-tuucugaanga[#]. Cin'artursulria-llu kina kelgesqelluku." Tunriyuilami-llu Piicíkaq egmianun qanerluni tepturyukapiarangniluni maliguciiqníluⁿⁱ. Ukuk-llu ilak cali maligucuglutek qanerlutek. Tua-i-llu Piicikam itlermeggni caliviminun tangrramiu Lynn-aq, Negeqlirmiu, egmian ullagluku piluku, "Atakutaryartuqina nemni ataku." Lynn-am-llu piluku, Nunivaarmiucetun

1. This word, used only in the northern regions of Central Yup'ik, appears in **tukuu-** 'to be rich' (Chapter 20), literally, 'to be a **tukuq**.'

2. **nersulle²nek** = ; in Y and NS the **-lleq** is used in place of **@:(u)ciq** for 'condition with respect to V-ing' (see Chapter 20).

3. **@~+yungqerr-** = 'to like to V.'

4. **qacarneq** = 'wall.'

5. **(e)leryir-** = 'to have rumbling air in ones intestines.'

6. **kinengyak** = 'dried meat.'

7. **malig-** = 'to take or bring along something.'

qalarrnguarluni, "Kwiinga ak'a kelelqaatnga Iliankut, kua." Piicikam-llu piluku, "Qaill' pisit? Picingsagstuten-qaa?" Tua-i-llu Lynn-am piluku Piicikaq, "Qaang picingsanritua." Piicikam-llu piluku, "Unuaqu-qaa An'gilaq-llu apiatami neryarturyugtutek?" Lynn-am-llu piluku, "Camek nerciqseci?" Piicikaq-llu kavingallagluni, umyuarateqluni, "Qaill' neqkanka-q'¹ uum assiilkelarai." Waten-llu piluku, "Camek-mi elpet neryugcit?" Lynn-aq-llu piluni, "Canrituq, kavinga'arcuavet, tuaten ilangciaralaramken." Tua-i-llu tuaten qanqanrakun² An'gilaq tailuni canianun-llu Lynn-am aqumluni. Tua-i-llu qanerluni, "Kwaq'a Piicik'?" Piicikaq-llu qanerluni, "Waqaa. Uu³ unuaqu tang apiatami neryartuqitek Lynn-aq-llu?" An'gilaq-llu kiuluni, "Aang, quyaluanga[#] neryarturciqiartua kua." Tua-i-llu tuaten qanqanrakun elitnauristiit iterluni.

Tua-i-llu unuaquani Piicikami apiatarluteng, atakutarnarian-llu Iliamun agluteng neqlillranun qerauteqatallruateng tepturyartuulluki. Tekicameng-llu mayurraarluku ekvik tagluteng kiturluku-llu ellivik. Tua-i-llu Iilia erurirraarluni tepnek, taliciviim caniani nerevkarluki ellait. Tua-i-llu Lynn-aq, nerrlermeggni neqerrlugnek qanerluni, "Seg'aq tauna qaurtuq[#] taiteqerru An'gill'." An'gilaq-llu piluni, "Una-qaa kua? Kwiinga tang cauciiikeka qaurtur." Lynn-aq-llu piluni, "Ii-i tauna." Tua-i-llu An'gilam tunrraarluku akakiik Lynn-amun, apluku Mik'aq "Irrua-im irniavet caniken kua?" Tua-i-llu Mik'am kiuluku, "Uumi qenatmi[#] nalliini irua puvqercaaqellruuq,⁴ cunaw tang palayami[#] kamilarmi tarrartellermini cukitellrullinilria." An'gilaq-llu piluni, "Aa, qiuqlain-llu[#] illait meqellruniluki⁵ qanellrungatuten, kua?" Mik'am-llu kiuluku, "Nuyai carraat⁶ meqellruut-llu." Tua-i-ll'-am elcirvagarraarluni Lynn-am Iilia quyavikluku, "Quyanaqvaa-lli tepturcellua Iill'. Naw-am qalqapiin[#]? Maqilitnaumci."⁷ Tua-i-llu Iilia piluni, "Yuurqerraarluta tauḡaam equiqina. Yaa-i tangpiqertuutaq." Tua-i-llu nererriameng⁸ maqirraarluteng taqsuqluteng uterrluteng.

Tua-i-llu elitnauqanriameng taukut Piicikam ilai uterrluteng nuna-meggnun. Piicikaq-llu caliq tara'arluni⁹ elisnganruqerrnganani¹⁰ tauḡaam allamirmi.

1. **neqkanka-q'** is short for **neqkanka-qaa**.

2. **qanrakun** = 'as soon as he/she spoke' (see Note C in the supplement to Chapter 18).

3. This is a "false start."

4. **puve-** = 'to swell up.'

5. **meqe-** = 'to come out (of hair), to shed.'

6. **carraat** = 'a few' (see Chapter 19 for the postbase).

7. shortened form of **maqilitnauramci** 'let me prepare a steambath for you_{pl}'; the **t** is the postbase **@:(u)te-** 'to V for with or for'; see Chapter 22 concerning the postbase **@~+naur-**.

8. from postbase **-nrir-** 'to cease V'ing' (Chapter 19) and the consequential mood meaning 'when.'

9. **-qtarar(ar)-** = 'to V slowly and with difficulty.'

10. **elisnganruqerrnganani** consists of base **elite-**, postbases **@nga-**, **-nru-**, **-qerte-**, **@~+ngate-**, and ths subordinative ending **@nani**.

Old Orthographies for Yup'ik

The writing system, or orthography, for Yup'ik used in this book was created by linguists and native speakers of Yup'ik at the University of Alaska Fairbanks in the late 1960s. It has now become the standard way to write Yup'ik, but older writing systems are still used by some Yup'iks. Writing in those older systems can be seen in old books and manuscripts.

Russian Orthodox missionaries created the first writing system for Yup'ik basing it on a system which Ivan Veniaminoff, a Russian Orthodox missionary, created for Aleut. The Russian system for writing Yup'ik uses Cyrillic (Russian) letters augmented by diacritics. Hats or hooks on the letters for **k**, **g**, **gg**, and **n** yield symbols for **q**, **r**, **rr**, and **ng**. Several small prayerbooks in the Russian system were published by the Russian Orthodox church, but only in 1896, twenty-nine years after Russia had sold Alaska to the United States. These prayerbooks can still be found in some villages, and there are still older Yup'iks who can read (and perhaps write) in that system (see page 218).

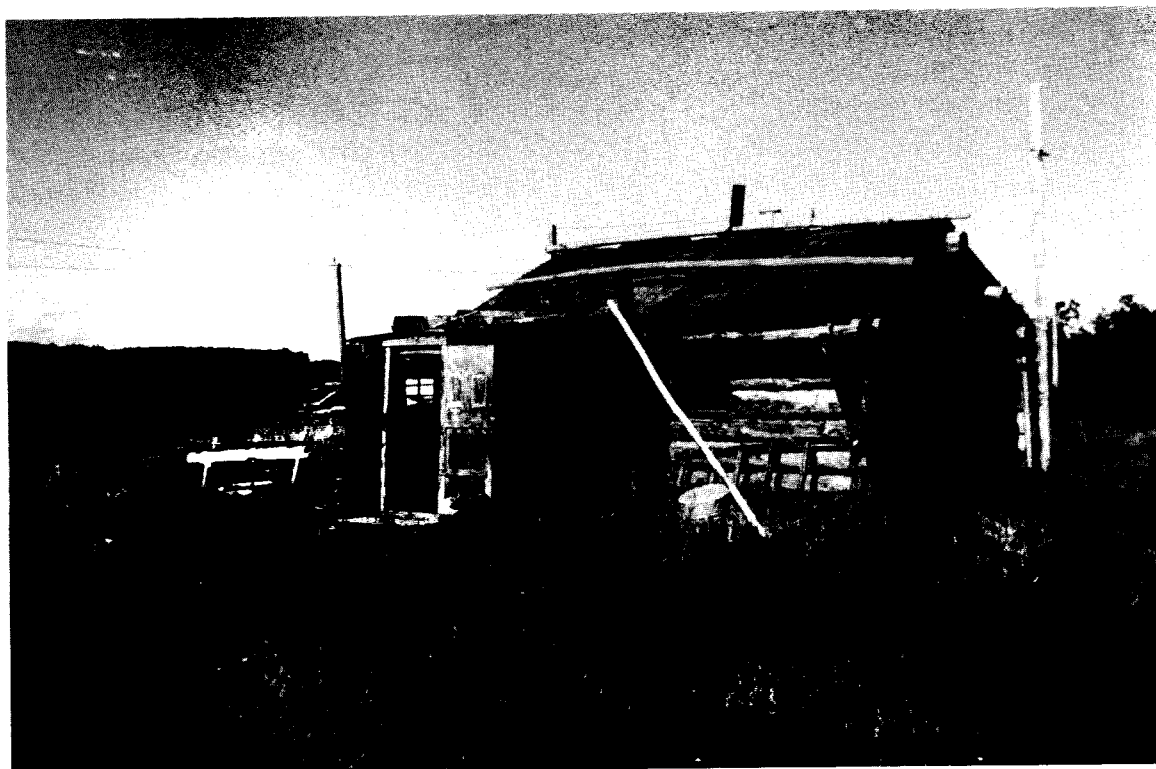
The other two main missionary groups that worked among the Yup'iks, that is, the Moravian Protestants and the Roman Catholics, also had writing systems in which they printed prayer books, and — in the case of the Moravians — Bible translations. These writing systems use Roman letters sometimes with diacritics. The Moravian system was adapted from the Kleinschmidt system for Greenlandic Eskimo, and the Catholic system, though developed separately, was similar (see page 218). Actually there were at least two Catholic systems, one on Nelson Island and one on the Yukon, and the Moravian system went through some changes over the years. These missionary writing systems rarely differentiated **k** from **q** consistently, did not adequately deal with the vowel **e** nor with rhythmic length or automatic gemination. Nor, for that matter, were these writings systems internally consistent; a word would be written one way in one place and a slightly different way in another place. Even so, a number of people learned to read and write Yup'ik in these systems, using them not only for religious purposes but also for writing public announcements, recording the minutes and determinations of village councils, and for writing letters back and forth (see page 286). I do not know of any cases where these writing systems were used for diaries, nonfiction, or creative writing, though there may be some such somewhere. There are still many people who can read and write in the Moravian and Catholic systems.

A very interesting development was the creation of first a form of hieroglyphic or picture-writing by a Yup'ik lay preacher in the Moravian church by the name of Uyaquq (or Helper Neck). He soon changed his writing into a true phonetic system using symbols he had devised himself for the sounds of the Yup'ik language. This happened in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Uyaquq wrote many pages of Bible translations and other Christian religious material in his system (see page 135). A few pages of non-religious material — personal accounts of activities — also exist. He also taught his writing system to others, but it was eventually superseded by the Moravian system using Roman letters. Recently

several Yup'iks have studied and learned to use Uyaquq's system.

In addition to the religious material published in the older writing systems, a Catholic priest, Francis Barnum, and a Moravian missionary, John Hinz, each wrote and published grammars of Yup'ik using their own writing systems.

The orthography used in this book was devised to rectify the shortcomings of the earlier systems, to accurately represent the language, and to be easy to learn and use. Moreover, it provides a unified single system for the whole Central Yup'ik language area while using as far as possible the good points of each church orthography without favoring one of them to the exclusion of the others. The modern orthography has been used in government announcements, in several periodicals (no longer published), in several collections of stories, in a work of non-fiction about pre-Christian Yup'ik religious ceremonies, in a novel written in Yup'ik, in dictionaries, grammar books, and in many children's books that are used in the local schools. All three major Christian sects with adherents among Yup'iks have gone over to the new writing system. Yup'ik children in schools in the Yup'ik area learn only the new system.



Log house in Marshall, 1968. The roof is made from flattened oil drums. The recycling of manufactured materials — oil drums into stoves and rooves, saws into *uluat*, printed cotton flour sacks into *qasperet*, burlap bags into boot liners — has been a feature of Yup'ik life since these materials first appeared in the area. Photo by Steven A. Jacobson.

Exercise 24-6

The following Yup'ik passage is from John Hinz' Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language as spoken by the Kuskokwim and Southwest Coast Eskimos of Alaska. Transcribe it into the new Yup'ik writing system with suitable punctuation and be prepared to translate. (The original is not punctuated.)

kiagame yuitlkumun ayatlrûnga toitlo takûkamik tangertua nutigalukotlo
tsioKtleramik matlerorkugunik ayagalunetlo ayêntlo ve maligtluoko napat
iluatnun tanginkigtluoko tshanîmun nutigalukotlo atautserkumik toitlo napat
iluatne nangertlune tshorûkarânga tshorûkânga tikipailigan atautserkumik
nutigaluko tikitshangatlo avîtluko avîtshamnetlo igimianun kitoralune
kituangatlo nutigaluko atautserkumik taîma ayagalune toitlo toKûyuktluoko
tshale maligtinkigtaka toKûnayuktluoko táma ingerim katsharnerânun
mayortoK napalilerânun tshanigililerâmuntlo toitlo toine vîngatlo mayortua
kingûnerâkun toitlo toine ingerim katsharnerânik utertekatariyâkua aKerta
tiveriniarâ toitlo utertekatarrâralua itlma ayagtua vakin Kutleraminik takûka
nangertok nangertshantlo nutigaluko tshale atautserkumik toi taigartlune
tshale tsioKtleramik avîtaka toitlo aipâne kitskartoK vanganun toine vînga
eKûnga nartlua eKûtsimtun táma takûkam Kiggânga niptleralune tshaknaK
tshale aipâne Kigginkigtânga tshale pingayuagane KameKumkun
unatimkuntlo Kiggânga toitlo atlamik tshatstokûtailama Agaiyun kîngan
tshatstokûtikngamko toKtloraka atamnik tshaprilûtsianiktlo una takûka
pinilera takifkasktlûko toitlo Kânerutsimtun takûka arûlaertoK piktlerkane
tshaperkilerâtstun ayoktlune toitlo unîkatshuakaralune toi ayagtoK
pingayorkunikto kingiaralune tangivagaktlua ilûmun Agaiyutim toine
tshaprilûtsia tshale natlunaitoK takûka tauna arûlaertoK Agaiyutim atra
toKtlûtsimtun ilûmun pitsiokapigtok.

toitlo ayên maktua magun timimkun kileriyuktlua taugam erûmikun
kilerânga unatimkuntlo KameKumkuntlo toitlo toikin utertua itlauralua
taugam tshukaitkapigtlua toitlo tikitlua tuntuligit neKshoriarâtnun taugam
yugtáitoK toivittlo arûlaeralua ayagstsîgalama unugpaktlo toine uítalua unuam
ertlerkâ tungînun ertshantlo matleruk yûk tikitâninga yuaralua takûkamun
taKûtshuktlua toitlo vînga Kanértua toKûtîneritânga taugam kileralua
ikaiumâner itlkuma toKûtsharânga toikintlo ayagiyugtua mamterîtlagamun
yungtsharistmun Kusiguasktlua toitlo ayagalua tikitshamatlo tikiutsimtun
yungtsharistim aulukânga auluktluatlo asheritlerkamnun ngilînun.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER 24

Vocabulary Notes and Alternative Vocabulary

- #1 In addition to **allragni** for 'last year,' there is **allami** which also means 'in another location.'
- #2 In addition to **allraku** for 'next year,' there is **allamiku**.
- #3 **Auluke-** 'to take care of' is one of a number of words having the general meaning of 'to take care of, to watch over, to look out for.' Others are **cumike-**, **qaunqe-**, **nayur-**, **kellute-** and **murilke-**. Not all areas use all these words, and they have various shades of meaning in different places.
- #4 Instead of **ellivik**, literally 'place to put,' for 'cache,' **qulvarvik** also in K and in BB, NR, and LI, **elagyaq** in Can, and NI, and **mamteraq** in Y and NS are used, with some of these words appearing at some distance from their supposed center of use as given here.
- #5 Instead of **ekvik** for 'cut bank of river, cliff,' NSU, NI, Nun, and Can use **peñaq**, and Can Eg, and LI use **igcerneq**. Some people use **ekvik** for 'cut bank of river' and **peñaq** or **igcerneq** for 'cliff.' Despite appearances, the word **ekvik** does *not* come from **eke-** 'to get in(to a boat)' and **@-+vik** 'place to V.' This lack of a connection can be established by looking at other Eskimo languages, and in fact a cut bank of a river is a very poor place from which to get into a boat!
- #6 Instead of **iggiayuli** some people use **anipa** for 'owl,' and some use both words for different kinds of owls.
- #7 **Ingqiliq** 'Indian' is apparently from **ingqiq** 'louse nit,' giving evidence to the former often poor relations between these groups (and the same word as "Itqiliq" is used by Eskimos in Canada and Greenland). Nevertheless there was some cultural exchange between Yup'ik and other Eskimos and Athabaskan Indians.
- #8 In addition to **irr'i-** for 'to be amazed,' there is the emotional root **iilla-** as in **iillayugtuq** 'he is amazed, **iillakaa** 'he is amazed at it,' and **iillanarquq** 'it is amazing,' also the emotional roots **iirra-**, and **ira-**, with this meaning.
- #9 The particle **kesianek** 'always' is from **keyir-** 'only, alone' (used in the quantifier/qualifier construction, and more commonly occurring as **kii-**) and the possessed ablative-modalis construction. See Chapter 19 supplement for more on this.
- #10 Instead of **maklak** there is **tungunquq** in NI for 'bearded seal.'
- #11 **Putilekaaq** 'bottle' is from Russian; there are several slightly different pronunciations.
- #12 Instead of **quagciq**, there is **aatunaq** in HBC, **quunarliq** in NSK and UK, and **civassiq** in Nun and Eg.
- #13 **Sugg'aliq/cugg'aliq** 'cracker, pilot bread' is from Russian. For those who don't know, "pilot bread" refers to a certain type of substantial crackers long popular in Alaskan villages.
- #14 Instead of **talicivik**, literally, 'place for making shade,' basically originally meaning 'shaded fish drying rack,' for 'smokehouse,' some people use **puyurqivik** or **puyurcivik**, literally 'place for smoking things,' or **mamteraq**, which also means 'cache.'
- #15 **Taqsuqe-** 'to be tired' expresses any kind of tiredness, while **mernur-** refers especially to physical exhaustion.
- #16 Instead of **teggalquq** for 'stone,' Y (below Pilot Station) and NS use **ciimaq**, Nun and Eg use **siimaq**; in HBC and UK **tegalquq**, with voiced **g**, is used.
- #17 **Tulukaruk** 'Raven,' as creator, is the subject of many Yup'ik stories. The tradition is shared by Chukchis and other Siberian natives, by Alaskan (but not Canadian or Greenlandic Eskimos), and by Athabaskan and other Indian groups (going down as far as South America (!), according to one authority). It is not clear (to this writer at least) which group originated the Raven stories.
- #18 **Tungulleralria** 'Black person' is from **tungu-** 'to be black.' Other words for the same are **Tungupak**, from the same base, and **Taaqsipak**, from an Inupiaq word for 'black,' and **Akertem Aciarmiu**, literally, 'one from beneath the sun.'

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

(These readings have some words that are not in the glossary of this book but can be found in the Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary.)

Cetugpak

This is a traditional story from Nunapitchuk told by Marie Nick of that village. It is reprinted from Cetugpak, published by the Eskimo Language Workshop.

Atam-gguq taukuk maurlurluqellriik uitaaqellriik. Maurlurluan-gguq inerqurqekii tutgara'urluni cangraan pingraan kuigem akiani canegpagnun pulaqaasqevkenaku.

Unuakut-gguq iliitni tutgarrluk iqvaryaqli kuigem akianun. Iqvainanermini-gguq paqnayungekili catangqerrucianek canegpiit iluat. Iqvarluni-gguq canegpiit tungiitnun ayagturqili.

Maaten-gguq tekитай makut tumyarat tayima canegnun pulamaluteng. Uitauraqeryaaqerraarluni-gguq umyuartequq pulaqerraarluni egmian uternaluni. Tua-i-ll' tumyarat maligqurluki ayalliniluni. Ayainanrani-gguq can'get angliriinarluteng.

Tua-i-llu gguq ciunranek aruvagtangkili, qulmun puyua ayagluni. Ciuneqluku-gguq puyuuq ayakili. Paqnayullermini-gguq utertellerkani nalluyagulluku ayakili puyum ngelii tekilluku.

Tekitaa-gguq maaten necuar.

Tua-i-llu-gguq piqataarturluni kiarqurluni mayulliniluni necuarmun. Kangrani-gguq egalerkun uyangtuq maaten kan'a arnassagaq aqumgalria, cetuminek naanguarluni. Cetui-gguq takpiat.

Arnassaagaam-gguq taum nepaiteqapiarallrungraan qayagpakiliu atrarluku itresqelluku. Atrarluni-gguq tua-i tauna tutgarrluk itliniluni.

Itran-gguq nerevkaqiliu egaamek. Nernginanrani-gguq tauna arnassagaq cetuminek naanguarturqili.

Tua-i-llu-gguq tan'gaurllurraq itqerreskili. Itrami-gguq qenreskili neryugyaaqluni. Pingraan taum arnassagaam qatpautaqluku nerngaitniluku.

Tua-i-ll' tan'gaurlluq tayima anqerreskili elaturrami neqmek nerqatarniluni. Anqercan-gguq arnassagaam malirqerluku tayima.

Tua-i-llu-gguq cakma tan'gaurlluq qalervakili aarpagaqluni.

Tua-i-llu-gguq tayima nepairluni. Arnassagaq itqili, ataam-llu aqumluni. Tauna-gguq tutgarrluk alingengkili.

Tua-i-llu-gguq yuqercuguaqili. Arnassagaam-gguq pia, "Ataki tumamnun qurri."

Tutgarrruum kiugaa, "Aa-aa, kiika-wa tumamnun qurrneq nallukeka."

Arnassagaam-gguq cali pia, "Ataki piluguma iluanun qurri."

Tutgarrruum kiugaa, "Aa-aa, kiika-wa, pilugumun qurrneq nallukeka."

Arnassagaam-gguq cali pia, "Ataki kenillermun qurri."

Tutgarlluom kiugaa, "Aa-aa, kiika-wa, kenillermun qurruq nallukeka."

Arnassaagaq-gguq taqsuqaarcami pia nem ciuqerranun yuqercesqelluku egmian taugaam itresqelluku.

Tutgarlluk-gguq an'uq maaten elaturrami imna tan'gaurllurraq tuqumaluni aluuyam iluani.

Anngami-gguq naqugutni qilqanirluku iqvani-llu teguqerraarluki aquaqulliniluni kingutmun.

Tua-i-llu-gguq aquaquinanrani kingunranek kitngigtanglliniluni waten: tum, tum, tum. Maaten-gguq kingutmun cauqertuq imna arnassagaq. Arnassagaq-gguq qimugtetun pangalegluni, cetuni-gguq nengqertaqluki tutgarlluk tekicarpiaqramiu.

Tua-i-llu-gguq tutgarlluk kuigem ceñiinun tekiarrluni. Tekituq-gguq kuigem akiani ikna qangqiiq.

Tua-i-llu-gguq qanrutliniluku arnassagarmun malirqerniluni. Qangqiirem-gguq taum it'gani nenglluki qerarcetliniluku.

Akianun-gguq elliami qangqiiq qanrutaa arnassagaq qerarcetesqelluku, taugaam qanrulluku qukaanun elliqan igcetesqelluku.

Arnassagaq-gguq tekicami qayagpagaluni maruaralliniluni qeraucesqelluni.

Qangqiirem-gguq it'gagni nengllukek qerarcetaa, qukamun-llu-gguq ellian irucualleraagni nucugarllukek, arnassagaq-llu-gguq tayima kill'uni.

Tua-i-llu-gguq avelngaagat puguraluteng mermi. Cunawa-gguq arnassagaam ungilai.

Tutgarlluom-gguq taum kinguakun maurlurlluom alerquutai niisngauranglliniluki.

Tua-i!

Mingqun Tamalleq

This story was transcribed by Francis Barnum, a Catholic priest, who lived on Nelson Island for eight years beginning in 1891. This particular story is probably from the mouth of the Yukon River. Barnum's transcription is on page 194. Here it is retranscribed in the modern orthography.

Tutgara'urluqellriik uitalriik. Tutgara'urlungqerrluni tan'gaurlurmek, mingqutengqerrlutek-gguq. Taugken ataucimek mingqutengqerrlutek tamaqauvkenaku.

Tua-i-llu-gguq cat iliitni maurlurlua cellamqaciug.

Tua-i-llu-gguq cellamqaciinanrani tutgara'urluan atkullrani allgurpakaan, maurlurlumi kakivii teguluki, atkullrani mingqaa.

Tua-i-llu mingeqnginanermi mingqutem im'um ellicia nalluyagutaa. Yuaryaaqaa. Nataqenritaa. Nataqenrilamiu tutgara'urlua imna manussuugtuq. Manussuuggnginanrani maurlurlua itertuq.

Tua-i-llu tutgara'urluni pia, "Manussuugpakarcit!"

Tua-i-llu kiugaa, "Tua-i-wa alainiurpakaama manussuugtellianga."

Tua-i-llu-gguq ugtuq. Ugcami kameksallraagni yuugak, qanerluni, "Kameksall'erqa kan'a allgurpakartuq, mingqeqeryaqeka." Tua-i-llu kakivini tegui, tua-i-llu tegumiaqai; angitai. Angiqeryaaqai, mingquteurlua imna tayima! "Nauwa? Kiiki taisgu!"

Tua-i-llu kiugaa, "Atkull'erqa allgurpakaan mingqaaq. Mingeqnginanemni ellicia nalluyagutaqa."

"Tutgara'urlumkutagaq. Angu! Cagmarciqenrituq. Kiingan mingqutkapuk. Natmun cagmarciu? Cagmallerpeni ik'ikika yuaru!"

Tua-i-llu yuaraak. Yuaryaaqekiik; nataqenritaak. Uigyaaquk tua-i wanirpak nataqutenrituk.

Tutgara'urlurluni imna kiituani nunungaa, "Kiiki! Patagmek!"

Nataqesqelluku uigyaaquk. Kiituani imna tan'gaurlurluni tenglugaa nataqusngairucamek.

Tutgara'urlua nekayugtuq. Qiaurlurluni an'uq. Maaten an'uq, atakuuluni. Maaten niicugniug. Amaken qasgimek atulriamek niituq. Ullagaa, maaten qasgimun uyangtuq cat kankut atulriit, imna minquteurluak apallirluku. Maaten uyangtuq, qasgim natrani yucuayagaat unku puallalriit, mingqutnek ayarurluteng; akngirnailitanek nacangqerrluteng amllertuteng.

Tua-i-llu-gguq itertuq. Aarpautekluki, yucuayagaat imkut kelutmun cuukcautut imkut ayaruteng mingquteteng uniarrluki. Mingqutnek avurtuq kenini muirluku tamalkuita. Tua-i nangengamiki an'uq. Maurlurluni ullagaa.

Maaten itertuq cali un'a maurlurlua im'umek mingqutmek tamallermek yualria. Tua-i-llu puguciatun pia, "Tutgara'urlucilleraaq! Mingqutpuk imna patagmek nataqiu. Kiingan pikapuk."

Tua-i-llu tutgara'urlua kiavartuq maurlurlumi-llu ketiinun mingqutet imkut katalurrluki. Maurlurlua imna arenqialkili quyaluni imkunek mingqut'ngamek tua-i! Mingeqsaaqluuget mingqai. Tamariaqamek allanek cimiraqluki tua-i mingqut'ngamek.

Tuantaqliuk.

Angun Aklanqurrutngurtelleq

This story was told by Agnes Hootch, a speaker of the NSK (Norton Sound - Kotlik) dialect of Yup'ik. It was collected and retranscribed by Martha Teeluk. The word aklanqurrun means 'weasel.'

Tava-i-llu-gguq-am taikut nunat uitalliniut kuigem ceñiini. Ingringqerrluni-gguq paug̃na keluat. Kuigata-ll' tamana ceñii uqvigangqerrluni taug̃aam marauluni paug̃na keluat. Tava peketnaqluni tamaani.

Tava-llu uksumainanrani uksut iliitni tauna angutet iliit ayalliniluni qayuqegglicurluni. Ayagluni tumcilliniluni qayuqegglimex, tamaa ciungani eglertelliniluni.

Tava-llu tumaikun eglerrluni, tumai tamakut picirtaangelliniluteng, yuc'ungaurtaqluteng-llu tumain ingluit, ingkut-llu ciuqliit yul'inraurtaqluteng. Ukut-llu kinguqliit yul'inraurtaqluteng. Tavatellengraan maligtelliniluku, waniwa-gguq tekiteqatarqani, pitgaqatarqani ayakarnaurluq. Ernerpak, erenret taklingenratgun, maligcimaluku, cukairulluni-gguq ava-i arulairluni utaqanauraa. Tekiteqatarqani-gguq pitgarnariaqatarqani-gguq ayakarnaurluq. Mernung'ermi taum angutem maligtelliniluku, tava pitaqsuamiu, pitaqsug-saaqngamiu. Mernucillranek-llu cumilnguluni pitaqevkenaku utercuumiilami.

Tava-ll' caqerluni erneq man'a iquklitqatalliniluni, taamlegeqatalliniluni. Tavaten picirtaariinarluteng ukut tumai yul'inraurtaqluteng ingluit, ingluit-llu qayuqegglinirauluteng. Alikevkenaku-ll' tavatellengraan maliggluku. Tava-llu caqerluni taamlegilliniluni, imkut alaiilluaqanrirluteng tumet maligtellri.

Kiarrluni ciunermini pilliuq naniq amna. Tava-llu pilliuq, "Kingunemnun tekiteqatarngatua wiinga. Yaaqvanun ayallruyuklua."

Ullagluku maaten tekitaataucirraq tauna ena. Tupiganek-gguq canegnek amingqetullratni, tamakut akuliitgun qinertaa kiavet, neviarcaq kiugna egkumi caliuralria. Iirpauluni, qercurpak-gguq tuarpiaq. Camun pivkenani caliuralria. "Iterciqellrianga mernulrianga; tatamtengramku-llu." Itliuq.

Tava-ll' iterngan waqaallia, "Waqaa, aqelqat?"

"Ii-i, ernerpak-wa pekquralrianga qayuqegglimex maligtellrianga unukaqiinga."

"Qavartaaraa; unuaqu eruskaten uterrniartuten. Nerurarraarluten inarrniartuten."

Neqkainek cikilliniluku canek ayuqenrilngurnek. Nerurarraarluni inartellriami tayima qavalliuq. Qavarsugluni camek nalluluni, qavarsugngina-nermini alqunarmek tupalliuq ak'a-ll' tanqigilliuq.

Tava-llu pillia tauna tukuni, "Cakneq-lli wangni qavallinivaa; tanqigilliuq ak'a."

"Mernuavet-wa pillilriaten pekcimalliniavet."

"Ii-i."

"Kitak, anevkenak nerkina, nererrarluten aneniartuten."

Tava pisquciatun ner'lliniluni. Kuuvviartunritliria. Nerevkalliniluku.

Nerurarraarluni taqngami cellii-gguq man'a qayugga ayuqliriluni, qanlliniluni, "Cali mernullinilrianga wii akwaugaq pekpakaama."

Angllia am'um, "Ii-i."

Taqngami pillia, "Tava uterqurlii kingunerma-ll' cayuklua pisuaraatnga."

"Aa-a uterquraa, ankuvet taugaam takusaqia; nek'a una tangerqiu."

"Tangerciqlikeka-wa." Anlliuq.

Anlliuq uksumi pillruami kiaguluni man'a kiartellra. Takusallia-m' imna takusaasqelleq qayuqegglim tauna elagallra tauna qavalliniluni, qayuqegglit-wa tamakut anait. Naw'-kiq imkuk tangluk, avavet uqvigarnun pillruyuklukek.

Maaten tanglugni tekitelliak qakilliuk ak'allaurrlutek. Tegumiakek qeciik tutnekek pilliak arulliuk. "Cakneq-lli wangni qavallinivaa!" Urluvni imkut ullagluki tegullii arulliut equut, cakaunrirluteng atusunairulluteng. "Ataki makut uitalit; allanek piliciqua."

Kuigteng tamana aturluku anelralliuq anelrararluni meqsunglliniluni eglerrnginanermini. Meqsungami nanvarrarmun agluni, pull'uni mernaluni, uyangtelliug; ala-i kan' yungnaaq! Alingqerrluni ciugartelliniluni. "Catangqerrmiqatarta tanem alingnarqellriamek?!" Uyangqataarnaurtuq; ala-i, kan'a melqurrlainaq ungagglainaq.

Tava-llu umsugarteqengnaqluni pilliuq, "Wall'u-qaa imna tarenraqaqa. Ciin-llu qavarnginanemni-llu kiallinia-llu?" Uyanglluku cuqirtaallia kegginani; elliingulliniluni, imna tan'gaurluuluni ayalleq. "Taaki, qavalliunga angukaraurtelliunga!"

Merraarluni cirliq'ngarrluni ayalliuq. Qukaa-llu pamna mernungluni. Nunaminun tekitelliug can'gurneret taugaam ukut, ik'ikika-wa keluatni qungurugaat! Nunaunrilliut. Imna nes'engnallunrilamiu nunii ullagluku pillia, imlliuq, canegglainaurrluni!

Uyamigani pillia wani qillrumauralria ca. Petenglluku pillia aklanqurrun. Angulaurarraarluku keniqurarraarluku cupqerluku as'artellia, aklanqurrut-ngurrluni. Tavani nec'illermeggni uitauralliuq.

Tavatelluteng tamakut aklanqurrutet nec'illerni uitauratuug, taugken ayagluteng.

Tava-i iquklituq.

Nunat Ercuil kai

This story is known, with variations, by most Alaskan Native groups, by Indians as far away as Hudson Bay and by the Chukchi in Siberia. Stories which may be related to it are even more widespread. This is the version told by Charlie Pleasant of Quinhagak and printed in Tenant, 1981.

Tua-llu-wa-gguq ukut nunat uitaarqellriit imarpiim ceñiini. Tan'germi uitalalliniut, ercuunaki taukut nunat. Nukalpiat tamakut ayalaryaqaqelliniut ernerkarcurluteng. Tanqigmek aqvacaqluteng. Tekitaqluteng camek pivkenateng.

Caqerluni iliit tekican, qasgim iluani Tulukaruk qanlliniuq, "Wii-tuq-tam kingumek ayakarlua, ernengullamci."

Tamakut angukara'urluut qanngartelliniut, "Kitaki, kapuukaralegni, qanaalria tauna kapurciu." Kapulliniat tamakut kapuutelget, nanglluku, tamakut angukara'urluut pisqen'gatgu.

Kapurraartelluni, utumariami ayalliuq ernerkarcurluni, calaram tungiinun. Tuani unugmi pagkut agyarugaat piurtellruut Tulukaruum tanglurluni tumellri, ellakun ayallermini. Ayalliniuq ak'anun.

Ayainanermiini nem'ek tekitelliniuq. Tekicami tangvaumaqeryaaqellinia, yulkiinani. Ullagluku, tangluugni qulvarviim taqruanun ellilukek, nem qainganun mayulliniuq egalerkun qinerrnaluni.

Uyangtelliniuq, arnamek, angutmek-llu, yungqellinilria. Angun kan'a takelqacilria, arnaq-wa calilria. Tangvalliniak nem-llu ilua kiarrluku. Pilliniuq tuqmigtangqellinilria, mermek imarluni. Umyuarteqliniuq, "arnaq-llu kan'a meqsunga'arteqaqsaunani."

Piinanrani arnaq qanlliniuq, "Meqsunga'arpakar." Ullagluku tauna meq, mell'iniuq. Mer'an cuukcautelliniuq mer'anun iggluni. Arnam-llu taum mell'iniluku. Mer'ani, arnam iluanteqaqili.

Tamaantelliniuq taum arnam iluanlluni. Arnat qingalauciicetun taum iluani anglilliniuq. Pinariani-llu anluni. Anngan taukuk kenkepialliniak irniarilamek.

Angliami tanglalliniuq nakacugnek nem iquani, tanqipiarluteng. Ugkut-wa-gguq cali nakacuut amiigem quliini ecupiat.

Umyuarteqliniuq kiugkut tanqigcelnguut piksugyaaqluki. Taukuk kenekngamegnegu camek cucukliraqan cikilalliniak.

Tamaani piyuaniararluni taukut cucungellinii tanqigcelnguut nakacuut. Cikilaryaqaqelliniak taukuk taukuunrilngurnek. Taukut tauḡaam eniraluki, qiangeliniuq.

Tauna angun qanlliniuq, "Tua-i kiugkunek cucukellrinek cikirru. Kelluciiqapuk." Tua-i taum arnam tunllinii taukut nakacuut. Quyaluni tegullinii, angniriqerrluni.

Ulapequteklinii, egqaqluki tuaten. Taukuk angayuqaagken kellutelliniak. Taum-llu Tulukaruum murilkelliniak. Piinanermegni kellutenrilliniak, allanek calinglutek.

Nutaan murilkenrilagni amik ullallinia, taukut nakacuut naanguani egtaqluki. Taukuk murilkenrilagni, kalvagyaramun egtellinii, kinguatgun-llu anluni. Anngami imkuk tangluugni all'ukek ayagluni.

Angayuqaak ellangamek kiarcaaqelliniak tamaani nem iluani, cataunani. Catailan anlutek piak, ak'a yaaqsigillinilria tanglura'arluni, ellakun. Ayalliniuq, tuavet nunaminun ercuilngurnun.

Ayainanermi nakacuut elcetaqluki, aninqevkenani. Ayainanermi aninqengamiki taukut nakacuut ellma ell'arcet'lallinii. Tamaani aninqevkenani elcet'lallrani erneq takliniuq, aninqingan-llu erneq nanililuni.

Caqerluni, ayainanermi paallacalkalliniuq. Pika-i paallacalkarvillra, agyat uqlausnganateng ayuqut.

Tekitelliniuq nunaminun, ernermek tekiulluni. Ilain tamakut cakneq quyakelliniat.

Nakaciuryaraq (Ciuliamta Cayarallrat Alussistuarpailgata)

This article — reprinted here with minor changes — appeared in the Bethel newspaper Tundra Drums (which is generally in English) over ten years ago. The theme was later expanded into the book Cauyarnariuq (Mather 1985).

Ak'a imumi ciuliaput imutun neq'arilriatun nunat yuit quyurrluteng nerevkarirpalallruut yurarluteng-llu. Tamana tuatnallerteng aipaagni aterpagtelallruat nakaciiryamek, wall'u nakaciiryamek, Nakaciutullruut-gguq uksumi Uviim wall'u Iralullraam nalliini.

Tuatnaaqameng-gguq tuunritullruit ungunssit pitalteng taum allrakum iluani. Cakneq-gguq ungunssit qigciktullruit. Tamakut-llu pitaqumallret pitaqestellrit cali arcaqerluki picaqluki taum nalliini piaqluki. Taum-llu nalliini tuunritullruut taum kinguani pissuquneng pitarkat mikullerkaat neryuniurutekluku.

Qavcinek ernerrluteng nakaciutullruut. Aipaagni nunat tamarmeng watnatullruut. Ilaita taugaam nunat yaaqsinrilkemeng yuit keltullruit iquklitqata'arqan nakaciullerteng.

Ilait tayima yuut paqnayulartut nallunriryugyaaqluteng qaillun nakaciulallratnek. Ak'a-gguq tamaani Kass'at tekiteqarraallret ilait igaucillruut Yupiit ayuqcillritnek piciryarallritnek tamaani. Ilait-llu apertuuman-qegcaarluteng igausngallruut. Taugaam cat ilait ayuquciq'apiaraitgun apertuumanritut, amlleret-llu Yup'igtun atrit alangqaluteng igausngaaqluteng. Uum Kass'am aterluni E. W. Nelson-aamek igaucillrem 1890-m nalliini kalikaini apertuumaug "Chau-i-yuk"-amek. Aipaagni cauyayugnarquq. Taugaam ayuquciitnarquq tauna yuk Yup'igtun qanyuitellruami.

Cali kangingyulriit nakaciulallratnek nallunriryugngaut tegganernek nallunritestainek watua yuulrianek. Tayima amlleret ilaita neq'akaat tuatnalallrat. Uum-llu-gguq Lucy Arnakin-aam Tununermium niitelallrua tuatnalallrat, piuq-llu aipaagni-gguq pilallruat Nakaciiryamek wall'u Nakaciiryamek. Ukuk tua-i aipaagnek aterpagtelallrungataat. Tamakut Kass'at igaucillret Kass'atun "Bladder Festival"-aaruniluku igausngaat.

Ukaqvaggun-llu Lucy Arnakin-aam qalamcikellrua Tununermiunek niitelallni.

Ak'a imumi nakaciulallermeggni yuut cayarait amllalallrulliniut cali cayaraita ilait ayuqevkenateng, ataucimek taugaam umyuaquterluteng. Imkut pitarkat pitekluki tamana nakaciuryaraq atulallrulliniat — pitarkameng mikullerkait piluki, wall'u pitalteng ataam utercesqelluki pitarkauluki, pissuryunarqesqelluki-llu. Waten pillrat man'a arcaqalriarullrulliniug yugni, nerangnaqurallerteng kiingan caliaqellruamegteggu. Nakaciuryarakun qigcikillerteng pitamegnek, cali quyalteng maniluku tamakunun pitameng yuitnun: Ukvelallrulliniameng cam unguvalriim yua nakacuani uitalarniluku — nakacugmi yuan nallunritaqluku qaillun aulukumalteng pitaullermeggni. Taumek cakneq picaqluki nakacuut pilallrullinikait.

Allrakumi upquralallrulliniut waten pillerkameggnek. Angutet pitameng nakacuit qellekluki, arcaqakluki imkut imarpigmi unguvalriit nakacuit — asevret, arevret, uginat, cetuat, makliit cali allat nakacuit. Cali tan'gaurullraat pitaita nakacuit aanaita caliaqluki quyurqurluki. Aanaita qerrurluki kinerciraqluki, kinrata-llu ataam ellelluki. Nutaan-llu pinariateng qerrunqiggluki. Piciryarallgutkenritellruameng-llu ilaita tamakut qerrurraarluki kepluki, kepqaarluki-llu nutaan mingugluki qaralilirluki ikiituut kangipluatnek uqumek avulegmek. Qaraliliritulini-gguq angutem pini ellin allakarmi qaraliminek nallunailkucirluki.

Nani maani uksungqertelluku nakaciutullrulliniut. Uptengnaurtut-gguq pinariateng: Neqkat ayuqenrilnguut quyurrluki. Aturateng nutarat all'uki. Qasgiteng-llu carrirluki. Yaaqliteng tuaten nunat kelegluki. Cali yurarkateng upluki. Erenret tayima qavcin aturluki pilallrulliniut, ilait-llu ernerni arvinlegni piaqluteng. Yurarluteng, kalukarluteng ilaitni-llu pinirtaagulluteng qasgimi.

Ayagniqatarqameng-gguq tamakut nakacuut qillrutaqluki quyuita. Angutem pitami nakacuit quyurrluki qillrulluki-llu pissurcuutminun, tamana-llu qasgim egkuanun kiavet kapulluku. Tuaten uitaagluteng nakaciullrata taktaciatun. Cali inerquutekluku avirlullagallerkaq qasgim iluani tamakut nakacuut agallratni, yuit-gguq tatamñayukluki. Cali unisngaunaki kiingita watnallermeng taktaciatun. Neqkameng-llu ilarraitnek cikirturluki, ilaita tuaten merqelluki.

Cali piciryaraquluku imkut ikiituut atullrat mat'um nalliini. Ayagniqatarqameng-gguq angutait ikiitugtaqluteng, tamakut-llu qillerqaarluki qasgimun elliluki. Ilait cetamainek qillerqiiluteng kangirainun-llu qasgim taukut elliluki. Ilait-llu-gguq atauciq qillerqaaq naparyamun kapulluku. Tauna naparya qiuqkut nakacuut ciuqerratni napaluni. Ilaitni cali tuaken napalriamek ikiitugnek tegulluteng kumarrruki tamakut nakacuut puyiurcetaqluki. Nakaciullerteng-llu pelluan ikiitut legtelluki cikum qaingani kuigmi wall' imarpiim ceñiini. Ilaita cali taqniurutkaqluku yun'erraat cetaman qillerqaanek tegulluteng: kumarqaarluku-llu una avatmun, iliit-llu yaatmun, uatmun wall' qavatmun, tuaten ciunellgutkevkenateng ayagluteng. Utercata-llu nutaan taqluteng.

Unuaquaqaq tua-i cayarait ayuqenritaqluteng, callerkat elkarcimaluteng ciuliqagtiit-wa angalkuq, tauḡaam ilaitni allat picirkiriaqluteng. Amllermi-llu cauyartiit ciuliqaggluni, tauna-llu cakneq qigcikumaaqluni.

Nutaan nangniurameng nakacuut nalulallrulliniit cikum acianun qerrluki. Ilaita qagerqaarluki piaqluki. Waten piaqameng ukverluteng tamakut ataam pitarkaurtellerkaatnek. Nani qagaani ilaita teggalqunek kicirluki kic'et'lallrulliniit, kic'eqaarluki-llu niicugnuluki, kinguat-llu meq murilkelluku. Kit'ellrata-gguq cukataciakun cali mer'em qaill' pillrakun nallunritaqluteng qaillun mikurtallerkaatnek pitarkat tamatum kiagani. ...

Tamana nakaciulleq ukvellrata canun aturyaraqellrullinia, cali elitnauryaram canek nallunritnarqellrianek nallekluku, cailkakun elitevkenateng kinguvrit.

Kiagmi Neqlivik

This sketch of a family returning to fish camp in the summer was written by Anna Jacobson. It is similar to the scenes portrayed in her novel Elnguq.

Unuakumi makcara'arluteng uptut atrauquriluteng aklumeggnek, cali-llu kinertalluliameggnek, ulligtarualiameggnek-llu uciviirucan taugaam angyaq taqluteng. Qimugteteng-llu piviiyata unilluki tamaavet up'nerkiyamegnun, unuaquani aqvanaluki. Aatiit-llu qayuwa allamillarmek mikcuarmek levaarluni. Taukut-llu ilai qiilerluteng, uterrnginanermeggni utercuum ugaani. Erneq-llu qukaqerluku nunameng ketiinun tull'uteng taugaam arulairpek'nateng neqlillmeggmun ayagluteng, caliarkaliameng tekiskuneng. Tekicaqliameng-llu neqlillmeggmun petuggaarluku angyateng taguquriluteng. Maaten murilkut ak'a tamana neqlillrat ellma cungagingllinilria. Canyaarneq tumyarat avatiit patumaluni, makut-llu napat avayait ellma cali cuyanglliniluteng. Tuani qikutarluteng caniani qer'at. Qikutaq tuskallernek avaterluni ilua-llu nat'liumaluni tuskanek. Taugken qer'at kevraarturpallugnek piliaruluteng. Qer'aliaqluteng muragnek cetamanek naparcirraarluteng tua-i-llu malrugnek muriigneq aglucetun elliviklukek malrutaararlukkek napartak. Tua-i-llu cali napapianek iqtuuralrianek inivililuteng tamakuk muriik qaingagnun elliluki qeratmun. Tamavet tua-i ulligtarneq iniigaqluteng. Talicivik-wa keluatni qer'at, keluani-wa talliciviim ellivik. Caniani-wa taliciviim elagaq, tuani uquuteteng wall'u atsat qemangqavkaraqluki.

Ciumek aatiita pelatekateng tagulluku civtaa pelatekarvimegnun. Irniakek-llu taguquriluteng uqiggetenraaraitnek cameng. Imkut-llu kinertalluuteteng qemitauleteng-llu kinrumalriit ellivigmun mayurrluki, kinrumanrilnguut-llu talicivigmun itrulluki agarluki initarun. Aaniit-llu auqirraarluni tamaaken ceñ'armek talicivigmi kenilleq kumarqaarluku kenirluni neqkameggnek, uungan-llu keniraq puqlirraarluni-llu saayiriluni. Tua-i-llu taqngami ilani qayagauruki neryartuusqelluki. Nerluteng-llu talicivigmi estuululiameggnek estuulurluteng, aqumlleliameggnek-llu aqumllerluteng.

Tua-i-llu nerenriameng aaniit tagluni pelatekamun curuliuryarturluni. Pelatekam iluani estuulurtarluni, kaminiamek, qulqitnek, ingleret-wa. Ingleq ayakutarluni kevraartunek, qaingatni-wa caniquyat, tuskat inglerat. Aaniita-llu qaingatnun tamakut inglerat curuq saggluki akitmun, tua-i-llu kingumek egturyaurcuun civvluku. Natra-wa pelatekam teggelria marayaq, caninqercaaraumaluni. Qulqitet-llu qaingatnun urtaq elliluku. Urtamek tamaani quulecirilallruut assaliaqameng carrarmek ilakuigaqluteng. Tua-i-llu tauna ilakuaq mermek auluku uitavkaqarraarluku-llu unugpailgan mukaamek ilaluku. Cali-llu kaminiarat piliaruluni taingkallermek uivtanqellriamek. Qaingani-wa kaminiam avatiin ukatiini puyirvik, ukatiini-wa puyirviim murirvik, aaciqvaarmi-wa caniqerrani, ciuqerrani cup'urilleq. Murirviim-wa patua manigcetellria cavik. Pelatekam-wa agluani pagaani inivik.

Tamaani tua-i inartaqluteng tamarmeng caniqliqurluteng inglerni.

Tua-i-llu unuaquani aatiit melqulget malikluki ayagluni ikamrak, qimugtet-llu aqvaluki up'nerkivimeggnek, cali-llu kuvyateng qusuurcuuteteng-llu qalu nunameggnek aqvalukek. Tua-i ciemek ikamrak, qimugtet-llu aqvaluki nunameggnun tekicami ikamrak tagullukek, kuvya-llu iqairissuulvagmun ekraarluku atraulluku angyamun. Taqngami-llu melqulget ang'aqluki kipusviggluni. Tunrraarluki-llu melqulget aturyukmegnek canek paivciluni, mukaamek, saalamek, kuuvviamek, saayumek, suutamek, taryumek, saarralamek-llu. Akiutai-llu cipluteng. Atrauqaarluki-llu kipukengani uterrluni ilaminun neqlillerni. Tekicami-llu petugluki qimugtet petugviitnun. Qusuuret pinillruitki un'gani nererraarluni, kangcramek maligluni ayagluni qaluyarluni. Tua-i-llu ilai tekipeilgan inarrluteng, caliarkalirciqngameng unuaquani nuv'iloteng qusuurnek. Unuumanranani aatiit tekicami taguqurirraarluni qusuurtaminek qikutarmun, inartuq, ak'a ilai qavangellrullinilriit.

Unuaquani-llu unuakumi makcara'arluteng aanakellriit qusuuliuqataameng, nuv'itkarluteng uqvigpagnek. Tua-i-llu tamakut avayairluki, kangrit taugaam pivkenaki. Malruk avayailrek kangrarkenkun ingluklukek qillrullukek nuv'itkaliurluteng iqukek-llu canalukek, nuv'itnguyunaq'laata cingickellriit. Tua-i-llu tamakut nuv'itkat taqicata nuv'iloteng, taqngameng-llu iniluki qer'anun tamakut nuv'ateng. Tuaten kinercirluki, kinrata-llu qaingit avluki tamakut patgumatellriit. Tua-i-llu kinrata mayurrluki ellivigmun.

Kinguatni-llu qusuuret taryaquiit piata, kuvyaaqluni. Atercetararagluteng, angyam kinguanun kuvya iqairissuulvagmun assigtallni piluku, tua-i-llu aterceta'arqataami cavescirluni civvluku kuvya. Akiqvaaraanun kuigem piluni ciunga angyam agaamun caulluku. Cavesta-llu cavngan civvluku kuvya, civcimariamiu-llu cavesteñi cimirluku. Tua-i-llu cav'urluni aterqurluni uatmun. Pitaqami kuvya nallunaitaqluni, kuvyam pugtaqutai neqet anassaagaqata pektaaraqluteng. Tua-i piyunariaqan kuvya takuaqluku. Iliini unugiuraraqluteng mikurngataqata neqet. Tamakut taryaquiit ulligtaqluki nerrluyagairluki. Cali-llu kiarneliaqluteng tamaaken kemganek nerrluum. Meluitnek-llu kinerciriaqluteng ellami agarrluki. Tamakut-llu kinssiyaagpailgata ilaqaqluki nutaranek melugnek puckamun ekluki, muiran-llu puckaq teq'erluku. Ciqret-llu qimugteñun nerevkaraqluki. Qamiqut-llu qamiqurrliluki ilait-llu tep'liluki. Tep'liqataragameng teq'allirraarluteng qamiqunek iraqaluku teq'alleg tua-i-llu muiran nunamek patuluki. Ugaqluteng tepet malrugni agayunregni, uungata-llu nerluki. Taryaquiit-llu ilait ungelkaaruluki ner'aqluki. Aurluteng-llu cuassaaneke kenirateng augaqluki. Cali-llu qeltairraarluki tayarulunguat, qanganaruat, atsaruat, qugyuguat-llu ikiituut-llu ner'aqluteng. Tua-i-llu angukaat piyunariata angukaarluteng ekvililrianun, tamaani naulaata angukaat. Angukaartameng-llu cuyait kenirraarluki qemaggluki. Cali-llu quagcinek aurluteng kenirraarluki cali qemaggluki. Kiagumainanranani-llu atsalugpiat pingata iqvarluteng, ilait-llu yuut atsiyalarluteng. Iqvaraqluteng-llu qiunek akutarkameggnek.

Iqalluut-llu taryaquiit kinguatni piata iqallugcuutetgun kuvyangluteng. Tamakut ulligtaqluki ataqercelluki nerrluyagaitnun, ulligqaarluki

ayagtuucirraarluki iniaqluki. Ulligtaat inimavkarraarluki ellami kinssiyaagpailgata talicivigmun itertaqluki talicivigmi-llu aaruvaggluki. Tuaten calirpiim akuliini aruvagkartaqluteng napapianek. Tua-i-llu eqiurluki. Ernerpak-llu unuaquaqaan kumarrluki kenillret kumavkarluki tamakunek aruvagkanek murirturluki puyurrluki neqet. Cali-llu qakinernek muragtaqluteng muragkameggnek keniraqameng.

Kinguatgun-llu iqalluut qakiiyaat piluteng. Qakiiyarcurluteng-llu teq'erkameggnek akungqaurcelluki mermi amlleriata-llu teq'erluki. Uksumi tamakut ner'aqluki.

Tua-i-llu tamakut ulligtaat puyurcimariata ellivigmun mayurrluki. Taquicameng-llu neqlinermek upagluteng nunamegnun, elitnauresqelluki taukut irniatek.

APPENDIX A

Tables of Endings

Indicative Mood Endings

		Intransitive			Transitive OBJECT		
					3rd person		
					<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
SUBJECT	3rd person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	+'(g/t)u-	q t k	+'(g)a ⁻¹	a at ak	i it kek	k gket gkek
	1st person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>		:nga kut kuk		qa put ² puk ²	nka put puk	gka gput gpuk
	2nd person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>		ten ci tek		n ci ² tek ²	ten ci tek	gken gci gtek

*chart
continued
below* →

			Transitive OBJECT					
			1st person			2nd person		
			<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
SUBJECT	3rd person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	+'(g)a ⁻¹	anga atnga agnga ³	akut itkut agkut	akuk itkuk agkuk	aten atgen agten	aci iceci agci	atek icetek agtek
	1st person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>					mken mteggen megten	mci mceci megci	mtek mctek megtek
	2nd person <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>		rpena ⁴ rpecia rpetegna ³	rpekut rpecikut rpetegkut	rpekuk rpecikuk rpetegkuk			

1. The **a** of the third person subject transitive indicative marker is deleted with those bases and those endings where the **a** would lead to a three-vowel cluster. Technically it would be more accurate to say that this marker is +'(g)ar-, and to change the subject-object markers accordingly, so that, for example, the 3s-3s marker would be :a, the 1s-3s marker would be -ka, the 1s-2s marker would be -mken, and the 2s-1s marker would be +pena.
2. Also **rput**, **rpuk**, **rci**, and **rtek**.
3. Also **agnenga** and **rpetegnenga**.
4. Also **vnga**, **vkut**, **vkuk**, **vcia**, etc.

Interrogative Mood Endings

		<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i>			
				<i>OBJECT</i>			
<i>SUBJECT</i>				<i>3rd person</i>			
				<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	+'(g/t)a-	∅ t k	+'(g/t)a-	:gu	ki	kek
	tgu				tki	tkek	
	gnegu ⁵				gki ⁶	gkek ⁶	
<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	~+(t)si ⁻¹ @~+ce ⁻²	a ta ñuk ³		See note 7 below.			
<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	~+(t)si ⁻¹ @~+ce ⁻²	t ci ⁴ tek	~+(t)si ⁻¹ @~+ce ⁻²	u	ki	kek	
				ciu	ciki	cikek	
				tegnegu	tegni ⁶	tegek ⁶	

chart
continued
below

		<i>Transitive</i>							
		<i>OBJECT</i>							
<i>SUBJECT</i>				<i>1st person</i>			<i>2nd person</i>		
				<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	+'(g/t)a-	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek	
	tnga		tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cecek		
	gnga ⁶		gkut ⁶	gkuk ⁶	gten ⁶	gci ⁶	gtek ⁶		
<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>		See note 7 below.							
<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	~+(t)si ⁻¹ @~+ce ⁻²	a	kut	kuk					
		tnga	tkut	tkuk					
		gnga ⁶	gkut ⁶	gkuk ⁶					

1. A resulting **ts** or **ty** becomes **c**; ~+(t)yi in HBC.
2. Base final **te** is dropped by these endings.
3. **ñung** in HBC.
4. The 2p ending may be +(s)tessi in HBC.
5. Also **n'gu**.
6. **ne** may be inserted after the **g** of these endings, giving for example **gneki** rather than **gki**.
7. There are no first person transitive interrogative endings, except that some people do have ~+(t)siken for 1s to 2s "I to you."

Optative Mood Endings

		<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i> <i>OBJECT</i>			
				<i>3rd person</i>			
					<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+li ⁻¹	∅ t k	@~+li ⁻¹	ku tgu gnegu ⁵	ki tki gki ⁵	kek tkek gkek ⁵
	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>		@~+lii ¹ -lta ² @~+luk ¹	@~+la ⁻¹	ku ut uk	ki put puk	kek gput gpuk
	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@+ ³	(4) ci tek	@+ ⁶ @+ ³	(7) ciu tegu	ki ciki tegi	kek cikek tegkek


chart
continued
below

		<i>Transitive</i> <i>OBJECT</i>						
		<i>1st person</i>			<i>2nd person</i>			
			<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+li ⁻¹	nga nnga ⁵	kut tkut gkut ⁵	kuk tkuk gkuk ⁵	ten tgen ⁵	ci ceci gci ⁵	tek cetek gtek ⁵
	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+la ⁻¹				mken ⁸ mteggen megten	mci mceci megci	mtek mctek megtek
	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@+ ⁶ @+ ³	nga ⁹ cia tegnaga	kut cikut tegkut	kuk cikuk tegguk			

- When these endings are used on a base ending in **te**, the resulting **tl** becomes **ll**.
- Also **%(e)lta**.
- Drops **te** from bases.
- With bases ending in a single prime vowel, this ending is **∅**; with bases ending in two vowels or **e**, this ending is **(g)i**; with bases ending in **te**, this ending is **n**; but with bases ending in special **te**, it is **lu** (except in HBC where it is **n**); and with bases ending in a consonant, this ending is **:a**.
- The 3d-3s ending may also be **n'gu**, and the others in this row may insert **ne** after **g**.
- Changes **te** to **s** but special **te** to **l**.
- With bases ending in a single prime vowel, this ending is **u**; with bases ending in two vowels or **e**, this ending is **(g)iu**; with bases ending in **te**, this is **@gu**, changing **te** to **s** but special **te** to **l**; and with bases ending in a consonant, this ending is **-ggu**.
- May be **ken** instead of **mken**.
- When these endings are used with a base ending in two vowels or **e**, **(g)i** may be used before the ending, in which case velar dropping occurs with the 2s-1s ending, causing it to be, in effect, **a** rather than **nga**.

Subordinative Mood Endings

		<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i>		
				<i>OBJECT</i>		
<i>SUBJECT</i>				<i>3rd person</i>		
				<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>4th person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+lu ⁻¹	ni	ku	ki	kek
			teng			
			tek			
	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+lu ⁻¹	a			
			ta			
			nuk ²			
	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+lu ⁻¹	ten			
			ci			
			tek			

chart continued below 

		<i>Transitive</i>					
		<i>OBJECT</i>					
<i>SUBJECT</i>		<i>1st person</i>			<i>2nd person</i>		
		<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>4th person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	a	ta	nuk ²	ten	ci	tek
		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>						
	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>						

- When these endings are used on a base ending in **te**, the resulting **ti** becomes **ti**; however, when these endings are used on a base ending in special **te-** or after the postbase **vke-** / **+peke-**, which replaces **-nrite-** 'to not V,' the marker of this mood is **@na-**, dropping the **t** and sometimes changing preceding **i** to **u**, rather than **@~+lu-**, and the 2s subject intransitive and 2s object transitive ending is **k** rather than **ten**. Furthermore, the 1s object transitive ending and the 1s subject intransitive ending, which are shown on the chart as **a** (actually **:nga**), will combine with **@na-** to give **@nii** (from **@nanga**).
- nung** in HBC.

Participial Mood Endings

		<i>Intransitive</i>		<i>Transitive</i>			
				<i>OBJECT</i>			
<i>SUBJECT</i>				<i>3rd person</i>			
				<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	<i>-lria</i> ⁻¹	∅ ² k ²	@~+ke ⁻³	ii	ai	k
	iit				ait	gket	
	iik				kek	gkek	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	<i>-lria</i> ⁻¹	nga kut kuk	@~+ke ⁻³	ka	nka	gka
	vvut				put	gput	
	vvuk				puk	gpuk	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	<i>-lria</i> ⁻¹	ten ci tek	@~+ke ⁻³	n	ten	gken
	ssi				ci	gci	
	ssek				tek	gtek	

chart
continued
below

		<i>Transitive</i>						
		<i>OBJECT</i>						
<i>SUBJECT</i>		<i>1st person</i>			<i>2nd person</i>			
		<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>3rd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+ke ⁻³	iinga	iikut	iikuk	iiten	iici	iitek
	iitnga		aitkut	aitkuk	iitgen	aiceci	aicetek	
	iignga		iigkut	iigkuk	iigten	iigci	iigtek	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>1st person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+ke ⁻³				mken	mci	mtek
					mtegggen	mceci	mcetek	
					megten	megci	megtek	
<i>SUBJECT</i>	<i>2nd person</i> <i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	@~+ke ⁻³	vnga	vkut	vkuk			
	vcia		vcikut	vcikuk				
	vteggnga		vteggkut	vteggkuk				

1. With bases ending in a stop consonant or voiceless fricative followed by **e**, **er**, or **eg**, the marker will be **-lria-** for many speakers. With bases ending in special **te-**, the marker is **@+ngur***- for 3rd person subject, **@+ngu-** for other subjects (rather than **-lria-**), changing **te** to **l**. With this marker, the 1s ending is **a** (from **:nga**).
2. With these endings, the intransitive participial marker is **-lrii-** rather than **-lria-**.
3. Base final **te** changes to **s**, but special **te** changes to **l**; **e** from this marker is deleted when the person/number marker begins with a vowel.

Endings of the Connective Moods

		Intransitive		Transitive					
				OBJECT					
				3rd person			1st person		
				<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
SUBJECT	3rd person	<i>s</i>	an ²	aku	aki	akek	anga	akut	akuk
	<i>p</i>	: ¹	ata ²	atgu	atki	atkek	atnga	atkut	atkuk
	<i>d</i>		agnek ²	agku	agki	agkek	agnga	agkut	agkuk
	1st person	<i>s</i>	ma ²	mku	mki	mkek			
<i>p</i>	- ³	mta ²	mtegggu	mteki	mtekek				
<i>d</i>		megnuk ²	megnegu	megki	megkek				
2nd person	<i>s</i>	vet ²	vgu	vki	vkek	vnga	vkut	vkuk	
<i>p</i>	- ⁴	vci ²	vciu	vciki	vcikek	vcia	vcikut	vcikuk	
<i>d</i>		vtek ²	vtegu	vtegi	vtekek	vteंगा	vtegut	vtekkuk	
4th person	<i>s</i>	mi ²	miu ⁶	miki	miek	mia	mikut	mikuk	
<i>p</i>	+ ⁵	meng ²	mtegggu	mteki	mtekek	mteंगा	mtekut	mtekkuk	
<i>d</i>		mek ²	megnegu	megneki	megnekek	megnenga	megnekut	megnekuk	

		Transitive						
		OBJECT						
		2nd person			4th person			
		<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	
SUBJECT	3rd person	<i>s</i>	aten	aci	atek	ani	ateng	atek
	<i>p</i>		atgen	aceci	acetek	atni	aceteng	acetek
	<i>d</i>		agten	agci	agtek	agni	agteng	agtek
	1st person	<i>s</i>	mken	mci	mtek	mni	mteng	mtek
<i>p</i>		mtegggen	mceci	mcetek	mteni	mceteng	mcetek	
<i>d</i>		megten	megci	megtek	megni	megteng	megtek	
2nd person	<i>s</i>				vni	vteng	vtek	
<i>p</i>					vcini	vciteng	vcitek	
<i>d</i>					vtegni	vtegteng	vtegtek	
4th person	<i>s</i>	miten	mici	mitek				
<i>p</i>		mtegggen	megceci	megcetek				
<i>d</i>		megnegen	megneci	megnetek				

The markers of the Connective moods are @~+(t)vaileg- for the Precessive, @~:(ng)a- for the Consequential, +'(g)aq- for the Contingent, @+ngr(ar)- for the Concessive, @~-ku- for the Conditional, -ller- for the First Contemporative, and @:(ng)inaner- for the Second Contemporative

1. The final consonant of consonant-ending connective mood markers is subject to velar-dropping while the

final vowel of vowel-ending markers is deleted with these third person subject endings.

2. The intransitive endings for the First and Second Contemporative moods are like the localis case endings; that is, they are :**ani**, :**atni**, :**agni**, -**mni**, -**mtefi**, -**megni**, +**peni**, +**pecefi**, +**petegni**, +**mini**, +**meggni**, +**megni**.
3. The 1s intransitive ending is +**ma** but all the other first person subject endings are consonant-dropping type.
4. The forms .**vet**, .**vgu**, .**vciu** etc. are used with vowel-ending connective mood markers, while consonant-ending markers take the corresponding forms +**pet**, +**pegu**, +**peciu** etc.
5. All fourth person subject endings begin with **n** rather than **m**, for the Conditional mood; that is, they are **ni**, **niu**, **neng**, etc. rather than **mi**, **miu**, **meng**, etc.
6. With the First and Second Contemporative moods **ni** is inserted between the subject and object components of 4s subject transitive endings giving **miniu**, **miniki** etc. rather than **miu**, **miki**, etc. Some dialects use this **ni** in other transitive endings as well (see Chap. 17).

Absolute Case Endings

		Number of Noun			
		<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
Number and Person of Possessor	<i>unpossessed</i>	∅	%:(e)t	%:(e)k	
	<i>3rd person</i>	<i>s</i>	:(ng)a	:(ng)i	%:(e)k
		<i>p</i>	:(ng)at	:(ng)it	%:(e)gket
		<i>d</i>	:(ng)ak	-kek	%:(e)gkek
	<i>1st person</i>	<i>s</i>	-ka	%:(e)nka	%:(e)gka
		<i>p</i>	-put ¹	-put	%:(e)gput
		<i>d</i>	-puk ²	-puk	%:(e)gpuk
	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>s</i>	%:(e)n	-ten	%:(e)gken
		<i>p</i>	-ci ³	-ci	%:(e)gci
		<i>d</i>	-tek ⁴	-tek	%:(e)gtek
	<i>4th person</i>	<i>s</i>	-ni	-ni	%:(e)gni
		<i>p</i>	-teng ⁵	-teng	%:(e)gteng
		<i>d</i>	-tek ⁶	-tek	%:(e)gtek

1. Or .**vut** with vowel-ending bases and +**put** with consonant-ending bases.
2. Or .**vuk** with vowel-ending bases and +**puk** with consonant-ending bases.
3. Or .**si** with vowel-ending bases and +**ci** with consonant-ending bases.
4. Or .**sek** with vowel-ending bases and +**tek** with consonant-ending bases.
5. Or .**seng** with vowel-ending bases and +**teng** with consonant-ending bases.
6. Or .**sek** with vowel-ending bases and +**tek** with consonant-ending bases.

Relative Case Endings

		Number of Noun		
		<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>
Number and Person of Possessor	<i>unpossessed</i>	%:(e)m	%:(e)t	%:(e)k
	<i>3rd person</i>	<i>s</i> :(ng)an <i>p</i> :(ng)ata <i>d</i> :(ng)agnek	:(ng)in :(ng)ita -kenka	%:(e)gken %:(e)gketa %:(e)gkenka
	<i>1st person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-ma -mta -megnuk ¹	%:(e)gma %:(e)gemta %:(e)gmegnuk
	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-vet / +pet ² -vci / +peci ² -vtek / +petek ²	%:(e)gken %:(e)gci %:(e)gtek
	<i>4th person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-mi -meng ³ -mek	%:(e)gmi %:(e)gmeng %:(e)gmek

1. Also **-mnuk**.

2. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases while the **p** form is used with consonant-ending bases only.

3. Also **-megta** or **-megteng**.

Localis Case Endings (and Ablative-Modalis and Terminalis)

		Number of Noun		
		<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>
Number and Person of Possessor	<i>unpossessed</i>	%~mi	%~ni	%:(e)gni
	<i>3rd person</i>	<i>s</i> :(ng)ani <i>p</i> :(ng)atni <i>d</i> :(ng)agni	:(ng)ini :(ng)itni -kegni	%:(e)gkeni %:(e)gketni %:(e)gkegni
	<i>1st person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-mni -mteñi -megni	%:(e)gemni %:(e)gemteñi %:(e)gemegni
	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-vni / +peni ¹ -vceñi / +peceñi ^{1, 2} -vtegni / +petegni ¹	%:(e)gemni %:(e)gpeceñi ² %:(e)gpetegni
	<i>4th person</i>	<i>s</i> <i>p</i> <i>d</i>	-mini -meggni -megni	%:(e)gmini %:(e)gmeggni %:(e)gmegni

The endings of the ablative-modalis and terminalis cases are the same as the endings of the localis case except that in place of the final **i** of the localis, the ablative-modalis has **ek** (**eng** in HBC), and the terminalis has **un**.

1. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases while the **p** form is used with consonant-ending bases only.

2. **-vcini / +pecini, +gpecini** in HBC.

Vialis Case Endings

		Number of Noun			
		<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
Number and Person of Possessor	<i>unpossessed</i>	%kun	%tgun	%(e)gnegun ¹	
	<i>3rd person</i>	<i>s</i>	:(ng)akun	:(ng)ikun	%(e)gkenkun
		<i>p</i>	:(ng)atgun	:(ng)itgun	%(e)gketgun
		<i>d</i>	:(ng)agnegun	-kegnegun	%(e)gkegnegun
	<i>1st person</i>	<i>s</i>	-mkun		%(e)gemkun
		<i>p</i>	-mteggun		%(e)gemteggun
		<i>d</i>	-megnegun		%(e)gmegnegun
	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>s</i>	-vkun / +pegun ²		%(e)gpegun
		<i>p</i>	-vcetgun / +pecetgun ^{2,3}		%(e)gpecetgun ³
		<i>d</i>	-vtegnegun / +petegnegun ²		%(e)gpetegnegun
<i>4th person</i>	<i>s</i>	-mikun		%(e)gmikun	
	<i>p</i>	-megteggun		%(e)gmegteggun	
	<i>d</i>	-megnegun		%(e)gmegnegun	

1. Also %(e)gkun.

2. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases while the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.

3. Also -vciuggun / +peciuggun, %(e)gpeciuggun.

Equalis Case Endings

		Number of Noun			
		<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
Number and Person of Possessor	<i>unpossessed</i>	%tun	%cetun	%(e)gtun	
	<i>3rd person</i>	<i>s</i>	:(ng)atun	:(ng)itun	%(e)gketun
		<i>p</i>	:(ng)acetun	:(ng)icetun	%(e)gkecetun
		<i>d</i>	:(ng)agtun	-kegtun	%(e)gkegtun
	<i>1st person</i>	<i>s</i>	-mtun		%(e)gemtun
		<i>p</i>	-mcetun		%(e)gemcetun
		<i>d</i>	-megtun		%(e)gmegtun
	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>s</i>	-vtun / +petun ¹		%(e)gpetun
		<i>p</i>	-vcetun / +pecetun ¹		%(e)gpecetun
		<i>d</i>	-vtegtun / +petegtun ¹		%(e)gpetegtun
<i>4th person</i>	<i>s</i>	-mitun		%(e)gmitun	
	<i>p</i>	-megcetun		%(e)gmecetun	
	<i>d</i>	-megtun		%(e)gmegtun	

1. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases while the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.

APPENDIX B

Suffixation Pattern Paradigms

Noun Suffixation Pattern Paradigms

In the following, nouns representative of each of the base **termination** patterns are combined with representatives of each of the suffixation **patterns**.

The suffixes are:

1. ~%**nek** 'from *Ns*'
2. %**kun** 'through/with *N*'
3. %:(**e**)**t** '*Ns*'
4. -**ka** 'my *N*'
5. :(ng)**a** 'his/her/its *N*'
6. :(ng)**it** 'their *Ns*'
7. ~:(ng)**u(g)uq** 'he/she/it is an *N*'
8. -**pik** 'real *N*'
9. -**rpak** 'big *N*'

ii 'eye'

1. **iinek** 'from the eyes'
2. **iikun** 'through the eye'
3. **iit** 'eyes'
4. **iika** 'my eye'
5. **iinga** 'his eye'
6. **iingit** 'their eyes'
7. **iinguuq** 'it is an eye'
8. **iipik** 'real eye'
9. **iirpak** 'big eye'

nuna 'land, village'

1. **nunanek** 'from the lands'
2. **nunakun** 'through the land'
3. **nunat** 'lands'
4. **nunaka** 'my land'
5. **nunii**¹ 'his land'
6. **nunait** 'their lands'
7. **nunauguq** 'it is a land'
8. **nunapik** 'real land'
9. **nunarpak** 'big land'

yaassiik 'box'

1. **yaassiignek** 'from the boxes'
2. **yaassiigkun** 'through the box'
3. **yaassiiget** 'boxes'
4. **yaassiika** 'my box'
5. **yaassiiga** 'his box'
6. **yaassiigit** 'their boxes'
7. **yaassiiguuq** 'it is a box'
8. **yaassiipik** 'real box'
9. **yaassiipak** 'big box'

tuma^e 'footprint'

1. **tumnek** 'from the footprints'
2. **tumkun** 'through the footprint'
3. **tumet** 'footprints'
4. **tumka** 'my footprint'
5. **tumii** 'his footprint'
6. **tumait** 'their footprints'
7. **tumnguq** 'it is a footprint'
8. **tumpik** 'real footprint'
9. **tumerpak** 'big footprint'

1. From ***nunanga**; compare **patua** 'its lid' from ***patunga**.

ipuun 'ladle'

1. **ipuutnek** 'from the ladles'
2. **ipuutekun** 'with the ladle'
3. **ipuutet** 'ladles'
4. **ipuuteka** 'my ladle'
5. **ipuutii** 'his ladle'
6. **ipuutait** 'their ladles'
7. **ipuutnguug** 'it is a ladle'
8. **ipuuteplik** 'real ladle'
9. **ipuuterpak** 'big ladle'

saskaq 'cup'

1. **saskanek** 'from the cups'
2. **saskakun** 'with the cup'
3. **saskat** 'cups'
4. **saskaqa** 'my cup'
5. **saskaa** 'his cup'
6. **saskait** 'their cups'
7. **saskauguq** 'it is a cup'
8. **saskapik** 'real cup'
9. **saskarpak** 'big cup'

egaleq 'window'

1. **egalernek** 'from the windows'
2. **egalerkun** 'through the window'
3. **egalret** 'windows'
4. **egaleqa** 'my window'
5. **egalra** 'its window'
6. **egalrit** 'their windows'
7. **egalruug** 'it is a window'
8. **egaleplik** 'real window'
9. **egalerpak** 'big window'

[e]na^e 'house'

1. **nen'ek** 'from the houses'
2. **nek'un** 'through the house'
3. **net** 'houses'
4. **nek'a** 'my house'
4. **enii** 'his house'
5. **enait** 'their houses'

ikayurta 'helper'

- ikayurtenek** 'from the helpers'
- ikayurtekun** 'with the helper'
- ikayurtet** 'helpers'
- ikayurteka** 'my helper'
- ikayurtii** 'his helper'
- ikayurtait** 'their ladles'
- ikayurtennguug** 'he is a helper'
- ikayurteplik** 'real helper'
- ikayurterpak** 'big helper'

ungak 'whisker'

- ungagnek** 'from the whiskers'
- ungagakun** 'with the whisker'
- ungiit**¹ 'whiskers'
- ungaka** 'my whisker'
- ungii**² 'his whisker'
- ungait** 'their whiskers'
- ungauguq** 'it is a whisker'
- ungapik** 'real whisker'
- ungagpak** 'big whisker'

ernej 'day'

- ernernek** 'from the days'
- ernerkun** 'through, with the day'
- erneret, erenret** 'days'
- erneqa** 'my day'
- enera, erenra** 'its day'
- ernerit, erenrit** 'their days'
- erneruug, erenruug** 'it is a day'
- ernepik** 'real day'
- ernerpak** 'big day, today'

[e]meq 'water'

- mernek** 'from the waters'
- merkun** 'through the water'
- mer'et** 'waters'
- meq'a** 'my water'
- mer'a** 'his or its water'
- mer'it** 'their waters'

1. From ***ungaget**; compare **atkuut** 'parkas' from ***atkuget**.
 2. From ***ungaga**; compare **aktua** 'his parka' from ***atkuga**.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. nenguuq ¹ 'it is a house' | meruuq ² 'it is water' |
| 7. nep'ik 'real house' | mep'ik 'real water' |
| 8. nerpak 'big house' | merpak 'big water' |

*yuk*³ 'person'

1. **yugnek** 'from the person'
2. **yugkun** 'through the person'
3. **yuut**⁴ 'persons'
4. **yuk'a** 'my person, my child'
5. **yua**⁵ 'his person, his spirit'
6. **yuit**⁶ 'their persons'
7. **yuuguq**⁷ 'it is a person'
8. **yup'ik** 'real person'
9. **yugpak** 'big person'

Verb Suffixation Pattern Paradigms

In the following, verb bases representative of each of the base termination patterns are combined with representatives of each of the suffixation patterns.

The suffixes are:

1. **+(g/t)uq** 'he is V-ing'
2. **-llruuq** 'he V-ed'
3. **+(g)ait** 'they are V-ing him them'
4. **ø, (g)i, n, @lu, :a** '(you)V!'
5. **u, g(i)u, @gu, -ggu** '(you) V him!'
6. **@~+yugtuq** 'he/she/it wants to V'
7. **@~+(t)vailegma** 'before I V(-ed)'
8. **@~+niuq** 'he says he is V(-ing)'
9. **@~-kuma** 'if/when I V'
10. **@~+luni** '(he) V-ing'
11. **@:(u)tuk** 'they₂ are V-ing each other or V-ing with/for each other'

utaqa- 'to wait'

1. **utaqauq** 'he is waiting'
2. **utaqallruuq** 'he waited'

kiu- 'to answer'

1. **kiuguq** 'he is answering'
2. **kiullruuq** 'he answered'

1. With gemination of **ng** on account of the weak initial **e**, with the situation somewhat obscured by the two following vowels; note **neng'ullruuq** 'it was a house.'

2. With gemination of **r** on account of the initial weak **e**, with the situation somewhat obscured by the two following vowels; note **mer'ullruuq** 'it was water.'

3. Base is **yug'**.

4. Also **yug'et** occasionally.

5. Also **yug'a** occasionally.

6. Also **yug'it** occasionally.

7. Or **yuguuq** (past: **yug'ullruuq**) specifically to mean 'being a person' vs. **yuuguq** (past: **yullruuq**) 'being alive' (lexicalized).

3. **utaqaa** 'he is waiting for him'
4. **utaqa** 'wait!'
5. **utaqau** 'wait for him!'
6. **utaqayugtuq** 'he wants to wait'
7. **utaqavailegma** 'before I wait'
8. **utaqaniuq** 'he says he's waiting'
9. **utaqakuma** 'if I wait'
10. **utaqaluni** '(he) waiting'
11. **utaqatuk** 'they₂ are waiting for each other'

kegge- 'to bite, clench teeth'

1. **kegg'uq** 'he is clenching his teeth'
2. **keggellruuq** 'he clenched his teeth'
3. **keggait** 'they are biting them'
4. **keggi** 'clench your teeth!'
5. **keggiu** 'bite it!'
6. **keggsugtuq** 'he wants to clench his teeth'
7. **keggvailegma** 'before I clench my teeth'
8. **keggniyuq** 'he says he's clenching his teeth'
9. **kegkuma** 'if I clench my teeth'
10. **kegluni** '(he) clenching his teeth'
11. **keggutuk** 'they₂ are biting each other'

emute- 'to go / take to the clinic'

1. **emutuq** 'he is going to the clinic'
2. **emutellruuq** 'he went to the clinic'
3. **emutait** 'they are taking them to the clinic'
4. **emuten** 'go to the clinic!'
5. **emusgu** 'take him to the clinic!'
6. **emucugtuq** 'he wants to go to the clinic'
7. **emupailegma** 'before I go to the clinic'

3. **kiugaa** 'he's answering him'
4. **kiugi** 'answer!'
5. **kiugiu** 'answer him!'
6. **kiuyugtuq** 'he wants to answer'
7. **kiuvailegma** 'before I answer'
8. **kiuniuq** 'he says he's answering'
9. **kiukuma** 'if I answer'
10. **kiuluni** '(he) answering'
11. **kiutuk** 'they₂ are answering each other'

ige- 'to swallow'

1. **ig'uq** 'he is swallowing'
2. **igellruuq** 'he swallowed'
3. **igait** 'they are swallowing them'
4. **igi** 'swallow!'
5. **igiu** 'swallow it!'
6. **igyugtuq** 'he wants to swallow'
7. **igvailegma** 'before I swallow'
8. **igniuq** 'he says he's swallowing'
9. **igkuma** 'if I swallow'
10. **igluni** '(he) swallowing'
11. **igutuk** 'they₂ are swallowing each other'

kenugte⁻¹ 'to groom'

1. **kenugtuq** 'he is grooming himself'
2. **kenugtellruuq** 'he groomed himself'
3. **kenugtait** 'they are grooming them'
4. **kenugten** 'grooming yourself!'
5. **kenugesgu** 'groom him!'
6. **kenugcugtuq** 'he wants to groom himself'
7. **kenugpailegma** 'before I groom myself'

1. **kenagte-** is a common alternative form of this base.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 8. emutniug 'he says he is on his way to the clinic' | 8. kenuggniug 'he says he is grooming himself' |
| 9. emussuma 'if I go to the clinic' | 9. kenugessuma 'if I groom myself' |
| 10. emulluni '(he) going to the clinic' | 10. kenuggluni '(he) grooming himself' |
| 11. emuyutuk 'they ₂ are going to the clinic together' | 11. kenugutuk 'they ₂ are grooming each other' |

narug- 'to intercept'

1. **narugtuq** 'he is intercepting someone'
2. **narullruuq** 'he intercepted someone'
3. **narugait** 'they are intercepting them'
4. **narua** 'intercept someone!'
5. **naruggu** 'intercept him!'
6. **narugyugtuq** 'he wants to intercept someone'
7. **narugpailegma** 'before I intercept someone'
8. **narugniug** 'he says he is intercepting someone'
9. **narukuma** 'if I intercept someone'
10. **narugluni** '(he) intercepting someone'
11. **naruutuk** 'they₂ are intercepting each other'

tangerr- 'to see'

1. **tangertuq** 'he sees'
2. **tangellruuq** 'he saw'
3. **tangrrait** 'they see them'
4. **tangrra** 'see!'
5. **tangrru** 'see it!'
6. **tangercugtuq** 'he wants to see'
7. **tangerpailegma** 'before I see'
8. **tangerrniug** 'he says he sees'
9. **tangerquma**¹ 'if I see'
10. **tangerrluni** '(he) seeing'
11. **tangrrutuk** 'they₂ see each other'

1. Or **tangerkuma**.

nayur- 'to look after'

1. **nayurtuq** 'he is looking after someone'
2. **nayurtellruuq** 'he looked after someone'
3. **nayurait** 'they are looking after them'
4. **nayua** 'look after someone!'
5. **nayurru** 'look after him!'
6. **nayuryugtuq** 'he wants to look after someone'
7. **nayurpailegma** 'before I look after someone'
8. **nayurniug** 'he says he's looking after someone'
9. **nayuquma** 'if I look after someone'
10. **nayurluni** '(he) looking after someone'
11. **nayuutuk** 'they₂ are looking after each other'

[e]ceg- 'to cut fish for drying'

1. **cegtuq** 'he is cutting fish'
2. **cellruuq** 'he cut fish'
3. **cegait** 'they are cutting them'
4. **ceg'a** 'cut fish!'
5. **cegg'u** 'cut it!'
6. **cegyugtuq** 'he wants to cut fish'
7. **cegpailegma** 'before I cut fish'
8. **cegniug** 'he says he's cutting fish'
9. **cek'uma** 'if I cut fish'
10. **cegluni** '(he) cutting fish'
11. **ceg'utuk** 'they₂ are cutting fish with or each other'

at'e- 'to put on (clothes)

1. **at'uq** 'he is putting something on'
2. **at'ellruuq** 'he put something on'
3. **atait** 'they put them on'
4. **at'en** 'put something on!'
5. **asgu** 'put it on!'
6. **ac'ugtuq** 'he wants to put something on'
7. **apailegma** 'before I put something on'
8. **atniug** 'he says he is putting something on'
9. **askuma** 'if I put something on'
10. **all'uni** '(he) by putting something on'
11. **as'utuk** 'they₂ put something on together'

nerenrite- 'to not eat'

1. **nerenrituq** 'he isn't eating'
2. ***nerenritellruuq**¹ 'he didn't eat'
3. **nerenritait** 'they are eating them'
4. **nerenrilu** 'don't eat!'
5. **nerenrilgu** 'don't eat it!'
6. ***nerenricugtuq**² 'he wants to not eat'
7. ***nerenripailegma**³ 'before I didn't eat'
8. **nerenritniug** 'he says he isn't eating'
9. **nerenrilkuma** 'if I don't eat'
10. **nerevkenani**⁴ '(he) without eating'
11. ***nerenrilutuk**⁵ 'together they₂ aren't eating'

1. This is a contrived form listed here for the sake of completeness; the normal form for 'he didn't eat' is **nerellrunrituq**.

2. This is a contrived form listed here for the sake of completeness; the normal form for 'he doesn't want to eat' is **neryunrituq**.

3. This is a contrived form listed here for the sake of completeness.

4. With other (expanded) bases ending in special **te**, only the **te** is dropped and **@nani** used instead of **@~+luni**, but with bases in **-nrite-**, the entire postbase is replaced as here.

5. This is a contrived form listed here for the sake of completeness. The normal form for 'they₂ aren't eating together' is **nerutenrituk**.

APPENDIX C

Inflection of Demonstratives (and Similarly Inflected Words)

Note that *localis* and *terminalis* singular pronouns are like *ablative-modalis* singular but have **mi** and **mun** respectively instead of **mek**, *localis*, *terminalis*, *vialis* and *equalis* plural pronouns are like *ablative-modalis* plural but have **ni**, **nun**, **tgun**, and **cetun** respectively instead of **nek**, and *localis*, *terminalis*, *vialis* and *equalis* dual pronouns are like the *ablative-modalis* dual but have **gni**, **gnun**, **negun**, and **gcetun** respectively instead of **gnek**.

	<i>Extended</i> (moving, long, or of large extent)	<i>Restricted</i> (stationary, localized, visible)	<i>Obscured</i> (stationary, indistinct or out of sight)
(that one) over there			
<i>pronoun forms:</i>			
<i>absolute singular</i>	aug̃na ¹	ingna	amna
<i>relative singular</i>	aug̃'um	ing'um	am'um
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	aug̃'umek	ing'umek	am'umek
<i>vialis singular</i>	aug̃'ukun	ing'ukun	am'ukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	aug̃'utun	ing'utun	am'utun
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	aug̃kut	ingkut	amkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	aug̃kunek	ingkunek	amkunek
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	aug̃kuk	ingkuk	amkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	aug̃kugnek	ingkugnek	amkugnek
<i>adverb forms:</i>			
<i>localis</i>	avani	yaani	amani
<i>terminalis</i>	avavet	yaavet	amavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	avatmun	yaatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	avaken	yaaken	amaken
<i>vialis</i>	avaggun	yaaggun	amaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	ava-i	yaa-i	ama-i

1. **aug̃na** also means 'that one going away' or 'that one from whom we are going away.'

(that one) across there

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	agna	ikna¹	akemna
<i>relative singular</i>	ag'um	ik'um	ak'mum
<i>ablative-modalis s.ingular</i>	ag'umek	ik'umek	ak'mumek
<i>vialis singular</i>	ag'ukun	ik'ukun	ak'mukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	ag'utun	ik'utun	ak'mutun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	agkut	ikegkut	akemkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	agkunek	ikegkunek	akemkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	agkuk	ikegkuk	akemkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	agkugnek	ikegkugnek	akemkugnek
<i>adverb forms:</i>			
<i>localis</i>	agaani²	ikani	akmani
<i>terminalis</i>	agaavet	ikavet	akmavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	agaatmun	ikatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	agaaken	ikaken	akmaken
<i>vialis</i>	agaaggun	ikaggun	akmaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	agaa-i	ika-i	akma

(that one) up the slope

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	paug̃na	pingna	pamna
<i>relative singular</i>	paug̃'um	ping'um	pam'um
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	paug̃'umek	ping'umek	pam'umek
<i>vialis singular</i>	paug̃'ukun	ping'ukun	pam'ukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	paug̃'utun	ping'utun	pam'utun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	paug̃kut	pingkut	pamkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	paug̃kunek	pingkunek	pamkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	paug̃kuk	pingkuk	pamkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	paug̃kugnek	pingkugnek	pamkugnek
<i>adverb forms:</i>			
<i>localis</i>	pavani	piani	pamani
<i>terminalis</i>	pavavet	piavet	pamavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	pavatmun	piatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	pavaken	piaken	pamaken
<i>vialis</i>	pavaggun	piaggun	pamaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	pava-i	pia-i	pama-i

1. Or **ikeggna**.2. **iini**, **iivet**, etc. in NSU and Nun.

(that one) up above

pronoun forms:

<i>absolutive singular</i>	pagna	pikna¹	pakemna
<i>relative singular</i>	pag'um	pik'um	pak'mum
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	pag'umek	pik'umek	pak'mumek
<i>vialis singular</i>	pag'ukun	pik'ukun	pak'mukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	pag'utun	pik'utun	pak'mutun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	pagkut	pikegkut	pakemkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	pagkunek	pikegkunek	pakemkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	pagkuk	pikegkuk	pakemkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	pagkugnek	pikegkugnek	pakemkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	pagaani²	pikani	pakmani
<i>terminalis</i>	pagaavet	pikavet	pakmavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	pagaatmun	pikatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	pagaaken	pikaken	pakmaken
<i>vialis</i>	pagaaggun	pikaggun	pakmaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	pagaa-i	pika-i	pakma

(that one) inside, inland or upriver

pronoun forms:

<i>absolutive singular</i>	qauḡna	kiugna	qamna
<i>relative singular</i>	qauḡ'um	kiugum³	qam'um
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	qauḡ'umek	kiugumek	qam'umek
<i>vialis singular</i>	qauḡ'ukun	kiugukun	qam'ukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	qauḡ'utun	kiugutun	qam'utun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	qauḡkut	kiugkut	qamkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	qauḡkunek	kiugkunek	qamkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	qauḡkuk	kiugkuk	qamkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	qauḡkugnek	kiugkugnek	qamkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	qavani	kiani	qamani
<i>terminalis</i>	qavavet	kiavet	qamavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	qavatmun	kiatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	qavaken	kiaken	qamaken
<i>vialis</i>	qavaggun	kiaggun	qamaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	qava-i	kia-i	qama-i

1. Or **pikeggna**.2. **piini**, **piivet**, etc. in NSU and Nun.3. **kiuḡ'um**, **kiuḡ'umek** etc. in HBC.

(that one) outside

pronoun forms:

<i>absolutive singular</i>	qagna	keggna	qakemna
<i>relative singular</i>	qag'um	kegg'um	qak'mum
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	qag'umek	kegg'umek	qak'mumek
<i>vialis singular</i>	qag'ukun	kegg'ukun	qak'mukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	qag'utun	kegg'utun	qak'mutun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	qagkut	kegkut	qakemkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	qagkunek	keggkunek	qakemkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	qagkuk	keggkuk	qakemkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	qagkugnek	keggkugnek	qakemkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	qagaani¹	keggani	qakmani
<i>terminalis</i>	qagaavet	keggavet	qakmavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	qagaatmun	keggatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	qagaaken	keggaken	qakmaken
<i>vialis</i>	qagaaggun	keggaggun	qakmaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	qagaa-i	kegga-i	qakma

(that one) down below or down the slope

pronoun forms:

<i>absolutive singular</i>	un'a	kan'a	camna
<i>relative singular</i>	un'um	kat'um	cam'um
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	un'umek	kat'umek	cam'umek
<i>vialis singular</i>	un'ukun	kat'ukun	cam'ukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	un'utun	kat'utun	cam'utun
<i>abs. / rel. plural</i>	unkut	kankut	camkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	unkunek	kankunek	camkunek
<i>abs. / rel. dual</i>	unkuk	kankuk	camkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	unkugnek	kankugnek	camkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	unani	kanani	camani
<i>terminalis</i>	unavet	kanavet	camavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	unatmun	kanatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	unaken	kanaken	camaken
<i>vialis</i>	unaggun	kanaggun	camaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	una-i	kana-i	cama-i

1. **qiini**, **qiivet**, etc. in NSU and Nun.

(that one) downriver or near the exit

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	unegna	ugna	cakemna
<i>relative singular</i>	un'gum	ug'um	cak'mum
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	un'gumek	ug'umek	cak'mumek
<i>vialis singular</i>	un'gukun	ug'ukun	cak'mukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	un'gutun	ug'utun	cak'mutun
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	unegkut	ugkut	cakemkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	unegkunek	ugkunek	cakemkunek
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	unegkuk	ugkuk	cakemkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	unegkugnek	ugkugnek	cakemkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	un'gani¹	uani	cakmani
<i>terminalis</i>	un'gavet	uavet	cakmavet
<i>second terminalis</i>	un'gatmun	uatmun	—
<i>ablative</i>	un'gaken	uaken	cakmaken
<i>vialis</i>	un'gaggun	uaggun	cakmaggun
<i>predicative form</i>	un'ga-i	ua-i	cakma

(this one) here, near speaker

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	man'a	una	imna
<i>relative singular</i>	mat'um	uum	im'um
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	mat'umek	uumek	im'umek
<i>vialis singular</i>	mat'ukun	uuggun	im'ukun
<i>equalis singular</i>	mat'utun	uutun	im'utun
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	makut	ukut	imkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	makunek	ukunek	imkunek
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	makuk	ukuk	imkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	makugnek	ukugnek	imkugnek

adverb forms:

<i>localis</i>	maani	wani	— ²
<i>terminalis</i>	maavet	wavet	—
<i>second terminalis</i>	maatmun	—	—
<i>ablative</i>	maaken	waken	—
<i>vialis</i>	maaggun	uuggun	—
<i>equalis</i>	maaten³	waten	--
<i>predicative form</i>	maa-i	waniwa	—

1. Or **un'gaani**, **un'gaavet**, etc.2. Adverb forms such as **imani**, 'at that aforementioned location,' exist only in NSU.3. **maaten** has the special meaning 'lo and behold' and is used only in the observational construction

(that one) there, near listener or in context

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	tamana	tauna	—
<i>relative singular</i>	tamatum	taum	—
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	tamatumek	taumek	—
<i>vialis singular</i>	tamatukun	taukun	—
<i>equalis singular</i>	tamatutun	tautun	—
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	tamakut	taukut	—
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	tamakunek	taukunek	—
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	tamakuk	taukuk	—
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	tamakugnek	taukugnek	—
<i>adverb forms:</i>			
<i>localis</i>	tamaani	tuani ¹	—
<i>terminalis</i>	tamaavet	tuavet	—
<i>second terminalis</i>	tamaatmun	—	—
<i>ablative</i>	tamaaken	tuaken	—
<i>vialis</i>	tamaaggun	tuaggun	—
<i>equalis</i>	—	tuaten	—
<i>predicative form</i>	tamaa-i	tua-i ²	tayima ³

(that one) coming this way

pronoun forms:

<i>absolute singular</i>	ukna ⁴	—	—
<i>relative singular</i>	uk'um	—	—
<i>ablative-modalis singular</i>	uk'umek	—	—
<i>vialis singular</i>	uk'ukun	—	—
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	ukegkut	—	—
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	ukegkunek	—	—
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	ukegkuk	—	—
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	ukegkugnek	—	—
<i>adverb forms:</i>			
<i>localis</i>	ukani	—	—
<i>terminalis</i>	ukavet	—	—
<i>second terminalis</i>	ukatmun	—	—
<i>ablative</i>	ukaken	—	—
<i>vialis</i>	ukaggun	—	—
<i>predicative form</i>	uka-i	—	—

1. **tavani**, **tavavet**, etc. in NS and HBC.2. **tua-i** also means 'that's all' or 'enough.'3. **tayima** has the special meaning 'gone, not here.' NSU has **taima** for this.4. Or **ukeggna**.

where?

interrogative adverb:

<i>localis</i>	nani
<i>(second) terminalis</i>	natmun
<i>ablative</i>	naken
<i>vialis</i>	naw'un¹
<i>predicative form</i>	nauwa²

who?

interrogative pronoun:

<i>absolute</i>	kina
<i>relative</i>	kia³
<i>ablative-modalis</i>	kitumek
<i>vialis</i>	kitukun
<i>equalis</i>	kitutun
<i>abs./rel. plural</i>	kinkut
<i>abl.-mod. plural</i>	kinkunek
<i>abs./rel. dual</i>	kinkuk
<i>abl.-mod. dual</i>	kinkugnek

* * *

The table below (from Miyaoka, 1984), which follows the same arrangement as the table above, shows the prefixed, anaphoric demonstrative pronouns and localis adverbs as *used only in Unaliq Norton Sound*. Note that in NSU **ug** is used throughout rather than **uġ** so that, for example, **auġna** as used elsewhere is **augna** in NSU.

taugna / taavani	taingna / taingani⁴	taamna / taamani
taagna / taagani	taikna / taikani	taakemna / taakmani
taspaugna / taspavani	taspingna / taspiani	taspamna / taspamani
taspagna / taspini	taspikna / taspikani	taspakemna / taspakmani
tasqaugna / tasqavani	taskiugna / taskiani	tasqamna / tasqamani
tasqagna / tasqiini	taskeggna / taskeggani	tasqakemna / tasqakmani
taun'a / taunani	taskan'a / taskanani	tascamna / tascamani
taunegna / taun'gani	taugna / taugani	tascakemna / tascakmani
tamana / tamaani	tauna / tavani	taimna / taimani
taukna / taukani		

1. **nagg'un** in some areas.
2. **naugga** in some areas.
3. **kitum** in some areas.
4. Or **tasiani**.

YUP'IK-TO-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

This is a Yup'ik-to-English glossary *only* of the words appearing as vocabulary words in this book (not in the supplements to the chapters).

A checkmark, “√,” indicates that a word is presented in the course of the chapter rather than in the specific vocabulary section for that chapter; such words are derived words which are lexicalized or coalesce as being equivalent to a particular English word, or they are words with meanings additional to the basic meaning. Some words have two or three chapter numbers because they are presented several times in the text. For example, some words are presented once in a vocabulary section, again when the postbase forming them is discussed, and again as part of a system.

Words such as ‘it,’ ‘him,’ ‘something,’ given in parentheses as part of the translation of a verb, are only intended to clarify the meaning of the verb in question, and should not be taken as a consistent schematic to show how the verb functions. More information on how each verb functions can be found in the *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*.

As for the categorization of verbs into *intrans. only*, *trans. only*, *agentive*, or *patientive*, one should understand that in a suitable context — explicitly indicated in speech or otherwise — a transitive-only verb base can in fact sometimes take an intransitive ending, an intransitive-only verb base can in fact sometimes take a transitive ending, etc. Transitive-only bases, especially those formed with the postbase @:(u)te-, can often take intransitive non-singular endings with a reciprocal meaning. Also the category of a given verb base may be different for different dialects or indeed for different Yup'ik speakers within one dialect.

aana ‘mother’ Chap. 5, 23

aar- ‘find something hazardous’ (*emotional root*) Chap. 19

aata ‘father’ Chap. 5, 23

ac'inqigte- ‘to change clothes’ (*agentive*) Chap. 20√

acak ‘paternal aunt’ Chap. 23

aci ‘bed, space under’ Chap. 7, 7√

acir- ‘to name’ (*trans. only*) Chap. 11√

acitmun ‘downwards’ (*particle— from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√

ackiik ‘eyeglasses’ Chap. 11

acuraq ‘aunt by marriage’ Chap. 23

agaa(ni) ‘across there (extended)’ Chap. 12

agarte- ‘to hang (it) up’ (*trans. only*) Chap. 12

agayu- ‘to pray’ (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4

agayulirta ‘minister, priest’ Chap. 4, 8√

Agayuneq ‘Sunday’ Chap. 11

agayuvik ‘church’ Chap. 4, 7√

age- ‘to go over’ (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4

- agiirte-** 'to approach from the distance' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
- agna** 'that one across there (extended)' Chap. 6, 12
- agtur-** 'to be touching (something)' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- ai** 'what did you say?' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- aipaagni** 'on the other hand; maybe' (*particle, from localis*) Chap. 24
- aipaq** 'partner, companion, spouse, other of a pair' Chap. 7
- aipir-** 'to accompany' (*patientive*) Chap. 11[√]
- Aipirin** 'Tuesday' Chap. 11
- ak'a** 'already' (*particle*) Chap. 8
- ak'a imumi** 'back then' (*particle*) Chap. 23
- ak'a tamaani** 'long ago' (*particle*) Chap. 23
- ak'allaq*** 'old thing' Chap. 5
- ak'allau-** 'to be old' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5[√]
- ak'anek** 'since some time ago' Chap. 11
- akag-** 'to roll' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
- akagte-** 'to roll' (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
- akakiik** 'whitefish' Chap. 10
- akeka** 'ouch' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- akemna** 'that one across there (obscured)' Chap. 6, 12
- akercir-** 'to be sunny' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15, 17[√]
- akerta** 'the sun' Chap. 15
- aki** 'money' Chap. 7, 7[√]
- akilir-** 'to pay' (*trans. only*) Chap. 11[√]
- akimiaq** 'fifteen' Chap. 23
- akimiarunrita'ar** 'fourteen' Chap. 23
- akinge-** 'to earn money' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
- akiviutaq** 'wallet' Chap. 22
- akleng** 'poor thing, too bad' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- akluq** 'article of clothing or bedding' Chap. 13
- akma(ni)** 'across there (obscured)' Chap. 12
- akngirte-** 'to get hurt, to hurt' Chap. 17
- akqe-** 'to promise' (*agentive*) Chap. 18
- akula^e** 'area in between' Chap. 17
- akutaq** 'Eskimo ice cream' Chap. 3, 14[√]
- akute-** 'to make a mixture (especially Eskimo ice cream)' (*agentive*) Chap. 14
- akwaugaq** 'yesterday' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- alia-** 'bored, lonely' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- aliiman** 'mitten, glove' Chap. 5
- alike-** 'to be afraid of, to fear (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
- alinge-** 'to be afraid' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- alingnarqe-** 'to be frightening' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- alla** 'other thing, another thing' Chap. 14
- allakar-** 'separately' (*quantifier / qualifier root*) Chap. 19
- allaneq** 'visitor' Chap. 7
- alleg-** 'to tear' (*patientive*) Chap. 18
- allragni** 'last year' (*particle; from localis*) Chap. 24
- allraku** 'next year' (*particle*) Chap. 24
- allrakuaqan** 'every year; yearly' (*particle — from contingent*) Chap. 20
- allrakuq** 'year' Chap. 11
- alqaq** 'older sister; older female parallel cousin' Chap. 5, 23
- alular-** 'he is steering' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- ama(ni)** 'over there (obscured)' Chap. 12
- amar-** 'to carry something on one's back' (*agentive*) Chap. 18
- amata^e** 'area beyond (possessor)' Chap. 7
- amauq** 'great grandparent' Chap. 23
- amiik** 'door' Chap. 5
- amiir-** 'to skin (it), to remove the skin from it' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12[√]
- amiq** 'skin' Chap. 9
- amirlu-** 'to be cloudy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- amirluq** 'cloud' Chap. 16

- amlleq** 'much' Chap. 5
amller- 'to be much or many' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
amlleret 'many (things)' Chap. 5
amirlir- 'to be cloudy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
amna 'that one over there (obscured)' Chap. 6. 12
ampi 'let's go, hurry up' (*particle*) Chap. 10
an'garaq 'female's brother's child (nephew or niece)' Chap. 23
anaana 'maternal aunt' Chap. 23
anainessaaq 'onion' Chap. 18
ane- 'to go out' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
anelgun 'age-mate, littermate' Chap. 23√
angak 'maternal uncle' Chap. 23
angayuqaq 'parent, boss' Chap. 5
ange- 'to be big' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
angeq 'chewing gum' Chap. 15
anger- 'to acquiesce (to his wish), to agree' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
angertur- 'to chew gum' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15√
anglanaite- 'to not be fun; to not be enjoyable' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19√
anglanarqe- 'to be fun; to be enjoyable' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19√
anglani- 'to enjoy; to watch with enjoyment; to have fun' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
angli- 'to grow' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14√
angli-lli 'so much!, so many!' (*particle*) Chap. 10
angllur- 'to submerge' Chap. 22
angniite- 'to be sad' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
angnir- 'to be happy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
angqaq 'ball' Chap. 19
angqar- 'to play ball' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
angu- 'to catch (game animal) after chasing it; to be old enough to have experienced (it) in ones younger years' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
anguarun 'paddle; propeller blade' Chap. 16√
angun 'man' Chap. 3, 16√
anguyagta 'soldier; government' Chap. 18
angyaq 'boat' Chap. 3
angyarlluk 'raft' Chap. 16√
angyayagaq 'shrew' Chap. 21√
anluaq 'hole in the ice for fishing' Chap. 22
anngaq 'older brother; older male parallel cousin' Chap. 5, 23
anuqa^e 'wind' Chap. 20
anuqlir- 'to be windy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
apa'urluq 'grandfather' Chap. 7, 21√, 23
apertur- 'to point (it) out' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
apiataq 'lunch' Chap. 17
apiatar- 'to eat lunch' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
apte- 'to ask (him)' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
aqessngaar- 'to sneeze' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
aqeste- 'to sneeze' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
aqlin 'earring' Chap. 18
aqsak 'stomach' Chap. 10
aqsaq 'stomach' Chap. 10
aqsi- 'to be full (of food)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
aqsique- 'to have a stomach ache' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11√
aqui- 'to play (physically)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
aqume- 'to sit down' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
aqumga- 'to be (in a) seated (state)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12√
aqumlleq 'chair' Chap. 10
aqumllitaq 'chair' Chap. 10
aqva- 'to go to get (it), to fetch' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8

- aqvai-** 'to go get food from the fishcamp' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- aqvate-** 'to go get something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- aqvaqur-** 'to run' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- arcik** 'male's wife's sister's husband, brother-in-law (in that narrow sense)' Chap. 23
- aren** 'oops' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- arenqiapaa** 'too bad, but that's the way it is' (*particle; exclamatory form*) Chap. 10
- arenqiate-** 'for there to be an unfortunate, undesirable, but irremediable situation' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- arnaq** 'woman' Chap. 3
- aru-** 'to become rotten; to ripen' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- arulair-** 'to stop (moving from one place to another)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- aruqe-** 'to distribute things (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
- arvinlegen** 'six' Chap. 11, 23
- aryuqe-** 'to be glad to see (him)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 20
- asemte-** 'to break (it) in two' (*patientive*) Chap. 9
- asgur-** 'to go against (the current), to go upriver' (*agentive*) Chap. 22
- asguruaq** 'parka ruff' Chap. 17
- asme-** 'to break in two' (of a relatively long object) (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9
- asnguar-** 'to try on (clothing)' (*agentive*) Chap. 15√
- assali-** 'to make pancakes' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- assaliaq** 'pancake' Chap. 15
- assiilke-** 'to dislike' (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
- assiite-** 'to be bad' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3√
- assike-** 'to like' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
- assili-** 'to enjoy oneself, to have a good time' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- assir-** 'to be good, to be nice, to be well' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- asveq** 'walrus' Chap. 3
- at'e-** 'to put on (an article of clothing)' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- ata** 'let me see, wait a second' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- ataam** 'again' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- ataata** 'paternal uncle' Chap. 23
- atak** 'well now' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- ataki** 'well now' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- ataku** 'evening; this evening' (*particle*) Chap. 17
- atakutaq** 'evening meal, dinner' Chap. 17
- atakutar-** 'to eat the evening meal' Chap. 17
- atam** 'look here, pay attention' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- atata** 'later' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- atataku** 'later' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- atauciq** 'one' Chap. 11, 23
- atellgun** 'one with the same name, one named after the same person' Chap. 23√
- ateq** 'name' Chap. 4
- aterter-** 'to drift with the current' (*impersonal subject trans. = intrans.*) Chap. 21
- atkuk** 'parka' Chap. 3
- atrar-** 'he is going down (it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
- atsalugpiaq** 'salmonberry, cloudberry' Chap. 3
- atsaq** 'berry, fruit' Chap. 4
- atsayagaq** 'raisin' Chap. 21√
- atur-** 'to use or wear (something); to sing' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
- aturaq** 'garment' Chap. 14√
- au-** 'to supplement (with something)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
- auggluk** 'bloodstain, puddle of blood' Chap. 18
- aug'ar-** 'to get out of the way' (*agentive*) Chap. 20

- augna** 'that one over there (extended); the one going away from speaker or which speaker has gone past' Chap. 6
- auk** 'blood' Chap. 18
- aullu** 'watch out' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- auluke-** 'to take care of' (*trans. only*) Chap. 24
- aur-** 'to gather (things)' (*agentive*) Chap. 22
- aurre-** 'to crawl (to or across)' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
- ava(ni)** 'over there (extended); in the area which speaker has gone past' Chap. 6
- avani ciuqvani** 'long ago' (*particle*) Chap. 23
- avata^e** 'area around (possessor)' Chap. 7
- aveg-** 'to split in two' (*patientive*) Chap. 23
- avek** 'half' Chap. 23
- avelngaq** 'mouse' Chap. 8
- avu-** 'to supplement (with something)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
- avur-** 'to gather (things)' (*agentive*) Chap. 22
- ayag-** 'to leave' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- ayuqe-** 'to be like (something), to resemble (something), to be alike' (*agentive*) Chap. 6
- ayuquciq** 'what something is like' Chap. 20[√]
- ca** 'what?' Chap. 11
- ca-** 'to do what (to, with, toward)?' (*agentive*) Chap. 11
- caaniik, cainiik** 'kettle' Chap. 18
- caaqami, caaqameng, caaqamta** etc. 'at certain times for him, them, us, etc' (*particle—from contingent*) Chap. 16[√]
- caarralaaq** 'sugar' Chap. 10
- caayuq** 'tea' Chap. 6
- cagte-** 'to spread (it) out' (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
- cakemna** 'that one downriver; that one toward the exit (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
- cakiq** 'parent-in-law' Chap. 23
- cakiraq** 'sibling-in-law in the sense of sibling of one's spouse' Chap. 23
- cakma(ni)** 'downriver; toward the exit, (obscured)' Chap. 14
- cakneq** 'very much' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- cakuciq** 'what kind?' Chap. 11
- cakviur-** 'to have a hard time, to endure troubles' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
- cali** 'more, still' Chap. 2
- cali-** 'to work' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- caliarka** 'chore to be done' Chap. 14[√]
- calissuun** 'tool' Chap. 8[√]
- calista** 'worker' Chap. 8[√]
- callmag-** 'to patch' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- cam iliini** 'sometimes' (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 23
- cama(ni)** 'down below; down the slope, (obscured)' Chap. 14
- cama-i** 'hello, pleased to meet you, good to see you again' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- camna** 'that one down below; that one down the slope (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
- can'giiq** 'blackfish' Chap. 15
- canek** 'grass' Chap. 17
- cangate-** 'for something to be amiss with it' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12
- cange-** 'to catch fish' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- cangraan** 'whatever the case' (*particle—from concessive*) Chap. 16[√]
- cangtaq** 'a caught fish or snared animal' Chap. 20
- caniq** 'space to the side' Chap. 7
- cap'akiq** 'shoe, boot (not native style)' Chap. 11
- caperr-** 'find something difficult' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- caqerluni** 'pretty soon, on one occasion, once' (*particle—from subordinative*) Chap. 13[√]

- caqu** 'wrapping' Chap. 12
caqu- 'to wrap' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
caranglluk 'debris' Chap. 15
carayak 'bear; monster' Chap. 23
caskaq 'cup' Chap. 6
cass'aq 'watch; clock; hour' Chap. 14
cat iliitni 'sometime' (*particle - from localis*) Chap. 23
cataite- 'to not be here' Chap. 13
cauciq 'what something is' Chap. 20[√]
cave- 'to row' Chap. 13
cavte- 'to intentionally touch or feel (it) with ones hand(s)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
cavun 'oar' Chap. 3, 16[√]
cayug- 'to pull toward oneself' (*agentive*) Chap. 22
ceg- 'to cut fish for drying' (*agentive*) Chap. 11
ceña 'shore; rim; edge' Chap. 7
ceñirte- 'to visit' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
cetaman 'four' Chap. 11, 23
Cetamirin 'Thursday' Chap. 11
cetuaq 'beluga' Chap. 22
cetuk 'fingernail; toenail' Chap. 22
ciin 'why?' (*particle*) Chap. 11
ciissiq 'insect' Chap. 22
ciite- 'to break (its shell), to crush (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
cikir- 'to give something to (him)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
cikiun 'gift, thing possessor has given' Chap. 16[√]
cikmir- 'to close ones eyes' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
cikna- 'to be envious' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
ciku 'ice' Chap. 6
ciku- 'to freeze' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9
cikuliurun 'ice pick' Chap. 20
cimir- 'to change; to exchange' (*patientive*) Chap. 14
cingar- 'to kiss' (*agentive*) Chap. 19
cingiq 'shoelace' Chap. 16
cingir- 'to tie ones shoes' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
cipluku 'having as a remainder' (*special subordinative used with in forming numerical terms*) Chap. 23
ciu 'front (of boat or other vehicle); time before' Chap. 7
ciuciqe- 'to have earache' Chap. 11[√]
ciug- 'tilting ones head up, looking up' (*postural root*) Chap. 18
ciuliaq 'ancestor' Chap. 20
ciun 'ear' Chap. 5
ciuqliq 'one farther or farthest in front; leader; older of oldest one' Chap. 14
ciuqlirmi 'at first' (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 14
ciur- 'to wring (it) out' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
ciutmun 'toward the front; forward' (*particle—from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
ciutnguaq 'dried fruit' Chap. 15[√]
civte- 'to set it (net, trap)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
cugg'aliq 'cracker, pilot bread' Chap. 24
cugkite- 'to be short' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
cugtu- 'to be tall' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
cuignilnguq 'otter' Chap. 16
cuka- 'to be fast' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
cukaite- 'to be slow' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3[√]
cumaci- 'repulsed' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
cumilngu- 'to be peeved because of someone else's good fortune which one feels that one deserves oneself' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
cunaw' 'the reason was that; it turned out that' (*particle*) Chap. 21
cunawa 'the reason was that; it turned out that' (*particle*) Chap. 21

- angagliq** 'green thing' Chap. 14
cape- for the river ice to break up in spring' *intrans. only*) Chap. 20
cape- to blow on' (*trans. only*) Chap. 20
capegte- to be homesick' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
curaq 'blueberry' Chap. 4
Curyuk 'Dillingham' Chap. 4
cuukiiq 'sock' Chap. 11
cuukvaguaq 'alder' Chap. 22
egaleq 'window' Chap. 5
egamaarrluk 'partially dried fish boiled for eating' Chap. 18
egan 'pot' Chap. 6, 16[√]
egmian 'right away, immediately' (*particle*) Chap. 11
egmianun 'right away, immediately' (*particle*) Chap. 11
egte- 'to throw (it) away' (*transitive only*) Chap. 12
egturyaq 'mosquito' Chap. 11
eke- 'to get in; to put it in' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
ekua- 'to burn' (*patientive*) Chap. 14
ekvik 'cut bank of a river, cliff' Chap. 24
elag- 'to dig' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
elata^e 'space outside' Chap. 7
elaturraq 'enclosed porch; entryway to house' Chap. 13
elaute- 'to bury' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
elitaqe- 'to recognize' (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
elite- 'to learn' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
elitnaur- 'to study, to teach' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
elitnauraq 'student' Chap. 14[√]
elitnaurista 'teacher' Chap. 4, 8[√]
elitnaurvik 'school' Chap. 3, 7[√]
ella 'outside, weather, awareness, world' Chap. 4
ellait 'they, them' (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
ellallir- 'to rain' (*intrans.*) Chap. 15, 17[√]
ellalluk 'rain' Chap. 16[√]
elli- 'to put' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
ellii 'he, she, him, her' (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
ellimer- 'to tell or order (him) to do something' (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
ellivik 'cache' Chap. 24
ellmeggnun '(to) they (themselves)' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18, 21
ellmikun 'nothing in particular; for no particular reason' (*particle from vialis*) Chap. 21[√]
ellminek etc. 'himself, herself' (*personal pronoun in abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
ellminun '(to) he (himself)' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18, 21
ellngar- 'to leak liquid out, to spurt liquid out' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
elpeceñun '(to) you_{pl}' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18, 21
elpeci 'you_{pl}' (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
elpenek 'yourself' (*personal pronoun in abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
elpenun '(to) you₁' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18
elpet 'you' (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
eluciq 'the form of something' Chap. 20[√]
elucira(ar)- 'to gesture (to him)' (*agentive*) Chap. 23
emute- 'to go to the clinic; to take to the clinic' Chap. 14
[e]na^e 'house' Chap. 4
enair- 'to take (his) place (i.e. the physical place he was occupying)' Chap. 12[√]
eneq 'bone' Chap. 16
ente- 'to go down (of tide, water)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
epu 'handle, shaft' Chap. 19
eqiur- 'to chop wood' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10, 11[√]
eqnarqe- 'to be infuriating, to make one angry' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19

- erina** 'voice' Chap. 23
- eritar-** 'to pluck (a bird)' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
- ermig-** 'to wash ones face' (*patientive*) Chap. 12
- erneq** 'day' Chap. 13
- erte-** 'for day to break, for dawn to come' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- erur-** 'to wash (utensil, animal skin, etc.)' (*transitive only*) Chap. 12
- estuuluq** 'table' Chap. 3
- et'u-** 'to be deep' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- ete-** 'to be' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6[√]
- etgate-** 'to be shallow' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- evcug-** 'to shake or brush snow or dirt off oneself or another' (*patientive*) Chap. 19
- icivaq** 'a few days or weeks ago' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- icivaqu** 'a few days or weeks from now' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- iciwa** 'you know, remember' (*particle*) Chap. 23
- icugg'** 'you know, remember' (*particle*) Chap. 23
- igar-** 'to write, to write to' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
- igarcuun** 'pencil, pen' Chap. 8[√]
- igcete-** 'to drop' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9[√]
- ige-** 'to swallow' (*agentive*) Chap. 10
- iggiayuli** 'owl' Chap. 24
- igta** 'den, lair' Chap. 3
- igte-** 'to fall (from a height)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- igvar-** 'to appear, to come into view, to have (it) come into one's view' (*patientive*) Chap. 22
- igyaraq** 'throat' Chap. 20[√]
- ii** 'eye' Chap. 5
- ii-i** 'yes' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- iilliqe-** 'to have eye trouble' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16[√]
- iingir-** 'to be snowblind' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12[√]
- iinru-** 'to take medicine' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- iinruq** 'medicine' (*originally* 'amulet') Chap. 11
- iir-** 'to hide' (*patientive*) Chap. 17
- ika(ni)** 'across there (restricted)' Chap. 10
- ikamraq** 'sled' Chap. 3
- ikayur-** 'to help' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
- ikayuute-** 'to help out' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8[√]
- ikgete-** 'to be few in number' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- ikir-** 'open' (*postural root*) Chap. 12, 19
- ikna** 'that one across there (restricted)' Chap. 6, 10
- ila** 'relative, one (of), some (of)' Chap. 7
- ila-i** 'eek!, how scary!' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- ilangcia(rar)-** 'to playfully tease' (*agentive*) Chap. 23
- ilavkuk** 'rope' Chap. 16
- ilu** 'area inside, guts' Chap. 7, 7[√]
- ilungaq** 'female's female cross cousin' Chap. 23
- ilupeq** 'underwear; undershirt; tee shirt' Chap. 20
- iluperaq** 'great grandchild' Chap. 23
- ilur(aq)** 'male's male cross cousin' Chap. 23
- iluteqe-** 'to cry due to emotion (grief, joy — not pain)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- ilutmun** 'inwards' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
- imaite-** 'to be empty' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3[√]
- imange-** 'to leak (water in)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
- imaq** 'contents; bullet' Chap. 3
- imaqaar(ar)-** 'to be full up' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- imarmiutaq** 'mink' Chap. 12
- imarpik** 'ocean, sea' Chap. 6

- imir-** 'to put something into (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 11√
- imuciq** 'a thing like the aforementioned one which we know bout, what-cha-ma-call-it, thig-a-ma-jig' Chap. 7√
- inna** 'that one, the aforementioned one known to both speaker and listener (obscured)' Chap. 6
- inar-** 'lie down, go to bed, recline' (*pos-tural root*) Chap. 2, 19
- ingleq** 'bed' Chap. 7
- ingna** 'that one over there (restricted)' Chap. 6
- Ingqiliq** 'Indian' Chap. 24
- ingriq** 'mountain' Chap. 4
- ini-** 'to hang (it) up to dry' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
- initaq** 'horizontal pole on which fish is hung to dry' Chap. 21
- inivik** 'clothesline' Chap. 21
- inqe-** 'to talk to a baby with cooing words' (*trans. only*) Chap. 24
- inqutaq** 'the particular cooing words used with a certain baby' Chap. 24
- ipeg-** 'to be sharp' Chap. 6
- ipegcar-** 'to sharpen' (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
- ipegcarissuun** 'whetstone' Chap. 18
- ipgiate-** 'to be dull (of knife, needle, etc.)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- ipuum** 'ladle' Chap. 16√
- iqua-** 'to be dirty' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- iqair-** 'to wash (clothing)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12√, 14
- iqairissuun** 'washing machine' Chap. 8√
- iqalluk** 'dog salmon' Chap. 16, 16√
- iquaq** 'dirt' Chap. 12
- iqkite-** 'to be narrow' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- iqu-** 'to tell a lie (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 13
- iququ-** 'to tell a lie (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 13
- iqmig-** 'to chew tobacco; to hold (it) in ones mouth' Chap. 16
- iqmiggluk** 'tobacco stain on lips' Chap. 16√
- iqmik** 'chewing tobacco' Chap. 16
- iqsuk** 'left hand, one on the left side' Chap. 19
- iqsuq** 'left hand, one on the left side' Chap. 19
- iqtu-** 'to be wide' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- iquk** 'end' Chap. 10
- iqvar-** 'to pick berries, to pick (them)' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
- iraluq** 'month; moon' Chap. 16
- irniange-** 'to get a child; to have a baby' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
- irniaq** 'child, offspring' Chap. 5, 14√
- irniaruaq** 'doll' Chap. 15√
- irr'i-** 'to be amazed (by)' (*agentive*) Chap. 24
- iruuq** 'leg' Chap. 5
- issuriq** 'spotted seal' Chap. 8
- it'gaq** 'foot' Chap. 5
- iter-** 'to come in, to enter (it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
- itercivik** 'jail' Chap. 9√
- itume-** 'to fall apart, to break into pieces' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- itumte-** 'to break (it) up' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
- ivrar-** 'to wade' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- kaaka** 'listen (for a sound)' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- kagi-** 'to sweep' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- kagin** 'broom' Chap. 16√
- kaig-** 'to be hungry' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- akeggli-** 'to have a runny nose' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- akeggluir-** 'to wipe ones nose' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- akeggluk** 'runny nasal mucus, snot' Chap. 16, 16√
- kalikaq** 'paper' Chap. 9

- kalikivik** 'post office' Chap. 14
kalmainaq 'pocket' Chap. 22
kalngak 'backpack' Chap. 17
kameksak 'ankle-high skin boot, mukluk' Chap. 5
kamilar- 'barefoot; taking off ones shoes' (*postural root*) Chap. 19
kaminiaq 'stove' Chap. 8
kan'a 'that one down below; that one down the slope, (restricted)' Chap. 6
kana(ni) 'down below; down the slope, (restricted)' Chap. 6
kanaqlak 'muskrat' Chap. 4
kangeq 'top, peak, ridge' Chap. 21
kantuuvvilaq 'potato' Chap. 18
kape- 'to stab' (*agentive*) Chap. 24
kapkaanaq 'trap (for catching animals)' Chap. 14
kasngu- 'embarrassed, ashamed' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
kass'aq 'white person' Chap. 3
kass'arte- 'to go to Bethel or Anchorage to shop' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14[√]
kassuute- 'to get married, to marry' (*agentive*) Chap. 14
kaug- 'to strike, hit' (*agentive*) Chap. 23
kaugtur- 'to strike, hit' (*agentive*) Chap. 23
kaviaq 'fox' Chap. 3
kavirliq 'red thing' Chap. 14
kayanguaq 'egg' Chap. 6
kegga(ni) 'outside (restricted)' Chap. 10
kegge- 'to bite' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
kegginaq 'face; sharp edge of knife blade' Chap. 17
kegglag 'saw' Chap. 23
kegglar- 'to saw' (*agentive*) Chap. 23
keggna 'that one outside (restricted)' Chap. 6, 10
keggun 'tooth' Chap. 7, 16[√]
kegluneq 'wolf' Chap. 17
keleg- 'to invite (to eat)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
kelipaq 'bread' Chap. 6
kelu 'area behind (building), area back from river' Chap. 7
kelutmun 'up the slope away from a body of water' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
kemek 'meat' Chap. 3
kemgite- 'to be skinny' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3[√]
kenagte- 'to groom (oneself or another)' (*patientive*) Chap. 19
keneq 'fire, match' Chap. 17
kenir- 'to cook' (*agentive*) Chap. 3, 11[√]
kenirraq 'cooked food' Chap. 14[√]
kenke- 'to love' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
kenugte- 'to groom (oneself or another)' (*patientive*) Chap. 19
kenurraq 'light, lamp' Chap. 6
kesianek 'always' (*particle — from abl. mod.*) Chap. 24
keta^e 'area in front (of building), area toward river' Chap. 7
ketetmun 'down the slope toward a body of water' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
keveg- 'to lift' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
kia(ni) 'in there; upriver, (restricted)' Chap. 6
kiak 'summer' Chap. 13
kiarte- 'to look around (for it), to scan ones surroundings (for it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 20
kiata^e 'area away from exit (from possessor)' Chap. 7
kiatmun 'toward further into the building; toward upriver' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
kii- 'only, alone' (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
kiiki 'hurry up' (*particle*) Chap. 10
kiimete- 'to be alone' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19[√]
kiipir- 'standing on tiptoes' (*postural root*) Chap. 19

- kiircete-** 'to be hot (weather)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- kiiryug-** 'to be hot, to feel hot (person)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- kiituani** 'finally, thereafter' Chap. 24
- kilineq** 'wound' Chap. 21
- kilir-** 'to cut (oneself or another)' (*patientive*) Chap. 21
- kina** 'who?' Chap. 11
- kiner-** 'to dry' (*impersonal subject trans. = intrans.*) Chap. 21
- kingu** 'rear (of boat or other vehicle), time after' Chap. 7
- kinguqliq** 'younger sibling, younger parallel cousin' Chap. 5, 23
- kinguraute-** 'to be late (for an event)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- kingutmun** 'toward the rear' (*particle— from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
- kinguveq** 'descendant' Chap. 20
- kinkuu-** 'to be who (plural)?' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- kipusvik** 'store' Chap. 4, 7√
- kipute-** 'to buy' (*agentive*) Chap. 4
- kit'e-** 'to sink; to drown' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- kita** 'here, take it' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- kitak** 'go ahead' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- kitugte-** 'to fix' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
- kitur-** 'to go past (it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- kituu-** 'to be who?' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- kiu-** 'to answer' (*patientive*) Chap. 6
- kiugna** 'that one in there; that one upriver, (restricted)' Chap. 6
- Kuigpak** 'the Yukon River' Chap. 4√
- kuik** 'river' Chap. 3
- kuimar-** 'to swim' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- kuingiq** 'cigarette' Chap. 16
- kuingir-** 'to smoke' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- kumarte-** 'to ignite' (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
- kumeg-** 'to scratch (it)' (to relieve an itch) (*agentive*) Chap. 19
- kumlaneq** 'frozen fish which is eaten in that state' Chap. 21
- kumlate-** 'to be cold' (liquid, solid, or body part) (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
- Kusquqvak** 'Kuskokwim River' Chap. 14
- kuuvviaq** 'coffee' Chap. 3
- kuuvviar-** 'to drink coffee' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- kuve-** 'to spill' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- kuvya-** 'to fish with a net' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
- kuvyaq** 'fishnet' Chap. 9
- lagiq** 'goose' Chap. 10
- levaaq** 'outboard motor' Chap. 10
- lumarraq** 'shirt; cloth' Chap. 11
- luqruuyak** 'pike' (fish) Chap. 11
- luuskaa** 'spoon' Chap. 12
- maa(ni)** 'here (extended)' Chap. 6
- maaten** 'just when ... (and saw that), lo and behold' (*particle*) Chap. 18
- maatmun** 'toward here' (*particle; from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
- maklak** 'bearded seal' Chap. 24
- makte-** 'to get up; to set upright' (*patientive*) Chap. 12
- makuciq** 'a thing like this' Chap. 7√
- makumi** 'localite; resident of this village (here where we are)' Chap. 4
- maligte-** 'to go with, to accompany' (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
- malruk** 'two' Chap. 11, 23
- malrunlegen** 'seven' Chap. 11, 23
- mamkite-** 'to be thin' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- Mamterilleq** 'Bethel' Chap. 4
- mamtu-** 'to be thick' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- man'a** 'this, the one near the speaker' Chap. 6
- manaq** 'fish hook; hook, line and rod for fishing' Chap. 7

- manar-** 'to fish (with hook and line, as through the ice); to catch by hooking' (*agentive*) Chap. 7
- manignaq** 'burbot, loche' Chap. 7
- maqaruaq** 'rabbit, snowshoe hare' Chap. 10, 15[√]
- maqi-** 'to take a steam bath' Chap. 4
- Maqineq** 'Saturday' Chap. 11
- maqivik** 'steambath house' Chap. 4, 7[√]
- marayaq** 'mud' Chap. 20
- masslaq** 'butter' Chap. 6
- masslirissuun** 'butter knife' Chap. 12
- matar-** 'without a coat on; naked' (*postural root*) Chap. 19
- maurluq** 'grandmother' Chap. 7, 21[√], 23
- mayur-** 'to go up (it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
- mecunge-** 'to be very wet, soaked' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- mecungte-** 'to get soaked' (*patientive*) Chap. 15
- melqulegcur-** 'to trap' Chap. 15[√]
- melqulek** 'furbearing animal' Chap. 20
- melquq** 'fur; feather' Chap. 20
- meq** 'water' Chap. 6
- meqsug-** 'to be thirsty' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 7
- mer-** 'to drink (a cold beverage)' (*agentive*) Chap. 7
- mernur-** 'to be tired' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- mertar-** 'to get water (from a well, river, etc.)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- miiskaqaq** 'dishpan' Chap. 21
- mike-** 'to be small' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
- mikelnguq** 'child' Chap. 3, 14[√]
- mikte-** 'to be small' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
- minaq** 'food not eaten, left for another person' Chap. 20
- minar-** 'to leave food (for someone)' (*agentive*) Chap. 20
- mingeqsuun** 'sewing machine' Chap. 8[√]
- mingqaaq** 'coiled grass basket' Chap. 22
- mingqe-** 'to sew' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
- mingqessuun** 'sewing machine' Chap. 8[√]
- mingqii-** 'to make a coiled grass basket' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- mingqun** 'needle' Chap. 6, 16[√]
- mingug-** 'to put ointment on (it); to paint; to spread butter on (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
- minguk** 'ointment, paint, color, butter' Chap. 12
- missuuk** 'sack, bag' Chap. 20
- misvik** 'airport, landing strip' Chap. 7[√]
- mit'e-** 'to land (from the air)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
- muir-** 'to be full; to fill full' (*patientive*) Chap. 13
- muluk'uuq** 'milk' Chap. 15
- mulut'uuk** 'hammer' Chap. 20
- mumig-** 'turned over; translated' (*postural roots*) Chap. 19
- murak** 'wood' Chap. 10
- murilke-** 'to be attentive; to watch over (him or it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- naam** 'I don't know' Chap. 10
- naami** 'I don't know' Chap. 10
- naamikiki** 'I don't know' Chap. 10
- naanguaq** 'toy' Chap. 24
- naanguar-** 'to play with toys; to play by pretending' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- naanguarun** 'toy' Chap. 24
- naaqe-** 'to read or count' (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
- nacaq** 'hat, parka hood' Chap. 3
- nacig-** 'to be unhappy (crying usually) because of being left behind (by him)' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
- nagte-** 'to get snagged on something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 18
- naive-** 'to pour (it) into a container' (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
- nakleg-** 'compassionate' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- nakleng** 'poor thing, too bad' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- nakuke-** 'to pick on, to fight with' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10

- nale-** 'to die' plant mostly; sometimes animal or human; to get numb' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- nalate-** 'to kill; to make numb' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
- nalape-** 'to be found; to find' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- nalaqute-** 'to find something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- naliq** 'which?' Chap. 11
- nalke-** 'to be found; to find' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- nalkute-** 'to find something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- nalla^e** 'period of time or space (corresponding to grammatical possessor)' Chap. 23
- nallu** 'unknowing' Chap. 24
- nallu-** 'to not know' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
- nallunrite-** 'to know' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
- nalluyagute-** 'to forget' (*agentive*) Chap. 14
- nange-** 'to become used up; to use up' (*patientive*) Chap. 15
- nanger-** 'standing up' (*postural root*) Chap. 9
- nani** 'where?' Chap. 11
- nanite-** 'to be short' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
- nante-** 'to be where?' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- nanvaq** 'lake' Chap. 3
- napa** 'tree' Chap. 17
- napartaq** 'pole; post', also 'barrel' in some areas Chap. 23
- naqugun** 'belt' Chap. 23
- nasaurluq** 'girl' Chap. 5, 21√
- naspaa-** 'to taste, try' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- nataqe-** 'to be found; to find' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- nataqute-** 'to find something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- nateq** 'floor' Chap. 3
- natvar-** 'to go where?' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19√
- nau-** 'to grow (plant, mole, cancer, etc.)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- naulluu-** 'to be ill' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- naunraq** 'plant' Chap. 19
- nauwa** 'where is (it)?' Chap. 11√
- naveg-** 'to break' (*patientive*) Chap. 7
- navraq** 'borrowed thing' Chap. 20
- navrar-** 'to borrow' (*agentive*) Chap. 20
- nayagaq** 'younger sister of male, younger female parallel cousin of male' Chap. 23
- nayiq** 'ringed seal' Chap. 3
- nayur-** 'to watch out for or look after' (*agentive*) Chap. 18
- negaq** 'snare' Chap. 24
- Negeqliq** 'St. Marys' Chap. 4
- nengauk** 'son-in-law, brother-in-law in the sense of ones sister's husband, also perhaps uncle by marriage' Chap. 23
- nenge-** 'to stretch' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- nengllir-** 'to be cold (weather)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
- nengte-** 'to stretch' (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
- nepa^e** 'noise' Chap. 13
- nepaite-** 'to be quiet, silent' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- neplir-** 'to be noisy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- nepte-** 'to stick on something; to cling to something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- neq'ake-** 'to remember' (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
- neqa^e** 'fish, food' Chap. 3
- neqerrluk** 'dried fish' Chap. 7, 16√
- neqkaq** 'food prepared for eating' Chap. 14√
- neqlilleq** 'summer fishing camp, "fishcamp"' Chap. 7
- neqliur-** 'to serve food (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 12

- neqlivik** 'summer fishing camp, "fish-camp"' Chap. 7
neqsur- 'to fish' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15√
nere- 'to eat' Chap. 2
neresta 'louse' Chap. 8√
nerevkarin 'feast' Chap. 17
nerqe- 'to feed' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
nerrsuun 'eating utensil, fork' Chap. 8√
neryar- 'to eat berries as one picks them' (*agentive*) Chap. 14√
ngel'a^e 'boundary, edge' Chap. 21
ngel'ar- 'to laugh' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
niicugni- 'to listen (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
niicugnissuun 'radio' Chap. 8√
niite- 'to hear' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
nipe- 'to go out, be extinguished' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
nipte- 'to extinguish' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9√
nugtarte- 'to move (it) (a short distance)' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
nukalpiaq 'man in his prime' Chap. 13
nuliacungaq 'male's female cross cousin' Chap. 23
nuliange- 'to get married (of male)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
nuliaq 'wife' Chap. 3, 23
nuna 'land, village' Chap. 3
nunanguaq 'map' Chap. 15√
nunapik 'tundra' Chap. 4, 4√
nunarpak 'city' Chap. 4√
nunate- 'to visit (them) (away from one's own village), to vacation' (*agentive*) Chap. 14√
nunur- 'to scold' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
nurr'aq 'female's sister's child (nephew or niece)' Chap. 23
nutaan 'fine, just now' Chap. 10
nutaraq 'new thing' Chap. 5
nutarau- 'to be new' Chap. 5√
nuteg- 'to shoot' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
nutek 'gun' Chap. 3
nuusiq 'knife' Chap. 7
nuyaq 'hair' Chap. 5
nuyiur- 'to comb or otherwise fix one's hair' (*patientive*) Chap. 11√
paallag- 'to fall down (forward)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
pagaa(ni) 'up above (extended)' Chap. 14
pagna 'that one up above (extended)' Chap. 6, 14
pai 'opening, mouth (of river, den, bottle, etc.)' Chap. 7
pai- 'to stay home (with); to babysit (him)' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
pair- 'to lick' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
pairte- 'to meet, to encounter' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
paivte- 'to set (it) out for use or view' (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
pakemna 'that one up above (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
pakma(ni) 'up above (obscured)' Chap. 14
paltuuk 'coat; zippered parka' Chap. 5
paluqtaq 'beaver' Chap. 9
palur- 'face down' (*postural root*) Chap. 19
palurutaq 'mushroom' Chap. 21
pama(ni) 'up the slope (obscured)' Chap. 14
pamna 'that one up the slope (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
pamyuq 'tail' Chap. 7
panayuli 'bumble-bee' Chap. 20
pangaleg- 'to run on all fours' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
panik 'daughter' Chap. 5, 23
paqna- 'curious' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
paqte- 'to check (on)' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
paraluq 'maggot, grub' Chap. 15
paraluruq 'grain of rice' Chap. 15√
patu 'lid, cover' Chap. 7

- patu-** 'to cover (it); to close (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
- paug̃na** 'that one up the slope (extended)' Chap. 6, 14
- pava(ni)** 'up the slope (extended)' Chap. 14
- payugte-** 'to give a gift of food to (him)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
- pegte-** 'to release, to let go of' (*trans. only*) Chap. 14
- pekte-** 'to move; to walk' (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
- Pekyun** 'Monday' Chap. 11, 16√
- pelatekaq** 'tent' Chap. 21
- peleqqel'er** 'frog' Chap. 16
- pellaa-** 'to get lost' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- penguq** 'hill' Chap. 3
- perrir-** 'to wipe' (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
- perriun** 'towel' Chap. 15
- petug-** 'to fasten it (dog, boat, etc.) to something immovable' (*trans. only*) Chap. 16
- pi** 'thing' Chap. 8
- pi-** 'to go; to do (to); to say (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 8
- pia(ni)** 'up the slope (restricted)' Chap. 10
- piciatun** 'any old way; of various unspecified kinds' (*particle—from equalis*) Chap. 20√
- picingssag-** 'to clown around' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- picingssak** 'clown, joker, etc.' Chap. 24
- piilitsaaq** 'pepper' Chap. 12
- piipiq** 'baby' Chap. 5
- pika(ni)** 'up above (restricted)' Chap. 6
- pike-** 'to own (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- pikna** 'that one up above (restricted)' Chap. 6
- piliaqe-** 'to have made (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
- piluguk** 'calf-high skin boot, mukluk' Chap. 5
- Pingayirin** 'Wednesday' Chap. 11
- pingayun** 'three' Chap. 11, 23
- pingayunlegen** 'eight' Chap. 11, 23
- pingna** 'that one up the slope (restricted)' Chap. 6, 10
- pingraan** 'whatever the case' (*particle—from concessive*) Chap. 16√
- piniate-** 'to be weak (physically)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- pinir-** 'to be strong' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- piqertuutaq** 'axe' Chap. 10
- pirta** 'blizzard' Chap. 17
- pirtuk** 'blizzard' Chap. 17
- pissur-** 'to hunt' (*agentive*) Chap. 5, 15√
- pista** 'worker, helper' Chap. 8√
- piataq** 'caught thing (animal, bird, etc.); thing caught by possessor' Chap. 10, 14√
- pitaaqe-** 'he have caught (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- pitarkaqaq** 'game to be caught, prey' Chap. 14√
- pite-** 'to catch something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- pitsaaqe-** 'to act intentionally (toward)' (*agentive*) Chap. 13
- pitsaaqenrite-** 'to act accidentally (toward)' (*agentive*) Chap. 13√
- piura** 'good-bye' (*particle—from optative*) Chap. 10, 12√
- piuraa** 'good-bye' (*particle—from optative*) Chap. 10, 12√
- piyua-** 'to walk' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- puckaaq** 'barrel' Chap. 23
- puge-** 'to surface, to come to the surface' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- pula-** 'to go forward through a thicket, clouds, darkness' (*agentive*) Chap. 21
- pupsug-** 'to pinch' (*agentive*) Chap. 19
- puqiate-** 'to be stupid' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14

- puqig-** 'to be smart' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- putiilekaa**q 'bottle' Chap. 24
- putukuq** 'big toe' Chap. 17
- puukar-** 'to bump into' (*agentive*) Chap. 20
- puyir-** 'to be smoky' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17[√]
- puyuq** 'smoke' Chap. 17
- qaa** 'is that so?!' Chap. 10
- qaang** 'no' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- qagaa(ni)** 'out there (extended)' Chap. 14
- qagna** 'that one out there (extended)' Chap. 6, 14
- qai** 'surface, top' Chap. 7
- qaill'** 'how?' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- qaillun** 'how?' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- qaiq** 'wave' Chap. 3
- qakemna** 'that one out there (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
- qakma(ni)** 'out there (obscured)' Chap. 14
- qaku** 'when? (future)' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- qalarte-** 'to talk, to speak' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- qalrir-** 'to cry out (non speech sounds)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- qaltaq** 'bucket' Chap. 10
- qama(ni)** 'in there; upriver, (obscured)' Chap. 14
- qamiqiqe-** 'to have a headache' Chap. 11[√]
- qamiquq** 'head' Chap. 5
- qamna** 'that one in there; that one upriver, (obscured)' Chap. 6, 14
- qanemciq** 'story; account of what has happened' Chap. 19
- qaneq** 'mouth' Chap. 5
- qaner-** 'to talk, to saying something; to say (it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
- qaneryaraq** 'word, expression, language' Chap. 20[√]
- qang'a** 'no' (*particle*) Chap. 2
- qanganaq** 'ground squirrel' Chap. 16
- qangiar** 'male's brother's child (nephew or niece)' Chap. 23
- qangqiiq** 'ptarmigan' Chap. 17
- qangvaq** 'when? (past)' (*particle*) Chap. 11
- qanikcaq** 'snow (on the ground)' Chap. 14
- qanikciurun** 'shovel' Chap. 16[√]
- qanir-** 'to snow' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17[√]
- qanrute-** 'to tell' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8, 10[√]
- qantaq** 'bowl, dish, plate' Chap. 3
- qanuk** 'snowflake' Chap. 17
- qaqite-** 'to finish; to be finished' (*patientive*) Chap. 16
- qasgiq** 'kashim, old-time men's communal house; steambath house' Chap. 13
- qaspeq** 'lightweight cloth pullover parka, kuspuk' Chap. 8
- qassar-** 'to eat raw (fish or meat)' (*agentive*) Chap. 21
- qassayaaq** 'partially aged fish eaten frozen' Chap. 23
- qastu-** 'to be loud' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- qater-** 'to be white' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- qatpag-** 'to scream' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- qatpaute-** 'to scream at' (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
- qaug̃na** 'that one in there; that one upriver, (extended)' Chap. 6, 14
- qava(ni)** 'in there; upriver, (extended)' Chap. 14
- qavanguq** 'dream' Chap. 15
- qavangurtur-** 'to dream' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15[√]
- qavar-** 'to sleep' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- qavarcuun** 'sleeping bag' Chap. 8[√]
- qavarni-** 'to be sleepy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13

- qavartar-** 'to camp out; to spend the night' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
qavarvik 'bed, bedroom' Chap. 7√
qavcin 'how many?' (*particle*) Chap. 11
qayagaur- 'to call out (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 21
qayagpag- 'to call out (to)' (*agentive*) Chap. 21
qayaq 'kayak' Chap. 4
qayuw 'this time' (*particle*) Chap. 23
qayuwa 'this time' (*particle*) Chap. 23
qecir- 'to spit (on)' (*agentive*) Chap. 21
qeckar- 'to jump (over)' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
qelta 'fish scale' Chap. 22
qemagte- 'to pack (it) away' (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
qenerte- 'to be angry' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
qenrute- 'to be angry at' (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
qer'aq 'fish-drying rack' Chap. 21
qerar- 'to cross over' (*agentive*) Chap. 11
qeraryaraq 'bridge' Chap. 20√
qercua- 'to get frostbitten' (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 9
qerrulliik 'pair of pants' Chap. 9
qerrute- 'to be cold, feel cold (person)' (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 5
qessa- 'to not feel like doing anything' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
qessaite- 'to be energetic' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
qetunraq 'son' Chap. 5, 23
qia- 'to cry' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
qiiq 'grey hair' Chap. 5
qikertaq 'island' Chap. 13
qillerte- 'to tie (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
qilug- 'to bark (at)' (*agentive*) Chap. 7
qiluq 'gut, intestine' Chap. 24
qimag- 'to flee (from)' (*agentive*) Chap. 17
qimugcir- 'to run dogs' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11√
qimugkauyar(aq) 'puppy' Chap. 6
qimugta 'dog' Chap. 3, 8√
qimulvak 'big dog' Chap. 4√
qitevte- 'to speak English' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
qit'vute- 'to speak English to' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
qiugliq 'blue thing' Chap. 14
qiuneq 'bruise' Chap. 17
qiuryaq 'aurora, northern lights' Chap. 15
qiviq 'added ingredient' Chap. 16
qivir- 'to put ingredients into (it), add something to (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 16
quagciq 'wild spinach plant' Chap. 24
qucillgaq 'crane' Chap. 18
qugyuk 'swan' Chap. 18
qukaq 'middle, center, waist' Chap. 23
qula^e 'space above, ten' Chap. 7, 7√, 11, 23
quletmun 'upwards' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
quliraq 'traditional story, legend' Chap. 9
quliri- 'to tell a traditional story' (*intrans. only or agentive*) Chap. 9
qulirite- 'to tell a story to' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
qulite- 'to wash ones hair' (*patientive*) Chap. 12
qulngunrita'ar 'nine' Chap. 11, 23
qulqin 'shelf' Chap. 13
qunguturaq 'pet' Chap. 18
qurrasqinarqe- 'to be slippery' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
qurrasqite- 'to slip' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
quser- 'to cough; to have a cold' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
quuyurni- 'to smile' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
quuyurnite- 'to smile at' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
quya- 'to be thankful' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4

- quyana** 'thank you' (*particle*) Chap. 4
quyavike- 'to be thankful to him, to thank him' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
quyur- 'gathered together' (*postural root*) Chap. 19
saaniik 'kettle' Chap. 18
sainiik 'kettle' Chap. 18
saarralaq 'sugar' Chap. 10
saayuq 'tea' Chap. 6
sagte- 'to spread (it) out' (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
sap'akiq 'shoe, boot (not native style)' Chap. 11
saskaq 'cup' Chap. 6
sass'aq 'watch; clock; hour' Chap. 14
seg- 'to cut fish for drying' (*agentive*) Chap. 11
snuukuq 'snow machine' Chap. 14
sugg'aliq 'cracker, pilot bread' Chap. 24
sugkite- 'to be short' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
sugtu- 'to be tall' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
suugi- 'to scrub (floor usually)' (*agentive*) Chap. 19
suukiiq 'sock' Chap. 11
suupaq 'soup, stew' Chap. 3
taangaq 'liquor' Chap. 22
taangar- 'to drink liquor' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
tage- 'to go up (the slope); to go up from the water' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
tai- 'to come over (toward speaker)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
taicir- 'to be foggy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17√
taingkaq 'steel drum' Chap. 23
taituk 'fog' Chap. 17
takar- 'shy; respectful; ill at ease; intimidated' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
take- 'to be long' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
taku 'presence' Chap. 24
taku- 'to check (net, trap)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
takuyar- 'to look back over one's shoulder (at)' (*agentive*) Chap. 18
talicivik 'smokehouse' Chap. 24
talliman 'five' Chap. 11
Tallimirin 'Friday' Chap. 11
talliq 'arm' Chap. 5
tallirpik 'right hand; one on the right side' Chap. 19
taluyaq 'fishtrap' Chap. 9
tamaa(ni) 'there, near listener or in context of situation spoken about (extended)' Chap. 10
tamalkuq 'dollar' Chap. 23√
tamana 'that one there, near listener or in context of situation spoken about (extended)' Chap. 6, 10
tamar- & tamalkur- 'all; both' (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
tamar- 'to be lost; to lose' (*patientive*) Chap. 8
tan'gaurluq 'boy' Chap. 21√
tan'ger- 'to be dark' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
tan'gercete- 'to be dark' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
tan'gerliq 'black bear' Chap. 13
tan'gerpak 'crowberry' Chap. 21
tan'gurraq 'boy' Chap. 4
tang 'look, take a look' (*particle*) Chap. 10
tangerr- 'to see' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
tangvag- 'to look (at)' (*agentive*) Chap. 12
tanqig- 'to be bright' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
taqe- 'to quit; to stop; to finish' (*agentive*) Chap. 2
taqsuqe- 'to be tired' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
taquaq 'food for a journey' Chap. 21
taqukaq 'brown bear' or 'seal' Chap. 8
tarenraq 'picture; photograph' Chap. 20
taringe- 'to understand' (*agentive*) Chap. 4
taryaqvak 'king salmon' Chap. 16

- taryuq** 'salt' Chap. 12
tatame- 'to get startled' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
tatamte- 'to startle (*trans. only*)' Chap. 17
taug̃aam 'but, however' (*particle*) Chap. 4
taukuciq 'a thing like that' Chap. 7√
tauna 'that one (near listener) (restricted)' Chap. 6
tayima 'being gone, not here' (*particle*) Chap. 13
teggalquq 'stone, rock' Chap. 24
tegganeq 'elder' Chap. 14
tegge- 'to be hard, tough' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
tegleg- 'to steal' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
tegu- 'to take into ones hands; to pick up' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
tegute- 'to take something' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
tegumiaq 'a thing one is taking along in his hand(s)' Chap. 22
tegumiar- 'to take something in one's hand(s)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
tegusta 'policeman' Chap. 8√
tegyaraq 'handle' Chap. 20√
tekite- 'to arrive (at)' (*agentive*) Chap. 3
tema^e 'body' Chap. 23
temci- 'finding something funny' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
tenge- 'to take off (in flight)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
tengru- 'to be enthusiastic, excited' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
tengssuun 'airplane' Chap. 4, 8√
tengte- 'to blow away' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8√
tepa^e 'odor; fish head aged for eating' Chap. 7
tepsarqe- 'to stink' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 7
terikaniaq 'wolverine' Chap. 17
tiissitsaaq 'thousand' Chap. 23
tiiviiq 'television' Chap. 14
tiiviir- 'to watch television' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
tua(ni) 'there (near listener) (restricted)' Chap. 6
tua-i 'enough!, that's all!' (*particle*) Chap. 6√
tua-i-llu 'and then' (*particle*) Chap. 6√
tua-i-ngunrituq 'it isn't the end; we'll meet again' (*particle — from indicative*) Chap. 6√
tua-i-qaa 'what else?' (*particle*) Chap. 6√
tuakenirnek 'from then on' (*particle — from abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
tuamta-llu 'furthermore' (*particle*) Chap. 24
tuar 'just like' (*particle*) Chap. 21
tuarpiaq 'just like' (*particle*) Chap. 21
tukni- 'to be strong (medicine, eyeglasses, etc.)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
tukuu- 'to be rich, wealthy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
tulukaruk 'raven' Chap. 24
tuma^e 'footprint, trail' Chap. 3
tumagliq 'low-bush cranberry' Chap. 21
tumyaraq 'trail' Chap. 20√
tune- 'to sell (it); to give (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
tunga^e 'direction of possessor' Chap. 22
tungu- 'to be black' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
Tungulleralria 'black person; African-American' Chap. 24
tunrir- 'to feel embarrassed, beholden' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
tuntu 'caribou' Chap. 15
tuntuvak 'moose' Chap. 3
tupag- 'to wake up' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9
tupagte- 'to wake (him) up' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9√
tuqu- 'to die' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
tuqute- 'to kill' (*trans. only*) Chap. 8, 9√
tussite- 'to limp' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 23

- tut'e-** 'to step (on it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
tutgar(aq) 'grandchild' Chap. 7, 23
tutgara'urluq 'grandchild' Chap. 21√
tuvte- 'to choke' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
tuyur- 'to send something to (him)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
tuyuun 'thing possessor has sent, gift sent' Chap. 16√
ua(ni) 'toward the exit; one downriver, (restricted)' Chap. 6
uame- 'to play around, to waste time' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 23
uamte- 'to waste (his/her) time' (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
uata^e 'area toward exit (from possessor)' Chap. 7
uatmun 'toward the door from inside the building; toward downriver' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
uci 'load, cargo' Chap. 12
ugaani 'on account of (possessor)' (*particle — from localis*) Chap. 19
ugna 'that one toward the exit; one downriver, (restricted)' Chap. 6
uġasqinarqe- 'to be slippery' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
uġasqite- 'to slip' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
ui 'husband' Chap. 3, 23
uicungaq 'female's male cross cousin' Chap. 23
uinge- 'to get married' (of a woman) (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
uita- 'to stay, live, reside, be located' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
uitate- 'to leave it alone; to let it be' (*trans. only*) Chap. 9√
uite- 'to open ones eyes' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
uive- 'to go around (it) (in a circle); to revolve' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
uivte- 'to turn (it) around' (*trans. only*) Chap. 16
uka(ni) 'toward here' Chap. 12
ukata^e 'area toward speaker (from possessor)' Chap. 7
ukineq 'hole' Chap. 9
ukli- 'to cut (it) up for cooking' (*agentive*) Chap. 15
ukna 'that one coming' Chap. 6, 12
uksuaq 'fall, autumn' Chap. 13
uksuq 'winter' Chap. 13
uksur- 'for winter to come' Chap. 13√
ukurraq 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law in the sense of ones brother's wife' Chap. 23
ukveke- 'to believe' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
ukveqe- 'to believe' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
ule- 'for tide to come in; to rise (of water level, dough, etc.)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
ulik 'blanket' Chap. 9
ullag- 'to approach' (*trans. only*) (*half-trans.:* ullaute- 'to approach') Chap. 13
ulte- 'to turn inside out' (*patientive*) Chap. 19
uluuq 'semi-lunar knife, traditional Eskimo-style woman's knife' Chap. 3
ulug- 'to soften (it — usually a skin) by means of a circular crumpling motion of the hands' (*agentive*) Chap. 16
umyuaq 'thought, idea, mind' Chap. 15
umyuaqerte- 'to remember or recall (it); to have (it) come to ones mind' (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
umyuarqe- 'to think' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 18
un'a 'that one down below; that one down the slope, (extended)' Chap. 6, 12
un'ga(ni) 'downriver; toward the exit, (extended)' Chap. 10
un'gaa(ni) 'downriver; toward the exit, (extended)' Chap. 10

- una** 'this one (near speaker) (restricted)' Chap. 6
- una(ni)** 'down below; down the slope, (extended)' Chap. 12
- unan** 'hand' Chap. 5, 16^v
- unegna** 'that one down river; that one toward the exit, (extended)' Chap. 6, 10
- unegte-** 'to stay behind' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- ungair-** 'to shave' (*patientive*) Chap. 12^v
- ungak** 'whisker, beard or mustache hair' Chap. 5
- ungilag-** 'to itch' Chap. 19
- ungungssiq** 'land animal' Chap. 14
- unguva-** 'to be alive' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- unite-** 'to leave behind' (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
- unuaku** 'morning' (*particle*) Chap. 17
- unuakutaq** 'breakfast' Chap. 17
- unuakutar-** 'to eat breakfast' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- unuamek** 'today' (*particle — from abl.-mod.*) Chap. 2
- unuaqu** 'tomorrow' (*particle*) Chap. 7
- unuaquaqaqan** 'daily' (*particle — from contingent*) Chap. 20
- unug-** 'for night to fall (upon him)' (*agentive*) Chap. 13^v
- unuk** 'night' Chap. 13
- up'nerkaq** 'spring' Chap. 13
- upag-** 'to move; to change one's place of residence; to move to or from fishcamp' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- upte-** 'to get ready; to get (him/her) ready' (*patientive*) Chap. 15
- uputaar-** 'to say unfavorable things about (him/her), out of that person's hearing' (*trans. only*) Chap. 21
- uqamaite-** 'to be heavy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- uqiggete-** 'to be light' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- uquggluk** 'mold' Chap. 16, 16^v
- uquq** 'seal oil' Chap. 14
- uquri-** 'to be fat' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8
- urug-** 'to melt' (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 9
- usruq** 'male's sister's child (nephew or niece)' Chap. 23
- ussukcaq** 'nail' Chap. 18
- utaqa-** 'to wait (for)' (*agentive*) Chap. 10
- uterte-** 'to return' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
- ut'rote-** 'to return (it)' (*trans. only*) Chap. 3
- utetmun** 'homewards, in a return direction' (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 24
- uu-** 'to be done' (of cooking) (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 15
- uumi-** 'frustrated' (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- uuqnarqe-** 'to be hot (liquid, solid)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- uyangte-** 'to peek in (to it)' (*agentive*) Chap. 22
- uyaquq** 'neck' Chap. 5
- uyuraq** 'younger sibling, younger parallel cousin' Chap. 23
- wa(ni)** 'here (near speaker) (restricted)' Chap. 6
- wak'nirnek** 'from now on, henceforth' (*particle — from abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
- wall'** 'or' (*particle*) Chap. 9
- wall'u** 'or' (*particle*) Chap. 9
- wangkuta** 'we, us' (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
- wangkutnun** '(to) us' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18
- wangnek** 'myself' (*personal pronoun in abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
- wangnun** '(to) me' (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18
- waniku** 'soon' (*particle*) Chap. 21
- wanikuani** 'soon afterwards' (*particle — from contingent*) Chap. 21

- waniwa** 'now; here' (*particle*) Chap. 6√, 11
- waqaa** 'hello, what's up?, what do you want?' (*particle*) Chap. 10
- watua** 'just now' (*particle*) Chap. 12
- wii** 'I, me' Chap. 21
- wiinga** 'I, me' Chap. 21
- yaa(ni)** 'over there (restricted)' Chap. 6
- yaaliagni** 'the day before yesterday' (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 13
- yaaliaku** 'the day after tomorrow' (*particle*) Chap. 13
- yaaqsig-** 'to be far away, distant' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12√
- yaarui-** 'to use a story knife' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 18
- yaaruin** 'story knife' Chap. 18
- yaassiik** 'box' Chap. 7
- yaata^e** 'area over (from possessor)' Chap. 7
- yaatmun** 'toward over there' (*particle—from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
- yagarcete-** 'to be busy' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- yaqulek** 'bird' Chap. 4√, 14√
- yaquq** 'wing' Chap. 14
- yuar-** 'to look for something; to miss someone' (*agentive*) Chap. 13
- Yugcetun** 'in the Yup'ik Eskimo language' (*particle—from equalis*) Chap. 2
- Yugngalnguq** 'Asian' Chap. 20√
- yugte-** 'to kill a person (intentionally or accidentally)' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14√
- yugyag-** 'to have a lot of people' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- yuilquq** 'wilderness' Chap. 24
- yuinaq** 'twenty' Chap. 23
- yuinaunrita'ar** 'nineteen' Chap. 23
- yuk** 'person' Chap. 3
- yunqarista** 'doctor' Chap. 8, 8√
- Yup'ik** 'southwest Alaskan Eskimo' Chap. 3, 4√
- Yupiaq** 'southwest Alaskan Eskimo' Chap. 4√
- yurar-** 'to Eskimo-dance' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- yuu-** 'to be alive' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5√
- yuu-** 'to get out (from boat, sled, etc.), to take out (from boat, sled, container); to take off (garment)' (*agentive*) Chap. 9
- yuunrir-** 'todie' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19√
- yuurqaq** 'hot beverage' Chap. 7
- yuurqar-** 'to drink a hot beverage' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 7
- yuurte-** 'to be born' (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15, 20√
- yuvrir-** 'to examine' (*agentive*) Chap. 13

YUP'IK-TO-ENGLISH POSTBASES AND ENCLITICS

Postbases are written here without the parenthesized initial letters which are used only with certain types of bases, and without suffixation symbols, except “#” as a general symbol to distinguish suffixes from bases.

Most verb to verb postbases preserve the transitivity characteristics of the bases to which they are suffixed. That is, intransitive-only bases stay intransitive-only, agentive bases stay agentive, etc. For details about those that yield bases with transitivity characteristics different from the embedded verb bases, as well as the transitivity characteristics of postbases that verbalize nouns, the reader should see the entry for that postbase in the chapter or chapters in which it is presented.

V stands for “verb,” *N* for “noun,” *R* for “root,” and *D* for “demonstrative base.”

Postbases

- | | |
|---|--|
| #a-/#aa-/#ar-/#aar- ‘to <i>V</i> repeatedly’
Chap. 22 | #ir(ar)- ‘to have cold <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 12 |
| #aq ‘one that has <i>V</i> -ed or been <i>V</i> -ed’
Chap. 14 | #ir- ‘for <i>N</i> to be occurring’ Chap. 17 |
| #aqe- <i>replacement for #lar- with the
subordinative</i> Chap. 13 | #ir- ‘to deprive of <i>N</i> , to lose one’s <i>N</i> ’
Chap. 12 |
| #ar(ar)te- ‘to suddenly <i>V</i> ’ Chap. 22 | #ir- ‘to set <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 17 |
| #arkaqaq ‘thing to be <i>V</i> -ed’ Chap. 14 | #irute- ‘to become lacking in <i>N</i> or in <i>V</i> -
ness’ Chap. 14 |
| #arkau- ‘must <i>V</i> , must be <i>V</i> -ed’ Chap.
14 | #ite- ‘to not have <i>N</i> or <i>V</i> -ness’ Chap. 3 |
| #cete- ‘to allow, compel or have one <i>V</i> ’
Chap. 18 | #kaca(g)ar- ‘to be very <i>V</i> ’ Chap. 17 |
| #ciigali- ‘to not be able to <i>V</i> anymore’
Chap. 20 | #ka^e ‘one that possessor is <i>V</i> -ing’ Chap.
19 |
| #ciigate- ‘to be unable to <i>V</i> ’ Chap. 8 | #kaq ‘future <i>N</i> , raw material for <i>N</i> ’
Chap. 14 |
| #ciite- ‘to not know about one’s <i>V</i> -ing’
Chap. 20 | #ke- ‘to have as one’s <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 10 |
| #ciq ‘condition with respect to <i>V</i> -ing’
Chap. 20 | #ke- ‘feel <i>R</i> toward’ (<i>with emotional
roots</i>) Chap. 19 |
| #ciqe-/ciiqe- ‘will <i>V</i> ’ Chap. 7 | #kegci- ‘to have a good <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 17 |
| #cuar(aq) ‘small <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 4 | #kegtaar(aq) ‘good, nice <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 17 |
| #cur-/ssur- ‘to hunt <i>N</i> ’ Chap. 15 | #kengaq ‘one that possessor is <i>V</i> -ing’
Chap. 19 |
| #gguir- ‘to go through <i>D</i> ’ Chap. 12 | #ki- <i>future for the optative</i> Chap. 12 |
| #i- ‘to become (more) <i>V</i> ’ Chap. 14 | #kite- ‘to lack <i>R</i> ’ (<i>with dimensional
roots</i>) Chap. 14, 17 |
| #i- <i>half-transitive postbase</i> Chap. 8 | #ksaite- ‘to have not <i>V</i> -ed’ Chap. 5 |
| | #ku <i>future for time words</i> Chap. 13 |

- #kuciq** 'one that is the same kind as *N*'
Chap. 13
- #laag-** 'to *V* quickly, fast' Chap. 22
- #lar-** 'to regularly *V*' Chap. 8
- #lek** 'one with *N*' Chap. 14
- #ler-** 'to suddenly *V*' Chap. 22
- #lgun** '*N* sharer' Chap. 23
- #li-** 'to make *N*' Chap. 3
- #liaq** 'made *N*' Chap. 14
- #liqe-** 'to catch lots of *N*' Chap. 11
- #liqe-** 'to have trouble with one's *N*'
Chap. 11
- #lir-** 'to provide with *N*, to have lots of
N' Chap. 11
- #liur-** 'to be busy with *N*' Chap. 11
- #lkug-** 'darned one is *V*-ing' Chap. 21
- #lkuk** 'darned *N*' Chap. 21
- #llag-** 'to suddenly *V*' Chap. 22
- #lleq** 'act of *V*-ing' Chap. 20
- #lleq** 'one that was *V*-ing, one that
possessor *V*-ed, former *N*' Chap. 14
- #lleq** '*V*-est of possessors' Chap. 14
- #llgun** 'fellow *V*-er' Chap. 23
- #lli-** 'to perhaps *V*' Chap. 16, 21
- #llini-** 'to evidently have *V*-ed' Chap. 9
- #llru-** 'to be more *V*' Chap. 14
- #llru-** 'to have *V*-ed' Chap. 2
- #lluk** 'bad *N*' Chap. 16
- #lria** 'one that is *V*-ing, or that is *V*'
Chap. 14
- #ma-** 'to be in a state of having *V*-ed'
Chap. 12
- #mari-** 'after *V*-ing' Chap. 20
- #miu** 'resident of *N*' Chap. 4
- #n** 'device for *V*-ing' Chap. 16
- #na-** 'in order to *V*' Chap. 13
- #naite-** 'to not tend to cause one to *V*'
Chap. 19
- #nari-** 'to be time to *V*' Chap. 22
- #nari-** 'to become more as to tend to
cause one to *V*' Chap. 20
- #narqe-** 'to tend to cause one to *V*'
Chap. 19
- #naur-** 'would *V*,' *used with indicative*
in place of optative Chap. 12, 17, 22
- #nayuke-** 'to think that one might *V*'
Chap. 18
- #neq** 'activity of *V*-ing' Chap. 20
- #neq** '*V*-est of possessors' Chap. 14
- #nga(ar)te-** 'to suddenly begin to *V*'
Chap. 22
- #nga-** 'to be in a state of *V*' Chap. 19
- #ngaite-** 'to not be going to *V*, won't *V*'
Chap. 7
- #ngate-** 'to seem to be *V* or be *V*-ing'
Chap. 20
- #nge-** 'to begin to *V*, to get *N*' Chap. 10
- #ngnaqe-** 'to try to *V*' Chap. 9
- #ngqa-** 'to be in a state of *V*' Chap. 19
- #ngqerr-** 'to have *N*' Chap. 3
- #nguq** 'one that is *V*' Chap. 14
- #ni-** 'to say that one is *V*-ing' Chap. 18
- #niar-** 'so that one will *V*' Chap. 22
- #niarar-** 'to be going to *V* soon' Chap.
15
- #nkuk, nkut** '*N* and other(s)' Chap. 12
- #nqigte-** 'to *V* again' Chap. 20
- #nrir-** 'to no longer *V*, to stop *V*-ing'
Chap. 19
- #nrite-** 'to not *V*' Chap. 2
- #nru-** 'to be *V*-er' Chap. 14
- #pag-** 'to *V* in a big way' Chap. 19
- #piaq** 'real *N*' Chap. 4
- #piar-** 'to be very *V*' Chap. 17
- #pik** 'real *N*' Chap. 4
- #qapiar(ar)-** 'to be very *V*' Chap. 17
- #qapigte-** 'to be very *V*' Chap. 17
- #qar(ar)te-** 'to suddenly or briefly *V*'
Chap. 22
- #qar-** 'to kindly *V*, please *V*' Chap. 12
- #qar-** 'to suddenly or briefly *V*' Chap.
22
- #qaraqe-** 'to *V* now and then' Chap. 13
- #qatar-** 'to be about to *V*' Chap. 5
- #qcaar(ar)-** 'to keep on *V*-ing despite
difficulties' Chap. 23
- #qliq** 'one most to the *N*' Chap. 14
- #qsig-** 'to be far toward *D*' Chap. 12

- #qu-** 'to V all' Chap. 23
#rpak 'big N' Chap. 4
#rqe- 'to V all' Chap. 23
#rqu- 'N times' Chap. 23
#rraar- 'to V first' Chap. 13
#rraq 'little bit of N' Chap. 19
#rrluk 'bad N' Chap. 16
#rugaq 'lots of N' Chap. 22
#sqe- 'to want or ask one to V' Chap. 18
#ssiyaag- 'to be too V' Chap. 14
#ssur- 'to check N' Chap. 15
#ssuun/cuun 'device for V-ing' Chap. 8
#ta 'one who V-s' Chap. 8
#ta- 'to be V to an indicated extent' Chap. 14
#taciq 'extent of V-ness' Chap. 20
#taite- 'for there not to be N' Chap. 13
#tange- 'for there to come to be N' Chap. 13
#tangqerr- 'for there to be N' Chap. 13
#taq 'caught N' Chap. 14
#taq 'thing of N' Chap. 17
#tar- 'to V by nature' Chap. 19
#tar- *replacement for #tangqerr- with subordinative* Chap. 13
#te- 'to act so as to cause to V' Chap. 9
#te- 'to be in the act of V-ing' Chap. 19
#te- 'to catch N or to go to N' Chap. 14
#te- 'to V with, for, to, etc.' Chap. 10
#te- *half-transitive postbase* Chap. 8
#teke- 'to V on account of' Chap. 16
#tmurte- 'to go toward D' Chap. 12
#tu- 'to have R' (*with dimensional roots*) Chap. 14
#tu- 'to V regularly, to have R' Chap. 17
#tuli 'one who Vs regularly' Chap. 17
#tur- 'to eat N' Chap. 15
#tuumar- 'together with ones N(s)' Chap. 19
#u- 'to be N' Chap. 5
#uaq 'fake N, thing like N' Chap. 15
#un 'supply of N' Chap. 16
#ur(ar)- 'to keep on V-ing' Chap. 11
#urluq 'dear old N' Chap. 21
#urlur- 'dear one Vs' Chap. 21
#urte- 'to become N' Chap. 20
#vaa 'so very V' Chap. 10
#vag- 'to V so well' Chap. 21
#vakar- 'to V so much, to V for so long' Chap. 16
#var- 'to go in the D direction' Chap. 19
#viiqna- 'stop V-ing, don't V so much' Chap. 12
#vik 'place to V' Chap. 7
#virte- 'to go to D' Chap. 12
#vkar- 'to allow, compel or have one V' Chap. 18
#vke-/peke- *replacement for #nrite- with subordinatives* Chap. 13
#ya(g)aq 'young or little N' Chap. 21
#ya(g)ar- 'young or little one Vs' Chap. 21
#yaaqe- 'to V without the desired results' Chap. 9
#yaquna- *negative future for 2nd person optative* Chap. 12
#yar- 'to go V-ing' Chap. 14
#yar- 'would V' Chap. 16
#yaraq 'way to V' Chap. 20
#yarpiar- 'to almost V' Chap. 17
#yartur- 'to go to V, to be in the process of V-ing' Chap. 14
#yaurte- 'to learn to V' Chap. 20
#yu- 'to be good at V-ing' Chap. 17
#yuar- 'lest one V' Chap. 22
#yug- 'to want to V' Chap. 2
#yugnarqe- 'to probably V' Chap. 9
#yugnga- 'to be able to V' Chap. 8
#yuite- 'to never V' Chap. 8
#yuke- 'to think that one is V-ing' Chap. 18
#yuli 'one who is good at V-ing' Chap. 17
#yuumiite- 'to not want to V' Chap. 2

Enclitics

=gguq 'one says' Chap. 12

=i *predicative demonstrative former*
Chap. 6

=kin 'I wish that it were so' Chap. 22

=kiq 'I wonder' Chap. 11

=lli *exclamation director* Chap. 10

=llu 'and, also' Chap. 4

=mi 'how about' Chap. 11

=qaa 'yes or no' Chap. 2

=tanem 'ever; on earth' Chap. 11

=tuq 'I wish that it were so' Chap. 22

=wa *indication of completing a thought*
Chap. 15, 21

ENGLISH-TO-YUP'IK VOCABULARY

This is an English-to-Yup'ik glossary *only* of the words appearing in vocabulary sections of this book (not in the supplements to the chapters), "checked" words presented in the course of the chapters and postbases. To find Yup'ik equivalents of certain English words one will have to rephrase them. For example, to find "dead," one will have to consider that "to be dead" means "to be in a state of having died," and look up the Yup'ik for "die" and for "state" and then combine them appropriately. Also, the Yup'ik word for an English phrase such as "to speak English" may be under "English" or "speak"; one should look in both places.

English entries are *not* precise grammatical equivalents of the Yup'ik entries.

- able to V: @~+**yugnga-** Chap. 8
- about (concerning): *ablative-modalis case*
(with verbs of communicating) Chap. 9
- about to V: **-qatar-** Chap. 5
- above (area or space above): **qula^e** Chap. 7, 7[√] 11, 23
- above (up *above*, extended): **pagaa(ni)** Chap. 14
- above (up *above*, obscured): **pakma(ni)** Chap. 14
- above (up *above*, restricted): **pika(ni)** Chap. 6
- absent: **cataite-** Chap. 13; **tayima** (*particle*) Chap. 13
- accidentally: **pitsaqenrite-** Chap. 13[√]
- accompany: **aipir-** (*patientive*) Chap. 11[√]; **maligte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
- account (on *account* of possessor): **ugaani** (*particle—*from localis**) Chap. 19
- account (story of what has happened): **qanemciq** Chap. 19
- account (V on *account* of): @:(**u**)**teke-** Chap. 16
- acquiesce: **anger-** (*agentive*) Chap. 17
- across (go *across*): **qerar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 11
- across there (extended): **agaa(ni)** Chap. 12
- across there (obscured): **akma(ni)** Chap. 12
- across there (restricted): **ika(ni)** Chap. 10
- act of R-ing: **+te-** (*with postural roots*) Chap. 19
- act of V-ing: **-lleq** Chap. 20
- act so as to cause to V: **+te-** Chap. 9
- activity of V-ing: **~-neq** Chap. 20
- add something to: **qivir-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 16; **au-** or **avu-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
- added ingredient: **qiviq** Chap. 16
- aforementioned one (obscured): **imna** Chap. 6
- afraid: **alike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9; **alinge-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- African-American: **Tungulleralria** Chap. 24
- after (time *after*): **kingu** Chap. 7
- after V-ing: **:(u/i)mari-** Chap. 20; **-rraar-** Chap. 13
- again: **ataam** (*particle*) Chap. 2; **cali** (*particle*) Chap. 2; **-nqigte-** Chap. 20
- age-mate: **anelgun** Chap. 23[√]
- agree: **anger-** (*agentive*) Chap. 17

- airplane: **tengssuun** Chap. 4, 8√
 airport **misvik** Chap. 7√
 alder: **cuukvaguaq** Chap. 22
 alike: **ayuqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 6
 alive: **unguva-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16; **yuu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5√
 all: **tamar-** & **tamalkur-** (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
 all together: **-rqe-** Chap. 23
 allow one to V: **@+cete-** Chap. 18; **.vkar-** Chap. 18
 almost V: **@~+yarpiar-** Chap. 17
 alone: **kii-** (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
 alone (be *alone*): **kiimete-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19√
 already: **ak'a** (*particle*) Chap. 8
 also: **cali** Chap. 2; **=llu** Chap. 4
 although: *concessive mood* Chap. 16
 always: **kesianek** (*particle—from abl. mod.*) Chap. 24
 always V (almost *always* V, regularly V): **+'(g)aqe-** (*used with subordinate*) Chap. 13; **-lar-** Chap. 8; **-tu-** Chap. 17
 amazed: **irr'i-** (*agentive*) Chap. 24
 amiss (for something to be *amiss* with one): **cangate-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12
 ancestor: **ciuliaq** Chap. 20
 and: **cali** Chap. 2; **=llu** Chap. 4
 and then: **tua-i-llu** (*particle*) Chap. 6√
 angry: **qenerte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 angry at: **qenrute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
 angry (be such as to make one *angry*): **eqnarqe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
 animal (land *animal*): **ungungssiq** Chap. 14
 another thing: **alla** Chap. 14
 answer: **kiu-** (*patientive*) Chap. 6
 any old way: **piciatun** (*particle, from equalis*) Chap. 20√
 appear: **igvar-** (*patientive*) Chap. 22
 apply ointment, paint, etc.: **mingug-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
 approach: **ullag-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
 approach from the distance **agiirte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
 approach something or someone: **ullaute-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 arm: **talliq** Chap. 5
 around (area or space *around* possessor): **avata^e** Chap. 7
 arrive: **tekite-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 ashamed: **kasngu-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
 Asian: **Yugngalnguq*** Chap. 20√
 ask: **apte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 9
 ask one to V: **:(e)sqe-** Chap. 18
 at: *localis case* Chap. 4
 at certain times: **caaqami**, **caaqameng**, **caaqamta** (*particle - from contingent*) Chap. 16√
 attention (pay *attention*): **atam** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 attentive: **murilke-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 aunt by marriage: **acuraq** Chap. 23
 aunt, maternal: **anaana** Chap. 23
 aunt, paternal: **acak** Chap. 23
 aurora: **qiuryaq** Chap. 15
 authentic N: **-piaq** or **-pik** Chap. 4
 autumn: **uksuaq** Chap. 13
 awaken: **tupag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9; **tupagte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
 awareness: **ella** Chap. 4
 axe: **piqertuutaq** Chap. 10
 baby: **piipiq** Chap. 5
 baby (have a *baby*): **irniange-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
 baby N: **-ya(g)aq*** Chap. 21
 babysit: **pai-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
 back (area or space *back* from possessor with respect to river or other body of water): **kelu** Chap. 7
 back then: **ak'a imumi** (*particle*) Chap. 23
 back (toward the *back*): **kingutmun** (*particle from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√

- backpack **kalngak** Chap. 17
 bad: **assiite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3√
 bad *N*: **-lluk** or **-rrluk** Chap. 16
 bag: **missuuk** Chap. 20
 ball: **angqaq** Chap. 19
 ball (play ball): **angqar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
 bank of a river: **ekvik** Chap. 24
 barefoot: **kamilar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19
 bark (action of a dog): **qilug-** (*agentive*) Chap. 7
 barrel: **napartaq** Chap. 23; **puckaq** Chap. 23
 barrel (steel drum): **taingkaq** Chap. 23
 basket (coiled grass *basket*): **mingqaaq** Chap. 22
 be: **ete-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6√
 be *N*: **~:(ng)u-** Chap. 5
 be situated: **uita-** Chap. 4
 bear: **carayak** Chap. 23
 bear, black: **tan'gerliq** Chap. 13
 bear, brown: **taqukaq** Chap. 8
 beard hair: **ungak** Chap. 5
 bearded seal: **maklak** Chap. 24
 beaver: **paluqtaq*** Chap. 9
 because: *consequential mood* Chap. 15
 because of possessor: **ugaani** (*particle — from localis*) Chap. 19
 because (*V because of*): **@:(u)teke-** Chap. 16
 become more *V*: **@~+(l/r)i-** Chap. 14
 become more as to tend to cause one to *V*: **@~+nari-** Chap. 20
 become *N*: **:(ng)urte-** Chap. 20
 bed: **aci** Chap. 7, 7√; **ingleq** Chap. 7; **qavarvik** Chap. 7√
 bedding: **akluq** Chap. 13
 bedroom: **qavarvik** Chap. 7√
 before: *precessive mood* Chap. 15
 before (time *before*): **ciu** Chap. 7
 begin to *V*: **-nge-** Chap. 10
 behind (area or space *behind* building): **kelu** Chap. 7
 beholden: **tunrir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
 believe: **ukveke-** or **ukveqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
 below (area or space *below*): **aci** Chap. 7, 7√
 belt: **naqugun** Chap. 23
 beluga: **cetuaq** Chap. 22
 berries (eat *berries* as one picks them): **neryar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 14√
 berries (pick *berries*): **iqvar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
 berry: **atsaq** Chap. 4
 Bethel: **Mamterilleq** Chap. 4
 between (area or space in *between*): **akula^e** Chap. 17
 beverage, hot: **yuurqaq** Chap. 7
 beyond (area or space *beyond* possessor): **amata^e** Chap. 7
 big: **ange-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
 big *N*: **-rpak** Chap. 4
 big toe: **putukuq** Chap. 17
 big way (*V in a big way*): **-pag-** Chap. 19
 bird: **yaqulek** Chap. 4, 14√
 bite: **kegge-** (*agentive*) Chap. 9
 black: **tungu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
 black bear: **tan'gerliq** Chap. 13
 black person: **Tungulleralria** Chap. 24
 “blackberry” (*actually*: crowberry): **tan'gerpak** Chap. 21
 blackfish: **can'giiq*** Chap. 15
 blanket: **ulik** Chap. 9
 blizzard: **pirta** or **pirtuk** Chap. 17
 blood: **auk** Chap. 18
 bloodstain: **auggluk** Chap. 18
 blow away: **tengte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 4
 blow on: **cupe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 20
 blue: **qiugliq** Chap. 14
 blueberry: **curaq** Chap. 4
 boat: **angyaq** Chap. 3
 body: **tema^e** Chap. 23
 bone: **eneq** Chap. 16
 boot (not native style): **cap'akiq** or **sap'akiq** Chap. 11
 boot (remove *boots* or shoes): **kamilar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19

- boot (skin boot): **kameksak** Chap. 5; **piluguk** Chap. 5
- bored: **alia-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- born (be *born*): **yuurte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15, 20√
- borrow: **navrar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 20
- borrowed thing: **navraq** Chap. 20
- boss: **angayuqaq*** Chap. 5
- both: **tamar-** & **tamalkur-** (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
- bottle: **putiilekaa** Chap. 24
- boundary: **ngel'a^e** Chap. 21
- bowl: **qantaq** Chap. 3
- box: **yaassiik** Chap. 7
- boy: **tan'gaurluq** Chap. 21√; **tan'gurraq** Chap. 4
- bread: **kelipaq** Chap. 6
- break: **naveg-** (*patientive*) Chap. 7
- break in two (of a relatively long object): **asme-** (*intrans. only*); **asemte-** (*patientive*) Chap. 9
- break into pieces: **itume-** (*intrans. only*); **itumte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
- break the shell: **ciite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
- break up (for the river ice to *break up* in spring): **cupe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- breakfast: **unuakutaq** Chap. 17
- bridge (for crossing over): **qeraryaraq** Chap. 20√
- briefly V: **-qar(ar)te-** Chap. 22; **-qar-** Chap. 22
- bright (light): **tanqig-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- bring back: **ut'rute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring down: **atraute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring here: **taite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√; **tekiute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring in: **itrute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring out: **anute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring over: **agute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring to speaker: **taite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- bring up: **mayuute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√; **tagute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- broom: **kagin** Chap. 16√
- brother, older: **anngaq** Chap. 5, 23
- brother, younger: **kinguqliq*** Chap. 5, 23; **uyuraq*** Chap. 23
- brother-in-law in the sense of brother of one's spouse: **cakiraq*** Chap. 23
- brother-in-law in the sense of male's wife's sister's husband: **arcik** Chap. 23
- brother-in-law in the sense of sister's husband: **nengauk** Chap. 23
- brown bear: **taqukaq** Chap. 8
- bruise: **qiuneq** Chap. 17
- brush snow or dirt off: **evcug-** (*patientive*) Chap. 19
- bucket: **qaltaq** Chap. 10
- bullet: **imaq** Chap. 3
- bumble-bee: **panayuli** Chap. 20
- bump: **puukar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 20
- burbot: **manigna** Chap. 7
- burn: **ekua-** (*patientive*) Chap. 14
- burry: **elaute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- busy: **yagarcete-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- busy with N: **-liur-** Chap. 11
- but: **tauḡaam** (*particle*) Chap. 4
- butter knife: **masslirissuun** Chap. 12
- butter: **masslaq** Chap. 6; **minguk** Chap. 12
- buy: **kipute-** (*agentive*) Chap. 4
- cache: **ellivik** Chap. 24
- call out: **qayagaur-** or **qayagpag-** (*agentive*) Chap. 21
- camp (fishcamp): **neqlilleq** or **neqlivik** Chap. 7
- camp out: **qavartar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- care for (take care of): **auluke-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 24
- cargo: **uci** Chap. 12
- caribou: **tuntu** Chap. 15

- carry on ones back: **amar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 18
- catch fish: **cange-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- catch fish by hooking: **manar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 7
- catch game: **pite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
- catch game animal after chasing it: **angu-** (*agentive*) Chap. 17
- catch (have caught): **pitaqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
- catch lots of *N*: **-liqe-** Chap. 11
- catch *N* (game animal): **+te-** Chap. 14
- Caucasian: **kass'aq** Chap. 3
- caught (animal, bird, etc. that's been caught): **pitaq** Chap. 10, 14[√]
- caught (fish that's been caught): **cangtaq** Chap. 20
- caught *N* (game animal): **+taq** Chap. 14
- cause (not tend to cause one to *R* or *V*): **@~+naite-** (*with emotional roots and certain other verb bases*) Chap. 19
- cause (tend to cause one to *R* or *V*): **@~+narqe-** (*with emotional roots and other verb bases*) Chap. 19
- cause to *V*: **@+cete-** Chap. 18; **+te-** Chap. 9; **.vkar-** Chap. 18
- center: **qukaq** Chap. 23
- chair: **aqumlleq & aqumllitaq** Chap. 10
- change: **cimir-** (*patientive*) Chap. 14
- change clothes: **ac'inqigte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 20[√]
- check (check on something): **paqte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
- check *N*: **-ssur-** Chap. 15
- check net, trap etc.: **taku-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
- chew gum: **angertur-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15[√]
- chew tobacco: **iqmig-** Chap. 16
- chewing gum: **angeq** Chap. 15
- chewing tobacco: **iqmik** Chap. 16
- child (offspring): **irniaq** Chap. 5, 14[√]
- child (young person): **mikelnguq*** Chap. 3, 14[√]
- choke: **tuvte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- chop wood: **eqiur-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10, 11[√]
- chore to be done: **caliarkaqaq** Chap. 14[√]
- church: **agayuvik** Chap. 4, 7[√]
- cigarette: **kuingiq** Chap. 16
- city: **nunarpak** Chap. 4[√]
- clergyman: **agayulirta** Chap. 4, 8[√]
- cliff: **ekvik** Chap. 24
- cling to something: **nepte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- clinic (go or take to *clinic*): **emute-** Chap. 14
- clock: **cass'aq** or **sass'aq** Chap. 14
- close: **patu-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
- close one's eyes: **cikmir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- cloth: **lumarraqaq** Chap. 11
- clothes (article of clothing): **akluqaq** Chap. 13; **aturaqaq** Chap. 14[√]
- clothesline: **inivik** Chap. 21
- cloud: **amirluqaq** Chap. 16
- cloudberry: **atsalugpiaqaq** Chap. 3
- cloudy: **amirlu-** or **amirlir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
- clown: **picingssak** Chao, 24
- clown around: **picingssagaq-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- coat: **paltuuk** Chap. 5
- coffee: **kuuvviaqaq** Chap. 3
- cold (be *cold* weather): **nengllir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
- cold (feel *cold* of a person): **qerrute-** (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 5
- cold (have a *cold*) **quser-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- cold *N* (body part): **:(ng)ir(ar)-** Chap. 12
- cold (of liquid, solid or body part): **kumlate-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
- color: **minguk** Chap. 12
- comb or otherwise fix one's hair: **nuyiur-** (*patientive*) Chap. 11[√]

- come in: **iter-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
 come into view: **igvar-** (*patientive*)
 Chap. 22
 come over toward speaker: **tai-** (*intrans.*
only) Chap. 2
 come to be no *N* there: **+tange-** Chap. 13
 come to mind: **umyuaqerte-** (*trans.*
only) Chap. 18
 companion: **aipaq** Chap. 7
 compassionate: **nakleg-** (*emotional*
root) Chap. 19
 compel one to *V*: **@+cete-** Chap. 18;
.vkar- Chap. 18
 completion of a thought: **=wa** Chap. 15,
 21
 condition: **ayuquciq** Chap. 20[√]
 condition with respect to *V*-ing or being
V: **:(u)ciq** Chap. 20
 contents: **imaq** Chap. 3
 cooing words used with a particular
 baby: **inqutaq** Chap. 24
 cook: **kenir-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3, 11[√]
 cooked: **uu-** (*trans. with impersonal*
subject = intrans.) Chap. 15
 cough: **quser-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 count: **naaqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
 cousin (female's female cross *cousin*):
ilungaq Chap. 23
 cousin (female's male cross *cousin*):
uicungaq Chap. 23
 cousin (male's female cross *cousin*):
nuliacungaq Chap. 23
 cousin (male's male cross *cousin*):
ilur(aq*) Chap. 23
 cousin (older female parallel *cousin*):
alqaq Chap. 5, 23
 cousin (older male parallel *cousin*):
anngaq Chap. 5, 23
 cousin (younger female parallel *cousin*
 of male): **nayagaq** Chap. 23
 cousin (younger parallel *cousin*):
kinguqliq* Chap. 5, 23; **uyuraq***
 Chap. 23
 cover (noun): **patu** Chap. 7
 cover (verb): **patu-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
 cracker: **sugg'aliq** or **cugg'aliq** Chap. 24
 cranberry, low-bush: **tumagliq** Chap. 21
 crane: **qucillgaq*** Chap. 18
 crawl: **aurre-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
 cross (go across): **qerar-** (*agentive*)
 Chap. 11
 crowberry: **tan'gerpak** Chap. 21
 crush: **ciite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
 cry: **qia-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 cry because of being left behind: **nacig-**
(agentive) Chap. 17
 cry due to emotion (grief, joy — not pain):
iluteqe- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
 cry out with non-speech sounds: **qalrir-**
(intrans. only) Chap. 22
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 curious: **paqna-** (*emotional root*) Chap.
 19
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 cut fish for drying: **ceg-** or **seg-**
(agentive)(actually [e]ceg- or
[e]sseg-) Chap. 11
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 cut (*noun*: wound in ones flesh): **kilineq**
 Chap. 21
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 daily: **unuaquaqan** (*particle, from con-*
tingent) Chap. 20
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- exit (toward the *exit*): **uatmun** (*particle—*from *second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
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- fast (opposite of slow): **cuka-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
- fast (*V fast*): **-laag-** Chap. 22
- fasten dog, boat, etc. to something immovable: **petug-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 16
- fat: **uquri-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8
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- fetch something: **aqvate-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8√
- few days or weeks ago: **icivaq** (*particle*) Chap. 11
- few days or weeks from now: **icivaqu** (*particle*) Chap. 11
- few in number: **ikgete-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- fifteen: **akimiaq** Chap. 23
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- finally: **kiituani** Chap. 24
- find: **nalke-**, **nalaqe-**, or **nataqe-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
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- fire: **keneq** Chap. 17
- first (at *first*): **ciuqlirmi** (*particle - from localis*) Chap. 14
- first (*V first*): **-rraar-** Chap. 13
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- fish drying horizontal pole: **initaq** Chap. 21
- fish (*fish* that's been caught): **cangtaq** Chap. 20
- fish head aged for eating: **tepa^e** Chap. 7
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- fish (partially dried *fish* boiled for eating): **egamaarrluk** Chap. 18
- fish (verb): **neqsur-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15√
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- floor: **nateq** Chap. 3
- fly off: **tenge-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
- fog: **taituk** Chap. 17
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- food, cooked: **keniraaq** Chap. 14
- food for a journey: **taquaaq** Chap. 21
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- for (*V* for the benefit of): **@:(u)te-** Chap. 10
- forget: **nalluyagute-** (*agentive*) Chap. 14
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- former *N*: **-lleq** Chap. 14
- four: **cetaman** Chap. 11, 23
- fourteen: **akimiarunrita'ar** (*actually akimiarunritar(aq*)*) Chap. 23
- forward: **ciutmun** (*particle—from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
- fox: **kaviaq*** Chap. 3
- freeze: **ciku-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9
- Friday: **Tallimirin** Chap. 11
- frightening: **alingnarqe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- frog: **peleqqel'er** (*actually peleqqelr(aq)*) Chap. 16
- from now on: **wak'nirnek** (*particle—from abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
- from then on: **tuakenirnek** (*particle—from abl.-mod.*) Chap. 21
- front (area or space in *front* of building): **keta^e** Chap. 7
- front of boat or other vehicle: **ciu** Chap. 7
- front (toward the *front*): **ciutmun** (*particle—from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√
- frontmost one: **ciuqliq*** Chap. 14
- frostbitten: **qercua-** (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 9
- frozen fish which is eaten in that state: **kumlaneq** Chap. 21
- frozen fish, partially aged before freezing: **qassayaaq** Chap. 23
- fruit: **atsaaq** Chap. 4
- fruit, dried: **ciutnguaq** Chap. 15√
- fruitlessly (*V fruitlessly, in vain, without desired results*): **@~+yaaqe-** Chap. 9
- frustrated: **uumi-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- full (be completely *full*): **muir-** (*patientive*) Chap. 13; **imaqaar(ar)-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- full (be *full* with food): **aqsi-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- fun (be *fun*): **anglanarqe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15√
- fun (have *fun*): **anglani-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
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 go forward through a thicket, clouds, darkness, etc.: **pula-** (*agentive*) Chap. 21
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 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14√
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 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
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 Chap. 6
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(intrans. only) Chap. 6
 hot (of liquid or solid): **uuqnarqe-**
(intrans. only) Chap. 6
 hour: **cass'aq** or **sass'aq** Chap. 14
 house: **[e]na^e** Chap. 4
 how about: **=mi** Chap. 11
 how many?: **qavcin** (*particle*) Chap. 11
 how scary!: **ila-i** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 how?: **qaillun** or **qaill'** (*particle*) Chap. 11
 however: **taugaam** (*particle*) Chap. 4
 hungry: **kaig-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 hunt: **pissur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 5, 15√
 hunt *N*: **.ssur-/+cur-** Chap. 15
 hunt: **pissur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 5, 15√
 hurry up: **ampi** (*particle*) Chap. 10;
kiiki (*particle*) Chap. 10
 hurt: **akngirte-** Chap. 17
 husband: **ui** Chap. 3, 23
 I: **wii** or **wiinga** (*personal pronoun*)
 Chap. 21
 ice: **ciku** Chap. 6
 ice cream (Eskimo "ice cream"): **akutaq**
 Chap. 3, 14√
 ice pick: **cikuliurun** Chap. 20
 idea: **umyuaq** Chap. 15
 if: *conditional mood* Chap. 16
 ignite: **kumarte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
 ill: **naulluu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 ill at ease: **takar-** (*emotional root*) Chap.
 19
 immediately: **egmian** or **egmianun**
(particle) Chap. 11
 in: *localis case* Chap. 4
 inoculate with hypodermic: **kape-**
(patientive) Chap. 24
 in order to *V*: **@~+na-** Chap. 13
 in there (extended): **qava(ni)** Chap. 14
 in there (obscured): **qama(ni)** Chap. 14
 in there (restricted): **kia(ni)** Chap. 6
 Indian: **Ingqiliq** Chap. 24
 infuriating: **eqnarqe-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 19
 ingredient added in: **qiviq** Chap. 16
 inquisitive: **paqna-** (*emotional root*)
 Chap. 19
 insect: **ciissiq** Chap. 22
 inside (area or space *inside*): **ilu** Chap.
 7, 7√

- instrument for *V*-ing: ~(**u**)**n** Chap. 16;
.ssuun/+cuun Chap. 8
 intending to *V*: @~+**na**- Chap. 13
 intentionally (act *intentionally*):
pitsaqe- (*agentive*) Chap. 13
 intestine: **qiluuq** Chap. 24
 intimidated: **takar-** (*emotional root*)
 Chap. 19
 into: *terminalis case* Chap. 4
 invite to eat: **keleg-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
 inward: **kiatmun** (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7√; **ilutmun**
 (*particle from second terminalis*)
 Chap. 7√
 inward (area or space **inward**, away
 from exit with respect to possessor):
kiata^e Chap. 7
 island: **qikertaq** Chap. 13
 itch: **ungilag-** Chap. 19
 jail: **itercivik** Chap. 9√
 joker: **picingssak** Chap. 24
 jump: **qeckar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 17
 just now: **nutaan** Chap. 10; **watua**
 (*particle*) Chap. 12
 just when ... (and saw that): **maaten**
 (*particle*) Chap. 18
 kashim: **qasgiq** Chap. 13
 kayak: **qayaq** Chap. 4
 keep on *V*-ing: @+’(g/t)**ur(ar)**- Chap. 11
 keep on *V*-ing despite difficulties: **qcaar(ar)**-
 Chap. 23
 kettle: **caaniik**, **cainiik**, **saaniik** or
sainiik Chap. 18
 kill: **tuqute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8, 9√
 kill a person: **yugte-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 14√
 kill (plants mainly but sometimes ani-
 mals or humans): **nalate-** (*trans.*
only) Chap. 22
 king salmon: **taryaqvak** Chap. 16
 kiss: **cingar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 19
 knife: **nuussiq** Chap. 7
 knife (story knife): **yaaruin** Chap. 18
 knife (traditional Eskimo-style woman’s
 knife): **uluvaq** Chap. 3
 know: **nallunrite-** Chap. 8
 know (not *know*): **nallu-** Chap. 8
 know (not *know* about ones condition
 with respect to *V*): **:(u)ciite-** Chap. 20
 know (you *know*): **iciwa**; **icugg’** (*par-*
ticl) Chap. 23
 Kuskokwim River: **Kusquqvak** Chap.
 14
 kuspuq: **qaspeq** Chap. 8
 lace for shoe or boot: **cingiq** Chap. 16
 lack (become lacking in *N* or *V*-ness):
:(ng)i:rute- Chap. 14
 lack *N* or *V*-ness: **:(ng)ite-** Chap. 3
 lack *R*: **+kite-** (*with dimensional roots*)
 Chap. 14, 17
 ladle: **ipuun** Chap. 16√
 lair: **igta** Chap. 3
 lake: **nanvaq** Chap. 3
 lamp: **kenurraq** Chap. 6
 land (noun): **nuna** Chap. 3
 land (verb; alight from the air): **mit’e-**
 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 landing strip: **misvik** Chap. 7√
 language: **qaneryaraq** Chap. 20√
 last year: **allragni** (*particle — from*
localis) Chap. 24
 late (be *late* for an event): **kinguraute-**
 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
 later: **atata** or **atataku** (*particle*) Chap.
 12
 laugh: **ngel’ar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 leader: **ciuqliq*** Chap. 14
 leak liquid out: **ellngar-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 22
 leak water in: **imange-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 10√
 learn: **elite-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
 learn to *V*: @~+**yaurte-** Chap. 20
 leave: **ayag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 leave alone: **uitate-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9√
 leave behind: **unite-** (*trans.*) Chap. 10
 leave food for someone: **minar-**
 (*agentive*) Chap. 20

- left hand: **iqsuq** or **iqsuk** Chap. 19
 left side: **iqsuq** or **iqsuk** Chap. 19
 leg: **iruq** Chap. 5
 legend: **quliraq** Chap. 9
 lest one V: **@~+yuar-** Chap. 22
 let be: **uitate-** to (*trans. only*) Chap. 9√
 let go: **pegte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 14
 let me see: **ata** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 let's V: **@~+naur-** Chap. 12, 17, 22
 let's go: **ampi** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 lick: **pair-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
 lid: **patu** Chap. 7
 lie (recline): **inar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 2, 19
 lie (prevaricate): **iqlu-** or **iqluqu-** (*agentive*) Chap. 13
 lift: **keveg-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
 light (in weight): **uqiggete-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 light (source of illumination): **kenurraq** Chap. 6
 like (be similar): **ayuqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 6
 like (feel favorable towards): **assike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
 like (just like): **tuar** or **tuarpiaq** (*particle*) Chap. 21
 limp (difficulty in walking): **tussite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 23
 liquor: **taangaq** Chap. 22
 listen: **niicugni-** (*agentive*) Chap. 8
 listen (for a sound): **kaaka** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 littermate: **anelgun** Chap. 23√
 little N: **-ya(g)aq*** Chap. 21
 little one is V-ing: **-ya(g)ar-** Chap. 21
 live (be *alive*): **unguva-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16; **yuu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5√
 live (reside): **uita-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 lo and behold: **maaten** (*particle*) Chap. 18
 load (noun): **uci** Chap. 12
 localite: **makumi** Chap. 4
 located: **uita-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 loche: **manignaq** Chap. 7
 lonely: **alia-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
 long (V for *solong*): **@+(t)vakar-** Chap. 16
 long ago: **ak'a tamaani** (*particle — from localis*) Chap. 23; **avani ciuqvani** (*particle — from localis*) Chap. 23
 long (opposite of short): **take-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 look: **tangvag-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 look (take a *look*): **tang** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 look after: **nayur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 18
 look around: **kiarte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 20
 look back over one's shoulder: **takuyar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 18
 look for: **yuar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 13
 look here: **atam** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 look up: **ciug-** (*postural root*) Chap. 18
 lose one's N: **@(ng)ir-** Chap. 12
 lose: **tamar-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
 lost (get *lost*): **tamar-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
 lost (get *lost* - of a person): **pellaa-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
 lots: **amller-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
 lots (catch *lots* of N): **-liqe-** Chap. 11
 lots (have *lots* of N): **-lir-** Chap. 11
 lots of N: **-rugaq*** Chap. 22
 loud: **qastu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 louse: **neresta** Chap. 8√
 love: **kenke-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
 lunch: **apiataq** Chap. 17
 lying down: **inar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 2, 19
 made (have as something one has *made*): **piliaqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 11
 made (man-made N or N *made* by possessor): **-liaq** Chap. 14
 maggot: **paraluq** Chap. 15
 make a coiled grass basket: **mingqii-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
 make a mixture (especially Eskimo "ice cream"): **akute-** (*agentive*) Chap. 14

- make *N*: **-li-** Chap. 3
 make pancakes: **assali-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 man: **angun** Chap. 3, 16√
 man in his prime: **nukalpiaq** Chap. 13
 many: **amleq** & **amlleret** Chap. 5;
amller- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
 many (so *many!*): **angli-lli** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 many things: **amlleq** & **amlleret** Chap. 5
 many people (have *many* people):
yugyag- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 map: **nunanguaq** Chap. 15√
 marry: **kassuute-** (*agentive*) Chap. 14
 marry (get *married*, of a woman):
uinge- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
 marry (get *married*, of a man):
nuliange- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10√
 match (fire lighter): **keneq** Chap. 17
 maybe *V*: **aipaagni** (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 24; **-lli-** to Chap. 16, 21; **@~+yugnarqe-** Chap. 9
 me (to *me*): **wangnun** (*personal pronoun in term.*) Chap. 18
 me: **wii** or **wiinga** (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
 meat: **kemek** Chap. 3
 medical aid (seek *medical aid*): **emute-** Chap. 14
 medicine: **iinruq** Chap. 11
 medicine (take *medicine*): **iinru-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11
 meet: **pairte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 9
 melt: **urug-** (*trans. with impersonal subject = intrans.*) Chap. 9
 men's communal house: **qasgiq** Chap. 13
 middle: **qukaq** Chap. 23
 milk: **muluk'uuq** Chap. 15
 mind: **umyuaq** Chap. 15
 minister: **agayulirta** Chap. 4, 8√
 mink: **imarmiutaq*** Chap. 12
 miss someone: **yuar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 13
 mitten: **aliiman** Chap. 5
 mix (especially Eskimo "ice cream"):
akute- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 mixture: **akutaq** Chap. 3, 14√
 mold (micro-organism decaying food):
uquggluk Chap. 16, 16√
 Monday: **Pekyun** Chap. 11, 16√
 money: **aki** Chap. 7, 7√
 monster: **carayak** Chap. 23
 month: **iraluq** Chap. 16
 moon: **iraluq** Chap. 16
 moose: **tuntuvak** Chap. 3
 more: **cali** Chap. 2
 more *V* (be *V-er*): **-llru-** Chap. 14; **-nru-** Chap. 14
 morning: **unuaku** (*particle*) Chap. 17
 mosquito: **egturyaq** Chap. 11
 most *V* of possessors: **-lleq** Chap. 14; **-neq** Chap. 14
 mother: **aana** Chap. 5, 23
 mother-in-law: **cakiq** Chap. 23
 mountain: **ingriq** Chap. 4
 "mouse" (*actually*: vole): **avelnqaq** Chap. 8
 mouth (anatomical): **qaneq** Chap. 5
 mouth of river, den, bottle, etc.: **pai** Chap. 7
 move a short distance: **nugtarte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
 move (be in motion): **pekte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
 move (change one's place of residence):
upag- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
 move to or from fish-camp: **upag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
 much (so *much!*): **angli-lli** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 much (*V* so *much*): **@+(t)vakar-** Chap. 16
 much: **amlleq** & **amlleret** Chap. 5;
amller- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5
 mucus (runny nasal *mucus*): **kakeggluk** Chap. 16, 16√
 mud: **marayaq** Chap. 20
 mukluk: **kameksak** Chap. 5; **piluguk** Chap. 5
 mushroom: **palurutaq** Chap. 21

- muskrat: **kanaqlak** Chap. 4
 must *V* or must be *V*-ed: **+'(g)arkau-**
 Chap. 14
 mustache hair: **ungak** Chap. 5
 myself: **wangnek** (*personal pronoun*
 in abl.-mod.) Chap. 21
 nail (as for fastening wood): **ussukcaq**
 Chap. 18
 nail of finger or toe: **cetuk** Chap. 22
 naked: **matar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19
 name (*verb*): **acir-** (*trans. only*)
 Chap. 11[√]
 name (*noun*): **ateq** Chap. 4
 name-sharer (one with the same name,
 one named after the same person):
 atellgun Chap. 23[√]
 narrow: **iqkite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 nature (be *R* by nature): **+tar-** (*with*
 emotional roots) Chap. 19
 neck: **uyaquq** Chap. 5
 needle: **mingqun** Chap. 6, 16[√]
 nephew (female's brother's child):
 an'garaq Chap. 23
 nephew (female's sister's child):
 nurr'aq Chap. 23
 nephew (male's brother's child):
 qangiar(aq*) Chap. 23
 nephew (male's sister's child): **usruq**
 Chap. 23
 never *V*: **@~-yuite-** Chap. 8
 new: **nutarau-** Chap. 5[√]
 new thing: **nutaraq** Chap. 5
 next year: **allraku** (*particle*) Chap. 24
 nice: **assir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 nice *N*: **-kegtaar(aq*)** Chap. 17
 niece (female's brother's child): **an'garaq**
 Chap. 23
 niece (female's sister's child): **nurr'aq**
 Chap. 23
 niece (male's brother's child):
 qangiar(aq*) Chap. 23
 niece (male's sister's child): **usruq**
 Chap. 23
 night: **unuk** Chap. 13
 night falls: **unug-** (*agentive*) Chap. 13
 nine: **qulngunrita'ar** (*actually*
 qulngunritar(aq*)) Chap. 11, 23
 nineteen: **yuinaunrita'ar** (*actually*
 yuinaunritar(aq*)) Chap. 23
 no: **qaang** or **qang'a** (*particle*) Chap. 2
 no longer *V*: **-nrir-** Chap. 19
 no particular reason: **ellmikun** (*par-*
 ticle from vialis) Chap. 21[√]
 no *V* there: **+taite-** Chap. 13
 noise: **nepa^e** Chap. 13
 noisy: **neplir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 northern lights: **qiuryaq** Chap. 15
 nose, runny: **kakeggli-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 16
 nose (wipe ones nose): **kakeggluir-**
 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
 not be here: **cataite-** Chap. 13
 not have *N* or *V*: **:(ng)ite-** Chap. 3
 not know: **nallu-** Chap. 8
 not *V*: **-nrite-** Chap. 2; **.vke-** & **+peke-**
 (*used with subordinative*) Chap. 13
 not want to *V*: **@~+yuumiite-** Chap. 2
 nothing in particular: **ellmikun** (*par-*
 ticle — from vialis) Chap. 21[√]
 now: **waniwa** (*particle*) Chap. 6[√], 11
 now and then (*V now and then*): **-qaraqe-**
 Chap. 13
 numb (get numb): **nala-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 23
 numb (make numb): **nalate-** (*trans.*
 only) Chap. 23
 numerous: **amller-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 5
 oar: **cavun** Chap. 3, 16[√]
 occur (for *N* (natural phenomenon) to
 occur): **-ir-** Chap. 17
 ocean: **imarpik** Chap. 6
 odor: **tepa^e** Chap. 7
 of: *relative case* Chap. 7
 offspring: **irniaq** Chap. 5, 14[√]
 oil: **uquq** Chap. 14
 ointment: **minguk** Chap. 12
 old: **ak'allau-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 5[√]

- old enough to have experienced (it) in ones younger years: **angu-** (*agentive*) Chap. 17
- old thing: **ak'allaq*** Chap. 5
- older brother: **anngaq** Chap. 5, 23
- older or oldest one: **ciuqliq*** Chap. 14
- older sister: **alqaq** Chap. 5, 23
- on: *localis case* Chap. 4
- on the other hand: **aipaɛgni** (*particle — from localis*) Chap. 24
- once: **caqerluni** (*particle— from subordinative*) Chap. 13√
- one: **atauciq** Chap. 11, 23
- one (of): **ila** Chap. 7
- one most to the *D* or *N*: **-qliq** Chap. 14
- one says: **=gguq** Chap. 12
- one that has *V*-ed or been *V*-ed: **+'(g)aq** Chap. 14
- one that is good at *V*-ing: **@~-yuli** Chap. 17
- one that is the same kind as *N*: **-kuciq** Chap. 7
- one that is *V*: **@nguq*** Chap. 14
- one that is *V*-ing or that is *V*: **-lria** Chap. 14
- one that possessor is *V*-ing: **-ka^e** Chap. 19; **-kengaq** Chap. 19
- one that possessor *V*-ed: **-lleq** Chap. 14
- one that regularly *Vs*: **-tuli** Chap. 17
- one that tends to *V*: **@~-yuli** Chap. 17; **-tuli** Chap. 17
- one that was *V*-ing: **-lleq** Chap. 14
- one to be *V*-ed: **+'(g)arka** Chap. 14
- one who *Vs*: **+(s)ta** Chap. 8
- one with *N*: **-lek** Chap. 14
- onion: **anainessaaq** Chap. 18
- only: **kii-** (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
- onto: *terminalis case* Chap. 4
- oops: **aren** (*particle*) Chap. 10
- open: **ikir-** (*postural root*) Chap. 12, 19
- open ones eyes: **uite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- opening: **pai** Chap. 7
- or: **wall'u** or **wall'** (*particle*) Chap. 9
- order to do something: **ellimer-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
- other (*N* and *other(s)*): **%:(e)nkuk** & **%:(e)nkut** Chap. 12
- other of a pair: **aipaq** Chap. 7
- other thing: **alla** Chap. 14
- otter: **cuignilnguq** Chap. 16
- ouch: **akeka** (*particle*) Chap. 10
- out there (extended): **qagaa(ni)** Chap. 14
- out there (obscured): **qakma(ni)** Chap. 14
- out there (restricted): **kegga(ni)** Chap. 10
- outboard motor: **levaaq** Chap. 10
- outside: **ella** Chap. 4
- outside (area or space *outside* of possessor): **elata^e** Chap. 7
- outside (restricted): **kegga(ni)** Chap. 10
- over (area or space *over* from possessor): **yaata^e** Chap. 7
- over there (extended): **ava(ni)** Chap. 6
- over there (obscured): **ama(ni)** Chap. 12
- over there (restricted): **yaa(ni)** Chap. 6
- owl **iggiayuli** Chap. 24
- own (possess): **pike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
- pack away (store): **qemagte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
- paddle: **anguarun** Chap. 16√
- paint: **minguk** Chap. 12
- pancake: **assaliaq** Chap. 15
- pancakes (make *pancakes*): **assali-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- pants: **qerrulliik** (*dual*) Chap. 9
- paper: **kalikaq** Chap. 9
- parent: **angayuqaq*** Chap. 5
- parent-in-law: **cakiq** Chap. 23
- parka: **atkuk** Chap. 3
- parka (lightweight cloth pullover *parka*): **qaspeq** Chap. 8
- parka hood: **nacaq** Chap. 3
- parka ruff: **asguruaq** Chap. 17
- parka, zippered: **paltuuk** Chap. 5
- part (of): **ila** Chap. 7

- partner: **aipaq** Chap. 7
 pass by: **kitur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
 past tense: **-llru-** Chap. 2
 past tense negative: **-ksaite-** Chap. 5
 patch: **callmag-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 pay: **akilir-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 11[√]
 peak: **kangeq** Chap. 21
 peek in: **uyangte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 22
 peeved because of someone else's good fortune which one feels that one deserves oneself: **cumilngu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
 pen: **igarcuun** Chap. 8[√]
 pencil: **igarcuun** Chap. 8[√]
 people (have a lot of *people*): **yugyag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 pepper: **piilitsaaq** Chap. 12
 perhaps V: **-lli-** to Chap. 16, 21
 period of time or space corresponding to possessor: **nalla^e** Chap. 23
 person: **yuk** Chap. 3
 pet: **qunguturaq** Chap. 18
 photograph: **tarenraq** Chap. 20
 pick berries: **iqvar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
 pick on: **nakuke-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
 pick up: **tegu-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
 pick up something: **tegute-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8
 picture: **tarenraq** Chap. 20
 pike (fish): **luqruuyak** Chap. 11
 pilot bread: **sugg'aliq** or **cugg'aliq** Chap. 24
 pinch: **pupsug-** (*agentive*) Chap. 19
 pitiful!: **akleng** or **nakleng** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 place to V: **@~+vik** Chap. 7
 plant: **naunraq*** Chap. 19
 play (physically): **aqui-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 play around: **uame-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 23
 play ball: **angqar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
 play by pretending: **naanguar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
 play with toys: **naanguar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
 please V: **-qar-** Chap. 12
 pleased to meet you: **cama-i** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 pluck (a bird): **eritar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
 pocket: **kalmainaq** Chap. 22
 point (it) out: **apertur-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
 pole: **napartaq** Chap. 23
 pole (horizontal) on which fish is hung to dry: **initaq** Chap. 21
 policeman: **tegusta** Chap. 8[√]
 poor thing!: **akleng** (*particle*) Chap. 10; **nakleng** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 porch, enclosed: **elaturraq** Chap. 13
 post: **napartaq** Chap. 23
 post office: **kalikivik** Chap. 14
 pot: **egan** Chap. 6, 16[√]
 potato: **kantuuvvilaq** Chap. 18
 pour into a container: **naive-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 15
 pray: **agayu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 predicative demonstrative former: **=i** Chap. 6
 presence: **taku-** Chap. 24
 pretend N: **+(ng)uaq** Chap. 15
 pretend to V: **+(ng)uar-** Chap. 15
 prey: **pitarka** Chap. 14[√]
 priest: **agayulirta** Chap. 4, 8[√]
 probably V: **-lli-** to Chap. 16, 21; **@~+yugnarqe-** Chap. 9
 process of V-ing (be in the *process of V-ing*): **@~+yartur-** Chap. 14
 promise: **akqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 18
 propeller blade: **anguarun** Chap. 16[√]
 provide with N: **-lir-** Chap. 11
 ptarmigan: **qangqiiq** Chap. 17
 puddle of blood: **auggluk** Chap. 18
 pull toward oneself: **cayug-** (*agentive*) Chap. 22
 puppy: **qimugkauyar(aq*)** Chap. 6
 put: **elli-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8
 put in: **eke-** (*agentive*) Chap. 9

- put ingredients in: **qivir-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 16
- put on (an article of clothing): **at'e-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
- put out (flame, light, etc.): **nipte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9[√]
- put out(side): **ante-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9[√]
- put something in: **imir-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 11[√]
- quickly V: **-laag-** Chap. 22
- quiet: **nepaite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
- quit: **taqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 2
- “rabbit” (*actually*: snowshoe hare): **maqaruaq** Chap. 10, 15[√]
- rack for drying fish: **qer'aq** Chap. 21
- radio: **niicugnissuun** Chap. 8[√]
- raft: **angyarluk** Chap. 16[√]
- rain (verb): **ellallir-** (*intrans.*) Chap. 15, 17[√]
- rain (noun): **ellalluk** Chap. 16[√]
- raisin: **atsayagaq** Chap. 21[√]
- raven: **tulukaruk** Chap. 24
- raw material for N: **+kaq** Chap. 14
- read: **naaqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 13
- ready (get ready): **upte-** (*patientive*) Chap. 15
- real N: **-piaq** Chap. 4; **-pik** Chap. 4
- rear of boat, sled or other vehicle: **kingu** Chap. 7
- rear (toward the rear): **kingutmun** (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 7[√]
- recall: **umyuaqerte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
- reciprocally (V reciprocally): **@:(u)te-** Chap. 10
- recognize: **elitaqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
- red: **kavirliq** Chap. 14
- regularly V: **-lar-** Chap. 8; **-tu-** Chap. 17; **+(g)aqe-** (*used with the subordinative*) Chap. 13
- relative (kin): **ila** Chap. 7
- release: **pegte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 14
- remainder (having as a remainder): **cipluku** (*special subordinative used with in forming numerical terms*) Chap. 23
- remember: **iciwa** (*particle*) Chap. 23; **icugg'** (*particle*) Chap. 23
- remember: **neq'ake-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 19; **umyuaqerte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
- remove coat: **matar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19
- remove footwear: **kamilar-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19
- remove from vehicle or container: **yuu-** Chap. 9
- remove N: **:(ng)ir-** Chap. 12
- repeatedly V: **+l-a/-aa-/+l-ar-/.aar-** Chap. 22
- repulsed: **cumaci-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- resemble: **ayuqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 6
- resemble (thing that resembles N in some respect): **+(ng)uaq** Chap. 15
- reside: **uita-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
- resident of N: **+miu** Chap. 4
- resident of this village (here, where one is): **makumiu** Chap. 4
- respectful: **takar-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
- return: **uterte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3; **ut'rute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
- return (in a return direction): **utetmun** (*particle — from second terminalis*) Chap. 24
- revolve: **uive-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- rice: **paraluruaq** Chap. 15[√]
- rich: **tukuu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- ridge: **kangeq** Chap. 21
- right away: **egmian** or **egmianun** (*particle*) Chap. 11
- right hand: **tallirpik** Chap. 19
- right side: **tallirpik** Chap. 19
- rim: **ceña** Chap. 7
- ringed seal: **nayiq*** Chap. 3
- ripen: **aru-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15

- rise (of water level, dough, etc.): **ule-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
 river: **kuik** Chap. 3
 river (area or space toward river): **keta^e** Chap. 7
 river (toward the river): **ketetmun** (*particle—*from second terminalis) Chap. 7√
 rock: **teggalquq** Chap. 24
 roll: **akag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19; **akagte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
 rope: **ilavkuk** Chap. 16
 rot: **aru-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 row: **cave-** Chap. 13
 ruff for parka: **asguruaq** Chap. 17
 run: **aqvaqur-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 run a dogteam: **qimugcir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11√
 run on all fours: **pangaleg-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 19
 runny nose: **kakeggli-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
 sack: **missuuk** Chap. 20
 sad: **angniite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
 said (it is said): **=gguq** Chap. 12
 salmon (dog salmon): **iqalluk** Chap. 16, 16√
 salmon (king salmon): **taryaqvak** Chap. 16
 salmonberry (cloudberry): **atsalugpiaq** Chap. 3
 salt: **taryuq** Chap. 12
 same kind as N: **-kuciq** Chap. 7
 Saturday: **Maqineq** Chap. 11
 saw (noun): **kegglag** Chap. 23
 saw (verb; cut with saw) **kegglar-** (*agentive*) Chap. 23
 say: **pi-** (*agentive*) Chap. 8; **qaner-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 say that one is V-ing: @~+**ni-** Chap. 18
 say unfavorable things out of ones hearing: **uputaar-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 21
 scan ones surroundings: **kiarte-** (*agentive*) Chap. 20
 scared: **alike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9; **alinge-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 9
 scarey!: **ila-i** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 school: **elitnaurvik** Chap. 3, 7√
 scold: **nunur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 8
 scratch to relieve an itch: **kumeg-** (*agentive*) Chap. 19
 scream: **qatpag-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
 scream at: **qatpaute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
 scrub (floor usually): **suugi-** (*agentive*) Chap. 19
 sea: **imarpik** Chap. 6
 seal: **taqukaq** Chap. 8
 seal, bearded: **maklak** Chap. 24
 seal oil: **uquq** Chap. 14
 seal, ringed: **nayiq*** Chap. 3
 seal, spotted: **issuriq** Chap. 8
 seated: **aqumga-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12√
 see: **tangerr-** Chap. 3
 see (let me see): **ata** (*particle*) Chap. 10
 seek medical aid: **emute-** Chap. 14
 seem to V: @~+**ngate-** Chap. 20
 sell: **tune-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
 semi-lunar knife: **uluvaq** Chap. 3
 send: **tuyur-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
 separately: **allakar-** (*quantifier/qualifier root*) Chap. 19
 serve food: **neqliur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 set down: **elli-** Chap. 8
 set N (net, trap, snare): **-ir-** Chap. 17
 set net, trap, snare: **civte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
 set out for use or view: **paivte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 22
 set upright: **makte-** (*patientive*) Chap. 12
 seven: **malrunlegen** Chap. 11, 23
 sew: **mingqe-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 sewing machine: **mingqessuun** or **mingeqsuun** Chap. 8√
 shaft: **epu** Chap. 19
 shake snow or dirt off: **evcug-** (*patientive*) Chap. 19

- shallow: **etgate-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 sharer of *N*: **-lgun** Chap. 23
 sharp: **ipeg-** Chap. 6
 sharpen: **ipegcar-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
 shave: **ungair-** (*patientive*) Chap. 12√
 she: **ellii** (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
 shelf: **qulqin** Chap. 13
 shirt: **lumarraq** Chap. 11
 shoe: **cap'akiq** or **sap'akiq** Chap. 11
 shoelace: **cingiq** Chap. 16
 shoot: **nuteg-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 shop: **kipute-** Chap. 4
 shop (go to Bethel or Anchorage to shop): **kass'arte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14√
 shore: **ceña** Chap. 7
 short (not long): **nanite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 short (not tall): **cugkite-** or **sugkite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 shovel: **qanikciurun** Chap. 16√
 shrew: **angyayagaq** Chap. 21√
 shy: **takar-** (*emotional root*) Chap. 19
 sibling, younger: **kinguqliq** Chap. 5, 23; **uyuraq*** Chap. 23
 sibling-in-law in the sense of sibling of ones spouse: **cakiraq** Chap. 23
 side (area or space to the side): **caniq** Chap. 7
 silent: **nepaite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 since some time ago: **ak'anek** Chap. 11
 sing: **atur-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 sink: **kit'e-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
 sister, older: **alqaq** Chap. 5, 23
 sister, younger: **kinguqliq*** Chap. 5, 23; **uyuraq*** Chap. 23
 sister, younger of male: **nayagaq** Chap. 23
 sister-in-law in the sense of ones brother's wife: **ukurraq** Chap. 23
 sister-in-law in the sense of ones spouse's sister: **cakiraq** Chap. 23
 sit (be in a seated state): **aqumga-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12√
 sit down: **aqume-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 six: **arvinlegen** Chap. 11, 23
 skin: **amiq** Chap. 9
 skin (remove skin): **amiir-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12√
 skin boot, ankle-high: **kameksak** Chap. 5
 skin boot, calf-high: **piluguk** Chap. 5
 skinny: **kemgite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3√
 sled: **ikamraq** Chap. 3
 sleep: **qavar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 sleeping bag: **qavarcuun** Chap. 8√
 sleepy: **qavarni-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 slip: **qurrasqite-** or **uġasqite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
 slippery: **qurrasqinarqe-** or **uġasqinarqe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 21
 slow: **cukaite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3√
 small: **mike-** or **mikte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 3
 small *N*: **-cuar(aq*)** Chap. 4
 smart: **puqig-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
 smile: **quuyurni-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
 smile at: **quuyurnite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
 smoke: **puyuq** Chap. 17
 smoke (a cigarette, pipe etc.): **kuingir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 16
 smokehouse: **talicivik** Chap. 24
 smoky: **puyir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17√
 snagged (get snagged): **nagte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 18
 snare: **negaq** Chap. 24
 snared animal: **cangtaq** Chap. 20
 sneeze: **aqessngaar-** or **aqeste-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
 snot: **akeggluk** Chap. 16, 16√
 snow: **qanir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17√
 snow machine: **snuukuuq** Chap. 14
 snow on the ground: **qanicaq*** Chap. 14

- snowblind: **iingir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 12√
- snowflake: **qanuk** Chap. 17
- snowshoe hare: **maqaruaq** Chap. 10, 15√
- so (is that so?): **qaa** Chap. 10
- so long (*V for so long*): **@~+(t)vakar-** Chap. 16
- so much (*V so much*): **@~+(t)vakar-** Chap. 16
- so that one will *V*: **@~+niar-** Chap. 22
- so well (*V so well*): **@~+(t)vag-** Chap. 21
- soak: **mecungte-** (*patientive*) Chap. 15√
- soaked (be soaked): **mecunge-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 15
- sock: **cuukiiq** or **suukiiq** Chap. 11
- soften a skin by means of a circular crumpling motion with the hands: **ulug-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- soldier: **anguyagta** Chap. 18
- some (of): **ila** Chap. 7
- sometime: **cat iliitni** (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 23
- sometimes: **cam iliini** (*particle—from localis*) Chap. 23
- son: **qetunraq*** Chap. 5, 23
- son-in-law: **nengauk** Chap. 23
- soon (pretty soon after an event): **caqerluni** (*particle—from subordina-tive*) Chap. 13√
- soon afterwards: **wanikuani** (*par-ticle—from contingent*) Chap. 21
- soon: **waniku** (*particle*) Chap. 21
- soup: **suupaq** Chap. 3
- speak English: **qitevte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 10
- speak English to: **qit'vute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10
- speak: **qalarte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2; **qaner-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
- spend the night: **qavartar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 24
- spill: **kuve-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- spinach, wild: **quagciq** Chap. 24
- spit: **qecir-** (*agentive*) Chap. 21
- split in two: **aveg-** (*patientive*) Chap. 23
- spoon: **luuskaa** Chap. 12
- spotted seal: **issuriq** Chap. 8
- spouse: **aipaq** Chap. 7
- spouse (*N and spouse*): **%~(e)nkuk** Chap. 12
- spread butter: **mingug-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 12
- spread (it) out: **cagte-** or **sagte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 19
- spring (season): **up'nerkaq** Chap. 13
- spurt liquid out: **ellngar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
- squirrel (ground squirrel): **qanganag*** Chap. 16
- St. Marys: **Negeqliq*** Chap. 4
- stab: **kape-** (*patientive*) Chap. 24
- stand on tiptoes: **kiipir-** (*postural root*) Chap. 19
- stand up: **nanger-** (*postural root*) Chap. 9
- startle: **tatamte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
- startled (get startled): **tatame-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- state (condition): **ayuquciq** Chap. 20√
- state of having *V*-ed or been *V*-ed (be in a state of having *V*-ed or been *V*-ed): **:(u)ma-** Chap. 12; **@nga-** Chap. 19
- state of *R* (be in a state of *R*): **-ngqa-** (*with postural roots*) Chap. 19
- stay: **uita-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
- stay behind: **unegte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
- stay home: **pai-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
- steal: **tegleg-** (*agentive*) Chap. 15
- steambath house: **maqivik** Chap. 4, 7√; **qasgiq** Chap. 13
- steambath (take a steambath): **maqi-** Chap. 4
- steer: **alular-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- step on: **tut'e-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- stew: **suupaq** Chap. 3
- stick to something: **nepte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 20
- still (continuing): **cali** (*particle*) Chap. 2
- stink: **tepsarqe-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 7

- stomach: **aqsak** or **aqsaq** Chap. 10
 stomachache (have a *stomachache*):
 aqsiqe- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 11[√]
 stone: **teggalquq** Chap. 24
 stop (ones action): **taqe-** Chap. 2
 stop (while moving from one place to
 another): **arulair-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 17
 stop V-ing: **-nrir-** Chap. 19
 stop V-ing so much!: **@~+(t)viiqna-**
 Chap. 12
 store: **kipusvik** Chap. 4, 7[√]
 story: **qanemciq** Chap. 19
 story knife: **yaaruin** Chap. 18
 story knife (play using a *story knife*):
 yaarui- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 18
 story, traditional: **quliraq** Chap. 9
 stove: **kaminiaq** Chap. 8
 stretch: **nenge-** (*intrans. only*) Chap.
 17; **nengte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 17
 strike: **kaug-** or **kaugtur-** (*agentive*)
 Chap. 23
 strong (muscular strength): **pinir-**
 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 13
 strong (of medicine, eyeglasses, etc.):
 tukni- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 17
 student: **elitnauraq** Chap. 14[√]
 study: **elitnaur-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
 stupid: **puqiate-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 submerge: **angllur-** Chap. 22
 suddenly begin to V: **-nga(ar)te-** Chap. 22
 suddenly V: **@+'(g)ar(ar)te-** Chap. 22;
 -ler- Chap. 22; **-llag-** Chap. 22; **-qar-**
 Chap. 22; **-qar(ar)te-** Chap. 22
 sugar: **caarralaq** or **saarralaq** Chap. 10
 summer: **kiak** Chap. 13
 sun: **akerta** Chap. 15
 Sunday: **Agayuneq** Chap. 11
 sunny: **akercir-** (*intrans. only*) Chap.
 15, 17[√]
 supplement: **au-** & **avu-** (*trans. only*)
 Chap. 23; **qivir-** (*trans. only*)
 Chap. 16
 supply of N: **:(ng)un** Chap. 16
 surface: **qai** Chap. 7
 surface (come to the *surface*): **puge-**
 (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
 swallow: **ige-** (*agentive*) Chap. 10
 swan: **qugyuk** Chap. 18
 sweep: **kagi-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 swim: **kuimar-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2
 table: **estuuluq** Chap. 3
 tail: **pamyuq** Chap. 7
 take along in one's hand(s) (a thing one
 is *taking along*): **tegumiaq** Chap. 22
 take away: **ayaute-** (*trans. only*) Chap.
 10[√]
 take back: **ut'rute-** (*trans. only*) Chap.
 10[√]
 take care of: **auluke-** (*trans. only*) Chap.
 24
 take down: **atraute-** (*trans. only*) Chap.
 10[√]
 take in: **itrute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
 take into one's hands: **tegu-** (*trans.*
 only) Chap. 8
 take off in flight: **tenge-** (*intrans. only*)
 Chap. 4
 take off clothes: **matar-** (*postural root*)
 Chap. 19
 take off footwear: **kamilar-** (*postural*
 root) Chap. 19
 take off garment: **yuu-** (*agentive*) Chap. 9
 take one's (physical) place: **enair-** Chap.
 12[√]
 take out(side): **anute-** (*trans. only*)
 Chap. 10[√]
 take out from boat, sled, container:
 yuu- (*agentive*) Chap. 9
 take over: **agute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
 take something along in one's hand(s):
 tegumiar- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 22
 take something into one's hands:
 tegute- (*intrans. only*) Chap. 8
 take to clinic: **emute-** Chap. 14
 take up: **mayuute-** (*trans. only*) Chap.
 10[√]; **tagute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10[√]
 talk: **qalarte-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 2;

- qaner-** (*agentive*) Chap. 3
 talk to baby with cooing words: **inqe-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 24
 talk to or with: **qalarute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
 tall: **cugtu-** or **sugtu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
 taste: **naspaa-** (*agentive*) Chap. 12
 tea: **caayuq** or **saayuq** Chap. 6; **yuurqaq** Chap. 7
 tea (drink *tea*): **yuurqar-** Chap. 7
 teach: **elitnaur-** (*patientive*) Chap. 8
 teacher: **elitnaurista** Chap. 4, 8√
 tear (rip): **alleg-** (*patientive*) Chap. 18
 tease playfully: **ilangcia(rar)-** (*agentive*) Chap. 23
 tee shirt: **ilupeq** Chap. 20
 television: **tiiviiq** Chap. 14
 tell: **qanrute-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 8, 10√
 tell a traditional story: **quliri-** (*intrans. only or agentive*) Chap. 9; **qulirite-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 9
 tell one to V: **:(e)sqe-** Chap. 18
 tell to do something: **ellimer-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 18
 ten: **qula^e** Chap. 7, 7√ 11, 23
 tend to cause one to R or V: **@~+narqe-** (*with emotional roots and other verb bases*) Chap. 19
 tent: **pelatekaq** Chap. 21
 thank: **quyavike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
 thank you: **quyana** (*particle*) Chap. 4
 thankful: **quya-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 4
 thankful to: **quyavike-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 10√
 that one across there (extended): **agna** Chap. 6, 12
 that one across there (obscured): **akemna** Chap. 6, 12
 that one across there (restricted): **ikna** Chap. 6, 10
 that one coming: **ukna** Chap. 6, 12
 that one down below (extended): **una** Chap. 6, 12
 that one down below (obscured): **camna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one down below (restricted): **kan'a** Chap. 6
 that one down the slope (extended): **un'a** Chap. 6, 12
 that one down the slope (obscured): **camna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one down the slope (restricted): **kan'a** Chap. 6
 that one downriver (extended): **unegna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one downriver (obscured): **cakemna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one downriver (restricted): **ugna** Chap. 6
 that one going away from speaker or which speaker has gone past: **augna** Chap. 6
 that one in there (extended): **qaugna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one in there (obscured): **qamna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one in there (restricted): **kiugna** Chap. 6
 that one known to both speaker and listener (obscured): **imna** Chap. 6
 that one out there (extended): **qagna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one out there (obscured): **qakemna** Chap. 6, 14
 that one out there (restricted): **keggna** Chap. 6, 10
 that one over there (extended): **augna** Chap. 6
 that one over there (obscured): **amna** Chap. 6, 12
 that one over there (restricted): **ingna** Chap. 6
 that one there in context or situation spoken about (extended): **tamana** Chap. 6, 10
 that one there near listener (extended): **tamana** Chap. 6, 10

- that one there near listener (restricted):
tauna Chap. 6
- that one toward exit (extended):
unegna Chap. 6, 14
- that one toward exit (restricted): **ugna**
Chap. 6
- that one toward exit (obscured):
cakemna Chap. 6, 14
- that one up above (extended): **pagna**
Chap. 6, 14
- that one up above (obscured): **pakemna**
Chap. 6, 14
- that one up above (restricted): **pikna**
Chap. 6
- that one up the slope (extended):
paug̃na Chap. 6, 14
- that one up the slope (obscured): **pamna**
Chap. 6, 14
- that one up the slope (restricted):
pingna Chap. 6, 10
- that one upriver (extended): **qauḡna**
Chap. 6, 14
- that one upriver (obscured): **qamna**
Chap. 6, 14
- that one upriver (restricted): **kiugna**
Chap. 6
- that's all!: **tua-i** (*particle*) Chap. 6√
- the reason was or is: **cunaw'** or **cunawa**
(*particle*) Chap. 21
- them: **ellait** (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
- there (near listener) (restricted):
tua(ni) Chap. 6
- there in context or situation spoken
about (extended): **tamaa(ni)** Chap. 10
- there is/are *N* there: **+tangqerr-** Chap.
13; **+tar-** (*used with subordinative*)
Chap. 13
- there near listener (extended): **tamaa(ni)**
Chap. 10
- there (over *there*): **yaa(ni)** Chap. 6;
ava(ni) Chap. 6
- there (toward *there*): **yaatmun** (*par-*
*ticle—*from *second terminalis*)
Chap. 7√
- thereafter: **kiituani** Chap. 24
- they: **ellait** (*personal pronoun*) Chap. 21
- they themselves, (to themselves):
ellmeggnun (*personal pronoun in*
term.) Chap. 18, 21
- thick: **mantu-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 6
- thig-a-ma-jig: **imkuciq** Chap. 7√
- thin: **mamkite-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 14
- thing: **pi** Chap. 8
- thing like *N* in some respect: **+(ng)uaq**
Chap. 15
- thing like that: **taukuciq** Chap. 7√
- thing of *N*: **+taq** Chap. 17
- thing borrowed: **navraq** Chap. 20
- thing sent: **tuyuun** Chap. 16√
- thing taken along in one's hand(s):
tegumiaq Chap. 22
- think that one is *V*-ing: **@~+yuke-** Chap. 18
- think that one might *V*: **@~+nayuke-**
Chap. 18
- think: **umyuar̃teqe-** (*intrans. only*)
Chap. 18
- thirsty: **meqsug-** (*intrans. only*) Chap. 7
- this evening: **ataku** (*particle*) Chap. 17
- this one (near speaker) (restricted): **una**
Chap. 6
- this one here (extended): **man'a** Chap. 6
- this time: **qayuw'** or **qayuwa** (*par-*
ticle) Chap. 23
- thought: **umyuaq** Chap. 15
- thousand: **tiissitsaaq** Chap. 23
- three: **pingayun** Chap. 11, 23
- throat: **igyaraq** Chap. 20√
- through (route): *vialis case* Chap. 6
- throw away: **egte-** (*transitive only*)
Chap. 12
- Thursday: **Cetamirin** Chap. 11
- tide comes in: **ule-** (*intrans. only*) Chap.
22
- tie ones shoes: **cingir-** (*agentive*) Chap. 16
- tie: **qillerte-** (*trans. only*) Chap. 23
- tilt ones head up: **ciug-** (*postural root*)
Chap. 18
- time before: **ciu** Chap. 7

- time to *V*: @~+**nari**- Chap. 22
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list includes all the books (excluding children's story books, translations of government documents, and religious material) that are recommended to students of Yup'ik grammar. It also includes some of the recommended technical linguistic articles. The bibliography sections in the works cited here will lead the reader to additional resources.

Alexie, Oscar, Sophie Barnes, and Gerald Domnick. 1990. *Mumigcistet Kalikait*. Bethel: Yup'ik Language Center. 176 pp.

This is an English-to-Yup'ik dictionary of specialized terms and neologisms for the fields of medicine, law, politics, and resource management.

Barnum, Francis. 1901. *Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuvit Language as spoken by the Eskimo of the Western Coast of Alaska*. Boston: Ginn & Company. (Reprint 1970. Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag.) 384 pp.

Written by a Catholic priest who lived on Nelson Island from 1891-1899, this is the first major grammar and vocabulary of Yup'ik (despite the title). The orthography is not good, and the analysis of the grammar is faulty since it follows the model of Latin, but the book has a wealth of detail and transcriptions of a number of traditional Yup'ik stories.

Educational Technology Center. 1991. *Yup'ik For Non-Speakers*. Bethel: Kuskokwim Campus, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Hypercard computer program for Macintosh.

Intended for use in the schools, this program includes voice pronunciations with the language lessons.

Hensel, Chase, and Phyllis Morrow. 1983. *Pitengnaqsaraq, Yup'ik Eskimo Subsistence Board Game*. Bethel: Lower Kuskokwim School District.

This is a board game (like Monopoly) for two or more players. It is built around the theme of Yup'ik subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering, and is entirely in the Yup'ik language but with an English as well as a Yup'ik rule book. An English version was also produced.

Hensel, Chase, Marie Blanchett, Ida Alexie, and Phyllis Morrow. 1983. *Qaneryaurci Yup'igtun*. Bethel: Yup'ik Language Center. 140 pp.

A conversational approach to learning Yup'ik, this book contains numerous model conversations, plus interesting socio-linguistic observations. Tape recordings to accompany it were also produced.

Hinz, John. 1944. *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Eskimo Language as spoken by the Kuskokwim and Southwest Coast Eskimos of Alaska*. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: The Society for Propagating the Gospel, The Moravian Church. 199 pp.

Written by a Moravian missionary who lived in the Bethel area from 1902-1914, this book employs the "Moravian orthography" including differentiation of **k** and **q**, and follows an appropriate grammatical organization for Eskimo languages first developed in Kleinschmidt's Greenlandic grammar of 1851.

Jacobson, Anna. 1990. *Elnguq*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 114 pp.

This is the first novel written in Yup'ik Eskimo. It deals with a Yup'ik girl's

childhood in Southwestern Alaska. An insert with English translations of a few sections is available.

- . *Yup'ik Phrase and Conversation Lessons*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, forthcoming.

Useful phrases and model conversations are presented in twenty-four lessons in this booklet with accompanying cassette.

- Jacobson, Steven. 1982. Types of Partial Nominalization in Central Yup'ik Eskimo. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 6(2): 51-59. Quebec.

- . 1984. Semantics and Morphology of Demonstratives in Central Yup'ik Eskimo. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 8(Supplementary Issue): 185-192. Quebec.

- . 1984. The Stress Conspiracy and Stress-Repelling Bases in the Central Yup'ik and Siberian Yupik Eskimo Languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 50(3): 312-324. Chicago.

- , comp. 1984. *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 757 pp.

Basically a Yup'ik-to-English dictionary, this volume also contains an English-to-Yup'ik index, appendices of various sorts and a lengthy introduction.

- . 1985. Siberian Yupik and Central Yupik Prosody. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 25-45.

- . 1994. The "Observational Construction" in Central (Alaskan) Yup'ik Eskimo and (Central) Siberian Yupik Eskimo. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia (International Journal of Linguistics)* 27(2): 261-274. Copenhagen.

- Kaplan, Lawrence. 1985. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq Consonant Gradation and its Relationship to Prosody. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 191-210.

- Krauss, Michael. 1973. Eskimo-Aleut. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 10(2): 796-902. The Hague.

This is a survey of the work done on and in Eskimo and Aleut languages including particularly documentation, orthographical developments and publications. Though a little dated, it has a full bibliography of publications up to 1973.

- . 1980. *Alaska Native Languages, Past, Present and Future*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 4. 110 pp.

This is a socio-linguistic study of the post-contact history, present state and future prospects of the various Alaska Native languages.

- . 1982. *Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

This is a color wall map showing where the various Alaska Native Languages, Indian as well as Eskimo, are spoken. Also included are related languages in Russia, Canada, Greenland and the lower states, as well as the number of speakers and the "vitality" of each language.

- , ed. 1985. *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7. 216 pp.

This collection has articles by Kaplan, Krauss, Jacobson, Leer and Miyaoka on prosody and related issues in the Yupik languages and in Yupik-influenced Seward Peninsula Inupiaq.

- . 1985. A History of the Study of Yupik Prosody. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 7-23.
- . n.d. Eskimo and Aleut Languages. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. Typescript.
This includes the history of the documentation of Alaskan and Siberian Eskimo-Aleut languages, and of writing systems and bilingual education for these languages.
- Leer, Jeff. 1985. Evolution of Prosody in the Yupik Languages. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 135-157.
- . 1985. Toward a Metrical Interpretation of Yupik Prosody. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 159-172.
- Lower Kuskokwim School District. 1983. *Central Yup'ik: A Course in Spoken Eskimo*. (20 units, each about 40 pp.) Bethel.
This is a set of exercise books with microrecords attached to the pages. The set includes a hand-held phonograph for playing the microrecords. It is a companion to Tennant and Rebert, 1977, has many of the same examples, and is arranged in the same order, though the lessons are numbered differently. The texts are by John Rich and recordings by Betty Huffmon. Designed for advanced primary and secondary school students, the lessons move at a rapid pace, avoiding grammatical explanations. Supplementary material and a skilled teacher are required.
- Mather, Elsie. 1985. *Cauyarnariuq*. Bethel: Lower Kuskokwim School District. 227 pp.
Written entirely in Yup'ik, this book is about pre-Christian Yup'ik ceremonials. It is based largely on interviews with Yup'ik elders.
- Miyaoka, Osahito. 1975. Sketch of Yupik, An Eskimo Language. Typescript.
A revised version of this article is to appear in a forthcoming edition of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, published by the Smithsonian Institution.
- . 1984. A Note on the Norton Sound Dialect of Central Yupik Eskimo. In *The Qaluyaarmiut (2): an anthropological survey of the Southwestern Alaska Eskimos* pp. 53-60. Sapporo, Japan: Dept. of Behavioral Sciences, Hokkaido University.
- . 1984. On the So-called Half-Transitive Verbs in Eskimo. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 8(Supplementary Issue): 193-218. Quebec.
- . 1985. Accentuation in Central Alaskan Yupik. In *Yupik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*. Edited by M. Krauss. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 7: 51-75.
- . 1991. Survey of Yup'ik Grammar. Anchorage: University of Alaska Anchorage. Typescript.
This is a clear, concise outline of Central Yup'ik grammar with examples, using the same terminology as in this book.
- , and Elsie Mather. 1978. *Yup'ik Eskimo Orthography*. Bethel: Yup'ik Language Center. 156 pp.
This workbook-type volume is for Yup'ik speakers wishing to learn to read and write Yup'ik.

Orr, Ben, and Eliza Orr, eds. 1995. *Qanemcikarluni Tekitnargelartuq One Must Arrive With a Story to Tell*. Fairbanks: Lower Kuskokwim School District and Alaska Native Language Center. 378 pp.

This is a collection of fourteen stories told by the elders of Tununak, published in Yup'ik with English translations.

Reed, Irene, Osahito Miyaoka, Steven Jacobson, Paschal Afcan, and Michael Krauss. 1977. *Yup'ik Eskimo Grammar*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 330 pp.

This classroom grammar may be considered the predecessor of the present work, and the first grammar to be written in the modern orthography. A set of interactive tape recordings keyed to each chapter goes with it.

Tennant, Edward, and Robert Rebert. 1977. *Central Yupik: A Course in Spoken Eskimo*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Educational Research Associates. 93 pp.

See citation under Lower Kuskokwim School District, 1983.

—, and Joseph Bitar, eds. 1981. *Yuut Qanemciit Yupiit Cayaraita Qanrutkumallrit — Yupik Lore, Oral Traditions of an Eskimo People*. Bethel: Lower Kuskokwim School District.

This is a collection of traditional stories and other accounts in Yup'ik with English translations on facing pages.

Woodbury, Anthony. 1983. Switch Reference, Syntactic Organization, and Rhetorical Structure in Central Yup'ik Eskimo. In *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar* Vol. 2: 291-335 of the series *Typological Studies in Language*. Edited by J. Haiman and P. Munro. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

—. 1984. Eskimo and Aleut Languages. In *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 5: 49-63. Edited by D. Damas. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

This is a good introduction to the Eskimo-Aleut family of languages.

—, comp. and ed. 1984. *Cev'armiut Qanemciit Qulirait-llu, Eskimo Narratives and Tales from Chevak, Alaska*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 88 pp.

This is a collection of traditional stories and other accounts from the village of Chevak, given in Yup'ik (or rather Cup'ik) with English translations on facing pages. A tape recording of the original storytellers was made available to go with this book.

Sources of Published Materials in Yup'ik

Alaska Native Language Center
University of Alaska Fairbanks
P.O. Box 757680
Fairbanks, AK 99775-7680

Lower Kuskokwim School District
P.O. Box 305
Bethel, AK 99559

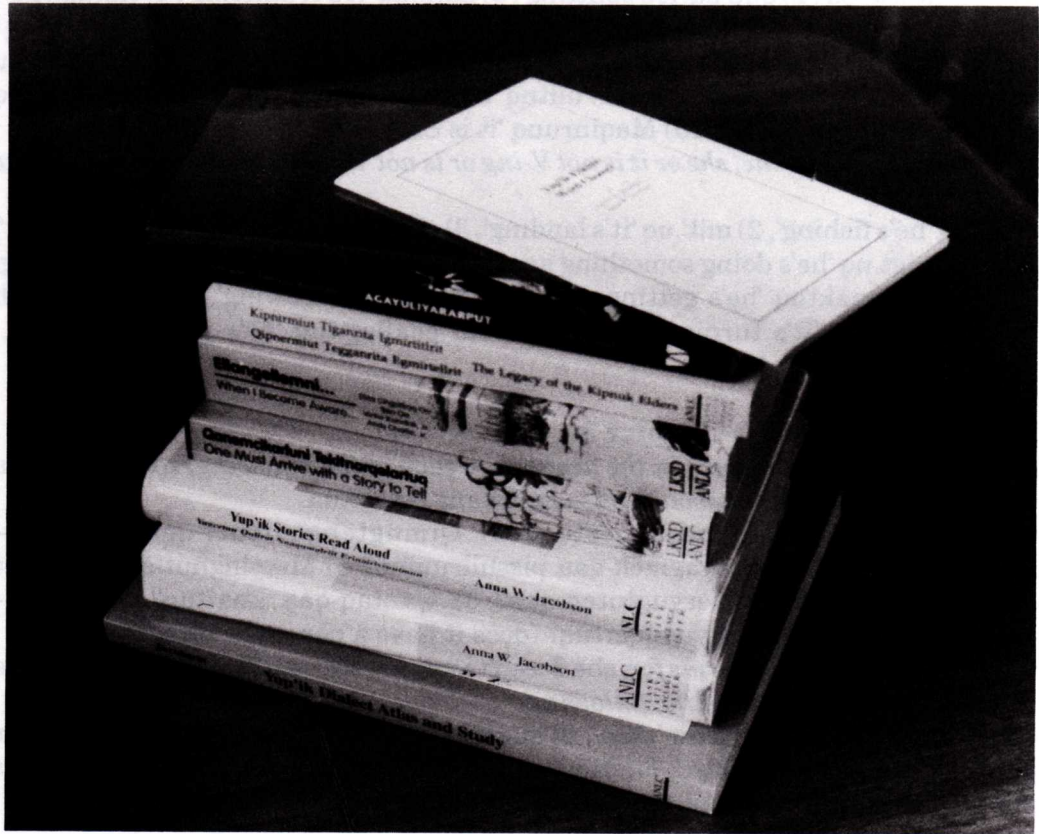
Yup'ik Language Center
Kuskokwim Campus, UAF
P.O. Box 368
Bethel, AK 99559

ADDENDA

Supplementary Exercises; Bibliography of Newly Published Materials in Central Yup'ik

Since the first printing of this book (1995), it has become apparent that many students can benefit from further exercises. The following pages, added in the third printing (2000), contain such additional exercises. I would like to thank my wife Anna for examining these exercises and calling to my attention those items which were incorrect or awkward.

It should be understood that many students—depending on their interests, background, and orientation—will want or need conversational (or more precisely, oral/aural) practice rather than written exercises such as these.



Above is a sample of the Yup'ik language material published since 1995. A comparison of this photograph with the one on page 64 of this volume shows that the output of Yup'ik language material at the adult level since 1995 has equaled or exceeded that from all prior years. An annotated bibliography of the new publications that may be of particular interest to students has been included following these exercises.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 2:

A. Write the forms for 'he or she wants (or it tends) to V' using the bases of the following verbs (in ambiguous cases a period shows the boundary of the base):

1) umyuar-tequq 'he's thinking', 2) kuv'uq 'it's spilling', 3) im'uq 'it's collapsing', 4) akag.tuq 'it's rolling', 5) qip'uq 'it's twisting', 6) kiputuq 'he's buying something', 7) qatliuq 'it's stinging', 8) tegusteŋgurt.uq 'he's become a policeman', 9) aataguq 'he is a father', 10) utert.uq 'he's returning', 11) ikayuutuq 'he's helping out', 12) anglur.tuq 'he's diving', 13) teng'uq 'it's taking off in flight', 14) nar'uq 'he's smelling something', 15) cumikuq 'he's being attentive', 16) pingnaquq 'he's trying', 17) ngel'ar.tuq 'he's laughing', 18) qutug.tuq 'he's snoring', 19) cupegt.uq 'he's homesick', 20) mingqiiguq 'he's making a grass basket', 21) aruuq 'it's (over)ripe, rotten', 22) kiipirt.uq 'he's standing up on his toes', 23) qurrasqituq 'he's slipping, slipped', 24) ul'uq 'it's flooding, high tide'.

B. Write the forms for 'he, she or it V-ed or was V-ing' using the bases of the following verbs:

1) taqsuquq 'he's tired', 2) qup'uq 'it's splitting', 3) kaimuq 'it's crumbling', 4) callug.tuq 'he's fighting', 5) puv'uq 'it's swelling up', 6) aqvatuq 'he's getting something', 7) atkiuq 'it's making a parka', 8) tegusteŋgurt.uq 'he's become a policeman', 9) acauguq 'she is an aunt', 10) minguir-tuq 'it's getting chipped', 11) niituq 'he's hearing', 12) akutarturyunqegt.uq 'he likes to eat Eskimo ice cream', 13) Maqinruuq 'it is Saturday'.

C. Write the forms for 'he, she or it is not V-ing or is not V' using the bases of the following verbs:

1) manar.tuq 'he's fishing', 2) mit'.uq 'it's landing', 3) cikuuq 'it's freezing', 4) qavarniuq 'he's sleepy', 5) pinqigt.uq 'he's doing something again', 6) teggigt.uq 'he's giggling', 7) tegleg.tuq 'he's stealing', 8) maktuq 'he's getting up', 9) mingquq 'he's sewing', 10) murilkuq 'he's observing', 11) ultuq 'it's turning inside out', 12) paallag.tuq 'he's falling forward', 13) Aipiritnguq 'it's Tuesday'.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 3:

A. Give appropriate answers in the negative to each of the following, so that if you were given, Uingqertuten-qaa? you would answer, Qaang, uingitua.

1) Angun-qaa kass'amek nulingqertuq? 2) Qimugtengqertuci-qaa? 3) Cali-qaa kuuvviangqertuten? 4) Tuntuvagmek-qaa pissullruuten? 5) Mikelnguut-qaa assirtut? 6) Cavutengqertutek-qaa? 7) Neryugtuten-qaa? 8) Qantaq-qaa imaituq? 9) Nanvaq-qaa neqengqertuq? 10) Nacaq-qaa yungqertuq? (does it have a person or owner).

B. Write the appropriate forms for, she doesn't have a — or —s (often meaning she doesn't have a — or —s on), for each of the following:

1) tangluq 'snowshoe', 2) sap'akiq 'shoe', 3) suukiiq 'sock', 4) elqialek 'hat with a visor', 5) naqugun 'belt', 6) lumarraq 'shirt', 7) aliiman 'mitten, glove', 8) ilupeq 'undershirt', 9) qaspeq 'cloth cover parka', 10) pelatuuk 'scarf', 11) ciutailitaq 'earmuff', 12) ackiiq 'eyeglass' (one side of a pair of glasses).

Additional Exercises for Chapter 4:

A. Form the absolute plurals and localis singulars for the following nouns, assuming that words ending in aq, iq or uq have weak final consonants unless asterisked (for example, given estuuluq 'table', one should write estuulut 'tables', estuulumi 'at the table').

1) agyaq 'star', 2) sap'akiq 'shoe', 3) ellalliurcuun 'raincoat', 4) pirta 'blizzard, sandstorm', 5) kulun 'ring', 6) tuntu 'caribou', 7) cetuk 'fingernail or toenail', 8) cetuaq 'beluga', 9) egaleq 'window', 10) erneq 'day', 11) unuk 'night', 12) kavtak 'hailstone', 13) puukicaaq 'button', 14) teggalluq 'rock', 15) egan 'cooking pot', 16) yaassiik 'box', 17) qulqin 'shelf', 18) qanuk

'snowflake', 19) kuta 'drop of liquid', 20) kuluk'uunaq 'bell', 21) uliiq* 'white fox', 22) ciuqliq* 'first one, leader', 23) eneq 'bone', 24) petgeq 'flake of dandruff', 25) qunguturraq 'pet', 26) canek 'grass', 27) kantuuvvilaq 'potato', 28) ussukcaq 'nail', 29) yaaruin 'story-knife', 30) paraluruaq 'grain of rice'.

B. Form the absolutive singulars and plurals of nouns given here in the localis singular (for example, given nunapigmi 'at the tundra', one should write nunapik 'tunder', nunapiit 'tundras')

1) augmi 'in the blood', 2) ivrarcuutmi 'in the wading boot', 3) egalermi 'on the window', 4) taluyami 'in the fishtrap', 5) carayagmi 'in the bear', 6) cikumi 'in the ice', 7) qiirmi 'on the grey hair', 8) ukinermi 'in the hole', 9) qeltemi 'on the fish scale', 10) tuunraleqmi 'in the shaman'.

C. Add the postbases for 'big', 'small', and 'real', in the absolutive singular to the following:

1) qalun 'dipper', 2) ii 'eye', 3) kalikaq 'paper', 4) kegluneq 'wolf', 5) mulut'uuk 'hammer', 6) issran 'grass bag', 7) nepcetaaq 'tape or glue', 8) angeq 'chewing gum', 9) angqaq 'ball', 10) akerta 'sun'.

D. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The white teacher wants to wear a traditional (real) parka. 2) The Yukon River people arrived in Bethel yesterday. 3) The child doesn't have a real gun. 4) We don't have any Dillingham people. 5) The little moose was very scared of the big dogs. 6) The muskrats went into the dens. 7) I didn't see any salmonberries on the tundra. 8) Did the dogs go into the school? 9) The Eskimo wants to make an authentic kayak. 10) I don't want to go over to the airplanes. 11) The names are very long. 12) The man from St. Marys doesn't have a wife. 13) The little men are afraid of big waves. 14) I saw little footprints in the mountains. 15) The big muskrats are eating little fish. 16) The big steambath house has a real floor. 17) The small lakes in the tundra don't have names. 18) The small airplane took off from the big lake and landed on the little river. 19) We are staying in the big house. 20) The small foxes have big dens. 21) From the hill we saw a village. 22) I wanted to buy a real semi-lunar knife at the store in Bethel. 23) The little children₂ are playing outside. 24) Do you₂ want to make a big boat? 25) We₂ wanted to make a real sled.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 5 (first part):

A. Translate into English:

1) Qimugten kaigtug. 2) Nep'ut egalengqertug amllerneq. 3) Nuyaten iqaut. 4) Alqaqa suupamek neryullruuq. 5) Qantan-qaa imaitug? 6) Kuuvviaqa kumlatug. 7) Nunaci-qaa nerpangqertug? 8) Tengssuuteput cakneq cukaitug. 9) Cavutegka tak'uk. 10) Nacan mikenritug. 11) Kameksiigka nanituk. 12) Estuuluput assiitug. 13) Elitnaurviin-qaa amiigpangqertug? 14) Nulirqa atsalugpianek curanek-llu iqvallrunritug. 15) Angayuqaagken-qaa Mamterillermi uitauk? 16) Panika uingqertug agayulirtemek. 17) Uin-qaa nayirnek pissurtug? 18) Maqiviput ak'allaq egalritellruuq. 19) Aataka amllerneq qiingqertug. 20) Aliimategken mik'uk. 21) Ikamracuaraan cukauq. 22) Qimulviin kaigtug. 23) Necuarqa natritug! 24) Elitnauristeput nutarat qayapianek kipucugtut. 25) Tumten mik'ut.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Your eyes are very big. 2) My older brother went to St. Marys yesterday. 3) Your coat is long. 4) Our dogs want to eat fish. 5) Are your ears cold? 6) My children are crying in the house. 7) Your son and my daughter are playing outside. 8) My parents picked lots of berries in the tundra. 9) My mother wants to make a traditional (real) parka. 10) Our old skin-boots are bad. 11) Is your_{pl} boat very slow? 12) Your sister is skinny. 13) Your new name is nice.

14) My hands are not dirty. 15) Your wife has a new hat. 16) Our village doesn't have a new store. 17) My soup is cold. 18) Our footprints are numerous. 19) My husband saw a walrus at Dillingham. 20) My daughter has a new baby. 21) Your little children don't understand Yup'ik. 22) My wife wants to learn. 23) Our village is very big. 24) Your_{pI} food is cold. 25) Is your son afraid of big dogs?

C. Give the requested forms based on the given words:

1) maurluq* = 'grandmother'; how do you say 'your grandmother'? 2) qengaq = 'nose'; how do you say 'my nose'? 3) ciisquq = 'knee'; how do you say 'your knees'? 4) acak = 'aunt'; how do you say 'your aunt'? 5) erina = 'voice'; how do you say 'my voice'? 6) eneq = 'bone'; how do you say 'your bones'? 7) igarcuun = 'pencil'; how do you say 'my pencil'? 8) cetuk = 'fingernail'; how do you say 'my fingernails'? 9) ciuliaq = 'ancestor'; how do you say 'our ancestors'? 10) kinguveq = 'descendant'; how do you say 'my descendants'? 11) tutgar(aq*) = 'grandchild'; how do you say 'your_{pI} grandchildren'? 12) luuskaa = 'spoon'; how do you say 'my spoon'? 13) kalngak = 'backpack'; how do you say 'your backpack'? 14) ayaun = 'thumb'; how do you say 'my thumbs'? 15) kulun = 'ring'; how do you say 'your ring'?

Additional exercises for Chapter 5 (second part):

A. Use the given words to write the forms for 'he/she/it is a —'.

I. words ending in -Ca (with base also ending in a), -Caa, or -Cak (note that "C" means any consonant):

example: angyaq 'boat': *angyauguq* 'it is a boat'. 1) maklak 'bearded seal', 2) napa 'tree', 3) anaana 'aunt', 4) luqruiyak 'pike', 5) taluyaq 'fish trap', 6) paluqtaq 'beaver', 7) agyaq 'star', 8) egturyaq 'mosquito', 9) imarmiutaq 'mink', 10) ciivak 'housefly'

II. words ending in -Ci, -Ciq, or -Cik:

example: amiq 'skin': *amiuguq* 'it is a skin'. 1) qusngiq 'sheep or reindeer', 2) panayuli 'bumble bee', 3) qecik 'skin, hide', 4) negiliq 'parka ruff', 5) issuriq 'spotted seal', 6) cavik 'metal', 7) ciissiq 'insect', 8) aliq 'sleeve', 9) kuingiq 'cigarette', 10) asriq 'brat'.

III. words ending in -Cu, -Cuq, or -Cuk:

example: tangluq 'snowshoe': *tangluuguq* 'it is a snowshoe'. 1) tuntu 'caribou', 2) ircaquq 'heart', 3) ciku 'ice', 4) tuluq 'ivory', 5) kayanguq 'egg', 6) meluk 'fish egg', 7) saayuq 'tea', 8) arrluk 'killer whale', 9) ilavkuk 'rope', 10) uquq 'oil'.

IV. words ending in -a^e, -n, -eq, or -ek:

examples: a) anuqa^e 'wind': *anuqnguug* 'it is wind', b) egan 'pot': *egatnguug* 'it is a pot', c) eneq 'bone': *enruug* 'it is a bone', d) epurralek 'lollypop': *epurralguug* 'it is a lollypop'. 1) nepa^e 'noise', 2) usguneq 'joint', 3) canek 'grass', 4) mingqun 'needle', 5) tegganeq 'elder', 6) uuneq 'burn on one's flesh', 7) taqeq 'vein', 8) pupsulek 'crab', 9) kagin 'broom', 10) nunakuarcuun 'car'.

V. words ending in -ta, -CCeq, or -CCek:

examples: a) akerta 'sun': *akerteŋguug* 'it is the sun', b) kanitneq 'dog salmon': *kangitneruug* 'it is a dog salmon'. 1) qelta 'fish scale', 2) tayarneq 'wrist', 3) qaspeq 'light cloth parka', 4) punerneq 'copper', 5) tarneq 'soul', 6) yungcarista 'doctor', 7) alarneq 'mistake', 8) pirta 'blizzard', 9) neresta 'louse', 10) calista 'worker', 11) taamlek 'darkness'.

VI. words ending in -VV, -VVk, or -VVq:

examples: a) muluk^u 'milk': *muluk^uuruug* 'it is milk', b) missuuk 'sack', *missuuguug* 'it is a sack', c) ii 'eye': *iinguug* 'it is an eye'. 1) niuk 'rustling sound', 2) nukalpiaq 'great hunter', 3) yaassiiq 'box', 4) issaluuq 'porcupine', 5) auk 'blood', 6) miiskaaq 'dishpan', 7) ceŋarmiu 'shore dweller', 8) inuguaq 'figurine, doll', 9) paraluruq 'rice', 10) Qaluyaarmiu 'Nelson Islander'.

VII. words ending in -r (actually in -r(aq)):

examples: arnacuar 'little woman': *arnacuarauguq* 'she is a little woman'. 1) angulluar 'old

man', 2) mellgar 'carver's curved knife', 3) qimugkauyar 'puppy', 4) tutgar 'grandchild', 5) ciissiar 'little insect'.

VIII. words ending in various ways:

1) amauq 'great-grandparent', 2) allganeq 'tear in cloth, etc.', 3) lumarraq 'shirt', 4) mertarcuun 'water bucket', 5) pupik 'impetigo sore', 6) luussitaq 'horse', 7) capun 'weir, fish fence', 8) qugyuk 'swan', 9) tengmiaq 'bird', 10) aaluuyaaq 'swing', 11) utnguk 'wart', 12) tan'geq 'darkness', 13) sass'aq 'watch, clock, hour', 14) cetuk 'fingernail, toenail', 15) esiq 'egg yolk', 16) ellvik 'ventilator', 17) cuqa^e 'measurement', 18) tatek 'forehead', 19) qiguiq 'tree squirrel', 20) Kusquqvagmiu 'Kuskokwimer', 21) anleq 'type of edible tuber', 22) angalkuq 'shaman', 23) angeq 'chewing gum', 24) pamyuq 'tail', 25) amyak 'oyster', 26) uugnar 'mouse', 27) qenuirun 'ice scoop', 28) assaliaq 'pancake', 29) marayaq 'mud', 30) ilupeq 'undershirt', 31) qunguturaq 'pet', 32) tuunralek 'shaman', 33) qanuk 'snowflake', 34) ula^e 'high tide, flood', 35) erina 'voice', 36) elqiaq 'visor', 37) unuir 'bat', 38) miilaq 'soap', 39) ekvik 'cut bank of river', 40) maqaruq 'snowshoe hare', 41) ik'iq 'ugly thing', 42) tusek 'shoulder', 43) Agayuneq 'Sunday', 44) Pekyun 'Monday', 45) qalleq 'rust', 46) yaaruin 'story knife', 47) neleq 'white-fronted goose'.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 6:

A. Translate and give the key forms, with translations, following the example: pamna: 'the one back there', pam'umek 'from the one back there', pamkut 'the ones back there', pamani 'back there'

1) pikna, 2) kiugna, 3) ugna, 4) ingna, 5) una, 6) tauna, 7) kan'a, 8) man'a, 9) imna, 10) auġna.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) like this, 2) like that, 3) hey you, 4) you going away, 5) you up there, 6) you down there, 7) it's right here, 8) they're around here, 9) it's over there, 10) it's up there, 11) it's down there, 12) it's in there.

C. Translate into English:

1) Makut atsat curarpaugut. 2) Mamterillermiut maavet tekitellruut kankutgun angyatgun. 3) Auġkut arnat elitnauristeput iqvallruut yaani nunapigpagmi. 4) Pikekut saskat igteqatartut. 5) Man'a ena cakneq kiircetuq. 6) Taukunek-qaa kelipaneq kiputellruuten akwaugaq? 7) Yaqulecuar itellruuq kiugukun egalerkun. 8) Akutaliqatartua ukunek atsalugpianek. 9) Pissuryullruukut kaviarneq ingkuni penguni. 10) Tauna-qaa uluacuaraan ipegtuq? 11) Ukuk kameksiigka mik'uk. 12) Imna tan'gurraq eliteksaituq. 13) Man'a ella assirtuq. 14) Agayulirta aqumeqatartuq uavet. 15) Kankut kanaqliit kuimaqatartut uavet. 16) Angayuqaagka maqiuq yaani maqivigmi. 17) Makut net egalengqertut nutaranek. 18) Qayapialillruuq auġna kass'aq. 19) Cakneq-qaa iqauk taukuk aliimategken? 20) Pikani nacan uitauq. 21) Irniaten taukut angenrituq. 22) Ayagyuumiitukut kat'ukun angyakun. 23) Ingkut nasaurluut agqatartut yaavet elitnaurvigmun nutaramun. 24) Anqatartuq ugna. 25) Man'a imarpik iqtuuq cakneq. 26) Kiugkut mikelnguut qavartut. 27) Avani arnat makumiut iqvartut atsalugpianek. 28) Irniansa aquigut kuigmi kanani. 29) Qimugkauyaraten taigut avaken. 30) Pikaken tangellruunga imarpigmek. 31) Maaggun agellruut. 32) Meq tauna kuvqatartuq kanavet natermun. 33) Saskaq igteqatartuq pikaken. 34) Aanaka mingquq nem'i im'ukun mingqutkun. 35) Kiircetuq kiani taugaam nengllirtuq uani. 36) Ingkut yaqulegpiit tengqatartut. 37) Nateq wani iqauq cakneq. 38) Una masslaq assirtuq, taugaam tauna kelipaq assiituq. 39) Makut kass'at iirpangqertut. 40) Tuaten-qaa qayapilillruuci? 41) Auġna arnaq elitnauristenġullruuq maani. 42) Tauna saayuuguq, unallu kuuvviaruq. 43) Man'a nutek nutarauguq. 44) Ciku maani mamtunrituq. 45) Agayulirta ukunek kiputellruuq kipusvigmi uani. 46) Ingkut maqiviik mik'uk cakneq! 47) Auġkut net ak'allaugut. 48) Usuuq, ciutegken-qaa kumlatuk? 49) Tuani egaterpak imangqertuq curanek. 50) Maani nunapik atsaituq.

D. Translate into Yup'ik using the subscripted words to help choose the best demonstrative:

- 1) Did those_{in there} children go to bed? 2) The berries are in that_{up there} bowl. 3) We wanted to hunt seals there_{downriver}. 4) The local people were picking those_{you know which} berries in that_{over there} small tundra. 5) These_{here} two oars are short. 6) This_{before us} river is not wide. 7) The child crawled through that_{by the} exit door. 8) That_{down below} needle is very sharp. 9) Hey you_{going away}, are you still hungry? 10) That_{over there} dog is going to come here. 11) Those_{spread out over there} moose are not afraid. 12) We hunted foxes over there_{spread out}. 13) I saw muskrats in that_{down there} den. 14) Those_{down there} are not real fish. 15) They went (to) upriver with that_{going away} sled. 16) I'm going to cook this_{near me} meat in that_{near you} pot. 17) That_{over there} coffee is hot, but this_{here} tea is cold. 18) That_{down below} on the floor is a hat. 19) My husband is visiting at that_{over there} little house. 20) Those_{spread out over there} people are picking blueberries and salmonberries. 21) Those_{you know which} people are about to take a steambath. 22) My brother and your sister are working in that_{you know which} store. 23) Yesterday I saw little children there_{down the slope}. 24) That_{going away} man made a small authentic sled. 25) There_{further in the} Yup'ik women are talking. 26) These_{around us} dogs are hungry. 27) Those_{over there in a group} men are going to hunt seals. 28) Those_{over there} scattered children are picking berries. 29) That_{further in} table is not dirty. 30) That_{up on the shelf above me} hat of mine is not good. 31) This_{right here} window is thick. 32) I'm here. 33) It's up there. 34) They are over there_{in a group}. 35) Your brother was over there_{somewhere in that large area}. 36) The baby crawled from in there_{further in the house to out there toward the exit}. 37) My sister saw fish from that_{the one docked down there} boat. 38) There aren't any waves there_{near the mouth of the river}. 39) Those_{near you} skin-boots_{2 of yours} are very nice. 40) Those_{who we just went past} two people have lots of children. 41) This_{right next to us} river is very long. 42) That_{near you, the listener} tea is hot! 43) That_{over there} man is skinny. 44) I saw some Bethel people in that_{down the slope} house. 45) You_{in there}, I'm coming in. 46) You_{near the exit}, are you going to go out? 47) That_{spread out over there} tundra has lots of berries. 48) Those_{together down there} fish are going to swim to there_{downriver}. 49) That_{you know which} son of yours is like that_{over there} boy. 50) Those_{up above} bowls are empty.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 7:

Put each of the following into the future and translate; for example, given kuuviartuq you should write kuuviarciquq 'he will have coffee', and given yuurqanrituq you should write yuurqerngaitut 'they won't have a hot beverage'.

- 1) Qimugteput qilugtut nem elatiini. 2) Iqvartukut ing'um nanvam avatiini. 3) Agayulirta maantenrituq. 4) Piipiq aurrenrituq inglerem acianun. 5) Allannernek-qaa alinguci? 6) Tangenrituten-qaa yaqulegnek nanvacuaraam amatiini? 7) Taqenritua. 8) Anenritut maqiviim elatiinun. 9) Nel'inrituk-qaa angayuqaagken kipusviim uatiini? 10) Ner'utek-qaa yaqulegnek? 11) Kegguteten assiitut. 12) Neqet qamiqut tepsarqenritut. 13) Meqsugtua. 14) Nuussiqa-qaa navegtuq? 15) Manignam tepii assirtuq. 16) Apa'urluput ceñirtenritut. 17) Neqlill'liuten-qaa nunam kiatiini? 18) Egatem patua igtenrituq estuulum qainganek. 19) Qimugkauyaraten-qaa qavartut ing'um yaassiigem iluani? 20) Qerrutenrituten-qaa? 21) Paniin-qaa elitnauristeñguuq? 22) Tekituq kuigem painganun. 23) It'gagka takenrituk! 24) Cukaitenritua! 25) Tengssuun mit'uq pengut ketiitnun.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 9:

Translate into English:

- 1) Irniama elitnauristait tangerrsullruyaaqanka. 2) Ing'um qimugtem keggestema ataam keggengnaqicqsugnarqaanga! 3) Irniani tupagtelaryaaqai arnam. 4) Piipiq igcecaqunaku! 5) Pikaken-qaa egalvak atrartellruan? 6) Neqlillerpeci ketiini paluqtarneq

tangerciqsugnarquten. 7) Paluqtat pamyuteng keggesciigacugnarqait. 8) Niicugnissuun nipteqatarqa. 9) Iqairissuuteput kitugcaaqellrua aatama. 10) Payugtelaryaaqaa maurluni akutamek. 11) Ak'a panini akinek tuyullrullinia. 12) Irniavet aliksaaqellruitkut. 13) Taluyapiamek pilingnaqsaaqellruunga. 14) Apa'urluugka qulirilallruyaaquk. 15) Ulama aipaa ukinengqertuq. 16) Qetunrama igarcuuteni asemtenagnaqsaaqellruui. 17) Pistaitelartut makumiut. 18) Nutellrullinia nayiq qamiquakun. 19) Anciiqaa qimugten nemte'nek. 20) Ikamraliste'nguyugyugnarquq. 21) Mingqessuutema kitugtestii cikirciqsugnarqaqa camek. 22) Elitengnaqsaaqellruut Yup'igcetun. 23) Pikegkut yaqulecuaaraat makut atsat nerciqsugnarqait. 24) Ak'a kan'a ciku ce'nam ketiini urullinia. 25) Mikelnguut aquilaryaaqut elitnaurviim elatiini. 26) Mer'en kuvqataran qerrulliigpenun. 27) Ikamrapialilallruyaaq-sugnarqut calissuutetgun makutgun. 28) Suupaq uuqnaqsugnarquq cakneq. 29) Irniacuaravet pai(gi)steteng ikayungnaqellruyaaqaat. 30) Calistet egalerkun estuulurpak iterteqatalliniat elitnaurvigmun. 31) Apa'urluun tupagesgu. 32) Uitasngaitaatnga qimugkauyaravet. 33) Igangnaqak angayuqaagni Yugcetun. 34) Tengssuutet mic'ugnarqut misvigmun kipusvimta keluani. 35) Ingrit avatiitni pissuryullruyaaqukut taugaam tuntuvagnek tangellrunritukut tamaani.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 10:

A. Translate into English:

1) Nuliama alqaan qetunraqak ukuk mertartek tan'gurraak. 2) Nuliama aanii uitalallruyaaquq uumi nem'i. 3) Kaminiamek kipuyutellruaqa nuliama aanii. 4) Ilamta irniarita nakuksuitellruitkut. 5) Utaqasciigatarpekut-qaa? 6) Angayuqaagken equurutqataragka. 7) Pissurtet ing'um tuntuviim nutegtain unitellruyugnarqaiceci. 8) Piqertuutaq una ut'rucuumiitaqa yuanun. 9) Ak'a-qaa nuliavet saayumek saarralamek-llu kipuyutellruaten? 10) Qayapialiqatallruyaaqaanga apa'urluma. 11) Itrutellruaten-qaa muriit nemte'nun? 12) Piani quuyurnitellruanga qaltarpet aturtiin. 13) Un'gani qit'vucuitaitkut yuut. 14) Ukveqsuitarpecia. 15) Makumiut iqvalangut iqvarcuutetgun. 16) Qulirit'lallruui tutgarani. 17) Anutellruit piteng nem'eng iluanek. 18) Suupamek Payugcuumiicugnarqaakut. 19) Tagutellruaten-qaa yaassiigpiit misvigmun? 20) Ayauciqsugnarqapuk ak'allaq iqairissuuteput neqillimegnun. 21) Un'gani-qaa pissulartuci nayirnek angyavcetgun? 22) Aatama akinek tuyullrullinianga akwaugaq. 23) Allanernun Kuigpagmiunun tunellruaput paluqtaat pitamta pamyuit. 24) Neqerrluut amlleret tekiutellruit tamaaken. 25) Qimugtevet ilaita keggengnaqeqataryugnarqaatnga. 26) Yuum maurluqak aanami aanii aatami-llu aanii. 27) Ce'nciicqavkut-qaa unuaqu? 28) Uiksuumiitellruanga taugaam nuliaqsullruaqa. 29) Irniangeksaitukuk. 30) Ak'a-qaa neqet tagutellruaten angyavnek?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) I can't fix your fishtrap with my knife. 2) I am thankful to the people who found our things. 3) The man who lost your gun probably won't buy you a new one. 4) The ministers are thankful to us. 5) I am going to make fermented fish heads for you. 6) You are probably my dad's relative. 7) Those two people outside are my parents. 8) I am their₂ son. 9) We₂ are related to each other. 10) I'm your children's new teacher. 11) The woman who sewed your parka is my mother. 12) The downriver people probably lied to us. 13) The one across there used to be our fishcamp. 14) My relatives told us about your father. 15) I don't want to fix an old motor for you_{pl}. 16) The pot on top of the stove contains the head of a whitefish. 17) Did you already bury the fish heads? 18) I'll bring your tools down to our boat. 19) My mother cooks for us. 20) Do the police pick on your children? 21) I found some money under the table and put it in that bowl up there. 22) The little dogs barked at us from under the cache (place to put). 23) They brought us over to their house with their sled. 24) He put his_{own} boots under

his bed. 25) They put their_{own} net into their_{own} boat. 26) I wasn't able to fix my relatives' house's windows. 27) Did you see us inside the localites' school? 28) My sister's husband generally cooks the rabbits he's caught for his_{own} children. 29) Yesterday my brother's wife couldn't wake me up. 30) I'll take it to that_{across} there little old house.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 11:

A. Translate the following into English:

1) Qaill' una atkuk piliaqsui? 2) Naliit ukut piksiki? 3) Ciin aliksiki qimugtenka? 4) Kina aataksui? 5) Qaku ataam ceñirciiqsia? 6) Nani kiputellrusui nutgen? 7) Nani iqvallrusiki ukut atsat? 8) Naliat ukut neryugciu? 9) Ciin ancugciu qimugkauyar? 10) Nani pitaqsiki ukut manignat? 11) Kina igarcui? 12) Qangvaq tuyullrusui qetunraan akinek? 13) Kina payugteqatarciu taumek akutamek? 14) Kinkut ikayularciki kiagmi? 15) Qaillun ilaksui aataka? 16) Nani tangellrusikek angayuqaagka akwaugaq? 17) Natmun aguciu tauna? 18) Ciin niptellrusui kenurraq? 19) Qaku kumarciiqsui kaminiq? 20) Kinkut keniuciki kemegmek? 21) Natmun ellillrusui yaassiik? 22) Kia angyaanun ekellrusiki piten? 23) Kinkuk angayuqaqsikek? 24) Ciin angayuqaagken igaqsaicikek? 25) Kina elitnauristeksui?

B. Give plausible complete-sentence Yup'ik answers to the following:

1) Casit maani? 2) Qangvaq tekitehellrusit? 3) Camek neryugcit? 4) Qaku ayagciqsit? 5) Caqatarcit? 6) Qavcinek alqangqercit? 7) Nani uitalarcit? 8) Camiungusit? 9) Qaill' ayuqsit? 10) Ciin kaigcit? 11) Qaill' pisit? 12) Nantellrusit akwaugaq? 13) Naken taisit? 14) Ciin mernurcit? 15) Canek alingsit? 16) Cakucinek iqvaryugcit? 17) Ciin qavarciiqatellrusit? 18) Nani akakiignek pit'larcit? 19) Kitumek akingellrusit? 20) Camek kipucugcit Mamterillermi? 21) Kitumun igarcit? 22) Calisit? 23) Naw'un utertelarcit nunavnun? 24) Caciqsit unuaqu? 25) Caqataryaaqellrusit? 26) Camek yuurqallrusit? 27) Qaillun ikamraliciqsit? 28) Casteñgusit? 29) Nani ukunek atsalugpianek iqvallrusit? 30) Nani yaqulegnek pissularcit? 31) Kituusit? 32) Camek nalkutellrusit? 33) Nani tamarillrusit akinek? 34) Qavcinek tuntuvagnek tangellrusit? 35) Camek kuv'illrusit lumarrarpenun?

Additional Exercises for Chapter 12:

Translate into English, and then put the given Yupik sentences into the future, for example given una neriu you would translate it as 'eat this', and put it in the future as una nerkiu.

1) Kalikamek igarcuutmek-llu aqvateqernga. 2) Taryuq taiteqerru. 3) Cali qanqerru. 4) Ikayurnga. 5) Maligesnga. 6) Nakukenrilnga. 7) Qianrilu, usuuq. 8) Allanret atrit eliski. 9) Ikiirusnga. 10) Taitai. 11) Eruriiqaa. 12) Qimugtut nerqiki ukunek kemegnek. 13) Tauna calissuuteka uitasgu. 14) Aipirnga. 15) Unitenrilkek aliimategken. 16) Qalarten. 17) Alingenrici. 18) Kitak, neqliura. 19) Kuuvvialiqerkut. 20) Irnian ermiggu. 21) Yaassiiqpak teguu estuulum qainganek. 22) Akiten tamanrilki. 23) Manarcuutenka igcetenrilki mermun. 24) Saskaqa imirru kuuvviamek. 25) Agayuci.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 14:

A Translate into English:

1) Tangelput kuigem paingani kanaqlaunricugnarqut. 2) Aturyuumiitaqa luuskaa q mikelnguun naulluulriim atullra. 3) Arnam assikenrui qetunrani panimini. 4) Kass'at sugtunrat iterciigatellruuq amiigkun! 5) Ingna angun uilqaqa. 6) Nalkellruaten-qaq tamalten? 7) Atkupialiuq uimi pikaanek. 8) Tangvagyuganka allanret yuraqatalriit. 9) Qimugtut nereksailinguut qilugtut taugaam nerqelten nepaitut. 10) Kuuvviaqatallruiyaaqua saskakun imukun navvlerpegun. 11) Yaaqsilriamun neqlillermun ayangnaqluk piyualunuk nunapiqkun cali-llu ivraraqulunuk etgalngurteggun nanvatgun. 12) Niicuilnguun nakukellra

qiaqataryugnarquq. 13) Qialriim mikelnguumaaniin nunurciqsugnarqaa irniami nakukestii. 14) Amiirki maqaruartaten uuggun nuussikun ipelriakun. 15) Yuut ikayullemta quyavikngaicugnarqaitkut. 16) Kinkuugat yuralriit akwaugaq taillret Negeqlirmek? 17) Niptellren ekualliniuq ataam. 18) Nalluyagutellrenka amllenruyugnarqut elitellemni elitnaurvigmi! 19) Kipucugyaaqelqa kiputauyugnarquq ak'a. 20) Ekraarluki iqairarkat iqairissuutmun, inillruanka iqailten inivigmun. 21) Kinkuugak kassuuteqatalriik unuamek? 22) Suupaq aanavet kenillra taryissiyaagtuq. 23) Natmun ellillrusiki tegulten pik'umek qilqitmek? 24) Kipuskiki neqtaita assinrit. 25) Panika uini-llu uitalartuk nell'emni.

B Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The shortest of the elders is my former wife's father. 2) The woman that my brother married used to teach in Bethel. 3) Should the garment which you changed be washed? 4) The big animal which you tried to shoot was probably a bear. 5) Don't buy your daughter a coat that she didn't like! 6) The white people went over to what had been a kashim in order to examine it. 7) Bring the water that you fetched into the house and put it on top of the stove. 8) The people you served are beginning to eat. 9) The thing that I was afraid of is not a dog! 10) How will you patch the shirt that your husband was going to use? 11) The birds that we were about to shoot that flew off were probably afraid of my red coat. 12) The people I visited in Bethel bought a big new television set, but they never watch it. 13) Which of your boys married the slimmest of our former postman's daughters? 14) To whom did you give your biggest cloth cover parka? 15) The table that I made is not any good anymore. 16) Two heads are better than one. 17) The man without teeth can't eat meat that hasn't been completely cooked. 18) There's been nothing to pick in the tundra all summer. 19) There are things to hunt in the hills beyond the big lakes. 20) I'll return to get the things I left behind. 21) There aren't any fish in the shallowest lakes. 22) Do you know your mother's former name? 23) The children you awakened are still lying down in their beds. 24) Who picked the berries which we ate? 25) The things you_{pl} saw swimming down there probably are minks.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 15:

Translate into Yup'ik:

1) They are thankful to you_{pl} because you_{pl} helped them. 2) He returned from school in the city before he finished because he was homesick. 3) When I asked him he got angry at me. 4) Why did you use his tools before you asked him? 5) They saw us before we saw them. 6) I can't pick berries because I don't have a bucket. 7) I'm not having coffee because we've run out of coffee. 8) Before I left for his village I wrote to him asking about a place for me to stay. 9) I'll open the door because you are hot. 10) I haven't learned the children's names since there are so many of them. 11) I'm not going to go to work today because I'm sick with a cold. 12) My little child didn't want to put on his shirt because it's soaked. 13) I'm going to serve you_{pl} soup because it's done (cooked) already. 14) I won't wipe the dishes because they aren't washed yet. 15) My kids never visit you because your dogs bark at them and are frightening. 16) They are crying because they are sad since their puppies died. 17) He's thanking us because we bought him nice new shoes. 18) I already ate before you made pancakes for me. 20) I'm tired because I've been waiting for you and it's cold outside.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 17:

A. Change everything you can from singular to plural and translate. For example, given qimugteka kaikan, nerqeki luquruyagmek you would write, qimugteput kaikata, nerqekiciki luquruyagnek. 'If our_{pl} dogs are hungry, (you_{pl}) feed them pikes'.

1) Tangllemni irnian iingnaqsaqaellruuq elitnaurvigcuumiilami. 2) Apiatarraarlua una qangqiiq pitaqaellruaqa piyuanganemni ing'um pengum avatiini apiatarraarlua. 3) Irnian

ngel'allruuq taqeksaunani qanuk mit'ellruan qanranun. 4)Tangerquvgu kegluneq, tangelqa ayainanemni un'gavet iqvarnalua, qimakina arulairpek'nak. 5) Ciin irniavet nacilartau elitnauristeni an'aqan? 6) Paallagyarpialluunga tangviimku tengssuun mit'eqatalria tangerpek'naku kan'a peleqpel'er. 7) Tatamellruuten-qaa qanganaq qeckallrani ciuvkun? 8) Taqsuq'ngellruunga ulullemku uima kaviartaan amia. 9) Arnam kenillrua iqalluk, allaneq tailleq akwaugaq neryullruyugnarqengraan taryaqvagmek. 10) Pikna amirluq ayuqsarpiartuq ungunngssitun kuimalriatun. 11) Qanganarturyukapigeskuni pitengnaqciqsugnarquq qanganarmek nutegkun wall'u kapkaanakun. 12) Aturaqamiu kalngaka unitelaraa manarviminun. 13) Aqessngaatuami qastuluni aqessngaaquni kiani tupagciqsugnarqaa kiugna qavalria. 14) Arnam qatpauskani mikelngucuar qiangciqsugnarquq. 15)Tangerquvgu qanruskiu qanllemnek. 16) Cenireskunia manignamek neryugciqsugnarquq. 17) Tan'gerliq nutelqa cali unguviin qimallruunga alingeqapiaraama. 18) Yagarcetsiyaakan paqeskumku tamaani uitangaitua. 19) Cupegtekakagaami upakatartuq alqami eniinun. 20) Mikelnguum qanrutqataryugnarqaanga can'giirmek tangellminek egatem iluani ak'a nallunrilengramku. 21) Ciin iillrua irnian tangllermia napam caniani? 22) Nerkuniu una keniumanrilnguq kemek naulluukacagarciquq. 23) Atuquvni tauna kass'artaq uluaq ipgiaruciqsugnarquq taqvailegpet. 24) Ciin-kiq una iqalluk angenrua taumi taryaqvagmi? 25) Kituuga qalarutevkenaku kitullren mertainanerpeni?

B. Change the following from the past to the future or from the future to the past and translate the results

1) Qanrutkellempi tuqullret qiangelruuq qaskinani tua-i angniinani. 2) Ellalliqan mecungciqkut ellalliurcuuteput assiilata. 3) Nunamegnun tekitenrilameng taicingvailgan alingellruyugnarquq. 4) Tuc'amiu kan'a peleqpel'er tuqutellrua. 5) Kaikapigeskuneng nerciqsugnarqait neryuumiitelteng. 6) Angyaput imangtellruan ayainemteni qairpagteggun kuigem paingani, cauteput mecungellruut. 7) Nerenrilkuvet nem'i anvailegpet kaikapiarangciquten neqliurpailgata elitnaurvigmi. 8) Pircillrungraan ayallruuq Mamterillermun cali anuqllirani paquamiu alqani naulluuvigmelnguq. 9) Apeskatnga atemnek qanrusngaitanka. 10) Kelipairucameng yugtarnek kiputellruut kass'artarneq Curyugtellermeqgni.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 18:

A. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) The woman told her child not to go out because it was too cold. 2) If you see your father tell him that I will take a steambath. 3) When I saw the girl crying I thought that her pet must have died. 4) Even though I don't want to go with him, he wants me to go with him to Bethel tomorrow. 5) They sent the bad person away because they were angry at him. 6) Have your son throw away that dirty blood-stained shirt. 7) Ask them to come in, sit down and eat lots. 8) Did you think that I spilled some coffee on the floor? 9) Whenever your husband sees my daughter he tells me that she's grown. 10) Did you tell him you'd help them to (= when they) build a new house? 11) I think it might rain tomorrow even though it's sunny now. 12) Have your children bring the firewood up from the shore. 13) I don't think that they've arrived yet even though I thought I heard their boat's motor. 14) My mother asked me to make her a berry-picking device, but after I tried and failed, I bought one at the store. 15) Because the elders told us to do it, we are going to fix up the old church.

B. Translate into English:

1) Qetunracuaraan qanruskiu alikesqevkenaku yungcarista. 2) Qanrutellrungraatnga Kusquqvak Mamterillermi iqtunruniluku Kuigpagmi Negeqlirmi, ukveqenritanka. 3) Uivnun ellivkarki qantat erulten qulqitnun. 4) Kia qimugtiinun keggellruniluni qanellrua? 5)

Nernginanratni alingevkallruyugnarqaten mikelnguut qalaruteklerpegu tan'gerliq neqliviim avatiini tangellren akwaugaq. 6) Anevkallrua piyuumiilengraan angniilan cakneq aquivkarluku-llu. 7) Elpenun ikayuusqumayugnarquq. 8) Angnirningraan umyuartequa cali iluteqsukluku anngani tuqulleq pitekluku. 9) Keniyulim kenillran tepiin kaipiarcetaanga. 10) Qanrutellruanga nacaqa unitellruniluku nem'inun. 11) Qanrutellruaqa aqvaciqniluku nererraarlua. 12) Naulluuqapigcami kitumun tangrresqumanrilengraan tua-i paqteqataraput. 13) Yungcaristem igevkallrua tuknilria iinruq naulluulriamun. 14) Arnam qanrutellrungraki irniani neresqevkenaki atsanek iqvainanratni atsat mikelnguut nerellrit amllenrullruyugnarqut atsani qantam iluani! 15) Ataam maavet taiqataquvet qanruskiu uin maligutesqelluku.

C. Combine each of the two given sentences so that the first event occurs after the second; for example, given "Nerciqua. Ner'uten." you would write Nerciqua nererraarcelluten.

1) Aquim nerluten-llu. Unateten eruraten. 2) Qiangellruuq. Ayagtuten. 3) Callruceci? Inartua. 4) Callruceci? Neqlivigmun tekituci. 5) Natmurtellruat-kiq. Ayallruut maaken. 6) Camek qanresqessia? Qanrutaqa akii wangkugnun tamallruniluki. 7) Camek qanerciqsit? Qanrutan levaara navgumaniluku. 8) Nel'anguq. Qiamauq. 9) Piipiq qianguq. An'uten nem'ek. 10) Nerciqua. Neqa uumauq.

D. Change the embedded verbs in the following from transitive to intransitive or vice-versa making all necessary changes and translate. Note that in some but not all cases the verb base must be altered. For example, given umyuartequa tamarinayuklua akinek you would write umyuartequa wangnun tamarnayukluki akit 'I think I might lose the coins', and given igesciigatniyuq iinrumek you would write ellminun igesciitatnia iinruq 'he says he can't swallow the medicine.'

1) Naliata qulirat irnian alingeqapiarcetellruagu tan'gerlinek angelrianek? 2) Umyuarteqsaaqellruunga elpenun ak'a nerqessukluki qimugtet. 3) Niicuilnguum kuv'ivkallruunga kuuvviamek natermun. 4) Aatavet irniaten ikayuutesqumaat tegganermun. (note that one says ikayuutuq tegganermun for 'he's helping an elder') 5) Kia qanrutellruaten ellminun nalkellruniluku nacaq tamalqa? 6) Ciin umyuarteqsit qimugteka tuqucillruyukluku imkunek avelngarneq? 7) Erurceciqanka qantat panimnun. 8) Pitellruniaten taukunek kanaqlagnek. 9) Tegganret qanrut'laraitkut ullauteqaasqevkenata tan'gerlinun nutgumalrianun (note that one says ullautuq tan'gerlimun for 'he's approaching a bear') tuquksailngurnun. 10) Ak'a panika ellimellruaqa inisqelluki iqairat. 11) Niitellruunga elpenun tangvagyukapiarniluki qiuryat. 12) Kitumun perrircessgu suupaq kuvvleq kaminiam qaingani tepsarqengvailgan. 13) Qanertuq qemagciyuumiitniluni qetunrami ayallrem akluneq, nen'i mikpiangraan. 14) Elitnauristem wangnun elitnaurcetellrui mikelnguut naulluunginanermini. 15) Umyuarteqsaaqellruunga aqvatanayukluten manarcuutemte'ek. 16) Qanrusnga kitumun pitaqniluki taukut. 17) Umyuarteqsaaqellruunga aatan pilillruyukluku ukunek. 18) Aturcetellruan-qa nuussimek? 19) Kitugceciqaa wangnun kaminiani. 20) Ciin qimugtet nerevkallrusiki suupamek? 21) Elpenun piliaqsuksaaqanka ukut qasperet.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 19:

A. Translate into English:

1) Ciin qenertellriim antellruagu anngani kamilaan? 2) Kiivet-qa taillruuten piyualuten nunavnek nengelvangaan? 3) Iirlua canegpiit iluatni nutengnaqsaaqellruanka qangqiiret misngalriit pengucuarimi. 4) Assiilkaqa cumacyulaan taigaqami ce'nirnalua cumacinailengraan man'a. 5) Taillratni maavet yurartet tamarmeng elitnaurat tangvagyarturyugyaaqellruit. 6) Allakaita irnianka nerevkallruanka allanret nererraarcelluki. 7) Yungcaristem qanlartut qavarcesqevkenaki piipit paluita (palungqa(vkar)luki). 8) Kiimetlemni unugmi

neqlivimterni alingellruunga umyuarateqsaaqlua tan'gerlirtangqerrnayukluku necuaramta ak'allaam elatiini. 9) Ungilakuvet kumga! 10) Miklemni asemtellemku egatiin epua im'um takarnarqellriim qanpautellruunga qiavkarlua. 11) Kalikaq naaqengnaqken caperrnaqsukluku umyuaratequa. 12) Alianaitut irniaten temcitaameng. 13) Alingem ugaani iirnaluni mikelngucuar aurrellruuq inglerem acianun kass'at takarnarqellriit itellratni eniitnun. 14) Cikillruunga akinek ikayuqsailengramni tunrircetellruunga cakneq. 15) Qiam tut'elaraanga maurluqa umyuaqertaqamku kenkepialqa yuunrilleq. 16) Iterpailegpet evcukaqina suugiyuumiilkuvgu nateq! 17) Piipiq qiaguq angqani akallruan iqairissuutem acianun tegusciigalamiu-llu. 18) Qavarnissiyaanguvet alulainanerpeni pupsugciqamken tallirpegun tupaggnaluten. 19) Sageskiki naunraat estuulum qainganun. 20) Tangvagaqamku naklek'laraqa ingna qimugta irulek akngircimalriamek pangalegciigalan. 21) Irniama qanellran tunrircetellruunga taugaam kasnguyullrunrituq. 22) Cikiquvgu kiingan kinguqlia ciknavkarciqsugnarqan. 23) Akervagaqan kiirpagaqan-llu caliyuumiitelartua ellami. 24) Camek pilarciki qulvarviit?

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) All my older sisters always wash their faces and groom themselves before I wake up. 2) The woman made the boy embarrassed when she kissed him while the other children were watching. 3) When I was small my parents generally had a hard time because they didn't have money and couldn't buy the things they wanted. 4) What, I wonder, is the thing that woman is sewing going to be? 5) I generally write with my right hand, but I brush my teeth with my left hand. 6) The little fish we are watching are not edible. 7) Are you wearing your jacket turned inside out because you are embarrassed since it is too dirty? 8) Because he was very tired he lay down in the grass beside the river and slept all day and all night there. 9) Did the disobedient child steal all your money? 10) I finished my task when I was alone even though I found it hard to do without a helper. 11) Don't be so inquisitive about his former wife who moved outside of the area. 12) When it's very cold they stay inside their house wearing coats even though the stove is going. 13) The children who are playing ball out there are having a good time, and I feel sorry for my little child who can't play out because he is very sick. 14) When my grandmother was small people often added plants to the Eskimo ice cream they were making. 15) I don't want my children to walk around barefoot because I haven't scrubbed the floor for a long time. 16) Put the paper you're reading turned over on the table when the soldiers come in. 17) I alone found their actions to be funny. 18) He wanted to lie down because he said that he couldn't sleep standing up! 19) When I coughed real hard the sleeping puppy woke up and ran further into the house. 20) The child doesn't want to wear his shirt because it has been stretched, and he's afraid that the other children will regard him as looking funny. 21) Even though the radio is fixed I can't understand what the person is saying. 22) When you're done eating go out and help your brother when he spreads out the net. 23) Even though it was very stormy they went boating without wearing coats. 24) When my shirt got caught on a nail it got a big tear. 25) I think that the one you consider hazardous is not scary.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 21:

A. Translate into English:

1) Maaten tekikut agayuvigmun yuut agayunriqatalriit. 2) Umyuarateqsaaqellruunga elpenunekellruyuklukek kumlanrek miiskaamun estuulumelngurmun. 3) Kiaku-wa nulirqa-llu qavalarciqlilriakuk angayuqaagma pelateka'urluagni. 4) Qer'alkuput assiirucan nalkutengnaqciqua muragnek qer'arkanek qer'alinalua nutaramek. 5) Paugna tumyaraq qurrasqinaqngan qurrasqicarpialluunga piyuinginanemni agglemni misvigmun nunam keluani. 6) Elpengukuma nunuryaraqa mikelnguq nerellraki tan'gerpiit iqvalten aptevkenak.

7) Maaten agiirrluteng piut nunallrat yugtailnguq. 8) Qanrutellruaten-qaa iqvallruniluki tumaglit tamalkuita nunapiim ngeliini? 9) Naulluullilriit-wa nerngameng palurutaneq tanglemteñek akwaugaq pulainanemteni canegpiit iluatgun. 10) Kia-wa nerellrullikii taquau̇rluput nangluku. 11) Anuqlinrilan umyuartequa elliilkugmun pitsaqlua qecillruyuklua, qanrutellrungraanga qecillrunilua pitsaqevkenii. 12) Tuakenirnek qassayuirutellruuq umyuarteqsaaqellruami paralunek tangerrisukluni qassaqaatallermini tuani. 13) Qenrutaaten umyuarteqngami elpenun nakukellruyukluku kinguqliyagani. 14) Uputaaqeryaqunaci! 15) Anngalkuma ipegcallruaku tauna nuusseq qanrutevkenii kilillruunga unateu̇rlumkun. 16) Niicumii telaraqa tukuuniluni pilaan akiucirniluni-llu. 17) Ciin nerqessuumiiciu qunguturayagaan? 18) Marayamun paallagyaqunaci u̇gasqinarqellriakun piyuakuvci. 19) Cunawa niicuilngulkuum tegukii taquaput nerluku-llu. 20) Maaten murilkai imkut yuut qanrutkellma teglekataqit piqertuutaqegtaarput!

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) My dear old mom is fixing the tent by sewing it even though it is rotten. 2) She probably thinks that we ate the crowberries that she was going to put into the akutaq she was making. 3) Even though it is very dark the airplane is coming down plowing its way through the clouds in order to take the sick child to the hospital. 4) Don't slip when you go to fetch water walking on the path which is slippery on account of the rain. 5) Even though it rained all night the tent is dry already. 6) What kind is that bird which is sitting on top of the house? 7) Because they didn't tie the boat with a good rope it got undone and drifted away. 8) (It was) like this: I went outside to chop wood (and saw that) strangers were approaching from upriver. 9) Voles are bigger than shrews but shrews are faster than voles. 10) Look, that darned boy is about to pick on your dear little child. 11) They told me that *they themselves* were going to use their dishpan. 12) He cried when he heard about the baby moose and baby caribou that had died because they didn't have food. 13) Oh my but you can sew well! 14) Perhaps you'd like to come along? 15) I wanted to eat the akutaq with raisins in it, but I think *you* ate it all! 16) The reason turned out to be that they had taken their sick child downriver to the hospital during the night. 17) He asked me whether you all wanted to buy his old house. 18) Your son is as tall as you, but my daughter is taller than me.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 22:

A. Translate into English:

1) Taukut agturyaqunaki, unateten iqangyuartut cumacinarqellriamek. 2) Uyangtelaagllii paqluku yuk'a qavalria. 3) Kalmainaqa allgumiin tamallrullinianka itumtanka tamalkuita. 4) Aturyaqunaku paltuukegtaaraan ciknavkaryuaran kinguqliin. 5) Paiveskiki piciatun neqkat nereksailnguut nerniartut. 6) Tun'ernarquq imna taangiqellria. 7) Tangellruyaaqaqa nayiq pugqertellrani anluakun taug̃aam tangerpek'naku anglullrani. 8) Ciullerminiu uimi lumarraa mecungtelleq uvaallrani angyaq, pitsaqevkenaki ciitellrui kayangut caqullni igtesqevkenaki atrautellerminiki angyamun. 9) Ciin-kiq pilartatki imkut napat "cuukvagianek" ayuqenrilengraata luqruuyagcetun (cuukvagcetun)? 10) Nallunrirtua mingqiiyaraq caperrnarqucianek taug̃aam wiinga mingqiingnaqvailegma umyuarteqsaaqellrungra egmianun cukalua mingqiiyaurrnayuklua. 11) Upakarraarcelluta nemteñek ak'allarmek cuukvagarugaat naullruyaaqut nell'emta elatiini taug̃aam qavcirraat allrakut kinguatni tamarmeng napat nalallruut. 12) Qanrusnginanemni caqataucimnek qavarallruuq nallunriryugyaaqellrung'ermiki caqatallrenka! 13) Nerlaustuq pagna qucillgaq mit'eqatarngalnguq yaavet! 14) Ciin ngel'allallrusit akwaugaq u̇gasqitlemni piyuanginanemgni maraspilriakun, temcinaitellrungraan akngirtellruama-llu irumkun cali-llu iruka akngialuni? 15) Nerlaallrungraaki tumaglit aanami iqvallri nangluki kiimetlermini, maaten itertut ilai mikelnguyagaam qanran avatii kavirpak! 16) Yaqulegcuryartuqumegnuk

ivrarturlunuk etgalngurteggun nanvatgun, navraqkilakek ivrarcuutegken atunrilkegken. 17) Imkucinek kipuyuskilamci kipucartuquma Anchorage-aami. 18) Ungungssicuaraak masqertellruuk napam kangranun mikelngurugaat igvaartellratni tua-i palaqallratni cuukvaguat akuliitnun. 19) Upteqernga, agniartua misvigmun tengssuun tengvailgan. 20) Akngirarcamiu unatni mulut'uugkun qatpagyung'ermi quuyurniurangaqsaaquq. 21) Ciin-kiq ilait yuut, kass'at kassaunrilnguut-llu, qanerturatuat qanerkairut'ngermeng? 22) Tengssuulvak mis'artellrani neplirluni erqaarcelluku aataka mak'artuq alingalliimi. 23) Aturngailngalngermegteki tegumiaqlitki piyukuneng. 24) Cetuirissuutegken atuqerlakek. 25) Qessakuni maani uitakili avuryartuinanemteñi muragkanek.

B. Translate into Yup'ik:

1) Let me examine the grass basket that you finished. 2) Let's help them (when they) take their food-for-the-journey down to their boat so that they can leave before dawn comes and return before night falls. 3) When I was about to eat some beluga meat, that lousy dog of yours came over here suddenly and gobbled down the meat I was going to eat. 4) My poor old bucket suddenly started to leak while I was carrying water, and I angrily threw it away into the tall grass, and after that I couldn't find it. 5) I'm going to get water again with another bucket, because even though my bucket had been full up with water down at the water hole (in the ice) it was almost empty before I got home. 6) The live mink in the trap suddenly started crying out pitifully causing the child to not want to become a trapper. 7) Well, let it be very cold! I'm going to go anyway because I can't stay here anymore. 8) May I go with you when you go to check your fishtrap? 9) He asked me if blackfish stay alive even though they are frozen. 10) When we were about to go inside the house their boat suddenly appeared from the direction of the mouth of that little river across there. 11) The new teacher is always visiting (house to house) when he's not teaching. 12) We were very tired when we reached the village because we repeatedly sank into the snow (as we walked) since it had snowed so much yesterday. 13) The elders always want to tell stories but the children want to play ball instead of listening. 14) Let me borrow your axe so that I can chop wood for my parents. 15) When I saw the big black bug I suddenly got startled although I'm not usually afraid of insects, evn though I am scared of bumble-bees because they sting. 16) I'm getting ready so that I can go berry-picking. 17) I'm getting her ready so that she can go gather mushrooms. 18) Please get me ready so that I can go ice-fishing. 19) When the policeman suddenly came into view from the direction of the school, the child suddenly dropped the teacher's pen which he had stolen and went off quickly, but the policeman found the pen when he looked for it in the grass. 20) They go on having a good time watching the aurora even though it is very cold and their clothing is thin. 21) Tell them to come in so that they won't get frostbitten on their faces. 22) Although I told them to come in they didn't say "yes", and they are still outside even though they seem to be very cold. 23) Let me use that ice pick so that I can make a fishing hole. 24) If they're energetic let your kids get water for the elders. 25) (It was) like this: he opened his eyes (and saw that) the water in the river was rising, evidently because the ice was jammed downriver.

Additional Exercises for Chapter 23:

Complete the sentences below following the pattern of the examples.

example 1) Anngaqkuvnga uyuraqsaramken; example 2) Tutgarqekuvnga maurluqsaramken wall'u apa'urluqsaramken.

1) Uikekuvnga _____. 2) Nuliacungaqkuvnga _____. 3) Nengaukekuvnga wall'u ukurraqkuvnga _____. 4) Arcikekuvnga _____. 5) Acakekuvnga _____. 6) Anaanakekuvnga _____. 7) Angakekuvnga _____. 8) Ataatakekuvnga _____. 9) Nayagaqkuvnga _____. 10) Amauqkuvnga _____.

New Publications in and on Yup'ik

The following list of publications in and on the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language since 1995 does not include the many children's publications produced primarily by the Lower Kuskokwim School District.

American Bible Society. 1996. *Ayagniqarraami, Genesis in Modern Yup'ik*. New York: American Bible Society. 102 pp.

This pamphlet is the first part of a translation of the entire Bible into Yup'ik written in the modern orthography. Only a translation of the New Testament, written in an older orthography, had been available prior to this.

Fredson, Alice, et. al. 1998. *Kipnirmiut Tiganrita Igmirtitlrit, Qipnermiut Tegganrita Egmirtellrit, The Legacy of the Kipnuk Elders*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 353 pp.

This collection of texts from Kipnuk Elders, mainly factual narratives, is written in Yup'ik without translation with the text in the old Moravian missionary orthography and in the modern orthography on facing pages.

Jacobson, Anna. 1996. *Yup'ik Phrase and Conversation Lessons*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 57 pp. plus two sixty-minute audio tapes.

This package contains thirty lessons consisting of commonly used phrases and short model conversations built around specific topics or activities. The Yup'ik is pronounced on the tapes with sufficient time for the student to practice repeating the Yup'ik, and the accompanying booklet has both transcriptions and translations of the spoken lessons.

—. 1998. *Yup'ik Stories Read Aloud, Yugcetun Qulirat Naaqumalriit Erinairissuutmun*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 72 pp. plus one sixty-minute audio tape.

Six stories, the same as those in the Supplementary Readings on pages 451 to 462 of this volume, but with one substitution, are read aloud. The booklet contains transcriptions of the stories with word-for-word interlinear translations. It is designed to help the student bridge the gap between written and spoken Yup'ik.

Jacobson, Steven, and Anna Jacobson. 1996. *Yup'ik Eskimo Word Chooser*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. 27 pp.

In this short pamphlet a number English words are listed for which there are more than one possible Yup'ik equivalent. Explanations and examples show which Yup'ik to use in various situations.

Jacobson, Steven. 1998. *Yup'ik Dialect Atlas and Study*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, xxii + 224 pp.

A series of maps of the Yup'ik speaking area shows which villages use which word in cases where there are two or more Yup'ik words for one thing. Composite isogloss maps delineate the dialects, and contour maps show the relationships of the dialects to each other. The text comments on various aspects of each map, and the intriguing Aglurmiut dialect is discussed at length.

Krauss, Michael. 1995. *Inuit Nunait, Nunangit Yuget*. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

This color wall map shows the entire Eskimo-Aleut speaking world including the eastern tip of Asia, Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland. The name of each Eskimo or Aleut village is given both in English and in the Native language (including the use of Syllabics for Canada), and the size of the Eskimo or Aleut population and the vitality of the language is shown for each locality.

Meade, Marie, transcriber and translator. 1996. *Agayuliyararput Kegginaqut, Kangiit-llu, Our Way of Making Prayer Yup'ik Masks and the Stories They Tell*. Edited by Ann Fienup-Riordan. Seattle and London: Anchorage Museum of History and Art in association with the University of Washington Press. xi + 236 pp.

This book contains transcriptions and translations of the narratives given by Yup'ik elders in connection with a museum exhibit of Yup'ik masks, and is full of ethnographic information.

Mithun, Marianne. 1998. Yup'ik Roots and Affixes. *Languages of the North Pacific Rim*, Vol. 4. Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan.

Miyaoka, Osahito. 1996. Sketch of Central Alaskan Yupik, an Eskimoan Language. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 17:325-363, *Languages*. Edited by Ives Goddard. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

This is a concise grammatical sketch of Yup'ik including tables of endings and a list of selected vocabulary.

—. 1997. A Chapter on the Alaskan Central Yupik Subordinative Mood. *Languages of the North Pacific Rim*, Vol. 2:61-146. Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan.

—. 1998. A Glimpse into Verbal Morphology of Central Alaskan Yupik. *Languages of the North Pacific Rim*, Vol. 4:47-61. Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan.

Orr, Eliza, and Ben Orr, eds. 1997. *Ellangellemni..., When I Became Aware*. Fairbanks: Lower Kuskokwim School District and Alaska Native Language Center. 630 pp.

This is a second collection of stories told by the elders of Tununak, similar to Orr and Orr, 1995, *Qanemcikarluni Tekitnarqelartuq, One Must Arrive with a Story to Tell*. In Yup'ik with facing page English translations, this book includes many illustrations, archival photographs, and extensive literary notes.